

The Legacy of Peter Martyr and the Martyr Translation Project

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I. The Peripatetic Reformer

Although the idea of an *Italian* Protestant Reformer might appear at first sight to be an oxymoron, the career and influence of Peter Martyr Vermigli demonstrates that such an unusual combination did indeed exist. He underwent a rare transformation in sixteenth century Europe—an Italian Roman Catholic theologian who became one of the leading Protestant Reformers of his day.

Theodore Beza once described Vermigli as a “phoenix born from the ashes of Savonarola.”¹ Although hyperbole, this sentiment rightly suggests that Vermigli, like Savonarola, was a Florentine impassioned by a desire to reform a church in moral decline.² Little is known of Martyr’s early years except that he was born in Florence on 8 September 1499 and that he had a deep affinity for the Bible. Reflecting back on his youth in his inaugural speech at Zurich in 1556, Vermigli revealed: “from an early age when I was still living in Italy, I decided to pursue this one thing above the other human arts and studies—that I should learn and teach primarily the divine Scriptures.”³ Following this conviction, even though it went against the wishes of his father, Vermigli joined

¹Theodore Beza, *Icones, id est Verae Imaginis virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium* (Geneva: C. Froschauer, 1580), 2: “Petrum Martyrem... Florentinae natum et a Savonarolae veluti cineribus prodeuntem phoenicem...” Cf. Klaus Sturm, *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermiglis während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Strassburg 1542-1547* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971), 41.

²Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 68-69, finds no evidence that Vermigli family had any connection to Savonarola.

³Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Loci Communes... ex variis ipsius auctoris scriptis, in unum librum collecti & in quatuor Classes distributi* (London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1583), 1062. A new English translation of this oration is found in John Patrick Donnelly, ed. and trans. *Life Letters and Sermons*, The Peter Martyr Library vol. 5 (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999), 322.

the Lateran Congregation of Canons Regular of St. Augustine in 1514. Academically precocious, the young Florentine was sent to study at the University of Padua, at that time one of the most famous universities in the world. At Padua his world was suffused by two intellectual influences. On the one hand, he was inundated with the ideas of Aristotle in the faculty of theology at the University; but on the other hand, he imbibed Renaissance humanism at his monastery, S. Giovanni di Verdara. His years of study at Padua culminated in priestly ordination and a doctorate in theology (1526).⁴ During the Italian phase of his career he was well known as a distinguished young theologian and eloquent preacher. Indeed the records of his own Augustinian order, in April 1540, characterized him as "*Predicatorem eximium*" (an exceptional preacher).⁵

But he encountered more than ideas at Padua. He acquired also a proclivity for action. Along with his Paduan friends were Reginald Pole and Marcantonio Flamini, he became an active reformer within the Catholic Church. The historical record suggests that he served as a consultant to the famous *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia*⁶ (Council on the reform of the Church) in 1537 and was appointed by Cardinal Gasparo Contarini as a member of the Catholic delegation at the Colloquy of Worms in 1540.⁷ At Spoleto, Naples and especially Lucca, he actively pursued a reformist agenda.⁸ So successful were his reforms in Lucca that it generated the ire of papal conservatives. Philip McNair provides compelling evidence that the reconstitution of the Roman Inquisition was directly connected to Vermigli's reforming efforts in Lucca.⁹

Vermigli's critical theological transformation was initiated during his Neapolitan abbacy (1537-1540) by the Spanish reformer, Juan de Valdés. It was in the Valdésian circle in Naples that he encountered the Italian reform movement, first read Protestant literature and embraced the pivotal doctrine of jus-

⁴McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 116-117.

⁵McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 192, derived from the records of the order, the *Acta Capitularia* (1540). These records are housed in the Biblioteca Classense in Ravenna. The expanded funeral oration was first reprinted at the beginning of Vermigli's *Primum Librum Mosis, qui vulgo Genesis dicitur Commentarii doctissim.* . . . (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1569) and in many editions of the *Loci Communes* beginning with the Basel edition of 1580.

⁶McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 130-138. Cf. Elisabeth Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome and Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 129-157.

⁷McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 197-199.

⁸Salvatore Caponetto, trans. Anne C. and John Tedeschi, *The Protestant Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1999), 277-280, 327-331. Cf. McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 127-130, 139-179, 206-238. In 1681, Cardinal Giulio Spinola sent a letter to the Lucchese refugees in Geneva inviting them to return to the Roman fold. In reply, the Lucchese still remembered Vermigli's role in converting their forebears. See E. Campi and C. Sodini, *Gli oriundi lucchesi di Ginevra e il Cardinale Spinola* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1988), 180.

⁹McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 249-250.

tification by faith alone.¹⁰ Evidence of his theological reorientation manifested itself during his Priorate in Lucca, where he established "the first and last reformed theological college in pre-Tridentine Italy."¹¹ With Martyr as his mentor in Lucca, Girolamo Zanchi was introduced to the works of Bucer, Melancthon, Bullinger, and Calvin.¹² Zanchi himself acknowledges Vermigli's role in exposing him to key themes in the theology of Calvin.¹³

With the reinstatement of the Roman Inquisition under the iron hand of Cardinal Carafa, whose advocacy for moral reform gave way to repression of suspected heretics within the Church, Vermigli experienced a personal crisis of conscience.¹⁴ In the summer of 1542, he was ordered to appear before the Inquisition in Genoa. Warned by highly placed friends, he found himself on the horns of a dilemma: would he flee his homeland for the sake of the gospel, or would he bite his tongue and conform to the authority of a church whose doctrine he no longer believed? Weighing the matter carefully, he forsook Rome for a life in exile.

