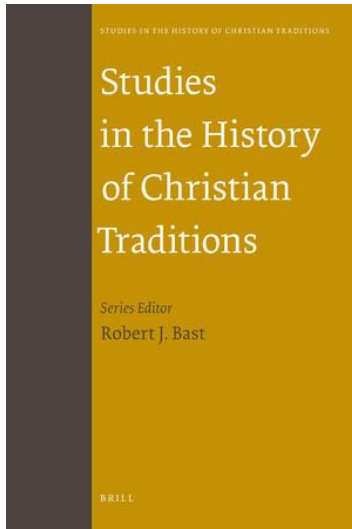


*Beyond Dordt and De Auxiliis*

*The Dynamics of Protestant and Catholic Soteriology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*



**Studies in the History of Christian Traditions**

**Volume 192**

Edited by

Jordan J. Ballor, Matthew T. Gaetano, and David S. Sytsma

*Beyond Dordt and De Auxiliis* explores post-Reformation inter-confessional theological exchange on soteriological topics including predestination, grace, and free choice. These doctrines remained controversial within confessional traditions after the Reformation, as Dominicans and Jesuits and later Calvinists and Arminians argued about these critical issues in the Augustinian theological heritage. Some of those involved in condemning Arminianism at the Synod of Dordt (1618-1619) were inspired by Dominican followers of Thomas Aquinas in Spain who had recently opposed the vigorous defense of free choice by Jesuit Molinists in the *Congregatio de auxiliis* (1598-1607). This volume, appearing on the 400th anniversary of the closing of the Synod of Dordt, brings together a group of scholars working in fields that only rarely speak to one another to address these theological debates that cross geographical and confessional boundaries.



## Beyond Dordt and De Auxiliis

### *The Dynamics of Protestant and Catholic Soteriology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*

#### Contents

1. Introduction: Augustinian Soteriology in the Context of the *Congregatio De Auxiliis* and the Synod of Dordt  
*Jordan J. Ballor, Matthew T. Gaetano, and David S. Sytsma*
2. Calvin and Aquinas Reconsidered  
*Charles Raith II*
3. Domingo Bañez and His Dominican Predecessors: The “Dominican School” on the Threshold of the *Controversy De Auxiliis*  
*Stephen Gaetano*
4. Spanish Thomists on the Need for Interior Grace in Acts of Faith  
*Thomas M. Osborne Jr.*
5. Predestined a Passible Redeemer: The Use of *Scientia Media* in Early Modern Christologies  
*Robert Trent Pomplun*
6. Arminius’s “Conference” with Junius and the Protestant Reception of Molina’s *Concordia*  
*Richard A. Muller*
7. ‘In the Footsteps of the Thomists’: An Analysis of Thomism in the Junius-Arminius Correspondence  
*Jordan J. Ballor*
8. *Scientia Media*: The Protestant Reception of a Jesuit Idea  
*Keith D. Stanglin*
9. Aquinas in Service of Dordt: John Davenant on Predestination, Grace, and Free Choice  
*David S. Sytsma*
10. Samuel Ward and the Defense of Dordt in England  
*Stephen Hampton*
11. Divine Causality and Human Freedom: Aquinas, Bañez and Premotion after Descartes  
*Reginald M. Lynch, OP*
12. “The World is Content With Words”: Jansenism Between Thomism and Calvinism  
*Eric J. DeMeuse*
13. Defending Grace: References to Dominicans, Jesuits, and Jansenists in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Reformed Theology  
*Aza Goudriaan*
14. Calvin against the Calvinists in Early Modern Thomism  
*Matthew T. Gaetano*

## *Beyond Dordt and De Auxiliis*

*The Dynamics of Protestant and Catholic Soteriology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*

### **Contributors**

*Jordan J. Ballor* (Dr. theol., University of Zurich; Ph.D., Calvin Theological Seminary) is Senior Research Fellow at the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion & Liberty and Associate Director of the Junius Institute for Digital Reformation Research.

*Eric J. DeMeuse* is a doctoral student in historical theology at Marquette University in Milwaukee, WI.

*Matthew T. Gaetano* (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania) is Associate Professor of History at Hillsdale College in Hillsdale, MI.

*Stephen Gaetano* (Ph.D., University of Notre Dame) is an independent scholar and a teacher of Latin at Rumson Country Day School in Rumson, NJ.

*Aza Goudriaan* (Ph.D., University of Leiden) is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Religion & Theology at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

*Stephen Hampton* (Ph.D., Oxford University) is Dean and Senior Tutor at Peterhouse, University of Cambridge.

*Reginald M. Lynch, OP*, is a doctoral candidate in theology at the University of Notre Dame.

*Richard A. Muller* (Ph.D., Duke University) is Senior Fellow at the Junius Institute for Digital Reformation Research and P.J. Zondervan Professor of Historical Theology Emeritus at Calvin Theological Seminary.

*Thomas M. Osborne Jr.* (Ph.D., Duke University) is Professor of Philosophy at the University of St. Thomas in Houston, TX.

*Robert Trent Pomplun* (Ph.D., University of Virginia) is Associate Professor in the Department of Theology at Loyola University Maryland.

*Charles Raith II* (Ph.D., Ave Maria University) is Vice President of Mission and Ethics at Mercy Health, adjunct professor at John Brown University, and instructor at Regent College.

*Keith D. Stanglin* (Ph.D., Calvin Theological Seminary) is Professor of Scripture and Historical Theology at Austin Graduate School of Theology in Austin, TX.

*David S. Sytsma* (Ph.D., Princeton Theological Seminary) is Assistant Professor in the Department of Theological Studies at Tokyo Christian University and Research Curator of the Junius Institute for Digital Reformation Research.

**Introduction: Augustinian Soteriology in the Context of the *Congregatio De Auxiliis* and the Synod of Dordt**

*Jordan J. Ballor, Matthew T. Gaetano, and David S. Sytsma*

The central argument of this volume is that there are significant unknown or unexplored cross-confessional connections concerning soteriological topics in the early modern era. These connections are, moreover, not merely negative. Theologians among the Reformed, Dominicans, Arminians/Remonstrants, and Jesuits were aware of larger developments emerging during this period, and this background informs, sometimes explicitly and at other times more implicitly, patterns of argumentation across confessional traditions.<sup>1</sup> To a great extent, we might view these disputes and conversations as involving conflicting claims over the basically Augustinian inheritance. We can thus succinctly describe the disputes among Protestant and Roman Catholic theologians, and the particular confessions or traditions they represent, as dueling Augustinianisms. At the same time, other figures, most notably Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), also figured prominently, both substantively and formally in the way theologians both constructed their arguments and construed their views.

