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From Rome to Zurich, between Ignatius and Vermigli

Essays in Honor of John Patrick Donnelly, SJ

Edited by

Kathleen M. Comerford
Gary W. Jenkins
W.J. Torrance Kirby

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PART 1

Reminiscences

CHAPTER 1

An Irish-American Jesuit in the Madison Mafia

A. Lynn Martin

I first met Pat Donnelly in September, 1967, at a reception hosted by the University of Wisconsin's Department of History for its graduate students. Donnelly and I were two of many, some five hundred according to the scuttlebutt circulating among the students. To reinforce the point, that is five hundred graduate students in *history*. When I received my PhD in 1971, I was one of 55 PhDs awarded by the Department of History, down from 72 the previous year. The world-wide glut of historians that existed towards the end of the twentieth century was to a certain extent, perhaps a great extent, caused by the University of Wisconsin's Department of History, whose alumni left Madison and colonized colleges and universities around the world, forming an academic coterie known as the Madison Mafia. The first person I heard use that phrase was Giorgio Spini, the (appropriately) Italian historian; when I told him that I was a student of Robert Kingdon, he enthused, "So, you are a member of the Madison Mafia!"

Donnelly was also a student of Kingdon, who contributed to the glut of historians by accepting a half dozen new graduate students into his research seminar on Reformation Europe every year and supervising over 35 PhD's during his career.[1] The cohort of the late 1960s included some who would become leading scholars of the Reformation (and hence supervisors of yet more PhD's): Fred Baumgartner, Jerry Friedman, Hans Gustafson, Maryanne Cline Horowitz, Bob Kolb, Ray Mentzer, Luther Peterson, Bob Richgels, Donnelly, and me. Kingdon's research interest in Calvinism reflected his background, for his grandfather was a Presbyterian missionary in Korea, but the religious affiliation of those students and their research interests had an admirably anarchic mix: three Lutherans who included two pastors, two Jews who included one son of a rabbi, four Catholics who included one Jesuit priest, and I, an agnostic raised as a Methodist. Our research topics were just as varied, as illustrated by Donnelly's dissertation on Peter Martyr Vermigli, the Italian Protestant, and mine on French Jesuits. Kingdon's students socialized together but the closeness of the group was often under challenge from personal animosities and the

1 For Kingdon as a graduate supervisor see the Introduction to *History Has Many Voices,* ed. Lee Palmer Wandel, (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2003), 1–6.

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competitive nature of graduate work, especially in Kingdon's seminars. Documenting this and other aspects of the relationship between Kingdon and his students, their relationship with each other, and the experience of graduate students at the University of Wisconsin during this period is the collection of letters I edited, entitled *The Madison Mafia: Letters from Robert Kingdon and His Graduate Students* (*and Some of Their Wives*), *1968–1970*. Attempts to find a publisher for the letters were unsuccessful, but they form the basis for much of what follows.

Kingdon came to the University of Wisconsin in 1966, the same year that I arrived. Donnelly started one year later. He socialized with the rest of us, and we all called him Father Pat, but several things set him apart from the typical graduate student. First and most obvious was his membership in the Society of Jesus, but we found that he enjoyed his beer (as befitted someone born in Milwaukee), he was a keen spectator of sports, particularly football and basketball, and he appreciated playing a game of basketball and a round of golf. In later life he wrote an article entitled "Golf as a Spiritual Exercise."[2] Second was his age; at 34 he was older than the rest of us, except perhaps for Hans Gustafson. Third was his residence, for he lived with other Jesuits in a house at 625 Langdon St. near the Memorial Library. This unique situation had its advantages and disadvantages. Not only was he close to the library and the student union, he also just needed to cross the street to play a game of basketball at the University's Armory. On the other hand, the proximity to campus increased the likelihood of unwanted and surprise visitors, especially when he worked as a teaching assistant. During one of the battles between radical students and the police, the unlucky Luther Peterson encountered a canister of tear gas on his way to a seminar in the library; his clothes so reeked of the gas that it affected everyone in the room, so Donnelly suggested that he go next door to the Jesuit house to shower and find some other clothes. Fourth was his surprising wealth; he had inherited $100,000 from his father's estate, an enormous amount of money at the time, ten times the starting salary of a university professor. Despite this wealth, he was one of the most frugal people I have ever known, so much so that his frugality is the subject of jokes among Jesuits. His intentions were to use his inheritance to support his mother, who had been divorced from his father.[3] Fifth and final was his academic brilliance. Kingdon

2 Available as a download at http://epublications.marquette.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=hist_fac (accessed 19 February 2015).

3 John Patrick Donnelly, "The Early Life Of John Patrick Donnelly, s.j. Memoir of Jesuit professor born in 1934, relating family history, his education, and his decision to become a Jesuit,"

relied on his theological expertise, and I was in awe of his Latin (he once wrote a letter to me in Latin), and we all were amazed at the reaction of Prof. William Sachse to an essay on the English theologian Richard Hooker (1554–1600) that Donnelly submitted in his course on Tudor and Stuart England. He suggested that Donnelly publish it.

The structure of the graduate program required two coursework units plus attendance at the supervisor's seminar in first year and then the submission of a thesis in order to complete a master's degree. The coursework and seminar requirements were the same in the second year, at the end of which students took their preliminary examinations, or prelims, on four subject areas of their major field. In the meantime students had to demonstrate competence in two foreign languages. In other words, students had to complete two years of coursework and a thesis, pass their preliminary examinations, and demonstrate linguistic proficiency before they could commence work on their PhD dissertation. Ideally, students spent their third year researching their topic and the fourth writing the dissertation and completing the coursework on their minor field. At the end of the 1967–68 academic year, I had successfully completed the first two years and was ready to go first to St. Louis for the Summer Institute of the Foundation for Reformation Research and then to Rome for a year of research in the Jesuit and Vatican Archives. While away I exchanged correspondence with my peers and my supervisor, the letters which became *The Madison Mafia*. Before my wife, Noreen, and I departed from Madison, all Kingdon's graduate students and their partners gathered for a picnic followed by a softball game. Kingdon was the umpire.

While Noreen and I spent the first part of the summer in St. Louis and then settled into Rome, Donnelly spent the summer, as he wrote, "swimming, playing basketball, drinking wine, and watching TV," but primarily preparing for his preliminary examinations, which he planned to take in November, six months earlier than required. Come October, he was wishing he had spent more time during the summer studying for the exams, because he now was taking a full course load as well as working as a teaching assistant in Kingdon's course on the Reformation. Nonetheless, an entirely unexpected development would have worse effects on his preparation, as he wrote on 27 October:

at the Children in Urban America Project website, http://www.mu.edu/cgi-bin/cuap/db.cgi?db=default&uid=default&view=1&db=default&uid=default&Content=curriculum&ww=on&bool=and&sb=&CatAbbrev=---&Neighborhood=---&Decade=---&nh=237&mh=1 (accessed 19 February 2015). It's probably easier to google John Patrick Donnelly to find this document!

What has really consumed my psychic energy as well as time and hurt my preparation for prelims has been campus politics. Let me explain: This summer a group of about thirty students in the history department, both graduate and undergraduate students, all of them self proclaimed radicals and most Marxists of one shade or another, organized the History Students Association (HSA). Its purpose was to revamp the curriculum and teaching method of the history department, also the power structure. HSA demand equal voting rights in all department committees (one student for each professor) and invaded several meetings, sometimes refusing to leave. They also got out a booklet with a lengthy critique of the department. Capturing power in the department was only a step to capturing power in the university, then on to revolutionize society. Much of their program was sheer nonsense, but much very intelligent. The first week of class, the department called a meeting to discuss the situation—about 200 graduate students, maybe fifty undergraduates and virtually all the faculty showed up. No punches were pulled by either side. It became apparent that many students—I was one who talked up—thought that there were plenty of reforms needed, but that the HSA had no right to talk for all students. Many thought that practical reforms could better be achieved by a professional type organization of history students without the further commitment of revolutionizing society and without all the Marxist ideological baggage. The University is already under heavy assault on Capital Hill, talk and bills to abolish the board of regents and bring the University more directly under the Governor's thumb. Further student meetings determined that the founding fathers of HSA were determined that it must not loose [sic] its radical identity or integrity to reformist liberals like me. The moderates had no choice but to withdraw, form an organization, formulate a platform, and nominate three graduate and three undergraduate students to the department's joint student-faculty committees which will discuss reforms. The new organization, History Students for Reform (HSR), nominated me at a meeting I did not attend as one candidate. I accepted with some reluctance—I don't have the time, and priests should stay out of politics. But I was convinced that unless somebody stood up and offered an alternative to the radicals, the University of Wisconsin was headed on a collision course which would result in another Columbia. The election campaign followed—handing out broadsheets in history classes, placing ads in the *Cardinal* [the student newspaper], getting propaganda on the radio, putting up placards. HSA (bad guys) put out a 14 page newsletter—one paragraph of which attacked and misquoted me. I have had interviews with the *Cardinal*,

> both Madison papers, the *Milwaukee Journal* and *Newsweek* magazine. Results—we took 5 of six seats in a close election—my 189 was tops, but a change of fifteen votes would have put in a solid HSA slate. The worst feature of the situation is that now we have to produce on our campaign promises—also the faculty representatives include Kingdon, [Theodore] Hamerow, and [Domenico] Sella—all of whom will be grading my prelims. I will have to fight RMK [Kingdon] eyeball to eyeball for more student power.[4]

Kingdon had previously sent me a much shortened version of these events; he made no judgements about Donnelly's involvement but obviously wished that he could extricate himself from the committee: "At this point I envy you the quiet of the archives." In the meantime in Rome I was discovering that the archives were not such a serene environment; despite lessons in paleography I had enormous difficulties deciphering the letters that were supposed to provide the information for my dissertation, and I consequently realized that I would need another year in Rome to come to terms with them. As the day of the prelims approached, Donnelly, as the newly elected chairman of the joint student-faculty committee, rather than studying, found himself reading material on the abolition of the grading system. Two other students of Kingdon had also been preparing to take the prelims, Jerry Friedman and Hans Gustafson, a Lutheran pastor, both of whom had been able to focus on the preparation for the past five months. Friedman's wife, Buffy, echoed his tendency for bombastic exaggeration when she reported in October that he was disgusted with the entire process, had become a lunatic, and did not smile any more. Her smiling husband wrote after the exams to report that he was confident he had passed.

> About the others. Pat feels confident that he passed too, and judging from the questions that he answered I don't see how he could have failed. He was in a pretty tough situation though. Up till about 3 weeks before prelims he was involved with elections to a history department students council. After that Ted Manno [another student] came into town and used his shoulder as a crying towel for a couple of days. Then Hans went totally berserk and called his Bishop to announce his resignation and that he was going to be a missionary in Tanzania (really!). He also decided not to take the prelims but RMK talked him into it. All this left Pat

4 See Tom Bates, *Rads: The 1970 Bombing of the Army Math Research Center at the University of Wisconsin and Its Aftermath* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), for an account of the violent climax of the student movement at Wisconsin.

> with less than 3 weeks to study, and then the weekend before the tests his aunt who was quite close died so he had to march off to Milwaukee until the day of the tests. I think he will get the award for hardly studying for prelims and still passing them. Anyway, I do hope he passed them and he is confident that he did.
>
> And then we come to Hans. As I mentioned above, he went through many different and diverse periods of panic each of which was accompanied by a different set of sleeping pills and tranquilizers. I am beginning to appreciate what you went through last year. Every day outside of some class he would corner me for about half an hour. He made me so nervous that I stopped going to class because no matter how I tried to run away from him he always managed to catch me near the door. After I stopped going to class I was through with him, but all he did was to hook himself on to Pat. I understand that he called Pat every day and made him crazy. A week before prelims Pat called me and told me that Hans was in a very bad way. He had tried to do some studying with him and saw that it was impossible. He said that he would love for Hans to pass but felt that Hans knew very little and thought that Hans would probably not pass. Everyone is hoping that somehow Hans will sneak through, but I don't think anyone is expecting him to pass. No one knows what will happen to Hans if he should fail. In all events we are all waiting for results now.

Donnelly wrote in a celebratory mood even before he received the results. First, he announced his confidence in obtaining a fellowship next year at I Tatti, the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies located outside Florence; he had been corresponding with its director, Myron Gilmore, "so I may be making frequent trips to Rome [...]. It should provide an excuse for a few glasses of wine together on the Via Veneto. I hope your Italian is good, because I have none." Next, he promised a party for all Kingdon's graduate students. He ended by boasting about his weight: "Incidentally, Lynn, you will not easily recognize me. I am down to 165 pounds, and will probably take off a few more. I won't be able to push you around on the basketball court any more, but now I'm so fast that I can go around you for that easy lay up. I hope the pasta has not been moving you up the scale, but I have fears of what an Italian diet and multitudinous Jesuit letters may do to the best guard Oregon ever produced."

Many of us had cause for celebration. Donnelly, Friedman, and Gustafson all passed the prelims, Gustafson obtaining three B's and one failure on the four parts. Friedman received a small grant of $1000 to help with his expenses in moving to the University of Chicago and then obtained a fellowship from the Newberry Library worth $3000 a year plus an apartment and an office, Donnelly

received notification in January that his application for a fellowship at I Tatti had been successful, and I obtained a Ford Foundation Fellowship to finance my additional year in Rome. Donnelly's fellowship was worth $2500, which he hoped was enough for living and travel expenses for 15 months. Mine was worth $3000 for nine months; experience had taught me that was not enough, but then my fellowship also had to support my wife, and we were expecting a baby in September. Both Donnelly and I nonetheless applauded our good fortune. Even Kingdon could be pleased with his Guggenheim grant that permitted him to spend the next academic year doing research away from Madison and its committees, primarily in Geneva.

After the drama of the past semester, Donnelly evidently kept his head down when classes recommenced towards the end of January, and the only comment made by other graduate students about him at this time indicates that the radical elements were still annoyed with his stand on the History Students Association: "I understand activists on campus and in the department are very upset with him." In February the campus was rocked by demonstrations on behalf of the demands made by black students and the consequent intervention by the National Guard, but Donnelly did not write about it. Others wrote conflicting reports, and Bob Kolb seemed amused by it all:

> You probably are surprised that I haven't been at least bloodied up in the widespread rioting and violence that has shaken the campus. At least that might be your impression if you'd been watching US TV. Actually I had one class disrupted this past Monday in the last gasp of the strike; other than that in going to class ten times last week, I crossed one picket line and that was all. I saw a couple crowds blocking traffic on State, Park, and University [Streets], but I missed the cops breaking them up. Only on Friday did I see any cops or guardsmen—then the halls were filled with guardsmen. Oh, this Monday, I did see some guardsmen when they came back on campus after there had been a couple class disruptions. But the campus situation was not disturbed any where [sic] near as much as the media would have you believe.

Kingdon's graduate students were more concerned with their grades and related prospects for employment and scholarships than with the demonstrations and the intervention, and they were consequently very upset with the treatment they were receiving from him. As one wrote, "unhappiness in the Kingdon fort is a reality and not a rumor."

As Madison's bitterly cold winter gradually turned to spring, Donnelly's thoughts pleasantly turned toward European travel and unpleasantly toward

the need to become more proficient in Italian. He was also keen to escape the campus disturbances and riots, especially since his house on Langdon St. was right in the middle of the battleground. Towards the end of May he reported on the latest troubles: "This time I am convinced the blame is clearly with the police, who were looking for trouble. Tear gas and a few clubbings. Once the cops decided to clear out of the student areas, the trouble disappeared. Langdon street was comparatively quiet—a cop car would cruise down the street, somebody would shout 'pigs,' the cop car would stop, dump out a couple of canisters of tear gas, then move on."

Donnelly's arrival in Europe would mean that four of Kingdon's graduate students were doing research there. On Easter Sunday Noreen and I encountered Luther Peterson and his wife, Patty, in St. Peter's square where we had gone to see the pope, the crowds, and the spectacle. He was taking a break from his research in Germany. After learning that he had passed his prelims, Hans Gustafson went to England, from where he travelled to Rome in May to discover what the Vatican Library might hold of interest to him. Donnelly intended to travel extensively with his Eurail pass before settling down in Florence, but his plans were cut short by a severe case of flu. Meanwhile, we continued to maintain our matriculation in Madison. Oddly enough, despite the expectation that many graduate students would research their dissertations at libraries and archives throughout the world, and despite the approximately fifty students who were so engaged at any one time, the University of Wisconsin had no provisions for long distance enrollments; students had to rely on friends to complete the process each semester. Donnelly had performed that favor for me, and now we both turned to Bob Kolb. It was no trifling matter since enrollment was necessary for us to receive our scholarship funds.

As Donnelly settled into Florence he discovered that I Tatti, art historian Bernard Berenson's villa outside Florence and since 1961 the site of the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, was not as inaccessible as he had been led to believe, but that it still took about an hour by bus to get there. His initial reaction was mixed: "The only duty the fellows seem to have is to make an appearance several times weekly at a splendid lunch so as to stimulate each other. Great, except that my *pensione* charges for lunch whether I'm there or not, and this place is way out in the country. Maybe I'll buy a motor scooter." I Tatti had an outstanding library devoted to art history, which was of little use for Donnelly; instead he intended to use the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. As for accommodation he stayed at Hotel Palermo, one of the four *pensioni* used by Gonzaga University for its 93 students in Florence. Before getting to work, he wanted to go to Sicily while his Eurail pass remained

valid. He stopped at Rome on his way south to see us and then wrote a report on his trip when he returned:

> My trip to Sicily turned out an utter fiasco. I got a compartment pretty much to myself on the way down and managed to sleep pretty good, although I was pretty cold. Next time I'll bring a sweater and long undies. I got down to Messina about eight, but it took till 12:30 to get to Syracuse which I wanted to see. It was cold, cloudy and soon began to rain pretty hard. I looked around for a place to say mass—Sunday—but all the churches were locked up tight and nobody around. Finally I got on a bus, went back to the train station, got a quick lunch in a second rate nearby restaurant, grabbed some candy bars for supper, boarded the 14:28 for Milano. I had a compartment all the way and slept fairly well. Got off at 8:10 in Florence, went to my hotel, and found out that for reasons too complicated to explain, I was locked out of my room till noon. Well, I saw Sicily—total cost $2.

In November Kingdon wrote from Geneva with the news that Donnelly had just been there, "rushing through in his usual headlong way as he tries to squeeze the last bit of value out of his Eurail pass. But he did stop long enough for a good talk." Kingdon had left Prof. Manfred Welti of Basel in charge of his graduate students in Madison while he went on the European conference circuit, first to Montpellier where he presented a paper on Huguenots in America and then to Rotterdam for an Erasmus Congress and to undertake some business for the Federation of Renaissance Studies. Now he was back in Geneva working on a book, among other things, on the reaction to the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, whose 400th anniversary would occur in 1972. He hoped to go to Rome to see Giorgio Vasari's frescoes of the massacres commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII.

Come December, Donnelly resolved to apply himself to his research, or perhaps his Eurail pass had finally expired, for he wrote, "I have been applying myself with growing assiduity and declining reluctance to the grim business of reading the *Opera* of [Peter] Martyr [Vermigli] [...]. The job is getting bigger than I had thought because all of Martyr's works are longer than I had anticipated and my rate of progress through them slower. I will just have to spend more time in the library, less at I Tatti, although that remains a most pleasant place to go for lunch, even if one wastes two hours coming and going. I was looking forward to today's lunch guest, H. Trevor-Roper, the Regius Professor at Oxford. He turned out a bit of a bore." As for his Italian, it was progressing

more slowly than his research and required an unusual expedient: "I have set up a bribery system: every day I study Italian I put 500 lire into a kitty to buy art books and records. To such expedients are the weak-willed driven!" (So much for Jesuit discipline!) Donnelly's "growing assiduity and declining reluctance" yielded dividends, and by early 1970 he became increasingly confident with his progress and with his dissertation, confident enough to consider more travel, this time to Moscow for an international congress of historians.

His travel plans changed dramatically as a result of the arrival of his 66-year-old mother towards the end of February, which was bad news as far as he was concerned because it meant he had to spend most of March playing "tourist guide and factotum." He brought her to Rome, where she met Noreen and me and treated us to a meal at a restaurant that was beyond the means of a student. Donnelly had plans to take her on "a quick circuit" of Venice, Vienna, Munich, Innsbruck and Verona, "then rush back and prepare for the ordeal [a report he had to give] on March 26." His trips to Rome at this time were much appreciated because the administration at the University of Wisconsin refused to acknowledge that Bob Kolb had completed my enrollment and consequently was no longer sending me money. Donnelly loaned me enough to tide me over and sent a scathing condemnation to the responsible office.

Kingdon meanwhile had spent Christmas in India visiting his sister; on his return to Geneva he began planning a trip to Italy and sought my assistance in gaining access to the papal apartments so he could see the Vasari frescoes. He scored an invitation from Myron Gilmore to spend the last week of March at I Tatti, and he then planned to spend the first ten days of April in Rome. Since all fellows were required to give a report on the progress of their research, Gilmore scheduled Donnelly's report to coincide with Kingdon's visit, hence the "ordeal on March 26." With some difficulty I gained permission for us to see the frescoes in the papal apartments; access was through the Sistine Chapel. When the Vatican official open the doors to the apartments with a flourish of keys (I almost expected a fanfare of trumpets) we saw that all the frescoes were completely covered and hidden by scaffolding. They were in restoration.

Noreen, our baby daughter, and I left Rome late in April, spent a month in Paris where I worked at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and were back in Madison by June. Donnelly was still in Florence in mid-July, not exactly enjoying his last days in Italy. He fainted in the street, refused to go to the hospital, but then decided he needed a thorough medical examination; next he required stitches when he cut his hand on broken glass, had to pay 80,000 lire [something like $128 at the time, which is close to $800 in 2016] for photocopies to take back to Madison, encountered the expense of mailing packages, and worst of all realized that his dissertation required major rethinking: "I got a major shock

Saturday—uncovered some evidence that puts into severe question many of the conclusions I have been forming for half a year. The factual material I have been building up for most of the year remains unshaken, but the significance now seems far less than I supposed."

Donnelly would not write to me again until over a year later in September, 1971, when we both had our PhDs and both were university professors. We have continued to correspond with each other ever since; my file of his correspondence is huge. Nonetheless, I do not think we would claim that we stimulated each other, as the fellows at I Tatti were supposed to do. I am also certain that my impact on his scholarship has been negligible to say the least. Because Donnelly is a Jesuit and because my scholarship for a long time focussed on the Society, he had ample opportunity to have an impact on mine. He did so in many different ways, providing me with bibliographical references, introductions to other Jesuits, explanations for Jesuit practices and terminology, and constructive criticism of ideas and drafts. All of my books on the Jesuits acknowledge his help. Aside from these concrete illustrations of Donnelly's assistance, his life revealed the humanity of Jesuits so that they no longer seemed intimidating to me, as they did at the beginning of my research. How can anyone be intimidated by someone who awards himself with 500 lire every time he studies Italian? Or by someone who boasts of spending $2 on a trip to Sicily? As a result of our friendship my approach to the history of the Society of Jesus was less affected by confessional bias. Pat Donnelly made me a better historian.

CHAPTER 2

Testimony to a Remarkable Man

Joseph C. McLelland

The role that J.P. Donnelly, SJ played in our Peter Martyr Library began at its beginning. An International Conference at McGill University in 1977 gathered those interested in Early Modern Europe, in particular having a special concern for the life and thought of Peter Martyr Vermigli. Donnelly's book *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* played a signal role in the conference discussions, introducing one learned in several dimensions of Vermigli studies. It was a welcome summons to others that here was a figure neglected but significant, worthy of scholarly attention. The discussions that followed featured others who had published monographs on Vermigli's life and theology. The final session encouraged us to think of launching a translation series to further this interest. "Pat" Donnelly and I were appointed co-editors of the proposed series.

Two qualities appealed to the group in choosing him. One was his knowledge of Vermigli as shown in his book, which involved a superior knowledge of Thomism. The other was his expertise in Latin, an obvious talent of this leading Jesuit historian. And it was thought that as a Presbyterian philosopher I might complement Pat well. It turned out that we did indeed become a good working team, as well as good friends. We met annually at the Sixteenth Century Society meetings, where we always arranged lunches together.

Pat is an excellent Latinist. I relied on him for my own translation work, including references to classical literature. Indeed, the translators we were able to bring on board were regularly referred to him as our resident expert. His hand on them (including me) was always gentle, if firm on proper meaning. He was always willing to take on new work, either translating himself or editing others. My own share of responsibility was considerably lightened by his generous and able endeavours. My role was to read through his translations, and to assist with references, particularly those involving Hebrew and Greek terms.

The business of the Peter Martyr Library meant constant letters—Pat was not able to master the art of e-mails well so the post office continued to benefit from our correspondence. So the often lengthy translation I would send by attachment he would have someone download, to be returned as a large package for my editing. The system worked well. Of the first five volumes of the series (1994–1999) three were by Pat (*The Two Natures in Christ*, *Sacred Prayers* and *Life, Letters and Sermons*), and two by myself (*Early Writings*, *Philosophical*

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Works). Turning to other translators, we were not able to maintain that pace. Indeed we discovered how few good Latinists are available for such work. Once we began cooperation with the Institute for Swiss Reformation History at the University of Zurich, we found a group of young scholars capable in languages, brought on board by the irrepressible Emidio Campi. As our team expanded, Pat and I continued to serve as chief "general editors" and so maintained our correspondence and friendship.

So it is with great pleasure I add this brief testimony to a remarkable man—outstanding in knowledge historical, philosophical and theological, devout in his faith, generous with his time and learning, a splendid example of a Christian "gentleman and scholar."

The Peter Martyr Library

1. *Early Writings* (1994), ed. Joseph C. McLelland
2. *A Dialogue on the Two Natures in Christ* (1995), ed. John Patrick Donnelly
3. *Sacred Prayers: Drawn from the Psalms of David* (1996), ed. John Patrick Donnelly
4. *Philosophical Works: On the Relation of Philosophy to Theology* (1996), ed. Joseph C. McLelland
5. *Life, Letters, and Sermons* (1999), ed. John Patrick Donnelly
6. *The Oxford Treatise and Disputation on the Eucharist, 1549* (2000), ed. Joseph C. McLelland
7. *Commentary on the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah* (2002), ed. Daniel Shute
8. *Predestination and Justification: Two Theological Loci* (2003), ed. Frank A. James
9. *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* (2006), ed. Emidio Campi and J.C. McLelland

CHAPTER 3

John Patrick Donnelly, SJ: A Bio-Bibliographical Note

Michael W. Maher, SJ

Chronology

Education

1954–1963	BA, PhL, MA, St. Louis University
1962–1967	STL, St. Mary's College (Kansas)
1967–1971	PhD, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Academic Experience

1959–1960	Creighton Preparatory School, Omaha
1961–1962	Campion High School, Prairie du Chien, WI
Summer, 1966	Lecturer, Marquette University
1968–1969	Teaching Assistant, University of Wisconsin
1971–1972	Instructor, Marquette University
1972–1977	Assistant Professor, Marquette University
1977–1985	Associate Professor, Marquette University
1985–2013	Professor, Marquette University
Spring, 1995	Jesuit Visiting Professor, Fordham University

Publications

Books

Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace. Leiden: Brill, 1976.

Reform and Renewal. Wilmington, NC: Consortium Books, 1977.

Utopia, by Thomas More. Editor and co-translator. Milwaukee: Marquette University Bookstore, 1982. Revised edition published by Marquette University Press, 1984. Third edition, 1989.

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PART 2

Essays

CHAPTER 4

Mourning in Lonely Exile: The Irish Ministry of William Good, SJ

Thomas M. McCoog, SJ

Introduction[1]

An English Jesuit named William Good accompanied Antonio Possevino on a clandestine Jesuit mission to the Swedish royal court in September, 1577. Scholars, most recently John Patrick Donnelly, have explicated the mission's motives and strategies, and Good's role therein.[2] Later, while Good served as confessor and spiritual director at the English College in Rome in the early 1580s, he advised on a famous series of frescoes in the college's chapel. The paintings reminded the seminarians of their English Christian heritage and of the possibility of martyrdom if they sought to claim it. Napoleon's troops destroyed the frescoes, but etchings can be found in Good's *Ecclesiae Anglicanae trophaea* (Rome, 1584).[3] He has, of course, been included as an important but secondary figure in the research of Thomas J. Morrissey, on David Wolfe,[4] and of Colm Lennon on Richard Creagh,[5] but with the exception of short biographical pieces in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, he has remained a largely unknown figure, periodically emerging from anonymity at crucial moments.[6] In this article I revisit Good's

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1 I thank three historians of Tudor Ireland for reading a draft of this article and offering advice and assistance for its improvement: Colm Lennon, Christopher Maginn, and Hiram Morgan.

2 See John Patrick Donnelly, SJ, "Antonio Possevino: From Mercurian's Secretary to Papal Legate in Sweden," in *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture 1573–1580*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu), 323–49.

3 See Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

4 Thomas J. Morrissey, SJ, "'Almost Hated and Detested by All'? The Problem of David Wolfe," in McCoog, *Mercurian Project*, 675–703.

5 *Archbishop Richard Creagh of Armagh, 1523–86. An Irish Prisoner of Conscience of the Tudor Era* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000); "Francisco de Borja and the Irish Mission of the Society of Jesus," in *Francisco de Borja y su Tiempo*, eds. Enrique García Hernán and María del Pilar Ryan (Valencia: Albatross Ediciones, 2011), 457–63.

6 Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, "Good, William (1527–1586)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition,

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sojourn in Limerick in the 1560s as revealed in his correspondence.[7] His letters, from a decidedly Elizabethan English perspective, have not received appropriate attention from historians despite the tantalizing details they provide during the period in which the city coped with the Crown's efforts to extend its control and impose religious change.

Ordained priest during the reign of Queen Mary Tudor (r. 1553–58), William Good was deprived of his ecclesiastical offices in 1560 after the Elizabethan religious settlement. Shortly thereafter he left England for Flanders. He read spiritual theology at Louvain where he most likely encountered Jesuits for the first time. Good made the Spiritual Exercises for 21 days under the direction of Everard Mercurian, then provincial of Upper Germany, and entered the Society at Tournai on 3 June 1562. In the autumn of 1564, he was sent to Ireland.

Elizabethan Ireland

In early 1560 the Irish Parliament established the Elizabethan Reformation in the kingdom: Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed "Supreme Governor" of the Church in January, and the second Edwardian *Book of Common Prayer* was implemented in June. The prayer book was not translated into Irish until the 17th century. Consequently Latin services could be used if and where the congregation and clergy did not know English. Politically, Ireland was volatile in the 1560s. Shane O'Neill, who had his rival Matthew O'Neill assassinated in 1558, claimed the earldom and the "O'Neill" title after the death of Conn Bacach O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, in 1559. After Shane's visit to London in early 1562, the Crown recognized him as head of the O'Neills, and Shane acknowledged Elizabeth's authority. The earldom remained in abeyance.[8] In Munster, Elizabeth's

ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10946 (accessed 27 January 2015); and Fergus O'Donoghue, SJ, "Good (Gorde), William)," in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, eds. Charles E. O'Neill, SJ, and Joaquín M. Domínguez, SJ, 4 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2001), vol. 2, 1786.

7 See Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland and England, 1541–1588: "Our Way of Proceeding"?* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 63–66; McCoog, "'Striking Fear in Heretical Hearts': Mercurian and British Religious Exiles," in McCoog, *Mercurian Project*, 645–73; McCoog, "Waiting on the Shore: The Society of Jesus in the British Isles and Ireland (1556–1565)," in Paul Oberholzer, SJ, ed., *Diego Laínez (1512–1565) and His Generalate* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2015): 241–78.

8 Christopher Maginn, "O'Neill, Shane (c. 1530–1567)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20785 (accessed 27 January 2015).

preference for the earls of Ormond (the Butlers) over their traditional rivals, the earls of Desmond (the FitzGeralds), eventually drove the latter to resist and rebel. To initiate much needed reform in the Church in Ireland and to stiffen resistance to infection from English Protestantism, Pope Pius IV named the Jesuit David Wolfe, a Limerick native, as nuncio in August, 1560.[9] Pius IV instructed his nuncio to establish contact with Irish leaders so as to strengthen their commitment to Rome, and to investigate the foundation of schools from the endowments of monasteries to renew devotional fervor and promote religious reform.[10] The first directive intimated support for Shane O'Neill and for Gerald FitzJames FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond; the second, opposition to the evolving religious settlement. Catholics warmly greeted Wolfe at his arrival in Cork in late January, 1561. As he traveled from Cork to his native Limerick, he visited the earl of Desmond at Kilmallock. Public celebrations of Mass and other manifestations of Catholic sentiment—Wolfe's Mass in Limerick reportedly attracted a congregation of 2000!—quickly spread throughout the region probably *propter hoc* the nuncio's arrival.[11] The demonstrations prompted a royal command for Wolfe's arrest.[12] Understandably, Wolfe operated in parts of Ireland least controlled by the English. Nonetheless, hostility from the government and opposition to ecclesiastical reform had psychological and spiritual repercussions on Wolfe: he complained of loneliness, frustration, and isolation.[13]

Richard Creagh, another Limerick native and a devoted friend of the Society of Jesus, had consistently resisted all offers of the title of bishop. He finally

9 On his proper title and role, see Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, *"And touching our society": Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2013), 410, n. 17.

10 See Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, "Aspects of the Continental Education of Irish Students in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I," in *Historical Studies* 8 (1971), 137–53, at 141.

11 On the political identity of Limerick, specifically its aspiration "to the status of virtual city-republics by royal charter," see Brendan Bradshaw, "The Reformation in the Cities: Cork, Limerick and Galway, 1534–1603," in *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland*, ed. John Bradley (Kilkenny: Boethius Press, 1988), 445–76, at 447.

12 Bradshaw points out vis-a-vis the Henrician reformation that there was little demand for reformation "from below" in Ireland, and that reformation "from above" was hard to implement at such distant locales ("Reformation in the Cities," 452).

13 For more about Wolfe and his work, see Wolfe to Laínez, Limerick, 29 June 1561, in *Monumenta Angliae*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog, SJ (and László Lukács, SJ, for the third volume), 3 vols. (Rome: 1992–2000), vol. 3, 361–71; McCoog, *Society of Jesus, 1541–1588*, *passim*; McCoog, *"And touching our society,"* 410–15; Morrissey, "'Almost Hated and Detested by All,'" 675–703.

capitulated after Wolfe's endorsement, and was appointed Archbishop of Armagh on 22 March 1564. He set out from Rome for Ireland circa 27 July. Among the faculties granted to him, Rome allowed him to establish one university and some colleges.[14] Helga Robinson-Hammerstein claims that Creagh had consistently advocated the importance of education because "Catholicism in Ireland was not a question of mere survival, but of revival and reconstruction by thoroughly trained religious teachers."[15] Moreover, these colleges, the archbishop believed, would produce many worthy candidates for the Society. The archbishop requested a Jesuit companion for his journey, someone who would remain in Ireland to aid in the foundation of these colleges, and to provide some solace and support both for the archbishop himself and for Wolfe amidst his difficult labors. Mercurian nominated Good, who awaited Creagh at his arrival in Antwerp on 29 September.[16] Together they sailed for Ireland around the feast of St. Luke, 18 October. An Irish Jesuit scholastic and a kinsman of Wolfe, Edmund Daniel (O'Donnell), returning home to breathe his native air for reasons of health, met the two in Louvain, but traveled on his own to Ireland.[17]

Strong winds forced the ship to stop at Dover. Fearful that he would be discovered in England, the archbishop insisted on continuing his journey. He went to London by land with two merchants. From there he planned to travel to Chester and then by ship to Ireland. Good meanwhile stayed in Dover with their possessions. After three weeks, the winds changed, but sailors discouraged Good from traveling with them to Ireland: as an Englishman and as a Roman Catholic priest, Good was dangerous cargo. Thus he entrusted his possessions to them and left on foot for London. There, unnamed Irishmen informed Good that the archbishop had already departed for Chester. Good followed and arrived in Dublin circa 18 December. He set off immediately for Armagh. After a delay for a few days at the Meath border, he arrived in Armagh circa 4 January 1565. He called on the "Great O'Neill," whom he described as the "greatest prince" in the north of Ireland. O'Neill knew nothing about the

14 The faculties can be found in Patrick Francis Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (Dublin: M.H. Gill, 1874), 32–38.

15 "Aspects of the Continental Education," 142.

16 Creagh to Polanco, Antwerp 29 September 1564, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [=ARSI], Germ. 145, fols. 221^{r}–222^{v}. See McCoog, "Waiting on the Shore."

17 Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Paesi Stranieri, busta 28, fasc. 1, fol. 1^{r}. Good apparently composed the report to disclose all he knew about David Wolfe, specifically common suspicions surrounding his relations with religious women: "P. Davidis Wolfii Societatis Jesu Hyberni circa causa sic se habet, quantum ego possum referre." It was dated 1579. An incomplete transcript can be found in Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu, 46/23/8. In "Waiting on the Shore," I mistakenly claimed that the three had journeyed together.

archbishop, or about Good. Since there was nothing that Good could do *in illis barbaris locis* (in these barbarous places), without the archbishop's authority and permission, he headed south for Limerick to find David Wolfe designated by Mercurian as Good's superior. The journey was arduous and dangerous, through woods, rivers, and ice, without bread, wine, and food, made worse by his foreignness: as an Englishman, he was only able to communicate occasionally through Latin. Wolfe and Edmund Daniel greeted Good warmly at his arrival on 1 February. Eight days later they opened a grammar school which survived happily enough until the end of November.[18] Daniel, an unnamed priest, and a layman taught the alphabet; Good, grammar, rudiments, and English.[19]

Sometime in 1563 Wolfe founded an amorphous religious organization of pious women popularly known as *mna bochta* ("Menabochta"), "the poor women," devoted to reclaiming prostitutes.[20] One "poor woman" was Helen Stackpool, widow of a former major of Limerick and mother of a Jesuit.[21] Shortly after Good's arrival in Limerick, Daniel explained to him the identity and apostolate of two noble women, one a widow (Stackpool) and the other unmarried, who had pronounced vows of chastity in their pursuit of perfection. To Good's horror, they often lodged in the same building, and continued to do so after Good's arrival.[22] Each met privately with Wolfe for spiritual conversation and direction. They also apparently cooked and performed household

18 The school in Limerick merits further investigation. Shortly after his entrance into the Society, David Wolfe had suggested that an unspecified priory be the site of a Jesuit college in Limerick. Ignatius did not think that the Society then had the means to undertake this enterprise, but hoped that it could in some convenient time in the future (Loyola to Wolfe, Rome 28 December 1555, in McCoog, *Monumenta Angliae*, vol. 3, 175–76). Richard Creagh had conducted a small school in Limerick from the late 1550s; situated in the former Dominican priory and under the patronage of the earl of Desmond, the school emphasized philology and grammar (Lennon, *Richard Creagh*, 42–43). See also Bradshaw, "Reformation in the Cities." Had the Jesuits assumed control of a school initially offered to the Society or of one administered by Creagh for a few years? Or was this school a totally new endeavor?

19 Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Paesi Stranieri, busta 28, fasc. 1, fol. 1^{v}. Grammar and rhetoric, valuable in themselves, were also a "means to moral perfection, *arma spiritualia*, for developing probity and for fighting heresy." See Grant Boswell, "Letter Writing among the Jesuits: Antonio Possevino's Advice in the *Bibliotheca Selecta* (1593)," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 66 (2003): 247–62 at 248.

20 On the early Jesuit ministry to prostitutes, see John W. O'Malley, SJ, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 178–88.

21 Morrissey, "'Almost Hated and Detested,'" 682.

22 It is unclear where the reclaimed women resided. Good's horror would be more understandable if they too stayed in the Jesuit community.

chores. To Good they seemed devoted, serious, pious, and hardworking; they received communion frequently and confessed their sins regularly. They gave good example. In their discussions with Wolfe over religious and theological matters, they occasionally consulted Good and sought his views on Scripture and doctrine. Often, if he remembered correctly, he reminded Wolfe that the Society's style of life and *modo di procedere* did not allow women to enter Jesuit residences, nor did it permit Jesuits to converse with women outside of churches and other non-suspicious sites. Wolfe considered Good overly scrupulous, unable to appreciate national and cultural differences (*non potuisse distinguere inter nationum mores aiebat*). The rules of the Society, Wolfe argued, were drafted for Italians and Spaniards, peoples petulant and distrustful. But in Ireland, men were not by nature suspicious, and women were, for the most part, truthful and honest. Good did not wish to challenge either his superior's judgement or his interpretation of the Society's rules so he stated simply that he did not want them in the residence and suggested that Wolfe either refrain from their direction or conduct it elsewhere. He did not question their sanctity, but preferred that men did the domestic work and that a more appropriate, public place be used for their meetings. Furthermore cloister should be observed: the women should stay in a separate building.[23]

Good's first extant letter to Diego Laínez in late September 1565 said nothing about these difficulties, but complained of his frustration and his feeling of uselessness. The Jesuits slaved, sweated, exhausted themselves with little comfort or consolation. Yet for the love of the crucified Christ, they tried to bear their cross without murmuring. They had discussed admitting others as candidates for the Society—most likely by sending them to continental novitiates as Wolfe had done in 1561,[24] but for an unexplained reason, they did not. With the superior's permission, Good and Daniel had made a general confession to a non-Jesuit priest before they renewed their vows on 7 August traditionally commemorated in England and Ireland as the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus. Aside from general confessions, they did not practice domestic penances because they were so few and lacked the necessary disciplinary instruments. Nonetheless they found other means to cultivate their religious fervor. Opportunities for spiritual ministries, specifically confessions, Masses, and the Spiritual Exercises themselves, were limited. Good's ministry was still more limited

23 Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Paesi Stranieri, busta 28, fasc. 1, fol. 1^{v}.

24 See McCoog, "Waiting on the Shore." Father General Laínez wanted another Jesuit in Ireland to assist in recruiting candidates for the Society (McCoog, *Society of Jesus, 1541–1588*, 63).

because he did not speak Irish.[25] Occasionally he provided some assistance in English or Latin to some of his students. The other students resorted to native clergy for the sacraments with the complaint that these priests imposed barriers to the sacraments by demanding money for the service. Few students spoke English; the majority stared at Good in ignorant amazement with no idea what he was saying. Nonetheless, he tried teaching catechism on Sundays and feast days. The number of students declined, a trend that would continue, Good believed, because some preferred their children prepared for business and commerce, and not simply for virtue and religion. Moreover they feared English judges of the assizes would eventually crack down on the school because of its association with David Wolfe and his clear endorsement of papal primacy. Religious developments in England obviously had repercussions in Ireland. Thus many worried about the safety of their sons if the government attempted Wolfe's apprehension. Some Irish monks, Good added, occasionally came to the school in the hope of hearing lectures on Scripture or theology. The Englishman recommended they return after the arrival of more Jesuits. If the Society wished to continue the school and to strengthen the Church, discretion was required lest the authorities be antagonized. Yet with more men familiar with the language, more financial assistance, more prayers, sacramentals (especially statues and pictures), and spiritual support, Good predicted the school could not only survive, but prosper.[26] Because Wolfe was often away on ecclesiastical matters, an Irish priest helped out but Good doubted that he would return both because of the complexity of the situation and because of his desire to cross to the continent to enter the Society. Good himself apparently had traveled to England in August to collect the books left there.[27]

During a visit to Limerick in mid-October Sir Thomas Cusacke, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, attended Vespers conducted by Good.[28] Apprehensive that Good was an associate of the archbishop of Armagh, the chancellor inquired

25 Unless Good was exaggerating in order to secure his recall, the paucity of English speakers in Limerick is surprising.

26 Irish reverence of sacramentals was noted frequently. See Salvador Ryan, "'New Wine in Old Bottles': Implementing Trent in Early Modern Ireland," in *Ireland in the Renaissance c. 1540–1660*, eds. Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 122–37, at 134.

27 Good to Laínez, Limerick [30 September] 1565, Dublin, Irish Jesuit Archives, MacErlean Transcripts. Father MacErlean uncharacteristically did not specify the location of the original, and I have not identified it.

28 Cusacke was a conforming Catholic, but the attendance of the lord chancellor at a Catholic Vespers testifies to attempts to accommodate religious changes and political realities within the traditional Catholic framework ("Reformation in the Cities," 462).

why an erudite, English priest was in Limerick. Creagh had been captured shortly after his arrival in Ireland, imprisoned in Dublin, and later sent to London in chains. He escaped in March, 1565. Good replied cautiously to the direct question regarding his association with the archbishop: he knew nothing about Creagh's capture and escape, only that he was a Jesuit sent by religious superiors to educate young men in piety, virtue, and letters. Cusacke reacted furiously at Good's mentioning Wolfe's name and demanded to know where this traitor was hiding. The chancellor explained that Pope Pius IV's appointment of Wolfe as apostolic nuncio had made the Jesuit odious to Queen Elizabeth and perhaps guilty of *lèse-majesté*.[29] Good responded—again cautiously—that he knew Wolfe as a venerable religious man, not as a traitor. Regardless, he knew not where Wolfe was. Thus the interview ended. On the afternoon of the subsequent day, the mayor of the city, Thomas FitzJohn Arthur,[30] along with some councillors and a military captain, entered the school building. They ordered Good with approximately one hundred students to leave. The displaced went into the church and said Vespers, presumably in Latin. Bystanders wondered what was happening as they witnessed the procession from the school to the church. Cusacke subsequently summoned Good for further questioning, but with assurances that he had nothing to fear as long as he answered all questions truthfully. Good repeated his earlier account: he was a priest in Ireland to teach manners, morals, and grammar. Asked specifically what he thought of the queen's authority, especially her title as Supreme Governor, Good hoped that the government desired neither his life nor the termination of his ministry. He pointed out, however, that this dangerous question, albeit simply phrased, concerned matters of doctrine. Just as each family had one head, and each kingdom one ruler, so too the Catholic Church. And its head, Good contended, was the pope, the successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ. Anyone positing a different head *ipso facto* separated from the true Church. The examiners listened attentively, and turned the enquiry to Wolfe. At its conclusion Cusacke warned Good against any denigration of the queen, and promised that he would attend the Jesuit's sermon on the following day (14 October). On that occasion,

29 "Old English" natives of Limerick such as Wolfe and Creagh prized their loyalty to the Crown and did not consider their allegiance to Rome a barrier. As the 1560s progressed some, e.g. Wolfe questioned their loyalty as the Crown forced them to choose one or the other. The "Old English" transitioned from "troublemaker" to possible traitor. See Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, eds. Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 33–53, at 48–49.

30 Maurice Lenihan, *Limerick: Its History and Antiquities, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co., 1866), 699.

Good's sermon on the healing of the paralytic so delighted Cusacke that the chancellor promised to petition the lord deputy, Sir Nicholas Arnold, so that Good could preach freely and openly.[31] Presumably Good had done more than avoid a derogatory remark about the queen. A few days later, circa 24 October, Cusacke summoned Wolfe. He again failed to appear and he was consequently condemned for treason. As the authorities sought Wolfe, who had in fact fled to Ennis, the school was sacked and looted. Daniel either accompanied or followed him. *Post hoc* and most likely *propter hoc* Good became so ill that doctors feared for his life. A report of his death circulated widely, and the other two Jesuits prayed for his soul. As soon as Daniel heard that Good in fact survived, he returned to Limerick to nurse him.[32]

Upon Good's complete recovery, in January, 1566, he and Daniel transferred the school to Kilmallock, near the Cork border. Writing from Kilmallock, Good explained how dangerous their mission had become: "persecution throughout the island; thieves in the country; soldiers in the cities, storms and cruel pirates at sea." No place was safe; no accommodation secure and permanent. In addition Good had his own physical problems: he suffered from some unexplained domestic enemies (perhaps the women about whom he had earlier complained?), and held a serpent at his breast—perhaps a reference to spiritual desolation. Wolfe again departed in order to execute his various responsibilities—and to avoid apprehension as the authorities pursued him. Good lamented that he was thus alone (one wonders what happened to Daniel unless he was traveling with Wolfe) "without conversation (except with God), without a companion, without consolation, and with anxieties regarding health, students, and business." Fearful, anxious, suspicious, tempted to flee, he struggled to remain hopeful of God's mercy as he preached, taught grammar, and heard a few confessions.

Because the citizens of Limerick failed to provide the promised maintenance, the Jesuits relocated the school to Kilmallock (about twelve miles from Limerick). The citizens of Kilmallock offered to provide corn, butter, vegetables,

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31 Arnold served as lord deputy between the departure of Sussex in May, 1564, and the arrival of Sir Henry Sidney in January, 1566. See Wallace T. MacCaffrey, "Sidney, Sir Henry (1529–1586)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25520 (accessed 27 January 2015). Conciliation was a hallmark of Cusacke's advice to the lord deputy. Here his counsel and convictions coincide. See Ciaran Brady, *The Chief Governors: the Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland, 1536–1588* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 105–06.

