The Peter Martyr Library
Volume One

Early Writings
THE PETER MARTYR LIBRARY
Series One

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The Peter Martyr Library
Volume One

Early Writings

Creed
Scripture
Church

Peter Martyr Vermigli

Translated by Mariano Di Gangi and Joseph C. McLelland
Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Joseph C. McLelland
Biographical Introduction by Philip M. J. McNair

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SIXTEENTH CENTURY ESSAYS & STUDIES
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<td>BSSV</td>
<td><em>Bollettino Della Società Di Studi Valdese</em>.</td>
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<td>CL</td>
<td><em>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</em>.</td>
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<td>CR</td>
<td><em>Corpus Reformatorum</em>. Edited by C. G. Bretschneider and H. E. Bindseil. Halle, 1834–.</td>
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<td><em>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</em>.</td>
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THE PETER MARTYR LIBRARY is a series of English translations of the chief works of Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562). This first volume is a composite, drawing together the work of three scholars and presenting biography, theology, ecclesiology, and biblical interpretation. These Early Writings afford a view of the making of a Reformer, his formation in “Italian Evangelism,” his advancement in a monastic and theological career, and his choice of exile on behalf of his new orientation.

Philip M. J. McNair, leading modern biographer of Peter Martyr, offers a summary account of the life and work of this influential reformer. He traces the thorough grounding in philosophy and theology, the outstanding career in the Augustinian Order, and the subsequent events of an exile spent in three centers of Reform—Strasbourg, Oxford, and Zurich.

The first two works translated here belong to the first Strasbourg period, 1543–47. The third is included because it represents Martyr’s considered reasons for leaving the Church of Rome. Together they provide insight into his early life and thought. All three display the heart of Martyr’s theology, which reflects Aristotle as well as Paul: *theologia practica*, both pastoral and moral. Although forty-three years old when he left Italy, Martyr’s monastic vocation occupied him too closely for systematic writing. Besides, his natural diffidence held back this natural scholar. His erudition—perhaps second to none of his generation—shows through in the voluminous writings of his last twenty years, especially the commentaries on Samuel and Kings, with their numerous scholia showing the breadth of his learning and perception. In the trilogy presented here we see something of the pastoral intent, the scholarly method, and the hermeneutics of Peter Martyr.

Subsequent volumes will illustrate this Reformer’s breadth of learning and interest. Some are as polemical as the age: against John Brenz and the Lutheran doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ’s body, against Richard Smith on monastic vows, and against Stephen Gardiner on the manner of Christ’s presence in the eucharist. Others are more pastoral, notably *Prayers from the Psalms* and addresses on Scripture reading and vocation. The bulk of his work con-
sists of biblical commentaries. Some of the longer scholia which they contain will be selected for separate volumes. Thus our series hopes to make available the chief works of this remarkable Reformer.

John Patrick Donnelly, S.J.
Joseph C. McLelland
Biographical Introduction

Peter Martyr Vermigli

One of the most remarkable developments of Reformation scholarship in the second half of the twentieth century has been the rise of interest in Peter Martyr Vermigli. Forty years ago it would have been difficult to find any book on him in an average academic library, and even librarians and university professors were prone to confuse him with Peter Martyr of Anghi-era (1459–1526), who chronicled the discovery of the New World. Now, writing on every aspect of his life and work has become a growth industry in both Europe and North America. Indeed scholarly works devoted to him in recent decades would already fill, not yet a bookcase, but at least a modest bookshelf, and more such works are promised and on their way.¹

The first traceable manifestation of this renewed interest in Peter Martyr was a thesis on him presented in 1949 for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in The Presbyterian College of McGill University, Montreal, by Mariano Di Gangi, a work expanded and published recently as a popular biography. On the other side of the Atlantic, Gordon Huelin completed a doctoral thesis, “Peter Martyr and the English Reformation,” for the University of London in 1955, in which he drew on the rich resources of Lambeth Library; it remains unpublished.

The first published book on Martyr for ninety-nine years—and hence a major landmark in the revival of interest in this once neglected reformer—appeared in the twentieth century. This was The Visible Words of God: An Expo-

¹The titles mentioned in this section are listed on page 226.
Peter Martyr Vermigli

sition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli A.D. 1500–1562 by Joseph C. McLelland, a revision of his doctoral thesis of 1953 for the University of Edinburgh. It was followed ten years later by Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy by Philip McNair. An Italian edition of this book under the title Pietro Martire Vermigli in Italia: un’anatomia di un’apostasia, translated by Edoardo Labanchi, was published in 1971.