Commentators have at times conceived of Arminianism as a Protestant soteriological perspective with a connection to Roman Catholicism, or they assume that early modern Christians easily posited such a link.<sup>2</sup> The importance of protecting the gospel from any

---

<sup>1</sup> These relations are little explored in recent literature on the Synod of Dordt. See, e.g., Frank van der Pol, ed., *The Doctrine of Election in Reformed Perspective Historical and Theological Investigations of the Synod of Dordt 1618-1619* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019); and Aza Goudriaan and Fred van Lieburg, eds., *Revisiting the Synod of Dordt (1618-1619)* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> For early modern commentators, see Augustus Toplady, “The Church of England Vindicated from the Charge of Arminianism,” in *The Works of Augustus Toplady* (London, 1794), 5:22; Robert Bailie, *A Scotch Antidote against the English Infection of Arminianism* (London, 1652), 18-22. For more recent statements, see Herman Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, ed. John Bolt, trans. John Vriend, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003-2008), 4:82; David Hoyle, “A Commons Investigation of Arminianism and Popery in Cambridge on the Eve of the Civil War,” *The Historical Journal* 29, no. 2 (1986): 419-25, here 425.

compromise with “papists” supposedly motivated the “Calvinist” condemnation of Jacob Arminius (1559-1609) and his followers at the Synod of Dordt (1618-1619) as well as the profound concerns about the Arminian threat in England before the Civil War.<sup>3</sup> This approach to the controversies between Reformed Counter-Remonstrants and Arminian Remonstrants, however, is inadequate or at least incomplete. It fails to highlight the self-conscious catholicity of the Reformed response to Arminianism. Protestants read widely in Roman Catholic literature, and they “did not read Catholic authors merely in order to refute them.”<sup>4</sup> Both sides in the debates that culminated at Dordt drew not only from the ancient church fathers and medieval doctors but from post-Tridentine scholastics, particularly Spanish Dominicans and Jesuits who were themselves battling over divine providence and predestination, grace, and free will in the *de auxiliis* controversy that officially ended in 1607. As Richard Baxter (1615-1691) remarked a half-century later:

Our students would not so ordinarily read *Aquinas, Scotus, Ariminensis, Durandus, &c.* if there were not in them abundance of precious truth which they esteem. . . . How neer come the Dominicans and Jansenians to us in the points of Predestination, Grace and Free-will? For my own part, I scarce know a Protestant that my thoughts in these do more concur with, then they do with *Jansenius*, (that is indeed, with *Augustine* himself.) There are very few points of the Protestant doctrine, which I cannot produce some Papist or other to attest.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> For concerns about popery as a background to the condemnation of the Remonstrants at Dordt, see the very helpful essay by Eric H. Cossee, “Arminius and Rome,” in *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacobus Arminius (1559/60-1609)*, ed. Th. Marius van Leeuwen, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 73-85, esp. 73n1, where Cossee identifies the literature accusing Remonstrants of “papist leanings.” For the controversy about Arminianism and the origins of the English Civil War, see especially the works of Nicholas Tyacke, Peter White, Peter Lake, and William Lamont. By way of example, see Michael Braddick, *God’s Fury, England’s Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (New York: Penguin Global, 2008), 42, where he shows the potency of links between Arminianism, fears of popery, and the political situation of the 1620s and 1630s: “In the 1629 parliament heated rhetoric about the popery of Arminians was closely tied to threats to liberty, the threat of the introduction of a ‘Spanish monarchy.’”

<sup>4</sup> Anthony Milton, “A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism,” in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 85-115, here 94.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Baxter, *A Key for Catholics* (London: R.W., 1659), 365-66.

Rather than the widespread view of the Counter-Remonstrants as ultra-Calvinists defending a narrow reading of Augustine out of fear of Romanism, a significant number of Reformed theologians saw themselves as in harmony with the Spanish Dominicans in the defense of the utter gratuity of divine grace, a cause that, they asserted, began with Paul and Augustine but that had continued through the centuries in the thought of Prosper of Aquitaine (ca. 390-ca. 463), Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), Thomas Aquinas, Thomas Bradwardine (d. 1349), Gregory of Rimini (d. 1358), and the Protestant Reformers. A sustained exploration of the cross-confessional dynamics in early-modern Christianity in this volume shows the way in which debates about predestination and free choice cannot be associated with any particular confession, but rather involved the shared concerns of Dominicans, Calvinists, Jesuits, and Arminians with the heritage of Western Christianity.<sup>6</sup>

In the academic milieu of Protestant academia in the second half of the sixteenth century, references to the medieval scholastics were relatively normal, even if tensions did occasionally flare up. Despite the fact that John Calvin (1509-1564) himself did not have a profound knowledge of Aquinas,<sup>7</sup> the broader Reformed tradition included theologians with a better grasp of Aquinas and medieval scholasticism.<sup>8</sup> Starting with the former Dominican Martin Bucer (1491-1551) in the 1530s, many Reformed theologians recognized Thomas as basically

---

<sup>6</sup> Pomplun's contribution to this volume makes the important point that the controversies about divine causality, grace, and human freedom often had a christological dimension.

<sup>7</sup> A number of scholars now believe that Calvin's knowledge of Aquinas was mediated via secondary sources. See Raith's contribution to this volume.

<sup>8</sup> Lambert Leijssen, "Martin Bucer und Thomas von Aquin," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 55, no. 4 (1979): 266-96; John Patrick Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 23-28; John Patrick Donnelly, "Calvinist Thomism," *Viator* 7 (1976): 441-55; Frits F. M. Broeyer, "Traces of the Rise of Reformed Scholasticism in the Polemical Theologian William Whitaker (1548-1595)," in *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise*, ed. Willem J. van Asselt and Eef Dekker (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 155-80; Kalvin Budiman, "A Protestant Doctrine of Nature and Grace as Illustrated by Jerome Zanchi's Appropriation of Thomas Aquinas" (PhD diss., Baylor University, 2011); Theodore G. Van Raalte, *Antoine de Chandieu: The Silver Horn of Geneva's Reformed Triumvirate*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 24-27, 141-48, 187-96.

Augustinian on predestination and grace, and referred to him as one of the “sounder scholastics” (*saniores scholastici*).<sup>9</sup> In his *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione* (1552), Calvin once responded to Albert Pighius (ca. 1490-1542) with the claim *Augustinus totus noster est*—“Augustine is entirely ours”!<sup>10</sup> A generation later, in his *De natura Dei* (1577), the Italian refugee Girolamo Zanchi (1516-1590) continued Calvin’s polemic against Pighius, whom he lumped together with William of Ockham (d. 1347) and Gabriel Biel (d. 1495) as *tota Pelagiana*—“entirely Pelagian.”<sup>11</sup> More significantly, Zanchi claimed that on the question of the relation of predestination to God’s foreknowledge of good works, not only Augustine, but also Peter Lombard (d. 1160), Thomas Aquinas, Gregory of Rimini, and other “sounder and more learned scholastics” agree with “us.”<sup>12</sup> In order to emphasize the point, Zanchi provided a “summary of Aquinas’s opinion” in two folio columns with citations from *Summa theologiae* I q.23 a.5 and *Summa contra gentiles* 3.163.<sup>13</sup>

In the interest of correctly understanding the larger Augustinian heritage, theologians of the later sixteenth century regularly read and discussed not only medieval scholastics, but also

---

<sup>9</sup> David S. Sytsma, “Reformed Reception of Aquinas in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Oxford Handbook of the Reception of Aquinas*, ed. Matthew Levering and Marcus Plested (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming); David S. Sytsma, “Vermigli Replicating Aquinas: An Overlooked Continuity in the Doctrine of Predestination,” *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 20, no. 2 (2018): 155-67.