32 Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Paesi Stranieri, busta 28, fasc. 1, fols. 2^r–3^r.

meat, wood, and candles sufficient for five persons, along with a house, church, and a school. To the chagrin and shame of the citizens of Limerick, the Jesuits accepted Kilmallock's invitation. David Wolfe himself approved of the relocation because he believed that he would be able to come and go more freely in Kilmallock. Their new site was the former Dominican monastery,[33] in which two or three old friars still lived. It was commonly believed that they would soon be suppressed again, not because of moral improbity but a result of the ascendancy of Protestantism in England. But Kilmallock too failed to keep the promises, so the Jesuit resumed their sermons, lessons, and confessions in Limerick.

In Kilmallock Good first encountered priests who had conformed to the Elizabethan settlement in order to preserve their privileges and benefices. They had not been, Good observed, infected with the venom of heresy, but simply seduced by vanity and their fondness for comfort and ecclesiastical preferment. They erroneously convinced themselves that the external observances and the novel rites of the Established Church would not bother the Lord as long as they retained an interior purity, minds and hearts untainted by heretical doctrine. Fearful of standing up against the law and the government, these priests imitated Pontius Pilate as they excused their capitulation. Many poor, contemptible ἀμφιβιοὶ (amphibians, chameleons) connived with this "synagogue of Satan" with such justifications.[34]

Two months later, back in Limerick, Good again updated Laínez with his customary complaint regarding the dependability of couriers and the usual lament about the spiritual state of the missioners in this impossible situation. The Jesuits were deprived of good example, spiritual conversation, and religious discipline, all of which aided cultivation and growth of virtue. But dangerous, external threats imperiled their ministry more than any personal defect or shortcoming. They—presumably only Daniel and Good—wandered from place to place, wondering whether they should abandon their work. Such a withdrawal, of course, depended on the general, whose decision they awaited obediently.

The general knew better than Good Wolfe's exceptional qualities, especially his industry. Good himself only hoped that prayer united Wolfe more closely than ever with God. Many wished to imprison him because of his devotion to and service of the Roman Pontiff. Consequently, many who had originally welcomed him with praise and honors, now avoided him. All that he had acquired

33 The earls of Desmond had acquired this property. See Brendan Bradshaw, *The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 166. See also McCoog, *Monumenta Angliae*, vol. 3, 371–74.

34 William Good to [Father General], Kilmallock 8 April 1566, ARSI, Angl. 41, fols. 1^r–2^v.

for the good of the Society has been confiscated. His personal reputation suffered as gossipers questioned his relations with the Menabochta. To Good, Wolfe clearly typified a prophet not appreciated in his home country. But the rumors would not go away. And, as Good testified in 1579, there was no evidence, no proof, no confirmation for any of the stories. Good in fact wondered whether the scandalous stories were spread by the friends of the bishop of Limerick, John Quinn, O.P., who lived with a woman, in retaliation for Wolfe's efforts to reform the diocese and the bishop.[35]

Their educational apostolate remained at an impasse. Fear of robbers, fires, and other possible difficulties prevented them from relocating the school to the countryside. Education in the cities required authorization from Elizabethan authorities who would grant them permission on the condition that Good shunned Wolfe. Good did not wish to accept the terms, but Wolfe himself argued that the continuation of the ministry dictated that the stipulations be accepted. Again Good exhorted the general to ponder their plight in this God-forsaken, uncivilized place where savage men roamed the countryside. He anticipated no relief, especially after this "divorce" between the superior and his subjects. Meanwhile they did little in Limerick. They had not yet resumed their teaching because unspecified "circumstances" delayed the commencement. Daily they expected a visit from royal authorities who ranted and raved against the Roman Church and insisted that English be the only language in the churches. Public Masses have thus ceased. Frustrated? Fearful? Often, Good confessed, he wanted to flee, to return to Flanders. Frequently he remonstrated with Wolfe: he could not believe that the Society of Jesus would knowingly expose its men to such dangers. Wolfe remained unconvinced. Nothing that Good said could shake the superior's confidence. Nor, apparently, could Wolfe shake Good's bleak perspective.

When/if they resumed teaching, authorities dictated that they must now use the same text as English schools, specifically "Lily's grammar" as prescribed first by King Henry VIII and ratified by his successors, including Elizabeth.[36] The Jesuits could neither use a Catholic catechism, nor administer sacraments, without imperiling the students' parents. Any mention of the pope or his authority in any class or sermon was strictly forbidden. These were only a few of the "inconveniences" suffered out of Jesuit obedience! Wolfe deflected any request that Good be permitted to return to the continent by replying that he had neither the authority nor the power to authorize withdrawal from the work or the kingdom. God willed that they listen obediently to the voice of

35 Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Paesi Stranieri, busta 28, fasc. 1, fols. 3^r–4^r.

36 Ian Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 130–32.

their superior. Thus, Good implored the general to pray fervently for them that they would persevere in their efforts and they would do nothing that in any way would separate them from God's goodness and the Church's unity.[37]

The English Jesuit Simon Belost retained contact with Good, acting most likely as middleman for the Belgian provincial. Apparently not one of many letters addressed to Belost had arrived. On the other hand, Good had received only one letter from Belost. News of the death of Diego Laínez (in Rome on 19 January 1565) had just reached Ireland, presumably in a roundabout way, because the Jesuits had received no official communication. Good wondered whether other letters from Rome had never reached their destination. Perhaps Good's long desired recall to the continent was among them. Pursuit of Wolfe intensified: he was now forced to prowl the woods like an animal to escape the traps of the authorities. In this case a wolf was an innocent lamb. Good, meanwhile, remained anxious and agitated. He requested that Belost send him holy images, blessed grains, and a few *Agnus Dei*, and most importantly, copies of the missal and breviary reformed according to the new Tridentine norms. In addition he asked for a book that he had translated some time ago *Via ad amorem Dei*.[38] He concluded with a request for Belost's prayers, and a plea that he "write, write, write."[39]

In his 1579 report on Wolfe, Good mentioned the production of a play, indubitably the first Jesuit drama in Ireland, on the Feast of St. John the Baptist (25 June), but without year and location.[40] The play interwove the visitation of the Blessed Virgin with an account of John's birth and ministry and was performed to the thunderous applause and admiration of people unfamiliar with the art. Students, city-dwellers and rustics participated. The play was in English, a language used and understood by many in the city—an interesting remark given his earlier complaint that few spoke English. The parents of many of the students were delighted at the progress made in that language by their sons.[41]

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37 Limerick 8 June 1566, ARSI, Angl. 41, fols. 4r–5v. More detail about the school, the curriculum, and Jesuit activities in Limerick can be found in Good's "annual letter," ARSI, Angl. 41, fols. 7r–13v. See Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, and Victor Houliston, SJ, "Life in Tudor Limerick: William Good's 'Annual Letter' of 1566." *Archivium Hibernicum* 59 (2016): 7–36.

38 Is this Desiderius's (Miguel de Comalada's?) *Dialogus vere pius* [...] *de expedita ad Dei amorem via*, the original Latin edition of which was published at Louvain in 1554? There is no recorded English translation from the 1560s so this must have been a manuscript.

39 William Good to Simon Belost, Limerick 3 July 1566, ARSI, Angl. 41, fols. 6r–v.

40 Prionsias Ó Fionnagáin, SJ, *Jesuit Missions to Ireland in the Sixteenth Century* (n.p., n.d. [privately printed]), 22–23, suggests Limerick as the site and 1566, the year.

41 Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Paesi Stranieri, busta 28, fasc. 1, fol. 3r. This performance apparently has escaped the attention of Fletcher. See Alan J. Fletcher, *Drama, Performance, and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000).

In 1567 Wolfe departed on a pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, Loch Derg. On his way to or from Loch Derg—Good's report is unclear—Wolfe was captured and imprisoned in Dublin Castle.[42] Good and Daniel meanwhile were house guests of the dean of Limerick from the Feast of St. Michael, 29 September 1566, to 29 September 1567. As soon as he heard of Wolfe's arrest, Good and Daniel solicited donations to pay for his keep.[43]

In March, 1568, circa Shrove Tuesday (2 March), the judicial commissioners headed by the "Pseudo-Bishop" of Meath, Hugh Brady, Sir John Plunkett, and others arrived in Limerick. The bishop especially laid various traps to capture Good in the hope of throwing him into the same prison as Wolfe. But he failed and Good was able to associate publicly with the other officials and indeed to continue to teach. Around Passion Sunday, 4 April 1568, William Nouny, chaplain to the bishop of Limerick, visited Good on Quinn's instructions. The chaplain offered to produce witnesses to corroborate the bishop's version of events regarding Wolfe. Between Easter (18 April) and Pentecost (6 June), 1568, Good was forced to stay with the bishop. Good did not explain the reasons for his sojourn but they most likely concerned the bishop's efforts to exonerate himself. Later, for approximately a year, Good taught privately, heard confessions, and preached in Youghal and Clonmel. He was less pessimistic about the mission as the congregation begged him to stay. Surprisingly he was inclined to stay![44] Nonetheless Juan de Polanco, in the name of the superior general, insisted that Daniel and Good abandon Ireland for the continent. After various delays, only Good departed: Daniel would not go to Flanders because of the climate, but promised to leave for Spain as soon as possible. In 1569 Good traveled to England; in the following year he continued on to Flanders.[45] Meanwhile tensions within Ireland had burst into conflict. The assassination of Shane O'Neill in 1567 left a contentious struggle among the O'Neills and their followers in Ulster. In Munster the Desmonds and the Ormonds temporarily put aside their animosity to challenge Sidney's authority because they feared he intended to dismantle the traditional power structure. By August, 1569 only James FitzMaurice FitzGerald, cousin of the earl of Desmond, continued the fight.

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42 Wolfe was not captured *in via* either to or from Loch Derg as Good suggests, but after his refusal to denounce the pope as the anti-Christ and to recognize the queen as Supreme Governor during his negotiations with the Crown in Dublin. See Morrissey, "'Almost Hated and Detested,'" 686–87.

43 Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Paesi Stranieri, busta 28, fasc. 1, fol. 4^{v}.

44 Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Paesi Stranieri, busta 28, fasc. 1, fols. 4^{v}–5^{r}.

45 McCoog, *Society of Jesus, 1541–1588*, 66–67, 93–94; Frans de Costere to Francis Borgia, Louvain 31 August 1568, ARSI, Germ. 149, fols. 174^{r}–175^{v}.

Conclusion

Religious confusion and ecclesiastical uncertainty characterized the first decade of Elizabeth's reign more so in Ireland than in England where the deposition and imprisonment of bishops secured the reformers' control of the hierarchical church. Elizabeth, it must be recalled, had not yet been excommunicated, nor had hope been abandoned that she would find her way back to the Roman Church. Soon after the death of Mary Tudor in November, 1558, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, Duke of Feria, advised her widower Philip of Spain that Catholicism's future "depend[ed] upon the husband that this woman [Elizabeth] chooses, because if she does what she should, our faith will do well and the kingdom will remain Your Majesty's friend; and if not, all will be lost." Philip magnanimously offered his hand.[46] The queen's own brush with death from smallpox in 1562 highlighted the precarious nature of the settlement. During the decade between settlement and excommunication, many Catholics temporalized as they struggled to observe the law, and to preserve orthodoxy. Rome provided little guidance for English Catholics; at least Pope Pius IV sent a nuncio to Ireland arguably more to correct the defects and abuses of the late medieval church than to impede Protestant in-roads. Supporters of the traditional religion did not immediately embark on the road to recusancy. Many, whether as the chameleon clergy so derided by Good or as non-clerical Catholics more concerned with interior purity than exterior observances, navigated dangerous shoals. Good did not advance any theological arguments against their actions.

Wolfe's enthusiastic welcome and the large public Masses bewildered Richard Fanning, mayor of Limerick and the Jesuit's friend. Not knowing how to proceed, he contacted the viceroy Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, who in turn forwarded the query to London.[47] Elizabeth resolved their doubts by ordering Wolfe's arrest, but those pursuing him did not venture into Gaelic Ireland. Moreover, the earl of Desmond protected Wolfe. The reply dealt with the person, not the issue. Subsequent investigations and raids were concerned with Jesuit association with the perceived traitor Wolfe, and not with Catholicism. Jesuits could continue their school if they promised to have nothing to do with Wolfe. They could worship privately, but sermons and lectures must avoid the neuralgic issue of Roman primacy. In Limerick the government judged discretion as sufficient observance of the religious laws. Yet there were

46 See Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King. A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 122.

47 See Wolfe to Laínez, Limerick 29 June 1561, in McCoog, *Monumenta Angliae*, vol. 3, 361–71.

public exceptions. Hugh Lacy, a Wolfe nomination and Bishop of Limerick, welcomed the arrival of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, in 1567 with Catholic rites.[48] The Desmonds remained committed to Catholicism; Sir Thomas Cusacke and Sir John Plunket were conforming Catholics.[49] As Good observed, Catholic worship could still be found in a few churches in Limerick despite a Protestant take-over of the cathedral.

Good's correspondence provides us with fascinating details about the size, scope and curriculum of the Limerick school. To obtain Jesuit cooperation local authorities promised sites and support; their failure to provide it resulted in the institution's migration. During the school's short life, the Jesuits introduced text books and theater as found in other Jesuit colleges. Fear of Wolfe and his associates restricted Jesuit activity and eventually closed the school.

The fluidity of the 1560s calcified as the crown enforced more vigorously religious conformity, and Catholics argued that recusancy was the only acceptable response. Of the three Jesuits and their archbishop, Daniel returned to Ireland in 1572 with money to ransom Wolfe, and with a copy of *Regnans in excelsis*, Pope Pius V's bull excommunicating Elizabeth. He was tried in Cork and martyred on 25 October 1572. Wolfe was released from prison in 1572. A year later, he repudiated his allegiance to Elizabeth. Allegations regarding his relations with the holy women and their charges plagued him as Good's 1579 report demonstrates. Most likely he was dismissed from the Society for his political activities and apparently died in 1579.[50] Creagh was recaptured in April, 1567, and died in the Tower of London, perhaps poisoned, in December, 1586, apparently forgotten by the Society of Jesus. Good volunteered in 1573 for England; in 1584 Robert Persons, whom Good had directed to the Society, requested him for the mission. Both calls went unheeded. In February, 1585 he was sent to

48 Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447–1603. English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998), 230. He, Christopher Bodkin, Archbishop of Tuam, and Patrick Walsh, Bishop of Waterford, were apparently episcopal chameleons. See also Bradshaw, "Reformation in the Cities," 462; Fletcher, *Drama, Performance, and Polity*, 199–201.

49 Ciaran Brady, "Cusack, Sir Thomas (1505?–1571)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6970 (accessed 27 January 2015); Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland. The Incomplete Conquest* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 316. Brady observes that old English Catholics "were countrymen before they were Catholic" as they balanced loyalties (*Chief Governors*, 213).

50 McCoog, *"And touching our society,"* 410–15. For a different interpretation, see Morrissey, "'Almost Hated and Detested,'" 675–703.

Naples with faculties to absolve English penitents from heresy in the internal forum.[51] He died there on 5 July 1586.

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CHAPTER 5

Man of Conscience, Martyr, and Saint: Thomas More's Life and Death in the Memory of the English Catholic Community

Robert E. Scully, SJ

From the sixteenth century to the present, Thomas More has attracted legions of admirers, but also a certain number of detractors. Highly praised by his fellow Catholic and humanist scholar Desiderius Erasmus as a man of genuine piety and great learning, More was castigated by the Protestant martyrologist John Foxe as a papist and harsh heresy hunter.[1] In recent times, the majority of those who have written biographies and studies of More, while largely avoiding the extremes of hagiography or hatchet-job, have generally been favorable in terms of their overall assessment of the "Man for All Seasons," including Travis Curtright, Peter Ackroyd, Gerard Wegemer, Louis Martz, and Anthony Kenny, along with R.W. Chambers, author of a classic but perhaps overly enthusiastic account.[2] A more complex and nuanced picture is presented by John

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1 See Erasmus's Letter to Ulrich von Hutten, Antwerp, 23 July 1519, in *Sir Thomas More: Selections from his English Works and from the Lives by Erasmus and Roper*, ed. P.S. and H.M. Allen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), 1–9; *Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Days* (or "Book of Martyrs"): "The John Foxe Project," https://hridigital.shef.ac.uk/john-foxe-project/ (accessed 5 August 2016), with numerous references to Thomas More. It is instructive that Foxe's portrayal of More grew progressively harsher, for example, in comparing his first edition in 1563 to that of 1570. See the discussion in Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 62–64.

For a collection of early accounts of and writings by More, see *A Thomas More Source Book*, ed. Gerard B. Wegemer and Stephen W. Smith (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004). For a range of more recent assessments of More and his writings, see *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas More*, ed. George M. Logan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) [hereafter, *Cambridge Companion*].

2 Travis Curtright, *The One Thomas More* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2012); Peter Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More* (New York: Talese/Doubleday, 1998); Gerard Wegemer, *Thomas More: A Portrait of Courage* (Princeton: Scepter Publishers, 1995); Louis L. Martz, *Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Anthony Kenny, *Thomas More* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); R.W. Chambers, *Thomas More* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935; repr. 1962). In opposition to some critical assessments, in *The One Thomas More* Curtright argues for the consistency and integrity of More's actions and writings. For another generally positive account of More's thought and written

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Guy.[3] In rather sharp contrast, Richard Marius and, even more so, Jasper Ridley, have painted decidedly darker portraits.[4]

The goal of this essay is to examine three more or less contemporaneous (sixteenth-century) biographies of More, all written by English Catholics and, therefore, not surprisingly, quite positive if not effusive in their appraisal of him. Yet, how did William Roper and Nicholas Harpsfield, writing in the 1550s, and Thomas Stapleton, writing in the 1580s, remember More, and what were the perceived lessons and benefits of his life and death for the English Catholic community in the mid- and late-Tudor periods?[5]

Roper's *Life*

William Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More* (*c.* 1557; published 1626) straddles the boundaries of history, memoir, biography, and hagiography.[6] Roper's *Life*, like

works, see Alistair Fox, *Thomas More: History and Providence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

3 John A. Guy, *Thomas More* (London: Arnold, 2000). See also John A. Guy, *The Public Career of Sir Thomas More* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

4 Richard Marius, *Thomas More: A Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Jasper Ridley, *The Statesman and the Fanatic: Thomas Wolsey and Thomas More* (London: Constable, 1982). For an interpretation of the period that is generally not favorable to More, see G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). For a New Historicist approach, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980; repr. 2005), esp. Ch. 1: "At the Table of the Great: More's Self-Fashioning and Self-Cancellation."

5 For some background, see Michael A. Anderegg, "The Tradition of Early More Biography," in *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More*, ed. R.S. Sylvester and G.P. Marc'hadour (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1977), 3–25 [hereafter, *Essential Articles*]; James K. McConica, "The Recusant Reputation of Thomas More," in ibid., 136–49. For a further discussion of the sources on Thomas More's life and works, see Chambers, *Thomas More*, 15–47. Another *Life of More* was written in this period—by More's nephew, William Rastell—but much of it has been lost. See Chambers, *Thomas More*, 34–38.

6 William Roper, *The Life of Sir Thomas More*, in *Two Early Tudor Lives*, ed. Richard S. Sylvester and Davis P. Harding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 197–254 [hereafter, Roper]. For another edition, with additional background discussion, see William Roper, *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, Knighte*, ed. Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock (London: Oxford University Press, 1935; repr. 1958). See also Antony Francis Allison and David Morrison Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter—Reformation between 1558 and 1640*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1989, 1994), 2:136–37, no. 688 (hereafter A&R); R.S. Sylvester, "Roper's *Life of More*," in *Essential Articles*, 189–97.

that of Harpsfield, which was produced about a year later, emerged from and was largely made possible by the Marian Catholic revival. Queen Mary (1553–1558) and her regime were determined to overturn what they saw as the religious errors and heresies of the later years of the reign of Mary's father, Henry VIII, and, even more so, of the reign of her brother, Edward VI. Part of that effort was the desire to rehabilitate the reputation of one of the most prominent Catholic figures—or, as they viewed him, victims—who had played a central role in the dramatic and at times violent process by which England broke away from its ancient union with the international Catholic Church and formed the national Church of England. As part of that process of rehabilitation, if not sanctification, in addition to the two 1550s biographies under discussion here, William Rastell, More's nephew, produced a collection of the English works of Thomas More in 1557, the same year as Roper's seminal account.[7]

Will Roper (1498–1578), who married More's beloved daughter, Margaret, was an eyewitness to many of the events that he recorded; however, writing some twenty years after More's death, time and memory intervened, resulting in a few factual errors in his account. Yet even though Roper's *Life* presents More in a consistently positive light, "its general reliability has never been seriously questioned."[8] Due to its primacy of place, time, and sourcing, as well as its tone, Roper's work set the stage for most future biographies of his protagonist. In particular, it went far in placing the interpretation of More's life and death within an iconic if not hagiographic framework. Without pushing the analogy too far, one could argue that, in some essential ways, Roper's *Life* emulates the genre of a gospel. That is to say, as in the gospel accounts of Jesus (especially the Gospel of Mark), so too in Roper's account of More, there is very little on his early life, a relatively greater range of details on his public career, and then, at least space-wise, a disproportionate focus on the details of his "passion"—i.e., the arrest, sufferings, trial, condemnation, and death (as was believed, by unjust execution) of the protagonist.[9]

From the very first sentence of his work, Roper stressed the central role of conscience. He wrote that More was "a man of singular virtue and of a clear, unspotted conscience," as attested to by Erasmus, among many others.[10] Thomas

7 Thomas More, *The workes of Sir T. More* […] *wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge*, ed. W. Rastell (London: John Cawod, John Waly, and Richard Tottell, 1557).

8 Anderegg, "Tradition of Early More Biography," in *Essential Articles*, 4.

9 For accounts and interpretations of Mark's Gospel, see, for example, John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002); Donald Senior, *The Passion of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark* (Wilmington, DE: M. Glazier, 1984).

10 Roper, 197.

More consistently personified this trait, whether dealing with commoners or the mighty. As a young Member of Parliament he opposed what he considered to be an unjust financial demand that Henry VII tried to push through Parliament in 1504. The king, upon hearing that "a beardless boy had disappointed all his purpose," developed a "great indignation" towards More, which apparently only ended with the first Tudor king's death in 1509.[11] Some years later, in 1523, when More became Speaker of the House of Commons, he refused to side with Cardinal Wolsey in imposing what many regarded as a heavy and unfair tax burden on the country, thereby arousing the powerful cardinal's considerable displeasure.[12]

With regard to what was probably More's most complex and ambivalent relationship, namely, the one with Henry VIII—which, though rewarding in many ways, was also ultimately fatal—Roper indicated that More saw quite clearly that behind the king's sometimes affectionate and cultured facade lay a steely determination that would brook no serious resistance, and which was willing to throw overboard anyone who dared oppose him, whether wife, counselor, or friend.[13] In this vein, Roper noted that on one occasion when Henry visited More at the latter's house at Chelsea, the king walked with his host "by the space of an hour, holding his arm about his neck." This evocative and ironic scene, as described by Roper, retroactively pointed to the future, as More perceptively foresaw, because when his son-in-law told him how fortunate he was to have so close a friendship with the king, More famously and prophetically replied, "if my head could win him a castle in France [...] it should not fail to go."[14] As another prime example of More's insight into the character of Henry VIII, he advised Thomas Cromwell: "[I]n your counsel-giving unto his grace, ever tell him what he ought to do but never what he is able to do. So shall you

11 Ibid., 199–200.

12 Ibid., 205–7. On Wolsey, see Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990). See also George Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, in Roper, pp. 3–193. Cavendish was the cardinal's gentleman usher.

13 Among the more significant biographies and studies of Henry VIII and his role in the English Reformation, see Lucy Wooding, *Henry VIII* (New York: Routledge, 2009); John J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch*, ed. Susan Doran (London: British Library, 2009); Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, 2nd edn. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); George W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). See also Cecilia Hatt, "Keeping the Conversation Going: Fisher & More and Henry VIII's Intellectual Tyranny," *Moreana* 49 (2012): 127–39.

14 Roper, 208.

show yourself a true faithful servant and a right worthy counselor. For if a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him."[15]

On the national and international fronts, More was clear about his three great hopes for England and Europe, namely: "universal peace;" "a perfect uniformity of religion;" and "a good conclusion" to the king's great matter regarding his marriage to, and desired divorce from, Queen Catherine of Aragon. Otherwise, he astutely judged, the marital issue would cause "a disturbance to a great part of Christendom."[16] More was, of course, soon to see his hopes dashed on the rocks of the burgeoning Reformation, both abroad and at home.[17] After serving for some two and a half years as Lord Chancellor, he resigned his post (second in authority only to that of the king) for conscience sake once he came to believe that the Henrician regime was not moving toward reform *within* the Catholic Church, but rather was on the verge of severing England from its thousand-year union with the Church universal and (in the Catholic view) its source and symbol of unity: the See of Rome.[18]

In 1534, unable to swear to the full oath regarding the new royal succession (with a Preamble that replaced papal with royal supremacy over the Church), More was committed to the Tower of London. Yet he likened his prison cell to that of a monastery, evidently believing that God was giving him the opportunity to embrace a more solitary and prayerful life, as he had done in his early years at the London Charterhouse, the English monastic center of the

15 Ibid., 228. Cromwell was a complex and controversial figure, but some of the recent historiography has viewed him in a relatively more favorable light, though not without some scholarly pushback. See Tracy Borman, *Thomas Cromwell: The Untold Story of Henry VIII's Most Faithful Servant* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2014); David Loades, *Thomas Cromwell: Servant to Henry VIII* (Stroud: Amberly Publishing, 2013). Hilary Mantel has also caused quite a stir with her historical novels, with their intriguing if tendentious portrayals of Thomas More (very negative) and Thomas Cromwell (relatively positive). See *Wolf Hall* and *Bring Up the Bodies* (London: Fourth Estate, 2009, 2012).

16 Roper, 210.

17 Concerned with the spread of Lutheran ideas in the 1520s, More published *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies* in 1529. For a discussion of that work and the complex relationship between reform and the suppression of heresy in More's thinking and writing, see Craig W. D'Alton, "Charity or Fire? The Argument of Thomas More's 1529 *Dyaloge*," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33 (2002): 51–70.

18 More pointed out to the king's counselors that it was no small irony that Henry himself had not only vigorously defended Catholic doctrine in *The Assertion of the Seven Sacraments*, but he had exalted "the Pope's authority" even more highly than More and others had believed was prudent. Roper, 234–35. Regarding the context and circumstances of More's resignation, see William Rockett, "Wolsey, More, and the Unity of Christendom," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 35 (2004): 133–53.

Carthusians, the most ascetic and contemplative of all the Catholic religious orders.[19] Roper suggested that, to his gift of far-sightedness, More added the virtue of forgiveness. Although Queen Anne Boleyn had played no small role in bringing him down, More expressed sorrow for her to his daughter Margaret, saying (once again, prophetically): "It pitieth me to remember into what misery, poor soul, she shall shortly come."[20]

More was finally brought to trial and convicted of treason, according to Roper, on the perjured testimony of Richard Rich.[21] As More saw it, free now to discharge his conscience, he forthrightly defended papal (as opposed to royal) supremacy over the Church, viewing this as divinely ordained. He argued that, with regard to the See of Rome, it was granted "a spiritual pre-eminence by the mouth of Our Savior himself, personally present upon the earth, only to Saint Peter and his successors, Bishops of the same See."[22] In that regard, Roper described More as arguing that, "no more might this realm of England refuse obedience to the See of Rome than might the child refuse obedience to his own natural father." To stress Rome's purported paternity of English Christianity, More, rejecting an alternative Protestant version of the establishment of Christianity in England, argued that it was through Pope Gregory I's "messenger," St. Augustine of Canterbury, in the late sixth century, that "we first received the Christian faith."[23] Upon the scaffold, More reaffirmed this thousand-year bond between England and Rome by requesting that all those present might bear witness to the fact that he was about to "suffer death in and for the faith of the Holy Catholic Church."[24]

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19 Roper, 198, 238–39, 242.

20 Ibid., 238, 240.

21 Ibid., 244 f. For an in-depth account of More's trial and execution, see E.E. Reynolds, *The Trial of St. Thomas More* (New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1964). Assessments of the fairness of More's trial can be found in *Thomas More's Trial by Jury: A Procedural and Legal Review with a Collection of Documents*, ed. Henry Ansgar Kelly, Louis W. Karlin, and Gerard B. Wegemer (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2011). See also a French manuscript account of the trial, called the Paris Newsletter, which is printed in Harpsfield, 253–66.

22 Roper, 245–48, at 248.

23 Ibid., 249.

24 Ibid., 254. See also Reynolds, *Trial of St. Thomas More*; William Rockett, "The Case against Thomas More," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 39 (2008): 1065–93. Rockett discounts the contention that More was involved in "clandestine maneuvering aimed at obstructing the king in the divorce proceedings." Rather, the heart of More's "argument was that no temporal prince could presume to take upon himself the supreme government of the church or of any part of it." Ibid., 1090, 1093. For insights into More's own thoughts and feelings, see a series of letters, mostly from and some to More, in *The Last Letters of Thomas More*, ed. Alvaro de Silva (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000). Insights into the prison writings

It is also quite instructive to note that Roper cited More's reference at his trial to St. Stephen, the protomartyr of the Church, who bravely went to his death rather than deny his firmly held convictions.[25] More, and then Roper in turn through his recounting and placement of the reference, seemed to be saying implicitly but poignantly that More, like Stephen, was going to his death as a martyr, and one whose death would be interpreted, not in the negative light desired by his enemies, but rather in the positive light of faith, the faith of the Church triumphant.

Roper concluded his account with a powerfully ironic comparison. When Emperor Charles V heard that Thomas More had been put to death, he told the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Elyot, "if we had been master of such a servant, [...] we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions than have lost such a worthy counselor."[26] More had taken the correct measure of Henry VIII, having predicted that the king would be willing to sacrifice him, so to speak, to gain even a single castle in France. In dramatic contrast, Charles V declared that he would rather have lost the greatest city in his empire than have lost such a man as Thomas More, a man of true conscience and conviction.[27]

The Marian context of Roper's account, written as it was in the 1550s, is telling. On the moral and religious levels, the schismatical Henry VIII, in Roper's view, could not hold a candle to his martyred and saintly servant. Anne Boleyn (the woman who brought so much heartache to Mary's mother, Catherine of Aragon), appears but briefly and in a dark and pitiable light, whereas Catherine and her nephew, Charles V, are mentioned several times and generally quite favorably.[28] Of paramount importance, however, Roper lauded the idea that Thomas More's heroic sacrifice for the sanctity and unity of the Church had been vindicated. By the time of his writing, Mary had ended the schism

of More and several other Catholics of the Tudor period are provided in Paul Strauss, *In Hope of Heaven: English Recusant Prison Writings of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995).

25 Roper, 250.

26 Roper, 254. On Charles V, see *The Autobiography of the Emperor Charles V*, trans. Leonard Francis Simpson (London: Longman, Green, 1862); William Maltby, *The Reign of Charles V* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002).

27 See Richard Rex's insightful assessment in "Thomas More and the Heretics: Statesman or Fanatic?" in *Cambridge Companion*, 93–115. Rex's contention is that "the data do indeed show us a statesman, not a fanatic: a statesman of conscience, and a statesman of extraordinary insight and foresight." Ibid., 94.

28 With regard to Catherine, see Roper, 202, 214, 216, 228. Roper described Queen Catherine as the "most noble, virtuous, and lawful wife" of Henry VIII. Ibid., 214. For Charles V, see Roper, 209, 213–14, 217, 254.

with Rome, restored papal primacy in England, and initiated what appeared to be a genuine and fairly widespread Catholic revival, involving some persecution of Protestants to be sure, but placing great emphasis on extensive preaching, publishing, and other means of intellectual and spiritual revitalization.[29] In addition to these and related developments, and as so often occurred in the history of the Church, the faith and, even more graphically, the blood of martyrs—that of More, along with John Fisher and others—had apparently acted over time as a restorative remedy and (re)fortified many of the faithful.[30] The tragically divided Church, at least with regard to England and Rome, was once again united—for good, or so it seemed at the time of Roper's writing in 1557!

Harpsfield's *Life*

Roper had written his account, in part, to provide a personal portrait of Thomas More for Roper's friend Nicholas Harpsfield (*c.* 1519–1575), Archdeacon of Canterbury during Mary's reign, who soon thereafter undertook a more detailed and scholarly biography of More.[31] Whereas Roper's work focused largely on the man, his family, and his inviolable commitment to conscience, which led finally to his martyrdom, Harpsfield far more explicitly placed More in the context of his time, while also showing how he transcended it by dying, first and foremost, as a martyr for the faith and for the inviolable unity of the Church. More's remarkable character and promise were, Harpsfield suggested, evident from the outset. As a youth, Thomas served in the household of

29 A number of revisionist accounts argue that through the creative use of the press, pulpit, and other means a Marian Catholic revival was well underway before it was cut short by the queen's death after a mere five-year reign. See *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006); William Wizeman, SJ, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006). See also Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), which argues that the Marian persecutions, in the context of the times, were largely effective.

30 For a collection of Fisher's English writings in the last decade and a half of his life, see *English Works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (1469–1535): Sermons and Other Writings, 1520–1535*, ed. Cecilia A. Hatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

31 Nicholas Harpsfield, *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, Sometymes Lord High Chancellor of England*, ed. Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock (London: Oxford University Press, 1932; repr. 1963) [hereafter, Harpsfield]. He completed his work *c.*1558, though, surprisingly, it was not finally published until 1932. For more on Harpsfield's writings, see A&R, 1:88, nos. 636–39.

Cardinal Morton, who often times predicted: "Whosoever liveth to see it, shall see this child come to an excellent and marvelous proof."[32] Yet More would end up serving God, the Church, and the realm, not by embracing the contemplative life as a monk or religious, but rather by pouring himself out in an active life of public service.

Although Harpsfield acknowledged that the contemplative life was deemed superior in traditional Catholic theology and spirituality, he argued that "God himself seemeth to have chosen and appointed" More to serve him in the world.[33] We can see here a shift in thinking and practice in the sixteenth century—not only in Protestantism but also in Catholicism—toward a more activist Christian spirituality. In Catholic circles this was true of both laymen, such as Thomas More and Michelangelo, and religious, including Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Jesuits, and Angela Merici, founder of the Ursulines.[34] In fact, Harpsfield emphasized, More's household was so "godly and virtuous" that it served as a model for both laity and clergy.[35]

In an example of what may have been an increasingly common spiritual ideal, or at least admirable spiritual advice, More urged individuals, from the king on down, to interpret others' words and actions, in so far as possible and reasonable, as proceeding from a good intention and purpose.[36] This very much echoed Loyola's admonition in his *Spiritual Exercises* that "every good Christian ought to be more eager to put a good interpretation on a neighbor's statement than to condemn it."[37] Such advice was, unfortunately, ignored by many on both sides of the often bitter religious polemics of the sixteenth century—admittedly including, at times, More himself. Harpsfield implicitly addressed some of the hotly contested contemporary

32 Harpsfield, 10–11. Although this and the cardinal's remark are found in Roper's *Life* (197–98), Harpsfield, as he often does, expands upon the account, and promises to show that More proved to be "the noblest man of all England." Ibid., 11. (Harpsfield's spelling is modernized here.)

33 Ibid., 18.

34 See H. Outram Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968); *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation*, ed. Richard L. DeMolen (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994), esp. 98–163; John W. O'Malley, SJ, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993). With regard to Michelangelo and his spirituality, see William E. Wallace, *Michelangelo: The Artist, the Man, and his Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

35 Harpsfield, 18.

36 Ibid., 30–31, 73.

37 *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, trans. George E. Ganss, S (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), no. 22, p. 31.

religious issues, for example, with regard to patristics, stating that in the debates surrounding the king's great matter of the divorce, More relied heavily on Jerome, Augustine, and other Latin and Greek Fathers of the Church, because both Catholics and Protestants tried to demonstrate that patristic sources buttressed their side's doctrinal positions.[38] Also, to highlight More's heartfelt spirituality, and perhaps in part to counter Protestant attacks on the Mass and many of the Catholic sacraments, Harpsfield stressed that, before undertaking any important matter, More would go to confession and attend Mass.[39]

As further proof of More's religiosity, if not his sanctity, Harpsfield provided several examples of the efficacy of his protagonist's prayers. Will Roper, for instance, who was for a time a "zealous" Lutheran, was brought back to the Catholic faith, as he himself believed, through the great mercy of God and "the devout prayer of Sir Thomas More […]."[40] Even more remarkably, Harpsfield contended, when Margaret More Roper was once by almost all accounts at the point of death, she was, "as it was thought, by her father's fervent prayer miraculously recovered, and at length again to perfect health restored."[41]

There is another aspect of the More family and household that Harpsfield emphasized in his account, namely, not only was this a genuinely pious household, it was an exceptionally scholarly one as well, imbued with the spirit of Renaissance humanism.[42] He compared it favorably to Plato's famous Academy, while suggesting that it was greater still, due to the fact that it was an incontestably Christian household as well as a center of learning.[43] Harpsfield thus presented the More household as the embodiment of the ideal of Christian humanism, which was a seminal Renaissance movement, especially of the Northern Renaissance, combining as it did the best of the classical humanist

38 Harpsfield, 44–46.

39 Ibid., 64. See also Roper, 237.

40 Harpsfield, 84–89.

41 Ibid., 81–83. See also Roper, 212–13. For an in-depth look at this remarkable relationship, see John A. Guy, *A Daughter's Love: Thomas & Margaret More* (London: Fourth Estate, 2008).

42 For a solid collection of essays on the nature and impact of humanism, see *Humanism and the Renaissance*, ed. Zachary S. Schiffman (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002). On More, see James McConica, "Thomas More as Humanist," in *Cambridge Companion*, 22–45. See also Gerard Wegemer, *Young Thomas More and the Arts of Liberty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); idem., *Thomas More on Statesmanship* (Washington,: Catholic University of America Press, 1998).

43 Harpsfield, 91–92.

tradition with a thorough grounding in Christian belief and practice.[44] This is also closely connected with Harpsfield's discussion of More's extensive writings, which, in sharp contrast, Roper scarcely alluded to, not even More's masterpiece: *Utopia*.[45] Harpsfield, on his part, gave an overview of More's many works, highlighting *Utopia* as his "singular and excellent" contribution to Renaissance and world literature.[46]

Yet, as notable as More's role in the promotion of scholarship and humanism was, Harpsfield considered his contribution to Christendom as being far greater. In the context of Queen Mary's restoration of ties to the See of Rome (in 1554), Harpsfield stressed More's commitment to that primatial see, while also indicating that, like Mary herself, More was no ultramontanist, especially concerning the issue of legitimate limits on the pope's temporal power, even his supposed indirect temporal power.[47] As to the pope's proper spiritual authority, however, More was willing to defend it to the last, even if it aroused the wrath of Henry VIII. Like some others who went to their deaths for the same religious conviction, including a number of Carthusians as well as More's great friend and spiritual ally, Bishop (and later Cardinal) John Fisher, More remained steadfast.[48] Contrary to so many of his contemporaries—including

44 More's daughter Margaret (1505–1544) is often seen as a prime example of the Christian humanism that the More household fostered. For a discussion of the intersection of humanist learning and religious commitment, male and female voices, and the public and private spheres, see Jaime Goodrich, "Thomas More and Margaret More Roper: A Case for Rethinking Women's Participation in the Early Modern Public Sphere," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 39 (2008): 1021–40.

45 See Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. David Harris Sacks, trans. Ralph Robynson (1556) (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999). See also *Essential Articles*, Part II; Hanan Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia: Erasmus, Thomas More, and the Humanist Republic of Letters* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010).

46 Harpsfield, 100–35, esp. 102–5. As to the contribution of *Utopia* to the English and wider European Renaissance, D.B. Fenlon points out that "More's *Utopia* is the solitary exception to the rule that England, in the first phase of her Renaissance, imported everything from Europe [...] . England received her inspiration from the mainland of Renaissance Europe; she did not, in the early stages, make reciprocal returns. *Utopia* was the exception: England's bestseller in Renaissance Europe." Fenlon, "England and Europe: *Utopia* and Its Aftermath," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 25 (1975): 115–35, at 115. For recent readings of *Utopia* and some other of More's major works, see *Cambridge Companion*, Part II.

47 Harpsfield, 158–60. More had, ironically, expressed concerns about such papal claims to Henry VIII himself in light of the latter's arguably exaggerated defense of papal power in his *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*. Ibid. See also Roper, 234–35.

48 Harpsfield, 178–80.

most of the bishops, who, for various reasons, had gone along with the newly proclaimed royal supremacy of the Church of England—More called forth not only the witness of the past, going all the way back to the ancient Church, but also the witness of other contemporary Christian realms. As he said to those who queried and harassed him, he had seen no evidence of "any ancient writer or doctor that so advanceth, as your Statute doth, the supremacy of any secular and temporal Prince." Moreover, he was not able or willing, and could not be bound, "to conform [his] conscience to the Council of one Realm against the general Council of Christendom."[49]

Due to More's unwavering commitment to conscience, and his willingness to die a martyr's death, Harpsfield compared him to one of the greatest humanist figures of history, calling More "our noble, new, Christian Socrates."[50] We hear again the echoes of Christian humanism. But, like the contemporaneous and somewhat related Catholic Reform, which was an increasingly international movement by the 1550s, Christian humanism was by no means the exclusive preserve of the clergy or religious orders. Many lay men and women were active participants, not only in the context of the Renaissance but of the Reformation as well, and some, such as Thomas More, took the lead, sacrificing their lives for what they believed to be the good of the Church.[51] As Harpsfield proudly noted, More was the first "lay man in England that died a martyr for the defense and preservation of the unity of the Catholic Church. And that is his special peerless prerogative."[52] While the clergy of England had a number of representatives among the Catholic martyrs, More was not only the "ambassador for the laity," but also their "Protomartyr" for the cause of Church unity.[53] Moreover, Harpsfield argued, England was the first country that "forsook the unity of the Catholic Church, and gave the Pope's spiritual supremacy to a temporal king, [...] which [even] the Calvinists and the Lutherans impugn."[54]

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49 Ibid., 194–96.

50 Ibid., 199.

51 With regard to More's connection to these two major movements in early modern Europe, G.K. Chesterton noted, dramatically but not without cause, that "the best friend of the Renaissance was killed as the worst enemy of the Reformation." Idem, "A Turning Point in History," in *Essential Articles*, 501.

52 Harpsfield, 209.

53 Ibid., 211–13. With regard to More's status as a learned and pious layman, looked up to by many laity and clergy, Erasmus wrote: "When still scarcely more than a youth, [More] gave lectures on Augustine's City of God which were well attended [with even] old men and priests not disdaining to learn sacred things from a young layman." Erasmus's Letter to von Hutten, in Allen, *Sir Thomas More*, 5.

54 Harpsfield, 212.

In its sixteenth-century context, More's death was being (re)interpreted as not only his willingness to die for his beliefs, but also the state's determination to put him to death for his refusal to join with the majority of his countrymen in breaking with Rome and the unity of Christendom, and replacing that with the English monarch's supremacy over both state and Church. Although the unity of the Catholic Church was seriously threatened by developments up to the 1530s, when More was executed, it was largely fragmented across much of Europe by the 1550s, when Harpsfield (going further than Roper), wrote his largely martyrological account of More's demise and death. The pseudomartyr debate had begun, in which Thomas More himself had played a role. Catholic and Protestant writers and polemicists portrayed their executed co-religionists as genuine martyrs because they died for the true faith, whereas those on the other, false side of the religious divide were only pseudomartyrs, whose execution, therefore, seemed to be justified, either implicitly or explicitly. In other words, it was not the degree of suffering or a heroic death, even for the sake of religion, that made one a genuine martyr, but rather suffering and dying for the one true faith. Catholic martyrologists such as Nicholas Harpsfield and Robert Persons competed with Protestant counterparts such as John Bale and John Foxe in this ongoing debate. In the long run, the latter had the advantage (like Roper and Harpsfield briefly had in the later 1550s) of state sanction and even to some degree state sponsorship.[55] We shall see below how this played out.

In addition to the contemporary context of More's martyrdom, Harpsfield also wanted to place it within the wider framework of English and ecclesiastical history, comparing More to a number of martyr-saints, especially St. Thomas of Canterbury (i.e., Thomas Becket), who, like More, had died, Harpsfield insisted, defending the rights of the Church and the papacy (and after whom Thomas More had been named).[56] In a related analogy, Harpsfield declared that More was beheaded for "defending the right head of the Church," namely,

55 See Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, esp. Ch. 1: "The Pseudomartyr Debate." See also Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer, eds., *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, c. 1400–1700* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2007); Gabriela Schmidt, "'This Turk's persecution for the faith': Thomas More's *Dialogue of Comfort* and the Reformation Debate on Martyrdom," *Moreana* 45 (2008): 209–38. For a broader discussion of European martyrdom in the early modern era, especially regarding the contentious issue of what constituted true martyrdom, see Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), esp. 329–41. With regard to how some notions of tolerance factored into this complex reality after the Protestant ascendancy, see John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558–1689* (Harlow, UK: Longman/Pearson, 2000).

56 Harpsfield, 214–17.

the pope. In ordering More's execution, Henry VIII had, in effect, "cut off St. Peter's head, and put it, an ugly sight to behold, upon his own shoulders [...]."[57] In another attack on Henry VIII, Harpsfield said that even Henry II had publicly repented and recognized Thomas Becket as "a blessed martyr," whereas Henry VIII "not only unshrined and unsancted [*sic*] him," but also tried to turn Becket—like More—into a traitor to king and country.[58]

In two final and dramatic links to the past, one classical and the other ecclesiastical, Harpsfield first compared More to Cicero, the great Roman orator and statesman, calling More the "Christian English" Cicero. He then placed More "among the celestial holy martyrs in heaven," especially the revered English protomartyr St. Alban.[59] Like Alban, Thomas More was a layman who had given his life for God and the Church. The implication was clear: like the revered protomartyr saint, More was also both a martyr and a saint.

Harpsfield concluded his account on a triumphant note, rejoicing that Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole had restored "the unity of the Church that we had before abandoned. In the which God of his great mercy long preserve the Realm."[60] Ironically, this brief Catholic restoration was soon to be severed, once again—and this time permanently as it turned out—with the passage of the Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in 1559, which reestablished the royal supremacy over the Church of England.

Stapleton's *Life*

The third significant More biography of the later sixteenth century was the work of Thomas Stapleton, an Elizabethan Catholic priest and exile, who was born in the year that Thomas More died, 1535, and who himself died in 1598.[61]

57 Ibid., 217.

58 Ibid., 215. Harpsfield goes on to describe both similarities and differences between the lives and the causes of the martyrdoms of Becket and More. Ibid., 215–17. For a discussion of Henry VIII's ideological "unsainting" of Becket, see Robert E. Scully, S.J., "The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation," *Catholic Historical Review* 86 (2000): 579–602.

59 Harpsfield, 217–18.

60 Ibid., 218.

61 Thomas Stapleton, *The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E.E. Reynolds and trans. Philip E. Hallett (New York: Fordham University Press, 1966) [hereafter, Stapleton]. For an overview of Stapleton's remarkably extensive corpus, see A&R, 1:154–64, nos. 1129–1243; ibid., 2:145–46, nos. 729–737.5. A.C. Southern discusses Stapleton's contributions to recusant literature in *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559–1582* (London: Sands,

His study of More was part of a larger work, the *Tres Thomae*, which examined the lives of St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Thomas Becket, and Thomas More.[62] The section on More was by far the longest and was entitled *Vita et Illustre Martyrium Thomae Mori* (*The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More*).[63] Unlike Roper and Harpsfield, Stapleton wrote his work in Latin in order to reach an educated international audience as well as an English one, and his triple biography was published at Douai in the Spanish Netherlands in a year of international significance—1588—the year of the Spanish Armada.[64]

While his account is not entirely free of some apparent folk-tales, as "remembered" by various exiles of the More circle, Stapleton set out to write a biography that was scholarly, but which, at the same time, showed clearly that More, like his famous namesakes, died as a true martyr for Christ (like Thomas the Apostle) and for the Church universal (like Thomas Becket). As Stapleton stated in the opening line of the Preface, his goal was to provide "a description of the life, the character, and the most noble martyrdom for the orthodox Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Faith, of Thomas More, whose reputation for piety, learning, and wit is so widely known."[65] While Stapleton discussed the importance of More's learning, he stressed even more so his piety, saying that More "was far more zealous to become a saint than a scholar."[66] In other words, although More was immersed in and contributed significantly to Renaissance

1950), 45–46, 88–94. See also Marvin R. O'Connel, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964). For a biographical sketch of Stapleton, see Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests, Vol. 1, Elizabethan* (Ware, UK: St. Edmund's College, [1968]), 333. As Anstruther notes, in 1584 Stapleton "tried his vocation with the Jesuits but left before the end of his novitiate," i.e., after about two years. Ibid.