The 1970s proved to be a particularly fruitful decade in this Peter Martyr revival. In the same year that saw the publication of Labanchi’s translation there appeared a third historico-theological study of the reformer, which focused on his first sojourn in Strasbourg, Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermiglis während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Strasbourg 1542–1547 by Klaus Sturm. In 1975, two more books were added to the list: Marvin W. Anderson’s Peter Martyr, a Reformer in Exile (1542–1562), and Salvatore Corda’s Veritas Sacramenti: A Study in Vermigli’s Doctrine of the Lord’s Supper. The following year there appeared Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli’s Doctrine of Man and Grace by John Patrick Donnelly, and in September 1977 an international conference on Martyr was held at McGill University, sponsored by the Faculty of Religious Studies, organized by Joseph C. McLelland, and attended by all the foregoing authors except Salvatore Corda.

Ten of the papers read to this conference were edited by Professor McLelland and published, with an introduction, in 1980 under the title Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform. In the same year appeared The Political Thought of Peter Martyr Vermigli: Selected Texts and Commentary by Robert M. Kingdon, who also attended and contributed a paper to the 1977 conference.


Ten books in thirty-three years, with others in the pipeline. Why this resurgence of interest in a sixteenth-century reformer who in the previous 394 years had rated only three biographical studies (two of them by the same hand)? What special fascination does this man have for scholars of the late twentieth century? Indeed, who was Peter Martyr Vermigli, and what was the quality of his life?

As his name suggests, Vermigli was Italian, and lived more than two-thirds of his life in Italy. His most memorable and enduring work was done north of the Alps during two decades of exile; nevertheless, he left an indelible—if less perceptible—mark on his native land, where he was one of a number of men and women who figured in the unsuccessful movement for
Biographical Introduction

Reformation south of the Alps, which has come to be called “Evangelism.” This term was coined to describe that transient phase in the history of the Church between Luther’s protest in 1517 and the opening of the Council of Trent in 1545, when certain Catholics in France and Italy embraced the core of the German reformer’s theology in the doctrine of justification by faith but repudiated his break with Rome.

Pietro Martire Vermigli was born in Florence on 8 September 1499 (one year after the martyrdom there of Girolamo Savonarola), and was christened Piero Mariano in the city’s baptistery the following day. His father, Stefano di Antonio Vermigli, was a prosperous shoemaker, and his mother, Maria Fumantina, had sufficient education to teach her firstborn some Latin. After further schooling under Marcello Virgilio Adriani in the heyday of the Renaissance, Pietro chose to dedicate his life to God. In 1514 he entered the monastery of S. Bartolomeo at Fiesole (known as the Badia Fiesolana, since 1972 the seat of the European University Institute). There he joined the Lateran Congregation of Canons Regular of Saint Augustine. Four years later he was professed, taking the name Peter Martyr from a thirteenth-century Dominican inquisitor of Verona who was canonized in 1253.

Peter Martyr spent the next eight years—intellectually the most formative of his life—at the University of Padua, which numbered among its students most of the leaders of Italy’s abortive Reformation. Living in his order’s monastery of S. Giovanni di Verdara, he followed the prescribed septennium of studies, attending the lectures of several distinguished professors, notably Branda Porro (1487–1571) and Marcantonio de’ Passeri, called Genua (1491–1565); in so doing he made many friends among his fellow students, one of whom was Reginald Pole (1500–58), kinsman of the king of England, and another was Marcantonio Flaminio (1498–1550), the humanist poet. It was in Padua that Martyr acquired his thorough training in Thomistic scholasticism, and first studied the writings of such rigorous exponents of Augustinianism as Gregory of Rimini (died 1358). Here he mastered the art of public disputation, and taught himself Greek in order to read Aristotle. He was ordained priest in 1525 and received his doctorate, and he stayed on in his Paduan monastery for an additional year to teach.

In 1526, he was elected to the office of public preacher in his congregation, and he began to exercise his gift beyond Padua. We know the names of nine northern Italian cities in which he preached (beginning with Brescia), and we also know that he taught in the monasteries of his order in Ravenna and Bologna—and in Vercelli, where he lectured on Homer; but many of his movements in the next four years remain unrecorded.
Peter Martyr Vermigli

Martyr spent one triennium in S. Giovanni in Monte at Bologna, where he was vicar to his prior and learned Hebrew from a Jewish physician called Isaac. In 1533 he was elected Abbot of S. Giuliano at Spoleto. In this Umbrian city he first manifested disciplinary zeal and administrative genius by quelling local riots and resolving long-standing disputes during the next three years. He was beginning to acquire a name for himself as a reformer—not yet of doctrine, but of morals.

There is no record of his activities between May 1536 and April 1537, but in view of his later identification with the reforming party under Gasparo Contarini (1483—1542) it has been reasonably conjectured that he may have spent that year in Rome, where the drastic Consilium de emendanda ecclesia was in course of preparation.