<sup>10</sup> John Calvin, *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Guilielmus Baum, Eduardus Cunitz, and Eduardus Reuss, 59 vols. (Brunswick: Schwetschke, 1863–1900), 8:266: “Porro Augustinus ipse adeo totus noster est, ut si mihi confessio scribenda sit, ex eius scriptis contextam proferre, abunde mihi sufficiat.” Cf. J. Marius J. Lange van Ravenswaay, *Augustinus totus noster: Das Augustinusverständnis bei Johannes Calvin* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990); Anthony N. S. Lane, “Augustine and Calvin,” in *The T&T Clark Companion to Augustine and Modern Theology*, ed. C. C. Pecknold and Tarmo Toom (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), 174-95. Such Protestant rhetoric was common, even if the reality was more complex. See David C. Fink, “Bullshitting Augustine: Patristic Rhetoric and Theological Dialectic in Philipp Melanchthon’s *Apologia* for the Augsburg Confession,” *Studia Patristica* 87 (2017): 167-80.

<sup>11</sup> Girolamo Zanchi, *Omnium operum theologicorum*, 8 vols. ([Geneva]: Stephanus Gamonetus, 1605), 2:532: “Hanc sententiam, quae tota plane Pelagiana est, defendit Guilielmus Occam, Gabriel Biel, & nostris temporibus Albertus Pighius, aliique nonnulli.”

<sup>12</sup> Zanchi, *Omnium operum theologicorum*, 2:532: “Denique alii, ut Petrus Lombardus, & post eum Thomas Aquinas, Greg. Durandus, & alii plerique omnes inter Scholasticos saniores & doctiores, Augustini sententiam (quam & nos, utpote Scripturis consentaneam, defendimus) sequuntur, firmisque comprobant rationibus. Lib. 1. Sen. dist.41. Par.1.q.23.a.5. Quaest.disp. p.2.q.6.ar.2. Con. Gen. lib.3.cap.163.”

<sup>13</sup> Zanchi, *Omnium operum theologicorum*, 2:533-34.

other sixteenth-century scholastics, while sparring with each other over the proper interpretation of the medievals.<sup>14</sup> Thomistically inclined theologians, whether across the confessional divide or within the same tradition, even questioned each other's interpretation of Aquinas. Zanchi, seeking to refute Domingo de Soto's (1494-1560) *De natura et gratia* (1547) on the topic of original sin, and in so doing also the Council of Trent,<sup>15</sup> cited in defense of the "entire corruption" of body and soul not only Augustine's *Contra Julianum* but also Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles* 4.52 and his commentary on Romans 7 (lect. 4).<sup>16</sup> Zanchi presented his reasoning with remarks such as "just as your Thomas also teaches," while pointedly rebuking Soto as an unfaithful interpreter of Thomas: "you, Soto, err" and "your assumption ... is diametrically opposed to the doctrine of your Thomas."<sup>17</sup> Domingo Bañez (1528-1604), the *cátedra de prima* of theology at the University of Salamanca, also registered his disagreement with his former teacher Domingo de Soto's interpretation of Aquinas on predestination and grace, going so far as to offer "explications" and "additions" to Soto's *De natura et gratia*.<sup>18</sup> We observe here three learned and influential interpreters of Thomas—Soto, Bañez, and Zanchi—all taking up variant interpretations of Thomas prior to the *de auxiliis* controversy, even apart from later polemics between Dominicans and Jesuits.

For his part, Jacob Arminius was also an avid reader of contemporary scholastic literature. However, he was harshly criticized by his contemporaries for alleged links to the

---

<sup>14</sup> Cf. David S. Sytsma, "Thomas Aquinas and Reformed Biblical Interpretation: The Contribution of William Whitaker," in *Aquinas Among the Protestants*, ed. Manfred Svensson and David VanDrunen (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 49-74, here 53, 61.

<sup>15</sup> Zanchi, *Omnium operum theologorum*, 4:35-36, as noted in Donnelly, "Calvinist Thomism," 451.

<sup>16</sup> Zanchi, *Omnium operum theologorum*, 4:56-59.

<sup>17</sup> Zanchi, *Omnium operum theologorum*, 4:59.

<sup>18</sup> See Stephen Gaetano's contribution to this volume.



Jesuits.<sup>19</sup> Despite Arminius’s denial that he recommended Jesuit works to students, modern scholarship has shown that he was influenced by the development of the concept of middle knowledge (*scientia media*) in the works of two important Jesuit thinkers, Luis de Molina (1535-1600) and Francisco Suárez (1548-1617). This complex notion was employed essentially to secure the freedom of human actions, which Molina believed to be compromised by being an infallible effect of the divine will. One could see why the Dutch defender of freedom from Reformed views of predestination might be drawn to the concept.<sup>20</sup> After Arminius appropriated the concept of middle knowledge, he was followed by leading Remonstrants of the seventeenth century, who regularly endorsed the concept. Although Arminius apparently appropriated the concept as early as 1597, he was not the first to publicly endorse the concept. That distinction belongs to Conrad Vorstius (1569-1622), who is likely the first Protestant to promote the terminology by explicit reference to Molina in a disputation from 1600, thereby preceding by three years Arminius’s own use of the terminology of *scientia media*.<sup>21</sup> Modern scholarship now openly acknowledges what John Prideaux (1578-1650), Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, observed in 1617—that in the works of Arminius and Vorstius, “*scientia media* is proposed and defended by name.”<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Richard A. Muller, *God, Creation, and Providence in the Thought of Jacob Arminius: Sources and Directions of Scholastic Protestantism in the Era of Early Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 27-29. Goudriaan’s contribution to this volume adds additional evidence for this claim from Gisbertus Voetius.

<sup>20</sup> Besides the contributions by Muller and Stanglin in this volume, see Richard A. Muller, “Arminius and the Reformed Tradition,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 70 (2008): 19-48, here 45; Muller, *God, Creation, and Providence in the Thought of Jacob Arminius: Sources and Directions of Scholastic Protestantism in the Era of Early Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 154-66; and Eef Dekker, “Was Arminius a Molinist?” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (1996): 337-52.

<sup>21</sup> See the conclusions of Stanglin’s contribution to this volume.

<sup>22</sup> John Prideaux, “Lectio II. In vesperis comitiorum habita Oxon Iulii XII. Anno Dom. 1617. De Scientia Media,” in *Viginti-Duae Lectiones de totidem Religionis Capitibus, praecipue hoc tempore controversis, prout publice habebantur Oxoniae* (Oxford: Hen. Hall, 1648), 19: “Nimiùm hodiè teruntur omnium penè manibus Iacobi Arminii theses, & ad articulos (20.) responsio, in quibus *Scientia Media* nominatim proponitur & defenditur. Eisdem insisit vestigiis *Conradus Worstius* in disputatione suâ de *Deo* & ad eandem *notis*, ubi post multas tandem ambages haesitare nihilominùs videtur.”