62 See William Sheils, "Polemic as Piety: Thomas Stapleton's *Tres Thomae* and Catholic Controversy in the 1580s," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (2009): 74–94, which argues that Stapleton was not just writing a hagiographical work, but even more so a polemical one, designed to counter John Foxe's version of the Christian and Catholic past, especially regarding true versus pseudo-martyrs, as well as to address issues relating to Catholic life and persecution under the later Elizabethan regime.

63 As E.E. Reynolds notes regarding the *Tres Thomae*: "The life of the Apostle fills only twenty-six pages; that of St. Thomas Becket, 141 pages; and that of Sir Thomas More, 261 pages." Stapleton, xi.

64 Stapleton wrote many of his early works in English, so the fact that he wrote his *Life* of More, the great English Catholic hero, in Latin, indicates both that More's international reputation was growing in the late sixteenth century and that Stapleton aimed to augment that reputation even further. See Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 135.

65 Stapleton, xv. To stress the importance and centrality of More's "martyrdom," Stapleton used the word five times in the brief Preface to his work. Ibid., xv–xviii.

66 Ibid., 8.

culture, he was a Christian first and a humanist second. Of course, in the best of the Christian humanist tradition, learning and virtue were seen as mutually supportive and reinforcing. Thus, More was "a most diligent student of the Holy Scriptures [...] the Fathers [...] and the Schools" (i.e., apostolic, patristic, and scholastic sources),[67] not only or even primarily because of his historical interests, but, even more so, in order to grow in his knowledge of and devotion to Christ and the Church.

Like Roper and Harpsfield, Stapleton lauded "the restoration of Catholicism" under Queen Mary, but, writing as an exile some thirty years after the death of both Mary and official English Catholicism, Stapleton decried what he believed to be the spread of heresy—beginning under Kings Henry VIII and Edward VI, and then seeming to triumph under Queen Elizabeth. In sharp contrast, he viewed the Marian years as a "bright interval" between "the two periods of schism [...]."[68] In this and many other ways, Stapleton praised what he believed to be More's prescience in seeing that what many had considered to be minor or at least tolerable religious changes under the Henrician regime, had led step-by-step to the rejection of fundamental Catholic/Christian beliefs and practices, and, in effect, the dismemberment of the Body of Christ. Once-unified Western Christendom was now tragically divided. What had begun with "the new-fangled and anti-Christian title of the King" as Supreme Head of the Church of England (and the subsequent title of Queen Elizabeth as Supreme Governor), had "brought religion in England to such universal ruin."[69]

With regard to religious "ruin," Stapleton, in contrast to Roper, and much more explicitly than Harpsfield, portrayed Erasmus, and the relationship between Erasmus and More, in a much harsher light.[70] According to Stapleton, "No one loved Erasmus more than [Thomas More], and it was a literary friendship. In turn Erasmus loved him, and deservedly. More's friendship for Erasmus, however, honored Erasmus more than it benefited More. But as that Protestant heresy increased, for which Erasmus had so widely sown the accursed seed,

67 Ibid., 34–35.

68 Ibid., 35. See also Harpsfield, who referred to "the schism" in King Edward's days. Idem, 83.

69 Stapleton, 179.

70 Roper's only reference to Erasmus was in the opening paragraph of his biography, where he mentioned Erasmus's almost unbounded praise of More. Idem, 197. On his part, Harpsfield highlighted Erasmus's great admiration, not only for Thomas More, but for More's family as well. Harpsfield did, however, criticize Erasmus for supposedly not being willing, as opposed to More, "to retract many things that he had written, whose counsel [i.e., More's] [...] if Erasmus had followed, I trowe his books would be better liked of our posterity [...]." Idem, 108–9.

More's love toward him decreased and grew cool."[71] However, that was evidently not how most contemporaries viewed the relationship between these two great and apparently lifelong friends. As a prime example, Peter Nannius, a president of the Collegium Trilingue at Louvain, wrote the following verses on More and Erasmus soon after the latter's death in 1536: "Erasmus, the glory of our times, lived in the heart of More. More, the sole light of Britain, his country, lived in the heart of Erasmus. The one exchanged life with the other; each lived a life not his own. It is no marvel that, with the death of More, Erasmus wished for death, unwilling to live longer."[72]

An intriguing example of positive attitudes toward Erasmus on both sides of the religious divide engendered by the Reformation is provided, on the one hand, by Queen Katherine Parr, the last wife of Henry VIII and someone clearly sympathetic to many evangelical viewpoints, and, on the other, by Princess Mary, Henry's daughter, but also very devoted to the Catholicism of her mother (Catherine of Aragon). Katherine Parr had encouraged Mary to translate Erasmus's *Paraphrase on the Gospel of John* into English. Burnishing her support, Katherine wrote the following to Mary in 1544: "I entreat you to send over to me this very excellent and useful work, now amended by [Francis] Mallet, or some of your people, that it may be committed to the press in due time […]." Katherine also urged Mary to take the credit that she deserved for this project, "since you have undertaken so much labour in accurately translating it for the greater good of the public […]."[73] Thus, even in the later Henrician years, Erasmus and some, perhaps many, of his works were viewed positively and deemed worthy of translation and publication in various Protestant and Catholic circles.

Therefore, Stapleton's negative characterization of More's relationship with Erasmus, rather than being an accurate reflection of a falling out between these two intimate friends and leading Catholic humanists, was much more likely a manifestation of an animosity toward Erasmus that developed in many Catholic circles, especially in the later sixteenth century, based on the (debatable) view that "Erasmus laid the egg [of heresy] but Luther hatched it."[74] As a result, all of Erasmus's works were placed on the papal Index of Prohibited Books in 1559—a year or two after Roper and Harpsfield had written their biographies.

71 Stapleton, 36.

72 Quoted in E.E. Reynolds, *Thomas More and Erasmus* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1965), 241.

73 Katherine Parr, Queen of England, to Princess Mary, 20 September 1544, in *Letters of the Queens of England*, ed. Anne Crawford (Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing, 2002), 218–19.

74 See Stapleton, 36 n. 17.

While all three *Lives* under consideration here deemphasized if not obscured More's role as a zealous religious reformer and satirist, perhaps due in large part to the course that the Reformation had taken, Stapleton's account is the most explicitly and strongly anti-Erasmian.[75] This appears to be a classic case of a biographer reflecting his own milieu (i.e., the increasingly entrenched and tragic religious animosities of the later sixteenth century, including pejorative attitudes toward Erasmus) more than the actual views of his protagonist.[76]

At the same time, Stapleton was arguably on much more solid ground in presenting More as a prophetic witness, not only in the 1530s, but also in the 1580s and beyond, who gave solace and support to his fellow Catholics, both those in England and those who had been all but forced into exile for their faith, like Stapleton himself. Writing in that context, Stapleton manifested an undisguised bitterness toward the Elizabethan regime, at times connecting it back to the Henrician period. He stressed, for example, that Elizabeth was Anne Boleyn's child: the "wicked progeny of a wicked mother."[77] In another instance, in sharp contrast to his assertion concerning Thomas More's "contempt of riches," Stapleton wrote that "there lives now in England a minister of foul lust who […] raised his fortune" immensely by (implicitly) taking advantage of his position in unseemly if not unethical ways.[78] This seems to be a clear swipe at William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's closest advisor, who was as vehemently pro-Protestant as he was anti-Catholic.[79]

In the midst of the increasingly severe persecution of Catholics in late Elizabethan England, Stapleton emphasized both More's saintly life and his heroic

75 See McConica, "Recusant Reputation of Thomas More," in *Essential Articles*, 146–49.

76 For a fuller discussion of the relationship between these two important figures, see Reynolds, *Thomas More and Erasmus*, esp. 241–53. Erasmus had written in 1519 that, although More was somewhat "careless of his own affairs, he is most attentive to help others; and indeed, for a pattern of true friendship you cannot do better than look at More." Erasmus's Letter to von Hutten, in Allen, *Sir Thomas More*, 4. Indications are that both Erasmus and More continued to look upon each other as true and lasting friends.

77 Stapleton, 140.

78 Ibid., 82.

79 For a contemporary account of Burghley that is generally quite effusive in its praise, but which also highlights his strongly anti-Catholic and anti-papal sentiments, see *The* Anonymous Life *of William Cecil, Lord Burghley*, ed. Alan G.R. Smith (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 1990). The probable author of this account was Sir Michael Hickes, one of Burghley's secretaries. According to the author, Burghley sought to root out "Popery and superstition and to plant the practice and profession of the [true] gospel in this realm […]." Ibid., 55. See also Michael A.R. Graves, *Burghley: William Cecil, Lord Burghley* (New York: Longman, 1998), 39–40, 54–56, 68–70; Stephen Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), esp. 241–59.

death in defense of the faith. This powerful combination, Stapleton suggested, made More not only a great model but also a powerful intercessor, in life and in death. Among numerous examples of the power of his prayers during his lifetime (some of which, as highlighted above, were also cited by Roper and Harpsfield), More had, through prayer and persuasion, won over his son-in-law William Roper from the dangers of "heresy." In the case of his daughter Margaret's rescue from "approaching death," it was, "as the doctor himself asserted, due to her father's prayers rather than to medical skill."[80] In another instance involving one of More's children, this one occurring "after More's martyrdom," his daughter Elizabeth was convinced that, in her last illness, during which she "suffered most grievous punishments," evidently of a spiritual nature, "if the prayers of her father had not obtained pardon for her she would have had to suffer them forever."[81]

As a final example here, More, during his lifetime, had assisted a man from Winchester who suffered from the depths of despair. Since the man had benefited from More's counsel and prayers many times, he approached the martyr, even as the latter made his way to the scaffold. More told him, "'Go and pray for me, and I will pray earnestly for you.' He went away, and never again in his whole life was he troubled with such temptations. Such was the power of More's intercession."[82]

Throughout his account, Stapleton suggested that More's intercession had such power because of the circumstances of "his death, or rather his passion," i.e., his martyrdom, which all but assured his place in the heavenly kingdom.[83] To this end, in Stapleton's account, More's power and role as a saintly intercessor, and therefore the impact of miracles wrought through his intercession, is more explicit than in Roper or Harpsfield. As the author stressed, "I have written his Life not to draw his portrait as a man of rank, learning, wit, or high position, not as a good father, a wise ruler of a household, a just judge, or a man of letters, but above all as a saint and a glorious martyr for truth and right."[84] The latter attribute was particularly important in a time of persecution, as was the case in late Elizabethan England and Wales, when many Catholics, especially clergy, but a number of laity as well, were suffering fines, imprisonment,

80 Stapleton, 65–66. See also Harpsfield, 81–89; Roper, 212–13.

81 Stapleton, 66.

82 Ibid., 66–67.

83 Ibid., 69. See also ibid., 90, 93.

84 Ibid., 132.

torture, exile, and even death for their faith.[85] Therefore, they needed heroic role models and saintly intercessors, especially, Stapleton believed, such outstanding and recent exemplars as Thomas More.

Stapleton went on to reiterate the significance of More's death, saying, "let us speak of More, the great and glorious martyr." At a time, however, when many individuals across Europe were dying for their religious beliefs, Stapleton drove home the argument that "it is not the death but the cause that makes the martyr [...]."[86] In other words, as we have seen was the case with Harpsfield and other writers and martyrologists of the Reformation era, Stapleton entered energetically into the pseudomartyr debate. Lest there be any doubt, dying for a false church or heretical beliefs did not and could not a martyr make. Rather, only dying for a true and righteous cause—and, most of all, dying for the one true faith—made one a genuine martyr.[87]

In Stapleton's presentation of the case, Thomas More was an unwavering "witness to the truth," and was wholly dedicated to "the unity, the peace and the concord of the Church."[88] Therefore, in self-sacrificing pursuit of those ends, More "gladly suffered imprisonment, the loss of his goods, and death itself for the Primacy of the Pope, the one Supreme Head of the Church."[89] In Stapleton's view, More was well aware of the importance of the cause for which he was willing to lay down his life, since "truly upon this [papal] Primacy and Supremacy the whole peace, order, and unity of the Church depend, for if it is rejected a way is opened to all the heresies, and the wolves ravage the flock with impunity, as the example of England alone may well teach other nations."[90]

Therefore, Stapleton asserted, More's death was truly prophetic, not only for England but for all of Christendom. The prophetic and, perhaps even more importantly, the sacrificial nature of More's death provided the assurance that he was a true martyr for the faith and that, based on his holy life and, even more so, his hallowed death, he had entered into the communion of saints. In that vein, Stapleton referred to More's head as a "sacred relic." It had been "placed upon a stake on London Bridge, where it remained for nearly a month," after which it was obtained by his daughter Margaret.[91] With great reverence, More's

85 For a discussion of the Catholic and especially the Jesuit Elizabethan mission, see Robert E. Scully, SJ, *Into the Lion's Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580–1603* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2011).

86 Stapleton, 133.

87 See n. 55 above for references regarding martyrdom and the pseudomartyr debate.

88 Stapleton, 167, 178.

89 Ibid., 190.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid., 191.

body and (later) his head were buried, respectively, in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London and in the Roper Chapel vault in St. Dunstan's Church in Canterbury. Ironically, not far from the latter, the shrine of another famous martyr-saint, Thomas Becket, had stood for several hundred years, in England's primatial church, Canterbury Cathedral, before it was destroyed by Henry VIII's henchmen in 1538.[92]

Conclusion

As we have seen, Roper, Harpsfield, and Stapleton, each in his own way, bore witness to the conviction that Thomas More was a man of conscience, a martyr, and (de facto) a saint, who continued, through changing times and circumstances, to speak to the spiritual hopes and needs of the English Catholic community. That was true in the triumphant years of the 1550s under Queen Mary (fleeting as they turned out to be), when Roper and Harpsfield penned their accounts of More as a man of conscience and, as they believed, a vindicated martyr and saint. It was equally true and even more pressing in the 1580s when Stapleton built upon and refined the portraits of his predecessors in order to present More as a model martyr and saint for the Catholic recusant and exile communities.

The sanctity of More had long been noted by those who had known, admired, and, in some cases, deeply loved him. In his own portrayal of More, Erasmus had described his face as being "neither pale nor ruddy, except for a faint glow which shines over it all."[93] Did the genuinely religious yet rationally-minded Dutch humanist detect something akin to a divine light (or halo) in the countenance of his friend? Detecting a more subtle but unmistakable inner light, More's daughter Margaret, replying to a "godly letter" from her father, said that it represented "the clear shining brightness of your soul, the pure temple of the Holy Spirit of God, which I doubt not shall perpetually rest in you and you in him."[94] This same sense of holiness permeates Roper's, Harpsfield's, and Stapleton's biographies, culminating in More's heroic martyrdom,

92 Ibid., 191 and n. 3. For an account of a supposedly "miraculous" occurrence in connection with the burial of More's body in the Tower, see ibid., 191–92. On the destruction of Becket's shrine, see Scully, "Unmaking of a Saint."

93 Erasmus's Letter to von Hutten, in Allen, *Sir Thomas More*, 2.

94 Margaret More Roper to her father, 1534, in de Silva, *Last Letters of Thomas More*, 97.

which was the fullest and final manifestation of his sanctity and devotion to God and the Church, regardless of the cost.[95]

This Catholic claim to, and in some ways construction of, Thomas More as a martyr-saint provided a powerful role model and intercessor for his co-religionists (and an impressive example even for Protestants), not only in the transitional years of the mid-Tudor era, but even more so in the increasingly harsh years of testing and persecution in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign.[96] If one man's heroic resistance and sanctity had made such a mark, what might the collective heroism and holiness of the English Catholic community, including both the recusant community in England and that of the exiles on the Continent, accomplish? Catholicism in England had already been revived once, in the Marian years. Perhaps, through concerted efforts, another and more permanent revival was possible. But, through all these ups and downs, the memory of the iconic figure of Thomas More was implanted ever more firmly in the English Catholic imagination. From there, it would continue to germinate and produce, in turn, an impressive number of martyrs and saints dedicated to the Catholic faith and its unity, the cause par excellence for which More—as his contemporaneous Catholic biographers insisted—had himself so memorably lived and died.[97]

95 See the interesting discussion of Germain Marc'hadour, "Was Saint Thomas More a Mystic?," *Moreana* 46 (2009): 25–44.

96 See Stapleton's final chapter (21): "The Learned and Famous Pay Tribute to Thomas More." Idem, 195–204. This encomium included a number of English and continental Catholics, but it also referenced a few Protestants, such as John Rivius, a German Lutheran, who wrote: "But thou, More, art now happy in the possession of eternal bliss, for thou didst prefer rather to lose thy head than to give any approval thy conscience forbade, and didst esteem right and justice, virtue and religion, more highly than life itself. Thou losest this mortal life but gainest that which is true and never—ending. Thou leavest the society of men but enterest the company of the angels and saints." Ibid., 200–1. See also a play by Anthony Munday and Others, *Sir Thomas More*, ed. Vittorio Gabrieli and Giorgio Melchiori (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1990). On a related note, see Donna B. Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560–1633* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005). For an overview of "More's Place in History," see Chambers, *Thomas More*, 351–400, as well as Anne Lake Prescott, "Afterlives," in *Cambridge Companion*, 265–87.

97 Works honoring More continued to be produced, including one originally published *c.*1631 at Douai by his great grandson, Cresacre More: *The Life of Sir Thomas More, Knight* (Athens, PA: Riverside Press, 1941). For a clarification regarding authorship, see D. Shanahan, "The Death of Thomas More, Secular Priest, Great-Grandson of St. Thomas More," *Recusant History* 7 (1963): 23–32. As Shanahan notes, "During the long period that he had been out of England, Thomas More had been engaged in writing a life of St. Thomas

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More, his great-grandfather[,] but he never finished it. It was Cresacre More who put it together and published it." Ibid., 28. Fr. Thomas More died in Rome on 11 April 1625.

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CHAPTER 6

Thomas Stapleton: Loathes Calvin, Will Travel

Gary W. Jenkins

Though Thomas Stapleton aimed his earliest broadsides at the Protestants of Elizabethan England, these nonetheless adumbrated the central place Calvin assumed in his later writings as the chief target of his apologetic invective. And while Stapleton never asserted that his diatribes against Calvin mapped the course of his polemical life, by 1568, even though other Protestants, both Lutheran and Reformed were subjects of his gaze, his *bête noir,* his foil is doubtless Calvin. Thus, only after Calvin's death did Stapleton fix his full attention on "that idol" Calvin, who had already figured in his work against the Elizabethan church. But however and whenever he turned to Geneva, he certainly had cause to indict Calvin and Calvin's theology for much of the course of his life. Stapleton described his life as a Catholic apologist in the 1580 dedicatory epistle to cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto in his *Speculum pravitatis haereticae*:

> Thus I then accepted—I often thought afterward, indeed I now recall—that, no matter what advantage would follow, I would soberly turn my studies and literary work (my only gift in which I am able to benefit those still in God's Church) for the purpose of protecting the most holy faith and piety of the one Catholic Church from the fraud and viciousness of the modern heretics (as I have hitherto done over several years): I would rather not exercise myself with other arguments either privately or publicly, than those by which the shifting irreligion of the modern heretics is able to be assessed, exposed, and refuted.[1]

While here giving the shape and purpose of his life, this gives as well the material cause, the raw stuff with which Stapleton fashioned his career, namely, his measure and refutation of "the modern heretics." A more colorful and telling insight into Stapleton's vocation comes from his *A Counterblaste to M. Hornes Vayne Blastte*,[2] a veritable summa of recusant theological and

1 *Speculum pravitatis haereticae, per orationes quodlibeticas sex ad oculum demonstratae* (Douai: 1580), 1–2. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

2 Thomas Stapleton, *A Counterblaste to M. Hornes Vayne Blastte Against M. Fekenham* (Louvain: Foulerus, 1567). This was also Stapleton's longest English work.

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political thought,[3] that details an important peripety in the life of the recusant émigrés, the night the hedge preachers came to Antwerp and put an end to the Catholic presses in the city, and thus an end to the recusant Catholic polemics in English.[4]

"How do you think you M. Horne?" Stapleton asked the bishop of Winchester, "Do their men {these Calvinists} acknowledge their Prince Supreme Governor in all Spiritual causes?"[5] This question, posed in Stapleton's defense of the erstwhile abbot of Westminster, John Feckenham against Robert Horne, Feckenhem's jailor from 1562 to 1565,[6] frames Stapleton's essential theological and ideological conflict: these Calvinists breathing rack and ruin by their sacrilege masquerading as piety defiled all they touched. Stapleton describes the night's events:

> To let pass the continuance of their preachings without the walls, which lasted about six or seven weeks, the Prince of Orange governor of the town, laboring in the mean season a great while but in vain, to cause them to cease from their assemblies, until the King's pleasure with the accord of the General States were known, they not admitting any such delay or expectation [...] found the means to bring their assemblies into the town itself, so far without the King's or the Regent's authority, as if they had no King at all out of the land, nor Regent in the land [...]. Whereas the 19 August [...] that being then in the Octaves of the Assumption of

3 Gary W. Jenkins, "Between the Sacraments and Tyranny: English Recusant Political thought," *The Dutch Ecclesiastical History Review* 85 (2005): 301–14.

4 These Calvinist ministers, called "hedge preachers" because they had been holding forth in the open air out among the hedges, had been drawing large crowds, and many of their auditors came not for the faith they preached, but in that they were also raising a standard against the overlord of the Low Countries, Philip II of Spain. Cf. Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1977); Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544–1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

5 Stapleton, *A Counterblaste*, f. 17[b].

6 Robert Horne, *An answer made by Rob. Bishop of Winchester, to a book entitled, The declaration of such scruples, and stays of conscience, touching the Oath of the Supremacy, as M. John Fekenham, by writing did delier unto the Lord Bishop of Winchester with his resolutions made thereunto* (London: Henry Wykes, 1566). Feckenham had been the Marian abbot of Westminster, and took part in the Westminster disputation of 1559. Following his refusal to take the Oath to the Supremacy in July 1559, he was arrested and sent to the tower. Bishop Horne, believing he could convert Feckenham, asked that he be sent to Winchester, where for three years the abbot was his guest. The three years resulted in Feckenham's one extant work, *The Declaration of such Scruples and Stays of Conscience touching the Oath of Supremacy*. This prompted bishop Horne's reply.

> our Lady, a special solemnity in the chief Church of Antwerp town, the brethren both for the Governor's absence emboldened, and in despite of that solemnity more enkindled, the 20 of August [...] toward evening, at the Anthem time between 5 and 6 of the clock, began first by certain boys to play their Pageant, mocking and striking by way of derision, the Image of our Lady then especially visited and honored for the honorable memorial of her glorious Assumption. At this light behavior of the boys, some stir being made, as well by the Catholics then in the Church, as by the faction of the Calvinists there also then assembled, the Catholics fearing a greater inconvenience, began to depart the Church.

The margrave, having arrived, ordered those gathered to disperse, and not to disrupt divine service, to which the crowd retorted "they came also to do God service, and to sing a few Psalms in his honor, that being a place most convenient therefore." With the crowd swelling, the margrave embraced futility and left.

> Thus [...] the holy brotherhood went to their drudgery. First they sung Psalms, pretending that only to be the cause of their meeting there at that time. At their Psalmodies rushed in great numbers of people, some to see and be gone again, some to remain and accompany them [...]. From that time forward, their melody soon ended, they proceeded to sacrilege, to breaking of Images, to throwing down of Altars, of Organs, and of all kind of Tabernacles, as well in that Church, as in all other Churches, Monasteries, and Chapels of Antwerp, to stealing of Chalices, to spoiling of Copes, to breaking up of seats, to robbing of the Church Warden's boxes as well for the church as for the poor.

Stapleton ends his account of the evening's activities with a synopsis of the more moderate spoilation of St. James church, the rapine being "not so outrageous, as in other churches." There "were divers little scobbes and boxes of gatherings for the poor. These scobbes lo, only, were broken up, and the contents visited: for to them was their chief devotion: All the rest remained whole." He continues,

> To be short, all that night [...] the Zealous brotherhood so followed the chase, that they left not one Church in Antwerp great or small, where they hunted not up good game [...]. Chalices, patens and cruets of gold and of silver, copes and vestments of silk and velvet, fine linen and course, none came amiss: they took all in good part and took no more than they found.

> What shall I speak of the very libraries spoiled and burned, namely of the grey fryers, and of the Abbey of S. Michael? To describe particularly the horrible and outrageous sacrileges of that night, an eternal document of the gospel-like zeal of this sacred brotherhood, would require a full treatise of itself.[7]

The night's unpleasantries included the smashing of the presses of John Latius, that from 1564 till 1566 had printed the Recusant polemics against the English Protestants. Though Latius moved his operation to Louvain, Stapleton never published another book in English after 1567, and none of the other recusants, addressing the controversies over Jewel's Challenge Sermon and his *Apologia,* did either.[8] The motivation for such wanton iconoclasm and desecration, its moving force, Stapleton attributed to Calvin, for just as the Calvinists had murdered the duke of Guise, and had brought war to Scotland, after having set up their "wicked Tabernacle of their loytering heresies" in Geneva,[9] so had they come to Antwerp as to other places, not with the Gospel, but with brigandage and heresy. Stapleton maintained this attitude toward the source of all evils in the western European lands throughout his life, noting in his 1592 *Apologia* for Philip II that the greatest of heresies ("hereticorum [...] Calvinistarum maxime"), arising in England, had also brought ills to Scotland, France, and Belgium.[10]

Born in 1525, Stapleton's life followed a conventional course for those pursuing orders:[11] schooled first at Canterbury, and then to Winchester, and subsequently to New College, Oxford in 1553 (Winchester had been founded as a feeder school for New College), he received his B.A. in 1556.[12] Stapleton,

7 Stapleton, *Counterblast*, fols. 17[b]–19[a].

8 See A.C. Southern, *English Recusant Prose, 1559–1582* (London: Sands, 1950), 65. One exception to this is Richard Bristow's 1580 *Reply to Fulke* (Louvain.). Only Stapleton, *Counter Blaste*, and Thomas Harding's *Rejoinder to M. Jewel* were printed after Latius moved the presses.

9 Stapleton, *Counter Blast*, 16[r].

10 *Apologia pro rege Catholico Philipo II, Hispiniae et caet. rege., Contra varias et falsas accusationes Elizabethae Angliae Reginae* (Constance: Samius, 1592), *praefatio* fols. 4[r]–4[v].

11 There is no biography of Stapleton, but Marvin R. O'Connell's *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation* (Hew Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), contains much biographical information, and is an excellent introduction to his thought and writings. There is a short *Vita* in the 1620 edition of his *Opera* I, by Henry Holland, fols. VI[r]–VIII[r]; and also Stapleton wrote a lyric poem about his life in 1598, just before he died, the *Compendium* also in *Opera* I. fols. VIII[v]–IX[v].

12 Winchester and New college brought him into the orbit of Thomas Harding, Nicholas Sander, and Thomas Dorman. These, together with John Rastell, William Allen, and

ordained in 1558, was made a prebend of Chichester cathedral. He left England for the continent shortly after Elizabeth's accession and remained abroad for four years, studying theology in Louvain and philology in Paris. In 1563 when he returned to England, Elizabeth's bishop of Chichester Richard Barlow demanded his wayward cleric subscribe to the Supremacy. Stapleton responded that in good conscience he would recognize Elizabeth as his sovereign "in all temporal causes and things'" but could not "renounce every foreign Prelate.'" Consequently, Barlow "deprived me (as much as lay in him) of my prebend."[13] Shortly after his confrontation with Barlow, Stapleton left England, his family with him. He lived most of the rest of his life moving among several cities of the low countries, Antwerp, Douai, and Louvain.

Stapleton engaged in controversy with the verve one expects in sixteenth-century polemicists, and not merely against his fellow English but also his coreligionists as demonstrated in the controversy between the Louvain theologians Leonard Lessius and Michael Baius. Certainly, he could heap invective against Bishops Jewel and Horne; and his animadversions on Luther enliven his foundational critique of Protestantism in his treatise on justification. But Stapleton's sharpest invectives he reserved for John Calvin.[14]

Stapleton's earliest endeavors centered on the question of the Church and what the nature of her authority entailed, and thus whether national churches could act unilaterally in the alteration of doctrine without the consent of the universal Church. Stapleton's own premises led inexorably to the conclusion that the Church of England, having so acted, had no part in catholic order. Stapleton's first foray was a five hundred page appendix at the end of his translation of the Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Stapleton's was the first English rendering of Bede's work, and his effort eventually formed part of the curriculum at the English College at Douai. Stapleton saw his appendix as part of his translation work for they formed an apologetic whole, aimed particularly at Jewel's use of history.

Robert Parsons formed the intellectual brain trust of English Catholic resistance to the Protestant Elizabethan Church.

13 Stapleton, *A Counterblaste*, fol. 424[a].

14 On one page of Chapter 1, book 3 of *Universa justificationis doctrina hodie controversa libri duodecim* (Paris: Sonnius, 1582), 373, he attributes, imputes, or contemns Calvin for blasphemy, dementia, being foul or offensive (teterrima), the greatest of diseases, detestable, pestilential, a fraud, a horror, a dissimulator, and of course, a heretic. On the next page he begins by calling Calvin a shape changer (*versipellis*). The weight Stapleton gave Calvin in his writings can be seen in his short work *A Discussion on Protestantism and their chief authors*. The track runs only 53 pages, or 43,000 words, and he spends the first 18 pages on Luther, the next four on Melanchthon, and the last 31 on Calvin.

> I must here warne the Reader that he looke not for an examination of all matters touching doctrine [...]. I entend only to touche such differences as in the history of Venerable Bede shall appeare, and by the report of that history conferre [compare] the doctrine of protestants with the belefe of that tyme, and of so longe succession, which we have already proved to be good and lawfull.[15]

Stapleton made the coincidence between the church that Bede (c. 673–735) described, and those first six hundred years with which bishop Jewel sought to discomfit the Catholics, central to his argument. But Stapleton's reasoning, based on his understanding of history's relation to the Incarnation, went beyond Jewel as his target:

> To say that Christ had a church so many hundred years, but a blinde church, a superstitious Church, a church of idolaters, a church of antichirst, al which Calvin in efect saith and more, is as wicked or worse then to sai he had no church at al [...]. That all that time he was not head of his misticall body, he had not al things subiected unto him, brefely that he had not the effect and purchase of his most blessed incarnation, death, and ressurection.[16]

Stapleton had already noted: "I aske againe how beleve they the perpetuite of the Head without the perpetuite of the body, which is the church, as s. Paul teacheth us? To beleve the one without the other is to defeate the whole mystery of Christes incarnation."[17] For Stapleton, Calvin's putative stance played false Christ's promise of his perpetual presence with the Church, and that his Kingdom would know no end.

The Incarnation played into Stapleton's theology not only of Christ's mystical body, the Church, but informed as well the mystical body concretely realized, as he used the Incarnation to inform his Eucharistic doctrines, especially how it effected Christian unity, a staple of his polemics against Calvin. Aside from the Mass Stapleton also addressed prayers for the dead and auricular or private confession. While the latter were important matters, the question of the indefectible visible Church, and the theology of the Mass stand out

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15 Thomas Stapleton, *A Fortress of Faith first planted among us Englishmen, and continued hitherto in the universal church of Christ* (Antwerp: John Laet, 1565) fol. 104^{r}.

16 Stapleton, *Fortress,* fol. 40^{r}.

17 *Fortress*, fol. 39^{v}.

as integral to most of Stapleton's later polemics, particularly against William Whitaker.[18]

Not all the Catholic expatriates dueled with their English Protestant counterparts, for in 1568 William Allen founded the new English College at Douai.[19] While Stapleton assumed the contemplative scholar, Allen embraced the *vita activa*. Allen, made a cardinal in 1587 through the intercession of Philip II, had the foresight to see that Catholicism in England needed help from the outside, and thus with Jean Vendeville, the Regius Professor of Canon Law at Douai, he traveled to Rome in 1567 to petition for the beginning of the English college at Douai. Stapleton avoided church preferments, and though he did make one trip to Rome, he spent the last years of his life negotiating the papacy's requests that he return, ostensibly for a cardinal's hat. Stapleton, though certainly of one mind with the English College, did not join its faculty, and served as a professor at the University of Douai, which awarded him a doctorate in 1571.[20] But in 1578 the political fortunes of war brought an anti-Spanish, pro-Calvinist city council to Douai, which expelled the English College with its sympathies for Spain. Allen, showing prescience for such an eventuality, had already made arrangements to move the college to Rheims, where it would stay. Stapleton, as a university professor, was allowed to remain, though now without his compatriots.

Whatever his life at Douai was, it did not afford Stapleton the quiet he desired for study. Though a university professor and a beneficed canon, by 1585 the constant fighting within the university left him desiring a "divine sort of life." Thus casting aside the "gloria mundi," "I fled to a hiding place, and concealed myself in a cloister with the Fathers whom we so designate by the blessed name of Jesus."[21] Stapleton spent two years at the Jesuit convent in Douai, but he could never master the rigors of that life, and with rancor on neither side, he returned to the university in 1587, still devoted to the Jesuit ideal and the goals of the society. While he was affecting the life of a Jesuit,

18 *Authoritatis Ecclesiasticae Circa S. Scriptvrarvm Approbationem, Adeoqve In Vniversvm, Lvculenta & accurata Defensio: Libris III digesta: contra Dispvtationem De Scriptura Sacra Guilielmi Whitaker Anglocalviniste* (Antwerp: Joannes Keerbergius, 1592).

19 Allen, though never the scholar Stapleton was, published two polemical books in English prior to 1568, *A Defense and Declaration of the Catholike Churchies Doctrine touching Purgatory and prayers for the soules departed et cetera* (Antwerp: John Latius, 1565), and *A Treatise made in defence of the lauful power and authoritie of Priesthod to remitte sinnes, et cetera* (Louvain: Foulerus, 1567) and as well some apologetic texts for the English Seminarians. Cf. Southern, *English Recusant Prose.*

20 O'Connell, *Stapleton*, 35.

21 *Compendium*, fol. IX^{r} (unpagina).

however, in 1586, a former pupil and friend, the Jesuit Leonard Lessius, an able theologian in his own right, was censured by his University at Louvain for teaching semi-Pelagianism in his *These theologicae*. The action was prompted by Michael Baius, the intellectual forebear of Jansenism, who saw himself as Lessius's target.[22] Douai's faculty followed suit, and when Stapleton came to the aid of his friend and pupil, he found himself ostracized, thrown to living off his income from his canonry at St. Amoure. But Stapleton's backbone in the matter stood him in good stead, for upon Baius's death, Philip II, who held the right of appointment, named Stapleton to the post. Stapleton had already been a vocal supporter of Philip II, and would later pen an apologia for Philip in light of the war with England.[23]

Stapleton envisioned his duties as chair lecturing on the scriptures as exercises in apologetics aimed at the heresies of his day, even as he had written in 1580. His comments on Scripture emphasized the texts frequently employed by the Protestants, citing Calvin and Beza in particular (*antidotis contra Calviniana et Bezana explicantur*). The two texts together cover the entirety of the third volume of his collected works.[24] Stapleton's campaign against Calvin took an entirely different form than his diatribes against the other reformers. While those, Luther, Jewel, *et al.*, were guilty of heresy, novelty, purposeful ignorance, and even wilful dissimulation, Calvin, and those who sailed in him, e.g. Beza and Whitaker, were guilty of something far worse. Luther, et al., were heretics in that they denied something material to the faith, and whether it be the nature of the Church and a failure to apprehend rightly the relationship of the Incarnation to the Church's constitution (Jewel and Horne); or the contours of man's created nature, and thus his relationship to virtue as the *summum bonum*, and what this relationship entailed for the doctrine of Christ's grace as an aid to virtue without which humans could not obtain blessedness (i.e., grace given via the sacraments in contrast to *sola fide*), all were guilty of categorical errors which fundamentally threatened the eternal destiny of souls. Heretics? Yes, but Christian heretics. Stapleton's Calvin is a wholly different creature.

For Stapleton, Calvin had so twisted the truth of Christianity that it was impossible to believe that he even worshiped the Christian God. In short, Calvin was an atheist, for he had so wildly corrupted the moral order that it stood unrecognizable in Stapleton's mind as anything Christian. Thus, Calvin was

22 O'Connell, *Stapleton,* 43.

23 Cf. above, footnote 10.

24 The two run almost one thousand pages, besides the twenty-page table of matters and dedicatory epistles, running to more than 800,000 words. Calvin's 1559 edition of the *Institutes*, by way of comparison, runs about 450,000 words in the Latin text.

worse than either the Jews or the Muslims, and what is more, even than the pagans. In Stapleton's 1582 *Universa Justificationis*, the first ten books treat in broad terms the questions on justification dividing Catholics from Protestants, the nature of concupiscence and guilt, the effects of original sin, grace and freewill, the character of imputed justice, inherent righteousness, et cetera. He spends long passages fencing with Chemnitz, with Luther, and also with Calvin, but book eleven comprehends a massive parenthesis in the work, treating Calvin's doctrine of predestination as it touches the question of the Divine will's relationship to human sin, i.e., is God the author of sin? In the first two chapters of the book Stapleton comes to the main question via a gloss on matters he had already covered concerning the imputation of righteousness, moving towards his goal with the reprise of an earlier point that if faith alone saves, then unbelief alone damns. The point for Stapleton concerns inherent righteousness, that sin cannot destroy the grace of creation without grace being inferior to sin. Such a doctrine was so onerous, that even the Lutherans fled from it.[25] In Stapleton's mind, this is Manichaeism. Thus he begins the third book linking Calvin to the Manichees, even thought this is done by a misreading of Irenaeus, namely, he identifies Calvin with the Gnostics, and the Gnostics as absolute dualists.[26]

Stapleton lays out the ways in which God through Providence permits sin (the story of the angel lying to Ahab to entice him to his death, and the use of evils to strengthen and refine the just), and then turns to Calvin, noting that the Genevan Reformer is not satisfied merely with these options, but adopts both pagan and Gnostic (i.e., Manichee) doctrines to fill out his theological idiom. To Stapleton, Calvin teaches that God actively wills sinful acts on the part of humans; that it is God's own actions that bring these events about; that God moves people to sin; and that God orders the reprobates' sinful actions, impelling them by necessity as opposed to providence. In the eleventh chapter of book XI he summarizes his accusation of atheism against Calvin, arguing that Calvin's doctrine of divine agency may broach a hearing in saying that God works through the sinner's concupiscence to bring about His designs, but what then about Adam? For since Adam's sin did not arise from concupiscence, the blame must fall to the divine plan. Stapleton concludes that Calvin's doctrine of God's predestination does more violence to the will than even that doctrine

25 *Universa Justificationis*, 373.

26 This identification was a commonplace among medieval theologians when treating the various strands of dualist heresies: since it looks like what St. Augustine wrote about, so it must be a Manichee. Cf. Robert I. Moore, *The Origins of Medieval Dissent* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994, 1977), 30.

of the Stoics (*quam vel fatum stoicum*).[27] Stapleton comes at this not just from the question of necessity, but from the whole point of moral decadence, that one such as Attila, knowing himself the *flagellum Dei*, could have done nothing better than to consider that the judgement of God was for him to prosecute his wrath upon Christians. Thus, far from God being the highest good and the source of good, for whom evil is declension from the good and true on the part of the creature, Calvin's God is actually the source of this declension, and thus falls short of the God of Scripture and the Fathers, and thus the basis of one charge of atheism.

Stapleton believed that Calvin's lapses arose from his twisting of the moral universe, which in turn was a perversion not merely of the divine order, but of theology proper.[28] For Stapleton, humans cannot be rational and at the same time not be free, the one assumes the other, and the level of depravity posited by Calvin robs the human animal of that which it posseses by nature, viz., a natural disposition to its proper end in virtue in the life in God. In Stapleton's mind, sin for Calvin is greater than the grace of creation. To Stapleton the cures for sin arise from the causes, that is the declension from the good that grace allows the sinner to overcome through the theological virtues, and especially faith.[29] One clear aspect of faith is trusting that God receives the penitent's meager works, even though God is under no obligation to do so, nor are works ever binding on the divine justice.[30] Thus, Calvin's persistent deprecation of any form of human merit (including any merit attached to the humanity of Christ)[31] proffered a twisted view of both humanity and the Deity. Commenting on Matthew 6:20, "lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven," Stapleton notes that those who come to God must believe that God rewards those who diligently seek Him (Hebrews 11:6). He adds right away, those who do not believe that God rewards those who seek Him must not believe in the God of

27 *Universa Iustificationis*, 387.

28 *Promptuarium Catholicum: Ad instructionem Concionatorum contra nostri temporis hereses, Svper Evangelia Ferialia Per Totam Quadragesimam, In hac parte Quadragelimalis vnius Cavlini varia impietas in multis* etc. (Venice: Peter Dusinell, 1596). In this series of reflections on the lectionary for Lent, Stapleton showed how every reading spoke against the heresies of his day, and in particular of Calvin, who, it should be noted, is actually named in the title.

29 Cf *Universa Iustificationis* VIII.27.

30 In this Stapleton leans to Scotus and declines from Aquinas, though always accepting the Thomistic doctrine that will is intellectual appetite, and that the goal of willing is happiness.

31 See Calvin, *Institutes*, II.17.1.

Scripture. After working over the nature of faith operating through works, he takes up Calvin's comments on the passage that one's treasure in heaven is nothing other than the contemplation of the heavenly beatitude. To Stapleton this gloss first denies that God rewards those who seek him, and second denies that works done in faith do please God, the very means by which one lays up treasure in heaven.

For Stapleton, justification was the key in the disputes with the Protestants, the formal cause of the heresy, though it hardly exhausted their corrigenda. Since the time of the Marburg colloquy the Reformed had cited John 6:63 as the *locus classicus* for the non-corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Stapleton employed the thought of St. John Chrysostom on the topic.[32] Stapleton comments on John 6:63 "The Spirit gives life, the flesh profits nothing. The words I speak to you are Spirit and life," that no close reading of either the text or St. John Chrysostom would obtain the reading Calvin and Beza required (Stapleton is interacting with Calvin almost the whole of the passage). Stapleton emphasized that the Spirit's spiritualizing of Christ's flesh, that is, that the body of Christ was vivified by the power of the Spirit, makes it no mere fleshly eating. He thus turned the often used English Reformed epitaphs of Capernaites and artolatreists, that they thought Christ was speaking about a mere eating of his flesh in John 6, back on the Reformed, for they had taken the opposite error by thinking that Christ was speaking of no carnal eating at all, and robbing the humanity of Christ of its union with the divine. He concludes:

> Therefore the flesh of Christ, since it has a living union with the Spirit, that is, with divinity itself, and therefore has spiritual qualities, and the characteristics of these from God on account of this union (whence Christ divinely does many things in his human flesh), so that not through the qualities and properties of a mere human nature, He wishes to draw near in this Sacrament, to be eaten by us.[33]

While Stapleton spent enormous effort in defending both Catholic Eucharistic doctrine and the Catholic doctrine of the authority and jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff and the Church herself, the question of justification held the primary place in Stapleton's mind as explanatory of the errors of Protestantism.

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32 This may have been calculated. A spurious text attributed to St. John had been carried out of Italy into England by Peter Martyr Vermigli in 1547, and became one of the chief weapons employed by both Vermigli and Thomas Cranmer in arguing for their Eucharistic doctrines.

33 *Antidota evangelica*, 223.

For Stapleton, Protestants having strayed from the Catholic doctrine of justification, inevitably would err in all other matters owing to their first mistakes on the questions of grace. For Stapleton, since they did not rightly apprehend what the Church taught, Protestants had formed an erroneous response to an imagined wrong, and having traveled down this road, all others forking off from it, were set to decadence, for having embraced an axiomatic mistake, unless corrected, it doomed Protestants to err in all other things. This is the basis of his text on justification, and his elaboration on what justification was. For Stapleton, a prime evil afflicting Calvin was the notion of certitude. Stapleton marked *certitudo gratiae*, which makes one just and acceptable before God and leads to a final beatitude, as the primary matter to take up in his *Universa justificationis*. The arguments he pursues treat of original sin (he believed Eck had championed Scotus over St. Thomas merely so he could argue more easily with Luther about the effects of sin), the character of justifying grace, *et cetera*. Stapleton hit many targets, including Chemnitz and Luther, and Calvin merely numbers among them in the work's general defense of the Tridentine definitions of sin and justification. But Stapleton critiques Calvin especially on his doctrine that certitude is the essence of faith, as opposed to the Catholic doctrine that certitude is obtained only in the world to come. To Calvin, certitude arose from an extrinsic grace due to a radical deprecation of the virtues and will of the Christian, and the exercise of faith was itself part of certitude. In the *Antidota apostolica*, commenting on Romans 5:1, Stapleton notes that the text should read "Having been justified by faith, let us have peace with God," which is a reading of both Erasmus's text and the Latin Vulgate (habeamus, and ἔχωμεν). Faith to Stapleton was the beginning of justification, and doctrines of certitude removed hope from the exercise of faith. For Stapleton, citing St. John Chrysostom to attest the reading, having begun with God's righteousness, Christians were then to move to the life of peace. In *Universa justificationis* Stapleton had sounded a similar note, citing Calvin on the question of certitude on two points. First, Stapleton maintains that faith is not a certitude of cognition, as if it were opposed to ignorance, but instead is obedience of the mind to the teachings of Christ and the Gospel. Peace is a gift of God to those who in faith, hope, and charity pursue righteousness, but cannot be identified with certitude, otherwise these virtues actually lose their character. Second, were certitude part of faith, this would leave no room for the weak in faith, and for a growth in faith. Again, virtue is not something perfected in this life, which certitude implies.[34]

34 *De universa justificationis*, 294–95.

Like the *Antidota,* Stapleton's *Promptuaria* employs scripture against Calvin and the "modern heretics,"[35] being reflections on the lectionary readings for Sundays, feast days, Lent, *et cetera*. As with the *Antidota,* the *Promptuaria* show Stapleton the teacher, Stapleton the expositor.[36] The *promptuaria* cover a host of topics, many concerned with moral and devotional matters, e.g., the third moral lesson, drawn from the Gospel appointed for the 9th Sunday after Pentecost, Luke 19: "As Jesus drew near to Jerusalem, seeing the city, he wept over her saying 'If only you had known, even you, indeed in this your day, what peace there is for you,' etc."[37] Stapleton then elaborated moral lessons on the reading. When commenting on the third verse, "Since the days will come to you, and your enemies will surround your walls, and besiege you, and confine you," Stapleton addresses why all this happened to the Jews, and calls on the histories of Josephus, but looks back as well to the time of Zedekiah (*impius rex*) and Jeremiah, and elaborates on both Christ and the prophet as the voice of God, and the lack of repentance in both the Old Testament Jews, and those at the time of the Gospels. Further, he notes that on the day of judgement, the days given for repentance will haunt those who did not make use of them, noting that "the days of the Son of man are days of the mercy and humility of Christ, which in this life are offered to us; which those who do not accept, he will make known on the day of his just judgement, when he says in another place, 'I am leaving, and you will seek me, and you will die in your sins.'"[38]

The *Promptuaria* proved yet another means for Stapleton's apologetics, tracking within them Calvin's putative abuse of scripture. In *A Catholic Promptuarium, for the instruction of those gathered against the heretics of our times*,[39] Stapleton draws from the lectionary to address the proper place of the fear of God in the Christian life: Christ will come as a judge, and thus fear of punishment is a proper part of any Christian life, whatever the status of vocation: priest, monk, nun, hermit. This contrasted, Stapleton asserted, to Calvin's teaching that Christ comes not as judge, but as redeemer and savior

35 Proptuarium, Latin for cupboard or storeroom, seems an allusion about the scribe skilled in the word, according to Christ, who brings from his storeroom both old things and new (Matthew 13:52).

36 The *Promptuaria* en toto were just shorter than the *Antidota*, running 930 pages in *Opera*, vol IV, or about 780,000 words in the Latin text. Unlike the *Antidota*, the *Promptuaria* enjoyed multiple reprints.

37 *Promptuarium morale super Evangelis dominicalia*, Evangelium Dominicae IX: Post Pentecosten, "Cum appropinquaret […]" (Venice: apud Fiorauantem Pratum, 1596), 197–227.

38 *Promptuarium morale*, 209–10.

39 *Promptuarium Catholicum, ad instructionem concionatoru contra haereticos nostri temporis* (Cologne: Godefridus Kempenses, 1592).