Not long after his apostasy in the summer of 1542, he found warm acceptance among Protestant theologians. However, former Italian Catholic theologians were not welcomed into the Protestant community without caution. At Zurich he was carefully scrutinized by Heinrich Bullinger, Konrad Pellikan and Rodolph Gualter and then vetted again by Oswald Myconius and Boniface Amerbach in Basel. Not until October 1542 did Vermigli find a position succeeding the late Wolfgang Capito as professor of Divinity in Strasbourg. There too, he forged a close personal alliance with the Alsacian Reformer Martin Bucer. So valuable was he to Bucer that Johann Sturm stated that the veteran

¹⁰Charles Schmidt, *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Leben und ausgewählte Schriften* (Elberfeld: R.L. Friedrichs, 1858), 20, deduces that it was Valdés who provided writings from Bucer and Zwingli to Vermigli.

¹¹McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 221.

¹²Joseph N. Tylenda, "Girolamo Zanchi and John Calvin: A Study in Discipleship as Seen Through Their Correspondence," *Calvin Theological Journal*, 10 (1975): 104.

¹³In an undated letter to Calvin, Zanchi invokes Peter Martyr as a witness to his deep affection for the Genevan reformer. See Zanchi's *Opera Theologica* (Geneva: Stephanus Gamonetus, 1605-13), vol. 2, *Liber Epistolarum*, 331. Quoted in John Farthing, "Praeceptor Carissimus: Images of Peter Martyr in Zanchi's Correspondence" (paper presented at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, 28-31, October 1999), 25.

¹⁴McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 239-268. Vermigli was not alone in his apostasy. The Vicar General of the Capuchins, Bernardino Ochino, also fled the Inquisition with Vermigli's encouragement. For background on Ochino see, Karl Benrath trans. H. Zimmern *Bernardino Ochino of Siena: A Contribution Towards the History of the Reformation* (New York: Robert Carter and Bros., 1877), 105ff.

Reformer made no decisions without first consulting with his Italian colleague.¹⁵ As a teacher, Vermigli was judged by all “to surpass” Bucer.¹⁶

After five productive years in Strasbourg, Vermigli’s reputation as a Protestant theologian was substantial enough that Archbishop Thomas Cranmer invited him to England to help inculcate a generation of Anglican priests with Protestant theology. To this end he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford University (1547-1553). His nearly six years in England were among the most fruitful of his career. He single-handedly upheld Protestant Eucharistic teaching at the famous Oxford Disputation of 1549, consulted with Bishop Hooper in the Vestarian controversy in 1550, assisted Cranmer in the revision of the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Books as well as participated in the formulation of the Forty-Two Articles of Religion in 1553, and played a pivotal role in writing the ill-fated *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* from 1551-1553. Vermigli’s name would no doubt have been better remembered today if his sojourn in England had not been cut short by Mary Tudor’s ascension to the throne in 1553.

After his expulsion from England, Vermigli returned to Strasbourg. But the atmosphere in Strasbourg, once so hospitable, had become contentious. Bucer was dead (1551), and the Lutheran faction under the leadership of Johann Marbach was in the ascendancy. Vermigli returned to a Strasbourg dominated by Lutheran opposition to his sacramental theology.¹⁷ Besides the matter of the Eucharist, Vermigli’s doctrine of predestination also became a bone of contention.

Vermigli’s troubles in Strasbourg soon led him to accept the invitation of Bullinger to succeed the recently deceased Konrad Pellikan at Zurich in 1556.¹⁸

¹⁵Letter from J. Sturm to J. Marbach in Zanchi, *Opera Theologica*, vol. 2, *Liber Epistolarum*, 163.

¹⁶Simler, *Oratio*, 4. The English translation is found in J. Patrick Donnelly, ed. and translator, *Life, Letters and Sermons*, The Peter Martyr Library vol. 5 (Kirksville, MO., 1999), 29. Likewise, Zacharias Ursinus in a letter (10 March, 1561) to Abel Birkenhahn, praises Vermigli’s writing as clearer than Zwingli or Oecolampadius, see Eerdmann Sturm, “Brief des Heidelberger Theologen Zacharias Ursinus Aus Wittenberg Und Zurich (1560/61),” *Heidleberger Jahrbucher* 14 (1970): 90-91. Even Catholic detractors, such as Cornelius Schulting argue that Vermigli was clearer and more learned than Calvin. See Schulting’s *Bibliotheca catholica et orthodoxae, contra summam totius theologiae Calviniae in Institutionibus I. Calvini et Locis Communibus Petri Martyris, breviter comprehensae* (Cologne, 1602), 1: 1.

¹⁷Vermigli had arrived in Strasbourg on 30 October 1553. *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, 1531-1558*, ed. Hastings Robinson for the Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846-1847), 2: 505.

¹⁸The controversies in Strasbourg escalated until May 1556, when Vermigli accepted the invitation from Zurich. On 13 July 1556, Vermigli, accompanied by his English disciple, John Jewel, departed for Zurich. The formal request from Zurich is found in Christina H. Garret, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1938), 367.

Vermigli was again welcomed to Zurich, as he had been fourteen years earlier having just escaped from the clutches of the Roman Inquisition. If Martyr thought Zurich a refuge from the storm, he was mistaken. He arrived in July and soon found himself embroiled in yet another controversy.

Vermigli found a cordial environment for his Eucharistic views in Zurich, especially since Calvin and Bullinger earlier had forged the *Consensus Tigurinus* in 1549, but he found a less than warm reception for his doctrine of predestination.¹⁹ Bullinger had been quite moderate and cautious in his formulations, preferring a doctrine of single predestination.²⁰ Although not an advocate of *gemina praedestinatio* like Vermigli, Bullinger was tolerant of his view.²¹ Theodore Bibliander, Bullinger's colleague at Zurich, was not.²² Vermigli took great pains to praise Bibliander upon his arrival in Zurich and tactfully published his commentary on Romans in Basel rather than Zurich.²³ But it was not enough to avoid a skirmish.²⁴ Vermigli began lecturing on I Samuel (on 24 August 1556), and by June 1557, Bibliander had begun openly to attack Vermigli's doctrine of predestination.²⁵ The controversy became so intense that Bibliander challenged

¹⁹John Patrick Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's doctrine of Man and Grace*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 182, rightly points out, "the *Consensus Tigurinus* brought agreement on the Eucharist but it did not unite the two churches on the equally crucial question of predestination." Cf. Schmidt, *Leben*, 215.

