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Biblical Humanism and Roman Catholic Reform: (1501—1542) Contarini, Pole, and Giberti*

MARVIN W. ANDERSON

Reginald Pole deserves careful attention by students of the Reformation period.¹ Pole delivered one and shared in a second of three confessions which assumed Roman Catholic guilt for the splintering of Christendom. Adrian VI excoriated the Curia in his *Instructio* of Jan. 3, 1523, read to the Diet of Nuremberg by Francesco Chierigati. Lortz comments:

It has been said on the Catholic side that this confession was not politically wise. That it certainly was not. . . . Christianity, in the last analysis, cannot tolerate political standards. . . . The confession of Adrian, who was personally an exemplary pope, was nothing less than the prerequisite for that interior-ecclesiastical renewal which then began in spite of all difficulties. . . .²

Pole and Contarini authored the *Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia* of 1537. On Jan. 7, 1546, Cardinal Pole addressed the reformers at Trent. Not only did Pole assume

* I am grateful to the Lutheran Brotherhood Insurance Company of Minneapolis, Minn., for a grant to complete this study in Italy.

¹ See Joseph G. Dwyer, *Pole's Defense of the Unity of the Church* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1965), xii—xli.

² Joseph Lortz, *How the Reformation Came* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1964), pp. 113—14.

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Roman Catholic responsibility for the evils burdening the flock of Christ, but he also set Biblical and Christological conditions for a corporate *Mea culpa*.

We who have the office of Fathers must act in everything by faith and hope and place our trust in the power of Christ, whom God the Father calls His right hand, and in the Wisdom of Christ, who is the Wisdom of the Father, whose ministers in all things we acknowledge ourselves to be.

Therefore what, in His great love of God the Father and in His mercifulness towards our race, Christ did, justice itself now enacts of us that we should do. Before the tribunal of God's mercy we, the shepherds, should make ourselves responsible for all the evils now burdening the flock of Christ. The sins of all we should take upon ourselves, not in generosity but in justice; because the truth is that of these evils we are in great part the cause, and therefore we should implore the divine mercy through Jesus Christ.³

Tracing Pole's concern for the mercy of Christ involves one in tracing his early life and Biblical study in England and Italy from 1519 to 1543. There in Italy his associations with Italian reformers and their Biblical study is significant. A search of their correspondence adds much to stan-

³ Vincent McNabb, "Cardinal Pole's Eirenicon," *The Dublin Review*, CXCVIII (1936), 151—53.

dard biographies like that by Wilhelm Schenk. Pole freely confessed Catholic responsibility for the revolt, expressing concern for an inner reform based on an understanding of *sola fide*.^{4a} This program of double reform, reiterated by Girolamo Seripando at Trent, permits one to ask how widespread was the willingness among the hierarchy to confess personal responsibility for the German revolt. That a council was deemed necessary at all explains the extent of that guilt. Pole and the Augustinian Seripando were repudiated by the sessions at Trent. Pole's association with Contarini, Giberti, and Seripando to 1541 helps one explain those remarkable confessions of 1537 and 1546. Seripando endorsed Pole's legatine address. Pole concurred in Seripando's succinct vote for reform on Jan. 22, 1546. "Reformation is twofold, exterior and interior. Dogma pertains to the interior reformation which requires the greatest attention and is more needful. The exterior reform will be more easily accomplished without a council."^{4b}

At the base of that plea for a reformation of medieval dogma lies a well-conceived program of Biblical and patristic study.⁵ A careful search of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana at Venice and the Vat-

^{4a} Marvin Anderson, "Luther's *Sola Fide* in Italy: 1542—1551," *Church History*, XXXVII (1968), forthcoming. See also Ray C. Petry, "Christian Humanism and Reform in the Erasmian Critique of Tradition," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. O. B. Hardison Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 138—70.

^{4b} *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistolarum, tractatum nova collectio*, 2d ed., Stephan Ehse, V (Freiburg im Breisgau: Societas Goerresiana, 1964), 169, lines 18—21.

⁵ Robert E. McNally, "Holy Scripture and Catholic Reform," *Thought*, XLII (1967), 5—22.

ican Library adds much information about the program of Biblical humanism followed by Contarini, Pole, and Giberti. What follows is a preliminary review based on their correspondence between 1501 and 1542.

I. CONTARINI AND VENETIAN REFORM (1501—1523)

Gasparo Contarini (1483—1542) is the most attractive of the Italian reformers in this period.⁶ The Venetian church from 1400 to 1550 displayed an intense spirituality, a fervid desire for reform, and a distrust of Christian dogma based on works. Until 1541 and Roman inquisitorial visitations, Venice fostered a climate of opinion open to Catholic reform.⁷ Paolo Giustini-ani, Alvise Priuli, Reginald Pole, and Marc'Antonio Flaminio are the architects of renewal.⁸ Flaminio in particular meditates on the cause of Christ "through a diligent reading of the New Testament and the works of Saint Augustine."⁹ When Caraffa as Pope Paul IV detained Cardinal Morone on suspicion of heresy, Pole objected from England in a letter of 1557, going on to exonerate Priuli, "who was

⁶ Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 11. See the penetrating discussion of "Evangelism" on pp. 5—9.

⁷ For a description of the inquisition in Venice see Edouard Pommier, "La société Vénitienne et la Réforme protestante au XVI siècle," *Bollettino dell' Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano*, I (1959), 5.

⁸ Gaetano Cozzi, *Il Doge Niccolò Contarini* (Venezia-Roma: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1958), p. 40.

⁹ "A M. Pietro Pamphilo Siscalco della Sig. Duchessa D'Urbino," Verona, Aug. 9, 1537, *De le Lettere di tredici Huomini illustri libri tredici* (Venice, 1554), p. 130r. See Pio Paschini, *Un amico del card. Polo, Alvise Priuli* (Roma: Pontificio Seminario Romano Maggiore, 1921).

my intimate consultant and participant at Brescia when Julius III, your sacred predecessor, and the Venetian Senate judged him to be complete in piety and doctrine."¹⁰ The homogeneity of this Paduan-Venetian circle augured well for a Biblical theology which would undergird reform. Contarini by birth and training became their leader from 1511 until 1542.¹¹ Priuli described Pole's stay at Liège in 1537 while he waited with Giberti to enter England as papal legate.¹²

In the evening we sing Vespers and Compline, and then, every other day, the legate (Pole) lectures to us on the epistles of St. Paul, beginning with the first epistle to Timothy. . . . How often has the legate said to me: "Surely this peace is given to us by God!" And he always adds: "Oh, why is not Mons[ignor] Contarini with us?"¹³

When one concentrates on Contarini, it is well to remember this wider circle engaged in Biblical study. Were these men unin-

¹⁰ Peryt MSS., No. 538, Vol. 46, p. 401 v, Inner Temple Library, London. The vindication was never dispatched, for Pole did not want to "expose the nakedness of his father." (Gen. 9: 22-23)

¹¹ Orestes Ferrara, *Gasparo Contarini et ses missions* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1956), pp. 220 f. On Bologna and its contacts with Venice-Padua see Antonio Rotondò, "Per la storia dell'eresia a Bologna nel secolo XVI," *Rinascimento*, Seconda Serie, II (1962), 107 to 136.

¹² Wilhelm Schenk, *Reginald Pole Cardinal of England* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950), p. 79.

¹³ Angelo Maria Quirini, *Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli S. R. E. Cardinalis et aliorum ad ipsum*, II (Brescia: Joannes-Maria Rizzardi, 1746), civ—cv. See G. M. Monti, "La legazione del Polo e del Giberti in Francia e in Fiandra nel 1537," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1930, offprint.

structed in theology, confused by the din of reform, or mystics retreating to pleasant country villas after the collapse of Renaissance Rome?¹⁴ Careful attention to Pole's association with Contarini, Cortese, and Giberti suggests that Douglas has been too hasty in judging these cardinals.¹⁵ One must be careful not to portray Contarini as an Athanasius *contra mundum catholicum*, nor as sailing ill prepared on the heavy seas of doctrinal controversy. From his training at Padua with Musurus to his *Turmerlebnis* with Giustiniani at Venice; from his association with Pole and Giberti in the reform commission of Pope Paul III to his theological role at Ratisbon;¹⁶ from his experience as Venetian ambassador to his friendship with Pope Paul III, Contarini was well prepared to initiate reform based on the documents of revelation. The complexities of his career need only be sketched in outline to show the value of his Biblical study. It began at Padua and ended at Lucca.

¹⁴ That is, persons like Pietro Bembo, who retired as secretary to Leo X in 1521. See Vittoria Cian, *Un decennio della vita di M. Pietro Bembo, 1521—1531* (Turin: E. Loescher, 1885), p. 106.

¹⁵ Richard M. Douglas, *Jacopo Sadoleto 1447—1547: Humanist and Reformer* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959) pp. 80—81, 93.