(*Promptuarium* for the first Sunday of Advent: “Then shall they see the Son of Man coming on the clouds with power and great majesty”). He inveighs against Calvin repeatedly, taking on Calvin as regards the authority of Councils (fols. 184^{v} ff.), the “*impius Calvinus*” on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist (fols. 52^{r} ff.), the nature of the body of Christ (fols. 57^{v} ff.), the teaching authority of the Church (fols. 62^{r} ff.), on the intercession and invocation of the Saints (fols. 63^{r} ff.), how the Holy Spirit guides the Church into all truth—and here he also sights Oecolampadius (fols. 68^{r} ff.), the Church as the successor to the Apostles and Evangelists as the living voice of Christ (fols. 70^{v} ff.), the *manducatio impiorum* (fols. 79^{r} ff.), *et cetera*. Stapleton does site other Reformers, e.g., Luther, Melanchthon, Bullinger, and Beza, *inter alios*: the *promptuarium* for the Feast of Sts. Philip and James, taken from John 14, “In my Fathers house are many mansions,” takes aim at the Protestant teaching on good works, contrasting it with the Catholic doctrine. There Stapleton skewers both Luther and Flaccus Illyricus for asserting, according to Stapleton, that the relative virtue of the Christian is of no moment in the eyes of God, since Christians are made just in the eyes of God based solely on the extrinsic work of Christ, and the lives of the most exalted saints are rewarded the same as repentant thieves. But such a reading, Stapleton maintains—here citing Gregory the Great, Augustine, and Jerome—pushes one text (the parable of the laborers who all received on denarius regardless of how long they labored) to the exclusion of others, including this text. More importantly, it calls into question that human acts are of eternal significance, and that virtue as a created human faculty, and thus merit, cannot be obliterated by sin.[40]

Part of Stapleton’s last efforts spanned three works on the authority of the Church, the first two explicitly against the Puritan master of St. John’s College, Cambridge, that “Anglo-Calvinist” William Whitaker. Stapleton’s first efforts responded to Whitaker’s attack against both him and Robert Bellarmine.[41] In this response, *Authoritatis ecclesiasticae circa S. Scripturarum approbationem,*[42] Stapleton gives a detailed answer to Whitaker’s *Disputatio de Sacra Scriptura*, which taking a slight view of Whitaker as a scholar, saw him as but a disciple of “that idol Calvin.” Stapleton again revived the charges of Caroli that Calvin denied the Trinity, but he went beyond Caroli in maintaining that Calvin and his doctrine of the Church and Scripture, and how he had framed the debate, could be found in the Antitrinitarianism that overtook Poland and Transylvania

40 *Promptuarium Catholicum*, 117–80.

41 Whitaker, *Disputatio De Sacra Scriptura; Contra Huius Temporis Papistas, inprimis Robertum Bellarminum Jesuitam, Pontificium in Collegio Romano, & Thomam Stapletonum, etc.*

42 *Authoritatis ecclesiasticae*.

in the 1560s, and all because Calvin refused the Church its proper authority.[43] He points out in two different places that Calvin's doctrine (Stapleton asserted that Whitaker was nothing but an ape of Calvinist teaching) was nothing other than that of the Manichees, which had slighted the voice of Church so that they could establish their own canon.[44] Both Whitaker and Stapleton would publish more on the question, Whitaker responding with *Pro autoritate atque autepistia S. Scripturae contra T. Stapletonum*,[45] which provoked Stapleton's response, *Relectio principiorum Fidei doctrinalium*.[46] But Stapleton's last response purely to Whitaker came in 1596 as an appendix to *Relectio*, his *Triplicatio pro Ecclesiae authoritate adversum eundum Whitakerum*.[47] This shorter work actually should have been Stapleton's first, for while it picks up matters treated in both the *Relectio* and the *Authoritatis ecclesiasticae*, Stapleton is far more keen that Calvin is his target, and not merely the Anglo-Calvinist Whitaker, setting up Calvin in opposition to "*orthodoxam doctrinam*." He takes pains to show that Calvin has completely reversed how God works in history and in revelation, that it was the Church which existed before Scripture, and that which verified what Scripture included (basic boilerplate Catholic apologetics). His last foray would only be published after his death; his *Vere Admiranda seu, de Magnitudine Romanae Ecclesiae*, while more positive and less polemical, was more primer than polemic.[48]

Stapleton spent the last months of his life getting his affairs in order for a trip to Rome, as a cardinal's hat seemed in the offing. While he had advocates, he also had enemies, namely some from his own country, who saw him as too involved with Spain to be a proper leader of the English expatriates. In the late summer of 1598, still awaiting letters from Rome that would assure him of his post at Louvain should things not work out in Rome, he took to his bed and died on 12 October 1598. He is buried in St. Peter's chapel in Louvain.

Even as some of his works took especial aim at Calvin, the entire weight of his apologetic leaned in the direction of Geneva: e.g., the work against Whitaker as its protagonist emphatically targeted Calvin, and Whitaker his disciple. "Indeed you [Whitaker] are obviously a great sophist, and to all ends subtly

43 *Authoritatis ecclesiasticae*, 18.

44 *Authoritatis ecclesiasticae*, 232–33.

45 O'Connell notes that Whitaker showed himself far more than a mere cipher of Calvin in this work.

46 See *Opera* vol. 1, 505–838.

47 Antwerp: Joannes Keerbergius, 1596.

48 *Vere Admiranda seu, de Magnitudine Romanae Ecclesiae* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1599), with a preface by the publisher, and dedicatory letter by Christophorus ab Assonvilla. The preface notes that Stapleton was working on the book up to his death.

and exceedingly strenuously defend your Calvin." Surely since the winds of the storms in France and the Netherlands blew from Geneva, he had every reason to think Calvin his nemesis. It probably did not help Calvin's standing in his eyes that so many of his fellow English looked to Calvin, though ironically, many, like bishop Jewel, looked to Zurich. This Zurich turn of course was not the case when he wrote "contra Guillelmum Whitakerum Anglo-Calvinistam.[49]" It is no jump, therefore, to assert that Stapleton the Catholic apologist saw in Calvin the star guiding so many of those who effected both his vagabond life and the odyssey of the exile English Catholic community.

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49 *Avthoritatis Ecclesiasticae Circa S. Scriptvrarvm Approbationem,* 43 (my translation) and 37.

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CHAPTER 7

Ideas of Imagination in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries

Maryanne Cline Horowitz

Father John Patrick Donnelly kindly came as a guest speaker to my discussion section when I served as Teaching Assistant in the late Robert M. Kingdon's class on "The Reformation," in fall semester 1967, University of Wisconsin, Madison. My copy of Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* still retains the markings of Father Donnelly's emphases[1] as I recall how he helped the class to experience the path from recognition of sin, to experiencing Jesus Christ's life, to understanding the Passion, to seeking Divine Love. I hope to honor Father Donnelly by recognizing the very important role Saint Ignatius Loyola played in channeling imagination toward spiritual experiences—imagination that encouraged artists and poets/dramatists to create visual tools for education.

In this comparative article on a rarely studied topic in the history of ideas—the idea of imagination[2] in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century thought, I shall focus on two distinct streams of writing: meditational aids to spirituality and humorous portrayal of human arrogance. On the one hand, we shall examine meditational aids by Saint Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556) and his Jesuit followers, applying imagination to spiritual identification with the life of the Holy Family; on the other hand, we shall study humanists' and dramatists' amusing portrayals of individual and group self-aggrandizement through imagination. While these two modes might suggest a difference between early modern religious versus secular writings, those two modes of spirituality and humor both were magisterially brought together by Desiderius Erasmus (ca. 1466–1536) in his *Encomium Moriae* (*Praise of Folly*) (Paris: Giles de Gourmont, 1511; Basel:

1 Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, trans. Anthony Mottola (Garden City, NY: Image Books, 1964). Thanks to Undine Darney and Hye Soo Oh (Connie) for common exploration of texts in Independent Studies, Occidental College, Los Angeles.

2 John D. Lyons, *Before Imagination: Embodied Thought from Montaigne to Rousseau* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005). J.M. Cocking, *Imagination: A Study in the History of Ideas,* ed. Penelope Murray (London: Routledge, 1991). Robert Barth, "Imagination" *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. Maryanne Cline Horowitz (New York: 2005 and CENGAGE on-line), 3:1102–1109 and two other index listings to metaphor and to creativity. "Imagination" does not have its own entry or any index listing in the *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. Philip P. Wiener (New York: Scribner, 1973).

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Froben, 1515, with Holbein's drawings). While illustrating at length the hubris of human imagination in all walks of life, ridiculing the folly in everyone from commoner to consecrated leader, Erasmus culminates the book with acceptance of the "the foolishness of the cross"[3] and with the piety and otherworldliness of Christians.[4]

The figure Folly increases awareness that the great works and deeds of humanity often emerge from exhorbitant self-love.[5] Erasmus, working together with Thomas More on a translation from Greek into Latin of Lucian which they published in 1514, applies Lucianic humor throughout the *Encomium Moriae* as he makes a pun on the name "More." That the speaker throughout is Folly herself suggests that *Praise of Folly* is an ironic mock encomium.[6] Yet, in succession, we hear of the foibles of humanity, for Jupiter "imprisoned reason in a cramped corner of the head, and turned over all the rest of the body to the emotions."[7] As very heavy ridicule befalls those like Erasmus "who pursue fame by turning out books,"[8] one might take Folly's words with a grain of salt. On an Antwerp engraving attributed to Peeter Baltens (d. 1584), one can read about folly in Flemish, Latin, and French verses, while viewing male fools wearing dunce caps dancing helter skelter to the tune of a piper around a foolish female figure of the world.[9]

Authors of the 16th and 17th centuries learned from humanist texts, especially Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* and classroom performances of *The Colloquies,* how humans' puffing up their imagination through the sin of pride seems to magnify self-esteem beyond belief. While respecting human imagination of

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3 Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, trans. Hoyt Hopewell Hudson (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1941), 116.

4 Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, 118–19. For a sample of controversy on Erasmus and Loyola, see John C. Olin, *Six Essays on Erasmus* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), Chapter 6: "Erasmus and St. Ignatius Loyola."

5 David Marsh, *Lucian and the Latins* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 173.

6 Walter Kaiser, "The Ironic Mock Encomium," *Twentieth Century Interpretations of* The Praise of Folly, ed. Kathleen Williams (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969), 78–91. *Praise of Folly*, was placed in 1559 on the first Index Librorum Prohibitorum. Since Vatican II, there has been respect for Erasmus as the leading northern Renaissance humanist, with full publication and translation of his works by the University of Toronto Press.

7 Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, 23.

8 Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, quotation 73, discussion 70–76.

9 Figure 16, in Constance C. McPhee and Nadine M. Orenstein, *Infinite Jest: Caricature and Satire from Leonardo to Levine* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 39, discussed in Maryanne Cline Horowitz, "Exotic Lady Continents," *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, ed. Patrick L. Mason, 2nd edition (Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2013), 2, 140–42.

the supernatural events of the Holy Family, French author Michel de Montaigne (1533–92) and English authors Reginald Scott (1538?–99), Francis Bacon (1561–1626), and William Shakespeare (1564–1616) provide numerous examples of foolish behavior created by imagination under the false guidance of human pride and self-aggrandizement.

Saint Ignatius Loyola, Saint François de Sales (1567–1622), and Michel de Montaigne were all familiar with Quintillian's approach to enhancing memory by visualizing a place for each thought.[10] The Greek term *phantasia* refers in Quintillian to "things absent [...] presented to our imagination with such extreme vividness that they seem actually to be before our very eyes."[11] In the *Spiritual Exercises* (text of 1541 upon which Loyola made corrections and additions until his death in 1556), Loyola emphasizes the sensation of sight and more importantly the mind's eye—the internal imagination of a sensation of sight.

Loyola effectively applies a Petrarchan historical sense of distance from the ancient past and Christian humanist focus on the life of the Holy Family as narrated in the New Testament to expanding Catholic imagination in personal identification with the life of Jesus. By identifying with Jesus and his mother and re-enacting the last days of Jesus, Jesuits create a sense of closeness to God the Father, Jesus the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The Catholic order of the Society of Jesus, approved by Pope Paul III in 1540, thus encourages a focus on the Holy Events narrated in the New Testament and has appeal to those influenced by Protestant Bible-reading or preaching.

For the Jesuit imagination to re-create the last days of Jesus Christ, the first prelude of the first exercise teaches to create "a mental image of the place."[12] Loyola clarifies that one contemplates with one's mind's eye a visible object "such as a mountain where Jesus or the Blessed Virgin is."[13] Note the present tense in which the penitent moves in imagination both back in time and across space to the Holy Land in the time of Jesus. Loyola then takes the penitent to the next stage of imagining—picturing something not visible such as sin.

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10 Lyons, 31. Maryanne Cline Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: 1998), 96–100, 123–28, on Quintillian's humanist followers and the churchman as huntsman utilizing fresco to locate the manuscripts in Chambre du Cerf, Palais des papes, Avignon.

11 Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. H.E. Butler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921), VI. 2. 29 quoted in J.M. Cocking, *Imagination,* 29.

12 Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises,* trans. Mottola, 54; *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola: Spanish and English with a Continuous Commentary*, ed. Joseph Ricaby (London: Burns & Oates, 1915), 23. This Spanish and English bilingual edition is abbreviated below as Loyola, ed. Ricaby. Quotations are in Mottola's translation.

13 Loyola, trans. Mottola, 54; Loyola, ed. Ricaby, 23.

One's soul imprisoned in the body is to be pictured as one caught among wild animals.

The second prelude is to ask the penitent to take on the appropriate emotion for the scene to be contemplated: joy at Christ's Resurrection, pain and suffering at Christ's suffering, and—at contemplating the damned—shame at deserving to be damned eternally. This particular wide spectrum of sights and experiences during the two preludes are to be adapted to all following contemplations. This exercise teaches visual imagination and emotion/passion in the service of spiritual growth. The first exercise concludes with meditating on Christ on the cross and asking what the penitent is doing and ought to do for Christ.

In the fifth exercise which is meditation on the classes of people in hell, all the senses come in—seeing bodies in fire, hearing the wailing, smelling the smoke, tasting bitter things, feeling the flames. Despite that soulful experience, the text emphasized "I will now give Him thanks for not having permitted me to fall into any of these classes."[14] One is to be confident as one thanks the Lord for kindness and mercy.

In the Second Week on the Kingdom of Christ, one's imagination is to take in "the great extent and space of the world, where dwell so many different nations and peoples" before focusing in on Nazareth and then on the Nativity. Loyola explicates further the use of five senses—seeing the Holy Family, hearing what they are saying, smelling the fragrance of divinity and tasting the sweetness, touching and kissing the places where the Holy Family is.[15] In contrast, when Loyola comes to describe the enemy of Christ, that is Lucifer and his legion of demons, we see "the evil chieftain of all the enemy is seated in the center of the vast plain of Babylon, on a great throne of fire and smoke—a horrible and terrible sight to behold."[16] We hear Lucifer call "countless demons" and scatter them so that they miss not "even any single person."[17]

A retreat director would often utilize a sheet with an image to direct the focus of meditation.[18] Under Jerome Nadal's (1507–80) direction, an illustrated edition of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* was published.[19] Nadal's *magnum opus*,

14 Loyola, trans. Mottola, 59. Loyola, ed. Ricaby, 42.

15 Loyola, trans. Mottola, 72. Loyola, ed. Ricaby, 94–95.

16 Loyola, trans. Mottola, 76. Loyola, ed. Ricaby, 110.

17 Loyola, trans. Mottola, 76. Loyola, ed. Ricaby, 110.

18 Lyons, 233, note 26, citing André Rayez, "Imagerie et Dévotion" in *Dictionnaire de la Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique,* ed. M. Viller, J. Cavallera, and J. Guibert (Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 1937–95), 1532.

19 John Patrick Donnelly, SJ, ed. and trans., *Jesuit Writings of the Early Modern Period, 1540–1640* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2006), p. xvi, p. 167. *The Illustrated Spiritual Exercises,* ed. Jerome Nadal (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2001).

involving annotations and meditations on the Gospels following the Masses of the liturgical year, was printed posthumously, first in 1595 and then in an Antwerp edition by Chrisopher Plantin in 1604: 153 engravings in a six hundred folio page *Evangelicae historiae imagines*. As J. Patrick Donnelly points out, by providing engravings by three outstanding Flemish artists of the Wierix family, Nadal fulfilled Loyola's recommendations that the individual at prayer visualize the physical scene of the meditation.[20]

For example, a 1607 engraving of the nativity of Christ with angels celebrating above is marked by letters A through M with a key listing the sights such as A. Bethlehem, David's City; G. Light from the newborn Christ scatters the darkness of night; M. The star and the angel sent to the Magi first call them to their journey.[21] Such labelling of engravings is an important educational device, found also on maps such as Holy Land maps.[22] A 1607 engraving of "The Calling of Peter" with a key in Latin A to H shows Peter walking in the water from a boat toward Jesus in the front foreground (near to the reader/viewer).[23] Like the images in Nadal, frescos for Jesuit colleges in Rome have letter keys (but in both Italian and Latin), intended to influence both students and the public.[24] Jesuits produce many emblem books, teaching via image, image and saying, or image-saying-poem.[25]

In Loyola's encouragement of the imagination, those at prayer are encouraged to utilize the decoration of existing churches. Imagination dwells on all aspects of Jesus: the monogram abbreviation of the name of Jesus in Greek appearing on the title page of first printed *Spiritual Exercises* of 1548 becomes the seal of the Society of Jesus and a sight to contemplate on the pediment of the high altar of the Gèsu in Rome, the mother church of the Jesuit order begun in 1568.[26] As the Jesuit communities grow, artists hired by Jesuits amplify the

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20 Donnelly, *Jesuit Writings*, 166–67.

21 Picture and key, Donnelly, 167–68.

22 P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London: British Library, 2012), and Ariel Tishby, *Holy Land in Maps* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 2001).

23 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting Under the Jesuits and its Legacy Throughout Catholic Europe, 1565–1773," in John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Arts 1540–1773* (Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 2005), 127 and fig. 5.4.

24 Bailey, "Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting," 133.

25 For example, see Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, SJ. *Corpus Librorum Emblematum: The Jesuit Series Part 1, A–D* (Montreal: McGill—Queen's University Press, 1997); Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, SJ, *Corpus Librorum Emblematum: The Jesuit Series, Part 2, D–E* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

26 *The Jesuits and the Arts*, 62, fig. 3.27, and 200–01, figures 6.2 and 6.3.

decoration to appeal to the sense of sight and to the imagination of the ethereal. The Italian custom since the 1520s of Forty Hours of devotion to the Eucharist by 1608 takes place in front of the Gèsu amid a staging of a spectacular triumph wherein the Host, suspended high up, may be contemplated.[27]

That Jesuits master the drama of the spectacle is no surprise given the emphasis in their schools on theatrical performance. Jonathan Levy and Floraine Kay, as well as Joohee Park, have emphasized that the early Jesuit schools follow the humanist practice of school drama in Latin. In accord with the *Ratio,* the professors of poetry write one new play a year and manage the students in the play production. The subjects relate to moral and religious education and to the propagation of Catholicism to the public audience. Heros and martyrs struggle with making choices, teaching deliberation to the students. Villains receive punishment or damnation at the end of the plays. Performance involves spectacular scenery and costumes and mechanical tricks of stagecraft. Dramatists so trained at Jesuit schools include Lope de Vega, Pièrre and Thomas Corneille, and Jean Baptiste Molière (educated at the Collège de Clermont).[28] In *Ignatius of Loyola: Founder of the Jesuits*, Donnelly serves as a good teacher to current students when he compares Loyola's techniques in *The Spiritual Exercises* to those of a movie director:

> Ignatius invites exercitants to recreate in their imagination all the details in the events of the Gospels, even as a movie director has to work out the concrete details of a scene—setting, dialogue, interaction, and movement of the actors. Ignatius himself had an intense interest in the concrete details of Christ's life [...]. The purpose of these inward re-creations of events in Christ's life is to help exercitants know him more intimately and follow him more closely. They are to assimilate his values and make them their guide through life.[29]

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27 Marcello Fagiolo, "The Scene of Glory: The Triumph of the Baroque in the Theatrical Works of the Jesuits," in O'Malley and Bailey, eds., *The Jesuits and the Arts*, Figure 7.3 (dated 1685), 323.

28 Joohee Park, "Not Just a University Theatre: The Significance of Jesuit School Drama in Continental Europe, 1540–1773," in *Catholic Theatre and Drama: Critical Essays,* ed. Kevin J. Wetmore (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2010), 29–44, and Jonathan Levy and Floraine Kay, "The Use of Drama in the Jesuit Schools, 1551–1773," *Youth Theatre Journal* 10 (1996), 56–66.

29 John Patrick Donnelly, *Ignatius of Loyola: Founder of the Jesuits* (New York: Longman, 2004), 81.

Perhaps the greatest student of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* was François de Sales, Bishop of Geneva. In publishing *Introduction to the Devout Life* in 1608, he provided a guidebook that the devout might follow alone without a retreat and a retreat director. While François de Sales suggests the use of imagination to guide the will toward a spiritual Catholic life, his sequel *Treatise on the Love of God* (1616), guides the reader to contemplation and toward a "postimaginative union with God."[30]

For François de Sales, imagination has the role of shaping the will: building on Loyola's text and the policies of the Council of Trent, *The Introduction to the Devout Life* trains the penitent in methods of "an imagination-centered devotional approach."[31] For example, in the process of ridding the soul of affection for sin, one thinks of people who begrudge giving up sin and who envy the pleasures of those who still sin. In that imagining of those reluctant to give up sin, one strengthens one's resolve to give up affection for sin.[32] Those negative images contrast with the positive images of meditating on the goal of Paradise. One pictures the beautiful night sky with countless stars, then the inhabitants of heaven singing of their eternal love of God, and then happy birds singing praise of the Creator.[33] The multiple scenes allow one to imagine oneself in that paradisal assembly.

Meanwhile like Erasmus and artists of humorous engravings vividly imagining the follies of ordinary life, creative authors of the Renaissance write vivid descriptive passages about individuals and crowds carried away by self-glorifying imagination. The translation into Latin of Greek Pyrrhonian Sceptic Sextus Empiricus furthers the exploration of the distorting power of imagination over sense perception, Montaigne explains Sextus Empiricus in French in essay II. 12, "Apology of Raymond Sebond."[34]

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, several writers judge the human imagination as inappropriately dominant in human life. Frenchman Michel de Montaigne in the 1580s dismisses eyewitness accounts of "one of us, in flesh and bone [...] wafted up a chimney on a broomstick by a strange

30 Lyons, *Before Imagination*, 63.

31 Lyons, *Before Imagination*, 66.

32 Francis de Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life*, trans. John K. Ryan (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), I.7, 50–51; and François de Sales, *Oeuvres*, ed. André Ravier and Roger Devos (Paris: Gallimard, 1969).

33 Francis de Sales, I.16, trans. Ryan, 66–67.

34 Richard Popkin, *History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 18–65.

spirit."[35] Montaigne's contemporary in England Reginald Scot (*Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584) functions as an early social psychologist in explaining how a woman confessing witchcraft has internalized the community's rumors about her.[36] Traveling in an embassy to France in 1576–79 and publishing his own *Essays* in 1597 before Florio's 1603 translation of Montaigne, Francis Bacon, like Montaigne, exposes the deceptions of imagination; unlike Montaigne, Bacon has hopes to create a new method for safeguarding against imagination distorting perception. Meanwhile, plays like Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, first performed 1595–96, tweak the audience's imagination while illustrating the impact of imagination on manifold fictional characters.[37] Bacon in the *Novum Organum* calls adherence of people to specific theories about the heavens an "idol of the theatre": "the plot of this our theatre resembles those of the poetical, where the plots which are invented for the stage are more consistent, elegant, and pleasureable than those taken from real history."[38]

My examples focus on the inventive side of imagination—the forming of an image in the human mind of something that has not been present to the senses of hearing, sight, taste, touch, or smell, or an individual distorting of such sense perceptions. As John D. Lyons has pointed out in *Before Imagination: Embodied Thought from Montaigne to Rousseau*, sixteenth and seventeenth century authors use the term "imagination" most often in the Aristotelian and Stoic meaning of "phantasia," thought based on sense perception. Lyons interprets the period 1580–1680 as particularly important for the emergence of the inventive side of imagination—the mind drawing on previous sense experience to devise vivid, descriptive images not present to the senses (as recommended for oratory by Quintillian).[39] While Lyons's focus is on positive uses leading to Enlightenment views of imagination as creative and inventive, my focus is on the increased awareness of imagination as a negative, as a path to

35 Michel de Montaigne, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1962), III. 11, 1009; *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), III. 11. 789.

36 Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, ed. Brinsley Nicholson (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), 1. 3. 6.

37 William Shakespeare, "From *Midsummer Night's Dream,"* in *Shakespeare 1, Great Books of the Western World,* ed. Robert M. Hutchins et al., vol. 26 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Brittanica, 1952), 5. 1. 7–8.

38 Francis Bacon, "From *Novum Organum,"* in *Great Books of the Western World,* ed. Robert M. Hutchins et al., vol. 30 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Brittanica, 1952), I. 62.

39 John D. Lyons, *Before Imagination: Embodied Thought from Montaigne to Rousseau* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 27.

misrepresentation of the world around one. The authors I now cite fuel Pre-Enlightenment and Enlightenment use of reason to undermine the delusions, illusions, and superstitions caused by imagination.

An important source of critique of imagination derives from the medical literature on demonology. Johan Weyer's *De Praestigiis daemonum* (1563; French in 1579) originated the view of witches as hallucinating; he suggested that women are particularly prone to melancholy: "their imagination—inflamed by the demons in ways not understandable to us—and the torture of melancholy makes them only fancy that they have caused all sorts of evil."[40] Some witnesses at sixteenth-century trials do try to separate out among the accused the mentally ill.[41] Both the 1588 essay "On Cripples," III, 11 of Michel de Montaigne and the 1584 work of his English contemporary Reginald Scot were influenced by Weyer; they follow Weyer in refuting Jean Bodin, specifically in their refusal to translate the biblical Hebrew *chasaph,* sorcery (Exodus 22:18) as witchcraft, understood in the sixteenth century as a heretical pact with the Devil.[42] Montaigne in "On Cripples" tackles the mentality of inquiring into causes of facts not verified.[43]

A milder form of self-deception—a person suffering from a great variety of imagined ailments—appears in sixteenth-century French farces. In April 1581 Montaigne met a Parisian in Loreto, Italy, who attributed to the shrine there the miraculous cure of one of his legs. Montaigne's description is amusing, yet Montaigne, suffering from kidney stones, that week donated fifty crowns and placed a tablet in the pilgrimage site of Loreto (wherein miraculously rests a house of the Virgin).[44] Although Michel de Montaigne dismisses eyewitness accounts of a man flying for 12 hours,[45] he himself takes medical cures at hot springs on his Italian voyage while claiming that belief in the cure is its main palliative.[46]

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40 Johann Weyer, "From *Dedicatory Epistle to Duke William of Cleves*," in *European Witchcraft,* ed. E. William Monter (New York: John Wiley, 1969), 39.

41 G.R. Quaife, *Godly Zeal and Furious Rage: The Witch in Early Modern Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 205.

42 Montaigne, *Oeuvres complètes,* III. 11. 1008. *The Complete Works of Montaigne*, 789.

43 Maryanne Cline Horowitz, "Montaigne's Doubts on the Miraculous and Demonic in Cases of His Own Day," in *Regnum, Religio, Et Ratio: Essays Presented to Robert M. Kingdon*, ed. Jerome Friedman (Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1987), 83.

44 Michel de Montaigne, "Travel Journal," in *Oeuvres complètes*, 1250–1251, *Complete Works*, 973.

45 Montaigne, *The Complete Works*, III.12. 799.

46 Horowitz, "Montaigne's Doubts," 86.

The folly of human belief in "cures" and the possibility of would-be doctors pandering to that human weakness created the word "ignoramus," as in George Ruggle's play *Ignoramus* performed for King James I at Clare College, Cambridge, in 1615. The farcical spoof of a man deceiving himself as ill, and subsequently deceived by his maid pretending to be his doctor, gains masterful literary form in Molière's *Le malade imaginaire* (1673). The 1694 edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* gives as one definition of "l'imagination" "Fantaisie erronée et bizarre (erroneous and bizarre fantasy).[47]

Montaigne's special contribution to educational theory is his amplification of Seneca's recommendation that one sift through one's readings (Seneca, *Ep.* 84.5). Montaigne suggests that critical judgment is a sieve ("l'estamine") for sifting for the seeds of knowledge. In "Of the Education of Children," Montaigne suggests that the tutor encourage the child to consider the principles of each philosophical school: "Let the tutor make his charge pass everything through a sieve and lodge nothing in his head on mere authority and trust [...]. Let this variety of ideas be set before him; he will choose if he can; if not, he will remain in doubt."[48] For discussion of ethics, the "sieve" is the path for human evaluation.

For theology, however, Montaigne views the human sieve as insufficient. In the "Apologie" amid his comparison of viewpoints of philosophies and of religions on the divine, on the soul, on the afterlife, and even on the word *hoc* (presumably as in "*Hoc est corpus meum*," around which Montaigne finds abundant controversy), Montaigne warns that disputes about God are beyond the scope of human judgement: "And yet our overweening arrogance would pass the deity through our sieve."[49] Montaigne sifts through texts and experiences in creating such brilliant insights. Through his sifting for truth, he sets limits to such sifting. When ideas and beliefs lead to murders, as a common occurrence during the religious wars in France, Montaigne is very skeptical of such ideas. In the *Apology for Raymond Sebond*, in a C passage he condemns the justification of violence by theological argument, but already in an A passage had suggested that only a few are fighting for religious convictions or patriotism, but that

47 Quoted in Lyons, *Before Imagination*, 212, n. 6. George Ruggle, *Ignoramus* (London: Walter Burre, 1615); Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin), *La malade imaginaire* (Amsterdam: Elzevier, 1673).

48 Montaigne, I. 26 [a], *Oeuvres complètes*, 150, *Complete Works* 111; Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge*, 208 and 245 illustration of Cesare Ripa's image of a woman sifting in "Distinctio boni et mali," engraving from Johann Georg Hertel, *Ripae* [...] *Sindbildern unde Gedancken* (Augsburg: Hertel, 1758–69).

49 Montaigne, II.12, *Oeuvres complètes*, 509, *Complete Works*, 393.

most are motivated by "private concerns" ("considerations particulières")[50] (S 494–495, OC 421). Later in the essay he is disturbed at "capital offences" made lawful and other changes during religious wars which make it difficult to avoid being accused of opposing God or King.[51]

It is significant that the two essays framing "Apology for Raymond Sebond" are "On Cruelty" and "Of Judging the Death of Others." "On Cruelty" condemns torture to others and punishment by cruel death, and "Of Judging the Death of Others" condemns the heroic Stoic suicide of Cato the younger by emphasizing the undue violence to oneself: "And if it had been up to me to portray him in his proudest posture, this would have been all bloody, tearing out his own bowels, rather than sword in hand, as did the statuaries of his time."[52] While favoring a Stoic example of death by self-inflicted starvation to the bloody death of Cato, in the concluding line of "Of Judging the Death of Others," Montaigne refers to both as "murder."

On the other side of the spectrum from the individual puffed up by imagination is the figure of a man turned by magic potion into an ass—larger than his human form yet distinctly uglier. Renaissance editions (1469, 1600) of Apuleius's *The Golden Ass* view the model as *Lucius or The Ass* attributed to Lucian.[53] Michel de Montaigne writes as a humble Michel. In raising issues concerning the most mundane matters of his daily life and of the customs of ordinary people, he inserts in offhanded ways questions concerning the highest issues of church and state. While the "Apology of Raymond Sebond" transmits the Pyrrhonian methods of Sextus Empiricus, that essay, as well as other essays of Michel de Montaigne, are rich in practical and often humorous applications of his scepticism to topical issues of the sixteenth century. I have focused on practical applications of Montaigne's philosophy, for it is Montaigne's style of writing concerning issues of his day that helped create the French sceptical style that extends from "the style of Paris" of 1550s discussed by George Huppert[54] to Gabriel Naudé (1600–53) and François de La Mothe le Vayer (1588–1672)[55] and onward to Voltaire and the *philosophes*.

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50 Montaigne, II, 12, *Oeuvres complètes*, 421, *Complete Works,* 494–95.

51 Montaigne, II. 12 [c], *Oeuvres completes,* 563, *Complete Works*, II. 12. 436.

52 Montaigne, II. 13. *Oeuvres complètes*, 594–95, *Complete Works*, 462.

53 Lucius Apuleius, William Adlington, and Charles Whibley, *The Golden Ass, being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927).

54 George Huppert, *The Style of Paris: Renaissance Origins of the French Enlightenment* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999).

55 Maryanne Cline Horowitz, "Gabriel Naudé's *Apology for Great Men Suspected of Magic*: Variations in Editions from 1625 to 1715," in *History of Heresy in Early Modern Europe: For, Against, and Beyond Persecution and Toleration*, ed. John Laursen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 61–75 and "French Free-Thinkers in the First Decades of the Edict of

Montaigne encourages the reader to find the nonsense in his tales of human behavior. For example, Montaigne applies Vives' translation and commentary on Augustine's *City of God* to discredit alleged recent "miraculous" events in contrast to the miraculous events during the life of Jesus. In III.11 "Des Boyteux" ("On Cripples"), in which Montaigne questions the witchcraft trials of his day, he tells a story about Praestantius telling a story about his father waking from a sleep and claiming he had been a packhorse for soldiers. Without citing his source, Montaigne is in fact telling Augustine's story of Praestantius telling of his father's story in *City of God*, XVIII.18;[56] thus, the example emphasizes embellishment of old tales. For both Augustine and Montaigne, it is likelier that a man is dreaming than to believe his account of being transformed into an animal! The viewpoint accords with Montaigne's discussion of hallucination in "Apology for Raymond Sebond": a poem of Horace tells of Lycas who regretted being cured of his delusion that he was "perpetually at the amphitheaters watching entertainments."[57]

Readers of Vives's commentary on *The City of God* would especially be aware that Augustine denied that a person can be changed materially into an animal. Readers of Bodin's *Démonomanie* might particularly appreciate Montaigne's taking of his story from Augustine, for Bodin interprets Augustine as mentioning Apuleius's *The Golden Ass* as proof that demons can turn humans into animals, and Bodin regularly gives the refrain "that even Saint Augustine has said, that of all of the sects of philosophers, and all the religions which ever were, have designated penalties against sorcerers and magicians."[58] In a period when denial of demons is heretical, Montaigne simply omits the word "demon" (subtly implying a lack of referent) in poking fun with the arguments of demonologists such as Jean Bodin or in recounting tales of the gullible who pass on stories. Montaigne discusses simply "old hags" awaiting trial.[59]

Nantes," *Early Modern Skepticism and the Origins of Toleration*, ed. Alan Levine (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 1999), 77–102.

56 Augustine, *City of God: With the Learned Comments of Io. Lodovicus Vives*, 1st English ed. (London: Eld and Flesher, 1620).

57 Montaigne, *The Complete Works of Montaigne*, II.12. 366.

58 Jean Bodin, *De la demonomanie des sorciers* (Paris: Chez Jacques du-Puys, 1581). Maryanne Cline Horowitz, "Drogue médicinale ou vieux conte: l'histoire et la justice chez Montaigne, Bodin et saint Augustin," in *Montaigne et l'histoire*, ed. Claude G. Dubois (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991); and Maryanne Cline Horowitz, "Jean Bodin," in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine (430–2000)*, ed. Karla Pollmann and Willemien Otten (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), vol. II, 687–90.

59 Maryanne Cline Horowitz, "Doubts about 'Witches' and 'Magicians' in Reginald Scot and Gabriel Naudé," *History has Many Voices*, ed. Lee Palmer Wandel (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2003), 13–15.

William Shakespeare's Lucianic adaptation applies to the humble weaver (perhaps a weaver of tall tales) Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (first performed 1595–96, text from 1600): transformed into an ass, yet doted upon by the fairy queen Titania, Bottom beams with self-pride while wearing his ass's ears.[60] Thus Shakespeare's version combines both the human striving to be honored, loved, and almost worshipped, with the embodiment in ludicrous animal shape with roughness of skin, smells, naying and all.

In *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakespeare shows that imagination frequently rules over reason and that emotions, however irrational, distort perception. Since the cause of love of one being for another is not subject to reason, either magic or imagination may be the explanation. While Demetrius and Lysander appear similar, Hermia loves only Lysander; Hermia's father accuses Lysander of using magic to win her love. Likewise irrational is the love of the fairy queen Titania for Bottom, yet in this case the love arose from a magic potion placed on her eyelids by Oberon.[61] The audience as a whole identifies with the dilemma of love, as Puck, Robin Goodfellow, who admits to placing the ass's head on Bottom, encourages us to laugh at the Erasmian folly of all the lovers in the woods—in this instance, not a forest of knowledge rooted on reason, but a forest of fantasy created out of the flimsy fabric of imagination.[62]

Helena's view of herself as a beautiful woman changes as she chases Demetrius to no avail; "No, no, I am as ugly as a bear."[63] Like Scot, Shakespeare illustrates internalization of a social psychological situation. Later Helen imagines three of her friends conspiring against her "counterfeiting sad looks, make mouths upon me when I turn my back."[64] Thus beautiful Helena's self-depredation from unrequited love parallels ass-eared Bottom's delirious self-aggrandizement amidst silly servants provided by Titania.[65]

Bottom's speech as he comes back to his senses is a highpoint of the play: dumbfounded, yet inquiring, his self-assessment is rapidly coming down from the heights of his experience with Titania when he states "man is but an ass if he go about to expound this dream." As eye and hearing, ear and seeing, hand

60 Jan Kott, *The Bottom Translation: Marlowe and Shakespeare and the Carnival Tradition* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 1987), 34–36.

61 Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream,* II. 2. 26–34.

62 Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream,* III. 2. 16–17.

63 Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream,* II. 2.

64 Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream,* III. 2.

65 Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. 1. 160–206.

and tasting show his confusion, the audience perceives that the "fool" at least comprehends that he has fully lost his common sense—his ability to clearly perceive and then understand the input of his sense perceptions. So though the audience witnessed Titania's doting on Bottom as ass, the audience hears that their perceptions alike were just a bizarre dream.[66]

In the speech of Theseus, Shakespeare expounds the philosophy his play has enacted. Lovers and the insane have "seething brains" producing "shaping fantasies." Shakespeare—himself complicit as poet—contributes to audience recognition of the enormity of human imagination as Theseus declares "The lover, the lunatic, and the poet are of imagination all compact."[67] Yet the audience has witnessed the dream via the same eyes and ears involved in witnessing the entire play.

Theseus focuses in on the sense of sight, explaining that the lunatic "sees more devils than vast hell can hold," the lover "sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt," and the eye of the poet rolling in a frenzy while his pen "gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name."[68] He likewise explains how imagination invents causes—for a feeling of joy, a bringer of joy, and for a feeling of fear, a "bush supposed a bear!" And next, Theseus welcomes "the lovers, full of joy and mirth" to the evening's entertainment, as the audience continues its revels. The last speech of the play is honest Puck's; who allows the audience if offended to think of the play as simply a dream. Penelope Murray emphasizes J.M. Cocking's view that Francis Bacon highlights the role of imagination in Renaissance poetry and views imagination as "capable of changing our perceptions of the world."[69]

Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (1605) contrasts history with legendary fables. His example is Ixion ("In reality") who copulated with a cloud and gave birth to chimeras. "So whosever shall entertain high and vaporous imaginations, instead of a laborious and sober inquiry of truth, shall beget hopes and beliefs in strange and impossible shapes." Natural magic, alchemy, and astrology are his examples of such sciences based on imagination and belief.[70] Likewise, he rejects divination and Parcelsus's natural magic, pointing out that the

66 Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV. 1. 199–209.

67 Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, V.1. 7–8.

68 Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, V.1, 2–16.

69 Cocking, *Imagination*, ix–x.

70 Francis Bacon, "From *Advancement of Learning,*" in *Great Books of the Western World,* ed. Hutchins et al., vol. 30, II, vii, 2, 46.

argument that even if the ceremonies and charms work not by evil spirits but by strengthening imagination, they go against the divine command "In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat thy bread."[71] Eva T.H. Brann emphasizes that Bacon views both poetry and religion as "specifically imaginative—as opposed to rational—enterprises."[72]

The *Novum Organum* (1620) takes jibes at those who accept contemporaries as prophets. "All superstition is much the same, whether it be that of astrology, dreams, omens, retributive judgement, or the like, in all of which the deluded believers observe events which are fulfilled, but neglect and pass over their failure, which is much more common."[73] In *Novum Organum*, Bacon aims to start knowledge again from the foundations. Putting memorable labels on the key errors he had discussed in *Advancement of Learning* (1605), he makes an analogy between errors of human understanding and errors of the religions of idol-worship.[74] He is concerned with ridding humankind of old errors and preventing the slipping in of new errors. He warns against "idols of the tribe," tendency for humans to judge by themselves as the measure, as well as against the "idols of the den," tendency of individuals to interpret observations from their own perspective, predisposition, and interests.[75] The "idols of the market" stem from conversation and linguistic groups by which words misrepresent phenomena; and the "idols of the theatre," embedded in philosophical systems with their particular rules of demonstration, likewise mislead the human understanding.[76] Thus, the philosophical discussion of names of things which have no existenceis an "idol of the market," and the adherence of groups of people to specific theories about the heavens is an "idol of the theatre." He is referring to the world as theatre, as well as to the stage-play by which playwrights exemplify the imaginary: "the plot of this our theatre resembles those of the poetical, where the plots which are invented for the stage are more consistent, elegant, and pleasureable than those taken from real history."[77]

Imagination for Bacon is most suited for the rhetorical fields including poetry.[78] In analyzing the field of rhetoric, he defines "the office of rhetoric is

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71 Bacon, *Advancement of Learning,* II, xi, 2, 55.

72 Eva T.H. Brann, *The World of the Imagination: Sum and Substance* (Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1991), 67.

73 Bacon, *Novum Organum*, I, 46, 110.

74 Bacon, *Novum Organum* I, iv–v and II, iv.

75 Bacon, *Novum Organum*, I, 41–42, 52–58.

76 Bacon, *Novum Organum*, I, 31–44.

77 Bacon, *Novum Organum*, I, 62, 113.

78 Bacon, *Advancement of Learning,* II, xii, 1.

to apply reason to imagination for the better moving of the will."[79] For Bacon, "the work of the imagination; which, not being bound by any law and necessity of nature or matter, may join things which are never found together in nature and separate things which in nature are never found apart."[80] The recognition that much that has passed as knowledge was based on imagination is to have significant impact on the development of more accurate procedures for attaining knowledge. Despite his concern for deceptions common to humans, Bacon has high hopes for collaborative work in his plea for a Royal Society to achieve knowledge of laws of science.

Whereas Pierre Charron (1541–1603) in *De la Sagesse* (1601) dogmatizes Michel de Montaigne's scepticism into the recommendation to clear the "esprit" (the mind including understanding and will) of all impressions and opinions to allow *preud'hommie* to develop,[81] Francis Bacon in about 1602–03 in *Temporis Partus Masculus* writes the motto: "On waxen tablets you cannot write anything new until you rub out the old. With the mind it is not so; there you cannot rub out the old till you have written in the new."[82] Bacon thus innovates on the influential ancient Stoic analogy between a wax tablet and the mind. Bacon is suggesting a new method *"experientia literata,"* as in Barnaby and Schell's book title "literate experience." In this new method, words will correspond to things.[83] Yet Bacon is always on the lookout for "idols of the den" mediating between the individual's experiences of the world and the objects observed. In my view, he is suggesting that a new method of publicly checking and verifying sense knowledge will make more accurate imprints on the wax tablet of the mind; "the more copious and exact the representations of the senses, the more easily and prosperously will everything proceed."[84]

Stanley Fish in *Self-Consuming Artifacts* notes that Bacon writes in aphorisms in his *Essays* (1597, revised 1625) to challenge the reader to consider bits of observations and not be led to a specific conclusion. "For while clarity may be the ultimate goal of Bacon's procedures, protecting the mind against itself

79 Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, II, 2, 66.

80 *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis*, Ch. I, X, 404, in Eugene P McCreary, "Bacon's Theory of Imagination Reconsidered," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 36 (1973), 318.

81 Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge*, 207, 223–227; Pierre Charron, *De la sagesse* (Bordeaux: S. Millanges, 1601).

82 Benjamin Farrington, "From *Philosophy of Francis Bacon*," 72, in Andrew Barnaby and Lisa J. Schnell, *Literate Experience: The Work of Knowing in Seventeenth-Century English Writing* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 3.

83 Barnaby and Schnell, *Literate Experience*, 4.

84 Bacon, *Novum organum*, IV, 192, quoted in Barnaby and Schnell, *Literate Experience*, 19.

is their first business."[85] Those reading a coherent discourse might jump to the conclusion that truth is similarly coherent. Bacon objects to syllogisms in Aristotle's logic on the grounds that one jumps to universals from a few particulars and then make assumptions about particulars not yet observed.[86] Bacon's Preface to the *Novum Organum* advises knowing the laws of nature to avoid both dogmatism, with its consequent "presumption of pronouncing on everything," and to avoid scepticism, with its consequent "despair of comprehending everything." Instead of such flurries of imagination, the scholar should try to learn by careful scrutiny.[87]

Lucianic and Erasmian examples of folly, Weyer's medical diagnoses of hallucination, French and Latin comedies on imaginary ailments, Montaigne on false eyewitnesses and the impact of imagination on getting cured, Scot on social psychology, Shakespeare's phenomenal power to inspire audience imagination while ridiculing its power on his characters, and Bacon's bold attempt to create a new method of inquiry—all these Renaissance texts and performances contribute to a pre-Enlightenment critique of the delusions, illusions, and superstitions caused by imagination. Yet, spiritual imagination remains a valid and valued path. Ignatius Loyola's and François de Sales's advice on meditation and Montaigne's restraint from putting religious beliefs through a sieve bear fruit.

Augustine had made a sharp distinction between the gullibility of ancient pagans in the story of *The Golden Ass* versus the true faith of Christians in the company of the apostles beholding the supernatural events of Jesus Christ. Recent scholarship has recognized the persistence of Christian religiosity in early modern times well into the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.[88] A book title emphasizes the impact of Ignatius Loyola on the spiritual imagination: *Powers of Imagining: Ignatius de Loyola.*[89]

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85 Stanley Fish, "From *Georgics of the Mind: The Experience of Bacon's Essays*," in Stanley Fish, *Self-Consuming Artifacts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 88.

86 Henry G. van Leeuwen, *The Problem of Certainty in English Thought 1630–1690* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963), 9.

87 Bacon, *Novum Organum*, quoted in Van Leeuwen, *The Problem of Certainty in English Thought*, 6.

88 Simon Grote, "Review-Essay: Religion and Enlightenment," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 75:1 (2014), 137–160, and Jonathan Sheehan,"Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay," *American Historical Review* 108 (2003): 1061–80; and Alan Levine, ed. *Early Modern Skepticism and the Origins of Toleration* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 1999).

89 Antonio T. de Nicolás, *Powers of Imagining: Ignatius de Loyola: A Philosophical A Hermeneutic of Imagining through the Collected Works of Ignatius de Loyola with a Translation of*

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CHAPTER 8

Calvinist Thomism Revisited: William Ames (1576–1633) and the Divine Ideas

Richard A. Muller

Calvinist Scholasticism and Thomism: Then and Now

In a series of pioneering works on "Calvinist Scholasticism" and "Calvinst Thomism" John Patrick Donnelly established the point that not only were the medieval backgrounds of early modern Reformed thought of considerable importance to the study of the theologies of the Reformers and their scholastic or orthodox successors, but that in the cases of several major Reformed writers, notably Peter Martyr Vermigli and Girolamo Zanchi, there were significant elements of Thomistic theology and philosophy present in major works of Reformed thinkers.[1] Donnelly's work provided a major impetus to further study inasmuch as it did not partake of the substantial theological negatives that had often plagued earlier scholarship, whether the anti-scholastic and anti-Thomistic understandings of various writers who had engaged the writings of Protestant scholastics[2] or the critiques of Protestantism from the vantage point of expertise in medieval scholastic thought. Early on in the study of developing sixteenth-century Reformed thought, it also served to point out that a group of Calvin contemporaries, notably Farel, Bullinger, and Vermigli, were not to be regarded as disciples of Calvin but as partners in the early modern theological conversation, whose individual backgrounds and training needed to be examined for the sake of a proper picture of early modern Reformed thought.[3]

1 John Patrick Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1975); idem, "Calvinist Thomism," *Viator* 7 (1976): 441–55; and idem, "Italian Influences on the Development of Calvinist Scholasticism," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 7/1 (1976): 81–101. My thanks to David Sytsma for his critique and assistance in the preparation of this essay.

2 Cf., e.g., Brian G. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); and Otto Gründler, "Thomism and Calvinism in the Theology of Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590)" (Th.D. dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1961), subsequently published as *Die Gotteslehre Girolami Zanchis und ihre Bedeutung für seine Lehre von der Prädestination* (Neukirchen: Neukirchner Verlag, 1965).

3 Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace*, 2.