²⁰J. Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The Other Reformed Tradition*, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1980), 27-47. For a complete historiography on Bullinger and predestination, see Peter Walser, *Die Prädestination bei Heinrich Bullinger im Zusammenhang mit seiner Gotteslehre*, (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zurich, 1957), 9-22.

²¹For an account of Bullinger's tolerance for other predestinarian views, both more and less rigorous than his own, see Baker, *Bullinger and the Covenant*, 39-44.

²²Theodore Bibliander, professor of Old Testament at Zurich, had long been an opponent of Calvin, but had restrained himself from public attack. Bibliander held to a view of predestination much like that of Erasmus. Schmidt, *Leben*, 215.

²³Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 183.

²⁴Schmidt, *Leben*, 218, writes: "Bibliander wurde nicht pensioniert wegen seiner Lehre, sondern weil er geisteskrank war."

²⁵Bullinger's diary specifically provides the date when Vermigli began lecturing on I Samuel as 24 August 1556. Emil Egli, ed. *Heinrich Bullingers Diarium (Annales vita) der Jahre 1504-1574* (Basel, 1904), 48, quoted in Marvin Anderson, *Peter Martyr Vermigli: A Reformer in Exile (1542-1562)* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1975), in 380. On 1 July 1557, Vermigli wrote to Calvin: "I have read your book (the two works against Castellio) with the greatest delight; God redounded your defense unto honor and to the defense of the orthodox faith — so I hold for my own part, I concur with you in all points. I have begun to treat of predestination, and shall continue with it the whole week. Not only does the inducement of the passage move me to declare it, but also because my College, as you know, is widely separate from me in regard to this, and has spoken against the doctrine in lectures this past week." Quoted from Joseph C. McLelland, "Reformed Doctrine of Predestination according to Peter Martyr," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 8 (1955): 266. McLelland's source is Johann H. Hottinger, *Historiae Ecclesasticae Novi Testamenti* (Zurich, 1667), 8: 829. From Vermigli's letter one can conclude that Bibliander's attacks began at the latest by June 1557.

Vermigli to a duel with a double-edged axe.²⁶ Eventually, Bibliander was dismissed from his duties as professor in February 1560. According to Donnelly, Vermigli's victory in the Bibliander affair "marks an important stage in Zurich's adhesion to a full Reformed teaching on grace and predestination."²⁷

The Zurich years (1556-1562), although not entirely tranquil, were productive. His lectures on Romans (1558) and Judges (1561) were published, along with his massive *Defensio Doctrinae veteris & Apostolicae de sacrosancto Eucharistiae Sacramento . . . adversus Stephani Gardineri*²⁸ opposing the Eucharistic theology of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester (1559). With Theodore Beza, he attended the Colloquy of Poissy (1561) where he conversed with the queen mother, Catherine de' Medici, in her native Italian tongue and tried to win her to the Protestant side. Edmund Grindal, bishop of London, spoke of Vermigli's important role at Poissy to Sir William Cecil saying: "I am of the judgment that no man alive is more fit than Peter Martyr for such a conference . . . for he is better versed in old doctors, councils and ecclesiastical histories than any Romish doctor of Christendom."²⁹

Vermigli was successful in the eyes of at least one Catholic bishop present at the Colloquy of Poissy. Antonio Caracciolo, bishop of Troyes (France), was so impressed with Vermigli that he converted to Protestantism and attempted to bring his whole diocese into the Reformed faith. He was the first bishop in the history of the French Reformed Church.³⁰ Vermigli lived out his final days in Zurich where he died on 12 November 1562 attended by his closest friends, including Bernardino Ochino, Heinrich Bullinger and Josiah Simler.

II. Protestant Legacy

The single most impressive measure of Vermigli's influence as a theologian was the repeated publication of his books. His works went through 110 separate

²⁶Schmidt, *Leben*, 218. Staedtke, "Prädestinationsstreit," 544-545, also discusses the duel.

²⁷Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 183.

²⁸Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Defensio Doctrinae veteris & Apostolicae de sacrosancto Eucharistiae Sacramento . . . adversus Stephani Gardineri* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1559).

²⁹*The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D.*, ed. William Nicholson for the Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1843), 244-245. I have modernized slightly the English to make it clearer. Also cited in Marvin Anderson, "Peter Martyr on Romans," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 26 (1973): 401.

³⁰Vermigli letter to Beza, 6 November, 1561, in *Correspondance de Theodore de Beze*, ed. F. Aubert, H. Meylan et al. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1960-), 3: 209. See also Joseph C. McLelland, *The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli A. D. 1500-1562* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 64; Schmidt, *Leben*, 272-273; and Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 173-174.

printings in the century following his death in 1562.³¹ He made his mark primarily as a biblical commentator, but also as an important theologian of the Reformed branch of Protestantism. The only commentaries actually published during his lifetime were on I Corinthians, Romans and Judges. However, a number of his lectures on biblical books were published posthumously as commentaries (Genesis, Lamentations, I and II Samuel, and I and II Kings). Vermigli also wrote theological treatises, most notably on the Eucharist. His *Defensio* against Gardiner on the Eucharist was a lengthy tome of impressive erudition. In the words of Philip McNair, it was "incontestably the weightiest single treatise on the Eucharist of the entire Reformation."³² He also wrote two smaller Eucharistic treatises on the famous Oxford debate of 1549, in which he represented the Protestant cause. While Eucharistic concerns tended to predominate, Vermigli's theological interests were wide ranging. His theological attentions extended to such matters as clerical celibacy and the two natures of Christ, both of which were published as treatises. Some of the *loci* (theological essays) in his biblical commentaries were in fact substantial theological treatises. The largest of these theological *loci* was the *locus* on justification found in his Romans commentary at the end of chapter eleven. Easily the most influential of Vermigli's writings was the *Loci Communes*, a posthumous compilation of various *loci* from his biblical commentaries arranged according to key theological topics.³³ The *Loci Communes* was not actually the work of Vermigli himself, but of Robert Masson, a French Pastor in London, and was deliberately calibrated to coincide with the organizational structure of Calvin's *Institutes*. Reciprocally, the first Latin edition of the *Institutes* to appear in England, the Vautrollier edition of 1576, was keyed to the *Loci Communes* of Vermigli.³⁴ This pattern of coordination between Calvin and Vermigli reflected the prevailing conviction that two of the most important Reformed theologians of this period were in significant theological agreement. This reminds one of the words of Joseph Scaliger, who praised Calvin and Martyr as "The two most excellent theologians of our times..."³⁵ This arrangement is splendidly maintained in the

