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The Peter Martyr Library
Volume Four

Philosophical Works
On the Relation of Philosophy to Theology

Peter Martyr Vermigli

Translated and Edited with Introduction and Notes by Joseph C. McLelland

VOLUME XXXIX
SIXTEENTH CENTURY ESSAYS & STUDIES
KIRKSVILLE, MISSOURI USA • 1996
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COR Peter Martyr Vermigli. *In Selectissimam S. Pauli Priorem ad Corinthios Epistolam … Commentarii*. Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1551.


CR  *Corpus Reformatorum*. Edited by Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil. Halle, 1834–.


Abbreviations Used in this Volume


IUD Peter Martyr Vermigli. In Librum Iudicum ... Commentarii. Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1561.


SAM Peter Martyr Vermigli. In Duos Libros Samuelis Prophetae ... Commentarii. Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1564.

Abbreviations Used in this volume


General Editors’ Preface

THE PETER MARTYR LIBRARY presents a series of English translations of the chief works of Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562) together with scholarly notes and introductions. Martyr spent most of his adult life as an Augustinian Canon in Italy before he converted openly to Protestantism and fled Italy in 1542. Almost no writings survive from his Italian years. Very quickly his early lectures on the Old Testament at the Strasbourg Academy (1542–47) earned him a reputation for erudition and clear thinking. He spent his next six years as Regius Professor of Theology at Oxford, where he lectured on Romans and First Corinthians until the accession of Queen Mary drove him back to Strasbourg. There he lectured on Judges as well as Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics. Increasing pressure from Lutheran pastors who controlled the Strasbourg church led Martyr to transfer to Zurich in July of 1556. Aside from a trip to France to participate in the Poissy Colloquy of 1561, Vermigli spent his last six years at Zurich, lecturing on the books of Samuel and Kings. There Vermigli also published controversial works against Richard Smith on celibacy, against Stephen Gardiner on the eucharist, and against Johann Brenz on the two natures of Christ. During his twenty years in northern Europe he also wrote many lesser works. By his death he was widely regarded as the most acute and learned Reformed theologian after John Calvin. The posthumous publication of several biblical commentaries only enhanced his reputation, and the demand for his works remained strong until 1630.

This is the fourth volume in The Peter Martyr Library. The first volume brings together two of Martyr’s early writings and a later apologetic for his apostasy. The second volume is a translation of his Dialogue on the Two Natures in Christ, which Martyr wrote some sixteen months before his death. It is Vermigli’s finest controversial work. The third volume, Sacred Prayers Drawn from the Psalms of David, presents the reformer leading his students at Strasbourg in prayer. These three volumes are fairly short; most subsequent volumes in the series will be considerably longer.

This fourth volume brings together several treatises of Martyr, which illustrate how philosophy and theology interact in his writings.
Vermigli’s use of medieval and Renaissance Aristotelianism to undergird and defend biblical teaching and Reformed theology has been a subject of keen interest for scholars during the last thirty years. Both of the general editors of this series have written on the problem. Vermigli’s training in philosophy at the University of Padua was stronger than similar training received by either Luther or Calvin, and Aristotle plays a more prominent role in Vermigli’s theological works than in Luther’s or Calvin’s. Yet Vermigli clearly based his theology on Scripture; he saw Aristotle and philosophy as useful allies for Christian theology, not foundation stones. Although the writings gathered in this volume are explicitly theological, they all illustrate the interplay of faith and reason, of theology and philosophy. A later volume in this series will translate Vermigli’s commentary on Aristotle’s Ethics, his only explicitly philosophic work. The writings in the present volume show Vermigli’s actual use of philosophy in his theological works. Here philosophy plays a subordinate role, but one more prominent than in the writings of Calvin. Vermigli then stands midway between, on the one hand, Luther and Calvin and, on the other, his own disciple Girolamo Zanchi and the neo-scholastics who dominated the Reformed theology in the early seventeenth century.