¹⁶ The Gonzaga letters deserve careful reading. Edmondo Solmi, "Gasparo Contarini alla Dieta di Ratisbona. secondo i documenti inedite dell' Archivio Gonzaga di Mantoua," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, XIII (1903) 5—33, 69—93. See also Solmi, "Lettere inedite del Cardinale Gasparo Contarini nel Carteggio del Cardinale Ercole Gonzaga," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, XI (1904), 253. Letters may be found in Walter Friedensburg, "Der Briefwechsel Gasparo Contarinis mit Ercole Gonzaga" in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven*, II (1899).

A. Padua: 1501—1511

Padua attracted students from every part of Europe during the 14th century as English scholars in particular throughout the century found their way there to learn Greek. Though Canterbury Convocation confirmed the 1311 decree of the Council of Vienne on the teaching of Greek and in 1320 levied a tax and appointed a teacher, it had little effect.¹⁷ Not until Fox's Statutes of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, were issued June 29, 1517, did the serious study of Greek begin in England.¹⁸ That Poggio left England in 1423 to learn Greek in Italy is sufficient comment on the decline of Greek studies since the time of Robert Grosseteste in the 13th century.¹⁹

¹⁷ Roberto Weiss, "England and the Decree of Vienne on the Teaching of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XIV (1952), 1. Erasmus lamented the neglect of the 1311 decree, reissued in 1434 by the 19th session of the Council of Basel. See P. S. Allen, "The Trilingual Colleges of the Early Sixteenth Century," *Erasmus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), pp. 139—40.

¹⁸ Bishop Fox made Edward Wotton (1492 to 1555) fellow of Corpus Christi in 1521 with permission to travel in Italy for 3 years to study Greek. He did so, at Padua! P. S. and H. M. Allen, *Letters of Richard Fox 1486—1527* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), p. 126, note. See R. J. Mitchell, "English Students at Padua," *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 4th series, XIX (1936), 105, and R. J. Mitchell, "English Student Life in Early Renaissance Italy," *Italian Studies*, VII (1952), 62—81.

¹⁹ Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), p. 21. On Grosseteste see Daniel A. Callus, "Robert Grosseteste as Scholar," *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 36—37; Sir Maurice Powicke, "Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, XXXV (1952—1953), 488 and 495; also Roberto Weiss, "The Study of Greek

Padua was a center of classical study, especially for students of Greek. After 1402 Padua came under Venetian protection; in fact Venetian students were forbidden to study elsewhere. To hold office under the Senate, one must have spent a term of study at Padua.²⁰ Small wonder that Contarini, born Oct. 16, 1483, to Luigi Contarini and Polissena Malipiera, studied there, where he met Marcus Musurus. This scion of Venetian nobility became an ardent scholar.²¹ While at Padua from 1501 to 1511 he mastered Greek and theology under Musurus.²²

Marcus Musurus was the leading Hellenist at the turn of the century. At Padua from 1503 to 1509, Musurus collated texts for the Aldine Press and commented extensively on their significance.²³ The proximity of Padua to Venice meant an extraordinary opportunity for Aldus Manutius to use Musurus in the production of humanist writings.²⁴ Cardinal Bessarion

in England during the Fourteenth Century," *Rinascimento*, II (1951), 210—24.

²⁰ Mitchell, "English Students at Padua," 101—102.

²¹ Ludovico Beccadelli, *La vita del Cardinale Gasparo Contarini Veneziano* (Venice: Tipografia di Alvisopoli, 1827), p. 15.

²² Beccadelli, p. 16: "There he went to work on the Greek language under the tutelage of Marcus Musurus, a Greek by both birth and education." Musurus led him to study Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Chrysostom. Giovanni della Casa, *Gasparis Contarini vita*, bound with *Opera di Monsig. Giovanni della Casa* (Florence: Giuseppe Manni, 1707), VII, 100 to 101.

²³ Giovanni Fabris, "Professori e scolari Greci all' Università di Padova," *Archivio Veneto*, Sesta Serie, XXX (1942), 129—30.

²⁴ Edward Robertson, "Aldus Manutius, The Scholar-Printer, 1450—1515," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, XXXIII (1950—1951), 57—73.

could refer to Venice as another Byzantium.²⁵ Marcus Musurus was the most productive of Cretan scholars in the West.²⁶ About 1486 Musurus at 16 years of age arrived in Florence. There he studied with John Lascaris²⁷ until 1491, leaving Florence a year after the death of Lorenzo de Medici in 1492.²⁸ At Padua Musurus deepened his philological knowledge,²⁹ and in July 1503 he became professor of Greek. So well known did Padua become that his 6-year period of instruction constitutes a milestone in the development of Greek studies in western Europe.³⁰ Even Erasmus joined the Aldine Academy.³¹ Aldus' epistle to Fascolo inserted in the *Rhetorum Graecorum orationes* of 1513 records Musurus' stature as the creator of a "second Athens" by his industry and erudition.³²

²⁵ Deno John Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 70.

²⁶ Fabris, p. 130. See the important discussion overlooked by Geanakoplos in P. Paschini, "Un Ellenista Veneziano del quattrocento: Giovanni Lorenzi," *Archivio Veneto*, Sesta Serie, XXXII—XXXIII (1943), 114—46. Geanakoplos has given the only adequate treatment of Musurus in any language, pp. 111—66.

²⁷ See Borje Knös, *Un ambassadeur de l'hellénisme: Janus Lascaris et la tradition gréco-byzantine dans l'humanisme français* (Uppsala: Almqvist ock Wiksells Botryken, 1945).

²⁸ Geanakoplos, pp. 114—19.

²⁹ Eugenio Ferrai, *L'Ellenismo nella studio di Padova* (Padua: G. B. Randi, 1876), pp. 24 f.

³⁰ Geanakoplos, p. 135.

³¹ Robertson, p. 66.

³² Radulfi Menge, "De Marci Musuri Cretensis vita studiis ingenio narratio," in *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. Marcius Schmidt, V (Jena: Sumptibus Hermannii Dufft [Libraria Maukiana], 1868), 32. The production of Greek grammars was Musurus' particular contribution,

Without doubt the young Contarini was well prepared in Greek studies, including Eastern theology.³³ A rapid check of the Aldine correspondence confirms the inclusion of Biblical and theological study at Padua under Musurus.³⁴ Aldus in a letter to William Grocyn mentions his desire to print a trilingual Bible.³⁵ Grocyn's response of Oct. 7, 1499, observes that it will be a difficult undertaking but worthy of Christian attention.³⁶ The printing of Biblical Greek and patristic sources at Venice confirms Contarini's early acquaintance with the new hermeneutics of Valla and Erasmus.³⁷

That Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset studied with Leonicus at Padua from 1521 to 1526 does not mean that Contarini

so Louis Kukenheim, *Contribution à l'histoire de la grammaire grecque, latine, et hébraïque à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), pp. 136 ff. See Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Einleitung in die attische Tragödie*, bound with *Euripides Herakles*, I (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1889), 220—21.

³³ Curt F. Buhler, "Aldus Manutius: The First Five Hundred Years," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLIV (1950), 213.

³⁴ Ester Pastorello, *L'epistolario Manuziano* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1957), and Pierre de Nolhac, *Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce: Matériaux nouveaux d'histoire littéraire 1483—1514* (Rome: Imprimerie Vaticane, 1888).

³⁵ A search in the Marcan Library, Venice, uncovered no earlier discussion of this project than Grocyn's letter in *Veneta 68: Aldo Manuzio, lettres et documents 1495—1515*, ed. Armand Baschet.

³⁶ *Procli Diadochi sphaera, astronomiam discere incipientibus utilissima. Thoma Linacro Britanno Interpretate, ad arcturum Cornubiae Valliaequae illustris Simum Principum* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499). (Aldine 104)

³⁷ Dittrich, pp. 8 f. On Valla see Marvin Anderson, "Laurentius Valla: Renaissance Critic and Biblical Theologian," *CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY*, XXXIX (1968), 10—27.

was influenced by the same program of study, even though Leonicus had taught at Padua since 1497.³⁸ That Leonicus was a Venetian born in 1456 is valuable in understanding the varied educational experiences available to Contarini at Padua.³⁹ That Leonicus taught some theological writings to Linacre (1497) seems possible.⁴⁰ Della Casa may be referring to Leonicus when he describes Contarini's teachers at Padua.

Now the majority of these advised the study of a pious Christianity of which it is no doubt correct to say that Basil, Chrysostom and Nazianzus signify the most saintly examples of the Greek Doctors, the best that our lives can emulate.⁴¹

Whatever Contarini's study at Padua included, it is clear that by 1511 he reached a spiritual crisis.