In April 1537, Martyr was elected abbot of the historic monastery of S. Pietro ad Aram in Spanish-dominated Naples, and it was during his triennium there that “the greater light of God’s truth” began to dawn on him. Like many other men and women at this time—such as Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564), Marcantonio Flaminio, Giulia Gonzaga (1513–66), and Pietro Carnesecchi (1508–67)—he came under the powerful influence of the exiled Juan de Valdés (c. 1498–1541). This charismatic Spanish hidalgo, author of spiritual tracts and commentaries on Scripture, taught him the way of God more perfectly: but it might be argued that the influence was mutual, for they had much to teach each other. It would seem that Martyr was already far advanced in Augustinianism and patristic studies, yet it was evidently here in the society of Valdés that he began to read the writings of transalpine reformers and embraced the pivotal doctrine of justification by faith. It is to this point in his life, therefore, that we can assuredly date his conversion to “Evangelism” and, in all probability, his evangelical regeneration.

In Naples, between Advent 1539 and Lent 1540, he began to expound publicly Saint Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians with enormous popular acclaim. But when he reached chapter 3, with its alleged proof-text for the existence of purgatory, he was denounced by the Theatines for heresy and suspended by the viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo (1484–1553). He appealed to Rome and was reinstated, but soon afterwards fell victim to a severe bout of malaria, which he narrowly survived. (His closest friend and constant companion, Benedetto Cusano da Vercelli, did not.)

By now his reputation as an efficient reformer of morals was earning him a place on a wider stage. In April 1540, he was elected one of the visitors of his order, and in May 1542 he was appointed—by Pope Paul III acting through the chapter general—to an extraordinary commission of seven
praepositi charged with addressing the reform of the Lateran Congregation. With this mandate he may well have traveled widely in northern and central Italy, and he seems to have been largely responsible for bringing to justice Gianfrancesco Gaddi, a former rector general who had tyrannized the order. Such zeal earned Martyr as many enemies as friends among his fellow canons.

Meanwhile, in May 1541 he had been elected prior of the rich and influential monastery of S. Frediano in the pocket republic of Lucca, a position of quasi-episcopal importance in which he initiated a series of energetic reforms that were not only educational and ecclesiastical, but also doctrinal and spiritual. Indeed, the fifteen months he spent there were arguably the busiest and most fruitful of his life.

In the sphere of education he set himself to provide the people committed to his care with the best available instruction in the three classical languages. Under his aegis Paolo Lacizi da Verona (c. 1511–44) taught Latin, Massimiliano Celso Martinenghi da Brescia (1515–57) taught Greek, and Emanuele Tremelli (1510–80) taught Hebrew; associated with this trio were the humanists Francesco Robortello (1516–67) and Celio Secondo Curione (1502–69). It was a brilliant team, worthy of any university of the day. He himself expounded Scripture—we know from one of his canons, Girolamo Zanchi (1516–90), that at this time he lectured on Romans—and built up his disciples, both intramural and extramural, in evangelical teaching. By this means he brought about a reform in doctrine that amounted to ideological revolution; Lucca came perilously near to civic reformation on the pattern of Calvin’s Geneva.

But during these active months at S. Frediano, Martyr came to see that his position as a sacrificing priest in Roman orders was no longer tenable, and in consequence suffered an agonizing crisis of conscience. The crunch came in July 1542, the month in which Paul III resuscitated the Roman Inquisition. Called to account for his actions by his enemies within the order, Martyr reckoned discretion the better part of valor and resolved to renounce his vows and flee the country. It proved to be the most traumatic decision of his career. With three faithful friends, he left Lucca early in August, celebrated the Lord’s Supper Christiano ritu in Pisa, and took temporary refuge near Florence in the Badia Fiesolana, the monastery in which he was professed. From there he wrote to his canons of S. Frediano on 24 August and declared himself “free from hypocrisy by the grace of Christ.” Taking leave of his native city the following day, he and his companions headed north, crossed the Alps to Switzerland and the Protestant camp, and in mid-September reached the safe haven of Zurich.
About the Editors

MARIANO DI GANGI resides in Toronto after a career as pastor in Canada and the United States, as a teacher at the Ontario Theological Seminary, and as an evangelist. His interest in Peter Martyr resulted in his Bachelor of Divinity thesis at The Presbyterian College, Montreal, 1949, on Peter Martyr Vermigli’s life and work, including “The Creed” as appendix. That early work has now been expanded and published as Peter Martyr Vermigli: Renaissance Man, Reformation Master (1993), while the Credo begins the present volume.

JOSEPH C. MCELLELAND is emeritus professor of McGill University and of The Presbyterian College, Montreal, and general editor of the Peter Martyr Library. His writings in philosophy and theology include The Visible Words of God: The Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli (1957) and The Life, Early Letters and Eucharistic Writings of Peter Martyr (with G. E. Duffield; 1989).

PHILIP M. J. McNAIR served as professor of Italian and departmental head of the University of Birmingham. He retired to Cambridge, where he continues to lecture in the Faculty of Theology and pursue writing assignments. He has written entries for several encyclopedias, and is the author of Peter Martyr in Italy (1967).
Acknowledgments

The editors are grateful to Dr. George Harper of The Presbyterian College, Montreal, for his assistance in word processing and verification of references, and to Mrs. Paula Presley, copy editor and indexer, for her diligence and patience in steering our efforts in proper channels.
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