John Patrick Donnelly, S.J.
Joseph C. McLelland
Translator's Preface

This volume is one of two in the Peter Martyr Library devoted to philosophical writings. The other is the commentary on Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*. The present selection consists of the preface to that commentary, scholia from Martyr’s biblical commentaries, a lecture on free will, and three summaries. While all concern topics on the agenda of philosophy, some are more explicit than others. In “Dreams” for instance, Martyr has before him two of Aristotle’s minor works, and in “Providence” he deals with themes familiar in Cicero. The material in this book raises the question of Martyr’s role in the debate about “Reformed Scholasticism.” Obviously this volume is a contribution to that discussion inasmuch as Martyr’s explicit teaching on the relation of philosophy to theology has not hitherto been explored in its own terms. Brian Armstrong thought that my first work on Martyr (1957) struggled “to rescue him from the charge of scholasticism.” Some forty years later I still prefer a modified form of the thesis about both the nature and the origins of the scholastic development in Protestant orthodoxy, as I argue in the introduction to the present volume. I take pains to note Vermigli’s conscious or unconscious references to both Aristotle and Aquinas; there are many places where similar references to Bucer, Calvin, and Zwingli are in order. In my opinion, Peter Martyr remains essentially Augustinian in theology, so that his attitude toward philosophy is seen to be a form of Aristotelianism measured and controlled by a scriptural and theological standard.

Complex issues surround the history of philosophy in the sixteenth century. Late medieval and Renaissance philosophy forms one of the most subtle debating grounds in Western intellectual history. The rapidly changing theology of the same period is part of the story, revealing the questions disputed by Scholastics as well as the renewal of biblical and patristic authority achieved by Humanism, Reform, and Counter-Reform. Peter Martyr was part of that story; his own philosophical and theological training forced him to take the measure of the new thinking. This constraint drove him into exile, moving from Italy to Strasbourg, thence to England and back to Strasbourg, and finally to Zurich: four occasions of controversy and debate. If his calm
argument of weighty problems seems to deny this turbulent context, it is because his spirit was strong and his humor (as he himself might say) phlegmatic.

The philosophical dimension of Peter Martyr’s thought has been well explored by John Patrick Donnelly, S.J., especially in *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli’s Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1976). I acknowledge my debt to his research and publications in preparing this volume, and for his translation of the “De Resurrectione,” which he provided. Two research assistants should be acknowledged for their contribution to this enterprise: Leszek Wysocki of the Classics Department of McGill University checked my translation against the original Latin. Since he is also translating Martyr’s *Ethics* commentary for a future volume, he kindly allowed me to use his translation for the first selection. Dr. George Harper of Westminster, South Carolina, formerly of Presbyterian College, Montreal, processed the text through its various stages of revision; Ms. Samieun Khan prepared the final copy. Our college librarian, Mr. Dan Shute, assisted with Hebraic terms and Rabbinic references. The manuscript was read by J. P. Donnelly, Edward Furcha, Frank A. James, and William Klempa. Without the help of these colleagues the work would have been much more onerous and less reliable. Thanks are also due to the Zurich Zentralbibliothek for the facsimiles of title pages included in this volume.

Two points of style should be noted. In general, translators seek the mean between literalism and paraphrase, or “stencil” and “aureate” forms of speech. The former is easy, the latter much more demanding. In Martyr’s case we have a Latin that is clear but dense and often convoluted. His writing bristles with connectives, superlatives, subordinate clauses, and the like—simple for literal translation but awkward when one seeks a modern and more colloquial rendering. Professor Donnelly provides helpful comments on the procedures followed in his translation of Martyr’s *Dialogus* (volume 2, xxiv-xxv), including the problem of verifying references. In correspondence he has also noted the problem of choosing proper terms for such common words as *pius, impius, and ratio* as well as *homo*, with its special problem of gender identity, as noted below. Related to this is Martyr’s frequent use of the passive voice (which we often turn active) and his overuse of the connectives *ergo, igitur, autem, praeterea, unde, nec*, and the like. What this volume offers is a somewhat free translation that seeks to convey the sense of the original sentence-by-sentence rather than word-by-word. The attempt is not without its risks. Long ago Rufinus commented on Jerome’s translation of Origen’s *De Principiis*: “I find that he is so enamored of his own style that he pursues a still
Preface

more ambitious objective, namely, that he should be the creator of the book, not merely its translator.” In Martyr’s case, my hope is that the actual body survives as quite recognizable but with added comeliness.

