13 Thomas Cajetan (1469–1534)

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Biographical Introduction

Thomas Cajetan (Tommaso de Vio Gaetano, alias Cajetanus or Cajetan) was born as Giacomo de Vio into a family of landowners in Gaeta, Italy, in February 1469.[1] His hometown, Gaeta (Latin Cajeta), a seaport and archiepiscopal see halfway between Rome and Naples, gave de Vio his additional surname, Cajetan(us)—the name by which he is referred to in legal and theological literature in the early modern period. Giacomo adopted the first name Tommaso when entering the Dominican convent in Gaeta in 1484. After initial training at study houses run by the Dominicans in Naples, Bologna, and Padova, he obtained his master's degree in theology in 1494 at the University of Padova, where he started teaching metaphysics the same year. This work deepened his knowledge of Aristotle, which would form the basis for subsequent research and writings on philosophical subjects: *In Isagogen Porphyrii*, *In Predicamenta Aristotelis*, *De nominum analogia*, *De infinitate primi motoris*, *De subjecto naturalis philosophiae* and *In tres libros Aristotelis de anima*. From 1497 through 1499 Cajetan went on to teach theology at the University of Pavia, south of Milan, where he was asked to use Thomas Aquinas's writings as the starting point for his lectures. It was the beginning of a profound and influential engagement with Thomism, years before other famous Dominicans such as Pierre Crockaert (d. 1514) and Francisco de Vitoria (d.1546) reinvigorated the study of Thomas Aquinas at the Universities of Paris and Salamanca, respectively.

The renewed attention to the *doctor angelicus* in Cajetan's teaching was characteristic of a broader shift in scholastic knowledge culture at the turn from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century.[2] Previously, like most theology professors, Tommaso de Vio had been lecturing on the basis of a much more traditional textbook, namely, Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*. A manuscript copy of Cajetan's commentaries on the *Sentences*, delivered at the Dominican School of Saint Augustine in Padova in 1493, has been preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[3] While Lombard's *Sententiae* remained popular with scholastics in the early modern period,[4] Cajetan's decision to teach theology at Pavia on the basis of Thomas Aquinas's writings nevertheless turned out to be a watershed moment in the renewal of scholastic learning across the Catholic world. Compared to earlier engagements with Thomas's *Summa theologiae* in the late fifteenth century—for

instance, at German and Spanish universities—Cajetan's commentaries were unique in their depth and comprehensiveness.[5] They were published in four volumes between 1508 and 1523 and rapidly gained the status of a reference work, not in the least among theologians belonging to the School of Salamanca, such as Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Soto, and Tomás de Mercado. Through their incorporation into the Leonine edition of the *Summa theologiae* (1888–1906), named after Pope Leo XIII, who commissioned the edition, they continue to influence the interpretation of Thomistic theology to this day.[6]

Cajetan did not have to wait for posterity, though, to be recognized as an exceptional figure. His superiors in the Dominican order noticed his extraordinary intellectual prowess early on, and also discovered his great organizational talent. Before long, he was appointed to major administrative positions. Beginning in 1501 he was charged with the office of procurator of the Dominican Order, meaning that he represented the order in the Roman Curia and had to preach in the Sistine Chapel at the beginning of Lent and Advent. A mere six years later, on August 10, 1507, Cajetan was appointed general vicar of the order, eventually leading to his election as the thirty-eighth master general (*magister generalis*) of the Dominican Order on June 10, 1508.[7] He exercised this function for ten years, during which the reinforcement of the intellectual formation of the Dominican friars was a priority of his mandate. Cajetan wanted to prepare the Dominicans for careers as preachers and confessors in a world that had profoundly changed following the discovery of the Americas, the rise of international trade, and the encounter with indigenous peoples. However, Cajetan's promotion to cardinal by Pope Leo X on July 1, 1517, meant that his energy was increasingly drawn elsewhere, especially into the fight against Martin Luther and the Ottoman threat in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. On July 6, 1517, he received the title of cardinal priest of the Basilica of San Sisto Vecchio—an honorific title frequently mentioned on the title page of his printed works; on February 8, 1534, just months before he died in Rome on August 10 of the same year, Cajetan was also granted the title of cardinal priest of Santa Prassede. Moreover, Cajetan had been nominated archbishop of Palermo on February 8, 1518, before receiving the archiepiscopal see of his hometown Gaeta a year later.

