
SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS

COMMENTARY ON THE LETTER OF
SAINT PAUL TO THE ROMANS

BIBLICAL COMMENTARIES

Volume 37

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NOTES ON THE TEXT

Scripture

The text of Sacred Scripture presented at the beginning of each lecture is given in Latin, English, and Greek. Since St. Thomas appears to be familiar with more than one translation, quotes from memory, and often enough paraphrases, it has proven difficult to reconstruct the version of scripture with which St. Thomas was working. However, the closest available version of Scripture to St. Thomas's text was found to be the Clementine Vulgate of 1598, and this version of the Vulgate is the one found at the beginning of each lecture. The choice of an English version of Scripture to parallel to the Vulgate was therefore the Douay-Rheims. Both of these versions have been slightly modified to fit the text of St. Thomas. The Greek text is from the Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th Revised Edition, edited by Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger in cooperation with the Institute for New Testament Textual Research, Münster/Westphalia, © 1993 Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart. Used with permission. The numbering of Scripture in the lecture headings and the English translation of the commentary is taken from the Nestle-Aland 27th Revised Edition and the RSV, while the numbering St. Thomas uses in the Latin text has been kept intact.

Latin Text of St. Thomas

Note by Enrique Alarcón: Although the Leonine edition of the commentary on Romans is well advanced, the final critical text is not published yet. The Latin text used in this book is based on the Marietti 1953 edition, prepared by Fr. Raffaele Cai OP, transcribed by Fr. Roberto Busa SJ, and revised by the editors and collaborators of this bilingual edition. The future Leonine edition, prepared by Fr. Gilles de Grandpré OP, will show some small, but not always irrelevant differences: among other aspects, it will reveal the sporadic, and usually brief revisions and annotations made by Thomas Aquinas to the original text, up to its chapter 13, lect. 3, as contained in the ms. Napoli Bibl. Naz. VII.A.17. Our particular gratitude is due to Fr. G. de Grandpré and Fr. R. Wielockx, of the Leonine Commission, for this information.

English Translation of St. Thomas

The English translation of the commentary on Romans was prepared by Fr. Fabian Richard Larcher, O.P., who left it in draft form at the time of his death in 1991. The manuscript came into the hands of Matthew Levering, who had the permission of Fr. Larcher's superiors to utilize the translation for scholarly purposes. Dr. Levering's colleague, Dr. Jeremy Holmes, spearheaded a team of graduate students at Ave Maria University who transcribed the entire document. Dr. Holmes lightly corrected the text. A thorough correction of the text has been made by the editorial team at The Aquinas Institute for the Study of Sacred Doctrine in Lander, Wyoming.

DEDICATED WITH LOVE TO
OUR LADY OF MT. CARMEL

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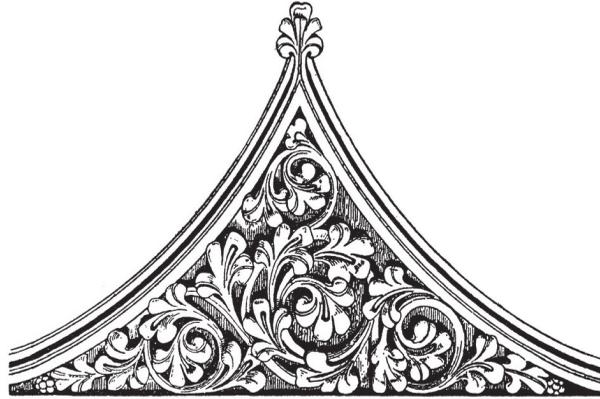
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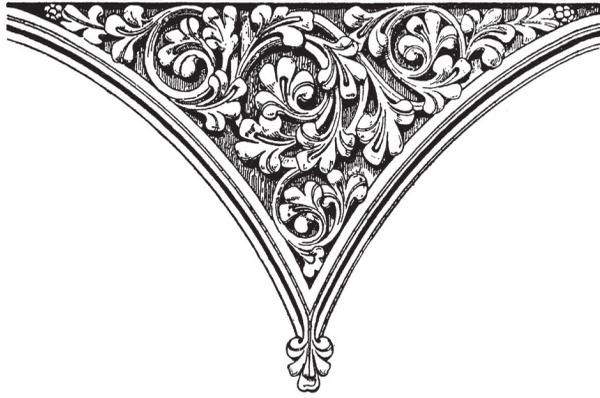
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**COMMENTARY ON THE LETTER OF
SAINT PAUL TO THE ROMANS**



COMMENTARY ON THE LETTER OF SAINT PAUL TO THE ROMANS

Prologue

Acts 9:15

Dixit autem ad eum Dominus: vade, quoniam vas electionis est mihi iste, ut portet nomen meum coram gentibus, et regibus, et filiis Israël.

εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος· πορεύου, ὅτι σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς ἐστίν μοι οὗτος τοῦ βαστάσαι τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐνώπιον ἐθνῶν τε καὶ βασιλέων υἰῶν τε Ἰσραήλ·

And the Lord said to him: go your way; for this man is to me a vessel of election, to carry my name before the gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel.

1. Homines in Sacra Scriptura inveniuntur vasis comparati propter quatuor, scilicet: propter constitutionem, repletionem, usum et fructum.

Primo enim quantum ad constitutionem. Vas enim artificis arbitrio subiacet. Ier. XVIII, 4: *fecit illud vas alterum, sicut placuerat ei*. Sic et constitutio hominum subiacet Dei arbitrio, de quo in Ps. XCIX, 3: *ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos*. Unde Isaias XLV, 9 dicit: *numquid dicit lutum figulo suo: quid facis? Et infra IX, 20: numquid dicit figmentum ei, qui se finxit: quid me fecisti sic? Et inde est quod secundum voluntatem Dei artificis diversa invenitur vasorum constitutio. II Tim. II, 20: in magna autem domo non solum sunt vasa aurea et argentea, sed etiam lignea et fictilia.*

Beatus autem Paulus, quia vas electionis nominatur in verbis propositis, quale vas fuerit, patet per id quod dicitur Eccli. I, 10: *quasi vas auri solidum ornatum omni lapide pretioso.*

Aureum quidem vas fuit propter fulgorem sapientiae, de qua potest intelligi quod dicitur Gen. II, 12: *et aurum terrae illius optimum est*, quia, ut dicitur Prov. III, 15: *pretiosior est cunctis opibus*. Unde et beatus Petrus testimonium perhibet ei dicens. II Petr. III, 15: *sicut et charissimus frater noster Paulus secundum datam sibi sapientiam scripsit vobis.*

Solidum quidem fuit virtute caritatis, de qua dicitur Cant. ultimo: *fortis est ut mors dilectio*. Unde et ipse dicit Rom. VIII, 38 s.: *certus sum enim quia neque mors neque vita, etc. poterunt nos separare a caritate Dei.*

Ornatum autem fuit omni lapide pretioso, scilicet omnibus virtutibus, de quibus dicitur I Cor. III, 12: *si quis supraedificat supra fundamentum hoc, aurum,*

1. In Sacred Scripture men are compared to vessels from four viewpoints: their construction, contents, use, and fruit.

From the viewpoint of construction, vessels depend on the good pleasure of their maker: *he reworked it into another vessel as it seemed good to him* (Jer 18:4). In the same way men's construction depends on God's good pleasure: *he fashioned us and not we ourselves* (Ps 100:3); hence Isaiah asks: *does the clay say to him who fashions it: what are you making?* (Isa 45:6). In the same vein St Paul asks: **shall the thing formed say to him that formed it: why have you made me thus?** (Rom 9:20). Hence, it is the Creator's will that determines the variety of construction among his vessels: *in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and earthenware* (2 Tim 2:20).

In the above words, blessed Paul is described as a vessel. What sort of vessel he was is described in Sirach: *as a vessel of solid gold adorned with all kinds of precious stones* (Sir 50:9).

He was a golden vessel on account of his brilliant wisdom; what is said in Genesis can be understood as speaking of this: *the gold of that land is the best* (Gen 2:12), because, as it is said: *it is more precious than all riches* (Prov 3:15). Whence even blessed Peter bears witness to him: *so also our beloved brother Paul wrote to you according to the wisdom given him* (2 Pet 3:15).

He was solid on account of the virtue of love, of which it is said: *love is strong as death* (Song 8:6). Hence Paul himself writes: **I am sure that neither death, nor life . . . shall be able to separate us from the love of God** (Rom 8:38ff.).