Arminius and the Remonstrants were not alone in employing post-Tridentine scholastics. As Arminius himself observed at the outset of his *Friendly Conference* (begun ca. 1597) with Franciscus Junius (1545-1602), the opinion of “Thomas Aquinas and his followers” on predestination was one of the prevalent views “which have their defenders among the doctors of our [Reformed] church.”<sup>23</sup> It is not uncommon to see the Dominican opponents of Jesuit Molinism, especially Domingo Bañez, make appearances in the treatises of Reformed theologians. More than two decades before Dordt, William Whitaker (1548-1595), the Cambridge professor of theology and major opponent of the Jesuit Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), made extensive use of Thomistic doctrine touching the *loci* of Scripture, original sin, justification, and predestination, even though as a Protestant he dissented from Aquinas’s views on the sacraments and the papacy.<sup>24</sup> On the topic of predestination, Whitaker used Bañez to argue that it was Pelagian to hold that God predestines certain individuals based upon his foreknowledge of who will respond well or badly to his grace.<sup>25</sup> Whitaker also found Bañez useful when presenting his own teaching on reprobation. The “sounder scholastics” Thomas Aquinas and Bañez supported Whitaker’s view that the reason for reprobation is nothing in the reprobate but only the will of God and that the first effect of reprobation is the divine permission of sin.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> Jacob Arminius, *The Works of James Arminius*, trans. James Nichols and William Nichols, 3 vols. (London, 1825, 1828, 1875; repr. with an intro. by Carl Bangs, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1986), 3:13. For the status of Thomas Aquinas in relationship to Calvin, Beza, and Augustine in the correspondence between Franciscus Junius and Arminius, see Ballor’s contribution to this volume.

<sup>24</sup> Broeyer, “Traces of the Rise of Reformed Scholasticism,” 155-80; Sytsma, “Thomas Aquinas and Reformed Biblical Interpretation,” 49-74.

<sup>25</sup> William Whitaker, *Cyanea cantio* (Herborn, 1599), 5, delivered on 9 October 1595 in Cambridge; in translation, *Cyanea cantio: or, the Swan-Song, (Being the last Public Discourse), of William Whitaker, D.D.* ([n.d.]: [n.p.], 1772), 8.

<sup>26</sup> Whitaker, *Cyanea cantio*, 11; *Swan-Song*, 17-18.

Samuel Ward (1572-1643) and John Davenant (1572-1641), two of the six English delegates at the Synod of Dordt, are representative of seventeenth-century Reformed theologians in their appreciation of Bañez and the Thomist opponents of Molina. After quoting the Spanish Dominican's treatment of the betrayals of Peter and Judas, in which he argued that only grace itself, not the will, could make the difference in the outcomes of these two stories, Ward wrote, "I use the words of the most erudite Bañez, which I have used many times, nor do I hesitate to repeat them, since they vigorously assail—nay, rather, they conquer—the enemies of truth and the foes of grace."<sup>27</sup> In his *Dissertationes duae*, the English delegate to Dordt and Anglican divine, John Davenant, addressed the problem of efficacious grace. Is grace efficacious because the human will assents to it, or is grace intrinsically efficacious? After discussing the Pelagians and Semipelagians of antiquity, he came "to those who abhor the name of the Pelagians but who have by no means rejected that error." "In this category," Davenant stated, "I have put those Papists who teach that grace is efficacious by the consent of the human will so that, if it happens that the will wants to assent, God infuses vivifying grace." Davenant identified Arminius and his disciples with the sort of "papists" who said that "God from his absolute good-pleasure ... wants to convert and regenerate all" on the condition that they do not resist his grace. This may seem to confirm the conventional wisdom which associates Arminius with supposedly Semipelagian Roman Catholics. But after showing how ancient anti-Pelagians like Augustine and Prosper long ago demonstrated the flaws of Arminianism, Davenant stated that some of the "sounder Papists" also denied any determinative role to the will in the reception of grace. The first theologian he named was Domingo Bañez. Davenant believed that one of Bañez's statements was particularly

---

<sup>27</sup> Samuel Ward, *Gratia discriminans* (London: Robert Mylbourne, 1627), 29-30. For more on Ward's defense of Dordt, particularly on the issues of original sin and baptism, see the contribution by Hampton in this volume.

threatening to “the sinews of Pelagian and Arminian Theology”: “The concurrence of free choice (*liberi arbitrii*) is an effect which necessarily follows by the necessity of the consequence (*necessario consequens necessitate consequentiae*) from the efficacious help of God.” Davenant believed that “with these utterances, the most learned Bañez rejects and condemns the opinion of those who maintain that regenerating and saving grace on account of the merit of Christ is provided (*paratam*) . . . to all men.”<sup>28</sup> For Davenant, Bañez rightly explained the conversion or non-conversion of human beings by pointing to the efficacy of grace, not to the concurrence or resistance of the will.

Bañez and the Spanish Dominicans, however, were more than merely useful “outside voices” in support of Reformed theology. Indeed, some of the key concepts honed by the Dominicans in their struggle with Molinism entered into Reformed theological discourse. The most significant example is the notion of *physical premotion* or *physical predetermination*, the key concept of Bañezian Thomism.<sup>29</sup> According to this concept, as Richard Muller summarizes, “All creaturely movements, including the volitional acts of rational creatures, are ontologically dependent on God, who, in order for any creaturely motion to take place must will that motion concurrently with the creature.”<sup>30</sup> Reformed theologians varied in their response to physical premotion. Some such as John Cameron (d. 1625) and Richard Baxter rejected the concept, while others such as John Davenant expressed reservations about the concept while drawing heavily on Aquinas himself. Still, a number of influential theologians—William Twisse (1578-

---

<sup>28</sup> John Davenant, *Dissertationes duae* (Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1650), 83-85; in translation, John Davenant, *An Exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians ... to the whole is added, a translation of Dissertatio de morte Christi*, trans. Josiah Allport, 2 vols. (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1831), 2:505-509. Davenant’s views are discussed by Sytsma in his contribution to this volume.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas M. Osborne, Jr., “Thomist Premotion and Contemporary Philosophy of Religion,” *Nova et Vetera* 4 (2006): 607-632. For a discussion of how Bañez recognized some shifts between his articulation of these doctrines and that of his Dominican predecessors, see the contribution by Stephen Gaetano to this volume.

<sup>30</sup> Richard A. Muller, *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms: Drawn Principally from Protestant Scholastic Theology*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017), s.v. “praemotio physica.”

