



Scriptural Plurality in the Writings of Thomas Aquinas: The Case of Psalm 67, 7

Innocent Smith O.P. (*Universität Regensburg*)

Abstract

Thomas Aquinas makes occasional references to the coexistence of multiple versions of the Bible. In particular, Thomas was familiar with several versions of the Latin Psalter used in liturgical and scholarly contexts. This article examines Thomas's references to Ps. 67, 7 as a test case for understanding the role of scriptural plurality in his biblical hermeneutics. Thomas associates this verse with the theme of unity within religious life, the relation of the Eucharist to ecclesial unity, and ecclesial unity in itself. Thomas's citations of alternate versions of this verse often appear to be consciously chosen in accord with his exegetical purposes.

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Throughout his writings, St. Thomas Aquinas makes occasional reference to the coexistence of multiple versions of the Bible, for instance in his treatment of St. Paul's use of quotations from the Septuagint which differ significantly from their Hebrew-Vulgate parallels or in his frequent references to "alia littera" of scriptural citations.¹ In addition to these explicit treatments of scriptural plurality, Aquinas makes subtle use of the multiplicity of scriptural translations in the context of quoting from the Psalms, which he knew in several Latin versions used in liturgical and scholarly contexts that reflected various strands of the biblical tradition.

¹ For Thomas' references to the Septuagint in the Romans commentary, see *Ad Rom.*, §§104, 769, 918. A search for "=alia =littera" (with equal signs to include various inflections and spellings of the words and quotation marks to ensure that the various forms of the words appear in that order) in Thomas' authentic works in the *Index Thomisticus* yields 229 cases in 211 places, although some of these are references not to scriptural versions but rather alternate translations of philosophical texts. (Searching for "=littera =alia" renders a further 11 cases in 11 places, but only one of these appears to be conceptually linked with the concept of the "alia littera"; see *Super Rom.*, cap. 4 l. 3.: "Littera alia habet, *constitui te*, quod sensum non variat.") For further reflections on the scriptural and philosophical implications on alternate readings, see P. Roszak, "The Place and Function of Biblical Citations in Thomas Aquinas's Exegesis," in *Reading Sacred Scripture with Thomas Aquinas*, ed. P. Roszak and J. Vijgen, *Textes et Etudes du Moyen Âge* 80 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 115–39, at 124; J.P. Reilly, "The *Alia Littera* in Thomas Aquinas' *Sententia Libri Metaphysicae*," *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988), 559–83.

In this article, I will consider Thomas' use of alternate translations of the Bible by focusing on his use of Ps. 67, 7. In medieval Latin Psalters, this verse appeared in three distinct versions with significantly different conceptual content. Throughout his writings, Thomas refers to this verse fifteen times, making use of two of the three versions; it is thus a helpful test case for considering the degree to which Thomas consciously appeals to divergent versions of a single biblical verse in various theological and scriptural contexts. By examining Thomas' manifold approaches to this Psalm verse, I hope to shed light on Thomas' biblical hermeneutics by revealing the complexity and fruitfulness of his interaction with the phenomenon of divergent translations of the Word of God.

1. The Latin Psalter in the Middle Ages

In the middle ages, the Psalter was available in three main Latin versions: the Roman Psalter (*Psalterium Romanum*), the Gallican or Hexalpric Psalter (*Psalterium Gallicanum*), and the Psalter according to the Hebrew (*Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*).² The Roman Psalter, traditionally identified as the first of three revisions of the Psalter undertaken by Jerome but likely predating his efforts, was already well established in Italy in the fourth century.³ The Roman Psalter is based on the Septuagint version of the Psalter, and yet often differs from the Greek original. The Gallican or Hexalpric Psalter, a revision of the older Latin Psalter by Jerome which utilized Origen's Hexapla as well as some Hebrew texts, achieved greater fidelity to the Greek text and eventually achieved widespread diffusion as a liturgical text for the Divine Office.⁴ The *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* was Jerome's final revision of the Psalter, translated directly on the basis of the Hebrew.⁵ Because of the underlying differences of the Greek and Hebrew versions of the Psalms, the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* often has more significant differences from the Roman Psalter and the Gallican Psalter than the latter two have from each other.

In the preface to his Commentary on the Psalms, Aquinas speaks about these three versions, providing a traditional narrative of their origin:

"There are three translations. One comes from the beginning of the Church at the time of the apostles, and this one was corrupted in the time of Jerome by copyists. Hence, at the request of Pope Damasius, Jerome corrected the Psalter, and this is the one read in Italy. But because this translation disagreed with the Greek version,

² On the development of the various versions of the Latin Psalter, see J. Dyer, "Latin Psalters, Old Roman and Gregorian Chants," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 68 (1984), 11-30; T. Gross-Diaz, "The Latin Psalter," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450*, ed. R. Marsden and E.A. Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 427-45. For further context liturgical use of the Latin Psalters, see J. Dyer, "The Bible in the Medieval Liturgy, c. 600-1300," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450*, ed. R. Marsden and E.A. Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 659-79.

³ Dyer, "Latin Psalters," 13; Gross-Diaz, "The Latin Psalter," 428.

⁴ Dyer, "Latin Psalters," 14-16; Gross-Diaz, "The Latin Psalter," 428-29.

⁵ Gross-Diaz, "The Latin Psalter," 429.