³¹Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 171. See also Donnelly in collaboration with Robert M. Kingdon and Marvin W. Anderson, *A Bibliography of the Works of Peter Martyr Vermigli*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies 13 (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1990).

³²Philip McNair, "Biographical Introduction", in *Early Writings: Creed, Scripture and Church*, The Peter Martyr Library vol. 1, ed. Joseph C. McLelland (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994), 12.

³³It was Theodore Beza who suggested that Vermigli's *Loci* be gathered into a book. See his letter to Bullinger, 1 July 1563, in *Correspondance de Theodore de Bèze*, ed. F. Aubert, H. Meylan and A. Tripet (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1960-), 4: 162.

³⁴Vautrollier also published an edition of Vermigli's *Loci Communes* in 1583. Donnelly and Kingdon, ed. *A Bibliography of the Works of Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1990), 106.

³⁵B.B. Warfield, "John Calvin the Theologian," in *Calvin and Augustine*, ed. S.G. Craig (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1956), 481.

modern edition of the *Institutes*, edited by John T. McNeill and translated by Ford Lewis Battles. Although widely acknowledged as one of the leading theologians of his day, Vermigli fell into virtual obscurity until rediscovered by doctoral students at British universities nearly fifty years ago.

Time permits only a brief mention of Martyr's later influence. We have already noted his significant theological impact in England. One may observe his influence on both Anglicanism and Puritanism, as is evident from the fact that both sides in the Whitgift-Cartwright controversy appeal to Martyr. It appears that John Milton employed Martyr's Genesis commentary in the preparation of his *Paradise Lost*.³⁶ Theologically, Richard Muller has argued for his infralapsarian influence on later Reformed thought.³⁷ Donnelly has even noted Vermigli's influence in colonial America, where divinity students at seventeenth century Harvard, possessed more copies of Martyr's writings than of Calvin.³⁸

Although historians are not accustomed to tracing the origins of Reformed theology to Lucca, it has been increasingly recognized that Vermigli was one of the leading lights from the constellation of theologians who gave formative shape to early Reformed theology. Scholars have tended to concentrate on Calvin as the standard bearer of Reformed theology, but increasingly it has been recognized that the Reformed tradition emerged from the cross-fertilization of a coterie of theologians, including Vermigli (along with Calvin, Bucer and Bullinger). As Richard Muller has rightly noted, Vermigli was one of the "codifiers" of Reformed theology.³⁹

III. Modern Portraits

Portraits are not always flattering. The woodcut of Vermigli in Beza's *Icones* is almost grotesque.⁴⁰ His bloated, somewhat distorted, face with its bulbous nose looks more like a gargoyle than a Protestant Reformer. This is in striking contrast to the portrait by Hans Asper which hangs in the National Portrait Gallery in London, for it shows a rather handsome Peter Martyr whose piercing brown eyes look beyond the confines of his gilded frame and whose forefinger points to his Bible. It is as if Vermigli, in full academic regalia, is instructing his students to concentrate their undivided attention upon this book alone, just as he did in his Oxford oration: "Let us immerse ourselves con-

³⁶Arnold Williams, "Milton and Renaissance Commentaries on Genesis," *Modern Philology* 37 (1939): 270.

³⁷Richard Muller, *Christ and the Decree* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1988), 70-71.

³⁸Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 180. Cf. Samuel Morrison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 1: 273.

³⁹Richard Muller, *Post-Reformation Dogmatics* (Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1987), 1: 14.

⁴⁰Theodore Beza, *Icones, id est Verae Imaginis virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium* (Geneva: C. Froschauer, 1580), 2.

stantly in the sacred letters, let us work at reading them, and by the gift of Christ's Spirit the things that are necessary for salvation will be for us clear, direct, and completely open."⁴¹

There were other kinds of portraits of Martyr by his contemporaries, some flattering and some not so flattering. Only the lofty words of Plato for his mentor Socrates would suffice to express Josiah Simler's esteem for Vermigli. To him, Vermigli was "*vir omnium quos ego noverim optimi et sapientissimi atque iustissim^{us}*" (the best and wisest and most righteous of all the men I have known).⁴² To his child in the faith, Girolamo Zanchi, he was "*praeceptor carissimus*" (beloved teacher).⁴³ And to John Jewel, he "was one who from the greatness of his talents, the variety of his attainment, his piety, his morals, his life, seemed worthy of never being taken away from us."⁴⁴ John Hooper called him "a brave and godly soldier in the army of the Lord."⁴⁵ Even the older Reformers proffered their own accolades. Heinrich Bullinger, Vermigli's colleague in Zurich said: "This man was incomparable . . . The loss felt in his death is not ours alone, but more surely an irreparable one for the church universal."⁴⁶ Calvin called him "the miracle of Italy."⁴⁷ Many more such laudatory remarks can be read in the *testimonia* of the various editions of the *Loci communes*. Surprisingly, even

⁴¹From Vermigli's "Exhortation for Youths to Study Sacred Letters," in *Life Letters and Sermons*, Peter Martyr Library 5, ed. J. Patrick Donnelly (Kirksville, MO.: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999), 281. The face of this Italian graces the walls of the upper reading room of the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford. There his countenance peers over the dusty books and diligent students with the likes of William of Ockham and Duns Scotus and other famous alumni of the university.