A more specific problem today concerns inclusive language. In the case of sixteenth-century material this is not easily solved. Our procedure was explained in the introduction to volume 1. We state there: “While we try to use inclusive language wherever possible, it is anachronistic to change the masculine in historical documents, particularly since an inclusive intention seems clear in most cases” (p. 26). Therefore, while we try to translate according to contemporary standards, we recognize that the canons of integrity of text and elegance of phrase must predominate.

The dedication signifies my debt to Thomas F. Torrance. In our initial interview forty-five years ago to discuss my doctoral program, I expressed my wish to study a Reformed theory of knowledge. He suggested Vermigli’s sacramental theology as a good—if surprising—way to proceed. It proved to be just that; this book shows part of the reason why. At last I am able to provide further evidence, with gratitude.

Joseph C. McLelland
Montreal
The Feast of Peter Martyr
29 April 1996
Peter Martyr Vermigli’s Philosophical Works

Translator’s Introduction

Florence, Padua, and Beyond

“A man has arrived from Italy who is quite learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and well skilled in the Scriptures; he is about forty-four years old, of serious demeanor and keen intelligence. His name is Peter Martyr.” The year was 1542; threat of Inquisition had driven Pietro Martire Vermigli (1499–1562) from his native land, never to return. His career as Protestant Reformer for the next twenty years took him to three cities and identified him with three leading figures in the drama of Reform: Strasbourg and Martin Bucer, Oxford and Thomas Cranmer, Zurich and Henry Bullinger.

Recent research on Vermigli reveals the thorough grounding in philosophy, theology, and languages that he received in Italy, notably at Padua between 1518 and 1526. He was a Florentine who studied at Padua, and these two streams of philosophy—Platonic and Aristotelian—meet in his own formation. Most significant for the present work is the state of Aristotelian teaching in those years, which relates to the question of Martyr’s own philosophy and its role in the development of Reformed Scholasticism. Aristotle was the good luck of Thomist theology; Thomas Gilby, speaking of Thomas Aquinas

1 Bucer to Calvin, 28 October 1542: Calvini Opera XIc.450. For Martyr’s life and work, see Philip McNair, “Biographical Introduction,” EW 3–14.

Philosophical Works

in relation to the new stature of Aristotle as “Philosophus … symbol for ambitious and confident rationalism,” writes: “Before this St. Thomas neither stood on the defensive nor beat a retreat; it was no threat but a promise, and one very much to his liking.”3 Similarly, Vermigli welcomed Aristotelian philosophy as the gift of fundamental reasoning in both logic and ethics.

Renaissance thinkers enjoyed a revival of three classical systems: Platonism, Aristotelianism, and Neoplatonism; in general the Renaissance discovery of the human microcosm is informed by all three, along with the revival of occult and alchemical ideas.4 In 1518, Peter Martyr was received into the Paduan monastery of S. Giovanni di Verdara, the celebrated academy of the Lateran Congregation; Vittorio Cian called it “Pantheon of Humanists.” Its library formed a fitting environment for the salon of resident and visiting scholars, including Pietro Bembo.5 While the University of Padua no longer enjoyed the heady days of Pomponazzi, a new generation of teachers was enhancing its name and modifying its tradition. Their via antiqua offered a harmonious view of reason and revelation, with its concomitant positive assessment of philosophy. Such harmony did not obtain throughout the university since Neo-Peripateticism based on humanist and philological methods was absent from the faculty of theology. The latter provided for masters both in via Thomae and in via Scoti. What was common to philosophy and theology, however, was the humanist thesis that our capacity is not sufficient for eternal truth, with its consequent focus on human problems and concerns.

Certain assumptions exist concerning the freethinking, even atheistic, views of Renaissance Italians. Antonio D’Andrea calls this “the myth of Italy”; Paul Oskar Kristeller considered “Paduan Averroism” a “misleading name.”6 Still, it was Paduan Averroism that informed John Calvin’s Genevan enemies, the Libertines. Calvin regarded their errors as deriving in large part from the