These various administrative and honorific functions led Cajetan to encounter some of the most famous protagonists on the religious and political scene at the outset of the Reformations. Cardinal Oliviero Carafa played a major role in brokering all of Cajetan's appointments in the administration of the Dominican Order. Popes Alexander VI and Julius II assisted to at least five of his sermons in Rome, which were published afterwards and included in his *Opuscula*. While Cajetan was still a procurator for the Dominican Order at the Roman Curia, Pope Julius II ordered the start of the construction of Saint Peter's Basilica, offering special indulgences to finance this monumental project. When Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici rose to power as Pope Leo X, he fully endorsed the practice of selling indulgences. He found a special ally in Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg. The archbishop considered the sale of special indulgences as an opportunity to facilitate the reimbursement of a loan contracted with the Fugger bankers to purchase his ecclesiastical offices. To promote the

sale of the indulgences, he called upon Johann Tetzel, a Dominican friar named inquisitor of Poland and Saxony in 1509 by Cajetan.

Tetzel's aggressive marketing practices scandalized Martin Luther, then provincial vicar of Saxony and Thuringia in the Order of Augustinian friars. After a preliminary investigation by Silvester Mazzolini Prierias,[8] the great Dominican theologian and master of the Sacred Palace, Pope Leo X called upon the *magister generalis* of the Dominican order to further examine the matter. And thus it happened that Cajetan occupied center stage in the conflict between Rome and Luther that began the Reformation.[9]

As a papal legate to the imperial diet of Augsburg in mid-1518, Cajetan had a twofold mission: to persuade the emperor and the estates to support a crusade against the Turks, and to investigate the heretical character of Martin Luther's views. After three meetings with Luther in mid-October 1518, Cajetan tried to arrive at a "differentiated judgment," but Luther showed little interest in compromise.[10] Much later, after Luther's condemnation, Cajetan advised Pope Clement VII to concede to the Lutherans' practice of clerical marriage and communion under both forms—to no avail. But Pope Clement VII gave in to another of Cajetan's wishes. He granted him free time to study the holy scriptures.[11]

It is not unlikely that Cajetan's encounters with Luther further stimulated his investigation of the Bible, but his interest in the scriptures predated the Lutheran Reformation.[12] Drawing on the original Greek and Hebrew texts, and using Erasmus's *Annotationes*, Cajetan devoted the last decade of his life, until his death at the age of sixty-five, to translating and commenting on various biblical texts, becoming a protagonist of "biblical Thomism."[13] Thanks to Dominican friars at the College of St. Thomas in Alcalá de Henares, these impressive commentaries were posthumously published together in five volumes in Lyon in 1639.[14]

Despite his recognition of the importance of scripture for the purpose of "Catholic reform,"[15] Cajetan did not adhere to any of Luther's doctrines. Throughout his life, he remained a staunch defender of papal power and the Aristotelian-Thomistic tradition. Against the spiritualization of Christianity propagated by the Lutheran reformers, he advocated a literal reading of the Bible that protected the jurisdictional interests of the Roman Catholic Church—for instance, regarding the personal and real transfer of the power of the keys to Peter and his successors in Rome. It is fitting that Cajetan, a brilliant theologian at the service of the Roman pontiffs, was buried in the Eternal City. His small tomb is contained in the floor of the vestibule of the Santa Maria Sopra Minerva—the Church of the Order of Preachers where the magnificent tombs of the Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII, whom Cajetan served loyally, are also located.

Major Themes and Contributions

The Defense of Papal Power

Cajetan's life and career coincided with the reign of some of the most powerful and (in)famous Roman pontiffs the Catholic Church has ever known—Alexander

VI, Julius II, Leo X, Adrian VI, and Clement VII. As the master general of the Dominican order between 1508 and 1518, Cajetan spent a decade defending papal power in theory and practice against attacks both from within and from outside the Church. Despite the apparent victory of the papalists against the conciliarists following the Council of Basel (1431–37), the Council of Florence-Ferrara (1438–45), and the condemnation of conciliarism by Pope Pius II in his bull *Execrabilis* (1460), conciliarist views continued to circulate. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, conciliarism witnessed a major revival. It is often associated with the works of John Mair and Jacques Almain, professors of theology at the University of Paris.[16]

