

Shaping the Bible in the Reformation

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Shaping the Bible in the Reformation

Books, Scholars and Their Readers
in the Sixteenth Century

Edited by

Bruce Gordon
Matthew McLean



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Bruce Gordon

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Josef Eskhult received his PhD at Uppsala University in 2008. In his thesis he specialized on Neo-Latin and Bible philology in the early modern period. He has devoted much attention to Latin Bibles in the Reformation in his thesis and separate articles. He is currently conducting research in the historiography of linguistic thought.

Wim François is Research Professor of the Special Research Fund of the K.U.Leuven (Belgium). His field of research is the history of Church and theology in the Early Modern Era (1450–1650). He is, more in particular, investigating the place of vernacular Bible reading in the life of the faithful in the period concerned. In addition, he is doing research into the Bible commentaries edited by the Louvain and Douai theologians during the Golden Age of Catholic biblical scholarship (1550–1650), with a particular focus on the Augustinian inspiration of the commentaries in question.

Bruce Gordon is the Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Yale Divinity School. He is the author and editor of a number of books on the European Reformation, including (with Peter Marshall) *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester, 2002) and (with Emidio Campi) *Architect of Reformation. An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger, 1504–1575* (Baker Academic, 2004). His most recent book is *Calvin*, published by Yale University Press in 2009.

Matthew McLean is Research Fellow at the University of St Andrews. He works on religion, science and the culture of humanism in the early modern period. His first book, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster. Describing the World in the Reformation* was published in 2007 by Ashgate. He is presently working the AHRC Protestant Latin Bible Project.

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INTRODUCTION

Matthew McLean

Re-examining, remaking, and interpreting: the early modern world came to the Bible with reverent hands, but not idle. The changes, and efforts made to effect change, in Bible scholarship and use, its physical form and presentation, its languages and interpretation were profound, mirroring the depth of the religious, cultural and social changes which took place in this period.¹ The processes by which this age adapted Scripture to its changed needs and realities are many and subtle: the long-established Latin Vulgate (itself representing a complex manuscript tradition) ceded space to multiplying vernaculars, to entirely new Latin translations, to sophisticated polyglot Bibles, and to revised and reaffirmed versions of itself.² Textual criticism vexed and refined the understanding of established traditions, and drew in new sources for study, defined the tools by

¹ The subject is served by several fine works of survey: GWH Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible, Vol 2: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1969); SL Greenslade (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible, Vol 3: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1963); B Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship. Editions and Commentaries', in Greenslade (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible, Vol 3: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1963); S Berger, *La Bible au seizième siècle. Étude sur les origins de la critique biblique* (Paris, 1879); C Kannengiesser, *Bible de tous les temps*: vol. 5 G Bedouelle and B Roussel (eds.), *Le temps des Réformes et le Bible* (Paris, 1989); A Vernet, *La Bible au Moyen Âge, Bibliographie* (Paris, 1989); DC Steinmetz, *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century* (Durham NC, 1990); D Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1993); J Pelikan, *The Reformation of the Bible, The Bible of the Reformation* (New Haven, 1996); U Joerg and DM Hoffman (eds.), *Die Bibel in der Schweiz: Ursprung und Geschichte* (Basel, 1997); D Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible. Scholarship, Sacrifice and Subjectivity* (Berkley, 1998); P Saenger and K van Kampen (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions* (London, 1999); O O'Sullivan and EN Herron (eds.), *The Bible as Book, The Reformation* (London, 2000); J Rogerson, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Bible* (Oxford, 2001); C de Hamel, *The Book. A History of the Bible* (London, 2001); J Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton, 2005).

² On the Vulgate: K Aland and B Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart, 1981); BM Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament, Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration* (Oxford, 1968); E Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1985); R Coogan, *Erasmus, Lee and the Correction of the Vulgate: The Shaking of the Foundations* (Geneva, 1992); A Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship and the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford, 1993); C Celenza, 'Renaissance Humanism and the New Testament: Lorenzo Valla's Annotations to the Vulgate', in *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24 (1994); S Rebenich, *Jerome* (London, 2002); H Pabel, *Herculean Labours: Erasmus and the editing of St Jerome's Letters in the Renaissance* (2008).

which they were dissected, seeming to widen rather than refine the possible understandings of Scripture.³ The Reformation made the interpretation and study of the Bible the engine of its remaking of the faith, the Church and society; the theological landscape teemed ever more thickly with competing renderings and readings of Scripture, with commentaries, paraphrases and other species of literature which sought to frame the

Bibles in Translation: RH Bainton, 'The Bible and the Reformation', in Greenslade (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible, Vol 3: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1963); H Volz, 'Continental versions to c.1600' in Greenslade (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible, Vol 3: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1963); H Reinitzer, *Biblia Deutsch, Luthers Bibelübersetzung und ihre Tradition* (Wolfenbüttel, 1983); CC de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers: nederlandse bijbelvertalingen vanaf de Reformatie tot 1637* (Haarlem, 1993); AA den Hollander (ed.), *Middel nederlandse bijbelvertalingen* (Hilversum, 2007); B Chédozeau, *La Bible et la liturgie en Français. L'Église Tridentine et les traductions bibliques et liturgiques (1600–1789)* (Paris, 1990); P Bogaert (ed.), *Les Bibles en Français: Histoire Illustrée du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Turnhout, 1991); SL Greenslade, 'English Versions of the Bible, 1525–1611' in *The Cambridge History of the Bible, Vol 3: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1963); M Deanesley, *The Lollard Bible and Other Mediaeval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge, 1966); I Backus, *The Reformed Roots of the English New Testament. The Influence of Theodore Beza on the English New Testament* (Pittsburgh, 1980); G Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible* (Manchester, 1982); C MacKenzie, *The Battle for the Bible in England 1557–1582* (New York, 2002); D Daniell, *The Bible in English. Its History and Influence* (New Haven, 2003).

³ On humanist approaches to the bible, see especially: JH Bentley, *Humanism and Holy Writ, New Testament Scholarship and the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1983); A Hamilton, 'Humanists and the Bible', in J Kraye (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge, 1996); E Rummel, *The Humanist Scholastic Debate in Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge MA., 1995); E Rummel, *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (2008); PO Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic and Humanist Strains* (New York, 1961); L Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge MA., 1963); C Trinkhaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1970); M Boyle-O'Rourke, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology* (Toronto, 1977); J Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony, Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens OH., 1983); H Graf Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World*, (London, 1984); E Rummel, *Erasmus Annotations on the New Testament: From Philologist to Theologian* (Toronto, 1986); DFS Thomson, 'Erasmus and Textual Scholarship in the Light of Sixteenth-Century Practice', in J. Weiland and W. Frijhoff (eds.), *Erasmus of Rotterdam. The Man and the Scholar* (Leiden, 1988); A Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Tradition of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge MA., 1991); RJ Blackwell, *Galileo, Bellarmine and the Bible* (Notre-Dame, 1992); S Skalweit, *Das Alte Testament im Protestantismus* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995); H Graf Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung. Renaissance, Reformation, Humanismus* (Munich, 1997); K Eden, *Hermeneutics and the Rhetorical Tradition: Chapter in the Ancient Legacy and Its Humanist Reception* (New Haven, 1997); JT Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible* (Leiden, 1998); A Coudert and J Shoulson, *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 2004); E Campi, S De Angelis, A Goeing and A Grafton, *Scholarly Knowledge. Textbooks in early modern Europe* (Geneva, 2008).

proper understanding of the Bible.⁴ Moving from manuscript into the age of print, the Book took as many forms as its buyers could wish: sophisticated paratextual materials and illustrations were crafted for its utility or adornment, but it also assumed myriad compressed forms, cheap but powerful vessels for the message.⁵ The Bible was differently the focus of

⁴ Literature on early modern developments in interpretation and use: M Saebo, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of its interpretation: II From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Göttingen, 2008); I Backus and F Higman (eds.), *Théorie et pratique de l'exégèse* (Geneva, 1990); B Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, (Notre Dame, 1964); JB Rogers and DK McKim, *The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible. An Historical Approach* (San Francisco, 1979); C Fuchs, *La Paraphrase* (Paris, 1982); R Kolb, 'Teaching the Text: The Commonplace Method in Sixteenth-Century Lutheran Biblical Commentary', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 49 (1987); J Rogerson, C Rowland, B Lindars, *The Study and Use of the Bible* (Basingstoke, 1988); G Evans, *Problems of Authority in the Reformation Debates* (Cambridge, 1992); H Pabel and M Vessey, *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament* (Toronto, 2002); J Delville, *L'Europe de l'Exégèse au XVI^e Siècle. Interprétations de la parabole des ouvriers à la vigne* (Leuven, 2004); V Ferrier and A Mantero (eds.), *Les paraphrases bibliques aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Geneva, 2006); J Krans, *Beyond What is Written. Erasmus and Beza as Conjectural Critics of the New Testament* (Leiden, 2006); W François and AA den Hollander (eds.), *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment? The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period* (Leuven, 2009).

⁵ The Bible as Book: J Gilmont (ed.) and Karin Maag trans., *The Reformation and the book* (Aldershot, 1998); TH Barlow and HF Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed editions of the Holy Scriptures in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (1911); P Schmidt, *Die Illustration der Lutherbibel, 1522–1700* (Basel, 1962); W Eichenberger and H Wendland, *Deutsche Bibeln vor Luther, Die Buchkunst der achtzehn deutschen Bibeln zwischen 1466 und 1522* (Hamburg, 1977); E Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1979); B Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles: Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French Language Editions of the Scriptures*, (Geneva, 1983); E Armstrong, *Robert Estienne Royal Printer. An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus* (Sutton, 1986); R Gameson (ed.), *The Early Mediaeval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use* (Cambridge, 1994); AA den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen, 1522–1545* (Nieuwkoop, 1997); BA Rosier, *The Bible in Print: Netherlandish Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1997); I Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000); Marvin Heller, *Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book* (2007); MM Mochizuki, *The Image after Iconoclasm, 1566–1672: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot, 2008).

On the process and theory of translation: W Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Bible Translation* (London, 1955); G Steiner, *After Babel. Aspects of Language and Translation* (Oxford, 1975); G Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and their Renaissance Antecedents* (Geneva, 1984); R Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle ages* (Cambridge, 1991); L Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London, 1995); K Jensen, 'The Humanist Reform of Latin and Latin Teaching' in J Kraye (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge, 1996); L Long, *Translating the Bible. From the Seventh to the Seventeenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2001); C Ocker, *Biblical Poetics before Humanism and Reformation* (Cambridge, 2002); A Moss, *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language Turn* (Oxford, 2003); P Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge, 2004).

teaching, an object of piety, the inspiration for artistic production, for literature, for music. The early modern age gave to its Bible a great many shapes.

This volume explores several shapes taken and needs served by the early modern Bible; the eleven essays which follow investigate sources and ask questions which range expansively, but connect thematically. They were offered for discussion during a workshop held in St Andrews in July 2010 which was designed to consider aspects of the history of the Bible which complimented the work of the Protestant Latin Bible project, both of which had been encouraged and underwritten by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. This meeting was devised to exchange new research and explore points of contact in the broad field of the history of the Bible. The papers were received and the discussions held under the embracing title 'The Worlds of the Bible in the Sixteenth Century', and they include scholarship broad in sources and methodological approach, in their geographical, confessional and linguistic focus, and in those aspects of Bible study, translation, production and use which they variously illuminate. Despite the striking breadth of the discussions made possible by these essays, clear thematic harmonies become apparent.

The routes by which the laity were able to gain access to Scripture are considered in Sabrina Corbellini's paper, along with the impact of the vernacular Bible on the formation of their religious lives and their identities. An examination of the case of the fifteenth-century lay theologian Feo Belcari, this essay shows that the vernacular translator's concern for the unlearned, for those without Latin, led to a desire to teach the way to achieve a good Christian life to all irrespective of their age or gender. Here, the need to deliver to the reader the benefits of sacred literature outstrips the concern that the reader might misinterpret the text without careful supervision; this 'self-interpretation problem' reoccurs throughout the Reformation era, an enduring dilemma. Strikingly, the reception of the biblical text among the laity was not primarily critical or intellectual, but rather "reading the Holy Writ implies a sensual activity – the reader is tasting and savouring the Scriptures". The Bible gave nourishment, it was the basis of a process of visualisation, personalisation and interiorisation, a process of '*christiconformitas*'. In the daily practice of *imitatio Christi* performed by the laity, reading was only a first step towards prayer and meditation, and towards worldly conduct in conformity with the example of Christ: intriguingly, the laity held theology (which has its dangers) to be of lesser importance than this process of conversion.

These insights into the way the laity made use of scripture, not to generate heterodox interpretations, but to shape their lives, give nuance to the relationship of the learned and ordinary Christian. The laity, preferring *christiconformitas* to doctrine, might make different demands of the Church than those which the clergy expected or were equipped to deliver. Equally striking is the lay attitude to the Bible, the Book, considering it not as an object “but as a real presence of the divine... the book can become an instrument of the continuous presence of Christ in the world”. Were the theologians and textual critics exerting themselves to create a Bible to which the laity would be less receptive than a shorter, simpler more vivid text? Did the reverence of those scholars for the Scriptures now reside in the ideal of a perfect manuscript tradition, or in an immaculate translation – or did they too remain sensitive to a real presence in the Book itself?

That Bibles were, to their readers, often more than inert vessels for text is borne out by August den Hollander’s study of the illustrations in Bibles produced in the Low Countries in the first half of the sixteenth century. This paper studies the phases of the development of Bible illustration in the Netherlands between 1477 and 1547; it considers the different types of Bible which issued from the presses in these years, and traces the evolution in the way these books were adorned with quantitatively and qualitatively different images. These images, we learn, might be few or many depending on language and edition, and, in character, varied from the earthy (the divine winepress) to those more scholarly. Their function might be decorative, might be practical – the printer’s need to fill blank space – or fulfil a considered devotional requirement. Whether an illustration encapsulating the message of the text, or a general adornment, the choice of images was a product of the printer’s available material and his intended market. However, from 1520 the Latin Bibles produced in the Netherlands underwent a radical reshaping: the typical content of Bibles was transformed together with their design, and the merely decorative image became a rarity as the preference of printers and book buyers shifted to illustrations which had an explanatory or devotional function.

Whether an “almost ‘technical’” illustration of obscure details of the Old Testament, or miracle scenes from the Gospels, these images served as an aid to private reading, to understanding, and, as with Belcari’s vernacular translation, to internalisation. The inclusion of such images in Latin New Testaments was an increasing trend into the 1540s, even in the most modest of editions. Images which at one level contributed to the prestige of ownership of a particular edition, a particular consumer object, came

also to add to its taste and flavour, its 'real presence'. Nonetheless, it was the printer's sense of his market, and the stock which he had available for use or re-use, which determined the inclusion of specific images, and the adaptations to audience and demand were subtle.

In one respect, the inclusion of illustrations was a reflection of the desire of Bible producers to present the message to their readers with clarity and certainty; among scholars of the Bible's text this battle against uncertainty, against ambiguity, was wide-ranging and intensive. Stephen Burnett's paper presented his research upon the Rabbinic Bible, a work of immense significance for biblical scholarship in the sixteenth century, and yet one whose insights to the Christian scholar came with a price. This text was intended for Jewish readers, but also found a readership among learned Christians, for whom it would become a standard reference tool, offering "information and insights from the Jewish tradition concerning the linguistic, historical and exegetical features of particular biblical passages". For the Christian Hebraist, the text was a two-edged sword: "sometimes these texts provide greater clarity when a biblical passage was hard to interpret", yet, as their remarks presupposed the truth of the Jewish religion and the errors of the Christian, "They could make rather bracing reading for the unwary". This paper traces the history of Daniel Bomberg's Rabbinic Bible, its contents ("a mini-library of biblical interpretation") and its use and users, and those who were critical of them.

The Rabbinic Bible was attended by an "uneasiness", a concern among some authorities that the commentaries it contained might prove too seductive for those who pored over it, that for all the assistance it gave to the Christian scholar, it also picked at his orthodoxy. It was held to be essential to those struggling to learn Hebrew, and might also illuminate the obscure parts of Scripture which, without an appreciation of the Jewish tradition, must always remain unclear. Others, Martin Luther among them, found the rabbinic commentaries infuriating, a mire of grammatical debate which had become wholly detached from the sense, the true meaning of the text. Those who sought to mediate the Rabbinic Bible for a wider Christian audience found translation and interpretation existed in perilous negotiation, and avoiding scorn or censure provoked them to present the text with annotations, parentheses and other 'helps' for the reader, a precocious system of elucidation and disambiguation which taught and guided the student, even as it shielded the translator. Study of the Rabbinic Bible was a 'confrontative' experience for the Christian Hebraist; he was at pains to assume a cautious stance when placing its rich store of information before a wider Christian audience.

Amy Nelson Burnett examines a wide range of pamphlets which engaged each other in debate on the question of the Eucharist in the first decade of the Reformation; her survey gives proper attention to the wider range of voices which sought to be heard on this profoundly-contested issue, to the subtleties of their arguments and depth of their convictions. Examining the full spectrum of positions, this paper finds that, while evangelicals agreed that Scripture was the basis of religious authority, the complexities of intertwining translation, exegesis and hermeneutics meant that evangelicals found consensus extremely difficult to achieve. The exegesis of the participants in the Eucharist controversy was shaped by a fundamental disagreement about a hermeneutical principle, the “relationship between material and spiritual things. What is internal, what is external, and to what extent, if any, are the two connected?”. For Luther the external word and sacrament gave people access to God: it was a literal reading of Scripture, and an approach from which he would not move: the text, for Luther, was “too powerfully present”. For Andreas Karlstadt, “the external ceremonies of the Old Testament had been replaced by the internal working of the New Testament, whose effects were spiritual”; he argues that it was Luther who had inverted “the proper relationship between external and internal”.

Between these positions existed the evolving opinions and contested publications of a diversely-minded group of theologians – their arguments and exchanges are described in this paper. Amidst the ranged approaches of the early evangelicals to the Eucharist, to reading and interpreting the key biblical passages, several things are striking. Opinions varied from individual to individual, yet alliances were possible, and some attempts to establish unanimity within certain circles were made: among the Swiss, in Strasbourg. Also arresting is the importance of Karlstadt to this debate: his exegesis of ‘this is my body’ was denounced by all, yet many of the arguments which he first articulated were adopted by the Swiss, the Strasbourgers, the Silesians. In so doing these groups can all be regarded as “radical Erasmians”, as Karlstadt’s articulation of his arguments in *On the Old and New Testament* drew strongly upon Erasmus’ paraphrase of Hebrews 8–10.

Two of pieces of biblical scholarship published by Theodor Bibliander, his *Oration on Isaiah* and his *Commentary on Nahum*, are examined in Bruce Gordon’s paper. As with the preceding chapter, attention is focused upon important contribution of scholars whose works have too often been accorded a peripheral place in the Reformation narrative. For Heinrich Bullinger, asserting the security and authority of the Zurich Church in a

fragile time lay in theology, and, among the many talents available to him among the *Prophezei*, it was Konrad Pellikan and Bibliander who were preeminent. Use of the Fathers and the Hebrew sources together, an interest in harmonising the Old and New Testaments, and (again) an ongoing debt to Erasmus, were characteristics of their Bible scholarship; another distinctive was that it was scholarship which was always carried out at the same time as teaching and pedagogical publication – it was immersed in the daily needs and functioning of the Zurich Church. Bibliander practiced ‘comparative philology’, and sought find the underlying harmony in the biblical languages, and so to grasp God’s word, and disseminate the truth in all languages, “the consequence of such harmonious acts would be the unity of Christian peoples”. To achieve this, one first needed to master Hebrew, understand the Old Testament prophets and so the “continuing covenant of the Old and New Testaments”.

Seeking to establish an approach to the text which unified wisdom and eloquence, a challenge with which the Bible translators of the sixteenth century all wrestled, Bibliander published his works on Isaiah and Nahum. These texts served as a scholarly laboratory in which the form and method of the Zurich Latin Bible of 1543 first appear: “the inescapable conclusion is that Bibliander was the mastermind behind the great project, which is usually associated with Leo Jud”. In his Isaiah, Bibliander explores the themes of faith and study: he endorses the use of Jewish literature, but languages, texts and reason can only partially approach the mysteries of the Bible. The role of the prophetic leader, a product of both learning and of grace, in bringing understanding is explored here; so too is the relationship of the prophet and the Church: a question which went to the heart of the Lectorium and Reformed Zurich. The Nahum similarly explores issues central to the Zurich spirituality and its approach to Bible translation: the ‘emulation’ of the poetic quality of Hebrew, the relationship of a new translation which existed ‘in conversation’ with the established Vulgate, the requirement that readers approach the text as ‘*candidi homines*’. Bibliander saw Isaiah as a model, the idealised scholar-prophet, and in his image sought to craft an approach to Sacred Literature which on the one hand exemplified the essential spirit of the Zurich Church, yet which also brought harmony to different forms of literature, languages and to the books of the Bible. Remarkably his writings both articulate the spirit of the Lectorium, yet also bespeak a scholar of great individuality and rare ability.