1646), Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676), Samuel Rutherford (ca. 1600-1661), John Owen (1616-1683), Francis Turretin (1623-1687), and Melchior Leydekker (1642-1721), among others—either accepted or adapted physical premotion.<sup>31</sup> Gisbertus Voetius thought that this term helped to show how there was some necessity in the will, insofar as God moved the will to its act in a way that was both logically prior to its activity and infallibly efficacious.<sup>32</sup> Voetius, a Dutch delegate to Dordt and a student of Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641), Arminius’s leading opponent, referred to the Dominicans as among the “genuine Thomists” who defended “God’s cause against the Jesuits and other recent Pelagians.”<sup>33</sup> Melchior Leydekker, who wrote a *Historia Jansenismi* (1695), said that the theology of Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638) “sank below the Dominicans” in part because Jansen distanced himself from Dominican physical predetermination. Leydekker asked, “Why would he [Jansen] not rather join the Dominicans at this point in order to oppose the Pelagians more powerfully?”<sup>34</sup> Samuel Rutherford, the famous Scottish author of *Lex Rex*, used physical predetermination to clarify that God’s causal influence was not merely moral or persuasive, or a final cause; rather, God’s activity was real, causal,

---

<sup>31</sup> Richard A. Muller, *Divine Will and Human Choice: Freedom, Contingency, and Necessity in Early Modern Reformed Thought* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017), 240-41, 246, 284-89. According to Muller, the “concept and the language of *praemotio physica* was adapted by many of the Reformed writers of the seventeenth century, who saw themselves as in fundamental agreement with the Dominican opposition to Molinism.” See Muller, *Dictionary*, s.v. “*praemotio physica*.” See also Richard A. Muller, “Diversity in the Reformed Tradition: A Historiographical Introduction,” in *Drawn into Controversie: Reformed Theological Diversity and Debates within Seventeenth-Century British Puritanism*, ed. Michael A.G. Haykin and Mark Jones (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 23, where he notes that William Twisse defended physical premotion, while Francis Turretin selectively adapted it, and Richard Baxter opposed it. On Davenant, see Sytsma’s contribution to this volume.

<sup>32</sup> J. A. van Ruler, “New Philosophy to Old Standards: Voetius’ Vindication of Divine Concurrence and Secondary Causality,” *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 71, no. 1 (1991): 58-91, here 64-67.

<sup>33</sup> Gisbertus Voetius, *Selectarum disputationum theologicarum*, 5 vols. (Utrecht: Johannes a Waesberge, 1648-1669), 2:451. See Lynch’s discussion in this volume on the relation between Voetius and Bañez in the context of Voetius’s opposition to René Descartes.

<sup>34</sup> Melchior Leydekker, *De historia Jansenismi libri VI, quibus de Cornelii Jansenii vita et morte nec non de ipsius et sequacium dogmatibus disseritur* (Utrecht: Franciscus Halma, 1695), 385 and 392: “Quid ergo Praedeterminationem Physicam Adami actionibus, ut et naturalibus Creaturarum rationalium detraxit [Jansenius]? Cur non potius Dominicanis se adjunxit in hoc articulo, ut se fortius Pelagianis opponeret?” This citation and translation is taken from Goudriaan’s contribution to this volume. See also DeMeuse’s contribution to this volume, which discusses Cornelius Jansen’s complex engagement with the concept of physical predetermination.

efficacious, and primary.<sup>35</sup> God was not a spectator but the author of salvation. Such examples merely illustrate a much larger trend of appropriating Thomist doctrines that encompassed theologians from Oxford to Geneva.<sup>36</sup>

Domingo Bañez was not one to be appreciative of his popularity among Reformed theologians, however.<sup>37</sup> The Spanish Dominican and his followers were frequently charged by their Jesuit opponents with Calvinism, and they were forced to articulate the differences between their fiercely Augustinian soteriology and that of the “heretic,” John Calvin. In fact, Bañez wrote a treatise, still in manuscript, entitled *The clear differences between the doctrine of Catholics who defend the efficacy of divine grace and the impious opinion of Calvin who denies the liberty of our will*.<sup>38</sup> Key Dominican participants at the official *Congregatio de auxiliis* such as Diego Alvarez (ca. 1550-1635) and Tomás de Lemos (ca. 1550-1629) attempted to demonstrate the sharp contrasts between themselves and Protestantism.<sup>39</sup> During the official *Congregatio* (1597-

---

<sup>35</sup> See, e.g., Samuel Rutherford, *Disputatio scholastica de divina providentia* (Edinburgh, 1649), 384-88, 403-16, 424-434, 455-56. See also John Coffey, *Politics, Religion, and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 75, 124-26.

<sup>36</sup> Sytsma, “Reformed Reception of Aquinas”; Stephen Hampton, “The Reformed Defence of Thomist Theism,” in *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 221-65; Sebastian Rehnman, “John Owen: A Reformed Scholastic at Oxford,” in *Reformation and Scholasticism*, 181-203, esp. 192-93; Francis Turretin, *Institutio theologiae elencticae* (Geneva, 1679-1685), VI.v.16. Turretin referred to Aquinas, Cajetan, and Alvarez as the “sounder scholastics,” while Owen stated that Aquinas “without question is the best and most sober of all your [Roman] school doctors.” See also John K. Ryan, “The Reputation of St. Thomas Aquinas Among English Protestant Thinkers of the Seventeenth Century,” *The New Scholasticism* 22, no. 1 (1948): 1-33, 126-208.

<sup>37</sup> Osborne’s essay in this volume shows the development of Melchior Cano’s teaching on faith, Scripture, and the Church in his reply to Protestant views and the use of Cano’s teaching in later Dominican controversies with Molinism. This, however, is not the same sort of positive cross-confessional appropriation that we tend to see in the Reformed and the Arminians. Matthew Gaetano’s contribution to this volume also indicates that Dominicans began to appreciate elements of later Reformed theology—particularly its supposed departure from Calvin—decades after these Protestant appropriations of their thought.

<sup>38</sup> See esp. Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, ed., *Domingo Bañez y las controversias sobre la gracia: textos y documentos* (Salamanca, 1968).

<sup>39</sup> Diego Alvarez, *De auxiliis divinae gratiae et humani arbitrii viribus, et libertate ac legitimate eius efficacia eorundem auxiliorum concordia libri duodecim* (Rome: Stephanus Paulinus, 1610), 29-32, 147, 166-67, 205-206, 619, 642, 651, and esp. 799-800; Tomás de Lemos, *Panoplia gratiae*, 4 vols. (Liège: Claudius Landas, 1676), 1.1:53-60; 1.2:179-83; 2.1:41, 139-41, 359-60; 3.1:231-44, 258-62; 3.2:28; 4.1:254; 4.2:169-72. See Matthew Gaetano’s contribution to this volume for further discussion of this point. For a discussion of the efforts to censure Molina’s *Concordia*, see E. Vansteenberghe, “Molinisme,” In *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant et

1607), the Dominicans showed the papacy that their views of divine causality and efficacious grace—the idea that actual grace was intrinsically efficacious rather than made efficacious by the will’s acceptance—were guiltless of any charge of heterodox Calvinism and were in keeping with the doctrines of Augustine and Aquinas.<sup>40</sup> Their Jesuit interlocutors rejected the idea that physical predetermination and intrinsically efficacious grace had longstanding support in the Catholic tradition. But, like the Dominicans, they measured both sides in the controversy by their faithfulness to Augustine.<sup>41</sup> Both sides found themselves free of any charge of heresy when the *Congregatio de auxiliis* concluded, and in 1607 Pope Paul V (1550-1621) forbade accusations of Calvinism in Jesuit arguments against the Dominican position and of Semipelagianism in Dominican treatises written against the Jesuits. And in 1611 he required treatises on efficacious grace to be approved by the papacy, requirements that needed to be repeated in 1625, 1641, 1654, 1690, 1733, 1748, and 1794.<sup>42</sup>

The Synod of Dort paralleled the concerns of the parties of the *Congregatio de auxiliis*. The Synod met from 1618 to 1619 to decide on five points, first set forth by Arminius’s disciples in a Remonstrance in 1610 (hence their party name Remonstrants), which had agitated the Reformed churches in the Dutch Republic. The five points dealt with predestination, the extent of Christ’s atonement, human depravity and conversion, the efficacy of grace, and perseverance. The Synod of Dort, with 26 delegates from eight foreign territories (Great Britain, the

---

al., 15 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1903-50), 10/2: 2157-59; Matava, *Divine Causality and Human Free Choice*, 32-34.