Nevertheless, against the background of increased royal resistance against papal power, the revival of conciliarist ideas was in fact a much wider phenomenon, attested to very clearly not only in France but also in the Spanish empire.[17] Believing that the ultimate authority in the Church lay not with the pope but with the community of the faithful and the bishops assembled in a general council, the conciliarists questioned the supreme jurisdictional power of the Roman pontiff from within the Church.[18] At the same time, Martin Luther launched an assault on the papacy, first from within, then eventually as the leader of a schismatic reform movement wholly outside the Catholic Church.[19] Cajetan was at the forefront of combatting both dissonant voices, leading to the publication of three major writings on the question of papal power: *De comparatione auctoritatis papae et concilii* (1511), *Apologia de comparata auctoritate Papae et Concilii* (1512), and *De divina institutione pontificatus totius Ecclesiae* (1521).[20] While the last treatise was the product of his encounter with Luther, the first two writings were the fruit of his opposition to the French conciliarists.

A major starting point for the so-called silver age of conciliarism was events in France and Italy from 1510 to 1512. At that time, King Louis XII provoked Pope Julius II by convincing French cardinals to convoke a general council in Pisa in May 1511, despite the canonical prohibition against summoning a general council without papal consent (see the bull *Execrabilis*). In reply, Julius II convoked his own, rival council—which came to be known as the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17)—[21]and appealed to Cajetan to combat the dissident cardinals gathering at the "alleged council" in Pisa—designated pejoratively in Latin with the word *conciliabulum*. Threatening any member of the Order of Preachers with excommunication if they dared to attend the Council, Cajetan organized resistance to the conciliarists from the monastery of the Dominicans in Pisa, urging the rebel cardinals to leave Pisa for Milan. Moreover, the master general of the Dominicans went on to demonstrate the illegitimacy of the *conciliabulum* in his *De comparatione auctoritatis papae et concilii*.

Published in October 1511, this treatise prompted immediate reaction from the French king, who requested a refutation of Cajetan's work by the theologians of the University of Paris. Charged with this daunting task, the young Jacques Almain developed an intelligent apology for the Council of Pisa in his *Libellus de auctoritate Ecclesiae*, urging Cajetan to refine some of his arguments in his *Apologia*, a second treatise on the relationship between the Roman pontiff and

the council published in November 1512. As Hubert Jedin has observed, the conflict between Cajetan and the dissident cardinals at Pisa was "a momentous event," illustrating the sheer brilliance and energy of early modern ecclesiological debates.[22] It had a lasting impact on debates about the Catholic Church's ecclesiology, not the least through the reception of Cajetan's ideas in Francisco de Vitoria's teachings on the subject of ecclesiastical power in the 1530s at the University of Salamanca.[23]

Undoubtedly one of the strongest apologists of the supremacy of papal power within the Catholic Church at the outset of the sixteenth century, Cajetan argued emphatically that the bishop of Rome, in his capacity as the successor to Peter, was the sole person to have received immediate jurisdictional power (*potestas iurisdictionis*) from Christ to govern the Church.[24] The other bishops, as successors to the other apostles, could receive jurisdictional power only through the hands of the pope, c[illegible]ediately. Therefore, their authority as leaders of the Church was inferior to [illegible] of the pope. Although Cajetan admitted that the power of order, namely the capacity to dispense the sacraments (*potestas ordinis*), had been granted immediately to all the apostles, the power of jurisdiction could be transmitted to them only by the pope.

Cajetan based this idea of papal supremacy on the metaphor of the two keys which Christ had given to Peter (Matthew 16:19). Cajetan's exegesis of the transfer of the power of the keys followed the interpretation of Matthew 16:19 by twelfth-century decretists such as Huguccio. They claimed that while one key, symbol of the power of order, had been conveyed to all the apostles, the other, representing the jurisdictional power, had been given to Peter alone.[25] Cajetan was very clear about the necessity to adhere to this view, which he based on several canons and on Thomas Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles*:[26]

> You must pay careful attention to the following proposition, to close the door to opponents who talk about a royal form of government (*regale regimen*) instituted by the senate or the free people: It is not through the church, the Christian people, or any kind of universal council that the ecclesiastical government (*Ecclesiae regimen*) was instituted, but through the living and reigning Christ directly, so that Peter is not the vicar simply of the church but of Jesus Christ.