Another such was Sebastian Castellio. Irena Backus examines Castellio’s approach to translating the Bible into Latin, his attitude to the sacred and

the profane, using several of his writings: the *Moses Latinus*, the 1554 edition of his Latin Bible and those part of Josephus' *Antiquitates judaicae* which he included with it. Castellio abhorred the style of 'biblical idiom' and, believing that the message of the Bible was not linked to one specific language or way of talking, skilled translators were free to change its 'human' components: "all that concerns him is the message and not the medium". Producing a new Latin edition, then, meant "translating it as accurately as possible into as good Latin as possible and this in turn meant classical Latin". His approach earned him vehement criticism from those who sought to preserve the syntax and idioms of the original languages, or who felt the vocabulary of the Vulgate ought to be protected: Castellio's renderings seemed scandalously to profane Sacred Literature. Yet, this paper argues, one should not understand Castellio as laicising the Bible any more than he should be seen as a precursor of the enlightenment or of a future liberal Protestantism. His was a particular, and a consistent, philosophy of translation.

If his contemporaries held that Christian and classical thought were adversary, that the rhetorical flourishes of the latter did not dignify the former, Castellio, in riposte, argued that the Bible was the source of all philosophy as well as revealed knowledge and that, in Moses, all the rhetorical arts associated with classical literature were to be seen, fully mastered. It was therefore quite appropriate to render the Bible into classical Latin using those same devices which were apparent in the Mosaic books; better, it meant that children could be educated in the finest Latin using the most important book – rather than by pagan ones. His Latin translation was offensive to Reformed orthodoxy – Beza, in particular, condemned it in exhaustive length – yet this was on the basis of language. It is shown here that Castellio's interpretation, when compared to that of Calvin, was in no way heterodox: his "exegesis is as Protestant as Calvin's despite the latter's insistence on the literal inspiration of the Bible and the hegemony of divine providence". Yet, his work violated what was held to be acceptable stylistically for a Bible translation: his liberties were seen to open the door to dangerous individual interpretation, and he was regarded therefore as a 'confessional outcast' by Geneva.

Josef Eskhult's paper presents an analysis of classical formal rhetoric, and describes how its techniques and canons were received and practiced by early modern translators, most especially those who produced new editions of the Bible. Examined here are the justifications which those scholars used for their undertakings and a review of their stated intentions and methods. Whether their intentions were to serve education, exegesis or to

achieve “a closer formal conformity with the originals”, these individuals had to engage with the classical theories of language and style, and also with the towering example of Jerome and his Latin translation. Revising the Vulgate was no little matter, and from Erasmus onwards, clear philological arguments had to be set down by those who presumed either to correct it or to translate from the original sources afresh.

Of especial value in this article is the study of the concepts of classical elocution, the essential criteria by which the success of literary works were assessed, and their equally well-defined opposites. For the writers and translators of the Renaissance and Reformation the concepts of *proprietas*, *latinitas*, *perspicuitas*, *ornatus* and *aptum* were well-understood and deeply ingrained concepts. Equally, when a theologian or man of letters criticised ‘*barbarismus*’, ‘*soleoecismus*’, ‘*sermo incomptus*’ or ‘*mala affectatio*’ in the writings of another, he was not offering an extemporised censure, but identifying a formal fault in composition according to known and shared set of stylistic rules. However, while the humanist-trained scholars of the Bible shared this conceptual framework with the writers of Antiquity, they differed from the classical world in the method of their translation, as they did from one another. Erasmus pursued correct grammar, “syntactically clear usage and strived for semantic precision”, while Sebastian Münster strove to render “Hebrew words and phrases with the utmost accuracy”. Despite their differences, all were schooled in the terms and methods dissected and discussed here.

We have seen how simpler images might be included in Bibles as both decoration, simple adornment, or as illustration, supporting understanding or aiding devotion; what of more complex representations? In her paper, Justine Walden considers the role and significance of the maps included in the 1560 Geneva Bible, testing their ambivalent status: “novel on the one hand, but supernumerary from any doctrinal perspective; mediocre in quality... but sometimes given full-page spreads”. These five maps, she argues, offer a rich source of information on the work of the translators in Geneva, performing “unstated symbolic and imaginative functions” glossing their hermeneutics, their rhetoric of legitimacy and fixing a point in their developing identity-formation. No mere afterthought, these maps were inserted by scholars who were fully “sensitive to the power of representation” and whose experience went beyond translation to the framing of foundational documents and to the shaping of precedent.

The authors of the Geneva Bible were mindful of the needs of the ‘simple lambs’, the unlearned, and, as with other aids for the reader, these

maps were to help readers through confusing parts, dispelling their uncertainty. Furthermore, they were intended to help reader make a more vivid connection with the places and peoples of the biblical narrative: as with the Dutch illustrated Bibles, this may have served a meditative role, but here it also scored an explicit rhetorical point. A map illustrating Exodus identifies the exiled translators with the peoples of Israel: exiled but divinely-favoured; a map of the Holy Land appears to anglicise it, depicting “not desert tracts, but shires and hundreds”. They act as witness to the workings of Providence, in the ancient as in the modern world, and they assert a cosmopolitan outlook, a transcendent commitment to religion as well as to nation, articulating a “pragmatic desire to represent Protestantism as a visible community with global reach”. The Englishmen in Geneva added not just statements about their beliefs and their Church by way of the inclusion of these maps, they also inflected their Bible with their worldview and their personal experience as exiles, from imagined Israel as from distant England.

The Book of Psalms, like the close association with the tribes of Israel, came to be an essential part of Reformed culture – of great importance to Calvin, of great comfort to his followers ‘under the cross’. Kenneth Austin provides a close reading of the edition of the Psalms produced by Immanuel Tremellius, the well-connected Reformed scholar who also produced what would prove to be the most enduring sixteenth-century Protestant translation of the Old Testament into Latin. This paper considers Tremellius’ approach to the Psalms, his intentions for the 1580 edition and situates his approach within the broader world of sixteenth-century biblical scholarship, of which chorus, Tremellius’ was but one voice. Intriguingly this edition hints at the previous works upon which it has drawn, and attempted to improve upon, yet does so without being specific: Austin, however, identifies echoes of both Luther and Calvin in the language of Tremellius’ *Argumentum*.

For Tremellius, the Book of Psalms is of immense importance to the Christian: it “includes all that is useful, it predicts the future, it commemorates the histories of past events, it carries the law to the living, it shows how people should live and... it is a store of good examples for the people”. It was a source of great comfort to the individual believer and to the Church as a whole. Tremellius also found real benefit in the poetic style of the Psalms, which used ‘beautiful rhythms of songs’; “the idea of the scriptures as a form of spiritual remedy is a commonplace, but the distinction between the beauty of the poetry and the (potential) harshness of the underlying message is rather less typical”. The concern with the rhetorical,

the lyrical quality, of the Psalms is striking in this edition. Tremellius, we discover, fills his annotations with literary rather than theological comments; those formal techniques which Josef Eskhult dissects in his essay, and which Castellio attributes to Moses in Irena Backus's discussion of the *Moses Latinus*. This singular book was also held to deliver great spiritual comfort, and Tremellius draws this out in his annotations, making references, as one might expect, to related biblical texts, but also, which is less to be expected, to classical authors such as Pliny and Vergil; a converted Jew, Tremellius is more open with these references than with those of the Rabbinic corpus, on which he has but little to say. A Christological reading of the Psalms is drawn out, even at points where Calvin chose not to pursue it in his own commentary, and the analogous nature of Christ and David is made explicit. The Psalms, often considered a microcosm for the Bible as a whole, have their beauty and ability to provide spiritual comfort in times of hardship carefully accentuated in Tremellius' edition.

The character and development of Catholic biblical scholarship in early modern Louvain is treated in detail by Wim François in his paper. The fifth session of the Council of Trent's decree on the Vulgate and the creation of a royal professorship by Charles V inaugurated the golden age of the Louvain School which, from 1550 to 1650 produced a series of Bibles and commentaries, and which developed and refined a distinctive Augustinian theological approach. The work of this School upon biblical textual criticism produced a series of remarkable publications: the Hententius revision of the Vulgate which analysed variants by the frequency of their occurrence in manuscripts; the Antwerp Polyglot which juxtaposed five languages; the Lucas Vulgate revision which looked to the original languages in addition to manuscript variations. The scholars of the Louvain School addressed the content of Scripture in addition to studying its textual fidelity, and here François examines the character of each of the works produced by the leading theologians of the School in succession.

Of these, Cornelius Jansenius, the Erasmian-influenced author of the Gospel Harmony who promoted Augustinian ideas of Grace, and Thomas Stapleton, who was attracted to the Jesuits and to controversial engagements with Calvinism, were the most influential figures of the sixteenth century. This paper traces out the development of a distinct Augustinian exegesis of the Bible in Louvain, and the commentaries of Guilielmus Estius, an "outspoken Augustinian-minded theologian", are considered in detail. When Estius moved to Douai, and Stapleton was succeeded in Louvain by Jacobus Jansenius, both the chairs of Sacred Scriptures were occupied by theologians of similar character: influenced by Augustine and

opponents of the Jesuit Model of grace and free will. With Cornelius Jansenius, Augustinianism in Louvain reached its apogee: he entered into controversy with the Jesuits as readily as with Protestants, experienced entanglements in high politics, and, emphasising the primacy of the literal sense, wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch and on the Gospels which appeared posthumously. His like-minded successor, Libertus Fromundus, who published a number of commentaries, most notably on the Song of Songs, was the last scholar to represent this 'Golden Age' of the Louvain School.

A paper abundant in detail, this survey provokes intriguing points of comparison with those centres of Protestant biblical study described in this volume. The Council Fathers did not ban the Vernacular at Trent, but intended that properly the text of the Bible would always be mediated by a trained priest; were the various 'helps' of Protestant Bibles, annotations, cross references, illustration meant to mediate the text similarly to counter the 'self-interpretation problem'? It has been shown that Protestant scholars of various churches and schools studied each other's writings, comparing, borrowing, that their Bibles and commentaries were in a kind of 'conversation'; how common was it for Catholic scholars to be involved in these discreet collaborations? Was it the common ground of all Erasmus' heirs?

How the biblical scholarship of the sixteenth century was received in, and used by, the seventeenth is the subject of Mark Elliot's paper. Johannes Piscator made use the translation of Tremellius and Junius "as a guide", a viable alternative to the Vulgate as a basis for his work, but nonetheless felt it necessary to add his own rendering which varied only modestly: his reason for doing so lay in his distinct approach to Scripture. Mindful of the need to draw from Scripture "the true and certain, the useful and necessary, and the pleasant", Piscator realigns the sense of his translation while retaining those words chosen by Tremellius; his *Scholia* and *Annotationes* gloss points of philology and exegesis respectively. A study of Leviticus 8:10–11 here reveals how the changes made correspond to Piscator's distinctive views of the theme of sacrifice, yet deviate from the traditional interpretation of the passage as a statement about the priesthood. A comparison with his approach to the New Testament is instructive: here the linguistic *scholia* are few, suggesting that Piscator viewed the Greek source text differently, with less fascination, than the *veritas Hebraica*.

Where Piscator was content to keep Beza's rendering of the Greek, Abraham Calov made his own translation of the Pauline Epistles which provided the basis for an attack on Calvinist exegesis. Calov's critique

charges Beza with “tinkering” with the text, a criticism given piquancy by his indignation towards the Reformed teaching of election in Christ. This paper also reviews Calov’s own remarks about the development of the Bible in the sixteenth century: here, his kindest words are for those revisions of the Vulgate undertaken by Lutheran scholars, while the Reformed approach – that of Tremellius and Junius – is castigated for ‘Hebraising’, the very reproach which earlier Christian users of the Bomberg Rabbinic Bible had often experienced. In Lucas Osiander’s Latin translation Calov found much to admire: a conservative approach to altering the Vulgate, brevity and a literal approach to rendering the original texts. Calov, like Piscator, valued clarity in Scripture, but wished to import some of the force of Luther’s German into the Latin; he argued that Osiander’s balanced approach was best: “he makes the point that if one translates too literally then there is still the need for interpretation, and so this creates uncertainty... there are enough things in Scripture which are unclear in content without adding things by having language which is obscure”.

Throughout this collection of essays we frequently meet the desire to secure certainty in Scripture, to dispel ambiguities, which was sought by scholars and the unlearned alike, through those means which most readily presented themselves. The exhaustive comparison of manuscripts, the mastery of the original biblical tongues, the pursuit of possible meanings through philology, exegesis and hermeneutics; the addition of annotations, marginalia, cross-references, illustrations; the selection of the essential parts from the vernacular Bible, sermons, its acculturation and internalisation and practice in life: all the possible approaches taken to finding the ‘right’ Bible were pursued, all existed in complex negotiation with each other. Translation from one language to another caused agonies (literally or according to sense?), trusting the right to its interpretation to others discomfiting (mediation by priest or by paratext?), the application of tools or knowledge from outside the Christian tradition risked censure (is classical Latin appropriate, are the commentaries of the Rabbis safe?). These efforts were made, these dilemmas faced, because the Bible was seen as more than literature or a rulebook for living, although it was these things too. The Bible was understood as the authority, it was a real force in the world, as it was a real presence when at hand. The needs and expectations of early modern Christians with the regard to the Bible heightened even as they diverged along lines of confession, language and scholarly method; as they did so the Book was given new form and shape many times.

INSTRUCTING THE SOUL, FEEDING THE SPIRIT AND
AWAKENING THE PASSION: HOLY WRIT AND LAY READERS IN LATE
MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Sabrina Corbellini

Introduction

The Florentine humanist, translator and publisher Antonio Brucioli (1487–1566) is considered one of the first Italians to translate the Bible into the vernacular language and to make it accessible to contemporaries whose linguistic accomplishments were limited to the vernacular.¹ In his prologue to the translation of the New Testament (1530), he describes the reasons that took him to embark in the translation project. He is willing to “illuminate the minds of simple, pious and non-Latinate believers”. As a matter of fact, “how can simple devouts believe in things they never listened to [in their mother tongue]?” as real salvation is only possible if “the holy and divine light is heard?”. According to Brucioli, often linked to the Reformation, vernacular readers and hearers have the right to access the Scriptures and to taste “the celestial bread” and to drink from “the holy source”, as “this treasure has too long been kept hidden from plain and uncomplicated vernacular minds”.² Brucioli’s preoccupations about the access of non-Latinate readers to the Scriptures are shared, although less explicitly, by the sixteenth-century Dominican Santi Marmochino, who completed in 1538 a new translation of the Bible published by the Venetian printer Giusti. As Brucioli, Marmochino invites his vernacular public to “enjoy the reading of the text”.³

¹ This description of Antonio Brucioli is given by A.M. Cummings, “Musical References in Brucioli’s *Dialogi* and their Classical and Medieval Antecedents”, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71, 2 (2010) 169–190, at 169. For a recent volume on Brucioli, see *Antonio Brucioli. Humanisme et Évangélisme entre Réforme et Contre-Réforme*, ed. Élise Boillet (Paris 2008).

² The text is translated from the Italian original printed by Luca Giunti (Venice, 1530). The printed text was consulted on the site *La Bibbia del ‘500. Edizioni, Interpretazioni, Censure. Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento* (http://bibbia.signum.sns.it/WorkList_bibbie.php).

³ The printed text was consulted on the site *La Bibbia del ‘500. Edizioni, Interpretazioni, Censure. Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento* (http://bibbia.signum.sns.it/WorkList_bibbie.php). For a comparative study of the prologues by Brucioli and Marmochino, see

In spite of the differences in background and religious belief, the two Bible translators of pre-Tridentine Italy agree on the importance of correctly translating the text from the original languages, Hebrew and Greek, and on the pivotal relevance of using the vernacular to reach the largest possible group of believers. Both authors present their translation as a new step towards a democratisation of religious knowledge, which following their description had been for a long time exclusive property of a Latinate religious élite. As humanists and experts in the biblical languages, they both seem to distance themselves from the Latin tradition of the *Vulgata*, as well from medieval Bible translations and lay religiosity.

The process of democratisation of religious knowledge of their intended reading public, the “simple and pious vernacular minds”, had however already started at least a century before the translation activities of Brucioli and Marmochino. Late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century lay readers were actively reading and meditating the Scriptures, which were accessible through vernacular translations of the *Vulgata*, and were aware of the importance of the Holy Writ in the formation of their religious identity.⁴

A case in point of the “religious awareness” of late medieval believers is expressed in a sonnet sent around the middle of the fifteenth century by the Florentine wool merchant Feo Belcari (1410–1484) to one of his poetical correspondents, the professional singer Antonio di Guido.⁵ In the quatrain he touched on one his most pressing concerns:

The Holy Writ, inspired by the Holy Ghost,
This has the power to sanctify man more than Jupiter or Mars,
But it is difficult to fully savour its taste, or to untie its knots
For secular people, preoccupied with worldly matters;
It is thus difficult for me to understand its meaning (It. *Figura*)
For this reason, it seems to slip through my fingers,
As I am continuously preoccupied with worldly
Desires, which take all my time and my mind.⁶

Andrea Bernadelli, “Volgarizzare o tradurre: Appunti per una ricerca sulle prime Bibbie italiane a stampa (1471–1545)”, *Quaderni d'Italianistica* 17–2 (1996), 37–59.

⁴ For discussion of this topic, see S. Corbellini, “Looking in the Mirror of the Scriptures: Reading the Bible in Medieval Italy”, in *Wading Lambs and Swimming Elephants. The Bible for the Laity and Theologians in the Medieval and Early Modern Era*, eds. A.A. den Hollander and W. François (Louvain 2012), forthcoming.

⁵ On the professional singer and entertainer Antonio di Guido, see Dale Kent, “Michele del Gogante's House of Memory”, in *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*, ed. William J. Connell (University of California Press, 2002), pp. 110–136, here p. 116.

⁶ The quatrain is cited in Stefano Cremonini, “Linguaggio biblico nelle *Laude* di Feo Belcari”, in *Sotto il cielo delle Scritture. Bibbia, retorica e letteratura religiosa (secc. XIII–XVI)*, eds. Carlo Delcorno and Giovanni Baffetti (Florence 2009), pp. 171–192, here p. 173. The text is translated into English from the Italian original.

Feo Belcari expresses here his position as a lay reader with respect to the Holy Writ: he acknowledges the seminal relevance of the Holy Writ in his daily life and its power to save, but he admits his difficulties in fully understanding its message. He wishes he could “savour the taste of the Scriptures” – in the sense that “savouring” implies “a sensual form of understanding” – and “untie its knots” – interpret its difficult and obscure passages. The combination of the sensual and intellectual approach to the Writ would grant him a full appreciation of the *figura*, the knowledge of how the Scriptures can be morally interpreted as instructions for daily physical and spiritual life.

However, it is quite clear that the reference to Belcari’s social position and lay cultural background does not automatically rule out that the laity was able to directly approach the text of the Scriptures. The content of the two quatrains should be interpreted as a token of the intensity of Feo’s awareness of the interpretation and the active use of the Scriptures. It was a daunting task, but Feo and his readers were not discouraged in their process of cultural appropriation of texts which, thanks to a process of vulgarisation in medieval Europe, had become accessible to literate lay readers.

Feo, a Florentine wool merchant, married, father of seven and active in public life, was an inspired artist, a gifted poet, a translator and a playwright, and dedicated himself, presumably in the hours free from “worldly desires” and earthly preoccupations, to religious poetry and theatre. He is considered to be a “lay theologian” and his contemporaries praise him for his “sharpness and wit, and his ability to contemplate the Holy Writ and to clarify uncertainties and obscurities in divine and human scriptures”.⁷ His profound knowledge of the Scriptures and his interpretation of the text in sonnets, *laude* and *sacre rappresentazioni*, as well as in his letters to religious and lay correspondents, do not however imply the development of radical views or a wish for separation from the institutional Church. In his moral and theological interpretation of the Writ, Feo developed an original and personal approach based on his knowledge of the medieval commentaries of the Bible, the works of the Church Fathers and of medieval theologians and mystics, but he clearly stressed his fidelity to the teachings of the Church. His absolute orthodoxy is reinforced by his frequent correspondence with members of religious orders in Florence and in Tuscany. From this correspondence, the image emerges of a close connection and of a sincere collaboration between the lay theologian Feo and the members of the Florentine and Tuscan regular orders, working together

⁷ Cremonini, “Linguaggio biblico nelle *Laude* di Feo Belcari”, p. 172.

towards the common objective of the dissemination of the message of the Gospels.

The oeuvre and the biography of Belcari, presenting the intriguing combination of lay and religious elements that indicate the possibility of the contiguity of Holy Writ and lay readers in the Late Middle Ages, will in this contribution act as a starting point for an analysis of the active use and readership of the Holy Writ in late medieval Europe, in particular of vernacular translations of the Bible. Drawing primarily from Italian sources, combined in a comparative approach with material from the Low Countries, Germany and France, this article aims to contribute to the reconstruction of the laity's various routes to accessing the Scriptures and of the impact of the presence and the circulation of vernacular Bible translations in the formation of late medieval religious lives and identities.⁸ The research will moreover show that the reflections of Feo Belcari on the possibilities and the impossibilities of a lay approach to the Holy Writ are not just manifestations of an exceptionally gifted wool merchant, but a testimony of a more general attitude among late medieval lay readers.