⁴²Josiah Simler, *Oratio de vita et obitu viri optimi praestantissimi Theologi D. Petri Martyris Vermiglii, Sacrarum literarum in schola Tigurina Professoris* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1563), xvi. My translation differs slightly from Donnelly in *Life Letters and Sermons*, 61. Reference is to Plato, *Phaedo*, 118A.

⁴³Zanchi, letter to John Calvin, 18 April 1563, Zanchi's *Opera Theologica* (Geneva: Stephanus Gamonetus, 1605-13), vol. 2, *Liber Epistolarum*, 292: "...quamdiu vixit meus vere observandus pater et praeceptor carissimus, Peter Martyr..." I am grateful to Professor John Farthing for pointing this out to me.

⁴⁴Letter from Jewel to Bullinger, dated 5 March 1563, in *Zurich Letters*, 1: 123.

⁴⁵*Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, 1531-1558*, ed. Hastings Robinson for the Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846-1847), 1: 97.

⁴⁶*Corpus Reformatorum (CR)*, (Berlin/Leipzig/Zurich, 1835-), 48: 3879. Cf. Marvin Anderson, *Peter Martyr Vermigli: A Reformer in Exile (1542-1562)* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1975), 266.

⁴⁷Cited in Joseph C. McLelland, *The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli A. D. 1500-1562* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 1. In a letter to Cranmer, Calvin stated that Vermigli was "*optimus et integerrimus vir*" quoted in McLelland, *Visible Words*, 279. Calvin also praised Vermigli's work on the Eucharist; he said "The whole [doctrine of the Eucharist] was crowned by Peter Martyr, who has left nothing to be desired," in his "Clear Explanation of Sound Doctrine concerning the True Partaking of the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, in order to dissipate the mists of Tileman Heshusius," in *Selected Works of John Calvin: Tracts and Letters*, ed. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House reprint, 1983), 2: 535.

Cornelius Schultung, the Catholic controversialist, gave a backhanded compliment to Vermigli when he suggested that Calvin probably borrowed his ideas from Vermigli.⁴⁸

Of course, there were contemporaries who were less appreciative of Vermigli's character and talents. William Tresham⁴⁹, a canon of Christ Church, vice-chancellor of Oxford University, and Vermigli's main opponent at the Oxford disputation in 1549, described Vermigli as a "pseudomartyr" and "a dotting old man, subverted, impudent, and famous master of errors who fled from Germany for the sake of lust and adultery."⁵⁰

With the increasing attention, it was inevitable that differences of interpretation would surface among modern Vermigli scholars. Because his extraordinary career strategically places him at the intellectual and religious crossroads of the sixteenth century, scholars have attempted to locate him on the historiographical map. In recent years, Vermigli has acquired a number of interesting labels, such as "Calvinist Thomist," "Protestant Humanist" and "intensified Augustinian."⁵¹ Let me say a word about these modern perceptions of Peter Martyr Vermigli.

A. Calvinist Thomist

Vermigli received a thorough grounding in Thomism⁵² at the University of Padua where he spent nearly eight years at the Augustinian monastery of S. Giovanni di Verdara.⁵³ Drawing upon his Paduan education, the balance of recent scholarship has tended to portray Vermigli as a kind of proto-Protestant scholastic, who served as theological inspiration for the emergence of a Reformed scholasticism. It was Brian Armstrong who described Vermigli as one of the three "early reformers who most evidently inclined toward the budding

⁴⁸Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 2.

⁴⁹Gerald Bray, ed. *The Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, with the Henrician Canons of 1535* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Brewer, forthcoming), xxiii. Tresham (1495-1569) was vice-chancellor of Oxford 1532-1547, and again in 1556 and 1558. He was also chaplain to Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London.

⁵⁰The citation is from John Strype, *Memorials ... of ... Thomas Cranmer*, 3: xlv.

⁵¹An earlier version of this material was published as "Peter Martyr Vermigli: At the Crossroads of Late Medieval Scholasticism, Christian Humanism and Resurgent Augustinianism" in *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays in Reassessment*, ed. Carl R. Truman and R.S. Clark (Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster Press, 1999), 62-78.

⁵²McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 106. See also McNair, "Biographical Introduction," 5.

⁵³Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1895), 2/1: 21. Cf. Antonino Poppi, "La Teologia nell'Universita e nelle Scuole," in *Storia e Cultura al Santo di Padova: Fra il XIII e il XX Secolo*, vol. 3, ed. Antonino Poppi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1976), 14 and A. B. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities: Their Development and Organization* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1975), 48-74.

Protestant scholasticism" (along with Theodore Beza and Girolamo Zanchi).⁵⁴ This "villainous triumvirate," it was argued, cast an Aristotelian spell upon the Reformed tradition, resulting in the displacement of the essentially biblical vision of Calvin with a philosophical orientation and a reliance on speculative reason. As the senior member of this trio, Vermigli emerges as one of the Aristotelian architects of Reformed scholasticism.⁵⁵

Subsequently, John Patrick Donnelly endorsed Armstrong's basic assessment of Vermigli's role in the development of Reformed scholasticism.⁵⁶ While acknowledging that Vermigli's theology rested upon a biblical foundation and was buttressed by a strong Augustinianism, Donnelly judged that Thomas Aquinas was the primary medieval source for Vermigli's thought. The points of agreement between Vermigli and Thomas, argued Donnelly, were "probably instances of direct borrowing."⁵⁷ Based upon his analysis, Donnelly concluded that Vermigli was a kind of "Calvinist Thomist."⁵⁸ According to Donnelly, "Jerome Zanchi was the most thoroughgoing and influential in pioneering Calvinist scholasticism, Theodore Beza was the best known and most prolific, but Vermigli was the first and the inspiration of all who came after."⁵⁹

B. Protestant Humanist

Donnelly's characterization of Vermigli as a Calvinist scholastic has been contested by another Vermigli scholar, the late Marvin Anderson, who saw Vermigli primarily as a Protestant humanist.⁶⁰ These scholarly differences were on display at a conference devoted to Vermigli and Italian reform at McGill

⁵⁴Brian G. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 38.