The conciliarists obviously opposed these views. They argued that the power of jurisdiction originally lay with the whole community of the faithful, or at least with the general council of bishops as the representatives of the community. The power of both keys, including the key of governance, had been transferred to all apostles, not just to Peter. As a result, the pope could not claim to be superior to the general council of bishops. Moreover, by using the terminology of Aristotelian and Thomistic political philosophy (*regimen*, *respublica*), Cajetan unwittingly played into the conciliarists' hands, as Elliot van Liere has rightly pointed out.[27] Almain used the analogy between the Church and the civil community (*respublica*) to construct his argument that the origins of ecclesiastical

jurisdiction had to be the same as those of civil power, namely, the community's original power to govern itself. Even if the political community could transfer its original authority to a monarch, it retained the unalienable right to safeguard its own well-being, especially when the monarch risked destroying the community. Following other conciliarists, Almain emphasized the close parallelism between the ecclesiastical and civil polities (*regimen*).[28] As a consequence, the power of the community of the faithful, represented through the general council of bishops, was superior to that of the pope. The universal Church could even decide to depose a pope if the latter exercised his power destructively, just as a political community could repeal a tyrant from his office.

Cajetan rejected the far-reaching analogy between the civil and ecclesiastical *regimen*. With James Burns one can observe that he was "concerned to make as absolute a distinction as he can between civil and ecclesiastical authority, so as to undermine the conciliarist exploitation of their supposed similarity."[29] Cajetan clarified in his *Apologia* that the nature of civil and ecclesiastical power was so different that one could not reason from one to the other. While a political community naturally needs an authority to take care of the common good—an authority which, in the civil polity, lies with the people, who can decide to confer this power upon a small elite (in an aristocracy) or, in the best of circumstances, upon a king (in a monarchy)—the Church has authority merely because it received it directly from Christ, and Christ decided to give it solely to Peter as His vicar, not to the community of the faithful. By virtue of its specific nature, the ecclesiastical community is not free when it comes to choosing its leader. The right to determine the supreme ecclesiastical leader, the *ius principatus*, belongs solely to Jesus Christ, the Church's Lord by nature, whom the ecclesiastical community serves.[30]

Cajetan nevertheless acknowledged that, under extreme circumstances, a heretical pope could be deposed by an inferior authority. Cajetan did so by drawing a subtle distinction between the papal office in the abstract, the specific human person occupying that office, and the conjunction of the two through the human process of election. Should the universal Church or the general council depose a heretical pope, it would merely be unwinding that process of combining the office with the specific person, without laying claim to jurisdictional supremacy.[31]

While the conciliarist threat gave Cajetan an early opportunity to explicate his views on papal supremacy, less than a decade later he was forced to make his argument about the authority of the pope even more forcefully in light of the Lutheran threat. His *De divina institutione pontificatus totius Ecclesiae* (1521), published shortly after the excommunication of Martin Luther by virtue of the papal bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem*, offers an unprecedented apology of papal power. Rather than concentrating on papal decretals or conciliar documents, his argument is principally based on the exegesis of key phrases in Matthew 16:18 (*tu es Petrus*), Matthew 16:19 (*tibi dabo claves*), and John 21:17 (*pasce oves meas*). He interprets these passages as saying that Christ gave the power to lead the Church to Peter alone, and that He wanted Peter to have successors—the popes—to whom alone that power would be transmitted. Compared with earlier attempts

to justify papal claims on supremacy against Luther—for instance in Johann Eck's *De primatu Petri*—which drew heavily on arguments from tradition, the biblical turn in Cajetan's argumentation is remarkable. It is often considered indicative of a shift towards a more theological and less canonical understanding of ecclesiology in the early modern Catholic Church.[32] The juridical nature of the arguments presented in Cajetan's *De divina institutione pontificatus* should not be overlooked, however. In the introduction to his treatise, Cajetan explains that, by clarifying the *ius principatus*, he wants to protect it as belonging to Peter and the Roman pontiffs—a right of princely rulership which he says "is shining thanks to the sun of the Gospel" (*evangelico sole fulgens*) but has been acquired over the centuries "through peaceful possession" (*tranquilla possessione*)—a subtle reference to the acquisition of ownership by means of acquisitive prescription.[33]