Furthermore, he was adorned with all manner of precious stones, i.e., with all the virtues, concerning which it is said: *now if any man builds on the foundation with gold,*

argentum, lapides pretiosos, etc. Unde et ipse dicit II Cor. I, 12: *gloria nostra haec est, testimonium conscientiae nostrae, quod in simplicitate cordis et in sinceritate Dei et non in sapientia carnali, sed in gratia Dei conversati sumus in hoc mundo.*

2. Quale autem fuerit istud vas patet ex hoc quod talia propinavit: docuit enim excellentissimae divinitatis mysteria, quae ad sapientiam pertinent, ut patet I Cor. II, 6: *sapientiam loquimur inter perfectos*, commendavit etiam excellentissime caritatem, I Cor. XIII, instruxit homines de diversis virtutibus, ut patet Col. III, 12: *induite vos sicut electi Dei, sancti et dilecti, viscera misericordiae etc.*

3. Secundo etiam ad vasa pertinere videtur ut liquore aliquo impleantur, secundum illud IV Reg. IV, 5: *illi offerbant vasa et illa infundebat.*

Invenitur etiam inter vasa diversitas quantum ad huiusmodi plenitudinem. Nam quaedam inveniuntur vasa vini, quaedam olei, et diversa diversi generis. Sic etiam et homines diversis gratiis, quasi diversis liquoribus, replentur divinitus, I Cor. XII, 8: *alii datur per Spiritum sermo sapientiae, alii, etc.*

Hoc autem vas, de quo nunc agitur, plenum fuit pretioso liquore, scilicet nomine Christi, de quo dicitur Cant. I, 2: *oleum effusum nomen tuum.* Unde dicitur *ut portet nomen meum.* Totus enim videtur fuisse hoc nomine plenus, secundum illud Apoc. III, 12: *scribam super eum nomen meum.*

Habuit enim hoc nomen in cognitione intellectus, secundum illud I Cor. II, 2: *non enim iudicavi me scire aliquid inter vos nisi Christum.*

Habuit etiam hoc nomen in dilectione affectus, secundum illud Rom. VIII, 35: ***quis nos separabit a caritate Christi?*** I Cor. ultimo: *si quis non amat Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, sit anathema.*

Habuit etiam ipsum in tota vitae suae conversatione. Unde dicebat Gal. II, 20: *vivo autem iam non ego vivit vero in me Christus.*

4. Tertio, quantum ad usum considerandum est quod omnia vasa alicui usui deputantur, sed quaedam ad honorabiliorem, quaedam ad viliorem, secundum illud Rom. IX, 21: ***an non habet potestatem figulus luti ex eadem massa facere aliud quidem vas in honorem, aliud vero in contumeliam?*** Sic etiam homines, secundum divinam ordinationem, diversis usibus deputantur, secundum illud Eccli. XXXIII, 10–11: *omnes homines de solo et ex terra, unde et creatus est Adam. In multitudine disciplinae Dominus separavit eos et immutavit vias eorum. Ex ipsis benedixit et exaltavit, maledixit et humiliavit.*

Hoc autem vas ad nobilem usum est deputatum, est enim vas portatorium divini nominis, dicitur enim *ut portet nomen meum*, quod quidem nomen necessarium

silver, precious stones (1 Cor 3:12). Hence, he says: *our boast is this, the testimony of our conscience that we have conducted ourselves in the world with simplicity of heart and godly sincerity, not by earthly wisdom but by the grace of God* (2 Cor 1:12).

2. The nature of this vessel is thus indicated by the sort of things it poured out; for Paul taught the mysteries of the most lofty divinity, which requires wisdom: *among the mature we do speak wisdom* (1 Cor 2:6). He extolled love in the loftiest terms in 1 Corinthians 13. He taught men about the different virtues: *put on then, as God's chosen ones, holy and beloved, compassion, kindness, meekness, patience* (Col 3:12).

3. In the second place, it is customary for vessels to be filled with some sort of liquid, as is clear in 2 Kings: *they gave her vessels and she filled them* (2 Kgs 4:5).

Now it is by reason of what is poured into them that vessels are classified: for some are wine vessels, some oil vessels, and so on. In the same way, God fills men with diverse graces, as though with diverse liquids: *to one is given through the Spirit the utterance of wisdom and to another the utterance of knowledge according to the same Spirit* (1 Cor 12:8).

But the vessel about which we are now speaking was filled with a precious liquid, the name of Christ, of which it is said: *your name is oil poured out* (Song 1:3). Hence, *to carry my name*, for he seems to have been thoroughly filled with this name: *I will write my name upon him* (Rev 3:12).

For he possessed this name in the knowledge of his intellect: *for I decided to know nothing among you except Christ* (1 Cor 2:2).

He also possessed this name in the love of his affections: ***who shall separate us from the love of Christ?*** (Rom 8:35); *if any one does not love our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed* (1 Cor 16:21).

Finally, he possessed it in his whole way of life. Hence he said: *it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me* (Gal 2:20).

4. In the third place, with regard to use, one should consider that all vessels are set aside for a definite use, but some for a more honorable and some for a baser use: ***or has not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump, to make one vessel unto honor and another unto dishonor?*** (Rom 9:21). So, too, according to God's decree, men are set aside for different uses: *all men are from the ground and from the earth, whence also Adam was created. In the fullness of his knowledge the Lord distinguished them and appointed their different uses; some of them he blessed and exalted, but some of them he cursed and brought low* (Sir 33:11–12).

This vessel, however, was set apart for noble use, for it is a vessel such as carries the divine name; for it is said: *to carry my name*. It was, indeed, necessary for this name to

erat portari quia longe erat ab hominibus, secundum illud Is. XXX, 27: *ecce nomen Domini venit de longinquo*.

Est autem nobis longinquum propter peccatum, secundum illud Ps. CXVIII, 155: *longe a peccatoribus salus*. Est etiam nobis longinquum propter intellectus obscuritatem, unde et de quibusdam dicitur, Hebr. XI, 13, quod erant *a longe aspicientes*, et Num. XXIV, 17, dicitur: *videbo eum, sed non modo; intuebor illum, sed non prope*. Et ideo sicut angeli divinas illuminationes ad nos deferunt, tamquam a Deo distantes, ita apostoli evangelicam doctrinam a Christo ad nos detulerunt. Et sicut in Veteri Testamento post legem Moysi leguntur prophetae, qui legis doctrinam populo tradebant secundum illud Mal. IV, 4: *mementote Moysi servi mei* ita etiam in Novo Testamento, post Evangelium, legitur apostolorum doctrina, qui ea quae a Domino audierunt, tradiderunt fidelibus, secundum illud I Cor. XI, 23: *accepi a Domino quod et tradidi vobis*.

5. Portavit autem beatus Paulus nomen Christi: primo quidem in corpore, conversationem et passionem eius imitando, secundum illud Gal. ultimo: *ego enim stigmata Christi Iesu in corpore meo porto*.

6. Secundo in ore, quod patet in hoc quod in epistolis suis frequentissime Christum nominat: *ex abundantia inem cordis os loquitur*, ut dicitur Matth. XII, 34.

Unde potest significari per columbam, de qua dicitur, Gen. VIII, 11, quod venit ad arcam portans ramum olivae in ore suo. Quia enim oliva misericordiam significat, congrue per ramum olivae accipitur nomen Iesu Christi, quod etiam misericordiam significat, secundum illud Matth. I, 21: *vocabis nomen eius Iesum; ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum*.

Hunc autem ramum, virentibus foliis, detulit ad arcam, scilicet Ecclesiam, quando eius virtutem et significationem multipliciter expressit, Christi gratiam et misericordiam ostendendo. Unde iste dicit I Tim. I, 16: *ideo misericordiam consecutus sum, ut in me primo ostenderet Iesus Christus omnem patientiam*. Et inde est quod sicut inter scripturas Veteris Testamenti maxime frequentantur in Ecclesia Psalmi David, qui post peccatum veniam obtinuit, ita in Novo Testamento frequentantur epistolae Pauli, qui misericordiam consecutus est, ut ex hoc peccatores ad spem erigantur; quamvis possit et alia ratio esse, quia in utraque scriptura fere tota theologiae continetur doctrina.

7. Tertio portavit non solum ad praesentes sed etiam ad absentes et futuros, sensum Scripturae tradendo, secundum illud Is. VIII, 1: *sume tibi librum grandem et scribe in eo stilo hominis*.

8. In hoc autem officio portandi nomen Dei ostenditur eius excellentia quantum ad tria. Primo quidem, quantum ad electionis gratiam, unde dicitur *vas electionis*. Eph. I, 4: *elegit nos in Christo ante mundi constitutionem*.

be carried, because it was far from men: *behold the name of the Lord comes from afar* (Isa 30:27).