5For the material in this paragraph see Philip McNair, Peter Martyr in Italy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967) 86–115. Philosophers from the local university also frequented the monastery, including Genua and his son Marcantonio (the latter was Vermigli’s professor) and the Averroist Nicoletto Vernia, who willed his own books to the monastic library; ibid., 94ff.
idea of universal intellect and pantheistic determinism.\(^7\) In any case, we may regard Padua as a center of speculative thinking. The word “speculation” implies the radical analysis associated with Lorenzo Valla as well as the skepticism of Agrippa von Nettlesheim. Sextus Empiricus had been rediscovered and classical skepticism reintroduced. Martyr himself seemed to escape the negative thrust of the Paduan experience. He resisted the Italian antitrinitarians, for instance, not least because he considered their speculative theology a risky pursuit for fallible minds. More important is the continuing debate between (Platonic) rationalism and (Aristotelian) voluntarism. The former assumes that one always chooses what one perceives to be the good (e.g. Prot. 352B); the latter allows greater strength to desire or affection, which often conflicts with reason, the product of which is a person of weak will.\(^8\)

In the selections to follow, Peter Martyr shows himself debtor to both Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. His regard for the Philosopher is high: “After Plato came Aristotle, a man of singular genius, who subjected all the relevant material to methodical analysis and arranged it with the greatest accuracy…. The school of Peripatetics sprang from Aristotle; it had fewer errors than any other school, and flourishes to this day” (“Philosophy and Theology,” §3, p. 12 below). Martyr describes the relation between philosophy and theology in positive terms, the first grounding and supporting the second while the second governs use of the first. His approach is cosmological rather than ontological; he echoes the “five ways” of Aquinas, but insists that the key is not demonstration through argument but the development of universal and inchoate knowledge.\(^9\) Martyr’s method follows a careful order, based on the Scholastic tradition of the quaestio disputata; although neither so precise nor consistent as the late medieval development had been, Martyr works steadily through objectum to respondeo. He is not behind in appreciating the need for clarity of reason; judgment involves “compounding and dividing.”\(^10\) This in turn entails categories and predicables, and the range of analytic tools honed by Aristotle and adapted by Aquinas. Drawing on this rich heritage, Martyr does not shrink from the subtleties of syllogistic reasoning, rational demonstration, analogical predication, or a complex epistemology. He is painstaking


\(^8\)Akratēs, “incontinent” in standard translation, NE VII.2.1145b21ff.

\(^9\)E.g. “Nature and Grace,” §3, p. 20, below; cf. ST 1a, q. 2, art. 3: Utrum deus sit; Inst., 1.3.1.

in arranging argument and counterargument (e.g. “Author of Sin”); he organizes his arguments in syllogistic form (“Free Will,” §11) and mounts them according to the Philosopher’s fourfold causality (“Philosophy and Theology” §1). He credits Plato also with identifying first and second causes (“Resurrection” §§5); for Vermigli as for Aquinas, grace does not destroy nature but crowns it (“Free Will” §8). So far the case for labeling Vermigli as Reformed Aristotelian seems clear. But there is more to consider, as we argue below.

Martyr’s eight years at the University of Padua involved a solid grounding in both philosophy and theology. Padua exemplified “one of the sixteenth century’s most important philosophical characteristics, the development of a revivified Aristotelianism.”¹¹ The Aldine editio princeps of Aristotle was published in Venice 1495–1498; Niccolò Tomeo began to teach Aristotle from the Greek texts in 1497. In Vermigli’s student days the dominant figure was Marcantonio Genua, noted for his innovative treatment of Aristotle’s De Anima.¹² Advancing beyond the received Arabic commentaries, Genua went back to the Greek commentator Simplicius; the new Paduan Aristotelians were dubbed “Simpliciani.” But Averroism continued, if less problematic than the medieval “Latin Averroism” that separated philosophy from theology and so incurred the rejection of theologians. Martyr also knew the Aristotle of Albertus Magnus and Thomas, whose critical reading departed from that of “the Commentator.”¹³ Where Averroës could say, “The doctrine of Aristotle is the supreme truth, because his intellect was the limit of human intelligence,”¹⁴ Martyr regards revelation as the proper limitation of reason. Like Aquinas, our Reformer brings a scriptural test to Aristotle, particularly on the moot questions of Renaissance debate. Most important at Padua were the twin concerns of the De Anima, which had been handled in detail by Thomas in his own commentary, namely the unity of the agent intellect and the immortality of the soul.¹⁵