Jerome again translated it at the request of Paul from Greek to Latin, and Pope Damasius ordered that this version be sung in France, and it agrees word for word with the Greek. Afterwards, a certain Sophronius was once disputing with the Jews, when the Jews said that some things were not as he cited them from the second translation of the Psalter, and this Sophronius asked Jerome to translate the Psalter from Hebrew to Latin. Jerome agreed to his request, and this translation agrees completely with the Hebrew; but it is not sung in any Church, although many own a copy".⁶

Although the historicity of Thomas' narrative has its limitations, several points of his presentation are of interest for understanding his own biblical hermeneutics. First, although Thomas acknowledges that the Roman Psalter and the Gallican Psalter differ with respect to the accuracy of their translation of the Septuagint version of the psalms, Thomas notes that the Roman Psalter continues to be used, especially in Italy. In this context, it should be recalled that Thomas was raised in Italy and spent major periods of his academic career in different parts of the peninsula, from 1259-1268 and from 1272-1274.⁷ In his use of the different versions of the Psalter in his exegesis, therefore, Aquinas has the precedent of the venerable usage of the church in Italy to justify his appeal to the versions presented in the Roman Psalter, even though they do not always directly accord with either the Greek or the Hebrew versions of the Scripture. Further, although the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* is widely available for reading and consultation, Thomas observes that it is not employed in the liturgy. By contrast, in the Dominican liturgical practice of Thomas' time the Roman Psalter and the Gallican Psalter were both employed in various ways: the Gallican Psalter served as the basis for the psalms of the Divine Office, whereas the Roman Psalter was the basis for many of the antiphons for the Mass. Thomas would thus have prayed the Gallican version of Ps. 67 each Wednesday at Matins,⁸ and he would have sung the Roman Psalter version of Ps. 67, 7 in the context of the Officium (Introit) chant *Deus in loco*, sung in the Dominican liturgy on the 11th Sunday after Trinity.⁹

⁶ *In Psalmos*, Prologue. Trans. by H. McDonald. Retrieved 23 January 2019 from: <http://www4.desales.edu/~philtheo/loughlin/ATP/Proemium.html>.

⁷ See J.-P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas: The Person and His Work*, Revised Edition, trans. Robert Royal (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 328.

⁸ For a brief account of Dominican liturgical practice in the time of Thomas Aquinas, see I. Smith, "Liturgical Prayer and the Theology of Mercy in Thomas Aquinas and Pope Francis," *Theological Studies* 79 (2018), 782–800, at 783–85. The Dominican liturgical books used in Thomas's time have for the most part not yet been edited. For a representative Dominican Psalter from Thomas' mature period, see Rome, Santa Sabina, Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum XIV L1, f. 76v.

⁹ For the Dominican Gradual from Thomas' mature period, see Rome, Santa Sabina Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum XIV L1, f. 346v: "Deus in loco sancto suo Deus qui inhabitare facit unanimes in domo ipse dabit virtutem et fortitudinem plebi sue."

2. Versions of Ps. 67, 7

Psalm 67, 7 is a helpful case for considering Aquinas' exegetical use of various versions of the Psalter because the variations between the versions are subtle yet significant, which allows for an analysis that considers Thomas's response not only to minor textual variations but to conceptual differences between the different versions. In Robert Weber's critical edition of the Roman Psalter, the first words of this verse appear as "Deus qui habitare facit unianimes in domo," although Aquinas exclusively uses the variant spelling "unanimis".¹⁰ In the critical edition of the Gallican Psalter, the text is "Deus inhabitare facit unius moris in domo".¹¹ Aquinas' citations of the Gallican text sometimes use "habitare" instead of "inhabitare" and usually include the word "qui" before "inhabitare/habitare", although it should be emphasized that future critical editions of the Pauline commentaries may bring to light further minor variations within these citations.¹² In the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, the text appears as "Deus habitare facit solitarios in domo".¹³ Aquinas never avers to this version in his corpus, although he does utilize texts from the Hebrew translation in other contexts.¹⁴

For Aquinas, then, the major difference between the Roman Psalter and the Gallican Psalter versions of Ps. 67, 7 lies in the distinction between *unanimis* and *unius moris*. Despite the subtle difference, both translations have a range of possible meanings and applications that Thomas will utilize in his exegesis. The two Latin texts are translations of the Greek word μονοτρόπους.¹⁵ Liddell-Scott-Jones gives the primary meaning of μονοτρόπος as "living alone, solitary", citing the Septuagint text of this verse among other classical sources and giving a secondary meaning "of one kind".¹⁶ The root word τρόπος has a range of meanings, including "a way of life, habit, custom" and "a man's ways, habits, character, temper."¹⁷ The Roman and Gallican translations of μονοτρόπους as *unanimis* and *unius moris* are thus both interpreting

¹⁰ *Les psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*, ed. R. Weber, *Collectanea Biblica Latina* 10 (Rome: Libreria Vaticana, 1953), 148. Weber provides the variant spellings of "unanimis" and "unianimis," and indicates that "unanimis" was also found in the *Psalterium Mozarabicum*.

¹¹ *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber and R. Gryson (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 848.

¹² Texts that read "habitare facit unius moris": *STh* I-II, q. 58, a. 1, co; *In Psalmos* 26, n. 3; *In I Cor.* 11, lectio 3, §620; *In Phil.* 2, lectio 1, §47; *In I Tim.* 3, lectio 3, §125; *Ad Rom.* 16, lectio 1, §1209. Texts that read "inhabitare facit unius moris": *In Phil.* 1, lectio 4, §41; *In Phil.* 2 lectio 4, §89. "Qui" is only omitted by Thomas in the case of *In I Tim.* 3, lectio 3, §125.

¹³ *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. Weber and Gryson, 849.

¹⁴ Cf. T.F. Ryan, *Thomas Aquinas as Reader of the Psalms* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 18-19.

¹⁵ The LXX text of the section of Ps 67, 7 under consideration is "ὁ θεὸς κατοικίζει μονοτρόπους ἐν οἴκῳ"; see *Septuaginta*, ed. R. Hanhart (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), 68.

¹⁶ "μόνο-τροπος" in *The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon*. Retrieved 23 January 2019 from: <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ljsj/#eid=70911>.

¹⁷ "τρόπος" in *The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon*. Retrieved 23 January 2019 from: <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ljsj/#eid=108480>.

the Greek text in a less common sense that is nevertheless in close accord with its etymological roots.