⁵⁵Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*, 129. At the time of his assessment, Armstrong admitted Vermigli's scholasticism awaited positive demonstration.

⁵⁶Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 29, readily admits that his study "is primarily concerned with the scholastic side of Martyr ..."

⁵⁷Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 126. Donnelly's stress on Vermigli's Thomistic origins are even more emphatic in his article "Calvinist Thomism" *Viator* 7 (1976), 443.

⁵⁸Donnelly, "Calvinist Thomism," 452.

⁵⁹Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 207.

⁶⁰Anderson, "Peter Martyr Vermigli: Protestant Humanist," in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*, ed. J.C. McLelland (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980), 65-84. Anderson makes the same point in reference to Vermigli's commentary on I Corinthians: "Patristic references, grammatical exegesis, rejection of scholastic terminology and the centrality of faith are the marks of this commentary. They form the core of the new [humanist] exegesis." See his "Word and Spirit in Exile (1542-61): the Biblical Writings of Peter Martyr Vermigli," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970), 200. Cf. Alexandre Ganoczy, *La Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1969), 19-27. Ganoczy's reconstruction and analysis of Vermigli's library supports Anderson's portrayal of Vermigli as a humanist.

University in 1977.⁶¹ As a result of this debate, a number of historical facts surfaced in support of Anderson's thesis. First, it has been noted that Christian humanism was a vibrant intellectual current running through Vermigli's Paduan years.⁶² A number of Vermigli's close associates within the University community included well-known humanists such as Pietro Bembo, Reginald Pole, and Marcantonio Flaminio.⁶³ Furthermore, Vermigli's own Prior at the monastery of S. Giovanni di Verdara, Alberto da Verona, was a dedicated humanist.⁶⁴ Finally, the research of Paolo Sambin on the formation of the library at S. Giovanni di Verdara reveals a significant interest in the humanist tradition.⁶⁵ These influences are reinforced by the demonstrable fact that a humanist orientation is amply reflected in Vermigli's later thought.

Secondly, Anderson stresses that if one is to understand Vermigli, one must appreciate that he was first and foremost a biblical scholar.⁶⁶ His entire catalogue of publications is an indication of his intention to derive his theology directly from the Scriptures. He lectured on many books of the Bible at Protestant academies in Strasbourg, Zurich and the University of Oxford.⁶⁷ Along with Calvin and Bullinger, Vermigli was one of the leading representatives of the Reformed tradition of Protestant biblical commentators.⁶⁸ Anderson argues that Vermigli's humanistic orientation is evinced from his strong emphasis on philology,

⁶¹In the introduction to *Peter Martyr and Italian Reform*, 1-2, J. C. McLelland recalls that there was heated debate at the 1977 conference held at McGill University. One of the debated points concerned "the recent thesis that Vermigli was one of the chief scholasticizers of Calvinism." It was, as McLelland says, "Anderson versus Donnelly".

⁶²D. Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter-Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 26.

⁶³McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 96-100.

⁶⁴Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna, Acta Capitularia, MS. 220, fols. 11v, 49r, 73r, refer to his election as the Rector General in the years 1505, 1516 and 1519, thus revealing how important a figure Alberto da Verona was among the Augustinian Canons. Cf. McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 88.

⁶⁵Paolo Sambin, "La formazione quattrocentesca della Biblioteca di S. Giovanni di Verdara in Padova," *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, Classe di scienze morali e lettere* 114 (1955-1956): 265-266, notes for example that the library contained Petrarch's *De remediis* and his *De vita solitaria*.

⁶⁶Frank A. James III, "Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499-1562)" in *Major Biblical Interpreters* ed. Donald McKim (Downers Grove, Illinois, InterVarsity Press), 239-245. Cf. John L. Thompson, "The Survival of Allegorical Argumentation in Peter Martyr Vermigli's Old Testament Exegesis," in *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation*, eds. Richard A. Muller and John L. Thompson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 255-258.

⁶⁷Cf. Klaus Sturm, *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermiglis während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Strassburg 1542-1547* (Neukirchen, Neukirchener Verlag, 1971), 30-37.

⁶⁸Cf. Peter A. Lillback, "The Early Reformed Covenant Paradigm: Peter Martyr *Vis A Vis* Zwingli, Bullinger, Luther & Calvin," (paper presented at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, 28-31, October 1999).

Patristics, and exegesis.⁶⁹ One even finds the Renaissance notion of *ad fontes* surfacing in Vermigli's exegetical approach.⁷⁰ As a humanist, Vermigli was renowned for the unusual clarity of his biblical commentaries. In his own day Beza contrasted Vermigli's clarity to Bucer's prolixity.⁷¹

Like many other Reformed theologians, humanist and scholastic strains coexisted in Vermigli's methodology. One is reminded of P. O. Kristeller's warning not to pit these two methods against one another.⁷² Certainly one cannot ignore the existence of distinguishable patterns between humanists and scholastics, nor can one fail to acknowledge that controversies occasionally erupted between the two approaches.⁷³ Neither must one exaggerate the differences.⁷⁴ Vermigli shows that the two methodological approaches "peacefully coexisted" not only at universities, but also in the thought of individual theologians.

C. Intensified Augustinian⁷⁵

My own work has been the latest entry into the field of *Vermigliana*. It has been my contention that the important contributions of McLelland, Donnelly and Anderson, are most helpful in understanding Vermigli's thought. Certainly, he was scholastic in some respects and humanistic in other ways, but the portrait is

⁶⁹Anderson, "Protestant Humanist," 69-71. Cf. Muller, "Calvin and the Calvinists: Assessing Continuities and Discontinuities Between the Reformation and Orthodoxy," *Calvin Theological Journal* 30 (1995): 366 and Muller, *Scholasticism and Orthodoxy*, 6-7, 11, 27-28.

⁷⁰Vermigli, *Exhortatio ad iuventutem*, 1050, writes: "Redeamus obsecro, redeamus ad primos scripturarum fontes."