The research corpus on which this analysis is based consists of medieval manuscripts and early printed texts containing a complete or partial translation of the Bible into the vernacular.⁹ The manuscripts have been scrutinized with specific attention to textual features, but more specifically to paratextual elements, such as prologues, tables of contents, rubrics, reading instructions, as well as colophons and notes by scribes and owners. These features, combined with palaeographical and codicological elements such as the use of paper or parchment, writing techniques and reconstruction of the copying process, permit the researcher to gather information about the cultural dynamics within which these manuscripts functioned. The information gathered from the analysis of manuscripts will be contextualised with references to ego documents documenting the actual use of manuscripts and early printed texts, as well as through the

⁸ This article presents the first results of the research project "Holy Writ and Lay Readers. A Social History of Vernacular Bible Translations in the Late Middle Ages". The four-year project, which started in October 2008, is funded by the European Research Council and by the University of Groningen, the Netherlands. I would like to thank the members of the research team (Suzan Folkerts, Margriet Hoogvliet and Mart van Duijn) for their scientific contribution and advice.

⁹ The complete corpus of Italian biblical manuscripts consists of 358 items. This number is based on the inventory of Italian biblical manuscripts published by M. Chopin, M.T. Dinale and R. Pelosini, "Inventario dei manoscritti", in *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Age* 105–2 (1993), pp. 863–886. The number of German, Dutch and French manuscripts is comparable to the Italian.

scrutiny of treatises written with the primary goal of instructing lay people in the organization of their spiritual lives.

The three different approaches described by Belcari – the learning process directed at developing the ability to decode the biblical text, the sensual experience of the message, and the moral interpretation of the Writ – will be used as guidelines to the discussion.

Instructing the Soul. The Bible and the “Unlearned”

The first step in the analysis of the appropriation of the Holy Writ by lay readers is an investigation of the process of the translation and the dissemination of the Scriptures in the vernacular, the language of the laity. Recent studies have shown that lay ownership of Latin Bibles, in particular of the New Testament, can be attested to begin from the thirteenth century under the influence of confraternities and of a more general tendency to integrate the message of the gospel with worldly life, giving rise to groups of so-called *laici religiosi*. However, it is also true that it was the process of translation of the Bible from Latin in the vernacular that represents the real cultural turning point, granting a more generalised access to lay and non-Latinate readers to the Holy Writ.¹⁰

The cultural and educational relevance of the translation process is often stressed in the prologues to the translations. In 1471, the Camaldolese monk Nicolò Malerbi translated the entire Bible into Italian. The translation is prefaced by a letter from Malerbi to a *maestro Laurentio*, a Franciscan theologian, where the translator explained the motivations underlying his decision to offer to his reading public a vernacular Bible. After having stated the importance of reading the Scriptures to learn the *scientia del bene vivere* [= the science of how to live a morally fulfilling life] and to distinguish between vices and virtues, he affirms that his task is to grant access to this treasure to non-Latinate readers (*non docti*, the unlearned) without any distinction for age and gender.¹¹

This central point, the access of the unlearned to the divine teachings, is a common topic in the prefaces to translations of biblical material in

¹⁰ On the diffusion of Latin Bibles among lay readers, see Sabina Magrini, “Production and Use of Latin Bible Manuscripts in Italy during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century”, *Manuscripta* 51- (2007), 209–257; Chiara Ruzzier, “La produzione di manoscritti neotestamentari in Italia nel XIII secolo”, *Segno e Testo* 6 (2008) 251–294.

¹¹ The translation by Malerbi is edited by Edoardo Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento. Storia e bibliografia ragionata delle edizioni in lingua italiana dal 1471 al 1600* (Milano 1991), pp. 41–43.

late medieval Europe. The anonymous Middle Dutch translator known as “the Bible translator of 1360” announced that his translation intends to reach “people without any knowledge of Latin”.¹² The author of the mid-fourteenth-century German *Klosterneuburger Evangelienwerk* writes that he started working on his text “so that the uneducated lay people may be strengthened and improved in Christian belief”.¹³ This responsibility outweighs for the translators the risks connected with a wrong or too personal interpretation of the Writ by the lay readers. Instructions on the translation process incorporated by the translators in the same prologues, and the explanations added to the text should then be considered as a didactic programme aiming at teaching the tools necessary to the process of reading and interpreting the Scriptures. One element of pivotal importance is to distinguish the translation of the text of the Scriptures from the explanations added by the translator. An anonymous Italian translator of the New Testament warns his readers about his translation choices:

In order to produce a good translation you need more than just knowledge of Latin. You also need a theological background and familiarity with the commentaries produced by saints and doctors. These explanations should be added to the text; otherwise our work would not be effective and also because some passages from the Writ are particularly difficult. Where the words are obscure, explanations have been added. In order to help the unlearned and to reassure those who could think that the text has been altered, I warn you that if some sentences are added to the text these additions will be underlined. You will then be able to distinguish the biblical text from the additions.¹⁴

Translators are aware that their text will be copied. The same anonymous Italian translator warns those eager to copy the text that “they remain faithful to the written text, without making any changes, because every tiny syllable, articles such as *lo* and *la* [...] and words if added or left out can influence the meaning of the sentence more that they would

¹² Scholars have recently identified the so-called “Bible translator of 1360” (or 1361) as the Carthusian monk Petrus Naghel. This identification is however controversial. On this topic, see Mikel Kors, *De Bijbel voor leken. Studies over Petrus Naghel en de Historiebijbel* (Louvain 2007). For the edition of the preface, see *De crumen diet volc niet eten en mochte. Nederlandse beschouwingen over vertalen tot 1550*, eds. Bart Besamusca and Gerard Sonnemans (The Hague 1999), p. 56.

¹³ On the *Klosterneuburger Evangelienwerk*, see Alison L. Beringer, “Speaking the Gospels: The Visual Program in Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Generalia 8”, *Journal of English and German Philology*, vol. 107–1 (January 2008) 1–24, here p. 3.

¹⁴ Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, IV 4, fol. 7r.

expect".¹⁵ The Middle Dutch Bible translator, who drew from Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* explanation of the biblical text, expects care in the accurate reproduction of the layout of his manuscript from scribes. In fact, he marked the beginning and the end of the commentary passages in red ink, noting that if scribes omitted to reproduce this marking "[his] translation would be tarnished and [his] efforts would be useless".¹⁶

The stress on copying activities and thus on the dissemination of vernacular translations of the Scriptures also implies that the translators granted their readers the opportunity to access the Holy Writ in their own language while simultaneously inviting them to accept responsibility for the correct and careful distribution of the text. The translators' trust in their readers and their translations copyists also implies that, in view of the availability of vernacular Bibles, lay people were considered to a certain extent responsible for their religious instruction through the careful reading of the translations. A case in point for the description of this attitude is the *Specchio di vera penitenza* by the Dominican friar Jacopo Passavanti. The *Specchio* is a treatise written at the request of "lay devouts" and based on the sermons given by Passavanti for one of several confraternities affiliated to the Florentine Church of Santa Maria Novella, headquarters of the Dominican preachers from 1348 to 1354. In his text Passavanti touches on several subjects connected with penitence and the sacrament of reconciliation, as well as on the relevance of knowledge (*scientia*). Central to this discussion is the conclusion that "every Christian, according to his position and education is supposed to acquire knowledge of the Holy Writ". Claiming ignorance is clearly no excuse. As to lay and non-Latinate people (the two categories seem to coincide in his analysis), they should know the Commandments, the Sacraments, the list of sins and the teaching of the Gospels, which should be acquired by listening to priests and preachers and by reading the text but without "setting foot in the swamp of the Writ", that is avoiding drowning in theological subtleties. Although Passavanti envisaged some restrictions and warns his readers of the difficulties of theological interpretation (a problem which was also signalled by Feo Belcari), he clearly stresses that religious self-education is a responsibility of each individual member of the Christian community.¹⁷

¹⁵ Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, IV 4, fol. 7r.

¹⁶ *De crumen diet volc niet eten en mochte. Nederlandse beschouwingen over vertalen tot 1550*, p. 57.

¹⁷ J. Passavanti, *Lo Specchio della vera penitenza* (Florence 1821), pp. 103–116.

Some fifty years later, the Dominican Giovanni Dominici discussed the same theme in his sermon 44 (twentieth Sunday after Pentecost). He was, however, less concerned with the consequences of the direct approach of lay people to the Writ, attempting to inflame the spirit of his listeners with the hunger for the word of God:

How much effort should be applied in order to know the way towards God? Do you know how much? As much as God wants. What does God want? Only that you shall know the sacred Scriptures [...] Those who do not know how to read should learn the Lord's prayer, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Commandments, the Seven Acts of Mercy and other good things, and they should follow virtue, and escape vices and sins. That is enough for the simple souls. They should go to church, do confession and do other things useful for their salvation. Those who know how to read should be taught the books of the sacred Scriptures and should guard against those books that could make them fall into error and sin.¹⁸

The stress on the teaching and education in which the reading of the Scriptures should play a pivotal role is one of the main themes in the *Regola della cura del governo familiare*, addressed by Dominici in 1401 to the noblewoman Bartolomea degli Alberti after her husband, Antonio Alberti, was banished from Florence and she was left alone to care for her children. He recommends that Bartolomea gives her children a good education, which implied the careful selection of reading and visual material: "the first thing that they should be taught is the Book of Psalms and the Holy Doctrine", he writes, and reading activities should be interspersed with visual education. He advised her to show her children images connected with the childhood of Christ, to teach them to imitate his deeds from the very beginning of their lives.¹⁹ The preoccupations of the Florentine Dominican preacher had already been articulated by the middle Dutch Bible Translator, whose prologue states that his translation should be read "instead of spending time in idleness and in futilities" in particular during weekdays, when his readers are not supposed to attend religious services and are prone to fall into moral temptations.²⁰

¹⁸ The sermon is cited in the translation by Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, *Renaissance Florence in the Rhetoric of two Popular Preachers. Giovanni Dominici (1356–1419) and Bernardino da Siena (1380–1444)* (Turnhout 2001), pp. 97–98.

¹⁹ Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 144.

²⁰ *De crumen diet volc niet eten en mochte. Nederlandse beschouwingen over vertalen tot 1550*, p. 56. Preoccupations with the moral standards of the medieval Netherlands are also expressed by the anonymous author of the so-called *Een nuttelic boec den kersten*

In Dominici's view the choice to read the Scriptures also implies the rejection, or at least the very careful use of poetry and literature. "People need faith", he explains to his listeners in one of his sermons, "and the light of virtue. They do not need to know Saturn's course or the love affairs of Piramo and Jupiter".²¹ These words are echoed in his Dutch and German counterparts. A case in point is one of the arguments put forward by the Modern Devout Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen (1367–1398) in his plea in favour of the access of lay readers to vernacular Bible texts. Citing Johannes Chrysostom, Gerard asserts that "today, there are many lay people reading mendacious books and stories about Roland, the siege of Troy and other false and unsuitable tales, and it would be much better if they would spend their time reading and understanding the Scriptures".²² The invitation to make careful choices in the selection of reading material becomes a kind of pre-modern advertisement in the prologues to Low German plenaries:

There are also many books in which fables or other worldly stories are contained: such books are not what we are discussing here. Man, if you can read, you can buy such books as we are discussing here for very little money, from which you can read the will of God, so that the light does not shine uselessly on your days. For the Holy Scripture is like a light by which we poor sinners can find the path to eternal life.²³

These preachers were not voices crying in the desert – their exhortations to approach the Scriptures found fertile ground in a growing public of literate listeners and readers demanding direct access to the Scriptures in their own language, though some did consider some restrictions, in particular that no theological subtleties and discussions be engaged in, reserving only a didactic use for the Scriptures based on the exemplary function of the contents of the Writ. Possibly, these words were also a response to a specific request from their lay public. Preachers and translators had to

menschen (around 1400). He complains that people would rather spend time in inns and taverns drinking and singing racy songs than go to church to sing hymns and pray to God. See on this topic Maria Sherwood-Smith, "Hofmoraliteit in *Een nuttelijc boec der kerstenen menschen* van Willem de Biechtvader" in *De Middelnederlandse preek*, eds. Thom Mertens, Patricia Stoop and Christoph Burger (Hilversum 2009), pp. 91–102.

²¹ Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 107

²² The relevant passages from the text by Gerard Zerbolt van Zutphen is edited in *De crumen diet volc niet eten en mochte. Nederlandse beschouwingen over vertalen tot 1550*, pp. 72–85, in particular p. 76.

²³ This prologue is cited and translated by Andrew C. Gow, "The Contested History of a Book: the German Bible of the Later Middle Ages and the Reformation in Legend, Ideology and Scholarship", *The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 9 (2009), 2–37, at 29.

allow for their audience's "horizon of expectation".²⁴ Their listeners and readers expected from them tangible assistance in their process of religious acculturation, including through the reading of vernacular Bible texts. This plea is "made visible", to cite but one example, in the references in the prologue to the Italian translation of the *Actus Apostolorum* by one of the most prolific fourteenth-century authors: Domenico Cavalca (1270–1341). The Dominican Cavalca explicitly mentions that he performed the translation of the *Actus* "at the request of some lay devouts", who have been identified as members of one of the Pisan confraternities linked to the Dominicans.²⁵ On the other hand, Cavalca himself stimulates his listeners and readers to approach the Scriptures and to feed themselves with the Writ, even if they are illiterate, by citing in one of his treatises (the *Medicina del cuore*, the Medicine of the Heart) the example of Servulus. Servulus was indeed illiterate, but this condition had not prevented him from buying religious books. Whenever clerics and literate acquaintances passed by his house, he asked them to read from the Scripture. By listening to them, he acquired wide knowledge.²⁶

Feeding the Spirit. Reading and Tasting the Writ

Reading the Bible does not only imply the ability to read Latin or a vernacular language or the presence of books. As Feo Belcari wrote, reading the Holy Writ implies a sensual activity – the reader is tasting and savouring the Scriptures. The Franciscan Bernardino of Siena, preaching in 1425 in Florence, describes the act of reading as an experience of tasting honey, as "the more you read and study them, the more sweetness you get, the more you feel the taste of God: if you try it, you will know; otherwise not". He admits that the "process of eating" the Writ is difficult: in one of his sermons he confesses that "the crust is not as sweet as in the books of poets", but "the core is much more agreeable than other writings".²⁷

Reading is eating – that is, the words heard when reading aloud and seen during the practice of silent reading are activated and incorporated by the readers through their ears, their eyes, their hands and their mouths.

²⁴ The term "horizon of expectation" is paraphrased from the reception theory of Hans Robert Jauss.

²⁵ On the translation of the *Acta Apostolorum* by Domenico Cavalca, see Edoardo Barbieri, "Cavalca volgarizzatore degli 'Actus Apostolorum'" in *La Bibbia in Italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. La Bible italienne au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Lino Leonardi (Florence 1998), pp. 291–328.

²⁶ Barbieri, "Cavalca volgarizzatore degli 'Actus Apostolorum'", p. 312.

²⁷ Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, pp. 108–109.

Actively reading implies feeding the spirit of the believer and providing the soul with spiritual food. Treatises and letters of spiritual advice therefore very often employ “sensual imagery” when referring to the process of appropriating the message of the Scriptures by lay people. Interestingly enough, not only members of religious orders, such as Bernardino da Siena, but also lay people encouraged each other to access the text of the Scripture through reference to the act of eating and tasting.

In a letter written on 1 December 1409 the notary Lapo Mazzei invited his long-time friend the merchant Marco Datini to set aside his worldly and bodily preoccupations to concentrate on the wellbeing of his soul. Lapo is particularly concerned with the attitude of his friend:

You have the bad habit of shutting your holy books in chests, closed not only by a heavy lid but also by key, and your stomach cannot taste the truth in godly books, the source of all wisdom. And you still think that God's grace will fall from heaven like dew into your mouth, just like eating a pear with your mouth hermetically closed.²⁸

Once the “holy courses”²⁹ have been consumed, the reader is asked to carefully “ruminate” on the learning of the Scriptures. The Holy Writ should be kept in the “stomach of memory”, to be recollected and its central message meditated on, for example during prayer.³⁰ As the archbishop of Florence Antonino († 1459) formulated in a letter to Diodata Adimari, one of the many female penitents whom he served as spiritual counsellor:

Read, therefore, or else listen to the Holy Scriptures and the church fathers, for the living voice is more effective than the dead one. Store in your memory what you have absorbed, reading or hearing the Word of God: just like a little sheep, rethink and chew on what you have heard about the life and the doctrine of Christ and of his Saints.³¹

²⁸ The letters of Lapo Mazzei to Francesco Datini are edited in *Lettere di un notaro a un mercante del secolo XIV con altre lettere e documenti*, ed. Cesare Guasti (Florence 1880), vol. II, pp. 160–163. The original document is kept in the Archivio di Stato di Prato, Archivio Datini, n. 1096, 1402244. The letters from the Datini Archive can be consulted online on the site of the Archivio di Stato of Prato, see <http://datini.archiviodistato.prato.it/www/indice.html>.

²⁹ The expression “holy courses” is used by the Dominican nun Chiara Gambacorti in a letter to Margherita Datini, wife of Francesco Datini. See *Lettere di un notaro a un mercante del secolo XIV*, pp. 317–318.

³⁰ The expression “stomach of memory” is used by the Archbishop of Florence Antonino in his letter to Diodati Adimari. See note 27.

³¹ This passage from the letter of Antonino to Diodata Adimari is cited by Cremonini, “Linguaggio biblico nelle *Laude* di Feo Belcari”, p. 191. The passage is partially translated in

This meditating technique of the *ruminatio* implies the passage from reading to memory, resulting in the internalisation of the holy text. This practice, which was already implemented in early Christian monasticism, “permits the conception of an interior book, written not on parchment, but in the heart of the believer”.³² It is a form of constant prayer, “soteriological in essence”, which preserves the spiritual health of the believer by repulsing evil thoughts and temptations.³³ The meditation, the *ruminatio* and the tasting of the savour of the Scriptures, are only possible through the positive disposition of the believer, as Antonino writes in 1441 to another of his female correspondents, Ginevra Cavalcanti:³⁴

Open your mind to wisdom, tasting the sweet flavour of heavenly things in devout prayers and meditations. Flee from ignorance, which can find a route into your soul through boredom and sadness and is the source of displeasure for heavenly things, and makes your mind arid and infertile without any devotion. Open your mind and read not only the “outer bark” of the Scripture, but look for the marrow, sweeter than honey.³⁵

The connection between reading, tasting and spiritual health is stated not only in letters of spiritual advice, but also in the prologues to Bible translations. The Italian translator Niccolò Malerbi compares the reading of the Bible to “the sweetest food for the soul, which through the study of the divine scriptures can acquire knowledge of the truth”.³⁶ The translator of the fourteenth-century Northern Middle Dutch History Bible asserts that “listening to or reading the Holy Writ is blissful to the soul. In fact, the body subsists on food and the soul lives on the Scriptures”.³⁷

Judith Bryce, “Les livres des Florentines. Reconsidering Women’s Literacy in Quattrocento Florence”, in *At the margins. Minority Groups in Premodern Italy*, ed. Stephen J. Milner (Minneapolis 2005), pp. 133–161, at p. 147.

³² Guy G. Stroumsa, “The Scriptural Movement of Late Antiquity and Christian Monasticism”, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16 (Spring 2008) 61–77, at p. 68. As Stroumsa (pp. 70–71) states the *ruminatio*, applied to the *lectio divina*, “would play a major role throughout the Middle Ages, both in Byzantium and in the West, as well as in later forms of Christian spirituality, for instance in the *devotio moderna* and among the first Jesuits”.

³³ For a thorough study of the interconnection between healing, meditation and reading, see Brian Stock, “Minds, Bodies, Readers I. Healing, Meditation, and the History of Reading”, *New Literary History* (37–3) 2006, 489–501.

³⁴ Ginevra Cavalcanti was the widow of Lorenzo de’ Medici, brother of Cosimo I the Elder.

³⁵ The text is cited by Maria Pia Paoli, “Antonino da Firenze O.P. e la direzione dei laici”, in *Storia della direzione spirituale, Vol. III, L’età moderna*, ed. Gabriella Zarri (Brescia 2008), pp. 85–130, at p. 109.

³⁶ Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento*, p. 43.

³⁷ The text is edited by M.K.A. van den Berg, *De Noordnederlandse Historiebijbel* (Hilversum 1997), p. 221.

Furthermore, this central salutary value of the reading of the Scriptures is expressed by scribes of manuscripts containing vernacular Bible translations, very often miscellanies of several texts chosen for their “healthy” contents. One of the scribes of Florence (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 73), the Florentine Pagolo di Piero del Persa, mentions for instance in his colophon that he was obliged to interrupt his transcription of Domenico Cavalca’s *Specchio della Croce* because “he is not allowed to keep the book, which belongs to the confraternity of Santa Brigida of Florence, any longer”. Pagolo and two other unknown scribes copied several texts in this manuscript, some of which were probably available at the confraternity library. Drawing from a number of available manuscripts, he composed his own textual collection with a heavy focus on religious themes, such as descriptions of the sacraments and of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. In his copying process, Pagolo was making clear choices. As he was running out of time, he noted in his manuscript that he was “leaving out some chapters because he did not have enough time to copy everything and he had to return the book he had borrowed”. He selected the chapters which, according to him, would be “more useful to his soul”.³⁸ A fifteenth-century manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1279) includes a “treatise of good health” next to a Flower of the Bible, a shortened biblical narrative. Good health in this case, however, applied to the spirit and not to the body, as it contains a series of texts aiming to help its readers live fulfilling spiritual lives. This includes a list and description of the sacraments and the ten commandments, an explanation of the works of mercy, a short treatise on vices, a text on confession, a treatise attributed to Bernardino of Siena about how to remember sins, a list of fast days, a series of prayers to remember the passion and a list of vices, virtues, works of mercy, sacraments and gifts of the Holy Ghost.³⁹

Moreover, in the Middle Ages the entire narrative of the New Testament, in particular of the Gospels, was considered “to be a source of ‘health’ or a ‘gentle medicine’”. In fact, the Gospels very often present Christ in the act of healing by means of miracles. The mission and power to heal was incorporated into the narrative and was activated by the act of reading and meditating.⁴⁰ The connection between the life of Christ and the gaining of spiritual benefits is made clear in one of the treatises by the Florentine

³⁸ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 73, f. 67r, 89.