It is far from us on account of sin: *salvation is far from the wicked* (Ps 119:155). It is also far from us on account of the darkness of our understanding; hence it was said of some that *they beheld it from afar* (Heb 11:13) and *I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh* (Num 24:17). Consequently, just as the angels bestow God's light on us as being far from God, so the apostles brought us the Gospel teaching from Christ; and just as in the Old Testament after the law of Moses the prophets were read to instruct the people in the teachings of the law—*remember the law of my servant, Moses* (Mal 4:4)—so also, in the New Testament, after the Gospels are read the teachings of the apostles, who handed down to the faithful the words they had heard from the Lord: *for I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you* (1 Cor 11:23).

5. The blessed Paul carried Christ's name, first of all, in his body by imitating his life and sufferings: *I bear on my body the marks of Jesus* (Gal 6:17).

6. Second, in his speech, for he names Christ very frequently in his epistles: *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks* (Matt 12:34).

Hence, he can be signified by the dove of which it is said that it returned to the ark bearing an olive branch in its mouth (Gen 8:11). For since the olive signifies mercy, it is fittingly taken to stand for Christ's name, which also signifies mercy: *you shall call his name Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins* (Matt 1:21).

This olive branch bearing leaves was brought to the ark, i.e., to the Church, when he explained its power and meaning in many ways, disclosing Christ's grace and mercy. Thus, he says: *I received mercy for this reason that in me, as in the foremost, Jesus Christ might display his perfect patience* (1 Tim 1:16). Hence, just as the most frequently used writings of the Old Testament in the Church are the Psalms of David, who obtained pardon after his sin, so the most frequently used writings of the New Testament are the epistles of Paul, who obtained mercy, so that by these examples sinners might be aroused to hope; although another reason for this custom could be that in each of these writings is contained almost the whole teaching of theology.

7. Third, he carried this name not only to those who were present but also to those absent and as yet unborn by handing down the meaning of the Scriptures: *take a large tablet and write upon it in common characters* (Isa 8:1).

8. In this role of carrying God's name his excellence is shown in regard to three things: first, in regard to the grace of being chosen; hence he is called a *chosen vessel*: *he chose us in him before the foundation of the world* (Eph 1:4).

Secundo quantum ad fidelitatem quia nihil sui quaesivit sed Christi, secundum illud II Cor. IV, 5: *non enim nosmetipsos praedicamus, sed Christum Iesum*. Unde dicit: *vas electionis est mihi*. Tertio quantum ad singularem excellentiam, unde ipse dicit, I Cor. XV, 10: *abundantius illis omnibus laboravi*. Unde signanter dicit *vas electionis est mihi*, quasi prae aliis singulariter.

9. Quantum ad fructum considerandum est quod quidam sunt quasi vasa inutilia, vel propter peccatum vel propter errorem, secundum illud Ier. LI, 34: *reddidit me quasi vas inane*. Sed beatus Paulus fuit purus a peccato et errore, unde fuit *vas electionis utile*, secundum illud II Tim. II, 21: *si quis emundaverit se ab istis, scilicet erroribus et peccatis, erit vas in honorem sanctificatum utile Domino*.

Unde utilitas sive fructus huius vasis exprimitur cum dicitur *coram gentibus*, quarum doctor fuit secundum illud I Tim. II, 7: *doctor gentium in fide et veritate; et regibus*, quibus fidem Christi annuntiavit sicut Agrippae, ut habetur Act. XVI, 38, et etiam Neroni et eius principibus; unde dicitur Phil. I, 12–13: *quae circa me sunt magis ad profectum venerunt Evangelii, ita ut vincula mea manifesta fierent in Christo in omni praetorio*; Is. XLIX, 7: *reges videbunt et consurgent principes. Et filii Israel, contra quos de Christo disputabat, Act. IX, 22: Saulus autem magis convalescebat et confundebat Iudaeos, qui habitabant Damasci, affirmans quoniam hic est Christus*.

10. Sic igitur ex verbis praemissis possumus accipere quatuor causas huius operis, scilicet epistolarum Pauli, quas prae manibus habemus.

Primo quidem auctorem in vase. Secundo materiam in nomine Christi, quae est plenitudo vasis, quia tota doctrina haec est de doctrina Christi. Tertio modum in usu portationis; traditur enim haec doctrina per modum epistolarum, quae per nuntios portari consueverunt, secundum illud II Par. XXX, 6: *perrexerunt cursores cum epistulis ex regio imperio*, etc. Quarto distinctionem operis in utilitate praedicta.

11. Scripsit enim quatuordecim epistolas quarum novem instruunt ecclesiam gentium; quatuor praelatos et principes Ecclesiae, id est reges; una populum Israel, scilicet quae est ad Hebraeos.

Est enim haec doctrina tota de gratia Christi, quae quidem potest tripliciter considerari.

Uno modo secundum quod est in ipso Capite, scilicet Christo, et sic commendatur in epistola ad Hebraeos.

Alio modo secundum quod est in membris principalibus Corporis Mystici, et sic commendatur in epistolis quae sunt ad praelatos.

Tertio modo secundum quod est in ipso Corpore Mystico, quod est Ecclesia, et sic commendatur in epistolis quae mittuntur ad gentiles, quarum haec est distinctio:

Second, in regard to his dedication, because he sought nothing of his own but what was Christ's: *for what we preach is not ourselves but Jesus Christ as Lord* (2 Cor 4:5). Hence, it is stated that *he is a chosen vessel of mine*. Third, in regard to his unique excellence: *I worked harder than any of them* (1 Cor 15:10). Hence, *he is a chosen vessel of mine* in a more outstanding way than the others.

9. As regards fruit, one should consider that some men are, so to speak, useless vessels, either on account of sin or of error, in accord with Jeremiah: *he has made me an empty vessel* (Jer 51:34). But Paul was free of sin and error; consequently, he was a useful *chosen vessel*, as he himself testified: *if anyone purifies himself from these things, i.e., from errors and sins, then he will be a vessel set aside for a noble use, useful to the Lord* (2 Tim 2:21).

Hence the usefulness or fruit of this vessel is expressed by the words *before the gentiles*, whose teacher he was: *a teacher of the gentiles in faith and truth* (1 Tim 2:7), *and kings*, to whom he preached the faith of Christ, for example, to Agrippa (Acts 16) and even to Nero and his princes. Hence: *what has happened to me has really served to advance the Gospel, so that it has become known throughout the whole praetorian guard that my imprisonment is for Christ* (Phil 1:12); *kings shall see and princes shall arise* (Isa 49:7). *And the sons of Israel*, against whom he argued about Christ: *but Saul increased all the more in strength, and confounded the Jews who lived in Damascus by proving that Jesus was the Christ* (Acts 9:22).

10. From the words of our text, therefore, we gather the four causes of this work, i.e., of Paul's letters, which we have before us.

First, the author, in the word *vessel*; second, the matter, in the words *my name*, of which the vessel is full, because this entire teaching is about the teaching of Christ; third, the manner, in the word *carry*. For this teaching is conveyed in the manner of letters which were customarily carried by messengers: *so couriers went with letters from the king and his princes* (2 Chr 30:6). Fourth, the difference of the work in the usefulness mentioned.

11. For he wrote fourteen letters, nine of which instructed the church of the gentiles; four, the prelates and princes of the church, i.e., kings; and one to the people of Israel, namely, the letter to the Hebrews.

For this entire teaching is about Christ's grace, which can be considered in three ways:

In one way, as it is in the Head, namely, Christ, and in this regard it is explained in the letter to the Hebrews.

In another way, as it is found in the chief members of the Mystical Body, and this is explained in the letters to the prelates.

In a third way, as it is found in the Mystical Body itself, that is, the Church, and this is explained in the letters sent to the gentiles. These last letters are distinguished from one

nam ipsa gratia Christi tripliciter potest considerari. Uno modo secundum se, et sic commendatur in epistola ad Romanos; alio modo secundum quod est in sacramentis gratiae et sic commendatur in duabus epistolis ad Corinthios, in quarum prima agitur de ipsis sacramentis, in secunda de dignitate ministrorum, et in epistola ad Galatas in qua excluduntur superflua sacramenta contra illos qui volebant vetera sacramenta novis adiungere; tertio consideratur gratia Christi secundum effectum unitatis quem in Ecclesia fecit.

Agit ergo Apostolus, primo quidem, de institutione ecclesiasticae unitatis in epistola ad Ephesios; secundo, de eius confirmatione et profectu in epistola ad Philippenses; tertio, de eius defensione, contra errores quidem, in epistola ad Colossenses, contra persecutiones vero praesentes, in I ad Thessalonicenses, contra futuras vero et praecipue tempore anti-Christi, in secunda.