B. Venice: 1511—1523

Few had a more lasting impact on Venetian reform than Paul Giustiniani. Born in 1476, this humanistic eremite sought to restore vitality to the church by his exposure of Renaissance Rome⁴² in imitation

of Jerome. After his study in Padua and participation in a humanist group in Murano, Giustiniani entered a Camaldolese hermitage at Venice in 1510.⁴³ While the young layman Contarini entered diplomatic service, his friend urged him to join the Camaldolese order.⁴⁴ In an exchange of correspondence recently published by Jedin one can observe Contarini's spiritual struggle.⁴⁵ One must not forget the impassioned plea made by Giustiniani to Pope Leo X for reform, which is indicative of the important role Giustiniani must have held for the young Contarini.⁴⁶ Yet Contarini's *Turmerlebnis* is one incident in a lifetime of reforming activity. To suggest as does Jedin that his spiritual experience described in a letter of April 24, 1511, to Giustiniani was definitive for Contarini's theological compromise 30 years later at Ratisbon is to minimize the influences on Contarini of other events and persons more directly related to the Italian scene.⁴⁷ Contarini placed a theological construction on

les ermites de son temps," *Problemi di vita religiosa in Italia nel Cinquecento, Italia Sacra*, II (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1960), 238.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 225.

⁴⁴ Hubert Jedin, "Gasparo Contarini e il contributo veneziano alla riforma cattolica," Diego Valeri et al., *La Civiltà veneziana del Rinascimento* (Florence: Sansoni, 1958), pp. 103—24.

⁴⁵ For Giustiniani see Jean Leclercq, *Un humaniste ermite: le B. Paul Giustiniani (1476—1528)* (Rome, 1951).

⁴⁶ "Libellus ad Leonem X," *Annales Camaldulenses*, eds. J. B. Mittarelli and A. Costadoni, IX (1792), 512—719.

⁴⁷ Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Ernest Graf, I (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1957), 167. For Contarini's relations with Donato Giannotti and the Florentine Francesco da Diacceto see Roberto Ridolfi, "Sommaro della vita di Donato Giannotti," *Opuscoli* (1942), pp. 67—82.

³⁸ Giuseppe Cammelli, *Demetrio Calcondila, i dotti Bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo*, III (Firenze: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento [Felice Le Mannier], 1954), 12. See Leonard Penlock, "Cardinal Pole and His Friends at Padua", *The Dublin Review*, CLXXIII (1923), 215.

³⁹ Lupset and Pole studied Chrysostom and Greek theology. See the letter of Erasmus to Pole in P. S. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Erasmi*, VI, Ep. 1642, lines 4—7, March 8, 1526. Letter not cited in Schenk, *Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England*, pp. 15—18, where Lupset's letter in Allen, VI, 1595, is listed.

⁴⁰ Allen, VI, 1642.

⁴¹ Giovanni della Casa, pp. 101—102. On Biblical study at Bologna see Rotondò, pp. 118—19.

⁴² Jean Leclercq, "Le B. Paul Giustiniani et

that experience, as a careful reading of his correspondence with Giustiniani reflects.⁴⁸

Contarini's crisis experience, like that of Luther, cannot be isolated from his Biblical study and the influence of others. Jedin argues from Contarini's refutation of Luther a few years later that Contarini took his stand with St. Paul, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas, not Martin Luther.⁴⁹ Then, too, argues Jedin, the epistle on justification explaining the Ratisbon agreement presents Contarini's authentic commentary on his evangelical bent.⁵⁰ That a different approach is taken in Contarini's 1542 Pauline commentaries suggests that more careful attention should be given both to the correspondence with Giustiniani and to Contarini's association with Pole.

II. POLE AND PADUAN HUMANISM (1519—1534)

Reginald Pole, the last Roman Catholic archbishop of Canterbury, was born into an England still loyal to the pope and died a cardinal in 1558. The interim, with its religious and political machinations, encompasses his struggle to reform the church. Pursued by the assassins of Henry VIII,⁵¹ grieved by the execution of his

⁴⁸ Hubert Jedin, "Contarini und Camaldoli," *Estratto dall' Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* II (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1953), 25, lines 7—10, Dec. 26, 1511, to Giustiniani. See also 27: 20—30 and 67:12—18.

⁴⁹ Jedin, *Trent*, I, 378.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 382—83 (May 25, 1541).

⁵¹ He writes from Carpentras to Cardinal Farnese of anxiety for the safety of his person on May 12, 1539. Alli, May 12, 1539. Unedited autograph letter in the Parmese State Archives. *Archivio di Stato Parma, Raccoldi MSS.*, busta n. 135, *Cardinali pergamene e lettere autografe*, "Pole (Card.) Reginaldo—

family,"⁵² Pole turned increasingly to the task of reform. His cousin, Henry VIII, financed Pole's early education.

A. *Royal Humanist*: 1519—1532

When his father died in 1505, Reginald entered the Carthusian grammar school at Sheen near Richmond, going down to Oxford in 1512 to study under Latimer and Linacre at Magdalen College for 7 years. In 1513 Henry ordered the prior of Saint Frideswide in Oxford to pay him a pension.⁵³ In June 1515 Pole was graduated with a bachelor of arts degree, and in 1519 he was sent at his own wish to Padua with a £100 contribution from the king.⁵⁴ On arrival in Padua Pole had written to Henry hoping that he would not be forced to abandon Padua for lack of money nor need

1537—S. A.," n. 3. The letters were placed at my disposal by the archivist Ettore Falconi. They were unavailable to Pastor, *History of the Popes*, XI, 162n., and to Schenk, p. 171.

⁵² After Pole failed to endorse Henry's divorce, his royal blood was an asset in Italy, but not in England. Philip Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1942), pp. 29—30: "For this lady, the mother of Cardinal Pole, was the daughter of George, duke of Clarence. She was therefore niece to the king reigning at the time of her birth, Edward IV, first cousin to his successor, Edward V, and to that successor's brother, Richard, Duke of York—the ill-fated princes murdered in the tower—and niece to King Richard III, and first cousin to Elizabeth, the Queen of Henry VIII."

⁵³ Schenk, p. 3. W. Gordon Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 5. Zeeveld comments on the continuous support of humanism by Henry VIII.

⁵⁴ "Reginald Pole," *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLVI, 35, col. ii. D. N. B. erroneously gives the date as February 1521. See R. J. Mitchell, "English Students at Padua," p. 105.

to live penuriously.⁵⁵ These years were formative for the future and perhaps the happiest he was to know.

So for eight years, the happiest years of Pole's life, the only entirely happy years one is tempted to think, the royal humanist grew more and more akin to what he studied at Padua, his beloved classics, the fathers, the New Testament, until there arose to compel his return to England that "King's matter" . . .⁵⁶

While at Padua, Pole frequented Venice, where on Corpus Christi Day, 1525, he took part in the Doge's procession as it befitted a royal scholar.⁵⁷ Bembo introduced Pole to Sadoletto and Giberti. In 1525 Pole ended his stay at Padua with a visit to Rome, but failed to present the letters of introduction given him by Bembo to the court of Clement VII; instead he visited holy places.⁵⁸ When Pole had been

⁵⁵ J. S. Brewer, ed. *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, III, Part II (1518—1523) (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1867), No. 198. Brewer lists the date as April 27, 1519. Hereafter cited as *Letters and Papers*.

⁵⁶ Hughes, p. 33. "Eight years" is an error. E. J. B. Fry, "Monsignor of England: Cardinal Pole in Italy," *Dublin Review*, CCXX (1958), 236—45, describes the period after 1550. For Pole's study of the Pauline Epistles and Chrysostom with Lupset see Cardinal Gasquet, *Cardinal Pole and His Early Friends* (London: G. Bell, 1927), p. 23. See also Erasmus' letter to Lupset in Allen, VI, 1642, lines 4—7 (March 8, 1526), and Botzheim to Erasmus in Allen, VI, 1761 (Oct. 22, 1526). Also see Erasmus to Pole in Allen, IX, 2526 [Aug. 25, 1531]. On Lupset see the definitive study by John Archer Gee, *The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928).

⁵⁷ Schenk, pp. 15—16.

⁵⁸ Penlock, p. 219. On Bembo see Piero Floriani, "La giovinezza umanistica di Pietro Bembo fino al periodo ferrarese," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, CXLIII (1966), 25—71.

in Rome "three or four days, and seen the abomination of the cardinals, bishops, and other officers, with the detestible vices of that city, he could in no wise tarry there any longer."⁵⁹ Out of this grew the reforming concepts that Pole expressed while serving on the Commission of Cardinals 12 years later and which he reiterated in his 1546 legatine address at Trent.⁶⁰

In the calm of the university, in the stimulation of brilliant scholars, and in the pursuit of sacred and secular letters the royal humanist found a peace he was not long to enjoy. With the physical trial resulting from his refusal to support Henry's annulment came the psychological test of his scholarship. Should he remain in a contemplative role or should he become active in the affairs of Empire and Ecclesia? His relation to the English king resolved that question. No cousin of Henry in any degree could remain neutral for long. Pole's fellow students involved themselves with royal affairs in a variety of ways. Richard Pace became ambassador to Venice and later dean of St. Paul's; Thomas More turned to law; Cuthbert Tunstal performed several diplomatic missions. Then, too, Wolsey's example reminded Pole that dangers accompanied royal service. What Pole hated in Rome he was not to love in his fair England.