³⁹ Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1279, foll. 76v–87v.

⁴⁰ Stock, “Minds, Bodies, Readers: I. Healing, Meditation, and the History of Reading”, pp. 517–518.

merchant Agnolo Torini (1315–1398), the *Brieve meditazione de' benefici di Dio* (A short meditation on the gifts received from God). The text, probably written within the framework of his participation in activities organised by Florentine confraternities, is a meditation on the life of Jesus. Drawing from the text of the Gospels, Torini rewrites from memory or from his own copy of the New Testament and underlines the salvific power of the incarnation, life, death and resurrection of Christ.⁴¹

The two cited excerpts from the letters of the Archbishop Antonino contain more elements for the reconstruction of the readership of biblical texts by lay people. Indeed, Antonino encourages both Diodata degli Adimari and Ginevra Cavalcanti to read, reread and meditate on the Scriptures, though explicitly entreating that they “leave aside the items which lay beyond one’s intellectual powers” (Ginevra Cavalcanti) and “distinguish between what is suitable to one’s social and intellectual position and what one is not supposed to know” (Diodata degli Adimari).⁴² Antonino, just like his predecessor Jacopo Passavanti, formulated restrictions to these two laywomen’s quest for full understanding of the Scriptures. More specifically, he reformulated the theory of the *duplex doctrina* in his letters to his female correspondents – the description of the “scriptural food” following the Pauline expressions of “infant milk” that was simultaneously “hardy nourishment” or “solid food”, which once again links the act of reading to the concept of feeding.⁴³ This theory, which implies in some of its applications an indication of which texts are suitable for lay people (the infants drinking milk) and which texts can only be studied by members of the clergy and theologians (the adults eating solid food), is described *in extenso* in the “defence of the [religious] books in the vernacular” by the Modern Devout Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen (around 1393).⁴⁴ To respond to the attacks from the Inquisition on the way of life of the brothers and sisters of the Common Life and on their use of vernacular

⁴¹ The life and works of Agnolo Torini are described in I. Hijmans-Tromp, *Vita e opera di Agnolo Torini* (Leyden 1957). The *Brieve meditazione de' benefici di Dio* is edited on pp. 329–345.

⁴² Paoli, “Antonino da Firenze”, p. 109; Cremonini, “Il linguaggio biblico nelle *Laude* di Feo Belcari”, p. 191.

⁴³ The expressions are used by St Paul in 1 Cor 3,2 and Heb 5,12–14. For a discussion of this theme, see *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment? The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period*, eds. W. François and A.A. den Hollander (Louvain 2009).

⁴⁴ The tract of Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen is discussed in several publications. The most recent are John van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of Common Life: the Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (University of Pennsylvania Press 2008), pp. 269–276 and Nikolaus Staubach, “Gerhard Zerbolt von Zutphen und die Laienbibel”, in *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450–1800*, eds M. Lamberigts and A.A. den Hollander (Louvain 2006), pp. 3–26.

translations, Gerard Zerbolt states that the reading of religious texts in the vernacular is allowed on the condition that lay people read books that are suitable to their intellectual position, i.e. books that are easily readable, without “dark passages” and which do not challenge the readers to formulate their own interpretations. Gerard Zerbolt recommended the reading of the Gospels and of the Acts of the Apostles, but he discouraged the use of the historical books of the Old Testament, which could convey inappropriate moral standards. The viewpoint expressed by Gerard contains the essence of the sometimes problematic relationship between the Holy Writ and the lay reader, and the role played by the religious orders on the dissemination and the control of biblical texts in the vernacular. Despite the cultural relevance of Gerard’s position, it is important to note that though his considerations were paradigmatic of the situation, his restrictions were not normative in the medieval Low Countries or in other European regions. Dirc van Herxen (1381–1457), who as a second generation Modern Devout was profoundly indebted to the cultural heritage of Zerbolt, rewrote the theory of the *duplex doctrina* from a more positive perspective:

The Scriptures are at the same time milk to suckle the young inexperienced believers and hardy nourishment to empower the growth to spiritual adulthood. Actually the Writ is like a river, deep and broad, good enough for elephants to swim and for lambs to wade – that is to say: learned readers have difficulties getting to the bottom of the mysteries, but the unlearned can grasp their salvific message. Everyone shall long to read, hear and meditate the Scriptures.⁴⁵

Awakening the Passion. Emotional Participation and Moral Interpretation

Reading the Bible in medieval Europe also implied the crossing of spatial and temporal borders: the readers were encouraged to see the handwritten and printed books they had in their hands not as objects but as a real presence of the divine, and to consider the texts as the real voice of the Writ speaking to them. The act of reading can thus be interpreted as Christ’s incarnation and passion; the book can become an instrument of the continuous presence of Christ in the world, as stated in the fourteenth-century treatise *Mirror of the Cross* by the Dominican Domenico Cavalca:

⁴⁵ On Dirk van Herxen and on his call for the reading of the Scriptures, see Lydeke van Beek, *Leken trekken tot Gods Woord. Dirc van Herxen (1381–1457) en zijn Eerste Collatieboek* (Hilversum 2009), pp. 141–146.

We all know that a book is made of sheepskin, bound between two wooden plates and written mostly in black letters. The titles are written in larger red letters. The crucified Christ is like a book, the parchment is his skin, a stainless and immaculate lambskin that did not need to be scraped because it was born in perfection. This lambskin was not bound, but was pierced by the wood of the cross, and it was written with black letters, because it bore the signs and bruises of the beatings. There are also miniatures and rubricated letters, that is to say the wounds on his head, hand, feet and in the side of his chest, which were bleeding red blood.⁴⁶

Christ is alive through the reading of the book and the book itself is an image of Christ. If the book becomes alive, it is possible to converse with books and their authors, as Bernardino of Siena encourages his listeners:

Would you not like to listen to the preaching of Christ? Very much! And to St Paul, St Gregory, St Jerome, St Ambrose and the other sacred doctors? Why yes! Now go, read their books, those you like the best. You can talk with them and they can talk to you, they will hear you, and you will hear them, and you will have great pleasure.⁴⁷

The conversation between the reader and the book is a well-known humanistic *topos*, formulated by Petrarch in his *De vita solitaria*, soon “appropriated” by Boccaccio but also by preachers, such as Bernardino, and by more “average readers” like the fifteenth-century Florentine merchant Giovanni Morelli.⁴⁸ In his diary, written with a clearly pedagogical intent, Giovanni Morelli addresses his son:

Read every day, at least for one hour, works by Virgil, Boethius and Seneca, just as you do at school [...]. You will have all these important men at your disposal: you will be able to spend time with Virgil in your study room, he will always comply with your demands, answer your questions and will give you advice and teaching without asking for any money. He will free you from melancholy and sadness and give you pleasure and consolation. [...] You will be together with the prophets in the Scriptures, you will read and study the Bible, you will know how God revealed himself through the holy prophets, you will be instructed in your faith and be aware of the coming of the son of God, you will find consolation in your soul, joy and sweetness [...] you will be honest to yourself and well instructed in how to preserve the health of your soul.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Domenico Cavalca, *Lo specchio della croce*, ed. Tito Sante Centi (Bologna 1992), p. 282.

⁴⁷ Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 108.

⁴⁸ Christian Bec, “De Pétrarque à Machiavel: à propos d’un *topos* humaniste (le dialogue Lecteur/Livre)”, *Rinascimento* 16 (1976) 3–17.

⁴⁹ The text of the diary of Giovanni Morelli is cited from *Mercanti scrittori. Ricordi nella Firenze tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. Vittore Branca (Milan 1986), pp. 103–339, here p. 200.

The conversation with authors, texts and characters from pagan and sacred narratives implies a process of visualisation and the recollection of the images related to the described events. As the late thirteenth-century Ugo Panciera wrote in his *Trattato della perfezione della mentale azione* (Treatise on the perfect mental action):

Perfect mental activity is the way to attain perfect meditation and contemplation...through the exercise of imagination, which must be so powerful that its object remains vibrantly present to the bodily senses [...] when the mind first begins [...] to think about Christ, he appears to the mind and imagination in written form. He next appears as an outline. In the third stage he appears as an outline with shading; in the fourth stage, tinted with colours and flesh tones; and in the fifth stage he appears in the flesh and fully rounded.⁵⁰

The process of visualisation is of course enhanced by the presence of images to inspire the reader. A striking feature in Italian manuscripts is the combination of the Gospels – in particular gospel harmonies – with a fourteenth-century deuterocanonical text, the so-called *Epistula Lentuli*. This text, which consists of a detailed physical description of Christ, follows the gospel harmony in the manner of an epilogue to the text.⁵¹

The presence of this text is a token of the central place of *Christiformitas* in late medieval spiritual life, that is to say of the need to arrange personal lives with that of Christ and to imitate him (*imitatio Christi*). By following his life chronologically, for example through the reading of a gospel harmony, and visualising him through an accurate description of his physical appearance, the reader could better meditate on Christ's life and reach a higher degree of participation in the mystery of the incarnation and of the passion, the death and the resurrection of Christ. This hermeneutic process, which typifies the "affective theology" of late medieval texts, consists

⁵⁰ The passage is cited by Chiara Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions and Iconography", in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, eds. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (The University of Chicago Press 1996), pp. 130–164, at p. 130.

⁵¹ The text of the *Epistula Lentuli* is translated in Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago 1993), p. 103:

His hair has the colour of ripe hazelnut. It falls straight almost to the level of his ears. Here it curls thickly and is rather more luxuriant, hanging down to his shoulders. In front his hair is parted into two, with the parting in the centre in the Nazarene manner. His forehead is wide, smooth and serene, and his face is without wrinkles or any marks. It is graced by a slightly reddish tinge, a faint colour. His nose and mouth are faultless. His beard is thick and like a young man's first beard, of the same colour as his hair; it is not particularly long and is parted in the middle. His aspect is simple and mature. His eyes are brilliant, mobile, clear, splendid [...] He is broad in chest and upstanding [...] He is the most beautiful of the children of men.

in the psychological identification with the events narrated in the life of Christ. Through this process, the readers are transformed into central characters in the narrated events.

This process of identification is described in the early fifteenth-century treatise *Giardino dell'orazione* (Garden of Prayer), wrongly attributed to Nicholas of Osimo and probably written by a member of a Venetian community of canon regulars. The manual is clearly written for lay readership, as explained in the prologue:

I wrote this manual in the vernacular for unlearned and simple souls, that is for men and women with a basic level of literacy and who are not familiar with Latin and scientific books, but who are longing for a fulfilling spiritual life.⁵²

Pivotal to the learning process through prayer and meditation is the imitation of Christ. According to the author of the *Garden of Prayer*, his readers should exert themselves to learn the life of Christ by heart and to fix it in their memory from its very beginning to his ascension, as it is narrated in the Gospels:

You should now be familiar with his deeds and his teachings during the 33 years of his life and keep them as a mirror before the eyes of your mind. Shape in your mind the places where he lived and the people he lived with, the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, Martha, the twelve Apostles, and think about devout people, well-known to you, to represent these characters from the life of Christ for you. If you are able to visualise these places and these people, then you will be able to remember and meditate on the life of Christ and to ruminate on the descriptions of his life in order to savour the fruits of your prayers.⁵³

The author reiterates this essential point several times in his manual, in particular with reference to the meditation of the passion. This crucial moment was recommended for extensive study so that the readers would learn every moment in good chronological order, as narrated by the Evangelists. To successfully accomplish this task, the devout reader should “have this life of Christ in written form and read and reread it over and over again in order to know it from memory. The life of Christ should be as familiar as the Pater Noster and the Hail Mary”.⁵⁴

See also Jacques-Noël Pérès, “Untersuchungen im Zusammenhang der sogenannten *Epistula Lentuli*”, *Apocrypha* 11 (2000), pp. 59–75.

⁵² Stanislao da Campagnola, O.F.M. Cap., “Il “Giardino di Orazione” e altri scritti di un anonimo del Quattrocento. Un’errata attribuzione a Niccolò da Osimo”, *Collectanea Franciscana* 41 (1971) 5–59, at 27–28.

⁵³ Stanislao da Campagnola, “Il “Giardino di Orazione””, p. 47.

⁵⁴ Stanislao da Campagnola, “Il “Giardino di Orazione””, p. 47.

These “unlearned lay readers” are advised to apply the same humanistic reading techniques that Petrarch discussed with Augustine in his *Secretum*. When Petrarch complained to Augustine that he was experiencing some difficulties in retaining the relevant information and maxims from the books he read, Augustine suggested that he should “make a point of learning them by heart and making them quite familiar by meditating on them”. He is asked to store the information in the “book of his memory” or in the “book of his heart”, to be able to recollect it when needed.⁵⁵ It is a mental form of the *raparium*, the notebook kept by the Modern Devouts and containing excerpts, quotations and sentences with special appeal to the collector. By remembering and recollecting, the readers recreate the book in their minds and the positive effects of reading can be reiterated even in the absence of the physical object.⁵⁶

An interesting technique for memorizing and meditating on the most relevant moments from the life of Christ is described in the form of an epilogue to the Middle Dutch translation of the Pseudo-Bonaventura *Life of Christ*. To learn by heart the most relevant passages, it suggests reading and meditating on one “portion” each day of the week. On Mondays the events until the birth of Christ, on Tuesdays from his birth to his baptism, on Wednesdays until the calling of the Apostles, on Thursdays until the journey to Jerusalem, on Fridays the passion of Christ, on Saturdays the resurrection and on Sundays the last chapters. “If you repeat this exercise every week”, writes the translator, “your task will be easier and easier and you will enjoy the exercise more and more”.⁵⁷

The use of the book of memory in combination with meditation on Christ is moreover enhanced by the recommended connection between the various moments of the life of Christ and everyday objects and settings. One of the most illustrative examples of this process is described in the treatise *L'ordine della vita cristiana* (The Organization of Christian Life, 1333) by the Austin friar Simone Fidati († 1348), which is often described as the “first Italian Catechism”.⁵⁸ Simone Fidati wrote his *Ordine* in Florence in 1333 and his work was widely read in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century

⁵⁵ Victoria Kahn, “The Figure of the Reader in Petrarch’s *Secretum*”, *Modern Language Association* 100–2 (1985), 154–166, in particular pp. 159–160.

⁵⁶ On the use of the *raparium*, see Wybren Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, (Boydell Press 2004), p. 190.

⁵⁷ *Tleven ons heren Ihesu Christi. Het Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolfiaanse Leven van Jesus*, ed. C.C. de Bruin (Leiden 1980), p. 227.

⁵⁸ For an overview of the literature on Simone Fidati and his treatise, see Giuseppina Battista, “L’ordine della vita cristiana: il servizio reciproco per la costruzione della società”, in *Simone Fidati da Cascia OESA. Un Agostiniano Spirituale tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*, eds.

Tuscany.⁵⁹ Simone advised his readers, whom he refers to with the Italian word *lectore*, to meditate on the life of Christ by focusing in their spiritual education on the most relevant episodes of pivotal moments in his life. Simone's treatise not only mentions his incarnation, his birth, his death and resurrection in chronological order, but also his tears as a new-born baby, his breast-feeding by the Virgin Mary and his meals at home with his mother and Joseph. The identification with Christ also continued through descriptions of daily life and homely settings. According to Simone, the distance between the reader of the treatise and Christ could easily be bridged by concentrating on these "daily" elements. The imitation of Christ in his most human aspects was also the basis of one of the most important Florentine domestic treatises, the cited *Regola del governo di cura familiare*, written by the Dominican preacher and writer Giovanni Dominici. In his chapter about the education of children, he gave specific details and advice on how mothers should teach their children to be moral and devout Christians. They are asked to keep images of the saints, the Virgin and of Christ and to show these to their children from their earliest age. If possible, they were to place sculptures of the Virgin holding the young Jesus or representing the *Virgo Lactans* or Jesus asleep in his mother's lap throughout the household. By looking at these images of Jesus' childhood, young children would then grow up as good Christians and would start their imitation of Christ.⁶⁰ Mothers were also to encourage their children to imitate ecclesiastical practices. By making garlands of flowers and greenery with which to crown Jesus and to decorate the image of the Blessed Virgin, and by lighting and extinguishing candles at the home altar, children would become acquainted with church rituals. Should holy objects, such as paintings and statues, not be present in the household, the mothers were to take their children to church to familiarise them with the holy offices. When the children were older, they were to be taught how to read and be given access to the

Carolyn M. Oser-Grote and Willigis Eckermann (Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, Rome, 2008), pp. 265–295, especially pp. 264–278.

⁵⁹ The text of the *Ordine della vita cristiana* has recently been edited in Willigis Eckermann (ed.), *Simonis Fidati de Cassia OESA. L'Ordine della vita cristiana; Tractatus de vita christiana; Epistolae; Laude; Opuscula. Johannis de Salerno OESA, Tractatus de vita et moribus fratris Simonis de Cassia*. Corpus Scriptorum Augustinianorum, vol. VII/8. (Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, Rome, 2006), pp. 4–120.

⁶⁰ On the use of religious images in the Italian household, see Margaret A. Morse, "Creating sacred space: the religious visual culture of the Renaissance Venetian casa", *Renaissance Studies* 21–2 (2007) 151–184.

Scriptures, considered to be the most valuable instrument of Christian faith.⁶¹

The instructions given in the treatises and translations described all appeal to a public of literate readers well acquainted with the biblical narrative and with books at their disposal, for example in their home libraries. The presence of the vernacular Bibles, in particular Gospels, in home libraries is corroborated by the study conducted by Christian Bec and Armando Verde on book ownership by Florentine citizens.⁶² A preliminary study of published inventories and book-lists gathered together by the members of the RICABIM research project (*Repertorio di Inventari e Cataloghi di Biblioteche Medievali dal secolo VI al 1520*), a digitalisation of nearly 600 inventories from medieval Italy, confirmed the results presented by Bec and Verde.⁶³ This research confirms that vernacular Bibles, in particular Gospels, were a constant feature in the libraries of lay people, and not only in the regions known for their high literacy levels, such as Florence and Tuscany. Italian lay readers from Friuli to Sicily had manuscripts and early printed texts with vernacular Bible translations at their

⁶¹ Morse, "Creating sacred space: the religious visual culture of the Renaissance Venetian casa", p. 174.

⁶² The list is not exhaustive and has been compiled with a specific attention to Gospels and New Testaments. The figures can however convey a first impression of the presence of vernacular Bible translations in Florentine homes. Ch. Bec, *Les livres des Florentins (1413–1608)* (Florence 1984), p. 149 (Gospels), p. 150 (Epistles and Gospels; Gospels), p. 152 (Gospels; Gospels), p. 158 (Gospels), p. 161 (Gospels), p. 162 (Gospels), p. 163 (Evangelary; Epistulary; Life of Christ), p. 165 (Gospels; Description of the Gospels; Life of Christ), p. 166 (Life of Christ; Description of the Gospels; Gospels), p. 167 (Gospels), p. 169 (Gospels; Gospels; Gospels; Gospels and Sermons; Gospels; book on the birth of Christ), p. 170 (Gospels; Gospels and Epistles), p. 171 (Gospels), p. 175 (Gospels), p. 176 (Gospels; Description of the Gospels), p. 177 (Gospels; Description of the Gospels), p. 178 (Gospels; Description of the Gospels; Gospels and Epistles), p. 182 (Gospels), p. 183 (Gospels and Epistles), p. 184 (Gospels and Epistles), p. 319 (Evangelary), p. 334 (Description of the Gospels), p. 335 (Gospels and Epistles), p. 336 (Lectionary), p. 337 (Epistles and Gospels); A.F. Verde, *Libri fra le pareti domestiche. Una necessaria appendice a 'Lo Studio Fiorentino' 1473–1503* (Pistoia 1987), p. 40 (Passion of Christ), p. 50 (Passion of Christ), p. 53 (Life of Christ), p. 54 (Gospels), p. 56 (Gospels), p. 57 (Epistles and Gospels), p. 58 (Gospels), p. 66 (Gospels), p. 70 (Epistles and Gospels), p. 85 (Gospels), p. 90 (Gospels), p. 95 (Gospels), p. 97 (Gospels), p. 107 (Gospels), p. 112 (Epistles and Gospels), p. 141 (Epistles and Gospels), p. 159 (Commentary on the Gospels), p. 161 (Epistles and Gospels), p. 163 (Epistles and Gospels), p. 169 (Epistles and Gospels), p. 177 (Gospels), p. 179 (Gospels), Epistles and Gospels), p. 180 (Epistles and Gospels), p. 182 (Epistles and Gospels), p. 199 (Epistles and Gospels).