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In addition, Donnelly was able, by showing the Thomistic underpinnings of Vermigli's thought, as well as suggesting a somewhat eclectic appropriation of medieval backgrounds on Vermigli's part, to set aside the then-widely-held view of the nearly overpowering impact of aspects of late medieval nominalism on the development of Protestant theology and to question the broad and somewhat pejorative definitions of Protestant scholasticism found in the older literature.[4]

Recent scholarship on an increasing number of Reformed scholastic thinkers of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries has built on and debated the points raised by Donnelly, by identifying other medieval backgrounds to Protestant scholasticism[5] arguing further cases of influence of Thomist thought[6] indicating the positive impact of contemporary Roman Catholic, notably Dominican and Jesuit, scholasticism on Protestant theology[7] raising the possibility of a broadly Scotist line of influence on the Reformed, above and beyond the Thomist[8] and disputing the extent of Scotist

4 *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace*, 196–207.

5 Notably, Frank A. James, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination: the Augustinian Inheritance of an Italian Reformer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and idem, "Peter Martyr Vermigli: At the Crossroads of Late Medieval Scholasticism, Christian Humanism and Resurgent Augustinianism," in Carl R. Trueman and F. Scott Clark, eds., *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays in Reassessment* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), 62–78, who argues a substantial influence of Gregory of Rimini on Vermigli.

6 E.g., Richard A. Muller, *God, Creation and Providence in the Thought of Jacob Arminius: Sources and Directions of Scholastic Protestantism in the Era of Early Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker 1991); Stephen Hampton, *Anti-Arminians: the Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 221–65; David Sytsma, "'As a Dwarfe set upon a Gyants Shoulders': John Weemes (*c.* 1579–1636) on the Place of Philosophy and Scholasticism in Reformed Theology," in *Die Philosophie der Reformierten*, eds. Günter Frank and Herman J. Selderhuis. Melanchthon-Schriften der Stadt Bretten 12 (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2012), 299–321; and Christopher Cleveland, *Thomism in John Owen* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013).

7 E.g., Eef Dekker, *Rijker dan Midas: Vrijheid, genade en predestinatie in de theologie van Jacobus Arminius, 1559–1609* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1993), demonstrating the Molinist sources of Arminius' thought; Andreas J. Beck, "Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676): Basic Features of his Doctrine of God," in *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise*, ed. Willem J. van Asselt and Eef Dekker (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2001), 205–26, documenting a close reading of contemporary Dominican thought.

8 Andreas J. Beck, *Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676): Sein Theologieverständnis und seine Gotteslehre*, in Willem J. van Asselt, J. Martin Bac, and Roelf T. te Velde, trans., ed., and commentary (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007). *Reformed Thought on Freedom: The Concept of Free Choice in the History of Early-Modern Reformed Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2010); J. Martin Bac and Theo Pleizier, "Reentering Sites of Truth. Teaching Reformed Scholasticism in the Contemporary Classroom," in Willemien Otten, Marcel Sarot, and Maarten Wisse, eds.,

influence.[9] A single essay on a single theme cannot resolve the current debate, but it can serve to direct attention once again to significant Thomistic lines of argument amid the somewhat eclectic Reformed reception of the medieval and early modern scholastic background—and, moreover, to identify Thomistic assumptions at the metaphysical foundations of Reformed theism.

One of the significant metaphysical issues confronting theologians—the Reformed among them—in the early modern era and, in addition, one of the significant indices to their medieval backgrounds, was the issue of divine ideas, specifically the ideas of possibles, and their relationship to the divine intellect. The issue sounds rather abstruse until one recognizes the extent of the pressure placed on the most basic premises of orthodox theism by the newly revived ancient philosophies and their early modern counterparts, whether Platonic or atomistic and "mechanical," on questions concerning the relation of God's knowledge to the world order. Specifically, what does God know concerning the things he wills to create—and how does he know it? Is there a conceptual reality independent of God and is the divine creativity limited by inherent possibilities in the material order? Is God free to create what he wills, leaving aside some possibilities as never to be actualized?

The Reformed answer, argued along lines already articulated in the medieval tradition, developed in the context of expanding consideration of the divine attributes brought about in part by Reformed appropriation of arguments belonging to the Catholic "second scholasticism," supported the ultimacy and independence of divine knowledge and an understanding of the freedom of God in creation. As to the specific questions of the way in which ideas reside in God and how God understands possibles, Reformed thinkers who addressed the subject had considerable scholastic discussion and debate on which to draw. The options available in the early modern era included Thomist, Scotist, and Ockhamist answers to the question.[10]

Scholasticism Reformed: Festschrift Willem van Asselt, Studies in Theology and Religion vol. 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 31–54; and Simon J.G. Burton, *The Hallowing of Logic: The Trinitarian Method of Richard Baxter's Methodus Theologiae* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

9 Richard A. Muller, "Not Scotist: Understandings of Being, Univocity, and Analogy in Early Modern Reformed Thought," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 14/2 (2012): 125–48.

10 See, e.g., L.B. Geiger, "Les idées divines dans l'oeuvre de S. Thomas," in Etienne Gilson and Armand Maurer, eds. *St. Thomas Aquinas, 1274–1974*, 2 vols. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974), I, 175–209; Beatrice Zedler, "Why Are the Possibles Possible?" *The New Scholasticism* 55 (1981): 113–30; Allan B. Wolter, "Ockham and the Textbooks: On the Origin of Possibility," *Franziskanische Studien* 32 (1950): 70–96; Marilyn McCord Adams, *William Ockham*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), II, 1065–1083; Richard Cross, *Duns Scotus on God* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 60–83.

Divine Ideas in Early Modern Reformed Thought

Discussion of the divine ideas, possibles known to God, or the eternal exemplars in the divine mind was not frequently found among Reformed writers of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, but the discussion does appear in the work of several important theologians of the era and, in the wake of their work, in a significant number of Reformed theological works of the developing scholastic orthodoxy of the seventeenth century. Arguably, the issue of divine ideas entered Reformed thought as the doctrine of the divine attributes, notably the *scientia* and *sapientia Dei*, expanded beyond the level of detail afforded by such early codifiers and systematizers as Wolfgang Musculus, Andreas Hyperius, Zacharias Ursinus, and Lambert Daneau.

Perhaps the first to develop the issue in any detail was Girolamo Zanchi. He broached the subject in his discussion of the *scientia Dei* in his treatise on the nature of God—which is to say, basically at the same point that Aquinas had broached the subject. After arguing that God, as infinite, must have infinite knowledge of himself, he poses the question, whether God perfectly knows all other things distinct from himself.[11] Inasmuch as God is "the efficient cause of all things," he must have their "the idea, and form, and exemplar" in his understanding. This must be the case inasmuch as there can be no artisan who does not have conceptually in his mind the "ideas & forms" of what he makes—and God, as that first and efficient cause must have in his understanding a perfect idea of all things. This was understood, Zanchi adds, by Plato and taught by Augustine. God, as the most pure mind or intellect must necessarily understand all things.[12] Thus, further, God knows all things inasmuch as they are beings created by him: for he knows himself as the first and highest being in whom, as first and highest, reside the natures of all other things. He therefore knows all things universally and generally in himself.[13] Although he has not cited Aquinas at this point, the entirety of Zanchi's argument echoes Aquinas' understanding of the ideas in the divine essence as exemplars or exemplary forms by the imitation of which individual things are constituted.[14]

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11 Girolamo Zanchi, *De natura Dei, seu de divinis attributis, libri v* (Neustadt: Wilhelm Harnisch, 1598), III.ii, q.3 (261, col. 2): "An Deus, praeter seipsum, alia etiam omnia perfecte novit."

12 Zanchi, *De natura Dei*, III.ii (262, col. 2).

13 Zanchi, *De natura Dei*, III.iv (263, col. 1).

14 Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, Ia, q. 15, a. 2, c; cf. L.B. Geiger, "Les idées divines dans l'oeuvre de S. Thomas," 191–92; and Gregory T. Doolan, *Aquinas on the Divine Ideas as Exemplar Causes* (Washington: Catholic University of American Press, 2008).

After Zanchi, but still in the early orthodox era, the topic arose in various explanatory contexts. Franciscus Junius alluded to it briefly in his commentary on Genesis, remarking that God, as the *principium externum* of all created things, was not only their efficient cause, agent, and mover, but also their exemplar.[15] Like Junius, Amandus Polanus understood the issue of divine ideas and exemplarity as belonging to the topic of creation—and he elaborated the issue at some length in the *locus de creatione* in his *Syntagma*. Polanus worried through the issue of pre-existent forms and, via reference to Augustine and the doctrine of Platonic forms, argued the presence of the ideas of things eternally in God, as *exemplaris causa*.[16] Echoing Aquinas, Polanus could argue that the "divine ideas of created things, are forms existing in the divine mind from eternity," identical with the divine essence and, by divine intention, imitated in the creatures.[17] Johannes Scharpius briefly indicated a Thomistic background in his identification of God alone as *ens per se* and all else as *ens participatione*.[18] Others, like Gulielmus Bucanus, William Perkins, and Lucas Trelcatius, Jr. do not appear to have discussed the issue.

Of this generation of writers, perhaps the most significant extended discussion of divine ideas came from the pen of William Ames, the English Puritan professor at the University of Franeker in Friesland. After Ames, however, the issue is taken up by a fairly significant number of Reformed theologians—arguably, then, the trajectory of argumentation found in various works of seventeenth-century Reformed writers was an extension of the argumentation found in Zanchi, Polanus, or Ames, or in all three. On this particular issue, moreover, Ames had a noticeable influence both on his sometime colleague Johannes Maccovius (1588–1644) and on later Reformed thinkers, notably on that vast cataloguer of Reformed orthodoxy, Petrus van Mastricht (1630–1706). Mastricht not only argues the issue at some length, he also cites Ames as a major predecessor.[19] Similar argumentation would also appear in shorter form

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15 Franciscus Junius, *Libri Geneseos Analysis* (Geneva: Sanctandrea, 1594), 4.

16 Amandus Polanus von Polansdorf, *Syntagma theologiae christianae* (Hanau: Wechel, 1615), II.vi (267).

17 Polanus, *Syntagma*, II.vi (268).

18 Johannes Scharpius, *Cursus theologicus in quo controversia omnes de fide dogmatibus hoc seculo exagitate* [...] *in duos tomos divisus* (Geneva: Franciscus Nicolaus, 1628), 165.

19 William Ames, *Medulla ss. theologiae, ex sacris literis, earumque interpretibus, extracta, & methodicè disposita* (London: Robert Allott, 1630), I.vii.11–23; and note the translation, *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, drawne out of the holy Scriptures, and the Interpreters thereof, and brought into method* (London: Edward Griffin, 1642); cf. Johannes Maccovius, *Loci communes theologici* (Amsterdam: Ludovicus & Daniel Elzevir, 1658), xx (149); Petrus van Mastricht, *Theoretico-practica theologia, qua, per capita theologica, pars dogmatica,*

in the theologies of such writers as Johannes Cloppenburg (1592–1652), Samuel Maresius (1599–1673), Andreas Essenius (1618–77), and Stephen Charnock (1628–80).[20] The thought of William Ames provides a suitable focus for discussion inasmuch as he was one of the primary formulators of early Reformed orthodoxy to address the issue of divine ideas in detail and, arguably, highly influential in his definitions.[21]

Ames on the Divine Ideas

Like other Reformed writers of his generation, Ames understood the need to read and carefully appropriate arguments from the medieval schoolmen—whether for the sake of response to Roman Catholic adversaries and the polemical counter-claim that the Reformed, better than their adversaries, owned the best of the tradition or, more positively, for the sake of developing and elaborating an institutional or academic theology in the Reformed universities. In Ames's case, at least in one place, he expressed a distinct preference among the medieval doctors: he specifically refused the definitions of conscience as a *habitus* that he found in Scotus, Bonaventure and Durandus, and instead defined it "most properly with the best of the Schoolmen" as "an act

elenchtica et practica, perpetua successione conjugantur, praecedunt in usum operis, paraleipomena, seu sceleton de optima concionandi methodo (Utrecht: van de Water, Poolsum, Wagens & Paddenburg, 1715), II.xiii.7–11.

20 Johannes Cloppenburg, *Exercitationes super locos communes theologicos: quibus praecipui religionis Christianae articuli lucide explicantur, ac ab adversariorum corruptelis nervose vindicantur* (Franeker: Idzardus Balck, 1653), *Loci de Deo, III, de Dei scientia*, 5, 6, 9 (fols. H4^{r-v}); Samuel Maresius, *Collegium theologicum sive systema breve universae theologiae comprehensum octodecim disputationibus*, 6th ed. (Geneva: Ioannes & Samuel De Tournes, 1662), ii.37, 40; idem, *Systema theologicum: hactenus saepius recusum, nunc vero locupletatum prolixis annotationibus, ad illius explicationum & defeasionum facientibus* (Groningen: Aemilius Spinneker, 1673), ii.37, 40; Andreas Essenius, *Compendium theologiae dogmaticum; ubi praeter explicationes theticas, & assertiones scripturarias, in controversiis vera sententia passim confirmatur argumentis, ad certas & paucas classes revocatis* (Utrecht: Franciscus Halma, 1685), iv.34–35 (119–20); Stephen Charnock, *Several Discourses upon the Existence and Attributes of God* (London: for D. Newman, et al., 1682), 276, 279–82.

21 It might be objected here that Ames had expressed a distinct distaste for metaphysics, as illustrated by his *Disputatio theologica adversus Metaphysicam* (Leiden: Iustus Livius, 1632), but that disputation, once examined, is not directed against all things metaphysical, but quite specifically against Suarez and his assumption that the contemplation of God can be the object and goal of metaphysics.

of practicall judgment, proceeding from the Understanding by the power and meanes of a habit," a rather Thomistic definition.[22]

Ames approaches the issue in greater detail than Zanchi and, arguably, with still more precision. His understanding of divine ideas, as is also the case with the approaches of his Reformed contemporaries, is governed by a series of definitions concerning the divine essence and attributes. Inasmuch as the divine essence is one and exists immutably of itself, God is recognized to be pure act, which is to say, fully actualized and devoid of passive potency.[23] Attributes, therefore, are "attributes to God" rather than being in God in the manner that they are in creatures: they are, in God, "one most pure and utterly simple act."[24] Nonetheless, it is not incorrect to think of the attributes as "distinguished from the essence, & among themselves," albeit not merely rationally or "reasoningly," but according to "a process of reasoning, such that the foundation of the distinction is in God himself."[25] This identification of the manner of distinction among the attributes as made by reason reasoning and thereby acknowledging "a foundation in the thing" is basically Thomist.[26]

In carrying forward this basic view of the divine attributes, Ames indicated that the divine intellect is also simple, immutable, eternal, and infinite. As simple, the *intellectus Dei* is devoid of composition, discourse, and representations of individual things—as infinite, it comprehends all truths and the grounds or reasons of all things.[27] There is a significant distinction to be made, then, between the representations of individual things (*repraesentatio specierum*) that is foreign to the divine intellect and the comprehension of the truths or

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22 William Ames, *Conscience With the Power and Cases Thereof. Devided into v. bookes* (N.p.: n.d., 1639), I.i.5 (3).

23 Ames, *Medulla*, I.iv.15–18.

24 Ames, *Medulla*, I.iv.20: "Haec attributa in Deo sunt unus purissimus, & simplicissimus actus."

25 Ames, *Medulla*, I.iv.28: "Ab essentia, & inter se distinguuntur, non solum ratione (ut dicitur) raciocinante, sed etiam ratione ratiocinata, ita us fundamentum distinctionis sit in ipso Dei,"

26 Note that Ames' definition of the distinction of attributes represents but one pattern of argument among the early modern Reformed: see Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics: The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca. 1520 to ca. 1725*, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2003), III, 289–98. Cf. the discussion of distinctions in Henri Grenier, *Thomistic Philosophy*, trans. J.P.E. O'Hanley, 3 vols. (Charlottetown: St. Dunstan's University, 1948), I, 137–40; II, 289–92; with Edward Feser, *Scholastic Metaphysics: A Contemporary Introduction* (Heusenstamm: Editiones Scholasticae, 2014), 72–79.

27 Ames, *Medulla*, I.iv.53–56; cf., similarly, Essenius, *Compendium theologiae*, iv.34 (119): "Intellectus Dei est, quo ipse omnes omnino veritates cognoscit modo sibi convenienti: h.e. infinite, simpliciter, & independenter."

reasons of all things (*omnium rerum veritates, ac rationes*) that belongs to the divine intellect: the former would imply a knowledge grounded in the things, the latter does not.[28] The *intellectus Dei*, then, is and must be infinite of itself and its eternal understanding of all things grounded in itself, as radically prior to all created existence. In other words, God knows himself and all things by his own essence.[29]

In what is arguably a Reformed adaptation of the placement and use of the argument, if not of the argument itself, Ames places the discussion of divine ideas in his *locus* concerning the eternal decree and counsel of God—not, as Aquinas did, in the first part of the *Summa*, among the divine attributes, specifically in relation to the knowledge of God.[30] Ames' placement of the discussion indicates address to a set of problems somewhat different from those addressed by Aquinas—as also from Zanchi, who followed Aquinas' ordering of the topic. Aquinas had argued the issue from the perspective of the divine essence and the assumption that God knows all things through himself, potentially ruling out the existence of ideas in God; or, granting that there can be ideas in God, whether the divine simplicity and essential identity of all that is in God rules out a multiplicity of ideas.[31] Ames, by contrast, does not argue these issues at length, but simply declares that the idea in God is one but "becomes manifold" with respect to the diversity of the creatures.[32] His focus is on the relationship of divine ideas to the eternal decree that actualizes all things. Specifically, Ames identifies the divine ideas as the conceptual content of the eternal counsel of God as it is directed toward achievement of the ultimate end appointed by God, and therefore the conceptual foundation in God for his divine decree, indeed as integral to the identification of the decree as utterly free.[33]

By his eternal decree God establishes all things, great and small, contingent, necessary or free. The decree is God's "determinate" or "definite intention to effect all things by his omnipotence, & according to his counsel."[34] The premise of Ames' argument is that the "goal [*scopus*]" of the divine counsel is the

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28 Ames, *Medulla*, I.iv.53, 56.

29 Cf. Ames, *Medulla*, I.iv.56; I.vii.14, 19; with Charnock, *Several Discourses*, 279; Maresius, *Systema theologicum*, ii.38, 40; and cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, Ia, q.14, a.5, corpus; ibid., Ia, q.15, a.1, ad 2, 3, following the translation, *Summa theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 5 vols. (New York: Benzinger, 1911).

30 Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, Ia, q.14, on divine knowledge; Ia, q.15, on the divine ideas.

31 Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, Ia, q. 15, a.1, obj. 1, 2; a.2, obj. 1.

32 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.19.

33 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.10–11, 32–34.

34 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.2; cf. I.vii.45.

glory of God understood as the manifestation of the goodness and perfection of God in and through his "efficiency [*efficientia*]," which is to say, in his works *ad extra*.[35] Although the term counsel itself, when used of human knowing and willing, would imply deliberation, namely a sequence of thought in which knowing temporally precedes willing, "God knows and wills each and every thing at once" in a simple, eternal act that is only improperly identified as a deliberation. The perfection of the divine counsel, moreover, is threefold: first, in its goal; second, in the concept or idea of the object of be made in the mind of the agent of "artificer;" and third, the "intention" and ultimate "satisfaction [*complacentia*]" of the will of the agent.[36]

Ames dwells at length on the analogy—both the likeness and the difference—between human knowing and willing and divine knowing and willing, based on the different ways in which ideas are in the mind of man and in the mind of God. Any agent or "artificer" who works on the basis of a counsel or deliberative judgment to make things outside of himself has an inward "idea" of the work to be done. There is, accordingly, some analogy between the divine counsel and operation and the human manner of working, but, as Ames comments, God does not make things in the manner of natural agents, does not operate blindly or accidentally, and does not work "under coercion [*ex coactione*], but with the utmost perfection of reason."[37] This perfection of operation rests on the preexistence of this "Idea" in God "as the exemplary cause of all things that are to be made."[38] Ames references Hebrews 11:3 in justification of the point: "the things that we see are made from things that do not appear."[39]

The ideas of things in the human mind, Ames indicates, are acquired by an "analysis" gathered *ex rebus ipsis*, from the things themselves, given that in the human way of knowing, the thing or object first exists as itself, externally. Then, by way of the senses, an impression of the object enters the understanding—and next, in the understanding, an idea is constituted for the sake of directing some outward act or operation.[40] By contrast,

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35 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.12.

36 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.10–11.

37 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.13.

38 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.13: "sic etiam in Deo [...] Idea hujusmodi praeexistens est concipienda, ut omnium rerum efficiendarum exemplaris causa."

39 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.13, citing Heb. 11:3 as "Quae cernimus facta sunt ex non apparentibus," altering the more familiar rendering of the text, from "not made of things that appear" as in Beza, "non sint ex apparentibus facta" or Geneva and the KJV, "not made of things which did [doe, KJV] appeare" to "made from things that do not appear."

40 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.15.

> The Idea of all things is the divine essence, understood by God himself as imitable by the creatures, or so as in some manner the perfection of this image or some vestige of it may be expressed in the creatures: that is, those creatures, as they are conceived in the mind of God, are the Idea of the nature that they have in themselves.[41]

Similarly, in his *Technometria*, Ames can pose the question of how divine and human understanding differ. The divine understanding is "archetypal," the human "ectypal," inasmuch as God's knowledge is eternal, standing as the *principium* or "first form [*primus typus*]" of all things, whereas human understanding rests on the examination of created things.[42] Thus, in human beings, "the things themselves are the exemplar, & our cognition is the image; but in God the divine knowledge is the exemplar; and things themselves are its expressed image or similitude."[43] Even so, an "Idea" in the mind of a human being is "initially impressed, and afterward expressed," whereas in God the Idea, strictly or properly, is only "expressed," not "impressed," inasmuch as the divine Ideas do not arise from anything outside of God.[44]

Given that Ames has placed this discussion of divine ideas not in his doctrine of the divine essence and attributes, but in his *locus* or disputation on the divine counsel and decree, he draws on the point that the Idea in God is prior to its expression in existent creatures to note that the proper understanding of divine knowledge forestalls any misunderstandings concerning human merit and foreseen faith. The divine decree cannot depend on a knowledge of creatures or on a foreknowledge of their actions, since then, if this were so, "the Idea in God would arise in him from another," but this "in no way corresponds with his nature."[45]

Ames returns to the point as integral to his doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*: "before creation, the creatures had no real being [*esse reale*], either of existence, or of essence, although they had a known being [*esse cognitum*] from

41 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.14: "Idea omnium rerum est essentia divina, prout ab ipso Deo intelligitur ur imitabilis a creaturis, vel ita ut aliquo modo exprimi potest perfectionis illius imago, aut vestigium aliquod in creaturis: hoc est, ipsae creaturae prout in mente divine concipiuntur, sunt Idea illius naturae, quam habent in semetipsis."

42 William Ames, *Technometria, omnium & singularum artium fines adaequate circumscribens* (London: Miles Flecher, 1633), §44–45 (13).

43 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.16.

44 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.17.

45 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.18.

eternity in the knowledge of God."[46] This statement echoes Aquinas' declaration that "God does not understand things according to an idea existing outside of himself,"[47] although here, from Ames' usage of the term *esse cognitum*, one might conclude a Scotist accent, inasmuch as Scotus held that God does not know ideas or exemplars in his essence as such but as produced by the divine intellect as objects or beings of thought.[48] What is lacking in Ames' account, however, is any sense that the *esse cognitum* is produced by the divine intellect—rather, in accord with his previous comments, Ames would appear to identify the "known being" or object of divine knowing as the singular or simple Idea, identical with the divine essence but multiplex as imitable by the creatures.[49] If then the term itself is Scotist in origin, it has either been absorbed by Ames–one might say by reverent exposition–into an otherwise Thomistic account or, more simply, become common fare in an expanding scholastic vocabulary.

Divine Ideas, Possibles, and the Distinctions in Divine Knowing

Ames also drew on the traditional distinction between two kinds of divine knowledge, namely, the knowledge of all possibles defined in an intellectualistic manner as "knowledge of simple intelligence [*scientia simplicis intelligentiae*]" and knowledge of all future actuality defined as "knowledge of vision [*scientia visionis*]."[50] Alternatively, this distinction could be framed in a voluntarist manner as between the divine "necessary knowledge [*scientia necessaria*]" of all possibles and the divine "voluntary knowledge [*scientia voluntaria*]" of all future actuals, as to be actualized by the divine will. Although the two different forms of the distinction were often used interchangeably by the seventeenth century, it is potentially important in this case that Ames used the intellectualistic form of the distinction that is found in Aquinas' treatment of possibles and future actuals rather than the voluntaristic form favored by Scotus and others.

46 Ames, *Medulla*, I.viii.8: "Ante creationem igitur creaturae nullum habuerunt esse reale, vel existentiae, vel essentiae, quamvis esse cognitum habuerunt ab aeterno in scientia divina."

47 Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, Ia, q. 15, a. 1, ad obj. 1.

48 Cf. Cross, *Duns Scotus on God*, 62.

49 Cf. Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.14, 19.

50 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.25, 26.

What God knows according to the *scientia simplicis intelligentiae*, namely all *possibilia* [possibles], is an utterly perfect knowledge of everything and of all individual things that could be accomplished that God "knows in his omnisufficiency"—in contrast to what God knows according to the *scientia visionis*, namely, things that he knows "through his efficiency, or by the decree of his own will."[51] These two categories of divine knowing, moreover, offer a complete view of the ways in which God knows: a *scientia media* or middle knowledge understood as a hypothetical knowing, prior to God's will cannot, Ames insists, comport with the divine perfection, inasmuch as it establishes future events independently of the divine will and makes the divine knowledge dependent on an external object.[52] The notion of such "conjectural knowledge […] concerning future contingencies […] is utterly repugnant to the divine nature and perfection."[53]

Even so, Ames distinguishes the objects of divine knowledge, power, and will. The divine knowledge or *scientia* knows all knowables; the divine power or *potentia* references and can accomplish all possibles, including those that are beyond everything that was, is, and will be; but the divine will or *voluntas* does not will all possibles, but only those that God determines are suitable to be willed and ultimately to be actualized. God, therefore is omniscient and omnipotent, but not omnivolent.[54]

What is important for Ames is that the divine ideas, considered prior to God's willing, exist in God as pure possibles, representative of the essences or quiddities of things—and it is as such that they are known to God by simple or absolute intelligence.[55] Given the simplicity of the divine essence and the identifty of the Idea in God with the divine essence, Ames also encounters, albeit briefly, a problem that profoundly occupied Thomas Aquinas, namely, if indeed there is essentially but one simple idea in God, how can that Idea be understood as many ideas, indeed, as the ideational exemplars of many things.[56] Lawrence Dewan argues, on the basis of Aquinas *De veritate*, that "the ideas of creatables have their multiplicity by virtue of the *relation* to 'that which is outside' the maker" and that the relation is causal.[57]

51 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.25, 27.
52 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.28.
53 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.31.
54 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.47.
55 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.23.
56 See Doolan, *Aquinas on the Divine Ideas*, 83–117.
57 Lawrence Dewan, "St. Thomas, James Ross, and Exemplarism: A Reply," *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 65 (1991): 228, citing Aquinas, *De veritate*, q. 3, a. 3, ad 3.

Idea in God, considered absolutely, is single inasmuch as it is identical with the one, simple divine essence, but considered in its "varied respects" to the creatures, the Idea is *multiplex*, so that "the Idea of one creature is not the Idea of another."[58] Accordingly, the ideas of all creaturely perfections are in God—but, Ames is quick to add, no ideas of imperfections in a formal sense. These ideas of the perfections that are in creatures, given presumably, the divine will to actualize the creature, are understood to be in God inasmuch as they "arise from his active power [*virtus*]."[59]

Ames' language here requires explanation and analysis. Although his term for active power is *virtus activus*, it clearly mirrors the more typical language, that he employs elsewhere of *potentia activa*, denoting the power or potency of an agent to actualize a known possible. Ames recognizes, moreover, the distinction between active and passive potency—namely, between the capacity for acting and the capacity for being acted upon. "Potency is attributed to God actively, as he has the power to communicate something to others, such as the potency or power of the cause."[60] This potency, moreover, is identical with the divine essence, and, given the infinitude of the essence, "with God, all things are possible."[61] Thus, "the divine omnipotence is concerned with absolute possibilities, whatever God wills or can will."[62] Similarly, Maresius indicates, somewhat more concisely than Ames, that not only are the divine ideas known to God in himself as "imitable *ad extra* by the Creatures," but they are known as such "in his absolute power."[63] This, too, corresponds with a specifically Thomistic understanding of possibles—inasmuch as Aquinas distinguished two ways of identifying possibles. On the one hand there is possibility in the absolute sense, in terms of the compatibility of subject and predicate—namely, an intrinsic possibility. On the other, there is the sense of the possible as related to the power to accomplish it—namely an extrinsic or relative

58 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.19.

59 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.20: "In Deu sunt Ideae omnium perfectionum, quae sunt in creaturis: quia proveniunt ex virtute Dei activa."

60 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vi.13: "Potentia Deo trubuitur active, qui a vim habet aliis aliquid communicandi, qualis est potentia, vel potestas causae."

61 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vi.14–15.

62 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vi.16: "*Omipotentia* divina versatus circa absolute possibilia, quaecunque Deus vult, aut potest velle."

63 Maresius, *Systema theologicum*, ii.40 (86): "Deus novit [...] possibilia omnia [...] in absoluta sua potentia suisque aeternis ideis, & prout se ipsum intelligit ut imitabilem ad extra per Creaturas;" cf. Charnock, *Several Discourses*, 281.

possibility. The omnipotence of God can, then, be defined as the power of God to accomplish all that is absolutely possible.[64]

Like many of the later Reformed writers of the era, Ames relates possibility not only to the divine essence but also to the divine power, although not in the sense that God produces possibles by his power—rather, arguably, in the sense that possibles, known to God as ideas in his essence as intrinsically possible are also known to God in his power as extrinsically possible. And, given the divine omnipotence, specifically the agreement of God's absolute power with the entire range of the possible, there is also an agreement between what is intrinsically possible and what is extrinsically possible.

Corresponding with this understanding of the absolute and ordained powers of God and the parallel distinction between the divine knowledge of simple intelligence and the divine knowledge of vision, Ames distinguishes between the divine ideas considered prior to the divine will and the divine ideas considered after the determination of God's will. Thus, in each set of distinctions, the will of God intervenes between the terms of the distinction. The divine ideas prior to the determination of the divine will represent the essences of things that could be actualized, namely the pure possibles set over against the absolute power of God.[65] They are possibles considered intrinsically, albeit possible only because they belong to the divine essence as imitable by creatures. In other words, there is no reservoir of possibles or ideas outside of God on which God draws for his creative work.

When, however, the divine ideas are "considered after the determination of the divine will," they represent the same essences of things, but now as extrinsically possible, as the things are to be "according to [their] actualized existence."[66] This account, which related directly to Ames' understanding of the divine freedom might be understood as a voluntaristic reading of the distinction between knowledge of simple intelligence and knowledge of vision were it not for Ames' declaration that "this will is truly free: since whatever it wills, it does not will by a necessity of nature, but by counsel."[67] There is, by implication, an intellective judgment that logically precedes the will. Perhaps reflecting a development in Aquinas' thought that culminated in the *Summa*, Ames regards the divine ideas, following the determination of divine will, as exemplars of actual things. There is a significant parallel argument in Ames'

64 See Zedler, "Why Are the Possibles Possible?" 118–20.

65 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.23.

66 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.23.

67 Ames, *Medulla*, I.vii.34: "Voluntas haec est vere *libera*: quoniam quicquid illa vult, illud vult non ex necessitate naturae, sed consilio."

treatise on logic, in which he identifies logic in its execution or operation as an art and then comments that "the *Idea* of art, primarily, perfectly and eminently, is in the First being, from whom all else emanated, that is, in God."[68]

Concluding Comment

The meditation on the the divine knowledge requisite to the creation of objects *ad extra* found in William Ames' discussion of the counsel of God has been seen to display a fundamentally Thomistic approach to the ideas or exemplars in the divine essence. The Reformed writers who developed this approach did not—at least in the cases of those examined thus far—offer an elaboration of the question of divine ideas either as extended or as detailed as that found in Aquinas' various works, certainly not as detailed as what they might have drawn from Cajetan's commentary on the *Summa*. What they did was draw on an established argument and appropriate it for use in a Reformed context. Nor did Ames' adaptation of a Thomistic approach to the divine ideas and, one might add, a Thomistic denial of middle knowledge, predetermine his use of Thomist argumentation in other *loci*.

This finding is significant for several reasons. In relation to Ames' own theology, which was rather pointedly positioned against both the Jesuit theology of Robert Bellarmine and the synergistic theology of Jacob Arminius with its clearly Molinist accents and which also argued against a Suarezian approach to metaphysics, the finding rather clearly indicates not an antipathy to the scholastic tradition and its argumentation but rather a selective appropriation of a particular line of scholastic argumentation that accorded with Ames' own Reformed theological assumptions. In relation to the broader Reformed tradition as developed among Ames' successors, the significance of the finding lies in the fact that Ames' appropriation of a Thomistic understanding of the divine ideas was not to be unique to Ames but had entered Reformed thought earlier in the work of Zanchi and was to become an important element of argumentation in later Reformed writers, notably those who were associated with Ames or who viewed themselves, like Mastricht, as inheritors of an Amesian theological perspective. Given the presence of other inherited assumptions in the scholastic mixture of Ames' thought, such as the definition of theology as practical, it cannot be concluded that Ames—or other Reformed writers of the era—should be identified simply as a Thomist. What we find here, arguably,

68 William Ames, *Demonstratio logicae verae* (Leiden: Iustus Livius, 1632), prolegomena, thesis 4 (3).

is a modified Thomism, the product of an eclectic Reformed reception of older theological tradition.

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CHAPTER 9

"Saint Dionysius:" Martin Bucer's Transformation of the Pseudo-Areopagite

Eric M. Parker

When historians discuss the reception of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite among Protestant theologians of the 16th century they tend to focus primarily on Martin Luther's denunciation of "that Dionysius whoever he was" who "Platonizes more than he Christianizes" or Calvin's accusations of "monkish trifles" and "wicked speculations" in the *Corpus Dionysiacum*.[1] Others have briefly mentioned Dionysius with regard to the general reception of the church fathers among the Reformers but have not examined the extent to which they implemented his writings.[2] In this essay I aim to shine some light

1 *Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, eds. J.E.K. Knaake et al. (Weimar: Bohlau, 1883), 5:503 (Hereafter cited as WA). For Calvin see *Commentarii In Acta Apostolorum* (Amsterdam: Jacob Schipper, 1671), 167. Erich Vogelsang argues for Luther's explicit rejection of Dionysius in "Luther und die Mystik," *Luther-Jahrbuch* 19 (1937), 32–54. Adolf Ritter mentions only Luther and Calvin, "Dionysius Areopagita im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," in Leif Grane, et al., eds., *Auctoritas Patrum: Contributions on the Reception of the Church Fathers in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993), 143–58. Andrew Golitzin portrays Luther's denunciations as the beginning of Western readings of Dionysius as a Platonists rather than a Christian, "'On the Other Hand:' A Response to Fr. Paxil Wesche's Recent Article on Dionysius in St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly, Vol. 33, No. 1," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly,* 34:4 (1990), 307. Paul Rorem makes note of possible influence of Dionysius on Luther in "Martin Luther's Christocentric Critique of Pseudo-Dionysian Spirituality," *Lutheran Quarterly* XI (1990), 291–307. See also Eric M. Parker, "The Mediation of Lutheran Platonism: a reassessment of Lucas Cranach's Painting 'Gesetz und Gnade,'" in W.J. Torrance Kirby and Matthew Milner, eds., *Mediating Religious Cultures in Early Modern Europe*, ed. W.J. Torrance Kirby and Matthew Milner (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2013), 151–56.

2 On Bucer's reception of the church fathers see, "Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer and the Church Fathers," in Irena Backus, ed., *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West from the Carolingians to the Maurists* (Leiden:. Brill, 1997), 627–60. Also see Irena Backus, "Martin Bucer and the Patristic Tradition," in Christian Krieger and Marc Lienhard, eds., *Martin Bucer and sixteenth century Europe: actes du colloque de Strasbourg (28–31 août 1991)*, ed. Christian Krieger and Marc Lienhard (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 55–69. See also Amy Nelson Burnett, "Martin Bucer and the Church Fathers in the Cologne Reformation," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 3.1/3.2 (2001), 108–24; and Nicholas Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and Patristic Tradition in the Theology of Martin Bucer, 1534–1546* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

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on the positive reception of Dionysius among Protestant theologians, focusing specifically on the Strasbourg reformer, Martin Bucer. As a Dominican theologian, Bucer received formal scholastic training in the *via Thomae*, a curriculum that drew heavily on the writings of Dionysius. Thomas himself cites Dionysius more than any other author besides Aristotle.[3] So, while Bucer appears to read Dionysius with one hand on the *Summa* so to speak, he also read Dionysius directly and even uses him to go beyond (and sometimes against) Thomas, to create a uniquely Protestant reading of the Pseudo-Areopagite.

What would drive a Protestant reformer to appeal to the writings of Dionysius? Luther and Calvin accused Dionysius of serious theological error, charging him with speculation regarding the essential doctrines of Christianity. Furthermore, some of the key elements of Dionysian spirituality seem to contradict the principles of Reformed theology. Dionysius's law of hierarchical mediations was used by the Papacy to prove its "plenitude of power" and headship over all secular powers. Pope Boniface VIII used Dionysius's concept of hierarchical mediation as the key principle in his justification of the Roman Catholic "sacramental culture."[4] In this culture of thought and practice the visible church stands between Christ and the sinner as a mediator of grace. On the other hand, the Reformation "culture of persuasion" promoted the immediate reception of grace in the minds of the faithful, and it insisted that the visible church is only an instrument used by God to *exhibit* his grace.[5] In addition to potentially troubling doctrines in his corpus, Dionysius's concept of theurgy seems to corroborate the Roman Catholic doctrine that the sacraments work *ex opere operato*, apart from the persuasion of the intellect. Finally, and most importantly for Luther and Calvin, Dionysius's concept of hierarchical angelic mediation coupled with his negative theology seems to imply that salvation depends upon one's own merits and achievements in purification and contemplation, rather than on the incarnate and crucified Christ. This is

3 In his *Commentary on the Sentences* Aquinas observes that "Dionysius autem fere ubique sequitur Aristotelem, ut patet diligenter inspicienti libros ejus." *In Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, lib. 2 d. 14 q. 1 a. 2 co. See Wayne Hankey, "The Concord of Aristotle, Proclus, the *Liber de Causis* & St Dionysius in St Thomas Aquinas, Student of St Albertus Magnus," an unpublished essay.

4 On the nature of the sacramental culture in relation to the culture of persuasion see W.J. Torrance Kirby, "The Public Sermon: Paul's Cross and the culture of Persuasion in England, 1534–1570," *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, 31.1 (2008), 3–29.

5 Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

why Luther warns that "you will lose even what you already know of [Christ]" in the writings of Dionysius.[6]

What, therefore, drove Martin Bucer to consult Dionysius in support of Reformed doctrine? Bucer was a key figure in reform efforts on the continent and in England in the 16th century.[7] After he officially broke ties with the Dominicans Bucer took on an instrumental role in the reformation of the church at Strasbourg. Along with Johann Sturm, he lectured on the Old and New Testaments at the College of St. Thomas in Strasbourg for a number of years before he accepted the invitation of Thomas Cranmer to England. Arriving in England in 1549, Bucer would take up an appointment at Cambridge University where he helped revise the theological curriculum of the school. Though his time in England was cut short by his untimely death, he managed to have a sizable impact on the reformation there as he collaborated with Thomas Cranmer in his revision of the 1549 Prayer Book, among other accomplishments.[8] In his reform efforts, both in Strasbourg and in Cambridge, Bucer made ample use of the writings of the church fathers, including Dionysius.

The church fathers provided the Reformers with leverage against Roman Catholic polemicists, but they also served as evidence for the ancient pedigree of Protestant doctrine. Dionysius was no exception to this rule, and with his training in the *via Thomae*, Bucer was already primed to accept the Pseudo-Areopagite and to read him in a more Augustinian (or Porphyrian) light. As Fran O'Rourke explains, Thomas differs from Dionysius in placing Being over the Good as the most proper name of God, though Thomas was also inspired in this regard by Dionysius's reflections on Being in *The Divine Names*.[9] This implies for Thomas that our knowledge does not present a restriction to union with God as it does for Dionysius. The concept of Being, rather, is an analogous notion that properly reflects God's revelation of his own essence on a human level. For Thomas, therefore, knowledge does not culminate in the "cloud of unknowing" *per se*, but in certainty regarding the concept of being and its value. Bucer was prepared to receive Dionysius in light of Thomas's interpretation,

6 *WA*, 6:562.

7 For biographical information on Bucer see Hastings Eells, *Martin Bucer* (New Haven, 1931). Also, see Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times*, trans. Stephen Buckwalter (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004).

8 On Bucer's work in England see Basil Hall, "Martin Bucer in England," in *Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community* ed. D.F. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 144–60.

9 Fran O'Rourke, *Pseudo-Dionysius and the Metaphysics of Aquinas* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 146, 69. See also Wayne J. Hankey, *God in Himself: Aquinas' Doctrine of God as Expounded in the "Summa Theologiae"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

and therefore to mitigate Calvin's Dionysius of "wicked speculations."[10] Seen in the light of Thomas, Dionysius does not provide a pathway upward limited to the clergy. Rather, the Pseudo-Areopagite's writings are taken to demonstrate that God is Being, and given the reality of this fact, one may know with certainty *that* he is. God's Being is a reality shared with man prior to any motion on the latter's part, a conclusion that fits quite well with the Reformed doctrine of faith.

Bucer began to acquaint himself with humanist writings between 1515 and 1516 as he was completing his studies within the Dominican Order at Heidelberg and Mainz. One of the few books that he acquired at this time was a copy of Dionysius's *On the Divine Names*, translated into Latin with commentary by Marsilio Ficino. This was the first work by a church father that Bucer possessed. Prior to this time, his knowledge of patristic thought had come to him through the principal Dominican texts, Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and the works of Thomas Aquinas.[11] Bucer presumably purchased Ficino's version of Dionysius's text after reading a book by the Tübingen humanist Heinrich Bebel on the education of youth. Bebel's book convinced him to expand his knowledge of ancient authors. As Jacques-Guy Bougerol points out, Dionysius's *Divine Names* would provide its reader with a sort of introduction to the writings of the church fathers as well as of the ancient Platonists.[12] So, it is quite likely that Bucer purchased this text in order to acquaint himself with ancient Christian theology, and very possibly, with ancient Platonism. Perhaps it is even safe to say that Bucer's early readings of Dionysius and the concept of patristic thought and practice that he formed as a result, would contribute significantly to his overall perspective on the church fathers.

The writings of "Saint Dionysius" would have initially appeared to Bucer in the same authoritative package in which medieval Christians received him. That is, as the Athenian convert of St. Paul mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*. Though Lorenzo Valla had already exposed the forgery of the Pseudo-Dionysius by this time, Bucer may not have known about it. In fact, even in his mature writings, when he clearly does not attribute apostolic authority to the

10 Though as Leijssen points out, for Bucer, "Er schätzt die Einheit im Glauben höher als den Wert der Ideen oder Systeme." See Lambert Leijssen, "Martin Bucer und Thomas von Aquin," *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses: commentarii de re theologica et canonica*, 55 (1979), 276.

11 Greschat, *Bucer*, 18–19.

12 Bougerol, "Auctoritas in Scholastic Theology to Bonaventure," in Backus ed., *Reception of the Fathers,* 1:319.

writings of Dionysius, Bucer never raises the question of authorship.[13] Rather, he appears to think of Dionysius as one of the older church fathers. As Karlfried Froehlich notes, Bucer tends to place Dionysius before Augustine, among earlier fathers such as Cyprian and the Cappadocians.[14] Bucer never directly criticizes Dionysius, though he adopts a somewhat critical tone in his *Epistola D. Pauli ad Ephesios* (1527). Here Bucer mentions the nine ranks of angels described in the *The Celestial Hierarchy* and determines to abandon the conclusions of "those who have never laid hands on anything more certain than either this Dionysius or what the theologians who rest on his authority have bequeathed."[15] Paul does not mention these angels, Bucer asserts, and one can only be certain of the angelic names mentioned in the scriptures. Bucer clearly did not receive Dionysius uncritically. Nonetheless, even when he was critical of Dionysius, Bucer was unwilling to subject him to the sort of treatment that Luther and Calvin had given him.

A number of years later Bucer reveals his deep appreciation for the writings of Dionysius. In his *Metaphrasis et Enarratio in Epist. ad Romanos* (1536) he defers to Dionysius to explain what faith means. His rationale for this is, "Dionysius expresses our point most wonderfully in the pious (*religiosa*), almost inspired style characteristic of all his writings."[16] Froehlich refers to Bucer's critical reception of Dionysius as "distanced appreciation" since Bucer is aware of Dionysius's feigned identity.[17] This assumes, however, that Bucer characterizes Dionysius as a fraud, on account of his decision to write under a pseudonym. On the contrary, Bucer no longer appears to associate Dionysius with his pseudonym. That is to say, Bucer's Dionysius is not the "Pseudo-Dionysius" but "Saint Dionysius," the pious church father who lived sometime during the first four centuries of the church.[18] Given the fact that Bucer hardly speaks a word of disapproval toward Dionysius but, on the contrary, praises the wonderful and pious writings of this ancient father, one might better term Bucer's reception of Dionysius as simply "appreciation." This does not mean that Bucer blindly receives Dionysius apart from critical analysis of his works. Rather,

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13 Bucer asks: "Quod si Dionysius iste tam vetustus author est, ut Adversarii & alii plerique iudicant." *Constans Defensio* (Geneva: Ian. Ant. Saraceni, & Alexandri Pernet, 1613), 270.

14 Froehlich, "Pseudo-Dionysius and the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century," in *Pseudo-Dionysius*: *The Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibheid, ed. John Farina et al., 45.

15 Bucer, *Epistola D. Pauli Ad Ephesios* [...]. *In Eandem Commentarius* (Strasbourg: [Hervagen], 1527), (New York: Paulist Press, 1987) 45.

16 *Metaphrasis Et Enarratio In Epist. Ad Romanos* (Basel: Peter Perna, 1562), 22.

17 Froehlich, "Pseudo-Dionysius and the Reformation," 45.

18 See *Constans Defensio*, 262.

he receives Dionysius critically, in the same way that he receives the writings of Cyprian, Cyril, Augustine, and other church fathers, that is, with great appreciation for their piety and general faithfulness to the Bible. Bucer is surely aware, however, that he must demonstrate the usefulness of Dionysius for Protestant theology. In order to accomplish this task, Bucer will also have to discard the traditional Roman Catholic Dionysius, that is, the Dionysius upon whose writings were laid the basic structure of the medieval sacramental culture. In order to make the transition complete, Bucer will need to give Dionysius a radically new identity, not only as a church father, but one whose teachings fundamentally support the principles of the Protestant Reformation.

In 1534 Bucer published his *Defensio adversus Axioma Catholicum,* in which he responds to the attacks of the Sorbonnist and Bishop, Robert Ceneau. Bucer mentions Dionysius three times in this short treatise, and two of those citations are telling. For these citations reveal that Bucer reads Dionysius in tandem with Thomas. In a brief discussion regarding the nature of absolution, Bucer attempts to undermine the Roman Catholic teaching that the church's "power of the keys" gives the clergy the ability to dispense grace through the sacrament of penance. First, he argues, "God's gifts [*beneficia*]" are not dispensed by the priest, but they are "*exhibited* to man through the saints" but "can only be *dispensed* through the Spirit itself."[19] Then, Bucer appeals to the testimony of Thomas and Dionysius to support his conclusion. He notes that Thomas, who is "easily the Prince of the Scholastics," agrees with him that the minister does not dispense grace in absolution. Here Bucer appeals to Thomas's discourse on the "power of the keys" in the *Supplementum* of his *Summa Theologiæ*. In this passage Thomas argues, "In [his] use of the keys, the priest works as the instrument and minister of God."[20] Just as an instrument only moves by the motion of some principal agent, Thomas says, so the minister only has the power of the keys insofar as he is moved by God. Bucer explicitly notes that Thomas appeals to the authority of Dionysius to corroborate his argument. Thomas quotes *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, where Dionysius argues that ministers do not have the power to excommunicate *per se*, but "they may only excommunicate those whom God has already excommunicated."[21] Dionysius says that the priests

19 *Martini Buceri Opera Latina*, ed. William Ian Hazlett, vol. 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 36, emphasis added (hereafter cited as *OL*). *OL* omits "Dei" though it occurs in the original 1534 printing by Matthias Apiarius.

20 *Summa Theologiae*, ed. P. Caramelo (Turin: Marietti, 1956), Supp., Q. 18, a. 4, resp.