Unanimes and *unius moris* themselves have a range of meanings in Latin. According to Lewis and Short, *unanimis* can be translated as “of one mind, accordant, harmonious, unanimous.”¹⁸ The root word *animus* has a broad range of meanings that includes soul, heart, mind, and will, and Stelten gives a similarly wide range of possible meanings for *unanimis*: “of one mind, heart or will, with one voice, like-minded, harmonious”.¹⁹ *Mos* (gen. *moris*) likewise has a wide range of meanings, including “manner, custom, way, usage, practice, fashion” as well as “conduct, behavior ... manners, morals, character”.²⁰ Thus, although *unanimes* and *unius moris* each convey the concept of unity, *unanimes* suggests an inward character of unity whereas *unius moris* suggests more of a sense of unity in external conduct or moral behavior. The Douay-Rheims-Challoner translates the Clementine Vulgate text as “God who maketh *men* of one manner to dwell in a house” while suggesting in a gloss that “of one manner” means “agreeing in faith, unanimous in love, and following the same manner of discipline”.²¹

The Roman Psalter and Gallican Psalter versions of Ps. 67, 7 thus have distinctive but potentially overlapping meanings. Ps. 67, 7 appears fifteen times in Thomas Aquinas’ corpus, most preponderantly in Aquinas’ scriptural commentaries: eight times in the commentaries of the letters of St. Paul, twice in the commentary on the Psalms, once in the commentary on Isaiah, once in the commentary on John, once in a quotation from Augustine included in the *Catena aurea* on John, once in the *prima secundae* of the *Summa Theologiae*, and once in the Corpus Christi office. Of these fifteen instances, eight provide the Gallican *unius moris* and seven provide the Roman *unanimes*. We will now consider Thomas Aquinas’ use of these versions in chronological order following the dating proposed by Gilles Emery,²² showing that Thomas uses the two versions in a variety of ways that utilize this richness and ambiguity of language.

3. *Expositio super Isaiam ad litteram* (before 1252)

In the context of commenting on Is. 11, 6-7 (“The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, etc.”), Aquinas compares the description of the natural predators dwelling in harmony to the religious life, in which “men of diverse ages and conditions live unanimously

¹⁸ C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrews’ Edition of Freund’s Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1879), 1929.

¹⁹ L.F. Stelten, *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin*. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 278.

²⁰ Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, 1167.

²¹ *The Holy Bible* [Douay-Rheims-Challoner translation] (London: Baronius Press, 2007) 613.

²² G. Emery, “Brief Catalogue of the Works of Saint Thomas Aquinas,” in J.P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas: The Person and His Work*, 330-361.

[*unanimiter*], i.e., similarly [*conformiter*].”²³ Thomas then cites the *Psalterium Romanum* version of Ps. 67, 7: “Qui habitare facit unanimes in domo.”²⁴ Thomas seems to be choosing this version on the psalm on account of the word association of *unanimes* with *unanimiter*. In this context, Thomas associates Ps. 67, 7 with ecclesial unity in the specific sense of unity within religious life. It is significant that the religious rule that St. Thomas professed, namely the Rule of St. Augustine, included an adaptation of this psalm verse in its opening chapter, linking the Roman Psalter version of Ps. 67, 7 (*habitare facit unanimes in domo*) with Acts 4, 32 (*multitudinis autem credentium erat cor unum et anima una*): “Primum, propter quod in unum estis congregati, ut *unanimes habitetis in domo*; et sit vobis *anima una et cor unum* in Deo.”²⁵ Thomas’ use of Ps. 67, 7 in the context of discussing religious life in the commentary on Isaiah is thus likely influenced by his own experience as a religious following the Rule of St. Augustine.

4. Corpus Christi office (c. 1264)

Aquinas makes use of the Roman Psalter version of Ps. 67, 7 in the responsory *Unus panis*, provided as the third responsory of the third nocturn of the Corpus Christi office *Sacerdos in eternum*:²⁶

Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus. Omnes qui de uno pane et de uno calice participamus.	We many are one bread and one body, we all who are made participants in one bread and one cup.
V. Parasti in dulcedine tua pauperi Deus, qui habitare facis unanimes in domo. ²⁷	V. You have prepared in your goodness for the needy, O God, You who cause us to live of one mind (<i>unanimes</i>) in your house. ²⁸

This liturgical text is a centonization of several scriptural texts: the respond is adapted from 1 Cor. 10, 17, and the verse is a combination of verses 11 and 7 of Psalm

²³ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Expositio super Isaiam ad litteram* (Rome: Editori di San Tommaso, 1974) p. 81, lines 301-304: “Sed expressius uidetur hoc seruari in religione, ubi homines diuerse etatis et condicionis unanimiter, id est conformiter, uiuunt, Ps. «Qui habitare facit unanimes in domo».”

²⁴ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Expositio super Isaiam ad litteram*, p. 81, lectio 304.

²⁵ “Rule of St. Augustine” [Dominican version edited from Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1], in *Liber Constitutionum et ordinationum Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome: Curia Generalita, 2010), 21.

²⁶ During his residence with the papal court at Orvieto in the early 1260s, Thomas was asked by Urban IV to compose texts for the Mass and Office for the Feast of Corpus Christi. Thomas seems to have produced two versions, first a provisional one titled *Sapientia edificavit* and later a revised version titled *Sacerdos in eternum* which was the basis for the celebration of the feast until the late 20th century; see B.R. Walters, V.J. Corrigan, and P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2006), 33-36.

²⁷ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula theologica II De re spirituali*, ed. R.M. Spiazzi (Turin: Marietti, 1954), 279.

²⁸ Walters, Corrigan, Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, 289.

67. Thomas may be influenced in this pairing of 1 Cor. 10, 17 and Ps. 67, 7 by a similar juxtaposition offered by Augustine in the Tractates on John:

“Of course, they argued with one another because they did not understand the bread of concord, neither did they want to take it. For they who eat such bread do not argue with one another, because ‘we though many, are one bread, one body’ [cf. 1 Cor. 10, 17]. And through it ‘God makes makes those of one kind to dwell in a house’ [cf. Ps. 67, 7]”.²⁹

Thomas’ use of Ps. 67, 7 in this context associates the psalm with the ecclesial unity that derives from Eucharistic communion. The reference to God *causing* unity in Ps. 67, 7 helps underscore that the Eucharist not only symbolizes but causes ecclesial unity.³⁰

5. *Expositio et Lectura super Epistolas Pauli Apostoli* (c. 1265-1268)³¹

Thomas’ most frequent use of Ps. 67, 7 occurs in his commentaries on the letters of St. Paul: twice in Romans,³² once in 1 Corinthians,³³ three times in Philipians,³⁴ once in 1 Timothy,³⁵ and once in Hebrews.³⁶ In this work, Aquinas makes use of both the Roman *unanimis* and the Gallican *unius moris* versions, employing *unius moris* six times and *unanimis* twice.