The Morality of the Marketplace

Cajetan was a formidable theologian indeed—familiar not only with the biblical sources of the Roman Church's ecclesiology but also with Aristotelian-Thomistic moral philosophy and the Romano-canon legal tradition. The many requests for practical advice submitted to Cajetan throughout his life—ranging from the morality of banking practices in southern Germany to the legitimacy of the marriage between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon—urged him to master a technical, philosophical, and legal vocabulary sophisticated enough to deal adequately with the big issues of his day. Those issues not only concerned the attacks on papal authority following the revival of conciliarism, the rise of increasingly powerful secular princes, the emergence of the Lutheran reform movement, and the imminent schism between Rome and the Anglican Church. They were also related above all to profound changes in the economic structure of Europe at the threshold of the sixteenth century, which was increasingly characterized by the intensification of cross-continental and cross-maritime trade and finance. Although Cajetan's work makes little reference to the discovery of the Americas,[34] there is no denying the paramount importance of reflections on the morality of the marketplace in several of his works as a consequence of the rise of cities such as Milan, Lyons, and Antwerp as major hubs in international trade and banking.

Cajetan's activity as a moral adviser in economic affairs took off during the years he taught theology on the basis of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologia* in Pavia. On July 13, 1498, he delivered (negative) advice on the Mounts of Piety (*De monte pietatis*), which formed the basis of his (unsuccessful) attempt to have those public pawnshops condemned at the Fifth Lateran Council.[35] His rejection of the Mounts of Piety was followed by a more lenient report, which he finished in Milan on December 9, 1499, on the practice of money exchange (*De cambiis*).[36] The following year saw the composition of his advice on moneylending and usury (*De usura*), which he finished writing on April 18, 1500.[37] Brief statements about the morality of the market are also included in Cajetan's *Summula peccatorum* of 1523, an alphabetically ordered manual for confessors that features

brief entries on sale and usury. Along with his more extended commentaries on articles 77 (about sale) and 78 (about usury) in Thomas's *Secunda secundae*, published in 1522, the *Summula peccatorum* became a standard reference work among theologians and jurists belonging to the School of Salamanca dealing with similar topics.

Cajetan's engagements with economic subjects nevertheless lacked the depth, comprehensiveness and clarity that characterized later scholastic treatises on the subject, especially by the Jesuits. In comparison with the subsequent economic ethics of Luis de Molina, Leonardus Lessius, and Juan de Lugo, Cajetan is rather moderate in promoting the values of economic prudence and industry (*industria*).[38] Nor did Cajetan bother about establishing a general theory of contract or a systematic overview of all specific contracts—despite contemporary attempts to that effect by the Tübingen theologian Conrad Summenhart (see his *Opus septipertitum de contractibus*, ca. 1500).[39]

Much more research is needed on the content and development of Cajetan's economic ideas, but some basic elements stand out. First of all, it is important to realize that Cajetan's assessment of the morality of the market is not based merely on abstract reasoning. He endeavors to combine Aristotelian and Thomistic wisdom with empirical insights from practice.[40] In this manner he prepared the "empirical turn" that would become the hallmark of Jesuit economic thought about a century later.[41] Cajetan wanted to know how banking worked in practice, and he inquired among professionals to get empirical evidence about the functioning of money exchange and markets for goods. In the introduction to his work on money exchange, Cajetan clearly states that his work is the product not only of silent meditation and the reading of authors but also of consultation with practitioners.[42] His actual work abounds with references to the practice of money exchange in cities such as Bruges, Genoa, London, Lyons, and Milan. As John T. Noonan and Raymond de Roover have observed, Cajetan's work on money exchange provides an important step towards the legitimation of the profession of the money exchanger and, as a consequence, of modern banking practices.[43]

Cajetan's sensitiveness to practice also shows up in his treatment of some of the more traditional principles of scholastic economic thought, such as the doctrine of the just price. In discussing the traditional prohibition on charging a higher price in a credit sale, he argues that the rule that considerations of time should not influence the just price "should be taken with a grain of salt" (*est tamen hic grano salis opus*):[44] first of all because, in practice, the just price covers a range of prices (*latitudo*) and is not just a specific and exact, indivisible price; and second because, in practice, there is uncertainty about the future value of goods, and the merchant may well have wanted to sell his goods later at a higher price.