21 *Eccl. Hier.* 7.7. 564C-D: τούς κεκριμένους Θεώ κατ άξίαν άφοριζόντων. Translations of Dionysius are my own and are based on Luibheid's translation. References to Dionysius are taken from the critical text, *Corpus Dionysiacum I. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, De divinis*

should use their hierarchical powers only when they are moved by God. He then refers to scripture as evidence and concludes, as Bucer vis-à-vis Thomas recounts, "From these [scriptures] it follows that if the minister presumes to go further and use that divine movement by his own power [*sua potestate*], then the effect will not follow."[22] Bucer concludes, "just as Thomas taught from the authority of the scriptures and from the approval of Dionysius, in the same way we believe and teach."[23]

According to Bucer, Thomas and Dionysius corroborate the teaching of the Reformers that the minister of the church *exhibits*, but does not dispense the remission of sins and their punishment. Though Bucer's argument is brief, his conclusions have profound implications. For, in these few lines, Bucer invokes the very architect of the medieval sacramental culture, in alliance with the Angelic Doctor, to undermine the most basic principle of that culture, that is, the principle of hierarchical mediation. Bucer's argument is subtle. He does not reject the notion of hierarchy or mediation outright. On the contrary, he continues to support the traditional offices (bishop, priest, deacon), and he invokes the authority of Dionysius in support of this ministerial hierarchy.[24] As Gottfried Hammann demonstrates, Bucer believes that the external church, the vehicle of the evangelical tradition, is "toujours la même!" in essence, because the Holy Scriptures regulate its practices and representation.[25] He also attributes a partial infallibility to the church, not as a doctrinal absolute, but in its faith and cooperation with the works of the Spirit.[26] The external church is fallible, yet it does not fail in those actions that it undertakes in true faith. For this reason, Bucer argues, the laity should submit themselves to the clergy for the sake of Christ.

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nominibus. Suchla, ed. Beate Regina (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), as well as *Corpus Dionysiacum II. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, De coelesti hirearchia, De ecclesiastic hierarchia, De mystica theologia, Epistulae,* ed. Günter Heil and Adolf Martin Ritter (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991).

22 *OL* 5:36.

23 *OL* 5:36.

24 Dionysius ille in Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, Episcopos vocat ἱεράρχας καὶ πρεσβυτερους, ἱερεῖς καὶ διακόνους, λειτουργούς vocat [...] Verùm cum nemo queat magis propriè, & ad aedificandam fidem accommodatius loqui Spiritu sancto, eum meritò sequamur, & in huius usu nominis." Bucer, *Praelectiones doctiss. in Epistolam d. P. ad Ephesios* (Basel: Petrum Pernam, 1562), 116.

25 Gottfried Hammann, *Entre la Secte et la Cité: le Projet d'église du Réformateur Martin Bucer* (*1491–1551*) (Geneva: Labor et fides, 1984), 125.

26 Hammann notes, "Celle-ci ne tient pas à une infaillibilité doctrinale absolue, revendiquée bien à tort, mais à l'œvre de l'Esprit." *Entre la Secte*, 127.

Bucer concludes his discussion of absolution in the *Defensio adversus Axioma Catholicum* by arguing that those who "deign to call themselves Christian" and "present themselves before the fathers and bishops of the church" will find no greater unity, no fuller obedience, no better cure for their correction, cure for vices, and helps.[27] In this way, Bucer says, the ministers "emend and renew" the church, not by abolishing its sins, but by "serious penitence" they return the church "humble and more cautious for the future." The church's authority with regard to the "keys," therefore, consists of the ministers' task of "showing" (*exhibitio*) outwardly the internal reality of Christ in the soul.

According to Dionysius's principle of hierarchy, known to medieval theologians as the *lex divinitatis*, all of reality is connected in a dispositive order. In a triadic constitution every lower order must be uplifted by a middle order in order for it to be perfected by a higher order.[28] The medieval reading of this law contributed to the Church's concept of the absolute "power of the keys." Bucer, however, does not draw this conclusion. Rather, since Dionysius appears to attribute the "power of the keys" to the working of the Holy Spirit within the minister, Bucer concludes with Thomas that the minister does not dispense grace but "shows forth" the grace that has already been given by the Spirit. In his *Constans Defensio*, published in 1545,[29] Bucer again refers to Dionysius to corroborate his view of the ministry. The "ministerium of presbyters," he says, should not instruct the flock of Christ by its own teachings alone but it should "explain, sing, read, and preach the scriptures."[30] For the sake of shepherding the flock of Christ, the bishops should direct the people to look to Christ and thereby "increase and grow in their inner being [*interior homo*]." The ministers are also to devote themselves to leading the universal church in the advancement of piety, not for themselves or the clergy alone. This, Bucer says, "is what Dionysius [calls] the *ministerium* of illumination," that is, the service that the ministers perform in the "care of souls," of "bringing in" the flock so that they are directed beyond themselves "into the knowledge of Christ."[31]

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27 *OL* 5:37.

28 *Cel. Hier.*, 4.3. 181A.

29 The German edition of this work, entitled *Bestendige Verantwortung*, was published in 1545, while Bucer's Latin translation was not published until 1613, long after Bucer's death. I cite from the Latin translation, as it was to have the greater readership. On the history of this work, see Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 209–24. Many of Bucer's arguments in *Constans Defensio* are repeated in *De vera et falsa caenae dominicae administratione*. See the introduction in Thompson, ed. *OL* vol. 6.

30 *Constans Defensio*, 429.

31 *Eccl. Hier.*, 1.1. 372A.

Here, Bucer touches on an aspect of Dionysius noted by modern readers of the Dionysian corpus. As Eric Perl notes, for Dionysius, "Illumination is production, and in both Dionysius and his Neoplatonic forebears it is at once direct and hierarchically mediated."[32] Since God is "all in all" he is present immediately in all things. Yet, because all things participate in God according to their own level of existence, God's presence is also mediated triadically from higher, to middle, to lower degrees of being. In the church, participation in God is mediated through those who have a higher degree of intellectual illumination (i.e., the clergy), though all participate fully in the body of Christ.[33] This coincidence of "immediate mediation," as Perl terms it, provides Bucer with patristic evidence for the heavenly and earthly aspects of his ecclesiology.[34] The minister, for Bucer, stands between the people and God, in the "*ministerium*" but "not the *magisterium*."[35] In other words, the minister serves the flock, illuminating and lifting them up through the Word of God, which persuades the mind. The minister does not command, nor does he have the authority to do so.[36] The word of God, however, has an immediate effect, that is, it works directly upon the soul through the instrument of the minister's instruction, correction, and general discipline. For, as Dionysius says, "it is not from without [ἔξωθεν] that God stirs them up toward the divine. Rather he does so by means of the intellect [νοητώς] and from within."[37]

More specifically, rather, what would Bucer say about the implication of Dionysius's hierarchy for the minister, that is to say, whether the minister is ontologically superior to the laity owing to his higher level of illumination?[38] Bucer appears to read Dionysius's statements as an exaggeration of his own

32 Eric D. Perl, *Theophany: The Neoplatonic Philosophy of Dionysius the Areopagite* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 74.

33 The hierarch, for example, completes and perfects the entire human hierarchy. *Eccl. Hier.*, 1.2. 373C.

34 *Theophany*, 79.

35 *Prael. ad Ephesios*, 116.

36 Potestas vero ecclesiae, est in institutione disciplinae, & ordinis, ita ut non ad destructionem, sed ad aedificationem, ut omnia melius & religiosius, quae ad Christi disciplinam pertinent, administrentur. *Prael ad Ephesios*, 43.

37 *Eccl. Hier.*, 1.4. 376B.

38 Alexander Golitzin admits that Dionysius sometimes appears to have a realized eschatology regarding the role of the minister but, he argues, this is rather a symptom of the hierarchy's iconic nature and the icon's reflection of the eschaton. See *Et introibo ad altare Dei: the Mystagogy of Dionysius Areopagita, with special reference to its predecessors in the Eastern Christian tradition* (Thessalonikē: Patriarchikon Idruma Paterikōn Meletōn, 1994), 218.

view, that is, that the ministers are God's instruments. For Bucer, the intellectual gifts of the minister and his devotion to the service of the church permit him to be placed in a superior position to the laity.[39] His position of superiority, however, is for the sake of proper external order, though it is a "most beautiful order."[40] It does not entail any inherent power or grace in the minister apart from the work of God but its power lies solely in the power of God's Word. For Bucer and Dionysius there is a dual aspect to the ministry. The minister illuminates the laity with God's Word, but God works immediately upon the "inner being" of the laity, to purify, illuminate, and perfect his church for its mission of service. For Bucer, as James Kittelson notes, the minister plays an important role in sanctifying the church. Bucer distinguishes between five levels of sanctification, thus establishing a "gradation of religious life."[41] These five degrees imply that the degrees of sanctification can be observed and verified. The minister's job, thereby, is to stand as an example of holiness and sanctification and to accommodate the word of God (and himself) to the various levels of sanctified believers. So, Bucer says, "in [Christ's] ministers we admire, hear, receive, and comprehend Him, the one servant, teacher, doctor, and high priest."[42] Bucer appeals, therefore, to the dual aspect of Dionysius's doctrine of the ministry in order to promote his own concept of the ministry as the instrument of Christ's work.

In addition, Bucer may find appropriate evidence for his Protestant ecclesiology in Dionysius's hierarchy because Bucer too envisages the universe in hierarchical terms. Shortly after leaving the Dominican Order, Bucer met Martin Luther and was convinced by him that true Christian love (*charitas*) does not spring forth from one's own works but rather from faith alone. This revelation inevitably led Bucer to write *Das ym selbs niemãt / sonder anderen leben soll*, which was published in 1523. In this treatise Bucer attempts to display

39 See Bucer's qualifications for the minister in *Scripta Anglicana* (Basel: Petrum Pernam, 1577), 238–64. For an English translation see D.F. Wright ed., *Common Places of Martin Bucer* (Appleford: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1972), 254–78.

40 Bucer notes that in the church some have a "more sublime" ministry than others: "interque ipsos etiam ministros [Christi], ii, qui inferioribus ministeriis sunt praefecti, eos qui sublimiora ministeria administrant, in honore habeant, & authoritate quo in ecclesia omnia perficerentur pulchriore ordine, & ad certiorem atque efficaciorem omnium aedificationem." *Scripta Anglicana*, 252. Willem van 't Spijker points out that there is no hierarchy in the order of clergy for Bucer, but the distinction between bishop and priest *is* one of "greater charismatic giftedness." See *The Ecclesiastical Offices in the Thought of Martin Bucer* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 426.

41 Kittelson, "Martin Bucer and the Ministry of the Church," in *Reforming Church*, 94.

42 *Scripta Anglicana*, 521.

all of reality through Luther's ordering of faith and love. He goes beyond Luther, however, by ranking all of creation according to its capacity to reflect the goodness (gütigkeit) and being (*Wesen*) of God.[43] He argues God is beyond our comprehension, and because of this, we should not seek a reason for why God created the universe, beside his intent to reflect and to make known his goodness. God works his goodness into all things, but each creature participates in God's goodness in its own proper mode of service, "according to their nature and order," that is, in serving those that they were given to serve.[44] For example, the sky moves in order to give light to all creatures, and plants grow in order to serve other creatures, especially man. God created man in his image—Bucer echoes Thomas here—"that he might understand and choose spiritual things."[45] Every creature that is below man displays God's goodness only when it is put to proper use by man, who by using it properly "brings honour and profit to the thing itself."[46] Man reflects the goodness and being of God by using his "understanding, skill, and power" to do good to other creatures and men so that they reflect and are ordered to the divine goodness.[47] In order for man to reflect fully the "divine essence and goodness" of the Trinity, however, he needs a companion. God created woman, therefore, that the ordering of human fellowship (*Gemeynschaft*) may reflect the "reciprocal goodness [*gleicher gütheit*]" of the Trinitarian persons, as well as that of the angels.[48]

After the fall of Adam, God established the offices of minister and magistrate in order to convert the souls of his lost creatures back to himself. The minister, Bucer argues, maintains the highest rank of all mankind because of his level of service. He claims that "as spiritual service [*geistlicher dyenst*] is superior to material service, and as the community is more important than particular individuals, the ministry of an apostle is the most accomplished [*volkummen*] office, vocation, and service."[49] The minister represents the office of Christ, who gave his life as the ultimate act of service and love, in order to turn the minds of man to God. Ministers, even though they often err, reflect

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43 Bucer, *Das ym selbs niemãt / sonder anderen leben soll* (Strasbourg: Schott, 1523), 3^{r}. English references to this text come from Fuhrmann's translation in Martin Bucer, *Instruction in Christian Love (1523)*, transl. and ed. Paul Traugott Fuhrmann (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1952).

44 Ibid., 22.

45 Ibid., 29. For Thomas, the image of God consists chiefly in the activity of the intellect and will. See *S Th.* I.Q. 93, a. 4.

46 Ibid., 23.

47 Ibid., 24.

48 Ibid., 25.

49 Ibid., 30.

"that perfection in love which would dispose them to sacrifice their blessedness for their neighbours and subordinates."[50] Because they have the "all divine function" of caring for souls, the minister has a more "deserving" role than the magistrate, whose duties pertain to the good of external order.[51] The "two orders [*zweyen regimente*]" of the minister and the magistrate, together, apply the Word of God to further the public good and direct it to God in Christ.[52]

The Word of God is the principal agent in the restoration of humanity, though God uses each order as an "instrument and evidence of the divine goodness."[53] The ranks of minister and magistrate, since they came into existence after the fall, do not serve to place humanity in its proper order *per se*. This task was already fully performed by Christ. The role of the "two orders" is to function as Christ's representatives in continuing his work of restoration and ordering things to their good. These orders are necessary, argues Bucer, because sin wounds our souls so that we no longer want to serve anyone but ourselves. Through Christ's death and resurrection God has brought the universe back to its original character. Yet, restoration is given to each man "according to his degree of receptivity and responsiveness."[54]

Faith, Bucer asserts, is the primary means that God uses to restore rightly ordered love and service within creation. Faith is an illumination of the mind that leads us to recognize God as our father and thereby recognize all mankind as our brothers.[55] Faith does not need to be "formed by love" as the scholastics argue because love is primarily directed toward one's neighbor, and love arises as a corollary of the mind's recognition and reception of God's goodness.[56] Faith restores the soul in "that right and divine order in which we had been created."[57] Faith takes away our love for the present life so that we no longer fear death but willingly serve our neighbor "without mentioning honors, possessions, or pleasure." For the man of faith, therefore, "giving his life for his brethren is a small matter."[58] In Bucer's hierarchy of being and goodness,

50 Ibid., 33.

51 Ibid., 34. Dionysius's hierarchy was used in a similar way by the Italian Reformer, Peter Martyr Vermigli. On Vermigli, see W.J. Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 59–74.

52 Ibid., 39.

53 Ibid., 28.

54 Ibid., 42.

55 Ibid., 44.

56 Bucer's target is the Scholastic opinion that love is primarily directed toward God. See his letter to Luther in this regard, *WA* 1:615, 616.

57 Ibid., 46.

58 Ibid., 48.

therefore, each creature is ordered by the degree of goodness that it reflects. The Word of God stands at the back of everything as it restores and guides the mind of man according to its divine likeness, and the church stands in the highest order of dignity because it administers the Word of illumination, which engenders faith and restores order, not only to man but to all of creation.

Is it possible that Dionysius influenced Bucer's concept of hierarchy? Given his familiarity with and appreciation for Dionysius, the possibility is relatively high. Bucer partially confirms this speculation in his *Metaphrasis* on Romans, where he refers to Dionysius to corroborate the same argument that he offers in *Das ym selbs niemãt* [...], that is, that faith alone issues in love for one's neighbor.[59] Bucer's reference to Dionysius in this commentary comes at the end of a lengthy discourse on the nature of faith and belief. In this discourse Bucer aims to prove that faith frees the mind from doubt because it trusts in the authority of God's Word and because God illuminates the soul by his Word and places it "under divine influence [*adflati divinitus*]." Faith, in other words, causes the soul to be united to God and the truth that is in him, so that true Christian piety and love flows forth as a result. Dionysius, Bucer says, expresses this point in the divine way that characterizes all of his writings. For, Dionysius says, in Chapter 7 of *The Divine Names*, that faith unites the believer to divine Reason. This union with the divine Intellect establishes believers in the truth and the truth in them with an "unchangeable identity [*immutabilis identitatis*]." This identity is unchangeable because it causes the mind to be persuaded of the simplicity of the truth within itself, thus uniting "the knower and the objects of knowledge." The Reason of God engenders knowledge through the "sacred word" so that those who believe "will never be dislodged" from its stable foundation. Faith rescues the mind from all error by its possession of the "simple, self-consistent, unchanging truth." Faith and knowledge of the truth, Dionysius says, leads Christians outside of themselves [*raptum extra se*], leading them to accept martyrdom and dying for their faith with an overwhelming zeal for the truth. In this way they testify that the truth of Christ "is more simple and divine than all other forms of knowledge, or rather that it is the only true, the only simple knowledge of God [*sola simplex Dei notitia*]."

Based on the affirmation of Dionysius, Bucer argues, quite contrary to Thomas, that faith is not formed by love, but rather, love is the effect of faith, directed not to oneself but to one's neighbor.[60] Dionysius also affirms that divine Reason (Λόγος) and Wisdom (Σοφία) bring about the order and connectedness of the universe, so that the goals of all things work together for the good

59 *Metaphrasis,* 22.

60 *S Th* IIa IIae, Q. 4, a. 3.

of the whole.[61] The divine order of things is the ground upon which we come to know God. Yet, it is primarily through turning away from itself that the mind achieves "a union [ἕνωσιν] beyond mind" and "is made one with [ἑνωθῇ] the transcendent rays of light, being then and there enlightened by the inscrutable depth of Wisdom."[62] Likewise, Bucer argues that faith depends upon divine illumination that turns the mind away from all things, including its own self, so that love of self does not mark the beginning of virtuous action.[63] Faith pertains to the "immediate" and internal aspect of the hierarchy for Dionysius as well as for Bucer. It restores the human intellect to its original participation in divine Reason that orders the rank of beings to the good.[64]

According to Dionysius, the Rays of divine Light are like a divine chain (σειρᾶς, or *catena* in Ficino's translation) that hangs downward from heaven to the earth below.[65] The great chain is at once an illumination from on high as well as a power that is present in the nature of the intellect itself. It is only by prayer and through divine reminders and invocations, not one's purely natural abilities, that we are united to God's power through this chain, Dionysius affirms. In his discourse on philosophy, just a few pages after his discourse on faith, Bucer refers to this divine chain as well. He argues that true philosophy and theology stand in perfect agreement with one another because they represent the wisdom that God has given to man.[66] We are able to perceive God's power and divinity in the world as well as in the mind by the right and honest use of reason.[67] Our ability to perceive God also occurs through the illumination of the Spirit, who works on believers and pagans alike. The Holy Spirit, in fact, is the "author of all the good arts" and whatever divine instruction is handed down to the soul.[68] In this way, argues Bucer, God declares himself to all generations in the "Word of the Father" and the "Light of the World" which illuminates all mankind (*omnem hominem illuminat*).

So, Bucer affirms, God guides all of creation by means of his illuminating light, but especially man, whom God made to express his image and to have an immortal soul that participates (*participe*) in his divinity. We are not to be brought unto the likeness (*similitudinem*) of God by instruction, Bucer argues,

61 *Div. Names*, 7.3. 872B.

62 *Div. Names*, 7.3. 872B.

63 *Metaphrasis*, 15.

64 "Scripturam quoque cui fides inhaeret, praecipuum hoc testari non abnuunt Deum nobis summum bonum esse [...]." *Metaphrasis*, 16.

65 *Div. Names*, 3.1. 680C.

66 *Metaphrasis*, 28.

67 *Metaphrasis*, 27.

68 *Metaphrasis*, 28.

unless we have been divinely breathed upon and attracted to God (*nisi adflati attractique divinitus*).[69] This divine attraction and illumination led Plato to affirm the unity of the Godhead, that God is the Cause of all things, that he communicates his goodness to all things, that the soul is immortal, etc. Plato, "who teaches Philosophy [...] most completely and brilliantly" also affirms that no one is able to teach rightly unless he is breathed upon by the divine Spirit (*adflatus numine*). This philosophy was not only taught to Plato, the Attic Moses, but was handed down to all men through the influence of the Hebrew Scriptures. This was done as a preparation for the Gospel and to ensure that monotheism contain somewhat the errors of man. Bucer recounts what Homer says about God's revelation of himself in nature, that is, it is like Zeus, "who with one chain [*una catena*] pulls all the gods along with the earth, the sea, and Olympus where he wills."[70]

In his treatise on faith Bucer raises the question as to how sinful man is able to receive the Word of God in the Scriptures. He answers that we have a certain proleptic knowledge [προλήψεις] of God that is innate to the mind.[71] Through this knowledge and through the Spirit who "breathes upon [*adflatus*]" the mind, some are given faith to understand and grasp the truth in the "inward mind" and are taught "from the secret inspiration [*arcano adflatu*] of the Spirit."[72] This illumination prepares the mind to receive the things of God, each according to his share in the divine light (*pro modo illius luminis*). In this way God persuades the mind of the truth and it adheres to him as the absolute Good (*summum bonum*). It is very likely that Bucer is thinking of the "great chain," not merely via Dionysius, but through the interpretation and commentary of Marsilio Ficino. According to Ficino, the divine chain is really the divine law [*lex divinitatis*] that is naturally implanted in the mind and, in certain ways, promulgated everywhere.[73] This law says that there is one Highest God, that he is the author of all good things, and that he is to be loved more than anything. Nothing external, such as worship or prayer can attract God downward. Rather, Ficino says, the soul is changed inwardly by God (*divinitus*) and is prepared for receiving its good.

Ficino, like Bucer, also comments on Dionysius's description of "faith" from *The Divine Names*, Chapter 7. Shortly before Bucer quotes Dionysius on faith he mentions that philosophers confuse faith (πίστις) with opinion, like Plato

69 *Metaphrasis*, 29.
70 *Iliad* 8.19–26.
71 *Metaphrasis*, 20.
72 *Metaphrasis*, 15.
73 Marsilio Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 2 (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1561), 1049.

does, or give it a human origin, like Aristotle does, though they saw the need for divine influence upon the mind (*ex adflatu Spiritus sancti*).[74] According to Ficino, the philosophers contend for their various explanations of things by argumentation and conjecture. From these arguments they report either human knowledge or opinion. By contrast, Ficino argues, "The religious man, however, is immediately directed into God, the font of reason, by means of love, and by a simple and firm faith wonderfully enjoys [God] in the divine Truth."[75] Ficino, like Bucer, also argues that God must first breathe upon the mind before it is capable of producing good action. Christian men, he says, are driven not by knowledge (*scientiam*) or opinion (*sententiam*) but they testify by their trust (*fiducia*) and their works that they are breathed upon by God (*afflatus divinitus*). Plato recognized this and, Ficino says, "our Plato has pleased our Dionysius" because Dionysius declares Plato's conclusion concerning the divine inspiration of the soul to be golden.[76] Given the similarity of arguments and terminology used by Ficino and Bucer, it is highly probable that Bucer continued to be influenced by Ficino's commentary *On the Divine Names*.

The majority of Bucer's references to Dionysius occur in his *Constans Defensio*. This is a polemical work written in response to an attack by the Cologne cathedral Chapter on his published attempt (along with Philipp Melanchthon) to reform the church at Cologne.[77]

Given the perceived authority of Dionysius among Roman Catholic apologists of the time, it is no surprise that Bucer would take any opportunity to use Dionysius against his opponents. Be that as it may, Bucer seems honestly to believe that Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* lends credence to his attempts to reform the doctrine and liturgy of the Cologne church. Amid references to Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine, Bucer refers to Dionysius, sometimes quoting him at great length. In his general response to the Cologne chapter at the beginning of the book Bucer says that Dionysius does not teach anything regarding the various signs comprehended in the liturgy of the Catholic Mass.[78] Dionysius, that is, does not mention the sign of the cross, genuflection, dipping the infant thrice in the baptismal font, the elevation of the host, etc. Neither does

74 *Metaphrasis*, 21.

75 *Opera*, 2:1106.

76 *Opera*, 2:1106.

77 Bucer refers to his collaborative work with Melanchthonas the *Liber Reformationis*. The complete title of the Latin version is *Nostra Hermanni ex gratia Dei Archiepiscopi Coloniensis Simplex ac pia deliberatio* [...], which is a translation of the original German edition, *Von Gottes genaden unser Hermans Ertzbischoffs zu Cöln, unnd Churfürsten etc. Einfaltiges bedenken* [...], both published in 1543.

78 *Constans Defensio*, 42.

he propose any ritual that would differ from the instruction of the first bishops of the Church; and Bucer says, neither does his *Liber Reformationis*.

Bucer does not merely cite Dionysius as a proof text. On the contrary, he consults the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* as a helpful record of early church liturgical practices. He devotes a chapter to Dionysius's liturgy wherein he directs the reader to the third chapter of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* so that he may see "how very different and foreign" the Catholic ritual is from "the ancient form and way of prayer and celebration of the Holy Supper."[79] Then Bucer cites a list of 17 points that describe each element of the liturgy of "synaxis" (or the Eucharist), as Dionysius recounts them. After his description, from the hierarch's prayer at the altar to the thanksgiving at the end of the "holy mystery," Bucer concludes, "this is the form of the Holy Supper that Saint Dionysius wrote down and bequeathed and which was observed by the church in his own time. Its form is similar in all respects [to that] found in Saint Chrysostom and in the other Holy Fathers."[80]

Of course, there are more elements to Dionysius's liturgy than its form. Dionysius also includes "theoria" (contemplation) for the various offices of his liturgy, the content of which would prove quite controversial for one seeking to reform the church according to the biblical pattern. What, for instance, does Bucer have to say about Dionysius's Neoplatonic concept of theurgy? Gregory Shaw has demonstrated, contrary to the assumptions of some scholars, that for Neoplatonists, theurgy does not refer to an action of man upon the gods.[81] Rather, it refers to a work that the gods perform through human rituals. Dionysius Christianizes this concept by viewing the uplifting power of the liturgy as a work of Christ. He refers to the "theurgic lights," "theurgic gnosis," and "theurgic measures" of the liturgy, and as Shaw argues, these are "more than our recalling or celebrating the divine works of the historical Jesus; they describe a direct transmission and experience of deifying activity."[82] The synaxis, therefore, has a dual aspect, namely, there is an uplifting power in the sacraments themselves, but this power depends upon the uplifting power of Christ that lies behind them.

79 *Constans Defensio*, 337, 338.

80 *Constans Defensio*, 338.

81 See Gregory Shaw, *Theurgy and the soul: the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 143–53.

82 Shaw, "Neoplatonic Theurgy and Dionysius the Areopagite," *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 7:4 (1999), 593. Shaw quite rightly corrects Andrew Louth's assertion that "in Denys the word θεουργία seems never to be used of religious rituals." See Louth, "Pagan Theurgy and Christian Sacramentalism In Denys the Areopagite," *The Journal of Theological Studies,* 37:2 (1986), 434.

How does Bucer view this dual aspect of Dionysius's Christian theurgy? He notes that, in Dionysius's liturgy, the priest stands at the altar during the Eucharist and celebrates the sacred and divine works of Jesus who, by the works of his providence, perfects us through the benevolence of the Father and through the Holy Spirit. Bucer chides his Catholic opponents for not discussing these "theurgies of Jesus" (θεουργίαι Ἰησου) in their liturgy, that is, his incarnation, death, resurrection, ascension, and the administration of our salvation. They should, like Dionysius, worship the works of Jesus with the eye of the mind through the administration of symbols, which were handed down by God. They should sing sacred hymns and cry out to God, and Bucer continues, they should imitate God by allowing the saints to participate in the holy action (ἱερουργεῖ) that they perform. Finally, they should imitate God by symbolically (συμβολικῶς) multiplying and distributing the unity of God in the Supper, thus perfecting in the saints, "the administration of the most holy of sacred rites."[83]

Bucer notes that one should observe from Dionysius that the priest who performs the act of imitating God (ἱερουργία θεομήμητος) takes on the likeness of Christ (*ad Christum*, ἀφομοίωσις) by reading the words of Christ from the scripture: "Take and eat. This is my body."[84] One should also note, Bucer says, that Dionysius makes no mention of Eucharistic sacrifice, but of Christ's theurgy. He does not say "sacrifice" but *hierourgein* (ἱερουργεῖν), which is, "to prepare and show forth [divine things] by a sacred rule and to lead them forth into view, not to elevate [them]." Bucer then offers a lengthy quote from the Greek text of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, quoting almost the entire section of III.3.12. He concludes that in Dionysius's liturgy, the priest prays, not that he may have the power to make the sacrament but that God would make him worthy to perform the holy action (ἱερουργίαν) of reciting the words of Scripture and distributing the sacrament to the saints.

Bucer presents another passage from Dionysius, this time to prove that the early church emphasized the fellowship and gathering of the congregation rather than worship in private Masses. Referring to the third chapter of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Bucer recounts that for Dionysius the primary goal of the Supper is the "in-gathering" and "communion" (συνάξεως καὶ κοινωνίας) of the body of Christ.[85] In this sacrament the diversity of our lives is brought into a unity because, by means of it, we are united to God and share in that which is truly one. If the priestly mystery (*sacerdotale mysterium*) were not one, then it could not bring about our communion, but its primary purpose is to make

83 *Constans Defensio*, 321.
84 *Constans Defensio*, 321.
85 *Constans Defensio*, 270.

the one who is perfected by God into one who shares in the unifying power of the divine mysteries. So the names "in-gathering" and "communion" are worthy of this sacrament because it passes down fellowship from the first light, and it is the first of all the divine illuminations. Bucer, therefore, finds nothing objectionable in the liturgy of Dionysius. Rather, he mollifies the Neoplatonic elements of Dionysius's thought with his own Protestant interpretation of the liturgy. He pairs the sacred works (theurgy) of Christ with the *symbola* in Dionysius's liturgy to conclude that, in the Supper, God illuminates the minds of the people by means of certain sacred activities. These symbolic actions, namely the priest's imitation of Christ and the in-gathering of the people, direct the mind to Christ who illuminates it.

Although it may seem as though Bucer merely uses Dionysius for his own polemical gain, it is more likely that he sees his own ideas reflected in Dionysius's writings. Like Dionysius, Bucer also attributes a certain power and agency to the sacraments. They are God's instruments whereby he administers the saving grace of Christ to the church. Bucer argues that the sacraments confer grace on those who have faith. In his *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, he says that there is nothing absurd in referring to the sacraments as "instruments, mechanisms, and channels [*canales*] of the Spirit and grace" because Christ ordained to communicate our redemption through these means, which are like "visible Gospels."[86] The sacrifice of Christ is conveyed to believers through these holy instruments and channels, though Christ brings about the effect immediately and internally. Even though they have no effect on unbelievers, the sacraments truly "confer grace to anyone communicating in the mind or by faith," or to use Dionysius's language, they confer grace on those whom they "provoke to reject the material show."[87]

Bucer appeals to Dionysius on numerous occasions in *Constans Defensio*, not merely for the sake of rebuking his Roman Catholic interlocutors. In fact, Bucer seems to believe that the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* could provide a bridge for ecumenical *rapprochement* between Protestants and Catholics. In his refutation of the Catholic concept of Purgatory, Bucer refers to Dionysius's explanation of why the priest offers prayers for the dead during the Eucharist and during the funeral rite. As Alexander Golitzin points out, "Dionysius's portrait of

86 *In Sacra Quatuor Evangelia, Enarrationes* (Basel: Petrum Pernam, 1562), 44. Bucer distinguishes himself from those who attach power only to the external signs: "Sic enim nonnulli gratiam Christi illis addixerunt, ut viderentur externa haec per se salutifera facere, etiam si ad Christum animus se nunquam serio attollat, ita ut habet in his superstitio vulgi, quod Christi fidem puram adhuc ignorat" (ibid.).

87 *Cel. Hier.*, 2.5, 145B: ἀλλ' ἐρεθίζον ἀπαναίνεσθαι τάς υλικάς προσπάθειας.

the Church appears to offer little room for the principle of *ex opere operato*."[88] This is the case, Golitzin notes, because in his discussion of the prayer for the dead Dionysius declares that the bishop "would never seek that which is unpleasing to God," by praying for a sinner, "because he would stray in this from the imperative order."[89] According to Bucer, Dionysius does not offer these prayers for the sake of the dead *per se* but for the living, in order to present those gathered for the funeral liturgy with the atrocity of their sins (*atrocitate peccatorum*) and the severity of divine judgment against them, to point them to Christ, to inflame and excite the love and desire of God in their hearts, and finally, to urge them to meditate on what is above where Christ reigns at the right hand of the Father.[90] Bucer goes on to recount the position of the other church fathers regarding prayers for the dead. In doing so, he uses Dionysius's explanation for these prayers as his point of departure.[91] In the conclusion of his argument, Bucer laments, "If only our adversaries would also observe this form of celebrating the Lord's Supper which they want to receive from Saint Dionysius, then we would celebrate the memory of the Apostles with them."[92]

Though Bucer did not recommend prayers for the dead in his *Liber Reformationis,* and though he would later influence Thomas Cranmer's decision to remove the prayer for the departed from the 1549 Prayer Book, he did not do so out of the conviction that the prayers were dangerous or unbiblical.[93] In fact, Bucer feared that the prayers would confuse the uneducated, who may assume that the status of the faithful departed lay in jeopardy.[94] Is Bucer sincere, then, when he offers to "celebrate the memory of the Apostles" with Roman Catholics according to Dionysius's funeral office? Despite the unlikeliness that such a concession would take place, it seems plausible that he is sincere, given Bucer's irenical character and ecumenical accomplishments. For, as he recalls in another place, "the godly Dionysius teaches in his *Epistle to Polycarp* that, 'it is enough for good men, if they are able, to think and to speak in accordance with the truth, just as it exists within them.'"[95]

88 *Et introibo*, 210.

89 *Eccl. Hier.*, 6.7, 564A.

90 *Constans Defensio*, 295. For Dionysius's explanation see *Eccl. Hier.*, 3.9, 437B.

91 Veteres ad aedificationem viventium memorias defunctorum ita celebrarunt, quemadmodum S. Dionysius & alii copiosè testantur. *Constans Defensio*, 295.

92 *Constans Defensio*, 289.

93 See Bucer's *Censura* and his remarks on the prayer for the departed in *Scripta Anglicana*, 467.

94 *Constans Defensio*, 303.

95 *Metaphrasis,* 338. See Dionysius, *Epist*. 7.1. 1080A.

Conclusion

Martin Bucer's reception of Dionysius clearly differs from that of Martin Luther and John Calvin. For Bucer, Dionysius is not the Pseudo-Dionysius, though he is surely not the true Areopagite and disciple of St. Paul. Neither is he the Platonizing architect of the medieval sacramental culture, but he is "Saint Dionysius," the pious and ancient church father. Bucer, therefore, radically changes Dionysius into a supporter of the culture of persuasion. How does he bring about such a radical identity change in the Pseudo-Areopagite? He reads Dionysius with one hand, so to speak, on the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas. He finds Thomas's concept of instrumental causality in Dionysius's dual aspect of the ministry. For Bucer, this becomes evidence for the reformed idea that the ministry is the instrument of grace, rather than its cause. Building on the distinction between instrumental and efficient causes Bucer reads the dual aspect of Dionysius's hierarchy (uplifting and being uplifted) as evidence for the Protestant distinction between God's inward work upon the mind and the outward ordering of the church, society, and the world. Finally, Bucer finds in Dionysius's dual aspect of the liturgy of synaxis evidence for a Protestant sort of theurgy, that is, the belief that God uses liturgical symbols as instruments to direct the mind away from material things to Christ who dwells in heaven to whom the heart and mind might also ascend. Bucer even finds evidence for the Protestant concept of faith in Dionysius, and on certain issues he uses Dionysius's interpretation as a guide for understanding the other church fathers. Though Bucer reads Dionysius through the lens of his own theology, such is to be expected. Modern readers of Dionysius have been accused of the same.[96] Bucer, however, accepts Dionysius with appreciation. He would certainly not advise his readers to, "Look [at Dionysius] […] but for Christ's sake—literally—don't touch the brute."[97] Bucer is no exception to the rule that every reader approaches a text with presuppositions. What is significant about his reading of Dionysius for the 16th century, however, is that it is based on real distinctions in Dionysius's writings, and thus presents a persuasive case for a Protestant reading of Dionysius. In making such a positive use of Dionysius in this way, Bucer helped fashion the Pseudo-Areopagite into an acceptable and valuable

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96 Gregory Shaw accuses Paul Rorem of Protestant bias in his reading of Dionysius's concept of theurgy. See Shaw, "Neoplatonic Theurgy," 576. Golitzin notes that "It is very much from Germany that Rorem receives his hermeneutical spectacles." Golitzin, "Review of Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence by Paul Rorem," *Mystics Quarterly*, 21:1 (1995), 29.

97 Golitzin, "Review of Rorem," 30.

weapon, not only for Protestant polemic, but more importantly, for Protestant devotion.

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CHAPTER 10

Protestant Monasticism between the Reformation Critique and New Monasticism

Jason Zuidema

Introduction[1]

A half a millennium has passed since the Augustinian hermit Martin Luther began his struggle to understand anew the God with whom he wished to communicate. His experience of the received patterns of spirituality of his time, even within the context of a highly intensified monastic life, led him to despair that any positive conversation could be had with his judgmental God. Nonetheless, his study of Scripture, and especially his conception of God's justice given in Christ to those who believed, led him to posit that God was one with whom he could speak with love rather than with hatred or fear. His insights began his public call for the reform of the Catholic Church, a reform made famous by the discussions of late 1517 surrounding the validity of the practice of offering "indulgences" and his subsequent excommunication. In the ensuing years Luther wrote a mass of popular literature that criticised Catholic spirituality, seemingly arguing that his former monastic life was fundamentally at odds with his fresh reading of Scripture. In the decades that followed many partisans of Luther's ideas continued to argue that their understandings of religious life were liberated from what they perceived as a negative, medieval Catholic influence. Most were loathe to reintroduce any of the insights or practices of monastic spirituality coming from those from whom Luther was doctrinally separated.

Yet, was this the case? Was and is monastic life truly *fundamentally* at odds with Protestantism? Can monasticism or the religious life be properly *protestant*? A thought experiment: were it possible, could one sit down with John Calvin and actually convince him that the religious life was a normal and useful function of the Church?

Now, we know that various forms of monasticism or the religious life persisted to live on in Protestantism. If nothing else, many sixteenth-century reformers continued to evidence patterns of thought, practice and spirituality

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that revealed influence from monastic life more directly than any other source. Did they remain, as some might have suggested, "unconverted"? Would continued adherence ultimately corrupt their religious programmes? How could monastic influence continue to abide in Protestantism?

From the time of the Reformation to the twenty-first century, the implicit and explicit influence of Catholic monastic spirituality continued to preoccupy many Protestants. If the critics are right about Protestantism, can this monasticism or religious life be anything more than a "borrowing," an unlawful appropriation of spiritual practices that cannot be absorbed piecemeal? How should that abiding influence be understood?

Like many other scholars in the last centuries, I am persuaded that the search for continuity between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism is not a misguided enterprise. Revisionist scholars of Early Modernity have noted that on closer reading of a wide range of Reformation-era texts, one can recognize a great deal more continuity with late-medieval Catholicism than what the rhetoric of the Reformers or nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars might lead us to believe. While studying these historical continuities certainly merits attention in itself, our present proposal aims to draw attention to trends that amplify their importance. No doubt, these continuities in religious life became especially motivating during the intense ecumenical conversations between Protestant and Roman Catholic scholars and groups in the mid- to late-twentieth century, with all interested to a greater or lesser extent in retracing a common heritage. However, relatively little has been written, especially in English-language scholarship, about the continuities relating to monastic or religious life. It is clear that most reformers seemed to view monastic life as fundamentally opposed to a biblical religious reform; but *must* it be so? Is there a way to recover *both* a deeply Protestant (confessional) theological starting point *and* a perspective on religious life that is consonant with the continuing post-Reformation Roman Catholic tradition? Is it possible to be both confessionally Protestant and canonically Catholic in the matter of the religious life?

"New Monasticism"?

The question of monasticism's positive relation to and influence on Protestantism has actually been studied by a number of scholars from the nineteenth century on. Highlighted especially in German scholarship at that time, the question of the relation between Evangelical faith and monastic or consecrated life was framed by the much larger debates on all aspects of early and medieval Christianity. This historiography, especially in continental European

scholarship, is studied in exhaustive detail by Bernd Jaspert in his monumental 5-volume *Mönchtum und Protestantismus: Probleme und Wege der Forschung seit 1877* (*achtzehn hundert sieben un siebzig*). For example, questions about monasticism's place in the earliest Christian communities in this literature were only one category of questions about all sorts of categories of practices and beliefs.[2]

Like most of the rest of those questions, the seeming result of that study was a greater appreciation of the *fluidity* of early monastic structures and ideas. The result, at least in German scholarship, was a lessened tension between received Protestant ideas from the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries on the late-medieval understanding of vows and ecclesiastical structures. Yet, despite notable exceptions (e.g. diaconal communities in nineteenth–twentieth century Germany and France,[3] Taizé, Grandchamp, the community of Bose, or Dietrich Bonhoeffer's quasi-monastic experiment in Finkenwalde), monastic life remained relatively marginal in Protestant practice and theology throughout the twentieth century.[4] To be sure, in North America there were lots of Christians living various kinds of life in intentional communities (built, it was argued, on New Testament ideas), but they rarely claimed links to *monasticism*, properly speaking.

One more recent attempt at this has been the "new monastic" movement in English and American Evangelicalism. This movement has adopted this designation not so much for any technical meaning of monasticism (indeed, very few wish to live *monos* or have any more discipline than the average Evangelical Christian), but rather because it has the value of connecting them with a period of Christian history that seems to correspond to their outlook. It is their understanding that monasticism first flourished when Christianity was mixed with Constantine's empire in the fourth century—it ought now be renewed under contemporary conditions of "empire." The movement has attracted a good deal of positive publicity in both Evangelical and more progressive

2 Bernt Jaspert, *Mönchtum und Protestantismus: Probleme und Wege der Forschung seit 1877*, 5 vols. (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 2005–2011). Another review of literature is in Bradley Peterson. "Towards a Protestant Monasticism: The Convent Life Expressed in the Evangelical Church Orders of the 16th Century Germany" (PhD Diss. Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA, 2008).

3 For literature on this see Volker Herrmann, Jochen-Christoph Kaiser, Theodor Strohm, *Bibiographie zur Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Diakonie im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997).

4 See François Biot, *Communautes protestantes; la renaissance de la vie reguliere dans le protestantisme continental* (Paris: Editions Fleurus, 1961); Andrew Lockley, *Christian Communities* (London: SCM, 1976).

theological camps, particularly as it has wedded itself to the kinds of social justice projects common to "emergent" groups.[5]

Yet, as one wishing to understand the bases for religious life in Protestantism, it has been frustrating to some degree to read books (and there is a whole cottage industry of them) promoting and exploring the movement. Its most well-known leaders, Shane Claiborne and Jonathan Wilson-Hartgrove, have both written extensively on the subject.[6] The renditions of movements and definitions in Church history in their literature often conceal more than they reveal.

Thankfully, however, the "new monastic" movement is not fed only by a few well-known popular writers. In the last few years a number of new books have come out to bring more clarity and depth to the movement. Some, like Elaine A. Heath and Larry Duggins, *Missional. Monastic. Mainline.* (2014), try to give more practical advice to structure the new monasticism. However, these attempts fall back into the same patterns of caricaturing Church history. A few examples of caricatures to give the flavour:

- "One of the saddest realities we must face as a church is the way that mission and evangelism have been hijacked to serve the interests of empire." (19)
- "Historically the more conservative a group has been about orthodoxy, the more inclined it has been toward violence." (22)

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5 See Brantley W. Gasaway, *Progressive Evangelicals and the Pursuit of Social Justice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 13, 230, 273–74. Gasaway notes the contribution of activist Shane Claiborne in the book's overall work to describe "how and explains why the progressive evangelical movement offered a significant alternative to both the Religious Right and the political left from the 1970s into the 21st century," 3.

6 A great review of the movement is in: Martia Elias Downey, "New Monasticism among Evangelical Protestants," in *Understanding the Consecrated Life in Contemporary Canada: Critial Essays on Contemporary Trends*, ed. Jason Zuidema (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015), Ch. 15. For the wider body of literature see: *School(s) for Conversion: 12 Marks of a New Monasticism*, ed. The Rutba House (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2005); Ian Adams and Ian Mobsby, "New Monasticism," *Ancient Faith, Future Mission* (Norwich: Canterbury, 2009), 52–65; Jonathan Wilson, *Living Faithfully in a Fragmented World*: *Lessons for the Church from MacIntyre's "After Virtue"* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 1998); Jonathan Wilson-Hartgrove, "New Monasticism and the Resurrection of American Christianity," *Missiology: An International Review* 38 (2010): 13–19; Shane Claiborne, *Irresistible Revolution: Living as an Ordinary Radical* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2006). For a Canadian angle on this story see Tim Dickau, *Plugging Into the Kingdom Way: Practicing the Shared Strokes of Community, Hospitality, Justice, and Confession* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2011). For critical engagement with some of this literature see the Ken Stewart's review essay, "Discernment, Discernment: Caveats for Evangelicals Flirting with Monasticism," *Books and Culture* 17.2 (March/April 2011): 16–18.

- new monasticism "speaks into the church, inviting all to join her in service and humility. Throughout the centuries, monks have called the larger church to reform and to repent—Dominic, Francis, Luther, Rohr—but they have done so from within. The new monastic calls the church back to a life and order that lives in the way that Christ lives by presenting a real-life example of that love and way of life." (34)
- "Living as a new monastic is all about living as Jesus lived. It is about practicing what we believe in daily life, and it is about maintaining a steady focus on God and on others." (38)

The preceding are from the first half of their book and come at key junctures in the argument that then sets up the second, practical half of that book. We would argue that no movement can flourish when history is presented in such a way. Many problematic caricatures of traditional theology and orthodoxy find their ways into these books—usually Church history is read through the lens of some modern theologian (sometimes, at best, a popularized Dietrich Bonhoeffer, (their patron saint of new monasticism) but at worst, one of the movement's own leaders). Essentially, the critique that the reformers (and most Protestants) levelled against religious life in the Catholic Church is brushed aside—those writers were either using hyperbole or themselves infected with the germ of "empire."

Indeed, most of these books are uncritical and will find little lasting traction in a more discerning Protestant market. However, a few are notable for they try to recover some of the European thought on Protestant monasticism from the last several centuries and make it palatable for English-language audiences. Among these books is a new one by historian Greg Peters, *Reforming the Monastery: Protestant Theologies of the Religious Life*. Peters is a medieval historical theologian by training, but has focused his attention more recently on the interaction between monasticism and key Protestant thinkers in the last 500 years. Though his book has some notable strengths, especially in its discussions of nineteenth- and twentieth-century thinkers, it is the chapter on the sixteenth century that merits mention here. Peters' thesis in his treatment of the first reformers stands for the whole book: "Luther and Calvin did in fact reject a certain kind of monasticism, they did not reject all forms of monasticism."[7] Is this true?

Peters treats relatively few theologians of Early Modernity, letting the major thinkers stand for the rest. In his chapter on the sixteenth century, he treats

7 Greg Peters, *Reforming the Monastery: Protestant Theologies of the Religious Life* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2014), 17.

Luther and Calvin, and adds Zwingli and Carlstadt to round out the picture. This is the chapter's conclusion:

> From this we see that Zwingli and Carlstadt, like Luther and Calvin, were all primarily against Roman Catholic monasticism because it involved the taking of lifelong vows [...]. As well, there is a strong sense in the writings of the Protestant Reformers that the institution of monasticism replaced the biblical teaching of justification by faith. For these reasons, the Reformers (mostly) rejected monasticism but the way still seemed to be left open for some sort of a reformed monasticism, something that would only come about in later centuries.[8]

Peters' comment is correct insofar as a number of those whose self-description as Protestants in later centuries did found what *they* considered to be a legitimate kind of Protestant monasticism or religious life. A question that remains for us is whether the statement is justifiable that they "(mostly)" rejected monasticism and that they "left open" a door for monasticism to come back?

Protestant Monasticism in Sixteenth Century Reformed Theology?

Peters is one among a number of other European and North American studies trying to "open" the door to Protestant monasticism. When surveying this wider body of literature, a starting point is the aforementioned massive multivolume survey of literature on Protestants studying monasticism by Bernd Jaspert, a well-known specialist on monasticism in general. Common to all this literature is that besides pointing out those Protestants shaped by monastic life while still formally monks or religious, these authors point to a theology and ecclesiology shaped principally by monastic experience.