Aquinas uses the Roman Psalter version of Ps. 67, 7 while commenting on Rom. 15, 5-6: “Now may the God of patience and of comfort grant you to be of one mind (*idipsum sapere*), one towards another, according to Jesus Christ: that with one mind (*unanimis*) and with one mouth you may glorify God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

“That, by the fact that you agree on the same things, *with one mind* [*unanimis*], existing through faith and consensus of charity, as it says in a version of the psalm: *who makes men of one mind* [*unanimis*] *to dwell in a house* [Ps. 67, 7]”.³⁷

²⁹ St. Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John 11-27*, trans. J.W. Rettig, Fathers of the Church (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1988), tractate 26, §14, p. 272.

³⁰ Cf. G. Emery, “The Ecclesial Fruit of the Eucharist in St. Thomas Aquinas” *Nova et Vetera*, English Edition, 2 (2004), 43–60.

³¹ The dating of Aquinas’s commentaries on the epistles of St. Paul is complex and uncertain; for our present purposes, it is sufficient to point out that the material from 1 Corinthians 11 through Hebrews, which exists in a *reportatio* by Reginald of Piperno, likely dates from Thomas’ period in Rome from 1265-1268, and the sections of Romans that we will consider were not part of the portion (Rom 1-8) revised by Thomas himself in 1272-1273. Cf. J.P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas: The Person and His Work*, 254-255.

³² *Ad Rom.* 15, lectio 1, §1149; *Ad Rom.* 16, lectio 1, §1209.

³³ *In I Cor.* 11, lectio 3, §620.

³⁴ *In Phil.* 1, lectio 4, §41; *In Phil.* 2, lectio 1, §47; *In Phil.* 2, lectio 4, §89.

³⁵ *In I Tim.* 3, lectio 3, §125.

³⁶ *In Heb.* 13, lectio 3, §766.

³⁷ *Ad Rom.* 15, lectio 1, §1149; translation from Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Letter of Saint Paul to the Romans*, trans. F.R. Larcher (Lander, WY: Aquinas Institute, 2012), 396, translation modified.

In this case, Aquinas explicitly avers to the fact that he is using a particular version of the psalm with the following remark: “secundum illud Ps. secundum aliam litteram.” Aquinas links Paul’s exhortation to think the same things from Rom. 15, 5 with the description of being united in mind in the very action of thinking. Aquinas goes on to describe the link between Paul’s one mind and one mouth by stating that one mouth signifies “one confession of the voice coming from unity of faith.”³⁸ Here Aquinas shows that the unity of the Church’s external profession of faith relies on the internal unity of faith itself. In other words, interior unity precedes and enlivens external conformity in matters of faith. In this case, then, Aquinas is using Ps. 67, 7 to show the need for unity of mind in matters concerning faith.

Thomas makes an allusion to Ps. 67, 7 while commenting on Rom. 16, 14: “Greet Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes: and the brethren who are with them.” Aquinas explains out that Paul “greet them together, because they lived together in harmony [*simul concorditer habitabant*]: who makes them of one manner [*unius moris*] to dwell [*habitare*] in a house (Ps. 67, 7).”³⁹ In this case, Thomas seems to be citing Ps. 67, 7 to show that God is the source of unity among men. The choice of this psalm may be based on the association of Ps. 67, 7’s “habitare” with Thomas’ comment about the brethren dwelling together (“habitabant”). It is not clear why Thomas has chosen “unius moris” instead of “unanimes,” but it may be a matter of emphasizing the external harmony of the actions of the brethren mentioned by Paul.

Aquinas makes use of the Gallican version of Ps. 67, 7 in the context of commenting on Paul’s discussion in 1 Cor. 11, 8-16 of the custom of women covering their heads while praying. Commenting on Paul’s use of the authority of custom (1 Cor. 11, 16: “But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, nor the church of God.”), Aquinas states: “Hence if there were no reason, this alone should suffice, that no one should act against the common custom of the Church: *he makes those of one custom [unius moris] to dwell in their house (Ps. 67, 7).*”⁴⁰ Here Aquinas interprets *unius moris* as being concerned with the custom of the Church, which ought to have a certain unity even in matters that do not directly concern the faith itself. The psalm verse indicates that God directs and maintains the unity of the customs of the Church, and not only the internal practices of individuals. This context thus focuses on the unity of the Church, but considers contingent customs rather than imperative modes of action such as love and faith.

Aquinas uses Ps. 67, 7 three times in his commentary on Philippians. Commenting on Phil. 1, 27, “stand firm in one spirit, with one mind striving side by side for the faith of the Gospel” (*statis in uno spiritu unanimes, collaborantes fidei*

³⁸ *Ad Rom.* 15, lectio 1, §1149, p. 396, translation modified.

³⁹ *Ad Rom.* 16, lectio 1, §1209, p. 417.

⁴⁰ *In I Cor.* 11, lectio 3, §620; translation from Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Letters of Saint Paul to the Corinthians*, trans. Larcher, Mortensen, and Keating (Lander, WY: Aquinas Institute, 2012), 232. “Unde si nulla esset ratio, hoc solum deberet sufficere, ne aliquis ageret contra communem Ecclesiae consuetudinem. Dicitur enim in Ps. LXVII, 7: *qui habitare facit unius moris in domo.*”

Evangelii), Aquinas points out that there are three types of unity required for Christians: unity of love, unity of concord, and unity of cooperation. Thomas associates love with the command to “stand firm in one spirit,” concord with Paul’s exhortation to be “*unanimis*,” and unity of cooperation with the exhortation to be collaborators in the work of evangelization.