Praelatos vero Ecclesiarum instruit et spirituales et temporales. Spirituales quidem de institutione, instructione et gubernatione ecclesiasticae unitatis in prima ad Timotheum, de firmitate contra persecutores in secunda, tertio de defensione contra haereticos in epistola ad Titum. Dominos vero temporales instruit in epistola ad Philemonem.

Et sic patet ratio distinctionis et ordinis omnium epistolarum.

12. Sed videtur quod epistola ad Romanos non sit prima. Prius enim videtur scripsisse ad Corinthios secundum illud Rom. ultimo: *commendo autem vobis Phoebe, sororem nostram, quae est in ministerio ecclesiae quae est Cenchrus*, ubi est portus Corinthiorum.

Sed dicendum quod epistola ad Corinthios prior est in tempore Scripturae. Sed epistola ad Romanos praemittitur, tum propter dignitatem Romanorum qui aliis gentibus dominabantur quia hic confutabatur superbia quae est *initium omnis peccati*; ut dicitur Eccli. X, 14; tum quia etiam hoc exigit ordo doctrinae ut prius gratia consideretur in se quam ut est in sacramentis.

13. Item quaeritur unde Apostolus hanc epistolam scripsit. Augustinus dicit quod de Athenis; Hieronymus quod de Corintho. Nec est contradictio, quia forte Athenis incepit eam scribere sed Corinthi consummavit.

14. Item obiicitur contra id quod in Glossa dicitur quod aliqui fideles, antequam Petrus, Romanis praedicaverunt. In *Ecclesiastica* vero *historia* dicitur quod Petrus primus praedicavit eis. Sed intelligendum est primus inter apostolos et cum sequela magni fructus. Ante vero praedicaverat Romae Barnabas ut habetur in *Itinerario clementis*.

another according to the three ways the grace of Christ can be considered: in one way, as it is in itself, and thus it is set out in the letter to the Romans; in another way, as it exists in the sacraments of grace, which is explained in the two letters to the Corinthians—in the first of these the nature of the sacraments is treated; in the second, the dignity of the minister—and in the letter to the Galatians, in which superfluous sacraments are rejected against certain men who wanted to join the old sacraments to the new ones. In a third way, Christ's grace is considered in regard to the unity it produces in the Church.

Hence, the Apostle deals first with the establishment of ecclesial unity in the letter to the Ephesians; second, with its consolidation and progress in the letter to the Philippians; third, of its defense against certain errors in the letter to the Colossians; against existing persecutions in the first letter to the Thessalonians and against persecutions to come, especially in the time of anti-Christ, in the second letter to the Thessalonians.

He instructs the prelates of the Church, both spiritual and temporal. He instructs the spiritual prelates of the Church about establishing, preserving, and governing ecclesial unity in the first letter to Timothy, about resistance against persecutors in the second, and about defense against heretics in the letter to Titus. He instructs temporal lords in the letter to Philemon.

And thus the division and order of all the epistles is clear.

12. But it appears that the letter to the Romans is not first. For he seems to have written first to the Corinthians, according to the last chapter of Romans: *I commend to you Phebe, our sister, who is in the ministry of the church, that is in Cenchræ* (Rom 16:1), which is a Corinthian port.

But one should say rather that the letter to the Corinthians is first as regards its time of writing. Nonetheless, the letter to the Romans is placed ahead of it, both because of the dignity of the Romans, who ruled the other nations, since in this letter pride is rebuked, which is *the source of all sin* (Sir 10:14); and because the order of teaching requires that grace should first be considered in itself before being considered as it is found in the sacraments.

13. Another question concerns the place from which the Apostle wrote this letter. Augustine says that it was written in Athens, Jerome that it was written from Corinth. Both could be right, because he could have begun it in Athens and finished it in Corinth.

14. Finally, there is an objection against what is said in the Gloss, that some believers preached to the Romans before Peter did, whereas in the *Ecclesiastical History* it says that Peter was the first to preach to them. However this can be taken to mean that Peter was the first apostle to teach the Romans and the first to reap a great harvest among them. Already Barnabas had preached at Rome, as the *Itinerary of Clement* states.

CHAPTER 1

Lecture 1

^{1:1}Paulus, servus Jesu Christi, vocatus apostolus, segregatus in Evangelium Dei, [n. 15]

^{1:1}Παῦλος δούλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος, ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ,

^{1:1}Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God. [n. 15]

15. Haec epistola in duas partes dividitur scilicet: in salutationem et epistolarem tractatum, qui incipit ibi *primum quidem*, etc.

Circa primum tria facit.

Primo describitur persona salutans;

secundo personae salutatae, ibi *omnibus qui sunt Romae*;

tertio salus optata, ibi *gratia vobis*, etc.

Circa primum duo facit. Primo describitur persona auctoris; secundo commendatur eius officium, ibi *quod ante promiserat*, etc.

16. Persona autem scribens describitur a quatuor.

Primo quidem ex nomine, cum dicit *Paulus*. Circa quod tria consideranda sunt.

Primo proprietates eius. Hoc enim nomen, secundum quod his litteris describitur, non potest Hebraicum esse quia apud Hebraeos non invenitur hoc elementum P, sed potest esse Graecum vel Latinum. Si tamen aliquod elementum ei propinquum sumatur id quo est P potest esse Hebraicum.

17. Secundo, consideranda est eius significatio. Secundum enim quod potest Hebraicum esse idem est quod mirabilis vel electus; secundum autem quod est Graecum idem est quod quietus; secundum vero quod est Latinum idem est quod modicus.

Et haec quidem ei conveniunt. Electus quidem fuit quantum ad gratiam, unde Act. IX, 15: *vas electionis est mihi iste*. Mirabilis fuit in opere, Eccli. XLIII, 2: *vas admirabile opus Excelsi*. Quietus in contemplatione, Sap. VIII, 16: *intrans in domum meam conquiescam cum illa*. Modicus per humilitatem, I Cor. XV, 9: *ego autem sum minimus apostolorum*.

18. Tertio, considerandum est quando sit hoc nomen Apostolo impositum cum tamen ante Saulus vocaretur, ut habetur Act. IX.

Circa hoc triplex est opinio.

Hieronymus dicit quod cum prius vocaretur Saulus postmodum voluit vocari Paulus, propter quoddam insigne suum quod fecit, scilicet quia convertit Sergium Paulum proconsulem, ut habetur Act. XIII, 7, sicut Scipio dictus est Africanus quia devicit Africam.

15. This letter is divided into two parts, namely, the greeting and the body of the letter, which begins at *first, I give thanks* (Rom 1:8).

In the first part three things are done:

first, the person sending the greeting is described;

second, the persons greeted, at *to all who are at Rome* (Rom 1:7);

third, the blessings invoked, at *grace to you* (Rom 1:7).

Concerning the first he does two things. First the person of the author is described; second his office is commended, at *which he had promised before* (Rom 1:2).

16. The person writing is described by four things.

First, by his name, *Paul*, concerning which one should consider three things.

First, its accuracy; for this name, as it is spelled here, cannot be Hebrew because Hebrew does not have the letter P in its alphabet; but it can be Greek and Latin. Still, if it be taken as some letter close to P, it can be Hebrew.

17. Second, one should consider its meaning. Considered as Hebrew, it means ‘wonderful’ or ‘chosen’; taken as Greek, it means ‘quiet’; taken as Latin, it means ‘small’.

And these meanings suit him. For he was chosen as regards grace; hence *he is a chosen vessel of mine* (Acts 9:15). He was wonderful in his work: *a marvelous vessel, the work of the Most High* (Sir 43:2). He was quiet in contemplation: *when I enter my house, I shall find rest with her* (Wis 8:16). He was small by humility: *I am the least of the apostles* (1 Cor 15:9).

18. Third, one should consider when that name was conferred on the Apostle, since he had formerly been called Saul, as is found in Acts 9.

There are three opinions about this.

Jerome says that whereas he had formerly been called Saul, later he wished to be called Paul on account of something notable he had done, namely that he converted Sergius Paulus, a proconsul (Acts 13:7), just as Scipio was called Africanus because he had conquered Africa.

Alii vero dicunt quod hoc nomen impositum est sibi propter profectum virtutum qui ex hoc nomine signatur, ut dictum est. Imponuntur enim divinitus quibusdam nomina a principio nativitatibus ad designandum gratiam quam a principio consequuntur, sicut patet de Ioanne Baptista, Lc. I, 13; quibusdam vero mutantur nomina ad designandum profectum virtutis eorum, ut Chrysostomus dicit, sicut patet de Abraham et de Petro.