In this essay, the aim is to cast our net into an area not covered by Peters or even Jaspert, by surveying Reformed theologians of the first two generations on the topic. Admittedly in a short space very little can be said in depth. However, it would seem that this is a more representative sample than Peters provides, and will not be so exclusively focused on German theologians as in the case of Jaspert.

By this study, we should be able to understand better the network of church leaders in various centres of Reformed thought and on the supposed continued influence of "monasticism" (or the "religious life" more generally understood)

8 Peters, *Reforming the Monastery*, 52.

on the thought and action of their reforming work. Having examined the theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli on this question in a previous study,[9] this essay will now focus on the larger network of his contemporaries, including Martin Bucer, Huldrich Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, Wolfgang Musculus, William Farel, John Calvin, and Pierre Viret (with most focus on the latter few). Some of these authors speak more generally on monasticism, but most treat the question of monasticism in a locus or treatise on vows. The question of vows, or the "evangelical counsels" of poverty, chastity and obedience (variously stated) comes to be representative of the religious life in general. There is a notable consistency in their critique of these so-called "evangelical counsels." The discussion will conclude with comments on whether or not the "door was left open" to monasticism by these reformers.

Luther and Historiography

To put the Reformed critique in context, first a few words on Luther: as mentioned at the outset, Luther frequently critiqued monastic vows and the practice of monasticism in many writings and sermons, but especially in his treatise *De votis monasticis iudicium* (1521)[10] (although some more definitive reflections came later in the 1520s). Like most writings of Luther, the critique is well-studied in modern scholarship including the classic work by Bernard Lohse, but also in more recent literature.[11] For the sake of situating our study, we only briefly note that Luther's work is in five parts, arguing that monastic vows are contrary to Scripture, faith, evangelical freedom, the commandments, and human reason. It is contrary to Scripture not only in that the ideas of a state of perfection or "evangelical counsels" of poverty, chastity, and obedience are simply not found there, but also that this kind of perfection is asked of all Christians. It is against faith in that it seems to add extra law and work onto

9 See the conclusion of my essay "Peter Martyr: Protestant Monk?" *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 13.3 (2011): 373–86.

10 For the various places Luther talks about monasticism see: Jaspert, *Mönchtum und Protestantismus*, vol. 1, (2005): 9, n. 12.

11 Bernhard Lohse, *Monchtum und Reformation: Luthers Auseinandersetzung mit dem Monchsideal des Mittelalters* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963); Volker Mantey Athina Lexutt and Volkmar Ortmann, eds., *Reformation und Monchtum: Aspekte eines Verhaltnisses eber Luther hinaus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); P. Hagman, "The End of Asceticism: Luther, Modernity, and How Asceticism Stopped Making Sense," *Political Theology* 14.2 (2013): 174–87; Dorothea Wendebourg, "Luther on Monasticism," *Lutheran Quarterly,* 19.2 (Summer 2005): 125–52.

what is already professed at baptism—monasticism ends up being a religion of works. It is contrary to evangelical liberty in that the person no longer has freedom of conscience if a perpetual vow is made. Next, it is against the commandments in that it puts a higher claim on the Christian than what is found in Scripture—further the vow of obedience restricts what Christian faith requires in that one can no longer serve all in society, but only those in the monastic community. Finally, it goes against reason in that it claims "perpetual" vows are essential, but gives, according to Luther, all kinds of dispensations. If dispensations are possible, in what way are "perpetual" vows really perpetual at all?

As many have noted, Luther did not reject vows *per se* in this treatise, but rather the kinds of perpetual vows taken in Catholic religious life. As a modern Cistercian, Bede Lackner, has noted:

> With all these assertions, and especially with his emphasis on Christian freedom, Luther called for reforms which undermined monasticism. He allowed the possibility of making vows but denied that they had any permanent binding force. This clearly destroyed the very foundations of traditional monasticism.[12]

This comment from a Cistercian, though modern, is important for it was not just Luther who recognized his critique was *fundamental*, but also Catholics. Temporary vows are something, but not, one might say, the basis for *monasticism* or the *religious life* in any regular sense—certainly not in a canonical sense. Further, it also reminds us that the question of monasticism was focused on vows for those were its defining feature.

Survey of Reformed Thought on Monasticism

With Luther's critique ringing in our ears, we turn now to some Reformed theologians to see the contours of the debate. We will say a few brief words about those in German-speaking regions (Strasbourg and German-speaking Switzerland), and then give more attention to French-speaking theologians. Our focus could be wider, but I am confident this is a representative enough sample for our present purposes.

12 Bede K. Lackner, O.Cist., "Martin Luther and Monasticism," in *Studiosorum Speculum: Studies in Honor of Louis J. Lekai, O.Cist.*, ed. Francis R. Swietek and John R. Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1993), 189.

I Huldrich Zwingli

Like Luther, Huldrich Zwingli's thought focused on the problem of religious vows. His thought can be seen in *de vera et falsa religione* of 1525.[13] His concern is that monastic vows, especially that of celibacy, go against Christian liberty, but, more, also shows foolishness in that one vows what one does not have the power to vow.[14] This, in the end, is a false holiness—they have deserted the law of God.[15]

Further, in the *Sixty-Seven Articles*, defended by Zwingli in 1523, we hear Zwingli saying that monasticism is hypocrisy for it simulates goodness to human eyes, but not in truth. Vows again are in view: "Those who take a vow of chastity childishly or foolishly undertake too much. We learn from this than anyone who accepts such vows, does injustice to good people."[16]

II Martin Bucer

Martin Bucer's thought on the subject can be found readily in the chapter on monasticism in the *Tetrapolitan Confession* of 1530.[17] It is useful to note that Bucer was a Dominican until he was solemnly released from his vows on April 29, 1521. The chapter in this confession puts emphasis on Christian liberty, especially the desire to not bind Christians to external things.[18] The critique of monastic vows is seen in the optic of the Apostle Paul's critique of "judaizers" who wish to be bound to the law: "that those who admit the yoke of these ceremonies despises the grace of God and count the death of Christ as a thing of naught."[19] Secondarily, however, the chapter also argues that this mode of life is anti-societal: it is not a mode of life that allows one to care for others.[20]

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13 Huldrich Zwingli, *De Vera et falsa religione* (Zurich: Froschouer, 1525).

14 Zwingli, *De vera et falsa religione*, 309.

15 Zwingli, *De vera et falsa religione*, 316.

16 James T. Dennison, Jr., ed. *Reformed Confessions of the 16th and 17th Centuries in English Translation: Volume 1, 1523–1552* (Grand Rapids, mi: rhb, 2008), 5.

17 Martin Bucer, *Bekandtnuß der vier Frey vn[d] Reichstätt, Straßburg, Costantz, Memmingen, vnd Lindaw, in deren sie Keys. Maiestat, vff dem Reichstag zu Augspurg, im xxx. Jar gehalten, ihres glaubens vnd fürhabens, der Religion halb, rechenschafft gethan haben* (Strassburg: Schweintzer, 1531), Ch. 12 "Von dem Monichstand."

18 Bucer, *Bekandtnuß*, "Aus gleichem grundt nemlich das unser rechtfertigung steht auff dem glauben ann Jesum Christum/ Daher dann wie anzeiget freiheit aller ausserlichen ding herkomment/ haben unsere Prediger auch den Monich standt gefreiet," fol. D^{v}.

19 For an English translation see: Dennison, ed., *Reformed Confessions Volume 1*, 152.

20 Lest this critique of monasticism not be clear enough, consider also the opinion of Wolfgang Capito who wrote a letter to the Burgermeister and Council at Horb in May 1527 warning about the Anabaptist leader Michael Sattler. He was worried that Sattler was

III *Heinrich Bullinger*

Like others, Bullinger treats vows in various places, but can be readily understood *via* some key passages in the *Sermonum Decades*. There he treats the unlawfulness of monastic vows, the avoidance of true Christian duty by them, and the general idea that monasticism adds nothing to what an ordinary Christian is called do to. His most sustained comments are in the 5th decade, on the institutions of the Church. Much is said there, but a key idea recurs—Bullinger sees a paradox in the monastic life that is its undoing: on the one hand monks infinitely increase that which should be demanded, on the other hand they spend their time in idleness. By all their doing, they do nothing. All is, Bullinger says, "counterfeit holiness" and has no place in the necessary institutions of the Church.

IV *Wolfgang Musculus*

Though deeply appreciative of Lutheran teaching in the first years of Luther's protest, Wolfgang Musculus did not finally renounce his vows at the Benedictine monastery at Lixheim until 1527. Having entered at a young age, Musculus profited from the opportunities afforded to him to gain a solid humanist education. A number of authors have pointed out the enduring strong influence of monasticism on Musculus's thought (a point to which we will return), but suffice it to cite a few thoughts from his *Loci Communes* (1560) to see that he was consistent with our survey thus far.[21] At various points in the *Loci* we read: monasticism overturns the fifth commandment in that monks can no longer serve their parents, monasticism is more-or-less a religion of Pharisees, monks are highly immoral (and always womanizing).

In the chapter on vows, he is more specific (and, interestingly, he is more precise with his definitions) on what constitutes a proper vow: done freely, to God only, a vow of something pleasing to God, for God's glory and time-limited. The perpetual vows of Catholic religious fulfill none of these categories. Musculus surveys the Catholic vows and finds that they are against Scripture, faith and Christian community.

V *Guillaume Farel*

Guillaume Farel, in his 1529 *Summaire*, treats religious life in his chapter on "Good Works:"

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bringing about "the beginning of a new monasticism." John Howard Yoder, *The Legacy of Michael Sattler* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1973), 87.

21 Wolfgang Musculus, *Loci Communes* (Basel: Herwagen, 1560).

> And all these people are not content with the holy law of God, but, as if it was insufficient and imperfect for the holy life, they also take up the inventions of men. They are can no longer content simply to be called "Christians," but brothers of St. James, of St. Sebastian, of Our Lady of Comfort, of our Lady of Grace, of Our Lady of Le Puy, of Our Lady of Loretto, of Our Lady of Montserrat, of the First and Second Orders of St. Francis of Assisi, or of the major orders, the minor orders and the lesser orders. So it continues with all who take such offices, which we call "spiritual." They promise that which is not in their power, like perpetual chastity outside of holy marriage, keeping many laws, statutes, and ordinances alongside the law of God which they cannot bear alone. They believe that if they add other commandments, they could bear all more easily—as if the multiplication of laws and commandments would make them stronger and give them virtue. Yet this simply loads them further and makes their situation worse, producing wrath, as pin-pricks of sin, and making sin abound. For where there is no law, there is no transgression. And yet all these kinds of people desire and work to be sanctified by transgression.[22]

In many other works Farel will refer to what he perceives are the inconsistent and immoral lives of Catholic religious.[23]

VI *John Calvin*

John Calvin treats the question of vows and monasticism in Bk. 4, Chap. 13 of the *Institutes*, but also in many other parts of his treatises and commentaries.[24] To take one example from his commentaries, in his discussion of Matt 19.21 "if you want to be perfect, go sell your possessions and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven," Calvin notes that monks technically have nothing of their own, but together "plunge themselves into monasteries as well-stocked as hog-sties."

Much of Calvin's critique in the *Institutes* continues this kind of reverse argument: the more you claim holiness, the more you get worldliness. Calvin

22 Farel, *A Summary and Brief Exposition*, Ch. 21 in Jason Zuidema and Theodore Van Raalte, eds., *Early French Reform: The Theology and Spirituality of Guillaume Farel* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 139. Compare also with Dennison, *Reformed Confessions,* 72.

23 See Part I in Zuidema and Van Raalte, *Early French Reform.*

24 For more on the late medieval background for Calvin's comments, see: David Steinmetz, "Calvin and the Monastic Ideal," in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. Peter A. Dykema and Heiko Oberman (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 605–16.

also explores lawful and perverse vows, and notes that what monastics vow is nothing more than what Christians need to vow. Many of his other points were made previously, but two merit extra attention: First, his support of Augustine's simple ideas on monasticism: "Augustine requires a kind of monasticism which is but an exercise and aid to those duties of piety enjoined upon all Christians."[25] Second, he uses an argument often leveled against Protestants back on Catholic religious. That is, he argues that the great diversity in monastic life undermines any kinds of claims to catholicity: "The facts themselves tell us that all those who enter into the monastic community break with the church."[26]

VII *Pierre Viret*

Last in our survey, Pierre Viret, wrote a few treatises on the subject: *De la nature et diversite des voeux* (1551) and *De la vraye et fausse religion: touchant les voeux et les sermens licites et illicites* (1560). The former text is a reasonable 193 pages—the latter a monster at 864 pages.

In that latter text, he largely focuses on this second point of Calvin in his treatise on vows—the incredible diversity of problems among monks.[27] For the sake of brevity, let us only say a few remarks about this very long text: First, he goes into detail on the divisions and immorality in Catholic religious life. "How many convents," he asks rhetorically, "are simply open as public houses for prostitution?" Secondly, he also is of the opinion that the original monks "were no different than other Christians, in their religion, only that they had a few special observances that were actually common to all, to better direct themselves and to live together in agreement and in holiness."

25 See Steinmetz, "Calvin and the Monastic Ideal," 612.

26 "If there is a distinctive note in Calvin's criticism of monasticism, it may lay in his emphasis on Christian unity. Calvin found no place for the monastic ideal, which he regarded as unavoidably schismatic, in a Church that is one, holy, catholic and apostolic. To tolerate monasticism is to admit a double Christianity, a second baptism, a dual path to the heavenly Jerusalem, and a spiritual elite […]. Whatever other faults monasticism might have had in Calvin's eyes, this fault alone was enough to condemn it." Stenmetz, "Calvin and the Monastic Ideal," 616.

27 Pierre Viret, *De la vraye et fausse religion, touchant les voeus & les sermens licites & illicites: & notamment touchant les voeus de perpetuelle continence, & les voeus d'anatheme & d'execration, & les sacrifices d'hosties humaines, & de l'excommunication en toutes religions. Item de la Moinerie, tant des Iuifs que des Payens & des Turcs & des Papistes, & des sacrifices faits à Moloch, tant en corps qu'un ame* (Geneva: Jean Rivery, 1560).

Protestant Monasticism?

So, with Luther plus seven other reformers, we can now tie some threads of our question stated at the outset—is a door open for Monasticism for these Protestant reformers?

After this brief overview, it would be tough to make such a claim. The reformers we surveyed (and admittedly you only get a glimpse of what they said in much longer works) were remarkably consistent across their writings. The basic critique of Luther is more-or-less shared across the board: monasticism is contrary to Scripture, to faith, to evangelical freedom, to the commandments, to human reason, and to both Christian and civil community. On this level there is not much of a door to open.

I *The Question of Influence*

One possible avenue of enquiry is to state that although the reformers rejected "monasticism," they were nonetheless unconsciously, perhaps, still influenced by it. Indeed, a number of recent studies have noted a re-appreciation of the influence of monasticism on Protestant structures and thought. In a certain way, a parallel could be drawn between "scholasticism" and "monasticism." As scholastic categories and methods are still clearly recognizable in reformers who superficially appear to reject them, perhaps the same might also be the case with monasticism.

Though this might have some explanatory power, it does not necessarily lead to an "open door" for monasticism—at best, at least not an open *front* door. That is, simply noting various influences does not necessarily mean something positive: citing the phrase "without monasticism, the Reformation would not have happened,"[28] does not necessarily mean the Protestant theologians we just cited were all "anonymous Benedictines" (to twist Karl Rahner's phrase). At least according to them, monasticism was not a positive catalyst for the Reformation, but rather negative.

Bearing in mind this caveat, it is nonetheless still possible to see the influence.

II *Early Monasticism*

We do note however that one detail that consistently, and interestingly with different examples, kept appearing, namely the distinction between the perceived monastic mess at the time of the Reformation, but also the

28 "Ohne Möchtum, keine Reformation." Johannes Schilling, *Gewesene Mönche. Lebensgeschichten in der Reformation* (Munich: Stiftung Historisches Kolleg, 1990), 33.

"so-they-thought" simplicity of early monasticism. We might have heard them say: If only we could have kept the simple, love-filled monasticism of Augustine, maybe it could be a positive thing. This is a potentially powerful, but also problematic argument. As we have explored these texts it is one of the few details that is not necessarily consistent. Some have a "what if," but others say the corruption was still basically inevitable.

It is here that a definition of "monasticism" is so critical. We have so far used the term fairly uncritically (as is the case in many Protestant writings). Yet, in distinguishing Common life, Institutes, Convents, Houses, religious life, consecrated life, etc. there might be a category that could correspond to something less offensive to these Reformers. Indeed, we know that some kind of Protestant religious life was tolerated in the sixteenth century. Could not some kind of school or convent (*Frauenstift*) for unmarried noble women be appropriate?[29]

III *Theological Monasticism*

A most promising lead to open the door to monasticism in these Protestant texts is in fact to say that none of them actually *rejected* monasticism, or, one might say, none of them rejected the *spirit* of monasticism.

The argument that is developed says that much like Luther's idea that we are all consecrated priests through baptism (see *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* or *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* [both 1520]), these Reformed theologians could argue, albeit not explicitly stated, that believers are all the equivalent of vowed monks through a proper understanding of sanctification. The "priesthood of all believers" becomes the "monkhood of all believers."

Yet, rather than a consecrated life that, in their argument, privileges "external righteousness" and "superstition" like that of Roman Catholic religious, this is one that is founded on a proper view of justification by faith and the working of the Holy Spirit. In the end, all of this seeming rejection was not to abolish monasticism, but to have it reordered, reformed. In bringing monasticism to the average Christian, therefore, there is if anything, an intensification of monasticism in Protestantism. There is certainly a broad way open for reflection here—some have noted that the Anabaptist and Puritan movements were a kind of monastic development among Protestants.[30]

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29 Bradley Peterson explores this possibility in "Towards a Protestant Monasticism: The Convent Life Expressed in the Evangelical Church Orders of the 16th Century Germany" (PhD Diss., Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA, 2008). See especially his template for a possible protestant religious life on 105–06.

30 On Michael Sattler's Benedictinism, see e.g. Yoder, *The Legacy of Michael Sattler.*

Many others have explored theological monasticism in other ways—for example, the philosophy of Raimon Panikkar.[31] His ideas on the universal monasticism are often cited in discussions of Protestant monasticism. Yet this is not a line of thought divorced from the reformation critique and might not help us a great deal—we are always facing the practical problem. In practice, could the evangelical counsels, or even something similar, be legitimate within Protestantism?

No doubt, if such could be the case it would have to be articulated *via* a close reading of Scripture and Protestant confessional material. Though some modern Protestant theologians have seen moderate success at fleshing these out, much more work needs to be done. Many writings continue the kind of piecemeal theology that encourages a religious life, one might argue, typical of "gyrovagues," wandering or itinerant monks castigated in Benedict's *Rule*. These writings merit limited study, but they can never support the weight of a thoroughgoing religious life among a wide section of Protestants. If Protestants want to keep the faith perspective of Luther and the reformers on faith and works and, at the same time, to have a monastic or religious life by putting the evangelical counsels into practice, it would seem that a much closer and more attentive reading of Protestant texts will be required.

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31 Raimon Panikkar, *Blessed Simplicity: The Monk as a Universal Archetype* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1984).

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& d'execration, & les sacrifices d'hosties humaines, & de l'excommunication en toutes religions. Item de la Moinerie, tant des Iuifs que des Payens & des Turcs & des Papistes, & des sacrifices faits à Moloch, tant en corps qu'un ame. [Geneva]: Jean Rivery, 1560.

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CHAPTER 11

Cognition and Action: Conversion and "Virtue Ethics" in the *Loci Communes* of Peter Martyr Vermigli

Torrance Kirby

In his position as simultaneously a Protestant reformer and a continuing Aristotelian Scholastic, Vermigli presents a fascinating case for addressing the place of conversion in the discourse of "virtue ethics." On the surface, and to a considerable extent in popular imagination, the Reformation was irreconcilably at odds with Aristotle and Aristotelianism. Perhaps nowhere was this more evident than in the sphere of ethics. After all, in his *Disputation Against Scholastic Theology*, Luther bluntly stated that "virtually the entire *Ethics* of Aristotle is the worst enemy of grace." And "no one can become a theologian unless he becomes one without Aristotle." Then, in case the point was not sufficiently clear, he adds "briefly, the whole of Aristotle is to theology as darkness is to light."[1] Can a biblical theology of conversion as a passive, cognitive event be reconciled with the habituation process of virtue ethics? Vermigli himself articulates this conversion conundrum well when he states in the introductory essay to his *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics* (1563) that while practical wisdom (*phronesis*) necessarily begins with action, "in scripture, speculation (*speculativum*) comes first, since we must first believe and be justified through faith. Afterwards, good works follow."[2] Such an understanding of repentance or conversion as a speculative *transmentatio* effectively turns the entire edifice of Aristotelian virtue ethics on its head. Rather than treating god-like contemplation as the hard-won goal of the strenuous exertion of virtuous activity as Aristotle had argued in Book x of the *Ethics*, in his account of the pursuit of virtue Vermigli reverses the order of *to praktikon* and *to theoretikon*, the active and the cognitive moments. According to Vermigli's description of Penitence, the soul's disposition to the life of virtue depends foremost upon

1 Martin Luther, *Disputation against Scholastic Theology*, in *Selected Writings of Martin Luther*, ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), theses 41 and 44, p. 38.

2 Pietro Martire Vermigli, *In Primum, Secundum, et Initium Tertii Libri ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1563; 1582, and Lich: Nicholas Erbenius, 1598); *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. and transl. by Emidio Campi and Joseph C. McLelland (Kirksville, Mo: Truman State University Press, 2006), 8.

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passive cognition, a turning of the mind. One recalls here Erasmus's exegesis of John the Baptist's call to repentance: most significantly for Erasmus's Platonist reading of conversion, the Greek verb is *metanoeite* (μετανοεῖτε)![3] Whereas for Aristotle, the attainment of the virtuous life required practical exertion in the formation of habits, for Vermigli, following Luther, conversion is construed as intrinsically passive and cognitive: "in Scripture," Vermigli states, "the speculative comes first," that is to say a passive recognition of human shortcoming and incapacity for the life of virtue through a turning of the mind towards the Good—repentance or conversion.[4] *Metanoia*.

Whereas the final goal of virtue ethics is to reach "that beatitude that can be acquired in this life by human power and agency," where for Aristotle the *Practica* necessarily precede the *Contemplativa*, Vermigli's account of conversion decisively inverts the Aristotelian ethical order. The starting point of practical wisdom from the perspective of Vermigli the reformer is closely analogous to the place where the argument of the *Nicomachean Ethics* actually concludes, that is to say with contemplation (*theoria*). And while for Aristotle, and for his medieval Scholastic proponents, practical philosophy aims at practical habituation which in turn prepares the soul for the higher condition of blessed contemplation (*theoria*); for Vermigli and other reformers, repentance as a passive conversion of the mind is the starting point; the knowledge of faith, and of its concomitant justification understood as a kind of ethical completeness or fulfilment, must *precede* the life of habitual virtue; on this view the passive and contemplative precede the active and practical. Returning to the *Theaetetus,* if to become just (*dikaios*) as God is *dikaios* is the final goal of the practice of virtue, then the question is whether the virtue of Justice (*dikaiosune*), or justification as the theologians speak, is either passively received as a gift, or achieved through energetic habitual striving.

Scholium on Repentance

In a *scholium* addressing the nature of Repentance, Peter Martyr Vermigli reveals his adherence to Luther's famous soteriological formulation[5] when

3 See Torrance Kirby, "The 'Silenus of Alcibiades': Desiderius Erasmus's Platonic narrative of conversion in the *Enchiridion*," an unpublished essay.

4 "At in sacris literis priori loco *Speculativum* occurrit, quantum prius credendum est & fide iustificamur, postea sequuntur bona opera." Vermigli, *Comm. Nic. Eth.*, 8.

5 "I began to understand that 'the justice of God' meant that justice by which the just man lives through God's gift, namely faith. This is what it means: the justice of God is revealed by the

he states that "The fountaine of repentance" is to "have the goodness of God manifested" and "to apprehend it by faith."[6] Not only does Vermigli affirm conversion to be effectively passive and cognitive, he does so in a philological discussion that reveals a thoroughly humanist training, which draws specifically upon his grounding in the *trilinguum*. He begins his construal of repentance and conversion by referring to the usage of the three biblical languages—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin:

> The Hebrues have this word *Schub* (שוב), which signifieth To Turne, and to be converted: from whence they haue deriued the two nownes, *Schuua*, & *Shiua*; that is to saie, Inuersion, and Conuersion: when our minds being changed, and sinne sequestred, a new course of life is taken in hand. The Græcians called it μεταμέλεια & μετάνοια which is a certeine changing of the mind (*transmentatio*) so that in steed of an euill mind, we establish a good. We Latines use the verbe *Pœnitere,* deriued of *Pœna;* that is, *Paine;* because the things which we haue committed, are greeuous and bitter vnto vs.[7]

In diverse places the Hebrew Scriptures portray conversion as a passive, cognitive phenomenon, a divinely initiated reorientation of vision, as for example in

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gospel, a passive justice with which the merciful God justifies us by faith, as it is written: 'He who through faith is just shall live.' Here I felt that I was altogether born again and had entered paradise itself through open gates." See the *Preface* to the complete edition of Luther's *Latin Writings* (Wittenberg, 1545). WA 54:179–87; LW 34:328. I am indebted to previous studies of Vermigli's thought by Eric Parker, "A Christian and Reformed Doctrine of Right Practical Reason: An Examination of Thomistic Themes in Peter Martyr Vermigli's *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*," (Jackson, MI: RTS, MA Thesis, 2009) and Simon Burton, "Peter Martyr Vermigli on Grace and Free Choice: Thomist and Augustinian Perspectives," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 15.1 (2013), 33–48.

6 Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Loci Communes* (London: Kingston, 1576); Bk. III.8; fol. 672.

7 *Loci Communes* (London: John Kingston, 1576), III.8; fol. 672. "Priusquam ulterius pergamus, agendum est de vi vocabuli. Hebraei habent vocabulum *Schub* (שוב), quod significat redire & *converti*, Hinc derivarunt duo nomina *Schuva* & *Schiva*, inversio, [note] conversio: cum mutantur rationes, ut sepositis peccatis, nova ratio agendi assumatur. Graeci dixerunt, μεταγινώσκεια, μεταμέλεια, μετανοεῖα. Hinc **μεταμέλεια** & **μετάνοια**: est *transmentatio* quaedam, ut ex mente mala, bonam inducamus. Latini habent verbum *pœnitendi*, quod est à poena: quòd nobis sint molesta & acerba quae fecimus." For *scholia* see Vermigli's commentaries on Samuel and Judges: *In Duos Libros Samuelis Prophetae* [...] *Commentarii* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1564), 2 Sam. 2. See also *In Librum Iudicum* [...] *Commentarii* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1563), 2:4. English translation: Vermigli, *Commonplaces*, transl. by Anthonie Marten (London: [Henry Denham and Henry Middleton], 1583), Bk. III, fol. 204. [My emphasis].

Psalm 80: "Turn us again (הֲשִׁיבֵנוּ/*eschibnu*), O Lord God of hosts, cause thy face to shine; and we shall be saved (וְנִוָּשֵׁעָה:/*u-nuschoe*)."[8] A "new course of life," an active conversion of practice and behaviour, i.e. "our minds being changed, and sinne sequestered" is a consequence of a prior, divinely instigated turning. שוב/*Schub* as a divine motion appears again at verse 14 of the same Psalm: "Return, we beseech thee (שׁוּב־נָא/*schub-na*), O God of hosts: look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine."[9] In *The Lamentations of Jeremiah*, the prophet depicts conversion as initiated by a prior divine motion: "Turn thou us (הֲשִׁיבֵנוּ/*eschibnu*) unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned (ונשׁוב/*unschub*); renew our days as of old."[10] In the Vulgate this verse is translated "converte nos Domine ad te et convertemur innova dies nostros sicut a principio." Jerome's translation of "turn us" as "converte" suggests religious conversion, which is precisely how Vermigli interprets this passage.[11] The divine act of turning initiates a consequent conversion of God's people, a return to an original condition now lost—"sicut a principio"—as it was in the beginning. In this repentance there are two senses of conversion: *metanoia* and *epistrophē*, that is cognitive alteration and a change in orientation. Such scriptural emphasis on the priority of divine agency and the passivity of the soul's experience of conversion, stressed by Jerome's use of the passive voice—"convertemur"[12]—becomes the distinguishing feature of this reformed biblical scholar's critique of medieval Scholastic accounts of ethics and the virtues. Scripture, however, is to some degree ambiguous on the order of conversion. In his *Commentary on Lamentations*, Vermigli observes that "this is a golden verse which we always ought on our part to place opposite those other passages, such as, "Be turned to me, and I shall be turned to you" (Mal. 3:7), when they are thrown at us by the

8 The verse is repeated three times in Psalm 80 at vv. 3, 7, and 19. In the Vulgate, Ps. 79, vv. 4, 8, and 20: "Deus *converte* nos et ostende faciem tuam et salvierimus (הָעֲשָׁוְנוּ:—*unuschoe*)." In v. 8 the Psalmist addresses "Deus virtutum" and in v. 20 "Domine Deus virtutum".

9 This verse (v. 15 in the Vulgate) names God as "Deus virtutum", a translation of LXX: "ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων."

10 Lam. 5:21. See Westminster Leningrad Codex: הֲשִׁיבֵנוּ [*eschibnu*] יְהוָה אֵלֶיךָ ונשׁוב [*unschub*] כְּקֶדֶם: יָמֵינוּ חַדֵּשׁ; and the *LXX*: ἐπίστρεψον ἡμᾶς κύριε πρὸς σέ καὶ ἐπιστραφησόμεθα καὶ ἀνακαίνισον ἡμέρας ἡμῶν καθὼς ἔμπροσθεν. Cp. Jeremiah 31:18: "*Convert* me and *I shall be converted*, for Thou art the Lord, my God;" Vulgate: "*converte* me et *revertar* quia tu Dominus Deus meus." [My emphasis].

11 Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In Lamentationes Sanctissimi Ieremiae Prophetae Commentarium* (Zurich: Jacob Bodmer, 1629). See *Commentary on the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah* ed. Daniel J. Shute (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2002), 209. See also Shute's note 98.

12 ἐπιστραφησόμεθα in *LXX*.

defenders of free will. That is the Law, something God requires of us, but our part is to respond to him in turn, Turn us [...] to You, and we shall be turned."[13] Another similar passage in Zechariah (1:3) inverts the order of conversion by ascribing to Yahweh the following speech: "Return to me, that I may return to you." In his famous disputation with Luther, Erasmus placed emphasis on the passages from Malachy and Zechariah as tending to support the innate freedom of the will.[14] Following Luther, Vermigli placed priority in repentance on the divine turning (in the active voice), followed by human response (in the passive voice, or future indicative—the voice here is ambivalent) as also found in Jeremiah 31:18: "Convert me (הֲשִׁבֵנִי/*aschibne*) and I shall be converted (וְאָשׁוּבָה/*uaschuba*), for Thou art the Lord, my God;" and in the Vulgate: "*converte* me et *revertar* quia tu Dominus Deus meus."Daniel Shute suggests that Vermigli's playing off these two sets of verses is dependent upon his exceptional knowledge of midrash, unequalled by any other Christian theologian of his generation, with the exception of Immanuel Tremellius (1510–80), sometime Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge.[15] Nonetheless, the great question concerning conversion for the reformers of the sixteenth century concerns the order of turning. The reformer's response to Aristotelian "virtue ethics" also depends on the question of the order of turning.

As John Patrick Donnelly has demonstrated with such clarity in his monograph *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, in addition to being a humanist and a prolific biblical scholar, Vermigli was thoroughly trained in the scholastic method.[16] As a young man he was schooled in the "practical Aristotelianism" of the University of Padua in the 1520s where, according to his biographer Josiah Simler, he "wholie addicted himselfe to the studie of Philosphie, and exercised himselfe day and night in the meditation of all the sciences."[17] The latter included Canon Law, that quintessentially scholastic discipline, of which he

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13 Shute, ed., *Lamentations*, 209.

14 Desiderius Erasmus, *De Libero Arbitrio Diatribe, Sive Collatio, Desiderii Erasmi Roterod. Primum Legito, Deinde Iudicato* (Basileae: Apud Ioannem Frobenium, 1524), b8^r. E G Rupp, Philip S. Watson, eds., *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), 56.

15 Shute, ed., *Lamentations*, 209–10; see note 101.

16 John Patrick Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

17 Josiah Simler, *Oratio de vita et obitu viri optimi, praestantissimi Theologi Petri Martyris Vermilii, Sacrarum literarum in schola Tigurina Professoris* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1563); *An Oration of the life and death of that worthie man and excellent Diuine D. Peter Martyr Vermillius, professor of Diuinitie in the Schoole of Zuricke* (London: Henry Denham and Henry Middleton, 1583).

became a master.[18] Joseph McLelland has drawn attention to the confluence of humanism and scholasticism in the Paduan curriculum with its marked "neo-Peripateticism rooted in philological and humanist methodology."[19] Prior to his arrival in Strasbourg Vermigli underwent a dramatic religious conversion which led to his flight northward from Italy in 1542, never to return south of the Alps. In his monograph *Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy*, Philip McNair traced Vermigli's humanist intellectual formation and his eventual conversion in Italy during the 1520s and '30s. During this same period J. Patrick Donnelly has demonstrated conclusively that the Florentine appropriated "several methods of argument from the Aristotelian and Scholastic traditions."[20] Vermigli, Donnelly argues, was a pioneer of Protestant Scholasticism.[21]

It comes as no surprise, then, when his *scholium* on Repentance turns from Erasmian philology to a listing of patristic authorities, derived from the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard: Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Augustine, and Jerome—all four Latin Fathers. According to Ambrose, "Repentance is to lament for the euils that are past, and not to commit againe things to be sorrowed for. Repentance by Augustine, is sometimes called reuenge, being a punishment (*pœna*) vpon him selfe, bicause he is sorie that he hath sinned."[22] In high Neo-Peripatetic style, Vermigli's discussion then turns to formal definition according to the categories of Aristotle's four-fold causality:

> Repentance is a change of life, which a man, with great sorrowe for his sinnes committed, willinglie taketh vpon him, through faith, vnto the honor of God, and to the obteinement of his owne saluation [...]. Touching the subiect thereof, we are to consider, that the whole man is changed in respect of qualities; but especiallie the will, in which part of the mind repentance is placed: for in the power thereof consisteth

18 On Vermigli's familiarity with the Canon Law see Torrance Kirby, "'The Charge of Religion belongeth unto Princes:' Peter Martyr Vermigli on the Unity of Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003), 131–45.

19 Joseph McLelland, "Peter Martyr Vermigli: Scholastic or Humanist?" in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*, ed. Joseph C. McLelland (Waterloo, Ontario: Sir Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980), 144. See also Cesare Vasoli, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento* (Palermo: Palumbo, 1969), 169ff.

20 Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

21 See John Patrick Donnelly, "Italian Influences on the Development of Calvinist Scholasticism," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 7 (1976): 81–101. See also M. Anne Overell, *Italian Reform and English Reformations, c.1535–c.1585* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008).

22 Vermigli, *Commonplaces*, Bk. III, fol 204.

> the rule & gouernement of other powers. From faith, which is the gift of God, proceedeth the *efficient cause* of repentance. [...] The *formall cause* is conuersion and change; the *materiall cause* is the will it selfe; the obiects are the sinnes for which we sorrowe, and the vertues which we striue to atteine; the *efficient cause* is faith and God; *the end* is the honour of God, & our owne saluation.[23]

The combination of Vermigli's embrace of the principles of Luther's soteriology and his application of the scholastic method makes for a highly distinctive discussion of the question of conversion. Before proceeding further, a brief account of Vermigli's own dramatic conversion narrative is in order.

Vermigli's Conversion

Before his fateful encounter with the writings of Martin Luther in the late 1530s, most probably in Naples of all places, Vermigli pursued a distinguished career in Italy as a member of the Augustinian Canons Regular of the Lateran congregation.[24] Early on he acquired contacts in Pietro Bembo's circle of reform-minded humanists, and became acquainted with the likes of Reginald Pole and Marcantonio Flaminio.[25] On the completion of his studies in Padua, Vermigli was appointed vicar to the monastery of San Giovanni in Monte at Bologna, where he began his study of Hebrew in earnest. In 1533 he was appointed Abbot of Spoleto, a significant step on the *cursus honorum* of ecclesiastical preferment. In 1537 Vermigli was elected Abbot of the house of San Pietro ad Aram in Naples where he came into contact with Vittoria Colonna (1492–1547), Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564), and the Spanish exile Juan de Valdés (1500–41), then a leading light among the *alumbrados*. Valdés introduced Vermigli to the writings of Luther and the protestant reformers. This association, however, did not initially interfere with his rapid rise within the Lateran Congregation. By 1540, when Vermigli was appointed Prior of San Frediano in

23 Vermigli, *Commonplaces*, Bk. III, fols 204–05. For the four causes, see Aristotle, *Physics* II.3 (194 b17–20); *Metaphysics* V.2 (1013a); see also: *Posterior Analytics* 71 b9–11; 94 a20.

24 For an account of Vermigli's life see also John P. Donnelly, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli's Life, Letters, and Sermons*, vol. 5 of The Peter Martyr Library, ed. Joseph C. McLelland, John Patrick Donnelly, and Frank A. James (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers/Truman State University Press, 1999).

25 On Vermigli's early career in Italy see Joseph McLelland, "Italy: Religious and Intellectual Ferment," in *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli* ed. Torrance Kirby, Emidio Campi, and Frank A. James (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 25–34.

Lucca, and was beginning to look ready for a red hat, if not yet for a papal tiara, he had become utterly committed to the key doctrines of Protestant reform and converted his house at Lucca into a tri-lingual school of humanist biblical scholarship—virtually a reformed seminary. Some of his more enthusiastic adherents had begun openly to question the authority of the papacy. The Senate of Lucca moved to censure these proceedings, and issued a warrant for Vermigli's arrest on charges of heresy. In August 1542, in the company of three of his fellow Canons, Vermigli fled Italy, never to return.[26] Within weeks Martin Bucer had invited him to assume the Hebrew Chair at Strasbourg which had recently been vacated owing to the death of Wolfgang Capito (1478–1541). Then in 1548 Archbishop Thomas Cranmer invited both Vermigli and Bucer to assume the Regius chairs at Oxford and Cambridge respectively; Bucer succumbed to the cold and damp of Cambridge, while Vermigli was fortunate to secure safe conduct from England and returned to Strasbourg shortly after the accession of Queen Mary in 1553. Three years later, now a seasoned itinerant scholar, he completed his peregrinations in Zurich as the guest of Heinrich Bullinger and successor to Konrad Pelikan (1478–1556) in the Hebrew Chair at the *Schola Tigurina*, where he eventually died in 1562. Vermigli's was most certainly an eventful career founded upon his conversion—or apostasy, as McNair chose to describe it.

Vermigli's Aristotelianism

Donnelly convincingly demonstrates Vermigli's dependence upon Aristotelian method and categories in formulating his anthropology, with respect to the faculties of intellect and will, and to their function in the life of virtue. According to Donnelly, "Vermigli locates man in an Aristotelian universe."[27] This is surely the case, although it is fair to say that this Aristotelian cosmos is in some fashion contained by a reformed Protestant understanding of grace and the theological virtues. More recently Luca Baschera has taken up the question of the influence of Aristotle's *Ethics* on the broad scope and development

26 Paolo Lacizi, Teodosio Trebelli, and Giulio Santerenziano. Santerenziano remained with Vermigli as his *famulus* throughout his 20-year period of exile in northern Europe. In a letter, Vermigli's English disciple, John Jewel, described him as Vermigli's "Eleazar of Damascus." Hastings Robinson, ed., *Zurich Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Parker Society, 1845), vol. 1, 77.

27 Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 4, 66, 71, 68–100.

of Vermigli's philosophical theology.[28] What is perhaps most remarkable is the continuity of this Aristotelianism throughout the reformer's career, from Padua all the way to Oxford, Strasbourg, and Zurich, both before and after his conversion.[29] Vermigli's lengthy *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, Books I to III was based on lectures delivered at Strasbourg between 1554 and 1556, later published in three editions between 1563 and 1598.[30] Vermigli's Aristotelianism is critical to his treatment of the concept of the soul's conversion. Let us pause then for a moment to consider that splendid intellectual universe. Fundamental to Aristotle's conception of ethics is the notion that the virtues are acquired through the formation of habits. The virtuous life is all about continuous practice, intensive practical activity: "a virtuous life requires exertion," Aristotle maintains.[31] And happiness (εὐδαιμονία), the highest of all human goods and object of this striving, he defines as "activity in accordance with virtue."[32] Properly speaking εὐδαιμονία is "doing well, not the result of doing well."[33] It is not an object external to the activity, but is rather the flourishing of the activity itself. This conception of the life of virtue through the acquisition of habits by means of intentional, practical activity is what we are designating here in short hand as "virtue ethics."

According to Aristotle, the pursuit of virtue is teleological in scope:

> all knowledge and every pursuit aims at some good, what it is that we say practical science aims at and what is the highest of all goods achievable by action [...] both the general run of men and people of superior refinement say that it is happiness, and identify living well and doing well with being happy; but with regard to what happiness is they differ, and the many do not give the same account as the wise.[34]

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28 See Luca Baschera, *Tugend und Rechtfertigung: Peter Martyr Vermiglis Kommentar zur Nikomachischen Ethik im Spannungsfeld von Philosophie und Theologie* (Zurich: TVZ, 2008).

29 Luca Baschera, "Aristotle and Scholasticism," in *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli*, ed. Torrance Kirby, Emidio Campi, and Frank A. James (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2009), 133–60.

30 Pietro Martire Vermigli, *In Primum, Secundum, et Initium Tertii Libri ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1563; 1582, and Lich: Nicholas Erbenius, 1598); *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. and transl. by Emidio Campi and Joseph C. McLelland (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2006).

31 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, X.6, 1177a1.

32 Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.*, I.7, 1098a8–19.

33 See J.L. Ackrill, "Aristotle on *eudaimonia*," in Nancy Sherman, ed., *Aristotle's* Ethics*: Critical Essays* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 61.

34 Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.,* I.4, 1095a13–21.

While some suppose that pleasure, or wealth, or honour constitutes the good, these are not the final ends sought by the wise. Because human beings are moved by the passions, they must be disposed through habitual practice and the eventual formation of a "state of character" to choose the life of virtue in order to obtain that which is most desired "for its own sake" and is not instrumental to anything else. Virtue must be cultivated actively, energetically: to become just or temperate requires the repeated performance of just and temperate acts.[35] Ultimately, for Aristotle, the final goal in the pursuit of happiness is to attain to a condition of serene contemplation, the highest "beatitude or happiness that can be acquired in this life by human powers," namely *theoria*. As Vermigli reminds us, Plato expressed this goal in the *Theaetetus* as a divinisation of sorts, "to become like God, so far as this is possible; and to become like God is to become righteous (δίκαιον) and holy (ὅσιον) and wise (φρονήσεως)."[36] For this reason ethics is described in the *Theaetetus* as μεγίστην μουσικὴν, the highest music.[37] By close analogy with the study of metaphysics which begins, Aristotle maintains, with the delight taken in the senses,[38] the acquisition of practical wisdom (φρόνησις) begins with repetitive action, and then proceeds with the task of settling the sensuous passions and emotions so that stable contemplation and happiness may follow. Desire for happiness is the first spring of practical action—its teleological "efficient cause." For Aristotle, the faculty of choice is this desire combined with "reasoning with a view to an end"—the ultimate end is the Good, the chief good sought for its own sake and not for the sake of anything besides. The rational faculty must establish a firm rule over desire and the wayward passions to enable the formation of the stable virtues through habitual activity. *Eudaimonia* is the goal of all this activity, with the perfecting of the intellectual virtues leading finally to the contemplation of the divine: as Vermigli sums up this teaching in his *Ethics Commentary*, "*contemplatio summa perfectio nostrae felicitates.*"[39] For, as Aristotle maintains,

35 Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.*, II.5, 1105b4–6.

36 Plato, *Theaetetus* 176b. ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν: ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι. Cp. *Phaedo* 80a where the soul is described as "like the divine". See also *Timaeus* 90a.

37 Vermigli, *Comm. Nic. Eth.*, 5: "Quare Plato in Θεαιτάιτῳ hanc partem philosophiae μεγίστην μουσικὴν appellavit, non quasi agatur hic de sonis, vocibus aut fidibus, verùm de concordia partium animi cum ratione."

38 Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, A.1, 980a21; ἡ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀγάπησις.

39 Vermigli, *Comm. Nic. Eth.* (1563), fol. 18.

> If happiness is activity in accordance with virtue, it is reasonable that it should be in accordance with the highest virtue; and this will be that of the best thing in us. Whether it be reason or something else that is this element which is thought to be our natural ruler and guide and to take thought of things noble and divine, whether it be itself also divine or only the most divine element in us, the activity of this in accordance with its proper virtue will be perfect happiness. That this activity is contemplative (θεωρητική) we have already said.[40]

If we were to ascribe a teaching on conversion to Aristotle it would be seen to involve some sort of fulfilment of energetic practical activity in contemplative self-sufficiency (αὐτάρκεια)—conversion as an extended process of habituation. Devoted though he continues to be to Aristotle's practical philosophy throughout his scholarly career—and we recall that his lectures on the *Nicomachean Ethics* were delivered at Strasbourg after his conversion and exile from Italy—on the surface, at least, Vermigli would seem to be in rather a tight spot where this logic of "virtue ethics" is concerned when he comes to treat the matter of conversion explicitly in his *scholium* on repentance.[41]

Thomas Aquinas summarises the traditional Scholastic reconciliation of Aristotelian "virtue ethics" with the Christian theology of Grace in the *Prima Secundae* of his *Summa Theologica*: "The preparation of the human will for good is twofold: the first, whereby it is prepared to operate rightly and to enjoy God; and this preparation of the will cannot take place without the habitual gift of grace, which is the principle of meritorious works."[42] And in *quæstio* 110, following a lengthy discussion of the passions, vices, the formation of habits and the various moral and intellectual virtues, all heavily indebted to the teaching of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aquinas proceeds with his definition of *gratia justificans* as "*qualitas quædam supernaturalis*," a certain supernatural quality infused as a habit into the soul.[43] Understood as a habit or quality of the soul, the operation of grace becomes dynamic and active in the formation of the virtues. By this means Aquinas grafts his account of the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity onto the root of Aristotelian practical science,

40 Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* X.7, 1077a12–18.

41 For this English translation see Vermigli, *Commonplaces*, transl. by Anthonie Marten (London: [Henry Denham and Henry Middleton], 1583); III.8, fol. 204.

42 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Ia IIae, qu. 109, art. 6 "Whether a man, by himself and without the external aid of grace, can prepare himself for grace?".

43 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Ia IIae, qu. 110, art. 2 "Whether grace is a quality of the soul?"

specifically in the affirmation of virtue as processual habituation. Vermigli, by contrast, sharply distinguishes the virtue of faith as the passive cognition of repentance from the dynamic habitual virtue of practical philosophy with a vivid metaphor: "just as water from rain and from a spring is the same in substance while its powers, properties, and essentials are far different."[44] The source of virtue may be either from above (rain) or from below (a spring)—both sources may be gracious in nature, but their respective manners of working may differ nonetheless in their essential properties. The definition of justification as a quality of the soul emphasises the source working habitually as an infusion, a welling up in the soul of the "spring" of virtue.

As an infused habit or quality of the soul, Aquinas's *gratia justificans* becomes a dynamic and active principle in the life of virtue. From the perspective of the reformers, such an attempt to reconcile a Scriptural account of the soul's conversion with the ethical teaching of Aristotle occasions a critical confusion of the passive and active elements in the life of virtue. This not entirely without ambivalence on Thomas Aquinas's part. In Ia IIæ, qu. 109 art. 6, on "whether a man, by himself and without the external aid of grace, can prepare himself for grace?" With an invocation of Plato's allegory of the Cave and a reference to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Aquinas observes:

> And thus since God is the First Mover, simply, it is by His motion that everything seeks to be likened to God in its own way. Hence Dionysius says (*Div. Nom.* iv) that "God turns (*convertit*) all to Himself." But He directs (*convertit*) righteous men to Himself as to a special end, which they seek, and to which they wish to cling, according to Psalm 72:28, "it is good for Me to adhere to my God." And that they are "turned" (*convertatur*) to God can only spring from God's having "turned" (*convertente*) them. Now to prepare oneself for grace is, as it were, to be turned (*converti*) to God; just as, whoever has his eyes turned away (*aversum*) from the light of the sun, prepares himself to receive the sun's light, by turning (*convertit*) his eyes towards the sun. Hence it is clear that man cannot prepare himself to receive the light of grace except by the gratuitous help of God moving him inwardly.[45]

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44 Vermigli, *Comm. on Nic. Eth.*, 9.