Commenting on the word *unanimis*, Aquinas defines it by stating “*with one mind*, i.e., have one will and one soul” (*unanimis, id est unam voluntatem, et animum habentes*).⁴¹ He then provides two scriptural texts: “Now the company of those who believed were of one heart and soul’ [Acts 4, 32]; ‘God makes men of one way (*unius moris*) to dwell in one house’ [Ps. 67, 7].”⁴² As we have observed earlier, the Rule of St. Augustine links these two texts in its opening lines, although it uses the *unanimis* version of Ps. 67, 7. The Acts text shows the close link between being of one heart and one soul/mind. Aquinas thus shows the link between concord and unanimity by means of the quotation from Acts. The quotation from Ps. 67, 7 shows that it is God who effects this unity of heart and soul. It is curious that Aquinas chooses the *unius moris* version rather than the *unanimis* version of Ps. 67, 7 in this context, given the presence of the word *unanimis* in the Scriptural text being commented upon, but this shows that there is a good deal of overlap between the two translations despite the subtle differences utilized in other contexts. Thus, in this passage Aquinas is using Ps. 67, 7 as part of a broader project of showing the interplay between love, concord, and cooperation in the Christian life. The scriptural texts cited in connection with Paul’s *unanimis*, as well as those used in the rest of this passage of Aquinas, remind the reader that the moral exhortation offered by Paul can only be fulfilled by the power of God, who makes men dwell in the unity of the Spirit.

The next use of Ps. 67, 7 appears in Thomas’ treatment of Phil. 2, 2: “Complete my joy by being of the same mind, having the same love, being in full accord and of one mind” (*Implete gaudium meum ut idem sapiatis, eandem caritatem habentes, unanimis, idipsum sentientes*). It should be noted initially that whereas in Phil. 1, 27 *unanimis* was translated as “with one mind,” here it is translated as “being in full accord,” whereas two other words, *sapiatis* and *idipsum sentientes*, are translated with reference to unity of mind. As this passage is rather dense, it is worth printing in full before providing analysis.

§47. “Then he indicates what he is urging them to do: first, in general... Secondly, in particular, when he urges them to mutual love, whose unity consists in two things, namely interiorly in the affections and exteriorly in effects. *Let us not love in word, nor in tongue, but in deed, and in truth* [1 John 3, 18]”.

“It is first designated in the object of charity, when he says: *be of one mind* [*idem sapite*]. For wisdom [*sapientia*] is the knowledge of the highest causes, because it

⁴¹ *In. Phil. 1, lectio 4, §41*; translation from *Commentary on Saint Paul’s First Letter to the Thessalonians and the Letter to the Philippians*, trans. F.R. Larcher and M. Duffy (Albany: Magi Books, 1969), 73.

⁴² *In Phil. 1, lectio 4, §41*, trans. Larcher and Duffy, 73. Latin text: “Act. IV, 32: *multitudinis credentium erat cor unum, et anima una. Ps LXVII, 7: qui inhabitare facit unius moris in domo, et cetera.*”

pertains to wisdom to judge; and no one can do this without knowing the highest cause. Consequently, wisdom is concerned with divine things. Therefore, *being of the same mind*, as if to say: Have the same mind in regard to the things of faith: *Now the God of patience and of comfort grant you to be of one mind [idipsum sapere] one towards another, according to Jesus Christ, that [...]*⁴³ *with one mouth, you may glorify God [Rom. 15, 5-6]. But this depends on having the same charity; hence he says having the same love. But above all these things have charity, which is the bond of perfection [Col. 3, 14]*”.

“As for its effect, two things are necessary, namely the consensus of two in the same thing on the part of the affections, and the judgment of reason agreeing in the same thing. As to the first he says *being in full accord [unanimis]* namely in acting. *He makes men of one manner [unius moris] to dwell in a house [Ps. 67, 7]. With one mouth, you may glorify God [Rom. 15, 6]. As to the second he says being of one mind [idipsum sentientes]. This differs from the statement “be of one mind,” just as being in full accord [unanimis] differs from the statement having the same charity [eamdem caritatem habentes]*”.⁴⁴

In his commentary on this text, Aquinas makes careful distinctions about the meaning of the various terms involved in this passage, recognizing the similarity of their concepts. First, he points out that the unity of mutual love consists in both interior affections and exterior effects. Thomas attributes the first two commands, “*idem sapiatis*” and “*eamdem caritatem habentes*” to this interior form of love, and the second two commands, “*unanimis*” and “*idipsum sentientes*” to the exterior effects of love. On the basis of the connection between “*sapiatis*” and “*sapientia*,” Aquinas suggests that the command “*idem sapite*” is concerned with thinking the same things regarding the faith. Thomas cites Rom. 15, 5: “*Now the God of patience and of comfort grant you to be of one mind [idipsum sapere] one towards another, according to Jesus Christ,*” drawing out the connection between the Philippians “*idem sapite*” and the Romans “*idipsum sapere*.” Aquinas points out that thinking about the faith in a united manner requires having the same charity.⁴⁵

⁴³ In the Marietti edition, Thomas’ quotation of Rom. 15, 5-6 omits *unanimis*.

⁴⁴ My translation has been significantly adapted from Larcher’s version, which does not fully convey the parallelism of Thomas’ commentary. “*Deinde ponit ea ad quae inducit. Et primo in generali ... Secundo in speciali monet ad mutuam charitatem, cuius unitas in duobus consistit, scilicet interius in affectu et exterius in effectu. I Io. III, 18: non diligamus verbo, neque lingua, sed opere et veritate. Prima designatur in obiecto charitatis, cum dicit idem sapite. Sapientia enim est cognitio altissimarum causarum, quia eius est iudicare; quod nullus potest sine causa altissima. Et ideo sapientia est cognitio de divinis. Idem ergo sapite, etc., quasi dicat: idem sapiatis circa ea quae sunt fidei. Rom. XV, 5 s.: Deus autem patientiae et solatii det vobis idipsum sapere in alterutrum secundum Iesum Christum, ut uno ore glorificetis Deum. Sed hoc fit per charitatem eamdem; ideo sequitur eamdem charitatem habentes. Col. III, 14: super omnia charitatem habentes, quod est vinculum perfectionis. Item, quantum ad effectum, sunt duo necessaria, scilicet consensus duorum in idem ex parte affectus, et iudicium rationis concors in eodem. Quantum ad primum dicit unanimis, scilicet in agendis. Ps. LXVII, 7: qui habitare facit unius moris in domo. Rom. c. XV, 6: uno ore honorificetis Deum. Quantum ad secundum dicit idipsum sentientes. Quod ita differt ab hoc quod dicit idem sapite, sicut hoc quod dicit unanimis, ab eo quod dicit eamdem charitatem habentes.*”

⁴⁵ Cf. *Ad Rom.* 1, lectio 6, §105: “Consequently, faith formed by charity is a virtue; but not unformed faith.”