A second element that deserves mentioning besides Cajetan's sensitivity to economic reality is that he formulated many seminal economic insights such as the rule that "absent money is less worth than present money"—which foreshadows similar notions in Lessius (*carentia pecuniae*) and modern economics (liquidity preference).[45] Another truly innovative element that has attracted scholarly attention is Cajetan's willingness to recognize that market prices are

formed according to a logic of their own that ignores subjective characteristics of the buyers and sellers involved, such as their need.[46] It is not the subjective intent or reason (*causa*) motivating people to enter into a transaction which determines the justice of the price, but rather the specific circumstances of the sale and the mode of selling (*modus vendendi*). For example, at auction the price of a certain good may be totally different from the price the same good is sold at in an individual transaction. Moreover, if a seller offers that same good for sale on his own initiative, he must expect to get less for it than if he is requested by the buyer to sell. According to a famous principle articulated in Cajetan's commentary on the *Secunda Secundae*, and taken up by subsequent scholastic theologians such as Lessius, "merchandise offered spontaneously decreases in value" (*merces ultroneae vilescunt*). In other words, the specific modalities of the exchange have a decisive impact on the formation of the just price. On account of insights like these, Odd Inge Langholm has affirmed that "Cajetan's doctrine represents a first step toward the depersonalization of economic ethics that characterizes postscholastic thought."[47]

Cajetan's economic ideas were not always as forward looking and innovative, however, as these examples suggest. His views on interest and usury remained rather conservative, and he argued against the Mounts of Piety.[48] Moreover, his willingness to accept new commercial and financial techniques was subject to great hesitation. In 1515, the famous German Dominican theologian Johann Eck delivered a groundbreaking defense of the so-called triple contract—the legal backbone of commercial capitalism and the practices of the Fugger banking industry.[49] Yet in April of the same year, Cajetan delivered an almost entirely negative advice about the practice after Conrad Köllin, Dominican friar in Ulm, had solicited his opinion on this investment technique, which was very popular in southern Germany.[50]

Often, Cajetan is more interesting because of his restatement of traditional economic ideas than because of his allegedly protoliberal thought.[51] A good example is his brief but compelling explanation of the typically scholastic prohibition on market abuse through monopolies.[52] Even legal monopolies, Cajetan argues, are not to be allowed if they are merely intended to increase prices at the expense of the buyers. Robbery (*rapina*) is forbidden, even if allowed by the government. "That kind of monopolies," Cajetan explains in his *Summula peccatorum*,[53] "not only damages individual citizens but also violates the freedom of the whole community (*communis libertas*); as a consequence, it should not be tolerated."

General Appraisal and Influence

A brilliant theologian, prolific writer, and clever administrator within the Order of Preachers, Cajetan was a major actor on the academic, religious, and political scene at the threshold of the modern period. As a papal legate at the Diet of Augsburg in October 1517, he incarnated the modern Roman Church's pope-centered ecclesiology in confronting, both literally and figuratively, an Augustinian friar who dared challenge the authority of the Roman pontiff: Martin Luther. It turned out to be a watershed moment in the history of Christianity—and Cajetan was at the center of it. Two decades before, Cajetan had also been at the

forefront of another revolution, albeit one of a more silent, slow, and intellectual nature: the revival of the study of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas as the basis of philosophical and theological teaching at universities and religious schools. Combined with his humanist bent for biblical exegesis and his sharp insight into the realities of economic life, Cajetan thus contributed to laying the foundations of the renaissance of a highly hybrid and effective Thomistic theology across sixteenth-century universities and religious orders. His fundamental impact on major Spanish theologians belonging to the School of Salamanca—such as Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Soto, and Tomás de Mercado—may not come as a surprise, given that they belonged to the same Dominican order. But he was equally seminal in shaping the theological, political, and economic thought of great Jesuits such as Robert Bellarmine, Francisco Suárez, and Leonardus Lessius. In the literature, however, the intimate connection between Cajetan and the early modern scholastic tradition needs further emphasis and recognition. The continuity between the ecclesiological and economic-legal viewpoints of Cajetan, on one hand, and those of later Dominican and Jesuit theologians, on the other, often goes unnoticed, as Martin Grabmann was already sorry to observe.[54]