Alii vero dicunt, et melius, quod Paulus fuit a principio binomius. Consuetum enim erat apud Iudaeos ut simul cum nominibus Hebraicis assumerent sibi nomina illarum gentium quibus serviebant, sicut Graecis servientes nominabantur nominibus Graecorum, ut patet de Iasone et Menelao.

19. Hoc autem nomen Paulus ab antiquo celebre fuit apud Romanos, et ideo, cum diceretur Saulus secundum Hebraeos, vocatus est etiam Paulus secundum Romanos, quo nomine non videtur usus nisi postquam coepit gentibus praedicare. Unde, Act. XIII, 9, dicitur: *Saulus qui et Paulus*. Et hoc magis approbat Augustinus.

20. Secundo describitur persona scribentis ex conditione, cum dicit *servus Christi*.

Videtur autem esse abiecta conditio servitutis si absolute consideretur. Unde et sub maledicto pro peccato infligitur, Gen. IX, 25: *maledictus Chanaan puer, servus servorum erit fratrum suorum*. Sed redditur commendabilis ex eo quod additur *Iesu Christi*.

Iesus enim interpretatur salvator, Matth. I, 21: *ipse salvum faciet* etc. *Christus* interpretatur unctus, secundum illud Ps. XLIV, 8: *unxit te Deus, Deus tuus*, etc., per quod designatur dignitas Christi et quantum ad sanctitatem, quia sacerdotes ungebantur ut patet Ex. XXIX, 7; et quantum ad potestatem, quia etiam reges ungebantur ut patet de David et de Salomone; et quantum ad cognitionem, quia etiam prophetae ungebantur ut patet de Eliseo.

Quod autem aliquid subiiciatur suae salutis et spirituali unctioni gratiae, laudabile est, quia tanto aliquid est perfectius quanto magis suae perfectioni subiicitur, sicut corpus animae et aer luci, Ps. CXV, 16: *O Domine, quia ego servus tuus sum*.

21. Sed contra est quod dicitur Io. XV, 15: *iam non dicam vos servos sed amicos*.

Sed dicendum quod duplex est servitus. Una timoris, quae non competit sanctis, Rom. VIII, 15: *non accepistis spiritum servitutis iterum in timore*, etc., alia humilitatis et amoris, quae sanctis convenit secundum illud Lc. XVII, 10: *dicite: servi inutiles sumus*. Cum enim liber est qui est causa sui, servus autem qui est causa alterius, sicut ab alio movente motus: si quis sic agat causa alterius, sicut ab alio motus, sic est servitus timoris,

Others say that this name was conferred on account of the growth in virtue of which is signified by this name, as was said. For names are conferred by God on certain men at the very beginning of their lives to indicate the grace they receive at the beginning, as in the case of John the Baptist (Luke 1:13). In other cases the names of persons are changed to indicate their growth in virtue, as Chrysostom says. This is clear in the cases of Abraham (Gen 17) and Peter (Matt 16).

But others have a better explanation, namely, that Paul always went by two names. For it was customary among the Jews, along with their Hebrew name, to take a name from among the people they served; thus, those who served the Greeks took Greek names, as is clear in the cases of Jason and Menelaus (2 Macc 4).

19. Now the name Paul was held in esteem among the Romans from the earliest times; accordingly, he was called Saul among the Hebrews and Paul among the Romans, although he does not seem to have used the latter until he began to preach to the gentiles. Hence, it is said: *but Saul, who is also called Paul* (Acts 13:9). This third opinion is the one Augustine favors.

20. Second, the writer's person is described by his station when he says, *a servant of Christ*.

Now the state of servitude seems a lowly one, if it be considered absolutely; this is why it is imposed with a curse as a punishment for sin: *cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers* (Gen 9:25). But it is made commendable by reason of what is added, namely, *of Jesus Christ*.

For *Jesus* means savior: *he will save his people from their sins* (Matt 1:21); *Christ* means anointed: *therefore God, your God, has anointed you* (Ps 45:7). This indicates Christ's dignity both in regard to his holiness, since priests were anointed, as is clear from Exodus 29; and in regard to his power, since kings, too, were anointed, as is clear in the cases of David and Solomon; and in regard to his knowledge, since prophets were also anointed, as in the case of Elisha.

Furthermore, it is praiseworthy for a person to be subjected to his well-being and to the spiritual anointing of grace, because a thing is perfect to the extent that it is subjected to its perfection, as the body to the soul and air to light: *O Lord, I am your servant* (Ps 116:16).

21. This seems to conflict with John: *no longer do I call you servants, but friends* (John 15:15).

But one should say that there are two kinds of servitude: one is the servitude of fear, which does not befit saints: *you did not receive the spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received the Spirit of the adoption of sons* (Rom 8:15); the other is that of humility and love, which does befit saints: *say: we are unworthy servants* (Luke 17:10). For while a free man is one who exists for his own sake, a servant is one who exists for the sake of another, as moving by

quae cogit hominem operari contra suam voluntatem; si vero aliquis agat causa alterius, sicut propter finem, sic est servitus amoris, quia amicorum est bene facere et obsequi amico propter ipsum, ut Philosophus dicit in IX *Ethic*.

22. Tertio commendatur a dignitate cum dicitur **vocatus apostolus**.

Dignitas apostolatus est praecipua in Ecclesia, secundum illud I Cor. XII, 28: *quosdam quidem posuit Deus in Ecclesia primum apostolos*. **Apostolus** enim idem est quod missus, secundum illud Io. XX, 21: *sicut misit me Pater et ego mitto vos*, scilicet ex eadem dilectione et cum eadem auctoritate.

Dicit autem **vocatus apostolus** ad designandum gratiam, id est vocatus ad hoc quod sit apostolus; Hebr. V, 4: *nemo assumit sibi honorem*, etc.; vel ad designandum excellentiam, ut sicut urbs antonomastice vocatur ipsa Roma, ita **apostolus** vocatur Paulus, secundum illud I Cor. XV, 10: *abundantius illis omnibus laboravi*; vel ad designandum humilitatem, ut sit sensus: non audeo me dicere apostolum sed homines me ita vocant. Sic, I Cor. XV, 9, *non sum dignus vocari apostolus*.

23. Quarto describitur persona scribentis ex officio cum dicit **segregatus in Evangelium Dei**.

Segregatus, inquam, vel per conversionem ab infidelibus, secundum illud Gal. I, 15: *cum autem placuit ei qui me segregavit ex utero matris meae*, scilicet synagogae; vel segregatus per electionem ab aliis discipulis, secundum illud Act. XIII, 2: *segregate mihi Saulum*, etc.

Evangelium autem idem est quod bona annuntiatio. Annuntiatur enim in ipso coniunctio hominis ad Deum, quae est bonum hominis, secundum illud Ps. LXXII, 28: *mihi autem Deo adhaerere bonum est*.

24. Triplex autem coniunctio hominis ad Deum annuntiatur in Evangelio.

Prima quidem per gratiam unionis, secundum illud Io. I, 14: *Verbum caro factum est*. Secunda per gratiam adoptionis, prout inducitur in Ps. LXXXI, 6: *ego dixi: dii estis et filii Excelsi omnes*. Tertia per gloriam fruitionis, Io. XVII, 3: *haec est vita aeterna*. Is. LII, 7: *quam pulchri super montes pedes annuntiantis*.

Haec autem annuntiatio non humanitus sed a Deo facta est, Is. XXI, 10: *quae audivi a Domino exercituum, Deo Israel, annuntiavi vobis*. Unde dicit **in Evangelium Dei**.

reason of another's moving him; then, if a person acts for the sake of another as though moved by him, the service is one of fear, which forces a man to act in opposition to his own will. But if he acts for the sake of another as an end, then it is the servitude of love; because a friend serves and does good to his friend for the friend's own sake, as the Philosopher says in the ninth book of the *Ethics*.

22. Third, the person writing is described by his dignity when it says **called to be an apostle**.

The apostolic dignity is the foremost in the Church, in accord with 1 Corinthians: *God has appointed in the Church, first, apostles* (1 Cor 12:28). For **apostle** means 'sent': *as the Father has sent me, even so I send you* (John 20:21), i.e., out of the same love and with the same authority.

Moreover, he says **called to be an apostle** to indicate a gift: *one does not take the honor upon himself, but he is called by God as Aaron was* (Heb 5:4); or to emphasize the excellence of apostleship, so that just as Rome is antonomastically called 'the city,' so Paul is called an **apostle**: *I worked harder than any of them* (1 Cor 15:10); or to show his humility, as though to say: *I do not dare to call myself an apostle, but men call me that: I am unfit to be called an apostle* (1 Cor 15:9).