Rather than return to public life in England in 1527, Pole retired to the privacy of the Carthusian monastery where he had been educated as a boy. Henry was determined to draw him out. "It seems, however, that Pole took no part in the divorce proceedings on either side between

⁵⁹ Schenk, p. 16.

⁶⁰ McNabb, 149—60.

1527 and 1529."⁶¹ In 1529 Pole persuaded Henry to permit his return to Padua. Henry granted the usual stipend. Pole traveled to Paris with Lupset and others, but was ordered en route to act as royal representative to the theological faculty of the University of Paris.⁶² The bishop of Bayonne wrote on October 12 of Pole's departure. "This King [Henry VIII] is now sending his relative Poul, one of the most learned men known, to visit the country, and continue his studies."⁶³ There are divergent views of Pole's behavior, since on April 29 Henry paid him an additional £70.⁶⁴ Henry received an appreciative reply from Paris on July 2, 1530. Chapuys wrote Charles V that Pole, who had refused the archbishopric of York, had not been able to obtain permission to study abroad until lately.⁶⁵ Henry had offered the vacancy at York to Pole on the condition that Pole support him.⁶⁶

Pole visited York Place, Westminster, where Henry confronted him. Pole's careful compromise dissolved in Henry's presence when Pole declared himself opposed to the divorce. Henry was wroth and Pole in tears. One must not impugn the latter as pusillanimous since as late as October 1529 the conscientious Thomas More accepted the office of Lord Chancellor, not to resign until May 1532.⁶⁷ Pole told Henry he must attend Parliament on Feb-

ruary 16 where, if the divorce were discussed, he must give an opinion.⁶⁸ Henry immediately gave Pole permission to return to Padua, retain his benefices, and continue his stipend. "Henry angled long for Reginald Pole; he would have moved earth, and possibly a little heaven, for Thomas More."⁶⁹ Thomas Wynter wrote on Oct. 20, 1532, from Padua: "Pole is at Venice, and is resolved to stay there."⁷⁰ He was not to return for over 20 years. Only now, says Schenk, did theology occupy Pole's growing mind.

Theology had hitherto not played a conspicuous part in Pole's life. Some rudimentary knowledge of it may have been acquired at Oxford, but neither Leonico nor Bembo would have been able to instruct him in theological matters or even to direct his attention to them. Not one of the friends he had made in Italy had been in any way perturbed by the state of the Church or the religious commotions beyond the Alps. We do not know when Pole decided to take up the study of divinity; from a chance remark in one of his letters it appears that he had become aware of this gap in his education soon after his return to England from Italy.⁷¹

Pole cannot have had much time for theological instruction while in England from

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30. Pole's seat was in Convocation (as dean of Exeter), not in Parliament.

⁶⁹ *Letters and Papers*, V, No. 737. Quotation from Zeeveld, p. 9.

⁷⁰ *Letters and Papers*, V, No. 1453.

⁷¹ Schenk, p. 32. For the earlier study of theology see above, note 56. Schenk also forgets Cortese, the abbot of San Giorgio in Venice, who protected the Benedictine Marco, when the latter lectured publicly on St. Paul's epistles, "and was the first inspirer of Pole" (M. A. Tucker, "Gian Matteo Giberti, Papal Politician and Catholic Reformer," *English Historical Review*, XVIII [1903], 441).

⁶¹ Schenk, p. 23.

⁶² *Letters and Papers*, IV, Part III, No. 6004.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, No. 6003.

⁶⁴ Schenk, p. 24.

⁶⁵ *Letters and Papers*, V, No. 737 (Jan. 22, 1532).

⁶⁶ Quirini, IV, 328.

⁶⁷ Schenk, pp. 26—27. See Dwyer, XIV—XV.

1527 to 1530. If he did not begin until 1532, then his sophisticated theological replies to Sadoleto of that year would be incomprehensible. Rather it seems Pole's Biblical theology was acquired certainly with Lupset in Padua and probably with Linacre and Latimer at Oxford before 1519. Pole's correspondence shows an intense devotion to Biblical studies and patristic theology.

B. Cardinal Sadoleto: 1532—1534

Jacopo Sadoleto left Rome in the collapse following 1526. Whatever his reasons for taking up residence in Carpentras, his love of philosophy continued. In 1535 he wrote a commentary on Romans, first published by Grypius in Lyons.⁷² Pole warned Sadoleto not to be so enamored of philosophy that he would neglect theology, for instruction of the young was not complete by limiting it to philosophy. One must also pass through sacred studies to live in a tranquility of mind not available in Sadoleto's educational curriculum.⁷³ Sadoleto replied that the use of Greek theologians rather than Latin scholastics in an appeal to philosophy to demonstrate the attributes of God is not novel.⁷⁴ If Pole wrote an answer to Sadoleto, it is not extant.⁷⁵ The impact of Pole's suggestion that our guide is now theology perhaps led Sadoleto to write his commentary on Romans. Subsequent letters of Sadoleto

⁷² Richard M. Douglas, *Jacopo Sadoleto 1477—1547: Humanist and Reformer*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 264, note 44. The first edition is in *Opera*, IV. The 1537 Grypian edition was expanded.

⁷³ Quirini, I, 397 (Venice, Oct. 28, 1532).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 405 (Carpentras, December 1532).

⁷⁵ Schenk, p. 34.

suggest Pole's influence on him. Pole's 1534 correspondence (not used by Schenk) contains valuable references to Biblical study.

By September 1534 Pole was enthusiastic about Contarini and Giberti at Verona. There Pole and Giberti discussed scarcely anything else than Sadoleto and his studies.⁷⁶ On Sept. 17, 1534, Pole wrote that Contarini was gracious, learned in all the arts, and perfect in divine knowledge.⁷⁷ By 1534 Pole had joined a program for spontaneous church reform centered on a renewed Biblical study. Sadoleto concedes that Pole will be a bright example to the age and would like him at Carpentras.⁷⁸ Sadoleto's final statement illumines his commentary on Romans: "The book of the Gospels contains the entire way and knowledge of our salvation."⁷⁹ Both Schenk and Douglas miss the point that Sadoleto's Biblical work is done at the instigation of Reginald Pole.

III. GIBERTI AND POLE (1534—1543)

A. Papal Secretary: 1524—1527

Giberti, former papal secretary to the Medici, was sympathetic to the Biblical study of Pole and Contarini. An under-

⁷⁶ *Letters and Papers*, V, No. 1479 (Quirini, I, 397).

⁷⁷ Quirini, I, 417.

⁷⁸ British Museum, Harliquin MS. No. 6989, fol. 38 (to Thomas Starkey Oct. 22, 1534).

⁷⁹ Quirini, I, 421: "For if only those things are to be laid hold of by us which pertain to our believing and to the creation of faith in the kindness of God and his friendly disposition toward us, these have been handed down to us compactly enough, not in mute or obscure letters, but in clear and evident letters; for the book of the gospels contains the entire way and rationale of our salvation."

standing of Pole's relation with Giberti and support of his theology to Sadoletto is essential to explain Pole's roles in the reform commission of 1536, his association with Contarini, and his legatine address of 1546.⁸⁰ Giberti is better known as a reformer than Pole since he established a seminary, later used as a model by the Council of Trent. It is possible that Pole's discussion of Sadoletto's tract on education outlined the purpose of the theological seminary which Giberti implemented in Verona. Giberti was impressed by the arguments of Pole and the example of Cortese's academy.⁸¹ Giberti was not always so reform-minded. At Rome he learned Greek early and became an adept politician in the papal court.

When, either in 1507 or 1513, the boy was summoned by his father to Rome, he threw himself with ardour into the study of letters, and probably even more now into the graver studies of philosophy and theology. It must have been at this time that he acquired his knowledge of the Greek and Latin fathers, for he can have had little leisure afterwards in his busy

⁸⁰ Delio Cantimori, "Italy and the Papacy," *The New Cambridge Modern History, II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 258. "Unfortunately there is no modern study of this figure [Giberti]." Cantimori overlooked both the 1955 study by Grazioli (see note 81) and also Léon Cristiani, *L'Église et l'époque du concile de Trente* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1948), pp. 268—79, "Un évêque réformateur: Jean-Matthieu Giberti (1495—1543)." Cristiani's work is Vol. 17 in Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'Église*.