Aquinas then analyses the two final exhortations as different parts of the exterior effect of mutual love. This effect requires two things: “consensus of two in the same thing on the part of the affections, and the judgment of reason agreeing in the same thing.” Thomas applies the first form of consent to Paul’s “*unanimis*,” specifying that this consent or unanimity has to do with acting: “As to the first he says *being in full accord [unanimis] namely in acting.*” He then gives two scriptural quotations which are related to external actions: “Ps. LXVII, 7: *qui habitare facit unius moris in domo. Rom c. XV, 6: uno ore honorificetis Deum.*” Aquinas applies the final exhortation “*idipsum sentientes*” to the concord of reason with respect to external effects of love. He concludes the paragraph by suggesting a sort of chiasmic structure for interpreting the Philippians passage: the first and last exhortations differ from each other just as the two inner exhortations differ: “As to the second he says *being of one mind [idipsum sentientes]*. This differs from the statement ‘be of one mind,’ just as *being in full accord [unanimis]* differs from the statement *having the same charity [eamdem caritatem habentes]*.”

Aquinas is well aware of the dense interplay and similarity between the words of this passage and seems to be concerned to demonstrate that each word has a precise meaning in the context. In his citation of Ps. 67, 7, he seems to be choosing the *unius moris* version specifically on account of the connotation of actions connected with custom or behavior, rather than the more internal connotations of the Roman Psalter version which contains *unanimis*. In this case, then, Aquinas seems to be consciously using a version of the psalm that contrasts with the text of the scriptural verse he is commenting on so as to explain the way that Paul is using *unanimis* in this context.

Aquinas’ third use of Ps. 67, 7 in his commentary on Philippians occurs in his treatment of Paul’s statement about Timothy in Phil. 2, 20: “For I have no man so of the same mind [*tam unanimem*], who with sincere affection is solicitous for you.” Thomas explains this text with a gloss and an allusion to Ps. 67, 7: “He says: I am sending Timothy because *I have no man so of the same mind*, i.e., so interested in your progress: ‘He makes men of one way [*unius moris*] to dwell in one house’ [Ps. 67, 7].”⁴⁶ It is not clear why Thomas has chosen the Gallican version rather than the Roman version of this psalm, but it may serve to emphasize the unity of the inward motivations and outward actions of the Church’s ministers.

Aquinas uses the Roman Psalter version of Ps. 67, 7 in his commentary on Heb. 13, 20: “the God of peace”. In this context, Aquinas speaks about making peace as the “proper effect” of God, and describes peace as a matter of unity of affections:

“In regard to the first, he describes the one whom he seeks, saying, *the God of peace*. For God’s proper effect is to make peace, because *he is not a God of dissension* but of peace [1 Cor. 14, 33], and, *have peace: and the God of peace and love shall be with you* [2 Cor. 13, 11]. For peace is nothing else than unity of affections, which God alone can make one, because hearts are united by charity, which is from God alone. For God

⁴⁶ In Phil. 2, lectio 4, §89.

knows how to gather and unite, because God is love, which is the bond of perfection. Hence, *he makes men of one mind [unanimus] to dwell in a house [Ps. 67, 7]. For man made peace between himself and God through the mystery of Christ*".⁴⁷

In this context, Aquinas cites Ps. 67, 7 as a scriptural authority that demonstrates God's ability to effect peace and unity among human beings. By using the Roman Psalter version of the psalm, he seems to be emphasizing that the deeper union of hearts signified by *unanimus* that goes beyond the conformity of outward actions suggested by *unius moris*. True peace comes not from outward harmony but from an interior union of heart and mind caused by God.

6. *Catena Aurea* (1265-1268) and *Lectura super Ioannem* (1270-1272)

In the section of the *Catena aurea in Ioannem* commenting on Jn. 6, 52 ("The Jews therefore disputed among themselves"), Aquinas cites an adapted version of the same passage of Augustine's Tractate on John 26 that may have served as a source for the Corpus Christi office and which includes a reference to the Roman Psalter version of Ps. 67, 7:⁴⁸

"The Jews not understanding what was the bread of peace, *strove among themselves, saying, How can this man give us His flesh to eat? Whereas they who eat the bread strive not among themselves, for God makes them to dwell together in unity [Deus habitare facit unanimes in domo]*".⁴⁹

In his own *Commentary on John*, Aquinas adapts this section from Augustine's tractate, going beyond his source text by adding a reference Ps. 67, 4 and explicitly stating that the reference to Ps. 67, 7 concerns a particular version of the text:

⁴⁷ In Heb. 13, lectio 3, §766; translation from Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Letter of Saint Paul to the Hebrews*, trans. F.R. Larcher (Lander, WY: Aquinas Institute, 2012), 328, translation modified. On the role of Christ in the establishment of peace and unity, cf. *Ad Rom.* 12, lectio 12, §974: "He touches on the unity of the mystical body when he says *we are one body* [Rom. 12, 5]: *that he might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross* [Eph. 2, 16]. This mystical body has a spiritual unity through which we are united to one another and to God by faith and love: *there is one body and one spirit* [Eph. 4, 4]. And because the Spirit of unity flows into us from Christ—*anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him* [Rom. 8, 9]—he adds *in Christ*, who unites us to one another and to God by his Spirit whom he gives us: *that they may be one even as we are one* [John 18, 22]."