23. Fourth, the person writing is described by his office when it says **separated unto the Gospel of God**.

Set apart, I say, from unbelievers by his conversion: *but when he who had set me apart from the womb of my mother*, i.e., of the synagogue (Gal 1:15); or set apart from other disciples by his being chosen: *set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them* (Acts 13:2).

Gospel means good news. For it announces the news of man's union with God, which is man's good: *it is good for me to cleave to God* (Ps 73:28).

24. Indeed, a threefold union of man with God is announced in the Gospel.

The first is by the grace of union: *the Word was made flesh* (John 1:14). The second is by the grace of adoption, as implied in the Psalm: *I say: you are gods, sons of the Most High, all of you* (Ps 82:6). The third is by the glory of attainment: *this is eternal life, that they know you* (John 17:3); *how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who brings good tidings* (Isa 52:7).

These good tidings were not from men, but from God: *what I have heard from the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, I announce to you* (Isa 21:10). Hence he says, **unto the Gospel of God**.

Lecture 2

^{1:2}quod ante promiserat per prophetas suos in Scripturis Sanctis [n. 26]

^{1:2}ὁ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις,

^{1:2}Which he had promised before, through his prophets, in the holy Scriptures, [n. 26]

^{1:3}de Filio suo, qui factus est ei ex semine David secundum carnem, [n. 29]

^{1:3}περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα,

^{1:3}Concerning his Son, who was made to him of the seed of David, according to the flesh, [n. 29]

25. Descripta persona scribentis, hic commendatur negotium sibi commissum scilicet Evangelium, cuius, in praemissis, duplex commendatio posita est, quarum una pertinet ad utilitatem quam habet ex materia, quae significatur ex ipso *Evangelii* nomine, ex quo datur intelligi quod in eo bona annuntientur; alia vero ex auctoritate quam habet ex parte auctoris quae est expressa in eo quod dictum est *Dei*.

Utramque ergo commendationem prosequitur Apostolus:

primo quidem illam quae est ex parte auctoris,

secundo illam quae est ex parte materiae, ibi *de Filio suo*.

26. Circa primum commendatur Evangelium quadrupliciter.

Primo quidem ex antiquitate quod fuit necessarium contra Paganos qui Evangelio detrahebant quasi post longa tempora subito eius praedicatio esset exorta. Et ad hoc excludendum dicit *quod ante*, quia licet ex tempore certo praedicari inceperit, ante tamen pronuntiatum fuit divinitus. Is. LXVIII, 5: *antequam venirent indicavi tibi*.

Secundo, ex eius firmitate quae designatur in hoc quod dicit *promiserat*, quia ipse ante promisit qui non mentitur. Act. XIII, 32: *nos vobis annuntiamus eam quae ad patres nostros repromissio facta est*.

Tertio, ex dignitate ministrorum sive testium cum dicit *per prophetas*, quibus ante fuerat revelata quae sunt completa circa Verbum incarnatum. Amos III, 7: *non faciet Dominus Deus verbum, scilicet incarnari, nisi revelaverit secretum ad servos suos prophetas*. Act. X, 43: *huic omnes prophetae, etc.*

Signanter autem dicit *suos*. Sunt enim aliqui prophetae spiritu humano loquentes, secundum illud Ier. XXIII, 16: *visionem cordis sui loquuntur non de ore Domini*. Unde dicit ad Titum I, 12: *dixit quidam ex illis proprius illorum propheta*. Sunt etiam quidam prophetae daemonum qui immundo spiritu inspirantur, sicut prophetae quos interfecit Elias, ut dicitur III Reg. XVIII, 40. Sed prophetae Dei dicuntur qui divino Spiritu inspirantur. Ier. II, 28: *effundam de Spiritu meo, etc.*

25. The person of the writer described, now the task committed to him is commended, namely, the Gospel, which has already been commended from two viewpoints in the preceding verse. One of these concerns the usefulness it has due to its content, which is signified by its very name, *Gospel*, which implies that in it good things are announced. The other is based on the authority it has on the side of its author, which is set out when it says *of God* (Rom 1:1).

Now the Apostle pursues these two commendations further:

first, on the part of the author;

second, on the part of its content at *concerning his Son*.

26. From the first viewpoint the Gospel is commended in four ways:

First, by its antiquity. This was required against the pagans, who belittled the Gospel as something suddenly appearing after all the preceding centuries. To counter this he says *which he had promised before*, because, although it began to be preached at a certain point in time, it had been foretold previously in a divine way: *before they came to pass, I announced them to you* (Isa 48:5).

Second, from its reliability, which is indicated when he says *he had promised*, because the promise was made beforehand by one who does not lie: *we bring you the good news that what God promised to the fathers, this he has fulfilled* (Acts 13:32).

Third, from the dignity of its ministers or witnesses, when he says *through his prophets*, to whom had been revealed the things fulfilled concerning the incarnate Word: *the Lord will not make a word, namely, make it be incarnate, without revealing his secret to his servants the prophets* (Amos 3:7); *to him all the prophets bear witness* (Acts 10:43).

It is significant that he says *his prophets*, for some prophets spoke by a human spirit: *they speak visions of their own minds, not from the mouth of the Lord* (Jer 23:16). Hence, he says: *one of themselves spoke, a prophet of their own* (Titus 1:12). There are even prophets of demons who are inspired by an unclean spirit, such as the prophets whom Elijah slew (1 Kgs 18:40). But those are called God's prophets who are inspired by the divine Spirit: *I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh and your sons and daughters will prophesy* (Joel 2:28).

Quarto, ex modo tradendi quia non solum sunt huiusmodi promissa verbo edicta, sed litteris scripta, unde dicit *in Scripturis*. Hab. II, 2: *scribe visum et explana illum*. Non autem consueverunt scribi nisi magna quae sunt digna memoria et quae oportet ad posteros devenire. Et ideo ut Augustinus dicit, XVIII *de Civitate Dei*, tunc inceperunt scribi prophetiae de Christo per Isaiam et Oseam, quando Roma est edita sub cuius imperio Christus erat nasciturus et fides eius gentibus praedicanda. Io. V, 39: *scrutamini Scripturas*, etc.

27. Addit autem *sanctis*, ad differentiam scripturarum gentilium. Dicuntur autem sanctae, primo quidem, quia, ut dicitur II Petr. I, 21: *Spiritu Sancto inspirati*, II Tim. III, 16: *omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata*; secundo quia sancta continent, Ps.: *confitemini memoriae sanctificationis eius*; tertio quia sanctificant; unde Io. XVII, 17: *sanctifica eos in veritate. Sermo tuus veritas est*. Unde dicitur I Mach. XII, 9: *habentes solatio sanctos libros qui in manibus*, etc.

28. Secundo, prosequitur commendationem quae sumitur ex bonis in Evangelio denuntiatis, quae pertinent ad materiam Evangelii, quae est Christus, quem quidem commendat tripliciter:

primo quidem ex origine,

secundo ex dignitate sive virtute, ibi *qui praedestinatus*.

Tertio ex liberalitate, ibi *per quem accepimus*.

29. Originem autem Christi describit dupliciter

Primo quidem aeternam cum dicit *de Filio suo*, in quo excellentiam Evangelii designavit. Nam mysterium generationis aeternae ante erat valde absconditum unde Salomon dicit *quod nomen eius et nomen filii eius si nosti?* Sed in Evangelio Patris testimonio est declaratum. Matth. III, 17: *hic est Filius meus dilectus*.

Convenienter autem Filius Dei materia Sanctarum Scripturarum esse dicitur, quae divinam sapientiam exponunt secundum illud Deut. IV, 6: *haec est sapientia vestra et intellectus coram populis*.

Filius autem dicitur esse Verbum et sapientia genita, I Cor. I, 24: *Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam*.

30. Sed circa hanc filiationem tripliciter aliqui erraverunt.

Quidam enim dixerunt eum filiationem habere adoptivam, sicut Photinus qui posuit Christum initium sumpsisse ex Maria Virgine quasi hominem purum, qui, per vitae meritum, ad hanc celsitudinem pervenit ut, prae ceteris sanctis, Filius Dei diceretur.

Fourth, from the way it was delivered, because these promises were not merely spoken but recorded in writing. Hence he says *in the Scriptures: write the vision; make it plain upon tablets* (Hab 2:2). For it was the custom to record only important matters worthy of remembrance and of being handed down to later generations. Consequently, as Augustine says in *City of God* XVIII, the prophecies about Christ made by Isaiah and Hosea began to be written when Rome was being founded, under whose rule Christ would be born and his faith preached to the gentiles: *you search the Scriptures because you think to have eternal life by them* (John 5:39).