Although admired by many intellectual historians as the leading Thomist of his generation,[55] over the past decades Cajetan has suffered from neglect by scholars of his own trade. There are several reasons for that, some of which are more justified than others. In a letter to Henri de Lubac, the Jesuit father who initiated the influential movement of the "Nouvelle Théologie" of the mid-twentieth century, the French Thomistic philosopher Étienne Gilson, who has had a profound impact on historiography, rejected Cajetan for being the initiator of a "corrupt" tradition of Thomism.[56] Interestingly, Gilson's revulsion against Cajetan and other scholastic theologians of the early modern period may seem like a late echo of the rejection which the then master general of the Dominican Order suffered by French conciliarist theologians at the Sorbonne. Jacques Almain and Tommaso de Vio were never going to be friends. In addition, on account of his loyalty to the Roman pontiffs at such a delicate moment in the history of the Catholic Church, Cajetan has also suffered from the contempt often expressed at the public and private vices associated with pontiffs such as Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X. There is a long history to that story line as well.

Moreover, on account of his role in opposing Luther, Cajetan became a favorite target of critics on the Protestant side—for instance in Ulrich von Hutten's satirical dialogue "The Observers" (*Inspicientes*, 1520).[57] In addition, as Cathy Curtis has recently recalled, Cajetan became the subject of parody even earlier, immediately following his confrontation with the French conciliarists. He is ridiculed in one of the most widely circulated satires of the sixteenth century, "Julius Excluded From Heaven" (*Julius exclusus e caelis*, 1514)—often attributed to Erasmus but more likely the work of the humanist cleric Richard Pace, a friend of Thomas More and counselor to Henry VIII.[58] As a result of these polemics, an enormous amount of scholarship remains to be undertaken to fully understand and appreciate the lasting impact Cajetan has had—through his more than 115 writings—on early modern ecclesiology, biblical exegesis, neo-Aristotelian philosophy, neo-Thomistic moral theology, and economic thought.

Notes

1 The factual information about dates and places in this article largely draws on Eckehart Stöve's excellent contribution on Cajetan in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*.
2 For example, strong Thomistic currents of thought were already present in Salamanca long before Francisco de Vitoria started teaching there in 1526, see Belda Plans, 64–73.
3 Bibliothèque nationale, ms. Lat. 3076.
4 See Lanza and Toste.
5 Grabmann, 608.
6 The Leonine edition is available online at www.corpusthomisticum.org/repedleo.html.
7 Mortier, 141–230.
8 See Fabisch and Iserloh.
9 Wicks, *Cajetan Responds*; Wicks, *Cajetan und die Anfänge der Reformation*; Fabisch and Iserloh, 37–240; Morerod.
10 Wicks, "Cajetan."
11 O'Connor, 59.
12 Tanoüarn, 83.
13 See Vijgen.
14 Cajetan, *Opera omnia quotquot in Sacrae Scripturae expositionem reperiuntur*.
15 O'Connor, 63.
16 Oakley, 673–90; Oakley, *Watershed of Modern Politics*, vol. 3, 242–51.
17 See Tubau.
18 See Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition*.
19 See Witte.
20 The first two treatises are available in English translation; see Burns and Izbicki, 1–133 and 201–84.
21 See Minnich.
22 Jedin, vol. 1, 114.
23 See Elliot van Liere; also Tutino.
24 See Horst.
25 Tierney, 30.
26 Cajetan, *De comparatione authoritatis Papae et Concilii*, in *Opuscula omnia*, vol. 1, tract. 1, f. 1v: *Et tu valde notabis assumptum, scilicet quod Iesus Christus instituit tale regimen [sc. Ecclesiae regimen], ut claudas ora opponentium de regali regimine instituto a senatu seu populo libero: non enim ecclesia aut populus Christianus aut concilium aliquod universale, sed Christus ipse, qui vivit et regnat, instituit tale regimen, ut Petrus non ecclesiae, sed Iesu Christi vicarius esset.*
27 Elliot van Liere, 605–7.
28 Burns, "Scholasticism: Survival and Revival," 150–1.
29 Ibid., 153; compare Izbicki, 81–9.
30 Cajetan, *Apologia de comparata authoritate Papae et Concilii*, in *Opuscula omnia*, vol. 1, tract. 2, f. 20r: *In ecclesia ex sua natura natus est ordo talis ut ius principatus sit non in se sed in domino suo naturali.*
31 Oakley, "Almain and Major," 676.
32 Armogathe, 172; Jedin, 114.
33 Cajetan, *De divina institutione pontificatus totius ecclesiae*, in *Opuscula omnia*, vol. 1, tract. 3, f. 32r.: *Ea propter Petri, successorumque eius Romanorum Pontificum principatus (tot aetates, tempora, atque aevitates tranquilla possessione obtenti) ius evangelico sole fulgens, impetitum argumentationibus involventibus exercitatos parum in sacris literis tueri, tenebris exuere atque in medium proferre sic intendimus, ut veritas haec omnibus luceat et propriis splendoribus universae creaturae penetralia attingat.*