<sup>40</sup> Tomás de Lemos, *Acta omnia congregationum ac disputationum quae coram SS. Clemete VIII et Paulo V summis pontificibus sunt celebratae in causa et controversia illa magna de auxiliis divinae gratiae* (Louvain: Aegidius Denique, 1702), cols. 1119-1318. See also the work of Sylvio Hermann De Franceschi, esp. *Thomisme et théologie moderne: L’École de saint Thomas à l’épreuve de la querelle de la grâce (XVII<sup>e</sup> – XVIII<sup>e</sup>)* (Paris: Artège Lethielleux, 2018), 177-216.

<sup>41</sup> See, e.g., Liévin de Meyer, *Historiae controversiarum de divinae gratiae auxiliis sub summis pontificibus Sixto V, Clemente VIII, et Paulo V libri sex* (Antwerp: Petrus Jacobs, 1705), 602-609, for a discussion of this point in a Jesuit history of the controversy *de auxiliis*.

<sup>42</sup> Matava, *Divine Causality and Human Free Choice*, 34.

Palatinate, Hesse, the Swiss cantons, Nassau-Wetteravia, Geneva, Bremen, and Emden) joining the Dutch delegates, rejected the Remonstrant understanding of the points.<sup>43</sup> The Canons of Dordt (1619) were drawn up by Reformed theologians trained in scholastic method, but deliberately written in a popular style so as to facilitate reception among common people in the Reformed churches. The popular style of the Canons precluded discussion of modern parties and instead presented the doctrines as rejecting the errors of Pelagius and Pelagianism.<sup>44</sup>

Yet concern with the parallel debates between Roman Catholics was lurking in the background to the Synod of Dordt. Gomarus's early polemics argued that Arminius agreed with a variety of doctrines taught by Jesuits, and for their part the Remonstrant delegation at The Hague in 1611 observed that Dominicans and Jesuits were "having, in fact, the same disputes that we have." These similarities were also noted during deliberative proceedings at the Synod of Dordt. The nineteen delegations to the Synod each submitted a "judgment" (*judicium*) on each article under consideration, and these more detailed *judicia* highlight perceived cross-confessional parallels. The Emden delegation, for example, thought that the Remonstrants followed Jesuit theories on humans created *in puris naturalibus*, the assurance of faith, and specifically Bellarmine's understanding of sufficient grace. By contrast, the British and Nassau-Wetteravia delegations made positive references to Aquinas,<sup>45</sup> with the British delegation citing Aquinas on predestination and grace—the latter understood as God "infusing ... all the faculties of the soule with new qualities."<sup>46</sup> Similarities between Arminians and Jesuits were certainly on

---

<sup>43</sup> For a recent overview, see Herman J. Selderhuis, "Introduction to the Synod of Dordt (1618-1619)," in *Acta et Documenta Synodi Nationalis Dordrechtanae (1618-1619)*, vol. 1, *Acta of the Synod of Dordt*, ed. Donald Sinnema, Christian Moser, and Herman J. Selderhuis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), xv-xxxii.

<sup>44</sup> W. Robert Godfrey, "Popular and Catholic: The *Modus Docendi* of the Canons of Dordt," in *Revisiting the Synod of Dordt (1618-1619)*, ed. Aza Goudriaan and Fred van Lieburg (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 243-60.

<sup>45</sup> See Goudriaan's contribution to this volume. Cf. Aza Goudriaan, "The Synod of Dordt on Arminian Anthropology," in *Revisiting the Synod of Dordt*, 81-106, here 100.

<sup>46</sup> Milton, ed., *British Delegation*, 233, 256-57.



the mind of British delegate John Davenant, whose *Dissertatio de praedestinatione & reprobatione* (1650), written around the time of the Synod, baldly declared that “the arguments of the Jesuits and Arminians ... plainly depend on the same foundations.”<sup>47</sup>

After the Synod of Dordt, the proximity of the two pairs of positions (Reformed/Dominican and Arminian/Jesuit) was frequently noted. The archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot (1562-1633), in a letter from 1620 described the decrees of the Synod of Dordt as an “antidote to the papists and Jesuits.”<sup>48</sup> In 1679, the Puritan John Humfrey (1621-1719) published a work, endorsed by Richard Baxter, entitled *The Middle Way of Predetermination Asserted. Between the Dominicans and Jesuites, Calvinists and Arminians*.<sup>49</sup> Baxter himself referred to opposed cross-confessional parties: “About Predestination, Grace and Free-will, the Jesuits, Lutherans and Arminians against the Dominicans, Jansenists, and Calvinists.”<sup>50</sup> Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) brought many of these issues together with his characteristic voice:

The Council of Trent, in condemning Calvin’s doctrine of free will, did necessarily condemn that of St. Augustine, for no Calvinist ever denied or can deny the concurrence of the human will and the liberty of the soul in the sense which St. Augustine gave to [these] words. ... Those condemned by the Council of Trent do not reject free will but as it signifies a liberty of indifferency. The Thomists reject it also under that notion and yet pass for very good Catholics. See another comical scene! The physical predetermination of the Thomists, the necessity of St. Augustine, that of the Jansenists, and that of Calvin, are all one and the same at the bottom. Yet the Thomists disown the Jansenists, and both of them think it a calumny to accuse them of teaching the same doctrine with Calvin.

---

<sup>47</sup> Davenant, *Dissertationes duae*, 174: “Neque opus est ut accurate distinguantur argumenta Jesuitarum & Arminianorum: nam iisdem plane fundamentis nituntur.” On Davenant and the British delegation, see Sytsma’s contribution to this volume.

<sup>48</sup> Archbishop Abbot to the States General (15/25 June 1620), in *The British Delegation and the Synod of Dort (1618-1619)*, ed. Anthony Milton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 380.

<sup>49</sup> John Humfrey, *The Middle Way of Predetermination Asserted. Between the Dominicans and Jesuites, Calvinists and Arminians. Or, a Scriptural Enquiry into the Influence and Causation of God in and unto Humane Actions; Especially such as are Sinfull* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1679).