⁸¹ Angelo Grazioli, Gian Matteo Giberti, *vescovo di Verona, precursore della riforma del Concilio di Trento* (Verona: Tipografia Valdonega, 1955), p. 55. See also Petrus et Hieronymus Ballerini, *Jo. Matthaei Giberti Episcopi Veronensis . . . Opera* (Verona: Petrus Antonius Bernus, 1733).

life; and he seems also to have acquired a knowledge of the canon law.⁸²

Leo X revived the Gymnasium at Rome, adding new chairs and professors. In the year after his election in March 1513 nearly one hundred professors taught nearly as many subjects. Leo founded a Greek academy on the Esquiline under tutelage of Janus Lascaris. Marcus Musurus invited 10 Greek youths from Constantinople to form the nucleus. Bembo drew up Leo's letter to Musurus.⁸³ Shortly after 1513 Giulio de'Medici became Giberti's patron and when after the brief pontificate of Adrian VI, Giulio took the name Pope Clement VII, he appointed Giberti as datary.⁸⁴ Since few private letters survive from 1524 to 1527, it is impossible to separate Giberti's policies from those followed by the astute Clement.⁸⁵ The complexities of that policy leading to the sack of Rome leave much uncertain except that Giberti attended a variety of diplomatic missions. On June 10, 1526, Giberti wrote to the bishop of Veruli:

This war is not for a point of honour, or for vengeance, or for the safety of one city, but it concerns the well-being or the perpetual servitude of all Italy. . . . Posterity will be envious that it was not born in these times, to be sharers and spectators of so great a good.⁸⁶

⁸² Tucker, p. 25. The following account is summarized from this study and checked with *Constitutiones Gibertinarum* and Petrus Franciscus Zini, *Boni Pastoris exemplum*, in Giberti's *Opera*.

⁸³ *Petri Bembi epistolarum Leonis Decimi Pont. Max. nomine scriptarum libri XVI* (Leiden: Lugduni, haeredes Simonise Vicentii, 1538), pp. 85—86.

⁸⁴ Tucker, p. 34.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Milan fell on July 24 while Rome remained oblivious to the impending sack.

A few cardinals, the datary, and others escaped with Clement VII to Castel Sant' Angelo. Giberti twice was paraded through the streets as a hostage to be threatened by gibbets in the Campo del Fiore. Even though a hostage, he arranged support for Gaetano de Thiene and his new order of the Theatines in refuge on the desolate Pincian.

At length Cardinal Colonna grew so alarmed for the safety of the hostages, and was so strongly besought on Giberti's behalf by Vittoria Colonna, that at the end of November he connived at their escape, which they effected by creeping through a ventilating shaft while their guards slept a drunken sleep. The sack of Rome is the dividing line in the career of Giberti.⁸⁷

When Giberti used his influence to help the Theatines gain a charter, the Pope forbade him to join the new order. Giberti was more useful to the papacy in public life. After Rome's sack Giberti left for Verona to begin his systematic reform of that diocese.

B. Diocesan Reform: 1527—1536

Proximity to Venice was crucial, for there Gregorio Cortese, abbot of San Giorgio, gathered a religious academy. Men like Pole and Contarini were all influenced by Cortese's Biblical lectures.⁸⁸

Cortese (1483—1548), a member of the 1536 Reform Commission, attended

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 49—50.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 278. See Cantimori, p. 256: "In 1531 Lutheran doctrine seems to have been fashionable among the students of the University of Padua."

the Diet of Worms in 1540.⁸⁹ An analysis of Venetian reform should not omit Cortese.

A past master of philosophy, he acquired both the intimate secrets of theology and a most complete knowledge of the three languages, Latin, Greek, and Etruscan, as well as of the Sacred Scriptures, and a most generous abundance of all kinds of learning.⁹⁰

In 1538 Cortese published a bilingual New Testament with independent translation.⁹¹ On June 20, 1537, Cortese wrote Contarini in Mantua that "Peter of Modena is giving lectures to a grand and grateful audience who give great thought to the epistles of St. Paul and the gospels."⁹² Three years later Cortese again wrote Contarini: Brother Rafael was an ardent preacher of God's Word. Rafael was "a very useful person in setting forth simply the evangelical truth."⁹³ Cortese's phrase penetrates to the core of reform.

Giberti's constitutions reflect equally a concern for theology and moderation in ecclesiastical pomp. His decree on preaching was far-reaching in its consequences since all diocesan preachers now had to be licensed by the bishop. Only mature

⁸⁹ Mariano Armellini, *Biblioteca Benedic-tino-Casinensis*, Pars prima, I (Assisi: Felicino et Phil. Campitelli, 1732), 184.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 183—84.

⁹¹ Girdamo Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca Modense, o notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori nati degli Stati del Ser(enissi)mo Signor Duca di Modena* (Modena: 1781—1786), II, 190. The title is *Testamentum novum juxta veterem translationem et Graeca exemplaria recognitum etc.* (Venice: Anton. Junta, 1538), in fol.

⁹² Franz Dittrich, *Regesten und Briefe des Cardinals Gasparo Contarini (1483—1542)*, p. 100 (*Opera Cortese*, I, 120).

⁹³ Ibid., p. 130.

men would be licensed who were sufficiently erudite in the Sacred Scriptures.⁹⁴ Giberti sought to implement reform by establishing both a seminary and a private press. Zini gives a vivid account of his concern for religious instruction of the youth.⁹⁵

Giberti made continuous and effective reform dependent on a knowledge of the sacred texts. His library contained rare codices, many unedited.⁹⁶ The Greek bishop of Epidairos wrote to Clement VII praising Giberti's editing of the Greek Fathers.⁹⁷ Since a solid basis for reform and a revival of religion could only be laid on such scholarship, Giberti published codices of the Greek Church Fathers.

A genuine Christian humanist, Giberti fetched these sublime insights from them in his persistent recourse to the fountains of churchly devotion, namely, in the Sacred Scripture and in the study of the Fathers. He continually sought in the great bishops of the fourth and fifth centuries the secret of episcopal perfection.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ In Giberti's *Opera: Constitutionum Gibertinarum Titulus Tertius: "De Praedicatione Verbi Divini"*, *Caput I*, p. 49: "Paying attention to the words of the apostle, 'How can men preach unless they are sent?' [Rom 10:15], we shall not send monks to preach in our diocese, unless the obedience of their superiors has first been seen by us. We likewise wish to investigate them as best we can, to see if they are mature in years, sober in their habits, and sufficiently instructed in the Sacred Scriptures."

⁹⁵ Zini, *Boni Pastoris exemplum*, p. 259. Giberti reconstructed the abbey at Friuli between 1527 and 1544 and introduced reforms similar to those at Verona. See Giovanni M. Del Basso, "Il vescovo Gian Matteo Giberti abate e commendatario di Rozazzo," *memorie storiche foroguliesi XLIV* (1961), 113—27.

⁹⁶ Giberti, *Opera*, p. 14.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁹⁸ Cristiani, p. 284.

Bernardo Ochino during Lent of 1542 publicly expounded St. Paul's epistles in Verona.⁹⁹ Among works published by Giberti at Venice, Verona, and Lyons were a commentary on St. Paul's epistles by St. John Chrysostom, 10 extant books of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Demonstratio evangelica*, and Greek commentaries on the Psalms, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of Paul. The works of St. Basil are found both in Greek and in Latin translation, including the *De Spiritu Sancto*, three works against the Arians, and 17 homilies on Isaiah and the Psalms.¹⁰⁰ Giberti's interest in contemporary doctrinal questions is indicated by a 1542 volume printed at Verona: Gropper's *Enchiridion*.¹⁰¹ Giberti had listened to Pole's 1537 lectures on Timothy while in Liège. When Giberti died on Dec. 30, 1543, not yet 48, the question of justification was still being debated. That he differed from the church and agreed with Pole is fairly certain.

When we read Giberti's life, and remember that he is only one, though perhaps one of the most illustrious of that circle of pattern bishops belonging to the early sixteenth century . . . we are irresistibly reminded of the great and saintly bishops of the fourth and fifth centuries . . . men who lived, as Giberti did, in troubled times of transition, in times of 'wars and rumours of war,' of sack and pillage, and of fierce religious controversy.¹⁰²

Pole used Giberti both as his example and as an analogy. To Schenk's fine biog-

⁹⁹ Tucker, p. 284.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 280—81.

¹⁰¹ Franz Dittrich, *Kardinal Gasparo Contarini (1483—1542): Eine Monographie* (Braunsberg: J. A. Wichert, 1885), p. 661.

¹⁰² Tucker, p. 469.

raphy one can now add from Pole's correspondence that in the midst of political and religious maneuvering Pole did not neglect his Biblical study. Starkey had written in August 1534 to a fellow student at Avignon, confirming Pole's engagement with theology.¹⁰³ In June 1535 Contarini commended Pole to Charles V as great in virtue, learning, and religion.¹⁰⁴ Another associate of Pole wrote to Starkey from Venice on June 16, 1535, that he had been reading the prophets and the more difficult Old Testament books during the winter, partly to please Pole.¹⁰⁵ On March 8, 1536, Pole wrote Priuli not to neglect his study of the prophets. Would Priuli, he wrote, obtain a copy of the annotations in Galeatius Cavensis' *Book of the Prophets*?¹⁰⁶ On March 15, 1536, another wrote to Starkey from Venice that the textual criticism of the Greek Fathers proceeded well: "I have undertaken the correction of eight orations of Gregory Nazianzene, which will be printed with Gregory of Nyssa *De homine*."¹⁰⁷ Pole engaged in extensive Biblical study from 1532 until summoned to Rome in 1536 to serve on the reform commission of Pope Paul III with Giberti, Contarini, and Cortese.