⁶³ The digitalised inventories can be consulted online at www.internetculturale.it. The first printed volume of the *Repertorio di Inventari e Cataloghi di Biblioteche Medievali, Toscana*, eds. Giovanni Fiesoli and Elena Somigli (Florence 2009) contains 1733 entries.

disposal.⁶⁴ Although a comparative analysis of the readership and ownership of vernacular Bible translations is still in preparation, preliminary research shows that these manuscripts and early printed texts were a constant feature – allowing for regional and social differences – in medieval Europe.⁶⁵

The process of reading and memorising the life of Christ as described in the *Garden of Prayer* does not only imply the visualisation of the characters, but also the fixation in the memory of important events – such as Jesus in Jerusalem or the Last Supper – in the manner of scenes from a theatrical representation. Reading is transformed into performative reading: the text becomes “the ‘spectaculum’ and the reader the spectator of the troubles or sufferings represented”.⁶⁶ To complete this process, to enhance participation and to inflame the heart of the reader, who is supposed to “fall in love with Christ”,⁶⁷ it is of vital importance that a mental image of the “human Christ” be created through visualising him in his bodily appearance. This becomes possible, writes the author of the *Garden*, once the readers are acquainted with Christ’s physical description, which is not present in the Gospels but is reported in an epistle written by Lentulus, a chancellor of King Herod (the *Epistula Lentuli*).⁶⁸ The combination of the mentioned gospel harmonies and the physical description of Christ in a number of Italian manuscripts thus provides the readers with the tools to transform the reading of the text into prayer and meditation. Through the physical appearance of Christ, the token of his incarnation, it is possible for lay readers to attain a “mystical and physical union” with Christ.

⁶⁴ On Friuli, see for example Ceare Scalon, *Produzione e fruizione del libro nel basso medioevo: il caso Friuli* (Padova 1995). For Sicily, Henri Bresc, *Livre et société en Sicile (1299–1499)* (Palermo 1971).

⁶⁵ For a study of the German situation, see Andrew Gow, “Challenging the Protestant Paradigm: Bible Reading in Lay and Urban Contexts of the Later Middle Ages”, *Scripture and Pluralism. Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. Thomas J. Heffernan and Thomas E. Burman (Leyden 2005), pp. 161–191. An analysis of the *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, a description of the libraries of the Southern Low Countries also revealed the presence of Bibles in lay libraries. For a case study illustrative of the French situation, see Vincent Tabbagh, “L’acte de lecture chez les laïcs dijonnais autour de 1400”, in *Lecture et lecteurs en Bourgogne du Moyen-Âge à l’époque contemporaine*, ed. Vincent Tabbagh, Numéro spécial *Annales de Bourgogne* 77-1/2 (2005), pp. 113–124 and Jacky Theurot, “Des livres et leur usage dans le comté de Bourgogne aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles”, in *Lecture et lecteurs en Bourgogne*, pp. 71–112.

⁶⁶ Kahn, “The figure of the Reader in Petrarch’s *Secretum*”, p. 163.

⁶⁷ Stanislao da Campagnola,, “Il ‘Giardino di Orazione’”, pp. 47–48.

⁶⁸ Stanislao da Campagnola,, “Il ‘Giardino di Orazione’”, p. 52.

The emphasis on the significance of Christ, and his *imitatio*, also involves a second stage: the wish to realise in readers a process of *christiformitas* by following the example of Christ, not only in the shaping of their religious lives but also as direction in their moral lives. Through emotional participation, the readers can attain a state of conversion which should be clearly visible in their moral behaviour. The connection between reading the vernacular Bible and moral conversion is described in the analysis of the prologues to the translations: the Holy Writ is a mirror in which readers can look and learn how to live a good Christian life. If soul and body are connected, then the reading of the example of Christ should lead to a conscious participation in the responsibilities of worldly life and a better understanding of the process of salvation. A good example of this binary undertaking is the quoted treatise by Simone Fidati, *L'ordine della vita Cristiana*, which indeed consists of two parts: the duties of the soul and the duties of the body. The soul is invited to meditate on the life of Christ, on the life of the Virgin, on the Apostles, on martyrs and virgins, on the Garden of Eden and on the Final Judgement, and on eternal life. The body is invited to work towards "conformity to the physical Christ, especially in poverty and humility", which will result in "a honest and decent conversation", and will be visible in his work, his prayers and his approach to the sacraments of confession and Eucharist.⁶⁹ By reading the lives of Christ and the Virgin and drawing inspiration from saints and martyrs, the lay reader can find suggestions on how to organise his daily life. As Simone Fidati suggests, it is perfectly possible to follow the example of Christ, while leading a fulfilling worldly life.

One of the most relevant issues is the choice between poverty and wealth. Simone reminds his readers that choosing poverty is the best way to live according to the Gospels, because the only real affluence is the presence of Christ in their lives. Choosing poverty does not however need to be total, it is possible to have a profession and to earn a just amount of money if the readers remain conscious of the need to find enough space to pray and meditate in their lives. Material comfort is not a sin, on the condition that the prosperous do not forget that they owe their positions to God's grace and that they are thus supposed to help those in poverty and disgrace. Sobriety and moderation are according to Fidati, the best way to follow the *exemplum* of Christ. *Christiformitas* is also a social virtue, which finds its expression in occupations, conversations, married life and works of mercy. A good Christian is a good citizen, husband, father, merchant

⁶⁹ Eckermann, *Simonis Fidati de Cassia OESA. L'Ordine della vita cristiana*, pp. 38–39.

and a respected member of the community.⁷⁰ The harmony of body and soul, concludes Simone, is only possible for those desiring unity with Christ through meditation and participation in the Eucharist:

Those who are hungry, should not flee from bread, those who are thirsty should not run from the fountain, those who are ill, should search for a doctor, those who are in sin, should look for someone to sanctify them. The body of Christ is the best medicine, rescue from sin, consolation and the ever-growing state of grace of the just.⁷¹

Conclusion

This first analysis of the sources conveying information about the active use and readership of the Holy Writ in medieval Europe has made clear that lay readers not only had access to the text of the Scriptures, through the production and the dissemination of vernacular Bible translations, but they were active agents in the diffusion of texts. By pleading for translations of religious texts, lay readers initiated a process of religious emancipation which characterises late medieval Europe. By reading the text in silence or aloud, copying manuscripts and buying printed copies, memorising passages and pericopes, literate laymen and women could actively collaborate with members of religious orders, in particular Mendicants, in a process of religious acculturation. This process implied also the cultural appropriation⁷² of the biblical knowledge which had traditionally been accessible for a restricted number of Latinate (religious) readers. Biblical translations in late medieval Europe have furthermore a clear didactic value. The act of transposing the text from an élite language, Latin, to “popular” languages, the vernaculars, implies to certain extent the bridging of the gap between the learned and the unlearned, the religious and the lay. The growing level of literacy in late medieval Europe and the “ripening process” of vernacular languages made the translations possible and effective: literate readers were kept responsible for their intellectual and spiritual development by choosing reading materials which convey Christian values and teachings. The relationship between the traditional keepers and interpreters of the Holy Writ, the religious, and the new group

⁷⁰ Eckermann, *Simonis Fidati de Cassia OESA. L'Ordine della vita cristiana*, pp. 91–93.

⁷¹ Eckermann, *Simonis Fidati de Cassia OESA. L'Ordine della vita cristiana*, p. 109.

⁷² About cultural appropriation in the Middle Ages, see Claire Sponsler, “In Transit: Theorizing Cultural Appropriation in Medieval Europe”, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32–1 (2002) 17–39.

of readers, the laity, is characterised by a process of negotiation. As a matter of fact, translating implies “negotiating”, a concept which should be applied not only to the world of trade and diplomacy but also to the exchange of ideas and the consequent modification of meaning and which illustrates the continuous search for a new balance in a changing social, political and cultural perspective.

The translation of Latin biblical material into the vernacular shows moreover a process of domestication of religious material both in the meaning of adaptation to the need of the lay reader and in the connotation of transposing religious material from a traditional sacred place to a domestic or private setting. Lay people, just like Feo Belcari, are invited in prologues to the translations and in treatises of religious instruction to use the same reading techniques which were common in religious communities. The theory of the *ruminatio*, which characterises monastic reading, is applied to a world of lay people, merchants, artisan widows, who are supposed to blend religious experience with preoccupations of daily life. Their need for a fulfilling spiritual life is often combined with the preoccupation for a more “practical” and “tangible” translation of the message of the Gospels into a worldly dimension. The tangibility of this process is enhanced by references to daily objects and situations, which allow the lay reader to find religious elements in his or her own domestic space. By following religious instructions and drawing moral lesson from the texts, lay readers are able to initiate a process of moral conversion inspired by the striving to *christiformitas*, an imitation of Christ applied to their specific daily needs. This *conversio* does not require a separation from the world, but creates religious moments in daily life. The act of reading, often combined with the bodily and sensorial activity of eating and tasting, offers to literate lay readers even the instruments to reach a transcendent stage of meditation. Meditation on the events from the Scriptures means reiterating the act of reading even in absence of the physical object. It is a way of reading without books, which perpetuates the reading process.

Lay readers come into contact with the Scriptures as an intellectual, a sensorial and a physical experience: the Writ is instructing their souls, feeding their spirits and awakening the desire to follow and to draw lessons from the passion of Christ.

ILLUSTRATIONS IN EARLY PRINTED LATIN BIBLES IN THE LOW COUNTRIES (1477–1547)

August den Hollander

The production of Bibles in the Netherlands in the first century of the printing press can be divided roughly into three phases. In the first decades of printing, from 1477 to about 1520, various medieval translations and versions of the Vulgate appeared initially in association with and as a supplement to the existing production of handwritten books. In the period from 1520 to 1547, as a result of religious developments in Europe, numerous new Bible translations were printed that also had an effect on the production of Bibles in the Low Countries. A period of the further confessionalization of Europe began subsequently, which also left its impress on the production of Bibles. In 1547 a new edition of the Latin Vulgate was published in Louvain, and a Dutch translation of it was published a year later. In the second half of the sixteenth century new editions of the Bible were published, each with its own confessional target group. This contribution focuses on Latin Bibles from 1477 to 1547, particularly on the question if and how these Bibles were illustrated.

In the first period, from 1477 until about 1520, the production of printed Bibles was still completely determined by the late medieval production of (handwritten) Bibles, also with respect to the demand for and supply of different kinds of Bible editions. Almost half of the 115 Bible editions that were produced in this period consist of editions of the *epistles and gospels*.¹ With a total of forty editions, of which eighteen were published prior to 1500, psalters constitute about one-third of the total Bible production before 1520. Although we can determine that during the first decades of

¹ All figures on Bible editions from this period have been derived from the electronic Bible bibliography *Biblia Sacra. Bibles printed in the Netherlands and Belgium*, see www.bibliasacra.com. The Bible editions listed here are not restricted to complete Bibles but also include parts of the Bible, individual Bible books, psalters, and editions of the epistles and gospels (but no lives of Jesus). See A.A. den Hollander, 'Early Printed Bibles in the Low Countries (1477–1520)', in W. François & A.A. den Hollander (eds.), *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment? The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period*, BETL 198, (Leuven, 2009), pp. 51–61. See also B.A. Rosier, *The Bible in Print. Netherlandish Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth Century* (2 vols, Leiden, 1997), but he does not deal with all the editions mentioned here.

printing the production of printed Bibles in the Low Countries consisted almost exclusively of *epistles and gospels* and psalters, other types of Bible editions appeared as well. It is worth noting that during this period only three complete Bibles were published, two in Dutch and one in Latin,² and only four editions of the New Testament, all four in Latin.³ Parts of the Old and/or the New Testament, such as four Latin editions of the epistles of Paul,⁴ were also published.

The Bible editions printed in the Low Countries until 1520 were written exclusively in Dutch or Latin, with the publication of a French psalter in 1513 as the only exception. Until 1500 there were almost as many Dutch (33) as Latin (34) editions printed; this was also the case between 1500 and 1520, although there were slightly more Latin editions (27 out of 48). Of the psalters that were printed between 1477 and 1520 the majority are in Latin. Thirteen of the eighteen editions published before 1500 are in Latin and of the twenty-two editions printed between 1500 and 1520 sixteen are in Latin. The ratio between Latin and vernacular psalters changed little or not at all during this period; invariably, almost three quarters are in Latin. The ratio regarding *epistles and gospels* is completely different. In contrast to the psalters, the editions of the *epistles and gospels* are mainly in Dutch and after 1500 almost exclusively so.

The central question of this paper concerns the presence of illustrations in these early printed Bibles or the lack thereof. Of the 115 Bible editions from the period 1477–1520, forty-six contain one or more illustrations. The majority (33) of the editions with illustrations are written in Dutch, which means that more than half of the total number of vernacular editions (33 out of 54) are illustrated. Only sixteen editions with illustrations are in Latin, which means that only a quarter of the Latin editions have illustrations (16 out of 61). Moreover, these editions are only sparingly illustrated. Of the sixteen Latin illustrated editions, thirteen have an illustration only on the title page, the other three editions contain less than

² The two Dutch editions are the 'Delftse bijbel' (Delft Bible) from 1477, printed in Delft by Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer and Mauricius Yemantszoon, and the Bible from 1478 by the printer/publisher Heinrich Quentell in Cologne (two different versions of this Bible appeared in the same year); the Latin edition from 1513 was almost certainly published by the Louvain printer/publisher Theodoricus Martinus.

³ The four Latin editions of the New Testament were published in 1480 in Louvain by Joannes de Westfalia Paderbornensis, in 1519 in Louvain by Theodoricus Martinus, in 1520 in Amsterdam by Doen Pietersoen, and in Antwerp by Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten.

⁴ Twice within six months in 1491 by the Deventer printer/publisher Richard Pafraet, in 1500 by Peter Os van Breda in Zwolle, and in 1513 in Louvain by Theodoricus Martinus. Further, a few Bible books were published separately, including the book of Daniel and some epistles by Paul.

five illustrations (see table 1). The Dutch Bible editions are more richly illustrated than the Latin ones, although not all are illustrated to the same degree. Dutch editions containing five or more illustrations are almost always editions of the *epistles and gospels* (19 out of 24). On the other hand, the seven illustrated psalters contain, almost without exception, only one or two illustrations.

The following examples will help clarify the presence and function of illustrations in the earliest printed Latin Bible editions in the Low Countries. The first printed Latin Bible edition that included an illustration is a psalter that was printed in Zwolle in 1486 by Peter Os van Breda. The woodcut depicts the so-called mystical winepress: Christ is kneeling under a winepress, and a cup is ready to receive his blood. This illustration portrays the Roman Catholic doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist in a very literal way. The illustration bears no connection at all with the content of the booklet, the text of the psalter. In fact, the woodcut was not done especially for this edition but had already been used earlier that year by Peter Os for a Dutch edition of *Liden ende Passie Ons Heren*. Os had a series of new illustrations of the suffering of Christ made for that work,⁵ of which he only used one for his edition of the psalter.⁶ The woodcut appears twice in the edition: once to fill up the blank verso side of the

Table 1. Illustrations in Bible Editions 1477–1520

| Number of illus. | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| 0 | 20 | 45 | 1 | 66 |
| 1 | 4 | 13 | - | 17 |
| 2–4 | 5 | 3 | - | 8 |
| 5–20 | 14 | - | - | 14 |
| 21–50 | 6 | - | - | 6 |
| 51–100 | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| >100 | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| | 53 | 61 | 1 | 115 |
| | Dutch | Latin | French | Total |

⁵ I. Kok, *De houtsneden in de incunabelen van de Lage Landen 1475–1500. Inventarisatie en bibliografische analyse* (2 vols, s.l. 1994; diss. Amsterdam UvA), pp. 393–395. Of this series two woodcuts deviate from the rest in style and dimensions, including the one shown here. This is a very faithful copy of the corresponding depiction in Gerard Leeu's *Devote ghetiden* series.

⁶ The woodcut was certainly used again in the next five years, almost exclusively in psalters and editions of the *Liden ende Passie*.

title page (fol A1v) and once at the end of the edition under the colophon. Its only function in this edition of the psalter was that of general decoration.

Still purely decorative but nonetheless with a clear link to the content of the work is the illustration that was included in the Latin editions of the psalter by the Antwerp printer and publisher Gheraert Leeu in 1487 and 1491. Here it is the depiction of David carrying the Ark into the house of Obed-Edom. In both editions the illustration is on the title page.

Other illustrations with David as the subject were also included in Latin editions of the psalter. In many cases, it was a depiction of David defeating the giant Goliath, the well-known and vivid biblical story of David slinging a stone at Goliath's forehead. This appears, for example, in the 1500 and 1515 Latin editions of the psalter by the Antwerp printer and publisher Henrick Eckert van Homberch.⁷

In the edition from 1500 the woodcut is even printed three times: 1) on the title page, 2) on the back of the last blank page of the preliminary pages, directly opposite the first page of text, and 3) finally at the very end of the book on the verso side of the last blank page. In its unbound state the book-block thus has this illustration of David on its front and back.

In the edition of 1515 the illustration is also on the title page. In addition, the closing part of the book includes three illustrations that have no connection to the content of the psalter. After the colophon on p R6v there is an illustration on page R7r of Mary standing, with the Christ-child close to her bosom on her arm, which is clearly related to the text on the back side: a prayer to Mary. Further, the edition on the recto side of the last page (R8r) has a decorative illustration of a pope and on the back (R8v) an illustration of the centurion confessing his faith in Christ. Here as well in its unbound state the book has an illustration on both its front and back.

It is clear that woodcuts were often used for new editions and sometimes for editions of works of a completely different nature. Thus, the 1490 edition of the epistles and gospels by the Deventer printer and publisher Jacob van Breda, for example, contains a woodcut illustrating the mass of St. Gregory the Great. Christ appears above the altar with the instruments of the Passion, and blood flows from Christ's side. The woodcut was included by Van Breda as decoration in at least fourteen of his editions,

⁷ This woodcut was also used in an earlier Dutch edition of the psalter by Homberch in 1498.



Figure 1. Psalter, Henrick Eckert van Homberch, Antwerp, 1500, fol r8v (repr. from Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, BR: A 2106)

including three editions of the *Expositio mysteriorum missae*, as well as the school textbook *Composita verborum* by Johannes van Delden.⁸

The choice of the publisher to include certain woodcuts in a Bible edition was not only determined by the fact that he had typographical material in hand. The selection was also determined by the target group he had in mind with his edition and/or the intended function of the edition. Illustrative of this are the 1487 and 1488 editions of the *epistles and gospels* by the printer Peter Os van Breda in Zwolle. In both years this publisher put two Dutch editions of the *epistles and gospels* on the market. Both editions are – and that is unusual for Bible editions in this early period – illustrated by a series of woodcuts, as was also announced on the title page of both editions: *Dit sijn die duytsche epistelen ende evangelijen mitten figuren doer den gantsen jaer* (*These are the Dutch epistles and gospels with illustrations covering the whole year*).⁹

Moreover, however, the ‘illustrations’ here should really be seen as such and not as ‘decorations’, given that, even though the woodcuts were not placed in the text itself, they were placed throughout the work directly before the scriptural passages they illustrated. Thus, the illustration of the baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist (see Figure 3) is placed directly before the Bible passage from John 1.

In 1488 Peter Os put two Latin editions of this work on the market. Unlike the Dutch editions, these Latin editions did not include any illustrations. Only on the title page was the same woodcut of the evangelist Luke continually printed that was also used for the title page of the two Dutch editions. There are other differences between the Dutch and the Latin editions. The Dutch editions are printed in the convenient octavo format whereas the Latin editions are printed in the quarto format, which was used at that time primarily for school books. This type of book was usually not illustrated so as to keep the price as low as possible. The difference in design between the Dutch and the Latin editions seems thus to be connected with the function that the work was to fulfil for the intended buyers.

⁸ The woodcut was used on the title page in twelve of the fourteen editions, in two editions on the last page. See I. Kok, *De houtsneden in de incunabelen*, pp. 548–555. The *Expositio mysteriorum missae* is a short allegorical explanation of the Holy Mass by Willem van Gouda, a Friar Minor Observant.

⁹ The 1487 edition contains seventeen woodcuts, and that of 1488 fourteen.



Figure 2. Epistles and Gospels (Dutch), Peter Os van Breda, Zwolle, 1488, fol air (repr. from The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB: 171 G 97)



Figure 3. Epistles and Gospels (Dutch), Peter Os van Breda, Zwolle, 1488, fol d7r (repr. from The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB: 171 G 97)

In summary, we can state that, for the first fifty years of book production in the Low Countries the Latin Bible editions from this period generally have no illustrations – in other words no illustrations that were placed in the text or were directly connected to it.¹⁰ Some editions do have one or two woodcuts, which sometimes are and sometimes are not connected to the content of the work. These illustrations have a purely decorative character and are usually printed on the title page and sometimes elsewhere as well in order to fill up a blank page. In some editions an illustration is printed on the verso side of the last (blank) page, so that the unbound book has an illustration on both its front and back. Such illustrations not only made the book more attractive but could also publicize the content of the work with potential buyers.

After 1520, the picture of the production of Latin Bibles in the Low Countries changed radically with respect to both content and design. The genre of the Latin epistles and gospels, which was determinative in the previous half century, almost disappeared completely. The Latin psalter continued to exist but was no longer vital for the production of Latin Bibles in the period 1520–1547. A new type of Bible was on the rise that would dominate the production of Latin Bibles in the third quarter of the first century of printing. Of the more than eighty (83) Latin Bible editions from this period, almost half (40) are of the New Testament. Great changes took place with regard to design as well. Decorative illustrations that had no connection with the content of the edition appeared less often.

The first editions that supplied the text of the New Testament or only the gospels usually have an illustration – in any case of the evangelist in question at the beginning of each gospel.