27. He adds *holy* to distinguish these writings from those of the gentiles. They are called holy first, because, as it is written: *men moved by the Holy Spirit spoke from God* (2 Pet 1:21); *all Scripture is inspired by God* (2 Tim 3:16). Second, because they contain holy things: *give thanks to his holy name* (Ps 97:12). Third, because they make holy: *make them holy in the truth; your word is truth* (John 17:17). Hence, it is said: *we have as encouragement the holy books which are in our hands* (1 Macc 12:9).

28. Second, he continues the commendation on the part of the good things announced in the Gospel and which make up the content of the Gospel, which is Christ, whom he commends in three ways:

first, from his origin;

second, from his dignity or virtue, at *who was predestined* (Rom 1:4);

third, from his liberality, at *through whom we have received* (Rom 1:5).

29. He describes the origin of Christ in two ways.

First he describes his eternal origin when he says *concerning his Son*. In this he reveals the excellence of the Gospel, for the mystery of the eternal generation had been previously hidden; hence Solomon asks: *what is his name and the name of his son, if you know?* (Prov 30:4). But it has been revealed in the Gospel on the testimony of the Father: *this is my beloved Son* (Matt 3:17).

Indeed, the Son of God is deservedly called the subject matter of the Holy Scriptures, which reveal the divine wisdom, as Deuteronomy declares: *this will be your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of all the peoples* (Deut 4:6).

For the Son is said to be the Word and wisdom begotten: *Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God* (1 Cor 1:24).

30. But men have erred three ways about this sonship.

For some said that he has an adoptive sonship; for example, Photinus taught that Christ derived his origin from the Virgin Mary as a mere man, who by the merits of his life reached such an exalted state that he could be called a Son of God above all other saints.

Sed secundum hoc Christo non competeret descensus ad humanitatem sed magis ascensus ad divinitatem contra id quod dicitur Io. VI, 38: *descendi de caelo*.

31. Quidam vero posuerunt huiusmodi filiationem solummodo nuncupativam sicut Sabellius dixit ipsum Patrem incarnatum et ex hoc Filium nominari, ita quod eadem sit persona et solum nomina sint diversa.

Sed secundum hoc non competeret Filio mitti a Patre quod falsum est cum ipse dicat, Io. VI, 38, se descendisse ut faciat voluntatem eius qui misit eum.

32. Alii vero posuerunt, sicut Arius, huiusmodi filiationem esse creatam ita quod Filius Dei sit excellentissima creatura ex nihilo tamen producta postquam prius non fuerat.

Sed secundum hoc omnia non essent per ipsum facta, contra id quod dicitur Io. I, 3. Oportet enim esse non factum per quem facta sunt omnia.

33. Et haec tria excluduntur per hoc quod signanter addit *suo*, id est proprio et naturali. Dicit enim Hilarius: *hic verus et proprius est Filius origine et non adoptione, veritate, non nuncupatione, nativitate, non creatione; procedit enim a Patre sicut verbum a corde, quod pertinet ad eandem naturam praesertim in Deo, in quo non potest aliquid accidentaliter advenire. Unde ipse dicit Io. X, 30: ego et Pater unum sumus. Quod dicit 'unum' liberat te ab Ario; quod dicit 'sumus' liberat a Sabellio, ut Augustinus dicit.*

34. Secundo tangit temporalem originem cum dicit *qui factus est*.

Ubi statim videntur patrociniū sui erroris assumere tres praedicti errores per hoc quod dicit *qui factus est ei*. Non enim confitentur aeternum sed factum. Sed per ea quae adduntur tollitur eorum intentio.

Quia enim dicit *qui factus est ei*, excludit dictum Sabellii. Non enim potest esse Filius factus Patri si sit eadem persona cum ipso, sed per Incarnationem erit Filius Virginis.

Quod vero subdit *ex semine David*, tollit intentionem Photini. Si enim per adoptionem esset factus Dei Filius non diceretur factus esse ex semine David sed magis ex Spiritu, scilicet qui est *Spiritus adoptionis filiorum*, ut dicitur Rom. VIII, 15, et *ex semine Dei*, ut dicitur I Io. III, 9.

Quod vero sequitur *secundum carnem*, tollit intentionem Arii qui ponit eum factum non solum secundum carnem sed etiam secundum divinam naturam.

35. Est etiam considerandum ulterius quod circa ipsum Incarnationis mysterium multipliciter aliqui erraverunt.

But if this were true, Christ would not be described as lowering himself to manhood but as rising up to the Godhead, whereas it is said: *I have come down from heaven* (John 6:38).

31. Others taught that this sonship was a sonship in name only, as Sabellius, who said that the Father himself became incarnate and for that reason took the name of Son, such that the person would be the same and the names alone different.

But if this were true, the Son would not be described as sent by the Father; which is false, since he himself said that he came down from heaven to do the will of him who sent him (John 6:38).

32. Others, such as Arius, taught that this sonship was a created one, so that the Son of God would be the most perfect creature, albeit produced from nothing after previously not existing.

But if this were true, all things would not have been made through him, the contrary of which is stated in John (John 1:3). For the one through whom all things were made cannot himself have been made.

33. These three opinions are excluded by the significantly added word, *his*, i.e., his very own and natural. For Hilary says: *this true and personal Son is a Son by origin and not by adoption, in truth and not in name only, by birth and not by creation; for he comes forth from the Father as a word from the heart*. Such a word belongs to the same nature, especially in God, in whom nothing inheres accidentally. Hence he himself says, *I and the Father are one* (John 10:30). *The fact that he says 'one' frees you from Arius; that he says 'we are' frees you from Sabellius*, as Augustine says.

34. Second, he touches on the temporal origin when he says *who was made*.

Here right away the three aforementioned errors seem to find a defense in the fact that it says *who was made to him*. For they do not admit an eternal Son but one that was made. But the words that follow destroy their goal.

For when he says *who was made to him*, the error of Sabellius is excluded. For he could not be made a Son for the Father if he were the same person as the Father; rather, through the Incarnation he will be the Son of the Virgin.

By saying *of the seed of David*, he destroys Photinus' goal. For if he were made the Son of God by adoption, he would not be described as made from the seed of David but from the Spirit, who is *the Spirit of adoption of sons* (Rom 8:23), and *from the seed of God* (1 John 3:9).

The words *according to the flesh* destroy Arius' opinion that he was created both according to the flesh and the divine nature.

35. We should also recall that men have erred in a number of ways in regard to the mystery of the Incarnation itself.

Nestorius enim posuit unionem Verbi ad hominem esse factam solum secundum inhabitationem, scilicet prout Filius Dei hominem illum inhabitavit excellentius caeteris.

Manifestum est enim quod alia est substantia inhabitantis et inhabitati, sicut hominis et domus; secundum hoc ponebat aliam esse personam vel hypostasim Verbi et hominis, ita quod alius esset, secundum personam, Filius Dei et alius Filius hominis.

Sed hoc manifeste apparet falsum esse, per hoc quod Apostolus, Phil. II, 7, unionem huiusmodi vocat exinanitionem. Pater autem et Spiritus Sanctus inhabitant homines secundum illud, Io. XIV, 23: *ad eum veniemus et apud eum mansionem faciemus*. Sequeretur igitur quod Pater et Spiritus Sanctus essent exinaniti, quod est absurdum. Hoc ergo excluditur per hoc quod Apostolus dicit **de Filio suo**, qui, scilicet Filius Dei, est factus **secundum carnem**, id est habens carnem, **ex semine David**. Qui modus loquendi locum non haberet si haec unio facta esset solum secundum inhabitationem.

De aliis enim, quos Verbum inhabitat, non dicitur quod Verbum factum est hic vel ille, sed quod factum est ad Ieremiam vel Isaiam.

In hoc ergo quod Apostolus cum dixit: **de Filio suo**, addidit **qui factus est ei ex semine David**, manifeste excludit errorem praedictum.

36. Rursus aliqui alii, licet duas personas non concedant in Christo, concedunt tamen duas hypostases vel duo supposita quod in idem redit, quia nihil aliud est persona quam hypostasis et suppositum rationalis naturae. Cum ergo sit una solum hypostasis et unum suppositum in Christo, quod est suppositum vel hypostasis Verbi aeterni, non potest dici quod illa hypostasis sit facta Filius Dei, quia non incepit esse Filius Dei. Et ideo non proprie dicitur quod homo sit factus Deus vel Filius Dei. Sed tamen, si inveniatur ab aliquo doctore dictum exponendum est sic: factum est, ut homo esset Deus.