The reform commission drafted drastic

¹⁰³ *Letters and Papers*, VII, No. 900.

¹⁰⁴ *Letters and Papers*, VIII, No. 830.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 883.

¹⁰⁶ Quirini, I, p. 441: "While you are there, have the kindness, if you should care to, to concern yourself to have copied out whatever annotations are written in the margins of the *Book of the Prophets* of Galeatius Cavensis, and bring them with you when you come back." The references to Ezekiel in Pole's eirenikon at Trent are interesting.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, X, No. 479.

measures to restore the church to what they read in the writings of Paul, the prophets, and the Fathers. Pole had a strong sense of duty, which he described to Pio, cardinal of Carpi. His mandate was to recover that antique stability of his island which now fluctuated among the dogmas of the faith. Religious stability was needed to restore salvation and honor for the king, peace to the church, and glory to Christ.¹⁰⁸ Giberti was his analogy. As a bishop's first care is for God, Pole reasoned, was not this the king's duty as well?¹⁰⁹ His tragic description of England pointed to Pole's reforming purpose: to reform an England which ". . . was changing the dogmas of the church, despoiling church buildings, overturning the monasteries, and harassing the ministers of the church."¹¹⁰

Pole had discussed with Giberti the journey to Rome in a letter of Aug. 10, 1536. He could not leave his paradise before September. Schenk omits the letter's Biblical references.

Farewell. From our Paradise: for such, in truth, may I call this place where I now reside, both on account of the pleasant country and most delightful hills, and yet *more* by reason of the companions whose society I enjoy here; for Marco Monaco brought me hither a good twenty days ago, and most willingly do I listen to his discourse on the divine word, as on no subject does he speak more willingly; so that with his own words and those of his companions who are imbued with the same spirit, I hear nothing but the praise of God; and in this delicious spot

¹⁰⁸ Quirini, II, 37.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

fancy myself with my maker in Paradise.¹¹¹

After the 1536 report, Pole remained in close correspondence with Contarini, by then a cardinal. In a letter of Aug. 4, 1538, Pole rejoiced to be in the felicitous company of St. Basil and St. Augustine where Pace and Vittoria Colonna were his spiritual companions.

O the goodness of God! And because the Word of the Lord does not fall upon the earth in vain, but "will prosper in the things for which I sent it," as the prophet says in God's person, we have waited for the fruits of peace with such great hope.¹¹²

IV. THEOLOGICAL REFORM

Their reforming intent buoyed this group of Biblical scholars. In the midst of Biblical lectures and attempts at reunion, why should they not attempt to bridge the chasm? Melanchthon was expected to be that bridge, as Pole intimates to Contarini in June 1537. The pope continues in ardent perseverance of reform, he wrote, and the atmosphere is clearly favorable for reform. He read the volume of Melanchthon which Contarini annotated (*Loci communes?*) and has greatest hope that the controversy will not be so fierce in the future. One must profess the unity of faith in charity for all, for it is only Christ's mercy which will make this possible.¹¹³ With Pole's approval, Contarini

¹¹¹ *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, Vols. I—VI, edited by Rawdon Brown (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1873), V, No. 116.

¹¹² Quirini, II, 140.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 68: "As far as what you have written in the second part of your letters is con-

could engage Melanchthon's spirit of charity during the 1541 Ratisbon discussions. Pole's intense Biblical study, his understanding of the Gospel as the forgiveness of sins, and his support of the reunion attempts by Contarini at Ratisbon in 1541 explain his ambivalent attitude during the 1546 discussions at Trent. There a different spirit from that shared by the papalist moderates prevailed. The cardinal of England followed the *Instructio* of Adrian VI, obeyed the warnings of Ezek. 20:1-4, and shared the evangelical experience of Contarini. Until the frustrations of Trent, the Plantagenet Pole acted in everything by faith and hope, placing his trust in the power of Christ. We have not yet heard the last word on Trent.¹¹⁴ The impressive Biblical and patristic study of Pole was not

cerned, that the pope is ardently persevering in his undertaking and in his most excellent spirit concerning reformation, you have greatly exhilarated my spirit, and not least in those chapters of Philip Melanchthon, to which you have added your opinion. I have read them most gladly, examined at the hand of your learned and devout critique, and I have come to entertain the very great hope that with the pope persevering in his censorship of morals, there will not be such great controversy in the future about the other matters but that all of the provinces will easily agree to the profession of a single faith in love. May Christ of His mercy deign to grant it to this unhappy age and may He preserve you to Himself and to the church safe and sound for a very long time to come."

¹¹⁴ "Unfortunately, however, figures like Cervini, Pole . . . — to mention the most important — are still known only partially and imperfectly." Giuseppe Alberigo, "The Council of Trent: New Views on the Occasion of its Fourth Centenary," *Concilium*, 7 (1965), 78 to 79. See also Heiko Oberman, "Das tridentinische Rechtfertigungsdekret im Lichte spätmittelalterlicher Theologie," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, LXI (1964), 251—82.

in vain, though its impact has been diverted for 400 years.¹¹⁵

A. Ratisbon: 1541

Contarini expressed the enormity of the need of reform in a letter to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga on Nov. 22, 1537. It could only be accomplished by the Holy Spirit and obedience to Holy Scripture. The Lord will resist the arrogant but give grace to the humble.¹¹⁶ In the memorial *Consilium quatuor delectorum* of 1537 Contarini observed to the pope "that the task of his pontificate will pose innumerable opportunities to negotiate everything."¹¹⁷ Pole wrote Contarini in August 1538 that he will set out for Venice, but if hindered will send that happy company of St. Basil and St. Augustine.¹¹⁸ Later Pole wrote from Verona, where he would stay the winter of 1539, enjoying the solitude and goodness of the most worthy bishop.¹¹⁹ Cardinal Sadoleto commented on the discussions preceding 1541 as well.¹²⁰ It is clear that by 1539 justification was the crucial theological issue for Contarini and his circle. The political events surrounding Ratisbon are well known, as is the essential agreement between Contarini and his friends on Ar-

ticle 5 of the Ratisbon agreement of May 2, 1541.

The opening of the Diet of Worms on April 4, 1541, soon followed Contarini's entry into Ratisbon as legate on March 12, 1541.¹²¹ When on May 2 Article 5 on justification had been accepted by both parties, hopes arose for additional concord. Pole advised Alvise Priuli to influence Rome in favor of its acceptance.¹²² It seems Pope Paul III was more concerned with building St. Peter's than restoring St. Paul.¹²³ The pope had instructed Contarini to discuss his own primacy first, yet Contarini dissented by postponing the question of primacy to the last. On April 27 rapid discussion covered the subjects of human nature, original sin, and redemption. The definitive formula on justification of May 2 met even Eck's protests.¹²⁴ Pole wrote Contarini on May 17 rejoicing at the agreement on justification, the foundation of Christian doctrine. Pole will keep his joy secret! This very significant letter reads in its entirety as follows:

Indeed, I felt myself flooded with such joy when I saw this accord of opinions. No melody, however sweet, would ever have been able to have soothed the spirit and the ears so greatly. I felt this way not

¹¹⁵ Hubert Jedin, "The Council of Trent and Reunion: Historical Notes," *The Heythrop Journal*, 3 (1962), 14.

¹¹⁶ Solmi, "Lettere inedite del Cardinale Gasparo Contarini nel carteggio del Cardinale Ercole Gonzaga," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 1904, p. 253.

¹¹⁷ *Concilium Tridentinum*, XII, 214, line 42.

¹¹⁸ Quirini, II, 139 (Aug. 4, 1538).

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 200 (Oct. 17, 1539).

¹²⁰ *Opera Sadoleti*, II, 45 (May 20, 1539, Carpentras, Sadoleto to Contarini).

¹²¹ Jedin, *Trent*, I, 379—409.

¹²² Quirini, III, 25. Evangelical reports may be found in *Corpus Reformatorum*, IV, 142 to 637.