45 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Ia IIae, qu. 109, art. 6: Sic igitur, cum Deus sit primum movens simpliciter, ex eius motione est quod omnia in ipsum convertantur secundum communem intentionem boni, per quam unumquodque intendit assimilari Deo secundum suum modum. Unde et Dionysius, in libro de Div. Nom., dicit quod Deus convertit omnia ad seipsum. Sed homines iustos convertit ad seipsum sicut ad specialem

For Aquinas, the primary conversion requires a preparation of the soul so that it may receive the gift of divine illumination as a "quality" or habit; the grace is not itself virtue, but rather a disposition in the soul's essence to the acquisition of the virtues.[46] The Aristotelian model for the acquisition of virtue is present from the outset. According to Vermigli, however, the initial conversion of the soul is entirely a matter of passive cognition on the part of the illuminated soul, and not the formation of a habit, of a "capacity" for virtue. As the Psalmist maintained, the action of turning originates on the divine side—"turn thou us and we shall be turned." In the first instance, conversion is the act of the divine turning towards the unconverted soul, to the soul which is turned in upon itself (*incurvatus in se*) through its idolatrous divinisation of sensuous, material objects. This divine act of turning precedes the soul's own turning back again. Vermigli, again following Luther, articulates this account of cognitive conversion with his formula of "passive righteousness" through belief: as he maintains in the introduction to his *Commentary on the First Three Books of the Nicomachean Ethic*s, "in scripture, the speculative comes first, since we must first believe and be justified through faith."[47] This divine justice, moreover, is understood as intrinsically "alien" to the soul which, through Original Sin, is incapable of receiving it as a quality to be formed into a habit of virtue. According to Vermigli, conversion rests on the "imputation" of the divine justice to the soul rather than on its "infusion." The question of whether the soul is essentially passive or active in the event of conversion, and the necessity or not of the infusion of justifying grace into the soul as a habit became, arguably, the most important issues that exercised theologians of the sixteenth century.

Vermigli's account of repentance as *schub* or *metanoia* interprets conversion as the passive cognition of an alien, gratuitous power as the source of justice and a life of virtue, with marked emphasis on the externality of this divine justice to the soul, received as it were rain from above rather than welling up

finem, quem intendunt, et cui cupiunt adhaerere sicut bono proprio; secundum illud Psalmi LXXII, mihi adhaerere Deo bonum est. Et ideo quod homo *convertatur* ad Deum, hoc non potest esse nisi Deo ipsum *convertente*. Hoc autem est praeparare se ad gratiam, quasi ad Deum *converti*, sicut ille qui habet oculum *aversum* a lumine solis, per hoc se praeparat ad recipiendum lumen solis, quod oculos suos *convertit* versus solem. Unde patet quod homo non potest se praeparare ad lumen gratiae suscipiendum, nisi per auxilium gratuitum Dei interius moventis.

46 Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Ia IIae, qu. 110, art. 2: "Much more therefore does He infuse into such as He moves towards the acquisition of supernatural good, certain forms or supernatural qualities, whereby they may be moved by Him sweetly and promptly to acquire eternal good; and thus the gift of grace is a quality." See also art. 4.

47 Vermigli, *Comm. Nic. Eth.*, 8.

within the soul as a spring—Vermigli employs this metaphorical distinction to illustrate the crucial difference between an imputed grace, on the one hand, and an infused grace, on the other; an "alien" or forensic gift of justice rather than "proper" or habitual, as Luther defined this pivotal soteriological distinction.[48] For Vermigli the speculative precedes the practical, the contemplative knowledge of faith precedes the active, habitual practice of the virtues, without Aquinas's requirement of a preparation of the soul to receive the light of grace as an infused habit as the condition of justification—and thus, by this revised account of the order of conversion, the whole edifice of Scholastic ethics appears to have been effectively turned upside down.

In the first of his *95 Theses* (1517) Luther succinctly articulates this reconfiguration of cognition and action in conversion: "When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said, "Repent (μετανοεῖτε)," he willed the entire life of believers to be one of repentance."[49] This reconfiguration might be viewed in terms of reframing a familiar cognitive ecology—that is, the cognitive ecology of virtue ethics as understood by Aristotle and received by his medieval scholastic adherents. Luther proposes a radical reconfiguration of the sense of conversion through his insistence upon the passive cognition of faith as the foundation of all practical activity—a challenge to the scholastic emphasis on conversion as grounded fundamentally in the formation of a habit, thereby interpreting conversion through the lens of Aristotelian "virtue ethics." For Vermigli the reformer, the knowledge of faith is a conversion of cognition which establishes speculative wisdom as the foundation of practical wisdom, an inversion of Aristotle's order. Habituation follows conversion rather than providing the condition of conversion. An infusion of the virtues follows the imputation of the divine Justice. The remarkable consequence is that Aristotle and virtue ethics acquire a secure restored place in the wake of forensic justification under the rubric of sanctification, a derivative, secondary virtue—the pursuit of a virtuous life founded upon continual cognitive conversion. The result was a veritable rehabilitation of Aristotle by Vermigli and subsequent generations of Reformed theologians, the so-called Protestant Scholastics, who poured almost as much energy as Thomas Aquinas himself into the study of Aristotle, and especially his ethical and political writings.

For second and third generation reformers, there is a clarification between primary and secondary gifts of divine justice. While the former is defined as

48 See Martin Luther's sermon "Two Kinds of Righteousness" (1519), in *Martin Luther: Selections from his Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Anchor Books, 1961), 86–96.

49 John Dillenberger (ed.), *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 490.

passive and cognitive in nature, the latter is dynamic and active, and is associated with the formation of habits, and even with an infused quality of the soul. Vermigli's account of habitual virtue shares certain characteristics in the manner of its communication with the primary *gratia justificans* as interpreted by Aquinas. From Vermigli's perspective, the medieval scholastics' attempt to reconcile a Scriptural account of the soul's conversion with the ethical teaching of Aristotle occasioned a confusion of the primary and secondary species of justice, that is to say of the passive-cognitive form as Justification with the active-habitual form as "virtue ethics." According to Vermigli, the primary conversion of the soul to a participation of the divine justice (*iustitia Dei*) was entirely passive and could not be achieved through habitual practice. As the prophet Jeremiah maintained in the Lamentations, "Turn thou us (הֲשִׁיבֵנוּ) unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned (ונשׁוב)" (Lam. 5:21), the original action of turning commences on the divine side; God's turn to the alienated, corrupt soul, to the soul turned in upon itself (*incurvatus in se*) through its idolatrous divinisation of material objects, necessarily precedes the soul's own act of turning back. Vermigli formulates this account of conversion with his doctrine of "passive righteousness" or "forensic justification" as it came to be defined technically.[50] This divine justice, moreover, is understood as intrinsically "alien" to the soul which, owing to the inheritance of Original Sin, is incapable of receiving it as an infused quality. According to Vermigli, conversion rests on the "imputation" of the divine justice to the soul rather than on its "infusion"—conversion is thus in the first instance a passive cognition of divine illumination, of grace given. Nonetheless, infusion followed the primary conversion, and with it the possibility of the formation of habitual virtue. This possibility of a secondary infusion of the divine justice, analogous to Luther's "second species of righteousness,"[51] led to Vermigli's engaged attention and analysis of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* in one of his first lecture courses at Strasbourg in the wake of his own conversion.

The vexed question of the soul's condition of passivity or activity in the event of conversion, with the possibilities of either a forensic imputation of grace alien to the soul and apprehended by faith only, or an infusion of divine virtue into the soul as a quality or habit became, arguably, one of the most

50 See his definition of the "imputation" of grace in Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Two Theological Loci: Predestination and Justification*, ed. Frank A. James (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2004), 100.

51 See Martin Luther, *Two Kinds of Righteousness*, translated by Lowell J. Satre, Luther's Works (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1955–1986), Vol. 31 ed. Harold J. Grimm, 297–306.

important issues that exercised theologians of the sixteenth century. As the career and theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli reveals, the question of conversion is arguably a pivotal issue which shapes the Reformation debate about the role of Ethics, and is at the centre of the emergence of a Reformed Scholasticism. By making a place for habitual virtue in the wake of the passive cognition of repentance, Vermigli takes a major step towards the rehabilitation of Aristotelian practical science among the avant-garde of sixteenth-century religious reform, and in so doing becomes an early architect of a Protestant scholasticism.

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CHAPTER 12

Was Peter Martyr a Grandfather of the Heidelberg Catechism? Rereading His Christological Controversy with Johannes Brenz

Emidio Campi

[1]Following the four hundredth anniversary of the Heidelberg Catechism, in 1963, the question of the catechism's possible Swiss origins seemed to be if not fully resolved, then at least on hold.[2] Such, however, is no longer the case. Discussion of the "candida ingenia Helvetiorum,"[3] to use Olevian's words, and their contribution to the creation of the catechism has reemerged, and new fronts will likely form. The most recent studies provide a sense of where we currently stand. Only in three instances do links between the Heidelberg Catechism and the Swiss stand on relatively firm ground: for Heinrich Bullinger, Leo Jud, and

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1 This article is an abridged and slightly revised version of my article published under the title "Der Heidelberger Katechismus und die 'candida ingenia Helvetiorum,'" in *Profil und Wirkung des Heidelberger Katechismus. Neue Forschungsbeiträge anlässlich des 450jährigen Jubiläums.* Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 215, ed. Christoph Strohm and Jan Stievermann (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2015), 54–71. Sincere thanks to Dr. Rona Johnston for her discerning translation of this essay into English.

2 That relationship has been effectively explored in August Lang, *Der Heidelberger Katechismus: und vier verwandte Katechismen* (*Leo Jud's und Micron's kleine Katechismen, sowie die zwei Vorarbeiten Ursins*) *mit einer historisch-theologischen Einleitung* (Leipzig 1907, repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967); August Lang, *Der Heidelberger Katechismus: zum 350jährigen Gedächtnis seiner Entstehung* (Leipzig: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1913); J.F. Gerhard Goeters, "Entstehung und Frühgeschichte des Katechismus," in *Handbuch zum Heidelberger Katechismus*, ed. Lothar Coenen (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963), 3–23; Wilhelm H. Neuser, "Die Väter des Heidelberger Katechismus," in *Theologische Zeitschrift* 35 (1979): 177–94; Lyle D. Bierma, "The Sources and Theological Orientation of the Heidelberg Catechism," in *An Introduction to the Heidelberg Catechism. Sources, History, and Theology*, ed. Bierma et al. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 75–102.

3 Caspar Olevian, letter to Bullinger, 14 April 1563, Zurich StA E II 363, 82. Printed in Karl Jakob Sudhoff, ed., *Caspar Olevianus und Zacharias Ursinus, nach handschriftlichen und gleichzeitigen Quellen* (Elberfeld: Friderichs, 1857), 482–83, here 482: "Certe si qua in iis est perspicuitas, ejus bonam partem tibi et candidis ingeniis Helvetiorum debemus. Gloriam redeat ad solum Deum. Non unius, sed multorum sunt collatae piae cogitationes."

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John Calvin.[4] In the 1960s Walter Hollweg was able to prove that that the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism built on the *Confessio christianae fidei* and *Altera brevis confession* (both 1559) of Theodore Beza,[5] but Lyle Bierma has recently claimed that the influence of Beza's confessions has been set too high, and that of Melanchthon's writings too low. The most recent publication to have addressed the sources of the Heidelberg confession, as far as I am aware, is by Charles D. Gunnoe, in 2011.[6] Most importantly, Gunnoe's groundbreaking and detailed work established that Erastus played a decisive role in the processes that produced the catechism and, in particular, was far more involved in the final editing of the text than had previously been recognized. Without beating about the bush, Gunnoe ends his investigation, "Since much of the prior debate has been over the Calvinist vs. Philippist Lutheran quality of the catechism, it was easy to overlook the contributions of someone conventionally labeled a 'Zwinglian' in their midst."[7]

This brief overview makes evident that modification and correction of established views was, and remains, needed. We stand before a complicated historical challenge that cannot be solved by applying any simple formula, but demands instead that we feel our way forward, searching out possibilities and advancing with care, above all through close examination of the heterogeneous source material. Consideration of the much-debated questions 47 and 48 of the Heidelberg Catechism and their most recent interpretation substantiates that recognition.

4 Andreas Mühling, *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik* (Bern: Lang, 2001), 96–131; Andreas Mühling, "Der Heidelberger Katechismus im 16. Jahrhundert. Entstehung, Zielsetzung, Rezeption," in *Monatshefte für Katechismus im 16. Jahrhundert.* 58 (2009): 1–11; Peter Opitz, "Der Heidelberger Katechismus. Schweizer Wurzeln, Schweizer Verbreitung," in *Macht des Glaubens—450 Jahre Heidelberger Katechismus*, ed. Karla Apperloo-Boersma and Herman J. Selderhuis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 63–71.

5 Walter Hollweg, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Heidelberger Katechismus*, 2 vols. (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961–68), 1: 86–123; 2: 38–47.

6 Charles D. Gunnoe Jr., *Thomas Erastus and the Palatinate. A Renaissance Physician in the Second Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2011). Walter Henss, *Der Heidelberger Katechismus im konfessionspolitischen Kräftespiel seiner Frühzeit: Historisch-bibliographische Einführung der ersten vollständigen deutschen Fassung* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1983), 17–18, had already stressed the decisive influence of Erastus as a secular member of the church council, although without providing any supporting references.

7 Gunnoe, *Thomas Erastus*, 130.

Questions 47 and 48 of Heidelberg Catechism

> 47. But is not Christ with us even unto the end of the world, as He has promised?
> Christ is true man and true God. According to His human nature He is now not on earth, but according to His Godhead, majesty, grace, and spirit, He is at no time absent from us.
> 48. But are not, in this way, the two natures in Christ separated from one another, if the manhood is not wherever the Godhead is?
> Not at all, for since the Godhead is incomprehensible and everywhere present, it must follow that it is indeed beyond the bounds of the manhood which it has assumed, but is yet nonetheless in the same also, and remains personally united to it.[8]

Before we look at these two questions in detail, we should place them in the broader context of the middle portion of the catechism ("Of Man's Redemption") which includes, laid out in short concentrated statements from questions 29 to 52, the theses on Christology. The most remarkable element of this section is perhaps that it overcomes the distinction between the person of Christ and the work of Christ that has often persisted even up to today. The soteriological significance of the unity of the being and action of Christ is finely conveyed in the biblical titles employed. And thus, noting names used for Christ (Q31: Anointed One, Prophet, and Teacher; High Priest; King; Q33: Son of God; Q34: Lord; Q36: Mediator), Eberhard Busch has demonstrated the success of the confession's authors in developing their Christology in light of Christ's titles rather than through the teaching on the "two natures" of Christ. Those titles make clear that he, the one, is no anonymous idea; he, the subject of his work, is truly human, such that he can be named and addressed.[9]

The concern to make the Christological message conceivable and comprehensible did not mean, however, that discussion of the two natures was abandoned. In questions 47 and 48, the Heidelberg Catechism maintained a

8 Cited from "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," in *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries in English Translation,* vol. 2: *1552–1566*, compiled by James T. Dennison, Jr. (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2010), 780.

9 Eberhard Busch, *Der Freiheit zugetan. Christlicher Glaube heute—im Gespräch mit dem Heidelberger Katechismus* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1998), 147–51, here 147. See also Matthias Freudenberg, *Reformierte Protestantismus in der Herausforderung. Wege und Wandlungen der reformierten Theologie*: (Berlin: Lit, 2012), 246–47, and Christian Link, "Trost und Gewissheit. Beobachtungen zur Theologie des Heidelberger Katechismus," in *Evangelische Theologie* 72 (2012), 467–80, esp. 474.

firm hold on dogmatic tradition but without becoming bogged down in scholastic sophistry, for its exposition of this teaching was intended only to ascribe an internal sense of direction to the question of the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. Karl Barth, who, unlike later expositors of the Heidelberg Catechism, looked in detail at questions 47 and 48, specifically linked the discussion he found there to what he termed the "tragic controversy" (*Trauerstreit*) over the Lord's Supper involving the Reformed and the Lutherans. He came to the conclusion that the entire quarrel was abortive and should not be an issue over which the church of his own day might divide. He could therefore term questions 47 and 48 a "theological occupational accident" (*ein theologisches Betriebsunfall*).[10] On such theological grounds, too, a rereading of these passages seems necessary.

Questions 47 and 48 in the Heidelberg Catechism are frequently associated with the term *Extra Calvinisticum*, drawn from historical theology. Although Calvin neither can be credited with the term nor merited its opprobrium, from the beginning of the seventeenth century the expression was used with mostly polemical intent by Lutheran theologians to describe the Reformed emphasis on the presence of the nature of God *etiam extra carnem*.[11] No invention of Reformed theologians but rather thoroughly traditional, that doctrine did not mean that Christ's humanity was divided from Christ's divinity—both natures are indivisibly bound together in Christ's person. But Christ's divinity is at the same time also external (*extra*) to the humanity that he has taken on.

10 Karl Barth, *Die christliche Lehre nach dem Heidelberger Katechismus. Vorlesung gehalten an der Universität Bonn im Sommersemester 1947* (Zollikon: Evangelischer Verlag, 1948), 70–72 (English translation: *The Heidelberg Catechism for Today* [Richmond, VA: John Knox, 1964]).

11 In the so-called kenosis-krypsis dispute between the Lutheran theological faculties Giessen and Tübingen, which even to contemporaries appeared to be something of a tempest in a teacup, the former held that during his diminishment as a human Christ had fully surrendered his divine attributes; by contrast, the latter claimed that he possessed those attributes but they were concealed, and they accused their opponents of introducing "extra Calvinisticum." On this issue see Ulrich Wiedenroth, *Krypsis und Kenosis*: *Studien zu Thema und Genese der Tübinger Christologie im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011). On *Extra Calvinisticum* see Edward David Willis, *Calvin's Catholic Christology: The Function of the so-called Extra Calvinisticum in Calvin's Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), esp. 8–19; Heiko A. Oberman, "Die 'Extra'-Dimension in der Theologie Calvins," in Oberman, *Die Reformation von Wittenberg nach Genf* (Göttingen, 1986), 253–82; Christina Aus der Au, "Das Extra Calvinisticum—mehr als ein reformiertes Extra?" in *Theologische Zeitschrift* 64 (2008): 358–69; Christian Link, "Das sogenannte Extra-Calvinisticum. Die Entscheidung der Christologie Calvins und ihre theologische Bedeutung," in Link, *Prädestination und Erwählung. Calvin Studien* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009), 145–70.

His divinity and his humanity are neither spatially not temporally equivalent; Christ remains lord over both space and time. Put briefly, the formula articulates a Christology determined by the transcendence of God. The classical formulation can be found in Calvin's *Institutes*:

> For even if the Word in his immeasurable essence united with the nature of man into one person, we do not imagine that he was confined therein. Here is something marvelous: the Son of God descended from heaven in such a way that, without leaving heaven, he willed to be borne in the virgin's womb, to go about the earth, and to hang upon the cross; yet he continuously filled the world even as he had done from the beginning![12]

It is therefore understandable that Calvin scholars have found a true Calvinist spirit in question 48 of the Heidelberg Catechism.[13] Yet their position can only be supported by drawing on Calvin's own statements, which are very sparse, and by paying either too limited attention or no attention at all to the internal Protestant Christological disputes of the years 1559 to 1564, along with the extensive relevant polemical literature. As we have seen, Karl Barth had already drawn attention to the connection between questions 47 and 48 and the internal Protestant "tragic controversy" over the Lord's Supper. Can his theological insight be grounded more firmly historically? Everything seems to suggest that the problematic of questions 47 and 48 has a home in the quarrel between Johannes Brenz and the Swiss, and is therefore to be interpreted in light of that setting.[14] That context was the source of specific terminology used in the confession. And that context makes evident that here we have a particular

12 *John Calvin: Works and Correspondence*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, book 2.13.4, electronic edition, Past Masters: Full Text Humanities, 2002, accessed at http://pm.nlx.com/; first published Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1960.

13 As, for example, in Willem Nijenhuis, "Calvin," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 7 (1993): 568–92, here 583.

14 That question has rarely been posed by scholars. See Wilhelm A. Schulze, *Bullingers Stellung zum Luthertum*, in Ulrich Gäbler and Erland Herkenrath, eds., *Heinrich Bullinger 1504–1575. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), 2: 287–314; Irene Dingel, "Heinrich Bullinger und das Luthertum im Deutschen Reich," in *Heinrich Bullinger. Life—Thought—Influence. Zurich, Aug. 25–29, 2004, International Congress Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575)*, 2 vols., ed. Emidio Campi and Peter Opitz (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2007), 2: 755–77; and Irene Dingel, "Calvin im Spannungsfeld der Konsolidierung des Luthertums," in Herman J. Selderhuis, ed., *Calvinus clarissimus theologus. Papers of the Tenth International Congress on Calvin Research* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &Ruprecht, 2012), 118–40.

Christological understanding that can take its place alongside other Swiss influences on the Heidelberg Catechism.

Ursinus in Zurich at the Time of the Christological Disputes between Johannes Brenz and the Swiss

The Swiss were drawn into the debates by events in Württemberg, where with the introduction of the Great Church Order of 1559, the reformed communities in Reichenweiher and Mömpelgard were disbanded. That same year, Brenz secured a place for the doctrine of ubiquity in the Stuttgart confession. In late January/early February 1561, three or four months after Ursinus's arrival in Zurich, Brenz published a work on Christology that was specifically directed against the position taken by the Swiss and Melanchthon. That work, *De personali unione duarum naturarum in Christo*, launched an exchange of polemical texts that ran from 1561 to 1564.[15] Bullinger's *Tractatio verborum Domini* appeared close on the heels of Brenz's text.[16] Brenz quickly followed with *Sententia de Libello Henrici Bullingeri* and, in 1562, *De maiestate Domini nostri Jesu Christi ad dextram Dei patris;*[17] his *Recognitio propheticae et apostolicae doctinae* appeared in spring 1564.[18] Bullinger countered with his *Responsio* of 1562 and his *Fundamentum firmum* of 1563, and, finally, composed *Repetitio et dulicidior explicatio consensus* in 1564.[19]

15 Printed in Johannes Brenz, *Die christologischen Schriften: in drei Teilen, Teil 1*, ed. Theodor Mahlmann (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981), 1–107.

16 Heinrich Bullinger, *Tractatio Verborum Domini, in domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt,&c. ex XIIII. cap. Evang. secundum Ioan. Qua demonstrator spem salutemque fidelium, certissimam esse, et coelum, in quod ascendit Christus, et in quod suscipiuntur electi omnes, locum esse in excelsis certum: ubi et de dextera Dei, et de ubiquitate corporis Christi disseritur* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1561) (HBBibl 1, 416–17).

17 For the text see Brenz, *Die christologischen Schriften*.

18 Johannes Brenz, *Recognitio propheticae et apostolicae doctrinae de vera maiestate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, ad dexteram Dei Patris sui omnipotentis: in hoc scripto refutatur liber Henrici Bullingeri, cui author titulum fecit: Fundamentum firmum, cui tuto fidelis quivis inniti potest &c.; item appendix publicorum testimoniorum, quibus manifeste ostenditur, Cinglianos nostram, hoc est vere piam sententiam de coena Domini mala conscientia oppugnare* (Tübingen: Morhart, 1564). For the text see Brenz, *Die christologischen Schriften*.

19 Heinrich Bullinger, *Responsio qua ostenditur sententiam de coelo et dextera dei libello Bullingeri, ex sancta scriptura & beatis patribus propositam, adversaria D. Ioannis Brentii sententia non esse eversam, sed firmam perstare adhuc* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1562) (HBBibl 1, 422–43); Heinrich Bullinger, *Fundamentum firmum, cui tuto fidelis quivis inniti potest, hoc praesertim difficili seculo, quo dissidiis doctorumque adversariis scriptis omnia conturbata*

With its marked emphasis on the teaching of the ubiquity of Christ and with its interpretation of the *communicatio idiomatum* (communication of the properties), as the divinity of Christ sharing itself really and completely with the humanity of Christ, even in its own time Brenz's text *De personali unione* encountered a certain reticence in the author's own camp. In Switzerland that teaching was held to be fundamentally false, and it was brusquely rejected in both Zurich and Geneva.[20] Confrontation could no longer be avoided. Now teaching in Zurich, the last sojourn of his esteemed career in Protestant Europe, Peter Martyr Vermigli came to the defense of Reformed doctrine with his *Dialogus de utraque in Christo natura*.[21] According to Ursinus's testimony, Vermigli must have thrown himself entirely into this work in spring 1561, producing a text that was some 250 quarto pages long and appeared with a preface dated 15 August 1561. On 21 April 1561, Ursinus had written from Zurich:

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sunt / positum ad institutionem & consolationem simplicium (Zurich: Froschauer 1563) (HBBibl 1,425); Germ.: Vester Grund (HBBibl 1, 426); Heinrich Bullinger, *Repetitio et dilucidior explicatio consensus veteris orthodoxae catholicaeque Christi Ecclesiae in doctrina prophetica & apostolica, de inconfusis proprietatibus naturarum Christi Domini, in una indivisa persona permanentibus adeoque de veritate carnis Christi ad dexteram Dei patris, in coelo sedentis & non ubique praesentis* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1564) (HBBibl 1, 427). On the sequence of the polemical texts see Hans Christian Brandy, *Die späte Christologie des Johannes Brenz* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 69.

20 Bullinger to J. Jung, 23 March 1561, in Brandy, *Die späte Christologie*, 57, n. 72. See also Calvin to A. Blauer, 28 May 1561, in *Calvini Opera* [henceforth CO] vol XVIII. Brunsvigae: C.A. Schwetschke et Filium, 1863 (*Corpus Reformatorum* vol. XXX), 474–75, no. 3401, here 475: "Interea Lutherani suis bacchanalibus indulgere non desinunt. Statui posthac madianicas eorum pugnas tacitus despicere, quia nulla magis alia ratione confici possunt quam proprio impetu. Brentius quiescendo melius consuluisset famae suae. Nunc eo stoliditatis et dementiae erupit ut plus sibi accersiverit dedecoris quam inimici optassent. Certe fieri non potest quin hic unus actus probrosam eius sepulturam reddat."

21 Petrus Martyr Vermigli, *Dialogus de utraque in Christo natura, quomodo coeant in unam Christi personam inseparabilem, ut interim non amittant suas proprietates: ideoque humanam Christi naturam propter personalem unionem non esse ubique: respondetur item benigne ad argumenta doctorum virorum, contrarium asserentium: illustratur & coenae dominicae negotium, perspicuisque scripturae & patrum testimoniis demonstratur, corpus Christi non esse ubique* (Zurich: Froschauer, [August] 1561). Further known editions: Zurich November 1561, 1563, 1575. A German translation followed in 1563 with the title *Dialogus. Ein Gespräch von den beyden Naturen Christi* (see below n. 47). A comprehensive treatment of this fundamental text by Vermigli can be found in Michael Baumann, *Petrus Martyr Vermigli in Zürich (1556–1562): dieser Kylchen in der heiligen gschrifft professor und laeser* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2016), 230–293. See also Brandy, *Die späte Christologie*, 75–91; John Patrick Donnelly, "Introduction," in *Peter Martyr Vermigli, Dialogue on the Two Natures of Christ*, ed. John Patrick Donnelly (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1995), IX–XXV.

> I would be pleased if only I was able to have more frequent discussions with Martyr about his pursuits, with various endeavors having been assigned to him at this time. We have had no conversations for several months, even though during that period I have gone to him several times.[22]

I have selected this text because it is indisputably the "most astute refutation" of Brenz's *De personali unione*.[23] In Vermigli's *Dialogus*, the two fictitious interlocutors are "Pantachus," "the ubiquitous one," and Orothetes, "the boundary-setter" between divine and human natures. The author has very evidently elected to follow the model of humanistic dialogue founded on the Socratic dialogues of Plato. Through arguments and rejoinders, testing and assessing, agreement and objection, the truth would emerge, with all those participating in the discussion required to be able justify their opinions. On the basis of a largely systematic explanation of the Christological foundations of the two natures in Christ and its philosophical and theological-historical background, the dialogue progresses along the stages of salvation history via the resurrection and ascension of Christ to his (eschatological) return and contemporary presence in the Lord's Supper. Unlike Socrates, Vermigli (Orothetes) is unable to convince his opponent Brenz (Pantachus), but as becomes clear in the course of the dialogue that result is evidence not that Orothetes's arguments are weak but rather that his opponent lacks understanding.

We will concentrate here on the discussion of the relationship of the two natures. The son of God, equal to the Father in being, became human and took on completely human form, with body and rational soul. Christ is therefore truly God and truly human. Human nature and divine nature are united in the one indivisible person. That unification is not to be understood in terms

22 Ursinus to Johannes Ferinarius, 21 April 1561, in "Briefe des Heidelberger Theologen Zacharias Ursinus aus Wittenberg und Zürich (1560/61)," ed. Erdmann Sturm, *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 14 (1970): 85–119, here 98: "Ego felix essem, si modo cum Martyre per ipsius occupationes, quae hoc tempore ei variae fuerunt obiectae, frequentius mihi liceret agere. Iam ab aliquot mensibus fere cessarunt nostra colloquia, etsi ad eum nihilominus aliquoties interea accessi."

23 Theodor Mahlmann, "Personeinheit Jesu mit Gott, Interpretation der Zweinaturenlehre in den christologischen Schriften des alten Brenz," in *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 70 (1970): 176–265, for the description as "die scharfsinnigste Gegenschrift," see 179; Brandy, *Die späte Christologie*, 71: "die wichtigste und scharfsinnigste der Schweizerischer Kontroversschriften." Marvin W. Anderson, *Peter Martyr. A Reformer in Exile (1542–1562)* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), 232: "The *Dialogus de utraque in Christo natura* is one of Martyr's clearest theological works."

of intermingling or transformation; the distinct attributes of the two natures were preserved in Christ. Central to Vermigli's thinking is the fundamental idea that what is human is not abolished in that single person. Using the term *circumscriptio*, he repeatedly emphasizes that Christ's human form has both shape and substance, and he defended himself against Brenz's accusation that anyone who taught thus was the slave of Aristotle.[24] Certainly no ground is to be given to Brenz's postulate that where the divinity is, there too the humanity must be, for the attributes of human nature include both physical limits and spacial existence, while divine nature self-evidently exceeds (*excedit*) human nature.[25] While Pantachus, as Brenz's alter ego, expresses his misgivings and doubts, Orothetes, Vermigli's alter ego, speaks out of deep conviction in a manner that is almost confessional:

> But we teach that the union of the two natures achieved in Christ was very different, namely that the humanity adheres so inseparably to the divine hypostasis that it cannot be any longer divided from it by any means. Certainly the humanity of Christ can never exist without being joined to the divinity, but so that it nevertheless in no wise restricts the divinity within its own narrow limits nor so expands itself so that it fills every place where the divinity exists.[26]

24 Dialogus, 9ʳ: "Iam (ut arbitror) constat, nos quo ad hanc sententiam non esse Aristotelis mancipia, sed ea retinere quae sunt ecclesiae ac Patrum dictis consentanea."

25 Dialogus, 64ʳ: "Rursus in nobis natura excedit personam, quia humanitas invenitur extra individuum suum. Verum in Christo persona excedit naturam assumptam, quia persona illa ubique est, non assumpta natura."

26 Dialogus, 10ʳ // Gespräch, C 5ʳ. Nos vero longe aliter duarum naturarum unionem factam in Christo docemus, nempe humanitatem hypostasi divinae tam indivulse adhaerere, ut ab ea nullo modo amplius queat dividi. Et sane humanitas Christi nusquam esse potest, quin divinitati sit copulata, cum tamen illam intra suos breves terminos minime coarctet, nec se tam amplificet, ut omnia loca in quibus fuerit divinitas compleat.

Wir aber lehren unnd glauben / das weit ein andere vereinigung der zweien naturen in Christo angerichtet sey / nemlich / das die menschliche natur / der Göttlichen person also unzertrenntlich anklebe / das sie von derselbigen nimmermehr könne gescheiden werden. Und warlich die menschheyt Christi vermag niergends zu sein / sie sey denn mit der Gottheit verbunden / doch also / das die menschheit nit einsperre die Gottheit innerhalb jres kurtzen ziels / noch sich also außbreite / das sie alle örter und ende / darinnen die Gottheit ist / erfülle.

English translation from *Peter Martyr Vermigli, Dialogue on the Two Natures of Christ*, ed. Donnelly, 23–24.

The reader can sense where Vermigli's argument is leading. On the one hand, the strict division of the two natures serves to contradict the teaching on the ubiquity of Christ. On the other hand, that division marks the link to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper: the body of Christ, constrained by its human character, cannot be in heaven and at the same time present in the Supper. Additionally, Vermigli continues, logically the *finitum* of human nature cannot impose a limit on the *infinitum* of the Godhead.[27] This thought, found in Vermigli's terminology and spelled out at various points in the *Dialogus*, is formulated near the start of the text. In connection with Jeremiah 23:24, "'Do I not fill heaven and the earth?' says the Lord," Orothetes comments, "God fills all things but is contained by nothing" (*omnia autem continent Deus, a nullo autem continetur*).[28] The divine nature carries the human Jesus and gives him and his actions legitimacy and significance, but it remains remote; it is "extra," somewhere apart from the human nature. This explanation enables Vermigli to preserve the surplus of the divine without endangering the union of the two natures.[29] The pivotal function of this "extra-dimension" in the discussion of the natures in Christ and their reciprocal relationships is particularly evident in the following passage: "But the whole God did not shut himself in that man so that he was not outside him elsewhere."[30]

The extent of the agreement between this discussion and the answer to question 48 in the Heidelberg Catechism, in terms of both terminology and content, can hardly be outdone by a comparison of that answer with any other text. The two points are so close in substance and date that their relationship can only be explained by an idea held in common. And all the sources relate that during his stay in Zurich, Ursinus assiduously followed developments in that city in theology, church politics, and publishing, and in particular read Vermigli's works intensively and participated in extensive theological discussions with their author.[31] Such engagement certainly suggests that Vermigli

27 Dialogus, 14^{r}, 19^{v}, 25^{r}.

28 Dialogus, 13^{r}. English translation from *Peter Martyr Vermigli, Dialogue on the Two Natures of Christ*, ed. Donnelly, 28.

29 Baumann, *Petrus Martyr Vermigli in Zürich*, 255.

30 Nec tamen totus Deus ita se in homine illo conclusit, quin extra eum alibi sit. Unnd doch der gantze Gott hat sich nicht also in denselben menschen eingesperret / das er nicht ausserhalb seiner menschheit / an einem andern ort vermöchte zu sein. Dialogus, 14^{v} // vgl. Gespräch, D 7^{r}. English translation from *Peter Martyr Vermigli, Dialogue on the Two Natures of Christ*, ed. Donnelly, 30.

31 In a letter of 10 March 1561 to Abel Birkenhahn, Ursinus commented on Vermigli's very great diligence, excellent judgment, highly regarded piety and earnestness. The slowly aging theologian was addressed by Ursinus as "Martyr noster"—evidently an expression

could have played a very important role in the composition of question 48, influencing at a minimum the terminology used in the text.

Extra Vermiglianum versus *Extra Calvinisticum* in the Heidelberg Catechism

Hans Christian Brandy must be credited with having established and explained the genetic links between the "Extra Calvinisticum" of question 48 of the Heidelberg Catechism and "Extra Vermiglianism."[32] Brandy has pointed out that even before his debate with Brenz, while in Oxford (1549) and Strasbourg (1554–55) Vermigli had already debated Christology and the Lord's Supper with both Catholics and Lutherans, asserting the very positions with which he would later challenge Brenz.[33] We should also note that Vermigli was only able to complete his monumental response to English Catholic bishop Stephen Gardiner after moving to Zurich, where that work, the *Defensio doctrinae veteris et apostolicae de sacrosanto eucharistiae sacramento*, was published in 1559 by Froschauer. The fruit of many years of painstaking efforts, this *apologia* of the Reformed understanding of the Lord's Supper, which runs to almost one thousand folios, brought Vermigli much honor and great recognition. The greatest praise came from no less than Calvin.[34] Brandy could have added—as Ursinus, an attentive witness, reported in detail in his correspondence from

of respect and, at the same time, of deep appreciation for Vermigli's theological and ecclesiastical authority. Ursinus hoped that his honored teacher would be able to tolerate his own lack of education and be able to bear his awkward behavior. In "Briefe des Heidelberger Theologen Zacharias Ursinus," 90, 95.

32 Brandy, *Die späte Christologie*, 80. The text of the disputation with the Catholic theologians in Oxford in early summer 1549 is printed in a volume with separate pagination, Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Tractatio de sacramento eucharistiae, habita in universitate Oxoniensis. Ad hec. Disputatio de eodem eucharistiae sacramento, in eadem universitate habita* (London: s.n., 1549). For the disputes in Strasburg during his second stay see "Confessio seu sententia D. Petri Martyris Vermilii de coena Domini, exhibita amplissimo Senatui Argentinensi, cum vocaretur Tigurum, Anno M.D. LXI," in Petrus Martyr Vermigli, *Loci Communes* (London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1583), 1068–70. Vermigli himself provides a short description of events and a brief summary of the content of the text in two letters to Calvin, 8 March 1555, no. 2142, in CO 15, 492–97, and 14 June 1556, no. 2479, in CO 16, 193–97.

33 Brandy, *Die späte Christologie*, 72–73.

34 Richard Gamble, "Sacramental Continuity among Reformed Refugees: Peter Martyr Vermigli and John Calvin," in Frank A. James, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 97–112, here 109: "Vermigli's *Defence*

Zurich—that in May 1560 and March 1561, at the request of the Zurich pastorate, Vermigli recorded his position on Christology in two penetrating doctrinal letters sent to the evangelical church in Poland and to the Polish nobility. Inevitably, those works considered the teaching of the two natures and the communication of properties, and Vermigli's arguments on these issues recapitulated the positions he recorded in his *Dialogus.*[35]

Brandy overlooked, however, one central point. Vermigli viewed his *Dialogus* as a supplement to and a commentary on Bullinger's *Tractatio de verborum Domini* of 1561, and his work concurred with the substance of Bullinger's *Apologetica expositio* (1556) and *Responsio* (1562).[36] With that common ground in mind, Vermigli intended to provide an exhaustive refutation of the well-known, even notorious, *De maiestate Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, by the eloquent defender of the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ, a work whose title alone clearly established that it was directed against both Bullinger and Vermigli. Vermigli's unexpected death, however, on 12 November 1562, meant that his planned response never appeared in book form.[37] Instead the task

[…] was […] highly valued by Calvin […] Such high praise did not come often from the Genevan."

35 Ursinus to Abel Birkenhahn, 10 March 1561, in "Briefe des Heidelberger Theologen Zacharias Ursinus," 96: "Edita est responsio Tigurinorum (a Martyre scripta duabus epistolis) ad Polonicas ecclesias de causa Mediatoris, quam propinabimus Fricio et Stancarianis." The first doctrinal letter was "Epistola prior ad ecclesias polonicas," the second, "Ad Magnificos quondam Nobiles in Polonia." Both were published in a single volume, each paginated separately, as *Epistolae duae, ad ecclesias Polonicas, Jesu Christi evangelium amplexas scriptae a Tigurinae ecclesiae ministris, de negotio Stancariano & mediatore dei & hominum Iesu Christo, an hic secundum humanam naturam duntaxat, an secundum utranque mediator sit* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1561). Engl. transl: letter No. 247 and No. 267, in Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Life, Letters, and Sermons,* transl. and edited by John Patrick Donnelly (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1999), 178–83; 198–220. Notably, the Heinrich Bullinger Bibliographie (HBBibl 1, 421) and many scholars and library catalogues have attributed the work to Bullinger. Although that assumption no longer stands, it is revealing evidence of the complete agreement between the two men in their Christology. On Vermigli's doctrinal letters see Baumann, *Petrus Martyr Vermigli in Zürich*, 314–30.

36 Dialogus, dedication to Anglican bishop John Jewel: "Deinde in hoc argumento feliciter admodum versatus est vir clarissimus Heinrychus Bullingerus Ecclesiae Tigurinae minister praecipuus, Pater & frater in Christo colendissimus;" 58ᵛ, 81ᵛ, 82ʳ. See Silke-Petra Bergjan, "Bullinger und die griechischen Kirchenväter," in Emidio Campi, ed., *Heinrich Bullinger und seine Zeit* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004), 133–60, esp. 144–55.

37 Erland Herkenrath, "Peter Martyr Vermiglis Vorarbeit zu einer zweiten christologischen Schrift gegen Johannes Brenz (1562)," in *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1975), 23–31.

was taken up by the Zurich Antistes, who in his *Fundamentum firmum* (1563) resolutely defended the position that had been adopted by Vermigli, his much loved Florentine colleague, in his dispute with Brenz.[38] There can be no doubt that Vermigli's approach to the teaching of the *extra* dimension was noticeably similar to Bullinger's. The theology of both men is characterized by their use of this doctrine in forming their Christology and views on the sacraments. so that we can speak without exaggeration of an *Extra Vermiglianum atque Bullingerianum*.

While Brandy's use of the term "Extra Vermiglianum" requires further discussion and elaboration, it is already important to consider an obvious, but still often overlooked, fact implicit in the other term "Extra Calvinisticum." It brings to light the apory of a phrase that in the heat of confessional controversy was imposed too quickly on Reformed theology by Lutheran orthodoxy. Perhaps we can now recognize more readily that the transcendent pathos articulated in the works of Vermigli, Bullinger, and Calvin—to mention only these three—was in no way the personal property of one single reformer, but rather part of an original body of shared reformed thought.

With this discussion in mind, we should not be surprised that after the disputation on the Lord's Supper of June 1560 and with the tide turning in favor of the Reformed in Heidelberg, Christoph Ehem, chancellor of the Electoral Palatinate, and Thomas Erastus, as a member of the church council, asked for Bullinger's active support for the continued construction of the church in the Palatinate.[39] They would very much have liked to have had Vermigli come to Heidelberg, but on that point the Zurich church would not yield, although a temporary secondment of Vermigli to Heidelberg might have been possible.[40] In any case, in December 1560, two Swiss theologians recommended by Bullinger arrived in Heidelberg to support the spread of Reformed teachings. Johannes Brunner and Valentius Winkler became pastors in communities near Heidelberg. As a member of the church council, Erastus had been instrumental in arranging their calls.[41] One year later, with the support of Erastus and

38 Baumann, *Petrus Martyr Vermigli in Zürich*, 230, n. 379.

39 For example, Christoph Ehem to Bullinger, 19 September 1561, Zurich StA, E II 345, 501. See Mühling, "Der Heidelberger Katechismus im 16. Jahrhundert," 6. On Christoph Ehem see Christoph Strohm, *Calvinismus und Recht. Weltanschaulich-konfessionelle Aspekte im Werk reformierter Juristen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 58–69.

40 Erastus to Bullinger, 30 October 1560, Zurich StA, E II 361, 85–85[a]. See Ruth Wesel-Roth, *Thomas Erastus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der reformierten Kirche und zur Lehre von der Staatssouveränität* (Lahr/Baden: Schauenburg, 1954), 33; Erdmann Sturm, *Der junge Zacharias Ursinus: Sein Weg vom Philippismus zum Calvinismus* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), 232, n. 51.

41 Wesel-Roth, *Thomas Erastus*, 25.

despite the opposition of the university, Johannes Brunner was called to the chair of ethics.[42] In summer 1561, at the recommendation of the theologians of Zurich, Elector Frederick III called Zacharius Ursinus to Heidelberg as head of the *Collegium Sapientiae*. In August 1562, this twenty-seven year old pupil of Melanchthon, Calvin, and Vermigli who would play a decisive role in shaping the character of the church in the Palatinate received a doctorate of theology, and immediately afterward he was named professor of dogmatics. The disputation theses on Christology, which have survived, provide a telling contribution to the history of theology, for they follow lines established by Bullinger and Vermigli.[43]

That such influential positions within the church in the Palatinate and at Heidelberg University were assigned to individuals well disposed toward the church in Zurich—we could also list at this point Wilhelm Klebitz and Petrus Boquinus, as well as secretary of the chancellery Stefan Zirler—demonstrates "the unrivaled status that Bullinger and the Zurich church possessed as outside theological authorities in the early days of the Palatinate Reformed movement."[44] And indeed, neither side missed any opportunity to strengthen the ties between Heidelberg and Zurich. On 13 November 1561, Christoph Ehem called on Bullinger to publish a German translation of his work that countered Brenz's position on the ubiquity of Christ.[45] Thomas Erastus was delighted with Vermigli's *Dialogus*, and on 11 December 1561 he suggested to Bullinger that the text be translated into German in Heidelberg, although mindful of neighboring Lutheran Württemberg, he proposed that the translation be printed in Zurich.[46] The Zurichers did not keep their fellow Reformed in Heidelberg waiting, for the German translation of Bullinger's *Responsio* appeared in March

42 Wesel-Roth, *Thomas Erastus*, 26–30; Gunnoe, *Thomas Erastus*, 82–83.

43 Zacharias Ursinus, "Theses de officio et persona unici mediatoris inter Deum et homine, Domini nostri Jesu Christi," in Ursinus, *Opera Theologica*, 3 vols. (Heidelberg: Joannes Lancellotus, 1612) here 1: 744–48. See Sturm, *Der junge Zacharias Ursinus*, 266–72.

44 Gunnoe, *Thomas Erastus*, 83. Wesel-Roth, *Thomas Erastus*, 44 writes of "einem grossen Interesse der Züricher Geistlichen an der Entwicklung der pfälzischen reformierten Kirche."

45 Christoph Ehem to Bullinger, 13 November 1561, Zurich ZB, Ms S 102, 68 "Responsionem tuam adversus monstrum ubiquitatis avide expectamus optaremusque de Latine et Germanice id scriptum in publicum edi, utqui Latinam non intelligunt, et animos iis opinionibus fascinatos habent, Germanice scripto admonerentur." Cited in Sturm, *Der junge Zacharias Ursinus*, 235, n. 70.

46 Erastus to Bullinger, 10 December 1561, Zurich StA, E II 361, 64^{v}–^{r}. See Gustav Adolf Benrath, "Die Korrespondenz zwischen Bullinger und Thomas Erastus," in Gäbler and Herkenrath, eds., *Heinrich Bullinger*, 1: 7–141, here 94; Gunnoe, *Thomas Erastus*, 442.

1562, with the title *Gägenbericht Heinrychen Bullingers uff den Bericht Herren Johansen Brentzen von dem Himmel unnd der Gerächten Gottes* [...],[47] and at the beginning of 1563 a German translation of Vermigli's *Dialogus* followed, with the title *Dialogus. Ein Gespräch / von den beyden Naturen Christi* [...].[48]

Interestingly, neither text records its printer or place of publication. The frequency of the printing errors and the sometimes less than meticulous language strongly suggest that the translation was produced in haste, and it may even have been printed without the approval of the censor.[49] By 6 April 1562, Erastus had already read Bullinger's *Gägenbericht*, which he praised with the expression "*summe placet*."[50] The condolences that Erastus sent to Bullinger following Vermigli's death were phrased in terms of the impact on confessional polemics: aware that Vermigli had taken on the challenge of responding to Brenz's work *De maiestate Domini nostri Iesu Christi*, on 5 December 1562 Erastus wrote to Bullinger, "Exultabit Brentius," Brenz will rejoice; if Vermigli had only been able to complete his response to Brenz, Erastus observed, then the death of this saintly and so very learned man would have been bemoaned less.[51] There could surely be no better homage to those two "*candida ingenia*" whose counsel had so shaped the Heidelberg Catechism.

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47 [Heinrich Bullinger], *Gägenbericht Heinrychen Bullingers uff den Bericht Herren Johansen Brentzen von dem Himmel unnd der Gerächten Gottes.* [Zurich]: [Christoph Froschauer d. Ä.], [March 1562]. Preface December 1561 (HBBibl 1, 424).

48 Petrus Martyr [Vermigli], *Dialogus. Ein Gespräch / von den beyden Naturen Christi / Wiewol dieselbigen ein unzertrennliche Person werden / und ire eygenschafften nicht verlieren / doch darumb die menschlich natur Chrsiti / nicht an allen örtern sey.* [...] [Zurich]: [Christoph Froschauer d. Ä], 1563.

49 On which see Baumann, *Petrus Martyr Vermigli in Zürich,* 240, n. 425.

50 Erastus to Bullinger, 6 April 1562, Zurich StA, E II 361, 65. See Wesel-Roth, *Thomas Erastus*, 133, n. 82; Benrath, "Die Korrespondenz," 97; Gunnoe, *Thomas Erastus*, 443.

51 Erastus to Bullinger, 5 December 1562, Zurich StA, E II 361, 27. See *Benrath*, "Die Korrespondenz," Gunnoe, *Thomas Erastus*.

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