<sup>50</sup> Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory* (London: Robert White, 1673), 925. He continues: “On one side, Molina, Fonseca, Pennottus propugnac. Libert. Petr. a Sancto Ioseph, Arminius, Episcopus, Corvinus, Grevinchovius, Tilenus, Tilenus Junior. On the other side, Alvarez, Zumel, Iansenius, Twisse, Synod. Dord. Molinaei Anatom. Armini. Amesius, Zanchius, &c. But the Conciliators are soundest.”

... There would be great room for saying that doctors are in this case great comedians and are only acting a part and that they cannot but be sensible in saying that the Council of Trent either condemned a mere chimera, which never entered into the thoughts of the Calvinists, or else that it condemned, at the same time, both St. Augustine and the physical predetermination.<sup>51</sup>

Bayle could thus discern no significant difference between the Thomist notion of physical preemption and Calvinism's view that God necessarily moved the will. His presentation of the controversy is vivid, but it assumes that the parties did not have principled or substantial differences beyond what appeared to be at least superficial similarities. And his account does not recognize that these parties could freely acknowledge points of genuine agreement with others when they did exist.

Cross-confessional continuities were not only acknowledged by Protestants, but also by Jesuits and prominent Dominicans. An anonymous Jesuit work, *An Apology of English Arminianisme* (1634), dedicated to the English Arminian archbishops William Laud (1573-1645) and Richard Neile (1562-1640), appeared with the revealing subtitle: *Wherein are defended the Doctrines of Arminius touching Freewill, Predestination, and Reprobation: The said doctrines being maintained & taught by many of the most Learned Protestants of England, at this present time.*<sup>52</sup> Besides the Jesuits who continued to associate Dominican Thomists with Calvinism and

---

<sup>51</sup> Pierre Bayle, *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical*, vol. 2 (London: James Bettenham, 1735), s.v. "Augustin (St.)," 479-80, n. E.

<sup>52</sup> O. N., *An Apology of English Arminianisme or A Dialogue, betweene Iacobus Arminius, Professour in the University of Leyden in Holland; and Enthusiastus and English Doctour of Divinity and a great Precisian. Wherein are defended the Doctrines of Arminius touching Freewill, Predestination, and Reprobation: The said doctrines being maintained & taught by many of the most Learned Protestants of England, at this present time.* (St Omer, 1634), cited in Michael Questier, "Arminianism, Catholicism, and Puritanism in England during the 1630s," *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 1 (2006): 53-78, here 70. A letter addressed to "Father Rector at Bruxelles" which was found among Jesuits in London and printed in 1643 reads: "Wee have [now] many stringes to our bowe ... Nowe, wee have planted that soveraigne drug Arminianisme, which wee hope will purge the Protestants from their heresie, and flourishe and beare fruyte in due season." See "A Letter founde amongst some Jesuites, Lately taken att Clerkenwell, London, directed to the Father Rector at Bruxelles," in *The Camden Miscellany*, vol. 2 (London: Camden Society, 1853), 33-40, here 36.

then with Jansenism,<sup>53</sup> Pietro Maria Gazzaniga (1722-1799), an important Dominican theologian teaching at the University of Vienna, unsurprisingly rejected Calvin's view of reprobation, but he believed that the Calvinists at the Synod of Dordt had sufficiently softened the most problematic aspects of Calvin's teaching. Following a number of his Thomist predecessors, he separated these Reformed theologians from their supposed master, and he called them Gomarists because Franciscus Gomarus was the leading Counter-Remonstrant at Dordt. Gazzaniga wrote, "In the matter [of reprobation] and in other issues that pertain to the matter of grace, the Gomarists embraced an entirely sound doctrine."<sup>54</sup> Some of the teachings of Dordt were thus affirmed by this major Thomist, while Arminius was charged with an inclination towards the heresy of Pelagianism. Jansenists, who preferred to be called the "disciples of St. Augustine," had a sophisticated grasp of the acts and decrees of the Synod of Dordt. Some recognized points of congruence, but they highlighted their opposition to the Synod's teaching on the certitude of salvation and on the inability to forfeit the state of justification.<sup>55</sup> Many Jansenists readily

---

<sup>53</sup> See the many helpful works of Sylvio H. De Franceschi, but on this point especially "Le thomisme moderne au voisinage compromettant de l'hérésie: L'école de saint Thomas entre calvinisme et jansénisme: parcours d'une inquiétude catholique au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Der Jansenismus – eine "katholische Häresie"?* *Das Ringen um Gnade, Rechtfertigung und die Autorität Augustins in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Dominik Burkard & Tanja Thanner (Münster: Aschendorff 2014), 163-192. But it should be noted that some of the very figures involved in making the charge against Thomism refused to let Jansenists cover themselves with the orthodoxy of the Thomist school. The case of the Jesuit François Annat is particularly relevant here. See his three works: *Iansenius a Thomistis gratiae per seipsam efficacis defensoribus condemnatus* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy et Gabriel Cramoisy, 1653); *Cavilli Iansenianorum contra latam in ipsos a sede apostolica sententiam* (Paris: Sebastianus Cramoisy et Gabriel Cramoisy, 1654); *Scientia media contra novos eius impugnatores defensa* (Paris: Sebastianus Cramoisy, 1662).

<sup>54</sup> Pietro Maria Gazzaniga, *Praelectiones theologicae* (Bassano del Grappa, 1831), 2:205-06: "Synodus autem in duas partes scissa est, scilicet Arminianorum, et Gomaristarum. Primi duce Jac. Arminio non solum a Calvini duritie omnino recesserunt, sed plane ad Pelagianismum inclinarunt. Alii vero, qui cum Franc. Gomaro in Synodo plenam de Arminianis victoriam reportarunt, ad sanam Thomistarum de praedestinatione, et reprobatione doctrinam descenderunt; paucis rigido Calvinismo adhaerentibus."

<sup>55</sup> See "The Canons of Dort (1618-1619)," V.6, in *Reformed Confessions of the 16th and 17th Centuries in English Translation: 1523–1693*, comp. James T. Dennison Jr., 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2008–2014), 4:145. For more on the Canons of Dordt and the doctrine of perseverance, see Hampton's contribution to this volume.

acknowledged wide agreement with Bañezian Thomists, despite important divergences, though they were more concerned to show their faithfulness to the Council of Trent.<sup>56</sup>

From the common ground shared between Dominican and Reformed theologians, one might conclude that the similarities were exclusive, such that Reformed theologians uniformly dismissed all Jesuits. This would be a mistake. Although the Reformed tended to generalize about the similarities between Jesuits and Arminians, in the seventeenth century a number of Reformed theologians drew positively on Jesuits, pitting specific Jesuits against Arminians. One of John Davenant's favorite authors was the "learned Jesuite," Diego Ruiz de Montoya (1562-1632), whom he cited repeatedly on the topic of predestination in his *Animadversions* (1641) against Samuel Hoard.<sup>57</sup> Other Jesuits, including Benito Pereira (1536-1610) and Robert Bellarmine, were cited by Reformed theologians André Rivet (1572-1651), Heinrich Altting (1583-1644), and Gisbertus Voetius to confirm points of agreement, for example, on the topic of reprobation. In these ways, Reformed theologians recognized variety and elements of sound doctrine even among their Jesuit opponents.<sup>58</sup>

Taking stock of the complexity of this story demands some rethinking of certain basic narratives in the history of theology. This volume undertakes this task with scholars specializing both in the field of Reformed scholasticism, which has flourished since the major scholarly achievements of Richard A. Muller, Willem J. van Asselt, and others, and in the still fledgling field of Roman Catholic scholastic theology in the early modern period.<sup>59</sup> Only a deeper reading

---

<sup>56</sup> See DeMeuse's contribution to this volume, which provides evidence for all of these claims.