⁴⁸ The version of the text of Augustine's tractate provided in the *Catena aurea* differs significantly from that of the critical edition of *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV*, ed. D.R. Willems (Turnholt: Brepols, 1954) Tractate 26, §14, p. 267: "*Litigabant ergo Iudaei ad invicem, dicentes: Quomodo potest hic carnem suam nobis dare ad manducandum? Litigabant utique ad invicem, quoniam panem concordiae non intellegebant, nec sumere uolebant; nam qui manducant talem panem, non litigant ad invicem; quoniam unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus. Et per hunc facit Deus unius modi habitare in domo.*"

⁴⁹ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels: Collected Out of the Works of the Fathers, Vol. IV, part 1, St. John* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1845) 241; *Catena aurea in quatuor evangelia II. Expositio in Lucam et Ioannem*, ed. Guarienti (Turin: Marietti, 1953) Ch. 6, §8, p. 425: "*Quia Iudaei panem concordiae non intelligebant, ad invicem litigabant; unde dicitur Litigabant ergo Iudaei ad invicem, dicentes: Quomodo potest hic nobis dare carnem suam ad manducandum? Qui autem manducant talem panem, non litigant ad invicem, quoniam per hunc Deus habitare facit unanimes in domo.*"

“As to the first, note that the Evangelist brings in the dispute among the Jews in the form of a conclusion, **saying, The Jews therefore disputed among themselves.** And this is fitting: for according to Augustine, our Lord had just spoken to them about the food of unity, which makes into one those who are nourished on it, according to, “Let those who are just feast and exult before God and rejoice in joy [*laetentur in laetitia*],” [Ps. 67, 4]⁵⁰ and then it continues, according to one reading [*secundum aliam litteram*], “God makes those who agree [*unanimis*] to live in one house” [Ps. 67, 7]. And so, because the Jews had not eaten the food of harmony, they argued with each other”⁵¹

Aquinas here follows Augustine in employing the Roman Psalter version of Ps. 67, 7 in a context concerning ecclesial unity and the Eucharist. It is clear, however, that his employment of this version is deliberate due to his explicit reference to “*secundum aliam litteram*.” Aquinas expands the Eucharistic imagery of the ecclesial unity effected by God through the Eucharist by adding a reference to feasting and joy from Ps. 67, 4. This passage thus shows that Aquinas is indebted to Augustine in his exegetical use of Ps. 67, 7, but that he goes beyond Augustine in reflecting on the Eucharistic imagery offered by Ps. 67 as a whole.

7. *Summa Theologiae* I-II (1271)

Aquinas makes use of the Gallican version of Ps. 67, 7 in a discussion of custom and moral virtue in the *Summa Theologiae* I-II, q. 58, a. 1, in which he considers whether every virtue is a moral virtue. Aquinas begins by considering the Latin word *mos* (genitive: *moris*), which he takes to be the etymological root of the terminology of moral virtue.⁵² Aquinas distinguishes two meanings of *mos*: custom, and natural or quasi-natural inclination. For custom, Aquinas gives the example of circumcision, citing in this context Acts 15, 1 which relates the contention of some early Christians that “except you be circumcised after the manner of Moses, you cannot be saved.” Two examples are given for the second meaning of natural or quasi-natural inclination: first, 2 Macc. 1, 2 is cited, presenting a simile concerning warriors who imitate the naturally violent inclination of lions, and second Ps. 67, 7 is cited, showing that God is able to effect a natural or quasi-natural inclination for men to live together

⁵⁰ Aquinas’s version of Ps. 67, 4 in this passage is very unusual in including “*laetentur in laetitia*”, which otherwise appears in Hilary of Poitiers’s commentary on the Psalms (cf. *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 61:262). Elsewhere in the Commentary on John, Thomas uses the more standard “*delectentur in laetitia*.”

⁵¹ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*, tr. F.R. Larcher (Albany: Magi Books, 1980) c. 6, lectio 7, §966, vol. 1, p. 383. Translation modified; *Super evangelium S. Ioannis lectura*, ed. Cai (Turin: Marietti, 1952) c. 6, lectio 7, §966, p. 182: “**Litigabant ergo Iudaei** etc. Et quidem satis congrue: nam, secundum Augustinum, Dominus locutus fuerat eis de cibo unitatis, quo qui reficiuntur, efficiuntur unanimes, secundum illud Ps. LXVII, v. 4: *Iusti epulentur, et exultent in conspectu Dei, et laetentur in laetitia*, et sequitur, secundum aliam litteram: *Qui habitare facit unanimes in domo*. Quia igitur Iudaei cibum concordiae non sumpserant, ideo ad invicem litigabant.”

⁵² Cf. *STh.* I-II, q. 58, a. 1, obj. 1: “*Virtus enim moralis dicitur a more, idest consuetudine.*”

in one manner: “Et sic accipitur mos in Psalmo LXVII, ubi dicitur, *qui habitare facit unius moris in domo.*”⁵³

In this context, Aquinas is using the scriptural text to help illustrate a broader distinction about the meaning of moral virtue. The distinction between natural and quasi-natural inclinations harkens back to the discussion in I-II, q. 51, a. 1 as to whether habits are from nature, where Aquinas distinguishes between something being entirely from nature and partly from nature and partly from an extrinsic principle. In I-II, q. 51, a. 4, Aquinas points out that some habits can only be infused by God, such as those which incline man to an end which exceeds the proportion of human nature, whereas other habits which may be acquired naturally can also be infused by God directly as a special manifestation of his power which can produce the effects of secondary causes without the secondary causes themselves.⁵⁴ Thus, in this context Aquinas seems to be interpreting Ps. 67, 7 as revealing the possibility of divine infusion of the inclination to unity and other forms of moral inclination. It is interesting to note that Aquinas here contrasts custom and inclination, applying Ps. 67, 7 to the infusion of inclination whereas in his commentary on 1 Cor. 11, 16 he linked Ps. 67, 7 with custom.

8. *Postilla super Psalmos* (1273)

In his commentary on Psalm 14, Aquinas uses the *Psalterium Romanum* version of Ps. 67, 7 in the context on commenting on the first verse of Psalm 14: “O Lord, who will dwell in your tents” (Ps 14:1).