Secundum hoc proprie dicitur Dei Filius factus est homo quia semper non fuit homo. Et ideo legendum est quod hic dicitur ut **qui** accipiatur ex parte subiecti, ut sit sensus: Qui, Filius Dei, factus est ex semine David; non autem ex parte praedicati, quia sensus esset quod aliquis existens ex semine David, factus est Filius Dei: quod non dicitur vere et proprie, sicut dictum est.

37. Fuerunt autem alii qui posuerunt unionem esse factam secundum conversionem Verbi in carnem, sicut dicitur aer fieri ignis. Unde Eutyches dixit quod etiam ante Incarnationem fuerunt duae naturae, post Incarnationem vero una.

For Nestorius taught that the union of the Word with human nature consisted solely in an indwelling, in the sense that the Son of God dwelt in that man more fully than in others.

But it is obvious that the substance of the dweller and that of the dwelling are distinct, for example, a man and a house. Accordingly, he taught that the person or hypostasis of the Word was distinct from that of the man, so that the Son of God would be one person and the Son of man another.

This is shown to be false by the fact that the Apostle in Philippians calls this sort of union an emptying of himself (Phil 2:7). But since the Father and the Holy Spirit dwell in men, as John declares, *we will come to him and make our home with him* (John 14:23), it follows that they, too, would be emptying themselves, which is absurd. This opinion, therefore, is excluded when the Apostle says **concerning his Son** who, namely, the Son of God, was made **according to the flesh**, i.e., having his flesh **of the seed of David**. He would not have spoken in this manner if the union were a mere indwelling.

Furthermore, in regard to others in whom the Word dwells, it is never said that the Word was made this or that person, but that it was made to Jeremiah or Isaiah.

Therefore, since the Apostle, after saying **concerning his Son**, added **who was made to him of the seed of David**, the above error is clearly excluded.

36. Others again, although they do not suppose two persons in Christ, do suppose two hypostases or supposita. But this amounts to the same thing, because a person is nothing other than a hypostasis or suppositum of a rational nature. Therefore, since there is only one hypostasis and suppositum in Christ, which is the suppositum or hypostasis of the eternal Word, that hypostasis cannot be said to have become the Son of God, because it never began to be the Son of God. Therefore, it is not altogether correct to say that man was made God or the Son of God. Yet if this is found to be taught by any teacher, it should be interpreted thus: it was made to be that man be God.

Accordingly, it is correct to say that the Son of God was made man because he was not always man. Therefore, what is written here must be understood so that the **who** refers to the subject, the sense being that this Son of God was made from the seed of David, and not to the predicate, because then the sense would be that someone existing from the seed of David became the son of God, which is neither true nor correct, as has been said.

37. Again, there were others who taught that the union was made by the conversion of the Word into flesh, as it is said that air is made to become fire. Hence Eutyches said that before the Incarnation there were two natures, but after the Incarnation only one.

Sed hoc est expresse falsum quia, cum Deus sit immutabilis, secundum illud Mal. III, 6: *ego Deus et non mutator*, non potest in aliquid aliud converti.

Unde cum dicitur **factus est** non intelligitur secundum conversionem sed secundum unionem, absque divina mutatione.

Potest enim aliquid de novo dici relative de aliquo absque eius immutatione, puta: aliquis, immobiliter sedens, fit dexter, per mutationem eius qui transfertur. Et sic Deus dicitur ex tempore Dominus vel Creator per mutationem creaturae; et eadem ratione dicitur de novo factus, secundum illud Psalmi: *Domine refugium factus es nobis*. Quia igitur unio relatio quaedam est, per mutationem creaturae Deus dicitur de novo factus homo, scilicet unitum in persona humanae naturae.

38. Fuerunt enim et alii qui dixerunt animam Christum non habuisse sed ibi fuisse Verbum loco animae: scilicet Arius et Apollinaris.

Contra quos est illud Io. X, 18: *nemo tollit animam meam*. Quod vero dicitur **secundum carnem** non excluditur a Christo anima, sed caro ponitur pro toto homine, secundum illud Is. XL, 5: *videbit omnis caro*, etc.

39. Quaeritur autem, cum nos confitemur Christum natum ex Virgine, quare Apostolus dicat eum esse factum ex muliere.

Et dicendum quod illud nascitur quod naturali ordine producitur, sicut fructus ex arbore vel proles a parente. Quod autem ex voluntate agentis producitur, non secundum naturae ordinem, sicut domus ab artifice, non potest dici nasci, sed factum.

Quia igitur Christus ex Virgine processit naturali ordine quantum ad aliquid, scilicet quod conceptus est ex foemina, spatio novem mensium, dicitur natus; quia vero quantum ad aliquid, non naturali ordine, sed sola virtute divina processit, absque virili semine, dicitur factus. Eva autem dicitur ex Adam facta non nata, Isaac autem ex Abraham natus non factus.

40. Item, quare specialiter dicitur ex semine David et non ex semine Abrahae, cui promissio facta fuit de Christo, secundum illud Gal. III, 16: *Abrahae factae sunt promissiones*.

Et dicendum est quod factum est ad dandam spem veniae peccatoribus, quia David peccator fuit ex cuius semine nascitur Christus, Abraham vero iustus; ad commendandam etiam dignitatem regiam Christi Romanis, regnum gentium tenentibus.

41. Excluditur etiam per verba ista triplex error Manichaeorum.

But this is clearly false because, since God is immutable—I, the Lord, do not change (Mal 3:6)—he cannot be changed into anything else.

Hence, when it is said **was made**, this should not be understood as a change but as a union without any divine change.

For something can be newly said of something in a relative sense without the thing itself being changed; thus, a person remaining in one place comes newly to be on the right of something, which was moved from his right to his left. This is the way God is said to be Lord or Creator from a certain time, namely, by reason of a change affecting the creature. In the same way he is said to have been made something anew: *Lord, you have become our refuge* (Ps 90:1). Therefore, since union is a relation, it is through a change in the creature that God is newly said to have been made man, i.e., united in person to a human nature.

38. Finally, there were others, namely Arius and Apollinaris, who said that Christ had no soul, but that the Word was there in place of the soul.

But this is refuted by John: *no one takes my soul* (John 10:18). The words **according to the flesh** do not exclude a soul from Christ; rather, *flesh* stands for the entire man, as in Isaiah: *all flesh shall see it together for the mouth of the Lord has spoken* (Isa 40:5).

39. It may be asked, since we believe that Christ was born of the Virgin, why the Apostle says he was made from a woman.

The answer is this: that is born which is produced in the natural order, as fruit from a tree or children from parents; that which is produced from the will of one acting, not according to the order of nature, as a house by a carpenter, cannot be said to be born but made.

Therefore, because Christ proceeded from the Virgin in the natural order in a certain respect, namely, that he was conceived from a woman and remained in her womb for a space of nine months, it is true to say that he was born. But because he proceeded in a certain respect not in the natural order but solely from divine power without male seed, he is said to have been made. Thus, Eve is described as made, not born, from Adam; Isaac was born, not made, from Abraham.

40. Another question is why he is said to have descended from the seed of David in particular and not from the seed of Abraham, to whom the promises about Christ had been made: *now the promises were made to Abraham* (Gal 3:16).

The answer is that this was done to give hope of pardon to sinners, for David was a sinner from whose seed Christ was born, while Abraham was a just man, and to commend Christ's royal dignity to the Romans, who ruled the nations.

41. The Apostle's words also exclude three errors of the Manichaeans.

Primo quidem, quod dicunt non eundem esse Deum Veteris Testamenti et qui est Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quod excluditur per hoc quod dicit Apostolus: **quod Deus ante promiserat per prophetas suos de Filio suo in Scripturis Sanctis**, scilicet: Veteris Testamenti.

Secundo vero, quod damnant scripturas Veteris Testamenti, quas Apostolus hic dicit sanctas. Non enim aliae Scripturae fuerunt sanctae ante Evangelium.

Tertio, quod dicunt Christum habuisse carnem phantasticam, quod excluditur per hoc quod dicit Christum factum **ex semine David secundum carnem** ei, id est ad gloriam Patris, secundum illud Io. VIII, 50: *ego gloriam meam non quaero sed gloriam eius qui misit me.*

First, their assertion that the God of the Old Testament and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ are not the same. This is excluded when the Apostle says, **which God had promised before, through his prophets, in the Holy Scriptures**, i.e., of the Old Testament, **concerning his Son**.

Second, their condemnation of the Old Testament writings, which the Apostle here calls holy. For no other writings were holy before the Gospel except those.

Third, their claim that Christ had an imaginary body. This is excluded when the Apostle says that Christ was made **of the seed of David according to the flesh**, to him, i.e., to the glory of the Father: *I seek not my glory, but his who sent me* (John 8:50).