¹¹CHRP 69–70.
¹²See CHRP 123ff.
¹³As Aquinas dubbed Averroës; see ST 1a.3, art. 5, obj. 2.
¹⁵See Aristotle’s De Anima in the Version of William of Moerbeke and the Commentary of St. Thomas Aquinas, trans. K. Foster and S. Humphries, intro. by Ivo Thomas (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951, 1966) esp. 18ff., “The Averroist Issue”; also available as a computer program: Past Master series (Pittsboro, N.C.: InterLex Corp., 1992). Aquinas had settled the problem raised by the Arab interpreters of Aristotle as to whether the active intellect is part of the individual soul by declaring the soul immaterial and therefore immortal: e.g. SCG III.43, De Unitate Intellectus, III.
The Intellect: One and Immortal

Hellenistic thought is characterized by its sense of duality, the χορισμὸς between matter and spirit, as in the mortal and immortal soul of Plato’s Timaeus, or the intellect as the true self distinct from the moral personality in Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics. Plotinus in turn rejected the Stoic material soul by showing the connection of impassibility with incorporeality. So the relation among intellect, immateriality, and immortality was well developed. It is this conceptual scheme that involves The One of both Plato and Aristotle, a simplicity or unicity that transcended every determination or limitation. Alexander Aphrodisias (ca. 200 CE), the leading Greek interpreter of Aristotle, had taken his master’s noetics as implying an Intelligence that is both active and omnipresent. An obvious and fateful question is posed by this development of doctrine: is there an individual intellect that is an immortal soul?

Renaissance discussion of human being found its starting point in Aristotle’s teaching on the intellective soul in De anima III.4–5. The Philosopher’s psychology parallels his cosmology: humanity is microcosm, “an ordered unity at the summit of whose structure stands a transcendent intellectual principle” or “separable reason.” He distinguishes two factors in nature, one potential and one productive, and “these distinct elements must likewise be found within the soul.” The productive mind is “separable, impassible, unmixed, since it is in its essential nature activity … this alone is immortal and eternal.…” How should one interpret the key texts? Two crucial and related questions arise: how does an immaterial and incorruptible soul act in a material subject, the rational in the irrational? And, did Aristotle intend to argue for personal immortality, based on the intellective soul?

To the first question Aristotle himself answered that natural bodies that have life are composite: the body is the subject matter, and the soul is the form of the body. Martyr adopts this formula in arguing for the unity of body and soul: soul is “motor,” “the drive and form of the body”; this determines his doctrine of resurrection. It also engages him in debate with the commentators on Aristotle. Some had argued that both passive and active intellects are part of individual souls, while Alexander Aphrodisias, as noted, placed the

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16 Timaeus 69; cf. NE 1177b–1178
17 See CHGM 221ff.
18 See CHGM 116ff., “Aristocles and Alexander Aphrodisias.”
20 De Anima III.5.430a10ff.
21 Aristotle, De Anima II.1.412a17ff.; Martyr, “Image,” §§1–2; “Resurrection,” §31; cf. Aquinas, SCG II.70, 78, etc.
About the Translator

J

OSEPH CUMMING MCLELLAND received his Ph.D. in historical theology from New College, Edinburgh, in 1953 for a dissertation on Peter Martyr’s sacramental doctrine. He was Robert Professor of History and Philosophy of Religion and Christian Ethics at the Presbyterian College, Montreal, from 1957 to 1964, McConnell Professor of Philosophy of Religion at McGill University from 1964 to 1993, and dean of the faculty of religious studies at McGill from 1975 to 1985. He served as president of the Canadian Theological Society (1968-69) and editor of Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses (1973-77). He is now emeritus professor of McGill University and The Presbyterian College. A symposium at his retirement has been published as The Three Loves: Philosophy, Theology and World Religions, edited by Robert C. Culley and William Klempa, 1994. His books and articles on philosophical and historical theology include God the Anonymous: A Study in Alexandrian Philosophical Theology (1976) and Prometheus Rebound: The Irony of Atheism (1988). His works on Vermigli include The Visible Words of God (1957), Peter Martyr Vermigli and the Italian Reform (editor, 1980), Life, Early Letters and Eucharistic Writings of Peter Martyr (with G. Duffield, 1989), and Early Writings (vol. 1 of the Peter Martyr Library, 1994). He serves as consulting editor of The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Medieval, Renaissance, and Reformation Thought and as a general editor of the Peter Martyr Library series.
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