¹²³ See Feb. 28, 1541, account of Vivaldono, ambassador of the Mantuan Gonzaga in Edmondo Solmi, "Gasparo Contarini alla dieta di Ratisbona, secondo i documenti inedite dell' Archivio Gonzaga di Mantova," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 13 (1907), 74, and Augustin Renaudet, "La politique Érasmiennne de Paul III," *Érasme et l'Italie* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1954), pp. 238—42.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

only because I saw that a mighty foundation of peace and concord had been laid, but also because I recognized this foundation as the one that above all, as it seems to me, adds luster to Christ's glory. It is the very foundation of all Christian teaching. For even if matters seem to be treated under different heads, as concerning faith, concerning works, or concerning justification, nevertheless they all are referred back to the single head of justification. And I am most devoutly grateful at this, that the theologians of both parties have agreed concerning it, and I give thanks to God through Christ, who has chosen you to be this kind of servant of Him and equipped (*reforciendae*) you to construct so resplendent an agreement on so solid a basis. From this we have come to entertain the great hope that He who has so mercifully begun in establishing this basis will with the same goodness perfect the remaining things that pertain to this salutary work. I command you not to divulge all this, but I am keeping in my private possession the written documents that pertain to this agreement. I lament that the times demand this.¹²⁵

Contarini defended the concord in his celebrated *Epistola de Iustificazione* of May 25, 1541.¹²⁶ "The 'Epistle' is therefore an authentic commentary on article 5 of the *Book of Ratisbon*."¹²⁷ Comparison of the two is essential to an understanding not only of Contarini but of Pole and Giberti as well. On July 16 Pole replied

¹²⁵ Quirini, III, 25—26. Not cited in Heinz Mackensen, "Contarini's Theological Role at Ratisbon in 1541," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 51 (1960), 36—57. See below, notes 153 and 156.

¹²⁶ *Gasparis Contarini Cardinalis Tractatus seu Epistola de Iustificazione* in Quirini, III, CIC—CCXI.

¹²⁷ Jedin, *Trent*, I, 382—83.

to Contarini's letter of June 20 requesting Pole's opinion of his Epistle. Pole lauded it.¹²⁸

Section 20 of the *Acta* contains an explanation of faith and good works. The appeal is to Eph. 2:8-9. Then follows a Christological explanation of why many seem vexed by the doctrine of works and do not listen to the consolation of the Gospel. Some seek merit in monastic isolation, while others argue that works deserve grace and the remission of sins.¹²⁹

This doctrine is not lightly dismissed, which prescribes good works, but it must be stressed and stated clearly. After a manner we are able to do good works, for without faith no human nature is able to keep either primary or secondary precepts, nor without faith can they call on God or expect anything from God nor tolerate the cross. The cross silences human pride, which rules in every desire of the heart.¹³⁰

The names on the title page are those of Martin Bucer, Philip Melancthon, Pflug, Eck, and Gropper. Contarini adds an adjunct to the reader, warning him of two omissions: inherent justice by which one performs good works, and the means of imputed justification *coram deo* through the work and merits of Christ. Contarini calls the *Acta* "most truly catholic."¹³¹ He discusses these omissions in his *Tractatus*.

The patristic references in this comment on the Ratisbon Book are fascinating. *Duplex iustitia* no longer is adequate as an

¹²⁸ Quirini, III, 28.

¹²⁹ *Acta Diaetae Ratisbonensis, Codices Vaticani Latini* 10755, 49v, 19r—20v.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 21v—r.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 40r.

explanation of this agreement.¹³² After Contarini rejects the Aristotelian definition that a certain kind of justice by its direction toward a common good can be called a universal virtue, he turns to "Christian justice."¹³³ "Faith is *fiducia* by which we confide in the promises made to us. . . ." ¹³⁴ His source is St. John Damascene's commentary on Hebrews, Book IV, where Paul defined faith as *confidentia*.¹³⁵ This departure from the Vulgate text and the reference to patristic exegesis is important. Jedin fails to comment on it, as do all other accounts known to me. The same reference is repeated in Contarini's 1542 Hebrews commentary. Apparently Contarini means Damascene's reference to Gideon's role in Israel, the motto for his own hope of reform.¹³⁶ In letters to Pighius of 1541, where Contarini discussed *caritas*, he opposes the scholastic definitions of faith.¹³⁷ There and in the Tractate the "double righteousness" formula drawn up by Gropper at Worms is rejected.¹³⁸

¹³² Hastings Eells, "The Origin of the Regensburg Book," *Princeton Theological Review*, XXVI (1928), 355—72. My article in *Church History* (1968) is another attempt to halt retreat to this formula as an explanation for the reception of Luther's *sola fide* by Roman Catholics.

¹³³ Quirini, III, CC: "hac justificamur in conspectu Dei, prioribus illis justificamur coram hominibus."

¹³⁴ Ibid., CCI.

¹³⁵ Ibid., CCII. Mackensen at this point turns to the 1511 correspondence to show that *duplex iustitia* stems from that source. See p. 55.

¹³⁶ Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XCV, 985: τοῦτο γὰρ πίστις, ὅταν τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον ἐκβαίνει· καὶ τότε δεῖ πιστεύειν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐναντίον γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀκόλουθα.

¹³⁷ *Cod. Vat.* 2912, fol. 76 seq.

¹³⁸ Hastings Eells, *Martin Bucer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), p. 292.

Contarini defines "double righteousness" as *per fidem*.¹³⁹ To have righteousness and to be declared just is the treasure of Christians.¹⁴⁰ Contarini concludes that justification can be described as works and faith, though the works are those of the Holy Spirit.¹⁴¹ At this point Jedin's critique of Hanns Rückert is apropos: "We grant that the formula lacks the Tridentine ring, but it does not emit a Protestant sound."¹⁴² However, when one reads Pole's comment on the work of the Spirit, one hesitates to suggest that Contarini was using the scholastic vocabulary. Pole had read Contarini's discussion where St. Paul spoke of charity diffused in the heart by the gift of the Holy Spirit. He concurs.¹⁴³ At this point rejection of the *Acta* intensified the problem as political solutions replaced theological proposals.¹⁴⁴

Subsequent letters to Albert Pighius and Pole help determine Contarini's intentions. As significant as his "dream of an understanding" was the Biblical hermeneutics which compelled the evangelical cardinals. Writing to Farnese on July 4, 1541, Contarini had no desire to return to the discord and suspicion in Rome.¹⁴⁵ Contarini prefers the company of the Marchesa de Pescara and the cardinal of England.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ Quirini, III, CCV.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., CCVI.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., CCXI. See the argument against a personal righteousness in his argument from Psalm 17 and the use of Revelation (22:11).

¹⁴² Jedin, *Trent*, I, 383.

¹⁴³ Dittrich, *Regesten und Briefe*, p. 262.

¹⁴⁴ Hastings Eells, "The Failure of Church Unification Efforts During the German Reformation," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XLII (1951), 173.

¹⁴⁵ Dittrich, p. 344. *Cod. Barb.* LXL3 is an autograph.

¹⁴⁶ Loc. cit. See Eva Maria Jung, "Vittoria Colonna between Reformation and Counter-

Pighius was of a different mind from Contarini about the nature of faith, for to him the controversy was not over the forgiveness of sins, but rather about the *habitus* of grace, whether it be acquired or infused.¹⁴⁷ Contarini rejected that terminology. Sufficient for him was the "holy learned company" of Pole.¹⁴⁸ There Paul's words in 2 Cor. 3 guided their exegesis. Where Paul said, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom," Pole reminded Contarini of a gloss by Clement: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom from sin."¹⁴⁹ Contarini appeals to Chrysostom to clarify this central issue with the Lutherans. He reads the passage to mean: "For where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom, because those who absorb the spirit of Christ are freed from the slavery of the letter and the bark of the law."¹⁵⁰

Contarini's appointment as legate at Ratisbon was the high point of Catholic reform. Amid the gray realities of the political realm, for a few all too short days the reality of the forgiveness of sins impressed the collocutors. And Jedin reminds us that the blame of history cannot be attached to Contarini either for misjudging the hard realities or for seeking to prevent the inevitable.¹⁵¹

B. Contarini and Scripture: 1542

Beccadelli suggests that of all Contarini's writings, the *Annotations* of 1542 are most striking.¹⁵² Internal evidence sup-

ports Dittrich's dating in August 1542. The discussions with Vermigli at Lucca then form part of the setting for these notes.

Contarini illustrated many obscure passages in the letters of St. Paul by those comments (*scholiis*) which he himself accurately wrote, in which he was completely absorbed when death approached him.¹⁵³

A natural epilogue to Ratisbon is found in the letters of Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Gonzaga of March 4, 9, and 29 and April 4 and 9, 1542. From Spire on March 4 Morone described the changing political setting. In his opinion the moment for accord with the Lutherans was past without a total destruction of the ecclesiastical fabric and religion in Germany.¹⁵⁴ By March 9 the political situation in Hungary with Charles' troops assembling at the Danube would impede reunion. "Concerning the Reformation they know how to answer: Physician, heal yourself."¹⁵⁵ On May 1, 1542, Pole wrote Contarini from Viterbo, thanking him for the note about St. Bernard on the righteousness of Christ. For Pole this was the central doctrine of

studio particolare molte belle *Annotazione sopra tutte le epistole di s. Paulo e cattoliche.*"

¹⁵³ Giovanni della Casa, *Gasparis Contarini vita*, pp. 132—33. Mackensen omits these notes and judges Contarini on the basis of the double justice found in seed form in a letter of April 24, 1511. My concern is to show the relevance of 1542 to Contarini's thought as well as the 1511 seed thoughts.