However, Latin Bible editions in this period increasingly contained series of illustrations. In 1526, for instance, Jean Thibault in Antwerp printed a Latin Bible for the publisher Frans Birckmann of Cologne. This edition was the first to contain a series of so-called 'Postilla' woodcuts. These prints are based on the illustrations in the printed versions of the *Postilla*, the Bible commentary by the French theologian Nicholas of Lyra (ca. 1270–1349). They are explanatory, almost 'technical', illustrations of the usually complex descriptions of architectural and liturgical objects in the Old Testament.¹¹

¹⁰ B.A.Rosier, *The Bible in Print*, vol. I, p. 10.

¹¹ B.A.Rosier, *The Bible in Print*, vol. I, pp. 69–70.

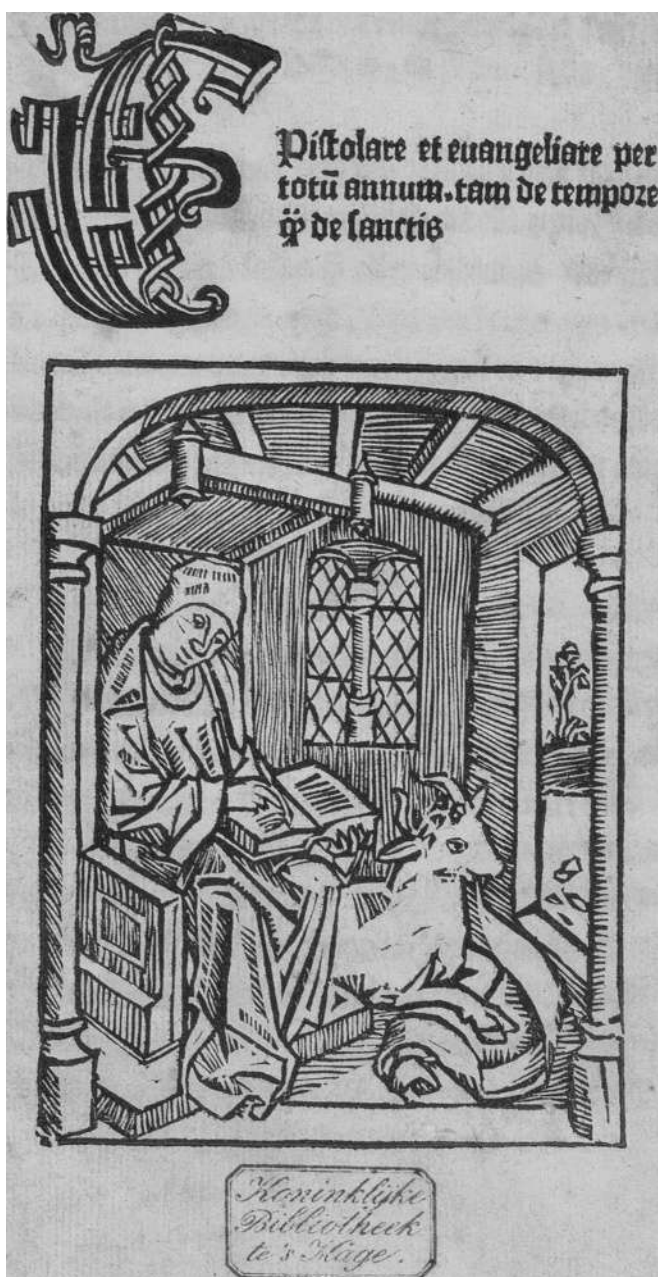


Figure 4. Epistles and Gospels (Latin), Peter Os van Breda, Zwolle, 1488, fol air (repr. from The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB: 171 G 92)

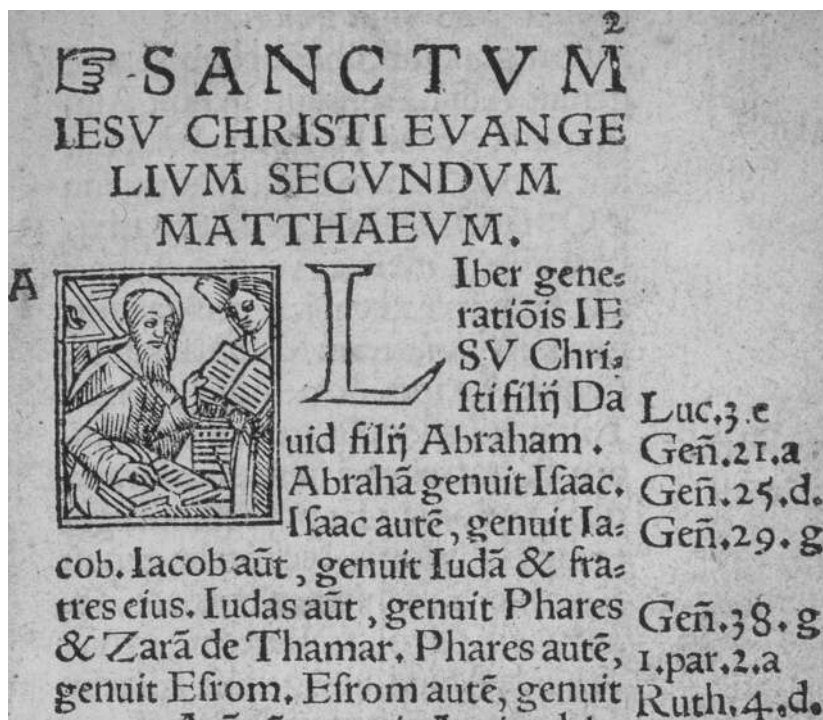


Figure 5. New Testament, Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten, Antwerp, 1525, fol a2r (repr. from The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB: 229 G 36)

Such explanatory illustrations of the Old Testament can be found in other Latin editions and in the numerous editions of the complete Bible in the vernacular languages in this period. We also find, for illustrating the text of the Old Testament in Latin Bible editions, in this period a series of almost a hundred beautiful woodcuts that were copies of Holbein's *Icones*. These appear in the Latin Bible edition in folio format that the Antwerp printer Martin Nuyts (Martinus I. Nutius) printed in 1541–1542 for the publisher Johan Steels (Steelsius), also of Antwerp.¹² In total, this Bible, in which the book of Revelation was also illustrated, contains the large number of 113 text illustrations.¹³ Moreover, no woodcut is used more than once as an

¹² B.A. Rosier, *The Bible in Print*, vol. I, pp. 244–248. There are also some copies of depictions from Holbein's *Dance of Death*.

¹³ The woodblocks that were used for the illustrations in the book Revelation were also used for the Dutch editions of the New Testament from 1525 by Hans van Ruremunde and Hiero Fuchs.



Figures 6 and 7. Bible, Jean Thibault for Frans Birkman, Antwerp, 1526, h8v and l3r (repr. from Amsterdam, Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit van Amsterdam, UB: Ned.Inc. 606)



Figure 7.

illustration of the text.¹⁴ The title page reports with justifiable pride that the edition includes very skilful images (*iconibus artificiosissimus*). But the intended function of the illustrations on the title page was also extolled: the illustrations were included in order to assist the reader's ability to remember (*quo Lectoris memoriae consulatur*).

The most illustrations by far can also be found in Latin editions of the New Testament. The series of illustrations in the Latin editions of the New Testament are less homogenous than those in the editions of the Old Testament and are often compiled from several existent or non-existent series of woodcuts. These woodblocks were thus often used for a long time and are usually used by other printers as well. Thus, the Antwerp printer and publisher Merten de Keyser published a *Novum Testamentum* in Erasmus' translation in 1536, and the 26 woodblocks he used for illustrating his edition were used for a period of twenty or sometimes thirty years and were reused by four and sometimes five different printers.

The number of illustrations in the illustrated Latin editions of the Bible continued to increase around the fifth decade of the sixteenth century. In 1538 the Antwerp printer and publisher Gulielmus Montanus published two Latin editions of the New Testament: an edition of Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum* and an edition of the Vulgate. Both editions are printed in the extremely small sedecimo format, and both are, moreover, illustrated, which is also announced on the title page of the editions (*additis picturis*).

The thirty-seven illustrations are, in accordance with the information on the title page, almost exclusively placed in the text of the Bible books Acts and Revelation.¹⁵ The title page states that these illustrations are thus depictions of miracles and visions. The book Revelation does indeed have a series of twenty illustrations of the visions that are copies of Holbein's. The buyer whose interest in the edition was drawn because of the announced illustrations of miracles would probably be disappointed. Only two of the illustrations in the book of Acts portray a miracle performed by the apostle Paul. The two illustrative depictions of miracles are strongly narrative in character and portray several scenes within one illustration. The first, which appears only in the Vulgate edition of 1538, depicts the events described in Acts 20:7–12, in which Paul raises a young man

¹⁴ Only the woodcut on the title page is printed from a woodblock that was used elsewhere in the edition as well. See B.A. Rosier, *The Bible in Print*, vol. I, p. 244.

¹⁵ For the rest, only a depiction of the evangelist in question in each of the four gospels is included.

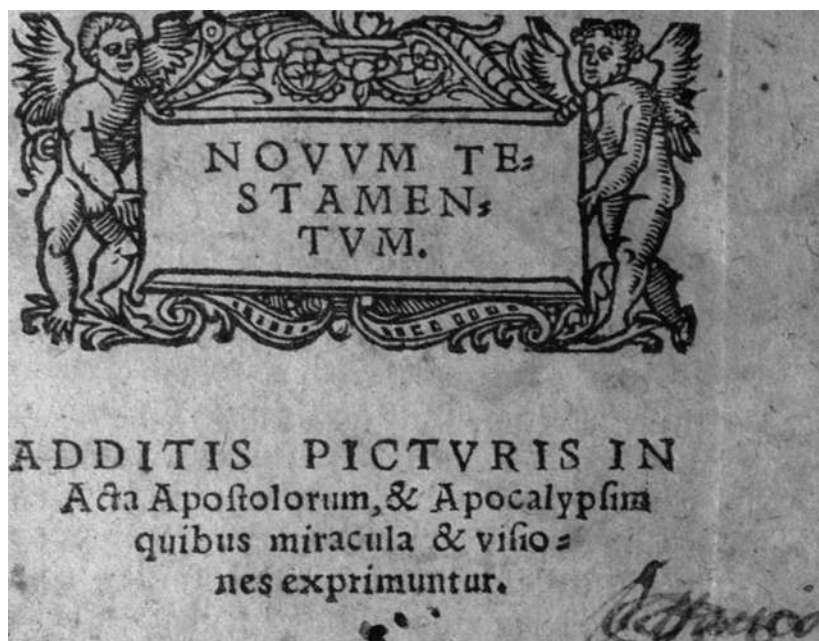


Figure 8. New Testament, Gulielmus Montanus, Antwerp, 1538, fol A1r (repr. from Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, BR LP 4173 A)

from the dead who fell to the ground, after falling asleep, from a window-sill on the third storey.

Thus, the second illustration of a miracle that appears in both editions from 1538 depicts in the background Paul being shipwrecked off the coast of Malta and being hospitably received on the island (Acts 28:1–16). The foreground also depicts Paul remaining unharmed after being bitten by a snake when throwing wood on the fire that the Maltese lit for him.

The small format suggests that both editions were intended for private reading, whereby the illustrations seem primarily to have an illustrative function. Apparently, the editions were successful with the buyers, for in 1540 and in 1542 Montanus published a similar Latin New Testament with illustrations. Both editions contain the text of Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum*. These editions were also in a small format: in duodecimo format in 1540 and in sedecimo format in 1542. Both editions were also extolled on the title page with the announcement that illustrations of miracles and visions were included, albeit now in the whole New Testament (*Additis picturis totius novi testamenti, quibus miracula & visiones*

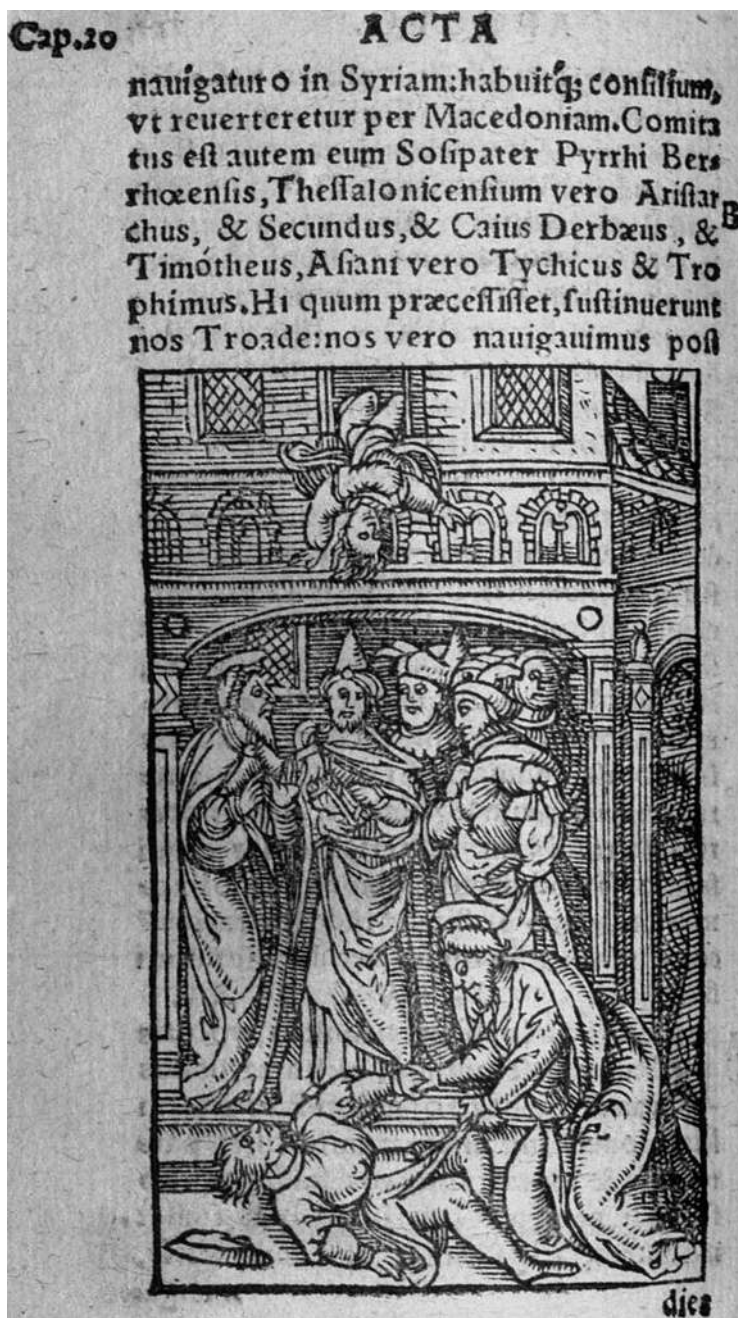


Figure 9. New Testament, Gulielmus Montanus, Antwerp, 1538, fol Y7v
 (repr. from Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, BR LP 4173 A)

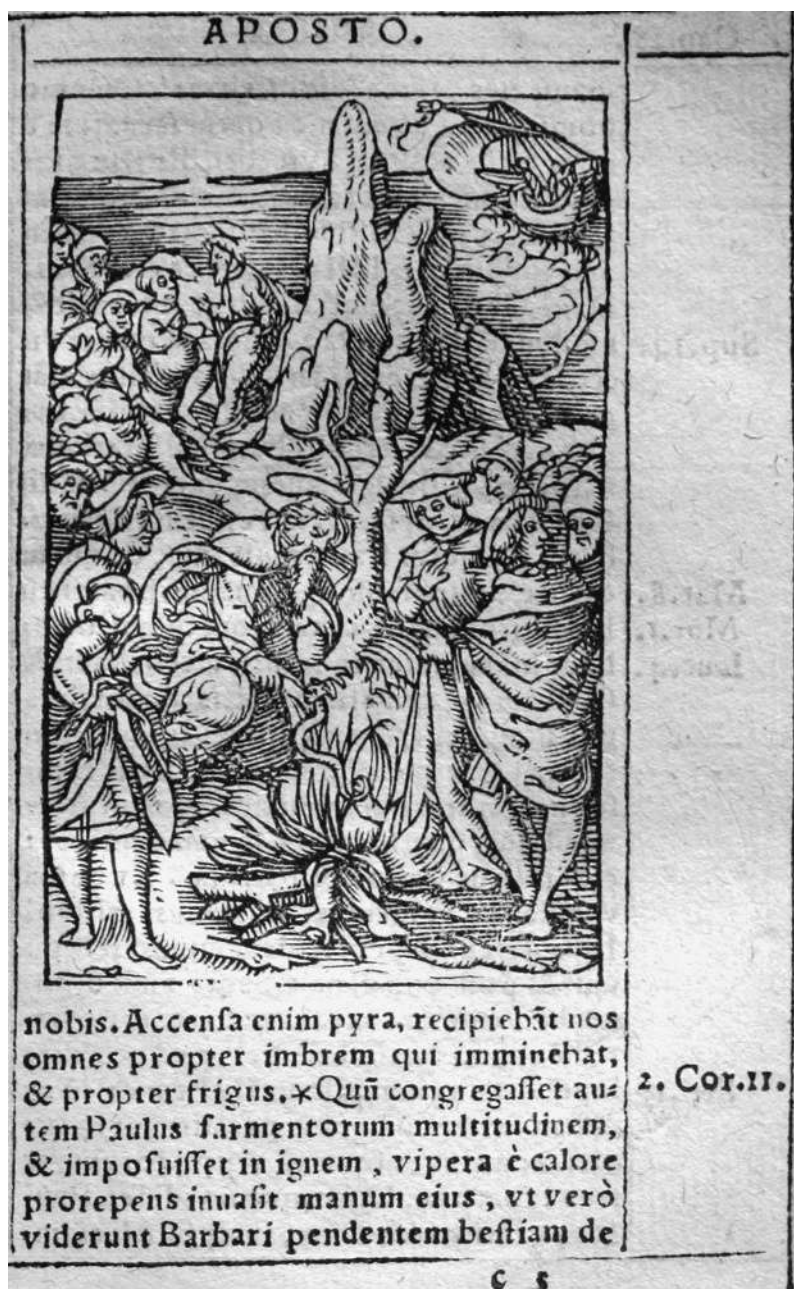


Figure 10. New Testament, Gulielmus Montanus, Antwerp, 1538, fol c5r (repr. From Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Acc. 16031)

exprimuntur). But buyers of these editions now received more for their money. Not only did these editions have more than a hundred illustrations, even though this was partly because woodcuts are used several times over in the edition, but the number of illustrations of miracles is also higher due to the addition of some woodcuts that depict Jesus performing miracles in the gospels.

Since the fifth decade other Latin editions also contained greater numbers of illustrations. Copies of the series of illustrations from the editions by Montanus appear in the Latin editions of the New Testament by the Antwerp printer and publisher Jean Richard in 1542 and 1543.

Under almost the same title as Montanus and his imitators (*Additis picturis totius Novi Testamenti, quibus miracula et visiones exprimuntur*) the Antwerp printer and publisher Johan Hillen (Joannes Hillenius) published an edition of Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum* in 1543. This edition was also printed in a very convenient duodecimo format. The eighty-six illustrations in this New Testament are largely printed from new woodblocks that Hillen had specially made for this Bible edition. It is primarily in the book of Revelation and the four gospels that the illustrations are found, including several of Christ performing miracles.

In 1544 Hillen published an illustrated Latin edition of the New Testament again, this time a Vulgate edition. The illustrations in this edition are printed largely from the same blocks that Hillen used for his edition in 1543. Only for the book of Revelation did he borrow a series of woodblocks from his colleague in Antwerp, Henrick Peetersen of Middelburch. Finally, Jan Batman published a Latin Vulgate edition of the New Testament in 1545 in the convenient octavo format with a completely new series of woodcuts. Batman had these woodcuts made specially for this edition. Of the almost hundred illustrations in the edition about a third are repeats of illustrations used elsewhere in the edition and thus two thirds new.¹⁶ The woodblocks were used a decade later by the Antwerp printers and publishers Hans de Laet and Johan Steels for their Latin editions of the New Testament.

A survey of the period 1520–1547 leads us to state that, of the more than eighty Bible editions, about thirty have one or more illustrations, thus about one third. Half of these are printed in a small to very small duodecimo and sedecimo format (see Table 2), almost all of which are illustrated editions of the New Testament. For the rest, the illustrations in the complete Latin Bible editions are usually limited to the New Testament.

¹⁶ The woodcut in Figure 14, for example, is also printed on B2v.



Figure 11. New Testament, Johan Hillen, Antwerp, 1543, fol M6r (repr. from Amsterdam, Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteit van Amsterdam, UB 1145 H 40)

It is also striking that, of the nineteen editions of the complete New Testament (17) or part of it (2), two thirds contain the text from Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum* and one third what is almost certainly a Vulgate edition.¹⁷ Printers and publishers sometimes put both an Erasmus edition and a Vulgate edition on the market in the same year, with or without the same illustrations.

¹⁷ Philological research is needed to determine if and which Vulgate editions were the basis for these publications. There are, for instance, textual differences between these editions. In any case, one of the Vulgate editions of Robert Estienne from Paris was used for some.



Figure 12. New Testament, Jan Batman, Antwerp, 1545, fol E8v (repr. from Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek Vrije Universiteit, XC 06339)

Table 2. Book Format of Latin Bible Editions 1520–1545

| Format | Number | Content ¹⁸ |
|--------|--------|-------------------------------|
| 2° | 2 | all B |
| 4° | 6 | 2 B, 1 Ps, 1 OTpart, 2 NTpart |
| 8° | 7 | 1 B, 3 Ps, 3 NT |
| 12° | 3 | all NT |
| 16° | 12 | 1 Ps, 11 NT |

¹⁸ B = Bible; Ps = Psalter; NT = New Testament; OT = Old Testament; part = one or more book(s) of.