34 Izbicki, "Cajetan on the Acquisition of Stolen Goods in the Old and New Worlds."
35 See Muzzarelli.
36 A translation of this text has been offerred by Brannan; see his "Thomas De Vio Cardinal Cajetan, on Exchanging Money (1499)."
37 For a modern edition of the aforementioned *opuscula*, see De Vio Cardinalis Caietanus, *Scripta philosophica, Opuscula oeconomico-socialia*.
38 On this point, see Decock, *Le marché du mérite*. For Cajetan's discussion of the value of reputation, which is less influenced by concerns about individual freedom and industry than is the case with later authors, see Schwartz, 78–99.
39 A limited set of specific statements by Cajetan did have an impact, though, on subsequent debates about the bindingness of vows and promises or, for that matter, debt relief; see, e.g., Decock, *Theologians and Contract Law*, 180, 199, 433, and Decock, "Law, Religion, and Debt Relief," 131–2.
40 This point is worthwhile emphasizing, see Neri Reese, 351. But whether the introduction of this empirical method was really "innovative" can be questioned. It suffices to think of the practical engagement with economic problems by medieval scholastic theologians such as Pierre Jean de Olivi, whose lectures on the morality of the market, delivered in Narbonne around 1293–5, reflect his empirical observations of commercial practice in the Mediterranean; see Piron.
41 See Decock, "Knowing Before Judging."
42 Cajetan (trans. Brannan), *On Exchanging Money*, 211.
43 Noonan, 317–27; de Roover.
44 Th. Cajetanus, *Summula peccatorum*, Antverpiae, In aedibus Petri Belleri, 1575, s.v. *venditio*, 544–5.
45 De Roover, "Cardinal Cajetan on 'Cambium' or Exchange Dealings" (repr. in *Journal of Markets and Morality*), 202.
46 Langholm, 113–16; Martinat, 60–7.
47 Langholm, 116.
48 For further explanation, see Noonan, 250–5, 296–9.
49 See Birocchi; Decock, "In Defense of Commercial Capitalism."
50 Cajetan, *Responsio XI*, in *Opuscula omnia*, vol. 2, tract. 3, f. 95r. Noonan nevertheless observes that Cajetan's opposition to the triple contract was "not intransigent," since he preferred this practice to loans at manifest usury; see Noonan, 211–12.
51 See Rothbard's chapter "Cardinal Cajetan: Liberal Thomist," in his *Economic Thought Before Adam Smith*, rightly criticized in Neri Reese.
52 Höffner; Decock, *Le marché du mérite*, ch. 7 ("Monopoles et industrie").
53 Cajetanus, *Summula peccatorum*, s.v. *venditio*, p. 544: *Est enim monopolium huiusmodi non solum in privatorum hoc damnum, sed communis libertatis offensivum, et ideo non est tolerandum.*
54 Grabmann, 610–13.
55 E.g., Burns, "Scholasticism: Survival and Revival," 137.
56 Tanoüarn, 15, 36.
57 Becker, 68–9.
58 Curtis, 108–10.

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