¹⁵⁴ Solmi, "Gasparo Contarini alla dieta de Ratisbona," *Nuova Archivio Veneto* (1903), 88. See G. K. Brown, "An Erasmian Cardinal of the Counter-Reformation," *Modern Churchman*, XXII (1932—33), 449.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁴⁷ Dittrich, p. 388.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 359—61.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

¹⁵⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁵¹ Jedin, *Trent*, I, 390—91.

¹⁵² Beccadelli, p. 84: "Scrisse ancora per suo

Sacred Scripture.¹⁵⁶ Contarini replied from Bologna on July 22. The August notes would seem a valid comment on Contarini's theological role at Ratisbon, as well as an expression of Pole, Giberti, and Morone. However Contarini defined justification, these Biblical notes are important for understanding his theology and that of Pole.

In these notes one can observe the crisis of vocabulary as Contarini commits himself to a Biblical theology. Use of the Greek text and citation from patristic commentaries reflect the early training he had received from Musurus, "Greek in life and in doctrine." If neither evangelical nor papalist, certainly these comments do justice to the Biblical text. They deserve a careful reading.¹⁵⁷

1. A Theology of Promise

At Rom. 1:17 one reads: "*From faith* refers to God, who promises and has given us faith. *To faith* truly means us, who have given assent and placed confidence in the

¹⁵⁶ *Dittrich*, p. 232. The ascription of Contarini's 1542 correspondence has been checked by Casadei, who analyzes it with fresh documents recently discovered. See Alfredo Casadei, "Lettere del cardinale Gasparo Contarini durante la sua legazione di Bologna (1542)," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, CXVIII (1960), 77—130; 220—85. The letters cited by Casadei have a special significance for the light they shed on Contarini's ecumenical activities after Ratisbon, *ibid.*, p. 83. See especially the letter to Farnese of April 19, 1542 (*ibid.*, pp. 106—107), and the letter wrongly ascribed to Morone in *Dittrich*, which Casadei assigns to Farnese on August 11, 1542, where Contarini endorses his actions with the German Lutherans (*ibid.*, pp. 281—82).

¹⁵⁷ Catalogued Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia, 77, D. 20., abbreviated as Contarini, *Romans*, *Ephesians*, etc.

divine promises and are given faith by God."¹⁵⁸

Contarini defines *justitia* in Romans 3 by an appeal to the Greek text.¹⁵⁹ "All have sinned and fallen short of God's glory. From the Greek text understand *omnes inferiores esse gloria Dei*, that is, in order that they may be justified before God, against whom they have sinned."¹⁶⁰ The priority of God's gift stands out in Contarini's exposition of Romans 4. Theology begins, he argues, with man before God to intensify his need of forgiveness. The promises of God initiate justification. These promises Contarini defines as the realization of the true nature of grace, since the Vulgate has misled commentators by losing the priority of events in justification.¹⁶¹ By restoring *ut* to the text, Contarini means to depreciate works. Therefore God justifies by faith that justification might stem from God's grace, not human works.¹⁶² In the other Pauline epistles

¹⁵⁸ Contarini, *Romans*, p. 435: "[From faith to faith] . . . Actually, 'from faith' refers to God, who promised and gave faith to us. 'To faith' surely refers to us, whose assent and confidence rests upon the divine promise and faith, which is given us by God."

¹⁵⁹ I have been unable to locate which texts he cited other than Erasmus and the readings of the Greek commentaries.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 437—38. "Et propterea ex fide, et secundum gratiam sit firma promissio" should read "ex fide, ut secundum gratiam, ad hoc ut sit firma promissio." See Aldo Stella, "La Lettera Del Cardinale Contarini Sulla Predeterminazione," *Rivista Di Storia Della Chiesa in Italia* XV (1961), 411—41.

¹⁶² *Loc. cit.* "But therefore according to grace, to the end that the promise may be firm, for if the matter depended on justice, so that, namely, we should be rewarded according to our works and not according to God's grace, the promise would have no certainty because of the lack of our works."

Contarini traces the centrality of that promise in the life of Paul. One is struck by the charity and clarity of these notes.

The authority of Paul's message, its apostolic quality and power, rest on the divine authority which is validated but not created by the infused Spirit. In his notes on 1 Corinthians Contarini inserts *per fidem* in Paul's argument in chapter 2.¹⁶³ A review of his notes on Ephesians is helpful at this point. There Contarini defines faith as trust. One notices in particular the terminology in chapter 3.

"In whom we have boldness and access in confidence through faith in Him." In this passage, in my opinion, Paul is explaining what he understood "through faith" to mean in many other passages. For he explains that we have boldness and access in confidence through faith in Him, that is, in Christ. For because we believe in Christ, that is, on Him, through His commandments, we walk about believing and doing good, and we trust Him from whom the promise and the proclaimed Gospel have become realities for us. We have boldness toward God and also access to God in confidence.¹⁶⁴

"Through faith in Him, that is, in Christ," is the theme of these pages. The content of faith for Contarini is Christ Himself, and its realization is *fiducia* based on the promises and the proclamation of Christ.

2. Righteousness of Christ

At Philippians 3 Contarini defines *duplex iustitia*. After observing that "not having my own righteousness" means for

¹⁶³ Contarini, *Corinthians*, p. 449. "However, God works within us through faith in Christ and pours in His Spirit, and thus our faith rests not on human authority but on divine."

¹⁶⁴ Contarini, *Ephesians*, p. 487.

Paul "the morality which I had from keeping the Law," Contarini scores inherent righteousness as loss and dung (*stercora*).¹⁶⁵ One cannot read the decisions of Trent back into these commentaries as does Douglas in his critique of Sadeleto.¹⁶⁶ The evidence provided by Contarini here calls for a closer examination of Pole and Seripando in the Tridentine debates on justification. For Contarini it is clear that catholic reform was unthinkable apart from the Biblical theology current in his circle of friends. Even if Trent were to rule against them, their study gave a patristic ring even if it did not emit a Reformation sound. As McNair reminds us: "So that Evangelism may be redefined with increased accuracy and usefulness as the positive reaction . . . to the challenge of Protestantism, and in particular to the crucial doctrine of Justification by Faith."¹⁶⁷

One such positive reaction which may well describe Contarini's theological task can be found in the preface to Vermigli's *Common Places*:

"Would to God that once all we, which be as it were of one faith, and for whom

¹⁶⁵ Contarini, *Philippians*, p. 494. "So that the apostle might secure this righteousness which is out of faith and out of the righteousness of God, he regards everything else as loss and dung."

¹⁶⁶ Douglas, op. cit., p. 93. See Louis B. Pascoe, "The Council of Trent and Biblical Study: Humanism and Scripture," *Catholic Historical Review*, LII (1966), 18—38, for additional comment on Trent in 1546.

¹⁶⁷ McNair, p. 8. An important restatement of this problem may be found in Hubert Jedin, "Wo sah die Vortridentische Kirche die Lehrdifferenzen mit Luther?" *Catholica*, XXI (1967), 85—100. For a survey of recent literature see Giuseppe Alberigo, "Studi e problemi relativi all' applicazione del Concilio di Trento in Italia (1945—1958)," *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXX (1958), 239—98.

Christ shed but one and the selfsame blood, and which hold the grounds of one and the selfsame religion, and which have but one and the self-same word, for the comfort of all our soules, would once condescend to one and the self-same doctrine! Which we might easilie bring to passe, if they that make themselves the rulers of the Lord's house, would seek not their owne, but Jesus Christ's: if they would not trust in their own righteousness, but in the righteousnesse of faith, which Christ hath obtained for us: if they would judge themselves, that they might not be judged of the Lord: if they would once with indifferent ears and obedient harts, give place to the truth, when it is laid before them out of the holie word. . . ." ¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *The Common Places* (London: Henry Denham and others, 1583), "To the Christian Reader." Vermigli and Contarini held theological discussions in

Contarini and his reforming friends read in the letters of St. Paul what they did not find in the life of Pope Paul. There in the 1542 Biblical notes one finds that for Reginald Pole, Contarini was a better guide to reform than Caraffa. Trent and 400 years seem to have passed by such concerns. Still, such a catholic definition of justification by a Roman Catholic demands non-Roman Catholic reflection,¹⁶⁹ that "for the comfort of all our soules, [we] would once condescend to one and the self-same doctrine!"

St. Paul, Minn.

Lucca during 1542. See McNair, pp. 233—35. The meaning of Contarini's *duplex iustitia* has not yet been finally determined in my view. See above, notes 153 and 162.

¹⁶⁹ See Marvin Anderson, "Trent and Justification (1546): A Protestant Reflection," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 21 (1968), forthcoming.