As of 1540 the average number of illustrations per edition clearly increased. The origin of the illustration material used is often diverse and sometimes varies greatly in successive editions of the same printer/publisher. Printers/publishers regularly reused woodblocks for their own new (including vernacular) Bible editions and also lent them to one another. Woodblocks were also often used more than once in a certain edition. But printers/publishers also sometimes cut new woodblocks for an intended Latin Bible edition, as Jan Batman did for his edition of 1545.

There is no unequivocal answer to the question of what function illustrations served in the Latin Bible editions. The presence of illustrations certainly made the edition more attractive and were sometimes announced emphatically on the title pages. The editions themselves say little, unfortunately, about their intended function. In the Bible that Steels published in 1541–1542, the function of the illustrations as an aid to memorizing the text is emphatically praised. Other illustrations clearly have an explicative and, of course, in many cases, also an illustrative function. The answer to this question can also involve other material characteristics of editions, such as format.

Summary

In the first fifty years of book production in the Low Countries no illustrated Latin Bible editions were published. Some editions did include one or two woodcuts as decoration, usually on the title page and sometimes elsewhere as well in the edition to fill up a blank page or to make the volume more attractive. Illustrated Latin Bible editions appeared first as of 1525. The typical illustrated Latin Bible edition printed in the Low Countries in the first half of the sixteenth century is a New Testament in Erasmus' translation and printed in a (very) small format. The edition includes illustrations in the text of the gospels and in the book of Revelation. The woodcuts are usually copied from several existing series of woodblocks, sometimes supplemented by individual pieces, and therefore vary sometimes in style and format. In some cases an entirely new series of woodcuts was created for a Latin New Testament. Illustrations have different functions in Latin Bible editions: to illustrate, as an aid for memorization, and to explain.

THE STRANGE CAREER OF THE *BIBLIA RABBINICA* AMONG
CHRISTIAN HEBRAISTS, 1517–1620

Stephen G. Burnett

On 18 April 1572, Luis de Leon underwent interrogation, yet again, by officials of the Spanish Inquisition. He was questioned concerning his use of the Rabbinic Bible that was found in his library. Leon asserted that he had never read the Jewish Bible commentaries printed in it. He also expressed some surprise that they considered it a forbidden book, since there was a copy in the Salamanca University Library and many Spanish scholars owned it as well. He himself received his copy as a gift from the late Archbishop of Valencia.¹ The confusion of Luis de Leon's interrogators is easily understood, however, since the book was printed in Hebrew type and intended primarily for Jewish readers. Yet Leon's comment raises a further question: why did he and his fellow Spanish Hebraists, let alone Hebraists in other parts of Europe, consider this book so valuable for their studies?

The Rabbinic Bible became a standard reference tool, above all for Protestant Hebraists during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It contained not only the Hebrew Bible text, but also Aramaic-language Targums (periphrastic translations of the biblical text, mostly dating from before 500) and Jewish biblical commentaries written between ca. 1100 and 1500. To use these works required that a Christian Hebraist know not only the language of the Bible, but also Targumic Aramaic and medieval Hebrew, which was rather different from biblical or mishnaic Hebrew. For Christian scholars who mastered these languages and were able to read these different texts, the Rabbinic Bibles offered information and insights from Jewish tradition concerning the linguistic, historical, and exegetical features of particular biblical passages. Sometimes these texts provide greater clarity when a biblical passage was difficult to interpret, but at others both the Targums and the commentators suggested different, often

¹ Franz H. Reusch, *Luis de Leon und die spanische Inquisition*, Weber, Bonn, 1873, p. 49, summarizing *Collecion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historai de España*, vol. 10, Kraus Reprints, 1964, pp. 196–197. The book itself was described in the latter as “Biblia hebrea y caldea con los comentos de los hebreos en su lengua”

conflicting answers to interpretive puzzles. Whatever answers they did provide, however, the books were written by Jewish authors and intended for Jewish readers. Their comments presupposed that Judaism was the one true religion and at times included critical remarks about Christianity. They could make rather bracing reading for the unwary.

In this essay I will describe the features of the first two editions of the Rabbinic Bible, trace their use by Christian Hebraists of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and consider the use of Jewish Bible commentaries by Christian Hebraists, focusing on Sebastian Münster's annotations to his famous *Hebraica Biblia* (1534–1535, 1546). Münster's annotations are an important witness to his experience as a reader of the *Biblia Rabbinica*, and they also served as a Latin language digest of information found there for those whose Hebrew was not good enough to read it at first hand. In the final section I will reflect on the significance of the *Biblia Rabbinica* as a source of Jewish scholarly opinion for Christian scholars, which also exposed them to critical questions from Jewish interlocutors as they read these texts.

The Rabbinic Bible as a genre was invented by Daniel Bomberg of Venice, but the first two printings were the work of two gifted editors: Felix Praetensis and Jacob ben Hayyim. In partnership with Praetensis and Peter Lichtenstein, Daniel Bomberg applied to the Venetian Senate for a printing privilege in October 1515, informing it that among his proposed projects would be “a Hebrew Bible, in Hebrew letters, both with and without the Aramaic Targum and with Hebrew commentaries.” The first of these works was a Bible with the Targum and commentaries printed around the Hebrew Bible text, the first edition of the Rabbinic Bible.²

The Rabbinic Bible of 1517 was a departure from previous manuscript and printed versions of the Hebrew Bible both in its physical form and in its bold claim to greater textual authenticity.³ While it was not uncommon for manuscript copies of the Pentateuch to include either the Targum or Rashi's biblical commentary, or sometimes both, Bomberg provided them for the entire Bible for the first time. During the Middle Ages, Hebrew

² David Stern, ‘The Rabbinic Bible in its Sixteenth Century Context’, in: *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Adam Shear and Joseph Hacker, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2011.

³ I have derived my discussion on the significance of Felix Praetensis and Jacob ben Hayyim's work as editors primarily from Jordan S. Penkower's outstanding work ‘Jacob ben Hayyim and the Rise of the *Biblia Rabbinica*’, Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1982.

Bibles were sometimes copied together with commentaries, but commentaries were most commonly copied in separate volumes called *kuntrasim* rather than in the margins of Bibles.⁴ Jewish Biblical commentaries printed before 1500 were produced more often than not as separate volumes as well.⁵ The 1517 Bible contained Rashi's commentary on the entire Bible together with David Kimhi on most of the prophetic books and some of the writings, including the Psalms.⁶ By bundling these features together in a single work, Bomberg offered Jewish readers what amounted to a mini-library of biblical interpretation.

From the perspective of biblical studies, the most important feature of this work was not its innovative physical form, but its precedent-setting Hebrew Bible text. Felix Praetensis was a Jewish convert who became an Augustinian friar but who had forgotten none of his Hebrew editing skills. In his letter of dedication to Pope Leo X, he boasted:

Many manuscript Bibles have hitherto been in circulation, but their splendor was diminished by having almost as many errors as words in them and nothing was more needed than restitution to their true and genuine purity.

Table 1. Biblical Commentaries in the 1517 Rabbinic Bible⁷

| Commentator | Biblical Books |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Rashi = R. Solomon b. Isaac | Pentateuch, Five Scrolls, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles |
| David Kimhi | Former, Latter Prophets, Psalms |
| David ibn Yahya, <i>Qab ve-Naqi</i> | Proverbs |
| Moses b. Nahman = Nahmanides | Job |
| Abraham Farissol | Job |
| Levi b. Gerson | Daniel |
| Simeon Darshan | Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles (with Rashi commentary) |

⁴ David Stern, 'The Hebrew Bible in Europe in the Middle Ages: A Preliminary Typology,' *Jewish Studies: An Internet Journal*, <http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/JSIJ> (forthcoming in 2010 or 2011).

⁵ Herbert C. Zafren, 'Bible Editions, Bible Study and the Early History of Hebrew Printing,' *Eretz Israel*, vol. 16, 1982, pp. 240–251.

⁶ Stern, 'Rabbinic Bible'.

⁷ See Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Kestenbaum & Company/Martino Fine Books, New York, n. d., pp. 6–7, no. 28. (hereafter abbreviated StCB) and A.E. Cowley, *A Concise Catalogue of the Hebrew Printed Books in the Bodleian Library*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971, p. 76.

That this result has been attained by us will be understood by all who read our edition.⁸

Praetensis was the creator of the first Hebrew Bible *edition*, a printed text based upon more than one Hebrew Bible manuscript.⁹ Jordan Penkower's exhaustive analysis of the Hebrew Bible text indicates that it, like the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (first released for sale in 1522), was probably based upon accurate Spanish manuscripts. With Bomberg's permission and assistance, Praetensis collected manuscripts and produced what he believed was the most accurate text of the Bible.¹⁰ Praetensis apparently also used some early printed Hebrew Bibles at times in the vocalization of the text and when he added accents.¹¹

While unquestionably the first Rabbinic Bible was produced primarily with Jewish customers in mind, Bomberg also sought to market the work to Christians. The clearest evidence for this was Praetensis's Latin letter of dedication to Pope Leo X, which was bound with some copies of the work. Praetensis explained that the work contained "the ancient Hebrew and Chaldee Schola, to wit the common Targum and that of Jerusalem. These contain many obscure and recondite mysteries, not only useful but necessary to the devout Christian."¹² He concluded, "Accept this, therefore, with that favourable countenance which you have been wont to show to me and my works, and continue to extend that favour and protection which you have hitherto shown to literary and artistic studies."¹³ While certainly conventional and appropriate for a writer seeking legitimacy and acceptance for a new, potentially controversial work, Praetensis' appeal for favor and protection may have carried with it a hope for financial support as well. Grendler asserts that Praetensis' expectations may not have been quite so lofty.

The combination of a dedicatory letter to the pope ... and papal privilege indicates that the papacy had some knowledge of Fra Felice's biblical scholarship and approved, or at least did not object to being associated with it."¹⁴

⁸ Christian D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the massoretico-critical edition of the Hebrew Bible*, Trinitarian Bible Society, London, 1897, pp. 945–946.

⁹ Penkower, 'Jacob ben Hayyim', p. I.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. I–II.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. XXXVI.

¹² Ginsburg printed both the original text and his English translation in *Introduction*, p. 946.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Paul F Grendler, 'Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515–1535', in: *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, vol. 6, Brill, Leiden, 2008, pp. 227–276, here p. 230.

Praetensis was not the first Hebraist, nor would he be the last, to seek such tangible help from Pope Leo X, who was known to be sympathetic to Hebrew scholarship.¹⁵

Apart from the its Latin letter of dedication, the 1517 Bible contained further evidence that Bomberg intended it for sale to Christians in the form of a modest number of helps that would be useful for a Christian reader. First, Praetensis added chapter divisions based upon those in the Vulgate. The earliest Hebrew Bible printings, including the Soncino Bibles that were used by both Luther and Pellican, contained none of these at all.¹⁶ Following Christian practice, Praetensis also divided the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles into two parts each. For benefit of Jewish readers he explained (in Hebrew), "Here non-Jews (ha-lo'azim) begin the second book of Samuel, which is the second book of Kings to them."¹⁷

Although the first Rabbinic Bible would have been a forbidding book to many Christian Hebraists, it was purchased by a number of them. Georg Spalatin purchased a copy for Philip Melanchthon at the Leipzig fall book fair of 1518.¹⁸ Johannes Reuchlin presumably obtained a copy of it around the same time. Before 1530, Martin Bucer, Sebastian Münster, and Johannes Oecolampadius all had copies of the work. At some point Paul Fagius also obtained a copy of the 1517 Rabbinic Bible. By the 1570s copies of the work were held by the university libraries of Jena, Strasbourg, Geneva, and Zurich.¹⁹ Sebastian Münster would reprint it as the Hebrew text in his *Hebraica Biblia* (1534–1535), and he translated the accompanying Latin version of the Old Testament from it.²⁰ Bomberg also reprinted the Hebrew text of the 1517 Rabbinic Bible in quarto versions during 1517, in 1521, and in a revised form, reflecting to some extent changes made in the 1525 Rabbinic Bible, in 1525–1528.²¹ These smaller Hebrew Bibles were a popular, less expensive alternative to Rabbinic Bibles among Christian customers. Ulrich Zwingli owned a Bomberg

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 237, 241–242.

¹⁶ Jordan Penkower, 'The Chapter Divisions in the 1525 Rabbinic Bible', *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 48/3, 1998pp. 350–374, here pp. 350–351.

¹⁷ Stern, 'Rabbinic Bible'.

¹⁸ Philip Melanchthon to [Georg Spalatin], [Wittenberg, 24 September 1518], *Melanchthon Briefwechsel. Kritische und Kommentierte Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Heinz Scheible, Frommann-Holzboog, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1991ff, Teil 1, p. 75, lines 1–3 (letter no. 24).

¹⁹ See below, Appendix 1.

²⁰ Joseph Prijs, *Die Basler Hebräischen Drucke (1492–1866)*, ed. Bernhard Prijs, Urs Graf, Olten and Freiburg i. Br., 1964, pp. 67–70. no. 38.

²¹ Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 951, 953–954, 975.

quarto Hebrew Bible, as did Wittenbergers Johann Agricola and perhaps Martin Luther.²²

The greatest impact that the 1517 Rabbinic Bible had upon Reformation-era biblical scholarship was on the interpretation of the book of Psalms. Alone among the various printings of the Rabbinic Bible, it was the only one to feature David Kimhi's commentary on the book of Psalms. In seeking to interpret the Psalms, Kimhi did not shy away from controversy with Christians. Seeking perhaps to minimize conflict with the authorities, Bomberg (or Praetensis) carefully pruned the commentary of its most incendiary remarks, gathering them into a single folio leaf of text that could be added or left out of a copy of the Bible as the buyer wished.²³ Martin Bucer's commentary on the Psalms and Paul Fagius's two printings of Kimhi's Psalms commentary, one in the original Hebrew and the other a partial Latin translation, contain evidence that their copies contained the polemical additions, as did Sebastian Münster's copy.²⁴

Seven years later Bomberg decided to publish a completely new edition of the *Biblia Rabbinica* in 1524–1525, appointing a new editor, Jacob ben Hayyim of Tunis, to complete the task. The new Bible was itself innovative in several important ways. First, Jacob ben Hayyim was more consistent in his editing of the text, employing only accurate Spanish manuscripts and following their conventions for vowel pointing and accentuation.²⁵ He was also an expert on the Masorah, the intricate apparatus that Jewish scribes used to ensure that biblical scrolls were accurately copied. Jacob ben Hayyim convinced Bomberg to buy a considerable number of masoretic manuscripts, allowing Jacob the chance to compile the most complete printed Masorah ever assembled. It included not only the cryptic masoretic notations present in the 1517 Bible, but also the *Masorah magna* above and below the biblical text, and the *Masorah finalis*, an enormous

²² Herbert Migsch, 'Noch einmal: Huldreich Zwinglis hebräische Bibel', *Zwingliana*, vol. 36, 2009, pp. 41–48. Agricola's copy is on display in the Luther Halle in Wittenberg. On Luther's purported copy, see T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 2, part 1: *Polyglots and languages other than English*, Martino, Mansfield Center, CT, 2005, pp. 705, no. 5086.

²³ Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, *The Censor, the Editor, and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Jackie Feldman, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2007, pp. 149, 259 and n. 54.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 259, n. 55. R. Gerald Hobbs, 'Martin Bucer on Psalm 22: a Study in the Application of Rabbinic Exegesis by a Christian Hebraist', in: *Histoire de l'exégèse au XVI^e siècle: Textes du Colloque International tenu à Genève en 1976*, ed. Olivier Fatio and Pierre Fraenkel, Droz, Genève, 1978, pp. 144–163.

²⁵ Penkower, 'Rabbinic Bible', p. 363.

concordance of masoretic lists, detailing variations of all kinds within the Hebrew Bible text, especially in the use/non-use of vowel letters.²⁶ Jordan Penkower has argued that Jacob ben Hayyim believed that his text was superior to Praetensis for two reasons, first because the latter had not in fact produced a genuine and pure Hebrew Bible text, since it was deficient in its marking of unusual letters, the traditional variant readings indicated by qeri/ketiv notations, and in accentuation and punctuation.²⁷ Secondly, Jacob ben Hayyim believed that without the Masorah, the biblical text was incomplete. The masoretic apparatus contained its own teachings, including kabbalistic secrets, hidden within them.²⁸

In addition to Jacob ben Hayyim's new recension of the Hebrew Bible text and masoras, the second edition of the *Biblia Rabbinica* provided a different set of biblical commentaries from the 1517 version.

Rashi's commentary was retained for most books, but Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary replaced David Kimhi's for some of the prophetic books, and Kimhi's Psalms commentary was also left out of the second printing.

Bomberg's new edition of the Rabbinic Bible was well received by both Jewish and Christian readers. Bomberg reprinted this Rabbinic Bible with

Table 2. Biblical Commentaries in the Second Rabbinic Bible (1524–1525)²⁹

| Commentator | Biblical Books |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Rashi = R. Solomon b. Isaac | All books (except Proverbs, Job, Daniel) |
| Abraham ibn Ezra | All books(except Former prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Chronicles) |
| David Kimhi | Former Prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel |
| Levi ben Gerson | Former Prophets, Proverbs, Job |
| Saadia Gaon | Daniel |
| Moses Kimhi | Proverbs, Ezra |

²⁶ See Aron Dotan, 'Masorah', in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, second edition, Macmillan Reference USA, Detroit, 2007, vol. 13, pp. 603–656, here pp. 614–620.

²⁷ Penkower's analysis of the Hebrew text present in both Bibles reveals that the texts probably differ no more than one percent, and that both texts were largely based upon accurate Spanish manuscripts. 'Jacob ben Hayyim', 363.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 362, and idem, 'Jacob ben Hayyim', pp. IV–VII.

²⁹ StCB, pp. 11–12, no. 52, and Cowley, *Concise Catalogue*, p. 77.

a few changes in 1548, and it was again reprinted in 1568.³⁰ By this time the Rabbinic Bible had become a genre in and of itself and it has been reprinted by Jews ever since.³¹ The 1525 Rabbinic Bible was especially popular among Christian Hebraists. Martin Bucer, Johannes Buxtorf, Johannes Drusius, Sebastian Münster, Conrad Pellican, Joseph Scaliger, Peter Martyr Vermigli and Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter all owned copies.³² By the 1570s so did the Geneva Academy, the Palatine Library in Heidelberg, the Strasbourg Academy library, and Jena University Library. Leiden University Library (1595) and the Bodleian Library (1605) would follow their example. Robert Estienne reprinted the Hebrew Bible text of the second Rabbinic Bible in his two widely circulated Hebrew Bible printings of 1539–1544 and 1544–1546.³³

In perhaps the sincerest form of flattery of all, Johannes Buxtorf the elder devoted two years of labor to creating a new, improved, and thoroughly censored edition of the Rabbinic Bible which he had printed in Basel (1618–1619) not only to sell to prospective Jewish customers, but above all to meet the needs of theology students. In his successful appeal to the Basel City Council, he and theology professor Sebastian Beck reported that second hand copies of these Bibles now cost between 30 and 50 Gulden, far beyond the means of most scholars. A new edition was needed to ensure the “spread, proclamation and preservation of the Divine Word” for the benefit of both students and scholars so that they might “teach and explain the Word of God in its original languages.”³⁴

³⁰ This printing was largely destroyed during a campaign against Jewish books in Venice. See Paul F. Grendler, ‘The Destruction of Hebrew Books in Venice, 1568’, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, vol. 45, 1978, pp. 103–130, p. 113.

³¹ B. Barry Levy, ‘Rabbinic Bible, Mikra’ot Gedolot, and Other Great Books’, *Tradition*, vol. 25/4, 1991, pp. 65–81.

³² Max Engammare has recently analyzed Vermigli’s heavily annotated copies of both editions in his ‘Humanism, Hebraism, and Scriptural Hermeneutics’, in: *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli*, ed. Torrance Kirby, Emidio Campi and Frank A. James III, Brill, Leiden, 2009, pp. 161–174.

³³ Basil Hall, ‘Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries’, in: *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3: *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. S.L. Greenslade, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1963), pp. 38–93, here p. 54.

³⁴ Beck and Buxtorf argued that the Bible should be published, “das auch solche Bibel in ihren ursprunglichen Sprachen, zu mehrere fortpflanzung, erkundigung und erhaltung Göttliches worts, zu erbawung der in Gottswort studierenden und diser Sprachen liebhabenden Jugend, auch zu mehrer underrichtung aller deren gelehrten so Gottes wort in seinen Original und ursprunglichen Sprachen...lehren und erklehren...” Sebastian Beck and Johannes Buxtorf, *Bericht über das Biblisch Truck, so man jetzt und zu trucken begehret*, September 5, 1617, Basel Staatsarchiv, Handel und Gewerbe, III 1.