⁷¹Theodore Beza in *Correspondance de Theodore de Beze*, ed. F. Aubert, H. Meylan et al. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1960-), 6: 115.

⁷²P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 92-119. Cf. James Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995) and Charles Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁷³Nauert, *Humanism*, 20: "Humanism was not a comprehensive system of philosophy ... but a distinct method of intellectual procedure. Since scholasticism also was essentially an intellectual method rather than a single set of doctrine or conclusions, a subtle clash of intellectual methods underlies the many overt and accidental causes for the conflicts between humanists and scholastics..." See also Nauert, "The Clash of the Humanists and Scholastics: An Approach to Pre-Reformation Controversies," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 4 (1973): 2-5; L. Boehm, "Humanistische Bildungsbewegungen und mittelalterliche Universitätsverfassung: Aspekte zur frühneuzeitlichen Reformgeschichte der deutschen Universitäten," in *The Universities of the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J. IJsewijn (Louvain, 1978), 320; and Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 16-18.

⁷⁴See P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 114; Lewis Spitz, "Humanism and the Protestant Reformation," in *Renaissance Humanism*, ed. A. Rabil (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 3: 393; Winfried Trusen, "Johannes Reuchlin und die Fakultäten," in *Der Humanismus und die oberen Fakultäten*, ed. G. Keil et al (Weinheim: Wenzel Verlag, 1987), 115.

⁷⁵James, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination*, 128-150.

incomplete unless it is recognized that he was first and foremost an Augustinian. From the beginning of his career as a Roman Catholic theologian to the end of his sojourn as a Protestant theologian, he saw himself as a theological descendent of Augustine.⁷⁶ This revises the standard views of Vermigli and shifts the focus away from his methodology to his theology as the defining point.

Even a passing acquaintance with Vermigli's writings reveals that he drew heavily upon the teaching of Augustine throughout his career. The monastery at which he received his formative theological training, S. Giovanni di Verdara, has been described as a "stronghold of Augustinianism."⁷⁷ Having been a member of the Augustinian Canons, a monastic order that traced its origins to the Bishop of Hippo and which lived according to the Rule of St. Augustine,⁷⁸ it is not surprising that Augustine's thought exercised a profound theological influence on Vermigli.⁷⁹ It has been my contention that both humanist and scholastic methodologies were utilized to serve his Augustinian theology. If these two intellectual movements are pictured as tributaries in the thought of Vermigli, then Augustinianism is the deep, wide river in which they converge.

More specifically, I have maintained that Vermigli owes a considerable theological debt to one of the most intensive Augustinians of the late medieval period, Gregory of Rimini. So devoted to Augustine's theology was Gregory, that Damasus Trapp described him as "the first Augustinian of Augustine."⁸⁰ The historical evidence demonstrates that Vermigli actually read and appreciated Gregory while a student at Padua.⁸¹ It is all but certain that he first encountered Gregory as one of the more important commentators on Lombard's *Sentences*.⁸² With Gregory as his guide, it has been argued that Vermigli absorbed the distinctive doctrine of *gemina praedestinatio*.⁸³

⁷⁶James, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination*, 245-250.

⁷⁷Paolo Sambin, "Intorno a Nicoletto Vernia," *Rinascimento* 3 (1952): 262-263, quoted in McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 94.

⁷⁸For a complete history of the Augustinian rule see George Lawless, *The Rule of St. Augustine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

⁷⁹For example, the library at the Badia Fiesolana, where Vermigli had first joined the Augustinian Canons, the writings of Augustine were well represented. See Paolo Sambin, "Biblioteca di S. Giovanni di Verdara in Padova, 263-280 and Rudolf Blum *La biblioteca della Badia Fiorentina e codici di Antonio Corbinelli*, Studi e Testi 155 (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1951).

⁸⁰Damasus Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the Fourteenth Century: Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Book-Lore," *Augustiniana* 6 (1956), 181.

⁸¹Simler, *Oratio*, 4.

⁸²See F. Stegmüller, *Reportorium Commentatorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi* (Wurzburg: Schönigh, 1947), 6: 178. Corroborating this line of Gregorian influence is the fact that Gregory's commentary on the *Sentences* was frequently reprinted as a textbook and readily available in northern Italy. It was reprinted eleven times at major educational centers in Europe from 1481 to 1522. Of these reprintings, four were in northern Italy.

⁸³Frank A. James III, "A Late Medieval Parallel in Reformation Thought: *Gemina Praedestinatio* in the Thought of Gregory of Rimini and Peter Martyr Vermigli," in *Via Augustini: Augustine in the*

Although more than a century and a half separates them, there are remarkable parallels between the fourteenth century predestinarianism of Gregory and that of Vermigli in the sixteenth century. Time and again, the same issues are isolated and resolved with the same theological conclusions, often employing the same terms, and always based upon the same twin sources of Scripture and Augustine.⁸⁴ If there is a single idea that reveals theological continuity between Gregory and Vermigli, it is their distinctive understanding of the doctrine of reprobation. One of the most unusual aspects of their predestinarian thought is the forthright affirmation of unconditional reprobation. One finds in Vermigli a virtual replica of Gregory's full-fledged *gemina praedestinatio*.⁸⁵ It is this mysterious side of the *propositum Dei* that distinguishes both Gregory and Vermigli from virtually every other late medieval theologian and which unites them theologically.⁸⁶

If Peter Martyr is as important as I have suggested, then it makes good sense to see his work preserved and made accessible to modern scholars. Despite differences of interpretation, all Vermigli scholars agree that a better understanding of his thought will provide helpful insight into the formation of the Reformed branch of Protestantism. To that end, the Peter Martyr Library was established.

IV. The Peter Martyr Library

The origins of the Peter Martyr Library take us back nearly fifty years ago to 1951.⁸⁷ That year two young scholars discovered Peter Martyr, quite independently of one another, while studying in the British Isles. Joe McLelland was encouraged to pursue a doctoral dissertation on Vermigli by T. F. Torrance at the University of Edinburgh, and Philip McNair began his work on Vermigli at Oxford under Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Claude Jenkins. The

Later Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, ed. Heiko A. Oberman and Frank A. James III (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 157-188.