“The tent designates the Church militant; the temple built on the mountain designates the state of the future life. And thus he says, *who will dwell in your tents?* i.e., in the present Church, which is as if to say: who is worthy to dwell there? For sinners dwell [in the Church] in great numbers, but not worthily. Jerome[’s translation from the Hebrew] has *who will sojourn?* Ps. 67: *he makes them to dwell unanimously [unanimes] in a house [Ps. 67, 7]*”⁵⁵

⁵³ Aquinas proceeds to make an etymological distinction between εθος and ηθος, which he takes to be the root of the Latin *mos*, suggesting that the Greek distinction between the short and long vowel indicates a similar distinction that he makes between the two sense of the single word *mos*. The Greek word underlying the Latin psalm text *unius moris* is in fact neither εθος nor ηθος, but rather μονοτροπος. However, Aquinas’s etymological comment is clearly directed at the broader discussion of *mos* rather than the specific exegesis of Ps. 67, 7.

⁵⁴ Cf. ST I, q. 105, a. 6. In the parallel passage to I-II, q. 58 from Aquinas’ *Scriptum super Sententiis*, Aquinas speaks about how an inclination can come from three sources: nature, custom (*consuetudine*), and infusion. Cf. III Sent. dist. 23, q. 1, a. 4, q. la 2 [ed. Moos, p. 713].

⁵⁵ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Expositio in aliquot libros veteris testamenti et in Psalmos L* (Parma: Typis Petri Fiaccadori, 1853) 186: “Per tabernaculum designatur Ecclesia militans, per templum in monte factum status futurae vitae: et ideo dicit, *Quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo?* idest in praesenti Ecclesia; quasi dicat: quis est dignus habitare? Peccatores enim habitant numero, non merito. Hieronymus habet, *quis peregrinabitur?* Ps. 67: *habitare facit unanimes in domo.*” The translation is my own.

Aquinas' citation of Ps. 67, 7 appears after he points out that Jerome's Hebrew version of the verse uses the word "peregrinabitur" in place of the Gallican "habitabit." The reason for this reference to Ps. 67, 7 is not entirely clear. The use of the verse may be based not on the presence of "unanimis" but rather from an association of the word "habitabit" in Ps. 14, 1 with "habitare" in Ps. 67, 7.

Aquinas makes use of the Gallican version of Ps. 67, 7 in the context of commenting on life in the Church within his commentary on Ps. 26, 4: "One thing I have asked of the Lord, this will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life." After distinguishing between different senses of dwelling in the house of the Lord, Aquinas speaks of the desirability of living and remaining in the Church:

"And it is therefore desirable to dwell in this house, namely the Church. ... But one lives in the house of God through faith and charity and conformity of good works: *Who makes them to dwell of one manner [unius moris] in a house [Ps. 67, 7].* And it is laudable to always dwell in her [ea], and not to be separated from her. But a man may be separated from the Church through sin, through excommunication, and through schism, or heresy".⁵⁶

Life in the Church requires both acting in a certain way and avoiding other actions that will prevent continued unity. Participation in the Church thus requires faith, charity, and conformity in good works. The "unius moris" text in this context is thus being used more to refer to customs and actions within ecclesial life and ministry. Thomas praises the importance of maintaining unity, but the quotation from Ps. 67, 7 reminds the reader that this is a work of God.

9. Conclusion

This survey of Thomas Aquinas' use of Ps. 67, 7 has shown that he uses the Roman Psalter and Gallican Psalter versions of this verse in a wide variety of contexts and with a variety of exegetical and theological purposes. Two important points should be kept in mind with respect to the conclusions reached in this study. First, due to the incomplete status of the Leonine edition of the works of St. Thomas, I have by necessity made use of a variety of editions which paid greater or lesser degrees of critical attention to the existence of verbal variations in the manuscript tradition. Second, it should be borne in mind that a number of the sources under discussion only exist in the form of *reportationes* that have not been revised by Thomas himself. Depending on the reliability of the individual who made the *reportatio* and the degree of their familiarity with the thought and works of Aquinas, there may be significant

⁵⁶ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Expositio in aliquot libros veteris testamenti et in Psalmos L* (Parma: Typis Petri Fiaccadori, 1853) 238: "Et ideo desiderandum est habitare in hac domo, scilicet Ecclesia. ... Habitat autem quis in domo Dei per fidem et charitatem et conformitatem bonorum operum: Ps. 67: 'Qui habitare facit unius moris in domo.' Et laudabile est quod semper in ea habitet, et non separetur ab ea. Separetur autem homo ab Ecclesia per peccatum, per excommunicationem, et per schisma, vel haeresim." The translation is my own.

differences between the way in which Thomas originally expressed himself and the form in which it is now available to us.⁵⁷ One should thus be cautious about making arguments based on the presence of one or the other versions in such sources, given the rapidity of their transcription and the possibility that the scribe might not have always realized the intention of the speaker to refer to one version or another. It is also possible that in some cases Aquinas may have been reminded of the psalm verse on the basis of the appearance of *unanimis* in the context even if he chose or was understood to cite the Psalm in the *unius moris* version.

In many of the cases under discussion, however, it is clear that Thomas has specifically chosen a form of the verse based on exegetical and theological distinctions that he intends to make on the basis of etymology and word association. Sometimes the reason for his choice between the two versions seems to be related to the context of the citation, whereas at other times Aquinas' reason for using one form rather than the other is less obvious. Taking both versions of Ps. 67, 7 together, it is clear that Thomas associates the verse with several important concepts: the unity needed within religious life, the relation of the Eucharist to ecclesial unity, and ecclesial unity in itself. This study has thus shown that Ps. 67, 7 plays an important role in a variety of Thomas' theological investigations, and that Aquinas is makes fruitful use of the subtle implications of the alternate forms of this verse as found in the Roman and Gallican Psalters. Further study of Thomas' attentiveness to the plurality of scripture may yield further insights into the subtly of his interaction with the word of God.

⁵⁷ For an overview of the problems presented by *reportationes*, see A.M. ten Klooster, "The Two Hands of Thomas Aquinas: The Reportationes of the Commentary on Matthew," *Angelicum* 91 (2014): 855–80.