<sup>57</sup> John Davenant, *Animadversions written by the Right Reverend Father in God, John Lord Bishop of Salisbury, upon a Treatise intituled, Gods love to Mankind* (London: John Partridge, 1641), 22, 49, 80, 107, 114, 115-16, 126-28, 135, 137, 164, 166, 170-73, 175-77, 218, 260, 300, 305-306, 338, 368.

<sup>58</sup> See Goudriaan's contribution to this volume. For further evidence of Reformed theologians citing Jesuits positively, see Anthony Wotton, *A Dangerous Plot Discovered* (London: [John Dawson], 1626), 156-58, 164. On diversity among Jesuits, see also Pomplun's contribution.

<sup>59</sup> For introductions to the field, see Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller, and A. G. Roeber, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600-1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Willem J.

of the sources of these Reformed theologians in dialogue with specialists in the relevant fields can illuminate the purpose of such citations. In this volume we explore questions such as the following: How did Dominicans and Reformed theologians define the position of the other side? What did the Dominicans, at least early on, believe to be the fundamental differences between themselves and the Calvinists? What was the basis of their interpretations? If there were significant differences, what was the rhetorical function of the *de auxiliis* controversy in the debates between Arminians and Reformed theologians? Was there a consensus or typical approach among Reformed theologians regarding the use of Thomistic doctrine in service of Reformed theology? Making an effort to tackle these and related questions as well as refining them with contributions by scholars of Thomism, Reformed scholasticism, the Jesuits, Arminians, and even early modern Scotists is essential to understanding the dynamics of Augustinian soteriology in the seventeenth century and beyond.<sup>60</sup>

The contributions of the present volume have opened up new questions for future exploration about the intensity of the commitment to Augustine's soteriological outlook in this period by Protestants and Catholics. Martin Luther (1483-1546) could charge in the 1517 *Disputation Against Scholastic Theology* that Pelagianism was on the rise and that the anti-Pelagian arguments of Augustine were commonly being dismissed as hyperbole (*excessive loquatur*). But the seventeenth century finds theologians like the Dominican Alvarez—not to say anything of the Jansenists—arguing that the judgments of Augustine against Pelagius, in part

---

van Asselt, *Introduction to Reformed Scholasticism*, trans. Albert Gootjes (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2011); Carl R. Trueman and R. Scott Clark, eds., *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays in Reassessment* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2007 [1999]); Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics: The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca. 1520 to ca. 1725*, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003); and Willem J. van Asselt and Eef Dekker, eds., *Reformation and Scholasticism*. The field has begun to be enriched by the new translation series from Catholic University of America Press: *Early Modern Catholic Sources*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner and Trent Pomplun. See also Wim Decock and Christiane Birr, *Recht und Moral in der Scholastik der Frühen Neuzeit 1500-1750* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016).

<sup>60</sup> See Pomplun's contribution to this volume for the role of early modern Scotists in these debates.

because of the longstanding support of the papacy and other bishops, were not “the opinion of one particular doctor but should be called the faith of the Catholic Church.”<sup>61</sup> Moreover, the variety of attitudes of Roman Catholics towards Protestants who employed not only medieval but post-Tridentine theologians in their works needs more careful attention. Interactions began earlier than the *de auxiliis* controversy, and some of those even led to important refinements in particular doctrines, but seventeenth-century Catholic scholastic theologians looked more carefully at developments within Protestantism. Of course, our ignorance and static picture of early modern scholasticism must change in light of controversies within Roman Catholic theology about whether new terms like middle knowledge, physical predetermination, and efficacious and sufficient grace were faithful not only to Scripture and the church fathers but even to the medieval and sixteenth-century scholastics. Likewise, this volume contributes to the development of a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the ways in which Protestants received and related to earlier periods, particularly the major schools and figures of the medieval era.<sup>62</sup> While this volume focuses particularly on Reformed and Arminian perspectives, it also clarifies an important task related to the broader Protestant, particularly Lutheran, reception of contemporary Roman Catholic arguments as well as earlier traditions and figures. One goal of this volume then is to open up further lines of future inquiry, which would provide a more reliable and exhaustive picture of the ways in which Augustinian and Thomist soteriologies figured in early modern polemical and constructive theology across confessional boundaries.

---

<sup>61</sup> Alvarez, *De auxiliis*, 43-45.

<sup>62</sup> See Richard A. Muller, *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition: On the Work of Christ and the Order of Salvation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012); see also Jordan J. Ballor, “Deformation and Reformation: Thomas Aquinas and the Rise of Protestant Scholasticism,” in *Aquinas Among the Protestants*, 27-48.

This volume makes clear, however, that the cross-confessional connections identified and explored in this volume seem to be rooted in a broad vision of catholicity on the part of Reformed and Arminian theologians. They disagreed with many elements of Roman Catholic theology, but they could recognize the sound formulations not only of the “sounder scholastics” (*saniores scholastici*) before Trent but also those who helped to clarify difficult theological problems after Trent and the divisions within Western Christianity. Figures like Jacob Arminius, Franciscus Gomarus, Samuel Ward, and others certainly engaged in polemical exchanges with the opposing confessions, but they usually sought to treat the arguments before them with the care that they deserved. The Arminian Conrad Vorstius had no trouble saying that Molina rightly defined God’s necessary and free knowledge, just as the Reformed theologian Gomarus could call Bañez the “learned Spanish doctor.”<sup>63</sup> Of course, it was often useful to pit medieval theologians against the contemporary Roman Catholics. And it could be helpful at times for Protestant theologians to show the divisions within the ranks of Roman Catholic theology, highlighting the *de auxiliis* controversy as a putative example of the emptiness of the claims to being the one, holy, catholic, apostolic church. But Protestant theologians at times showed appreciation for the way that the papacy handled the conflicts between Dominicans and Jesuits. And, most importantly, it seems that the genuine congruity of certain positions on predestination, efficacious grace, and free choice explain so many of the cross-confessional citations. Some Protestant and Roman Catholic theologians recognized that—whatever the disagreements about the papacy, the sacraments, the invocation of saints, and so on—there were shared ideas about divine causality, grace, and human freedom as well as about the Augustinian heritage of the

---

<sup>63</sup> Franciscus Gomarus, *Waerschouwinghe over de vermaninghe aen R. Donteclock* (Leiden: Jan Jansz. Orlers, 1609), 36-37. See also Goudriaan’s contribution to this volume.

Western Church. These shared premises brought out rich reflections, worthy of continued consideration on both sides of the confessional divide.