⁸⁴James, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination*, 77-78.

⁸⁵There is a general consensus that Gregory taught a doctrine of double predestination. See Martin Schüler, *Prädestination, Sünde und Freiheit bei Gregor von Rimini*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 3 (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1934), 46ff, Heiko Oberman, *Archbishop Thomas Bradwardine A Fourteenth Century Augustinian: A Study of His Theology in its Historical Context* (Utrecht, 1957), 219 and Leff, *Gregory of Rimini*, 197. As for Vermigli, see James *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination*, 147 and Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 132.

⁸⁶Indeed, Gordon Leff suggests that the primary reason Gregory is remembered in later generations is primarily because of this foreboding doctrine of reprobation. Gordon Leff, *Gregory of Rimini: Tradition and Innovation in Fourteenth Century Thought* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), 196.

⁸⁷McLelland recalls that he had heard something about Vermigli from Mariano Di Gangi in 1949. Di Gangi, a Canadian of Italian descent, was just then completing his Bachelor of Divinity thesis at Presbyterian College, Montreal, on Peter Martyr Vermigli. See Mariano Di Gangi, "Pietro Martire Vermigli (1500-1562): An Italian Calvinist," (B. D. thesis, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada, 1949). This was the first extensive treatment of Vermigli in the twentieth century.

following year, a British doctoral student, Gordon Huelin, began yet another dissertation on Martyr at the University of London. This unexpected convergence of interest in Vermigli laid the foundation of what later became the Peter Martyr Library.

The idea for a collection of Peter Martyr's works translated into English was the brainchild of Joe McLelland in the late 1970's. Having witnessed a small revival of interest with the publication of several books on Vermigli, McLelland decided to convene an international conference in 1977 at McGill University in Montreal.⁸⁸ It was after that conference that McLelland began to think seriously about establishing the Peter Martyr Library. He joined forces with Pat Donnelly and they spent the better part of a decade seeking a publisher, assembling an advisory board and finding translators. I became involved with the project in 1988, and shortly thereafter Bob Schnucker became the Managing Editor and the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference agreed to publish the series. In 1996, I became the third General Editor.

The General Editors decided to publish all of Vermigli's major writings as well as the more important smaller writings. The project was divided into two series of twelve volumes each. The first five volumes have already been published: J.C. McLelland, ed., *Early Writings, Creed, Scripture and Church*, vol. 1 (1994); J. P. Donnelly, ed., *Dialogue on the Two Natures in Christ*, vol. 2 (1995); J. P. Donnelly, ed., *Sacred Prayers Drawn from the Psalms of David*, vol. 3 (1996); J.C. McLelland, ed., *Philosophical Works: On the Relation of Philosophy to Theology*, vol. 4 (1996); J. P. Donnelly, ed., *Life, Letters and Sermons*, vol. 5 (1998). In order to present Vermigli to larger audience, the General editors have published, *The Peter Martyr Reader* (1999), which contains key *loci*, extracts, sermons and prayers from our Reformer.

Four more volumes are nearing completion: theological *loci* on justification and predestination, the disputation and treatise on the Oxford disputation, commentaries on the book of Lamentations and Aristotle's ethics. The final

⁸⁸Besides the publication of McLelland's own work, *The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli A.D. 1500-1562* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957) and that of Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), four other works were published. Klaus Sturm, *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermigli während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Strassburg 1542-1547* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971), written originally at the University of Bonn under the direction of Ernst Bizer; J. Patrick Donnelly, "Peter Martyr on Fallen Man: A Protestant Scholastic View" (Ph.D. disser., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1971), written under the direction of Robert M. Kingdon, later revised and published as *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976); Salvatore Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti: A Study in Vermigli's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper* (Zurich, 1975), written at the University of Zurich under the direction of Drs. Fritz Blanke and Fritz Büsser. The other major work devoted to Vermigli was that of Marvin W. Anderson, *Peter Martyr in Exile (1542-1562): A Chronology of Biblical Writings in England and Europe* (Nieukoop: B. De Graaf, 1975). Gordon Huelin's doctoral dissertation, "Peter Martyr and the English Reformation," (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1955), was completed but never published.

three volumes of the first series (Romans, I Corinthians Genesis) should be ready in the next four years. The goal is to publish one or two volumes a year and thus complete the first series by 2004. The second series will continue publishing Vermigli's most important treatises: *Defense of Eucharist Against Gardiner, Vows and Celibacy* and commentaries (Judges, I-II Samuel, I-II Kings), as well as various volumes dedicated to Martyr's writings on specialized subjects, such as the church, politics, women, Christian life, Scriptures and the Trinity.

We have assembled an international team of superb translators from England, Canada, Switzerland and the United States. We are still looking for good translators as the project continues to move forward. One measure of the success of the Peter Martyr Library is the fact that there are currently six doctoral dissertations on Vermigli underway at major universities.⁸⁹ While much work remains to be done, all indications are that Vermigli is well on his way to recovering his place alongside the other major Reformed theologians of the sixteenth century.

⁸⁹Several doctoral dissertations dealing with Peter Martyr Vermigli press toward completion. Peter Ackroyd is working on Vermigli's ecclesiology at the University of Edinburgh under the supervision of D.F. Wright; John Jackson is engaged in research which includes Vermigli's contribution to the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, at Oxford University under the supervision of Dairmaid MacCulloch; L.G. Alexander is pursuing her dissertation on Vermigli and Cranmer on the Eucharist, under MacCulloch at Oxford University, and Michael Baumann, is working on Vermigli in Zurich at the University of Zurich under the supervision of Emidio Campi. More recently, Alessia Artini, at the University of Florence, has turned her attention to Vermigli in Lucca, and John Kilbane is beginning research on Vermigli at the University of Glasgow under the supervision of Ian Hazlett.