Although Bomberg planned to sell at least some of his original Rabbinic Bibles to Christian customers, Buxtorf's "new and improved" version was intended primarily for Christian customers. This innovative Jewish book had undergone a transformation little short of baptism into a Christian standard work. The Hebrew text of the 1525 Rabbinic Bible, in part thanks to Buxtorf's efforts, became the standard text used by Christians, and it would remain so until the editors of the third edition of the *Biblia Hebraica* replaced it with Codex Leningradensis in 1937.³⁵

These Rabbinic Bibles did not, however, merely adorn the shelves of these and other Hebraists. They were mined consistently for texts and insights that were transmitted through editions and translations of specific Jewish texts, biblical annotations, and of course translations of the Old Testament. It is striking how quickly Christian Hebraists recognized the value of reading Jewish biblical commentaries and how they came to expect that Christian exegetical work on the Hebrew Bible would reflect them at least to some degree. Matthaeus Goldhahn provided a list of common abbreviations used in Jewish Bible commentaries in his *Compendium Hebraeae Grammatices* (Wittenberg, 1523), indicating the early interest of Wittenberg Hebraists in the use of these commentaries.³⁶ In the same year Santes Pagninus published his Hebrew dictionary *Enchiridion expositionis vocabulorum Haruch* in Rome, also including a (slightly different) list of such abbreviations.³⁷

Even armed with a list of Hebrew abbreviations and a good Hebrew dictionary, Christian Hebrew students for the most part could not be expected to go right to the Rabbinic Bible and learn by doing. Several of the most important Christian Hebraists reprinted the commentaries of David Kimhi, Abraham Ibn Ezra and occasionally other commentators on shorter biblical books, often providing them with Latin translations and usually with explanatory notes to help students learn commentary Hebrew. In the second appendix I have listed the student editions that I have been able to find, the earliest by Protestants Sebastian Münster and Paul Fagius, followed later by Paris Catholic scholars François Vatable, Jean Cinquarbes, and Gilbert Générard, and their crypto-Protestant

³⁵ Karl Elliger, Wilhelm Rudolf and Gérard E. Weil, 'Praefationes Anglicae', in: *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, ed. A. Alt, et. al, revised by Karl Elliger et al., Deutsche Bibelstiftung, Stuttgart, 1967–1977, pp. XI–XVIII, here pp. XI–XIII.

³⁶ VD 16 G 2550. (VD 16 = Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts).

³⁷ I examined the Bavarian State Library copy, Sig. 2 A Hebr. 182 Beibd.1.

colleague Jean Mercier.³⁸ Since Hebrew students had similar problems learning targumic Aramaic, I have also included both student editions of various individual books of the Targum. To these we can add Immanuel Tremellius's Latin translation of the Minor Prophets.³⁹ Clearly there was a market for textbooks in commentary Hebrew and Targumic Aramaic among Christian students, books that would have prepared them to use Rabbinic Bibles.⁴⁰

This expectation that scholars would use Jewish Bible commentaries is reflected in a variety of ways outside of exegetical literature. Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis*, Luther's polemical works, and the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* of 1599 all bear witness to the inclusion of these Jewish works in the exegetical toolbox of sixteenth-century Hebraists. Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545–1555) served not only as a bibliographical checklist, but also as a kind of reader's guide to books in particular fields of study. In the third volume, which he devoted to theology, Gesner provides lists of biblical commentaries for each biblical book, and he included Jewish biblical commentaries as well. To give only one striking example, he listed Abraham Perizol (= Farissol) and Moses Nahmanides, Abraham ibn Ezra and Levi ben Gerson, all as commentators on the book of Job. The commentaries of Perizol and Nahmanides were printed in the first Bomberg Rabbinic Bible (1517), the latter two in the second edition (1524–1525).⁴¹ Luther's *Defense of the Translation of the Psalms* (1531) contains a further admission of the value of Jewish commentaries, if a rather grudging one. He wrote, "... we have not acted out of a misunderstanding of the languages or out of ignorance of the rabbinic commentaries, but

³⁸ On Mercier, see Mireille Olmière and Pierre Pelissiero, 'Jean Mercier et sa Famille', in: *Jean (c. 1525–1570) et Josias (c. 1560–1626) Mercier. L'amour de la philologie à la Renaissance et au début de l'âge classique*, ed. François Roudaut, Honoré Champion, Paris, 2006, pp. 17–22, pp. 20–21.

³⁹ Immanuel Tremellius, *Ionathae Filii Uzielis, Antiquissimi & summae apud Hebraeos autoritatis Chaldaea paraphrasis in duodecim minores Prophetas*, Agricola, Heidelberg, 1567, VD 16 ZV 1791.

⁴⁰ William Bedwell's unusual *Prophetia Hhobadyah ex fonte Hebraica et antiquissima Ionathanis paraphrasi Chaldaica: cum commentarijs trium doctissimorum & praecipuae inter Iudaeos autoritatis rabbiorum, Schelomoh Yarchi [Rashi], Aben Hhezra [Ibn Ezra] & David Kimchi*, Richard Field, London, 1601, STC no. 2787.7 contains no Hebrew type at all, but is a Latin translation of the Targum and three Jewish biblical commentaries, presumably to aid beginning Hebrew students in learning to read the Rabbinic Bible.

⁴¹ Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis sive catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus ...*, vol. 2: *Pandectarum Uniuersalium*, part 2: *Partitiones Theologicae*, *Pandectarum*, Froschoverus, Zurich, 1549, fol. 23b, viewed at: <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/199-4-theol-2f-2/start.htm>, 8 June 2010.

knowingly and deliberately.”⁴² Jesuit professors of Sacred Scripture were allowed to quote Jewish commentators, but to do so sparingly and judiciously.

If there is anything in Hebraic rabbinical writings that can be applied to good effect, either in support of the common Latin edition, or in support of Catholic dogmas, he should apply it in such a way that it does not win them authority on that account, so that no one becomes well disposed toward them. This holds especially if they are among those who wrote after the times of Christ the Lord.⁴³

The uneasiness of the framers of the *Ratio Studiorum* toward Jewish biblical commentators was not unique to them, nor were their fears that Christians might become too enamored by their interpretations.

Jewish biblical commentaries often provided considerable grammatical help and exegetical insight into the Hebrew Bible text, but they also necessarily reflected a Jewish milieu and their authors' firm conviction that Judaism was the one true religion. David Kimhi's commentaries provided the most challenging reading for Christians. Kimhi's Psalms commentary, for example, contains these comments on Psalm 2:

And the Nazarenes interpret it of Jesus; and the verse that they adduce by way of proof and make a support of their error is really their stumbling block: it is The Lord said unto me, Thou art my son. For if they should say to you that he was the Son of God, answer that it is not proper to say “Son of God” in the manner of flesh and blood: for a son is of the species of his father. Thus it would not be proper to say, “This horse is the son of Reuben.”⁴⁴

Even Johannes Buxtorf, a vigorous proponent of their use, asserted that they contained interpretations that were “perverse and false.”⁴⁵ When preparing his own edition of the *Biblia Rabbinica*, Buxtorf went through the biblical commentaries with a fine-toothed comb, removing any offensive

⁴² Luther, *Ursachen des Dolmetschens*, WA 38:9, 9–14 = LW 35: 209. WA = *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Hermann Böhlau, Weimar, 1883ff; LW = *Luther's Works*, ed., Jaroslav J. Pelikan, Hilton C. Oswald and Helmut T. Lehman, 55 vols., Concordia Publishing House, Saint Louis, 1955–1986.

⁴³ *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education*, ed. and trans. Claude Pavur, Institute of Jesuit Sources, Saint Louis, 2005, p. 58.

⁴⁴ David Kimhi, *The Longer Commentary of R. David Kimhi on the First Book of the Psalms*, trans. R.G. Finch, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1919, p. 18 (Google Books).

⁴⁵ Stephen G. Burnett: *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century*, Brill, Leiden, 1996, p. 187.

passages or expressions that he could find, while retaining the parts he felt were useful to Christian readers.⁴⁶

One of the best sixteenth-century examples of how Rabbinic Bibles had an impact upon the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament text is Sebastian Münster's *Hebraica Biblia* (1534–1535). In this work Münster provided not only the Hebrew Bible text, taken from the first *Biblia Rabbinica* of 1517, but also his own Latin translation and a digest of annotations taken mainly from the biblical commentaries of the two Rabbinic Bible editions.⁴⁷ Münster, in effect, provided a Latin digest of Jewish commentaries for those whose Hebrew was not adequate for reading them directly, and a literal Latin translation to aid those who were still struggling to learn biblical Hebrew.

In his annotations on Genesis Münster focused upon the meanings of words and phrases, specifically the meanings of individual words and names, but he also discussed some theological points, especially those that emphasized the different interpretations that Jews and Christians offered for the same passage. When clarifying the meaning of particular words, Münster most commonly referred either to David Kimhi's Hebrew dictionary or to the Targum Onkelos, the latter printed in both editions of the Rabbinic Bible. For example, in Genesis 47:22 he translated *choq* as "portion," following *chulqa'* in Targum Onkelos.⁴⁸ In other passages where the dictionaries failed Münster, he quoted or summarized discussions he found in these commentaries. For example, when explaining Hagar's wondering words in Genesis 16:13, "You are the Almighty who sees," Münster quoted the interpretations of Rashi, Kimhi, and Ibn Ezra on how to explain it without preferring one above the other.⁴⁹ For Luther, one of Münster's most assiduous contemporary readers, the latter's apparent indifference to the actual meaning of the text provoked an outburst in his comments on the passage.

The blinded Jews ... have lost all knowledge of the subject matter and confine themselves to grammatical discussions of words. Rabbi Solomon [Rashi]

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 187–190.

⁴⁷ Münster used the second edition as well as other Jewish commentaries such as Abraham Saba's *Zeror ha-Mor* and Moses ben Nahman's Pentateuch Commentary. See Erwin I.J. Rosenthal, 'Sebastian Münster's Knowledge of and Use of Jewish Exegesis', in: idem, *Studia Semitica*, vol. 1: *Jewish Themes*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 127–145, here pp. 130–133.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 140 and *The Targum Onkelos to Genesis*, trans. and ed. Bernard Grossman, The Aramaic Bible, vol. 6, Michael Glazier, Wilmington, 1988, p. 154.

⁴⁹ Rosenthal, 'Sebastian Münster's Knowledge', 140.

thinks that Hagar's words show amazement at seeing the angel in the wilderness, since she has been accustomed to see angels in Abraham's home. Lyra follows the lead of Rabbi Kimalthi [sic] and translates thus: I saw after my seeing," that is, "At first I did not recognize the angel but when he disappeared before my eyes then I realized for the first time that it was an angel. Thus because they have no knowledge of the subject matter, they confine themselves to the explanation of words, but they never arrive at the true meaning."⁵⁰

Luther frequently complained that Jewish interpreters did not know the meanings of particular words in his Genesis lectures.⁵¹

An excellent example of a theologically charged passage is Genesis 1:26: "Let us make man in our own image and likeness." The commentators Münster quoted did not disagree that the subject of the verb was first person plural, only with the Christian supposition that the three members of the triune Godhead were in conversation with each other. Rashi, for example, wrote:

Let us make man": From here we learn the humility of God. Since man was created in the image of the angels they were jealous of him. He, therefore, consulted them. Similarly, when he judges kings He consults his heavenly court. We find this concerning Achav [Ahab] when Michah [Micaiah] said to him, "I have seen God upon his throne and all the heavenly counsel standing by him on his right and on his left. Let us make man: Though they did not help in his creation, and may give the heretics [minim] an opportunity to rebel, nevertheless, Scripture does not refrain from teaching courtesy and the attribute of humility. That the greater one might consult and ask permission of a smaller one."⁵²

While Christian readers could easily have found much the same information in Nicholas of Lyra's commentary at this point, being confronted with it, sometimes in the original language, made the experience of reading a much more confrontative one for Christian Hebraists, even at one remove from the Rabbinic Bible, filtered through Münster's annotations.

Within the Christian tradition it had long been understood not only that Christians and Jews did not interpret the texts of the Old Testament

⁵⁰ Luther, LW, vol. 3, pp. 70–71.

⁵¹ WA vol. 44, pp. 108, lines 28–29 (Gen. 32:32–33), vol. 44, pp. 197, lines 34ff (Gen 35:16), vol. 44, p. 438, lines 25ff (Gen 41:43), vol. 44, p. 459, line 27 (Gen. 42:2), vol. 44, p. 631, line 25 (Gen 45:25), vol. 44, p. 721, lines 32–33 (Gen 48:22). Luther's source of rabbinic knowledge in all cases was Münster's annotations. See Hans-Ulrich Delius, *Die Quellen von Martin Luthers Genesisvorlesung*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München, 1992, 45–46.

⁵² *The Metsudah Chumash/Rashi*, vol. 1: *Bereishis*, trans. Avrohom Davis, KTAV Publishing Houses, Hoboken, NJ, 1991, vol. 1, pp. 14–15. Cf. Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, fol. 2a.

in similar ways, but that Christians had a duty to explain passages in such a way that Jews could understand their plausibility. Nicholas of Lyra, for example, “strove to demonstrate that it was possible to know Jesus as messiah from a Jewish perspective as well as a Christian one.”⁵³ At times, especially when polemics were written in the form of a dialogue, the presence of a Jewish interlocutor made the general sense of conflict over interpretation more palpable to readers. For Christian readers, the *Biblia Rabbinica*, and especially the Jewish biblical commentaries contained in them, were a rich source of information about the Hebrew Bible, but they also, I believe, were a source of interpretive conflict. Christian Hebraists who used them too enthusiastically could themselves be suspected of divided loyalties.

The question of how much credence Christians should give these commentaries was already a matter of private worry, if not public discussion, by the 1520s. Conrad Pellican was worried rather than encouraged by Bucer’s use of Jewish commentaries in the Psalms commentary.

I ... have read almost all of the first book of Hymns (Ps. 1–41), and am compelled to approve your effort and your judgment, save that I am pained by your labors in searching out and sifting the opinions of the rabbis, which you repeat time and again while they disagree with one another both in grammar and in sense.

He went on to comment that the Jews generally have some wisdom where it concerns the grammatical sense of the Bible, “though not always.”⁵⁴ In 1530, Luther made it clear that not only were he and his colleagues aware that Jewish biblical commentaries existed, but that they had consulted them in their work, but that they did so “deliberately,” and not carelessly.⁵⁵ Münster too declared that he was “careful” in his use of Jewish commentaries, but as we have seen, not careful enough for Luther’s taste. That Hebraists made “careful” use of these commentaries, however defined, is beyond dispute. The impact of these commentaries upon

⁵³ Deena Copeland Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Readings of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 2007, p. 85.

⁵⁴ Pellican to Bucer, 6 August 1529, quoted and translated by R. Gerald Hobbs, idem, ‘Conrad Pellican and the Psalms. The Ambivalent Legacy of a Pioneer Hebraist’, *Reformation and Renaissance Review. Journal of the Society for Reformation Studies* vol. 1, 1999, pp. 72–99, here pp. 97–98.

⁵⁵ Luther, *Ursachen des Dolmetschen*, WA vol. 38, p. 9, lines 9–14 = LW vol. 35, p. 209.

sixteenth and seventeenth century Bible translations and exposition remains a desideratum, though it is commonly thought to be significant.⁵⁶

Christian readers of Jewish commentaries were sometimes inspired by the more polemical passages to strike back by writing polemics of their own. Sebastian Münster's own polemical treatise *Messiahs of the Christians and Jews* (1529, 1539) contains extensive quotations from David Kimhi's biblical commentaries on the prophets, roughly 30% of the quotations by the Jewish participant in the "disputation."⁵⁷ In addition to Luther's waspish remarks about Jewish interpreters, largely inspired by Münster's summaries and reports of them, some of his arguments in *On the Jews and their Lies*, the longest of the three anti-Jewish polemical works that he wrote in 1543–1544, were written to refute Jewish interpretations of Scripture that Luther had read in Münster's annotations and in his *Messiahs of the Christians and Jews*.⁵⁸

Daniel Bomberg's bold printing venture, creating a new kind of printed Jewish Bible that would within its pages contain a rich library for biblical study, found a wide readership not only among Jewish readers but surprisingly among Christian Hebraists as well. Copies of the book were to be found not only in the major libraries such as the Bodleian and the Vatican libraries, but also in the possession of private scholars. Even as early as the 1520s an expectation began to grow among Christian Hebraists that serious biblical scholars should learn not only enough biblical Hebrew to read the Bible in its original language, but should also have some knowledge of the post-biblical Aramaic and even commentary Hebrew as Goldhahn's 1523 Hebrew grammar suggests. By the time an expurgated Christian edition of the *Biblia Rabbinica* was published by Johannes Buxtorf it had clearly become part of the Christian exegetical and polemical arsenal for scholars throughout Europe. While we might still feel the perplexity of Luis de Leon's interrogators that a Jewish book found such wide circulation among Christians, Leon's account of their wide use by Hebraists was also accurate.

⁵⁶ See the pioneering study by Erwin I.J. Rosenthal, 'Rashi and the English Bible', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 24, 1940, pp. 138–167.

⁵⁷ Stephen G. Burnett, 'Dialogue of the Deaf: Hebrew Pedagogy and Anti-Jewish Polemic in Sebastian Münster's *Messiahs of the Christians and the Jews* (1529/39)', *Archive for Reformation History*, vol. 91, 2000, pp. 168–190," here pp. 174–175.

⁵⁸ Idem, 'Reassessing the 'Basel-Wittenberg Conflict: Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discussion of Hebrew Scholarship', in: *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulsen, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2004, pp. 181–190, here pp. 200–201.

Appendix 1. *Christian Hebraists and Libraries that Owned
a Biblia Rabbinica, c. 1520–1620*

*Individual Owners*⁵⁹

| Name | Printing | Source |
|---------------------------------|------------------|---|
| Borrhaus, Martin | 1517 | Basel UB Sig. FG I 23–24 |
| Bucer, Martin | 1517, 1525 | R. Gerald Hobbes, personal communication, 6 March 2001. |
| Buxtorf, Johannes | 1517, 1525 | Burnett, <i>Buxtorf</i> , 273 |
| Casaubon, Isaac | unknown | Bodleian Ms Casaubon 22/12, f. 122r |
| Drusius, Johannes d. 1616 | 1517, 1525 | Leeuwarden Provincial Library Sig. 97 Gdg. 2 vols. [1517]; Sig. 98 Gdg. [1525] |
| Fagius, Paul | Probably 1517 | Leedham-Green, <i>Books in Cambridge Inventories</i> , 1:109. |
| Leon, Luis de | unknown | Baranda, <i>Coleccion</i> , 10: 184, 196–197 |
| Melanchthon, Philip | 1517 | Burnett, “Basel-Wittenberg,” 187. |
| Münster, Sebastian | 1517, 1525 | Burmeister, <i>Münster</i> , 77. Basel UB Sig. FG II 11 [1517] |
| Oecolampadius, Johannes | 1517 | Staehelin, <i>Briefe und Akten</i> , 1:87 |
| Pappus, Johannes d. 1610 | unknown | HAB Ms 42 Aug 20 |
| Pellican, Conrad | 1525, 1548 | Zürcher, <i>Konrad Pellikans Wirkung</i> , 234 |
| Reuchlin, Johann | 1517 | Karlsruhe LB KS 101 [destroyed in World War II] |
| Scaliger, Joseph d. 1609 | 1525 | Heinsius, <i>Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Lugduno-Batavae</i> , (1636), 159 |
| Vermigli, Peter | 1517, 1525 | Ganoczy, #1, 2 |
| Widmanstetter, Johann Albert | 1525 | Striedl, “Bücherei,” 215 |

⁵⁹ The tables in Appendix one list only scholars and institutions that I am sure owned copies of Rabbinic Bibles. When we include Hebraists who probably used these works as a source to publish Jewish commentaries or Targum portions of single books this list

Institutional Owners

| Name | Printing | Year Attested | Source |
|-------------------------------------|------------|---------------|--|
| Edinburgh University Library | Unknown | 1580 | <i>Miscellany of the Maitland Club</i> , v. 1, 292. |
| Geneva Academy Library | 1517, 1525 | 1572 | Ganoczy, #1, 2 |
| Heidelberg Palatine Library | 1525 | 1629 | Stevenson, <i>Inventario</i> , 1: *3-*5 |
| Leiden | 1525 | 1595 | Bertius, <i>Nomenclator</i> , CC1r |
| Oxford Bodleian | unknown | 1605 | James, <i>Catalogus</i> , 22. |
| Salamanca University Library | unknown | 1572 | Baranda, <i>Coleccion</i> , 10: 184, 196–197 |
| Strasbourg Academy Library | 1517, 1525 | c.1572 | Burnett, “Christian Aramaism,” 435 |
| Wittenberg University Library | 1517, 1525 | 1536, 1547 | Jena UB Ms App B (5A)-(9), 1r and Kusukawa #2 |
| Zurich Stiftbibliothek | 1517 | 1551 | Germann #143 |

becomes considerably longer. These scholars include Sanctes Pagninus, François Vatable, Jean Cinquarbres, Jean Mercier, Gilbert Générard, Arnauld Pontac, Oswald Schreckenfuchs, Sebastian Lepusculus, Johannes Isaac, and Johannes Draconites before 1600, and Pierre Vignal, Simeon de Muis, and Jean Bourdelot during the early seventeenth century. Andreas Masius used Jewish Bible commentaries from both the first and second Rabbinic Bibles to prepare his *Joshua imperatoris historia*, Plantin, Antwerp, 1574, fol. Hh6v. Robert Bellarmine used them as well. Piet van Boxel, ‘Robert Bellarmine, Christian Hebraist and Censor’, in: *History of Scholarship: A Selection of Papers from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute*, ed. C.R. Ligota and J.-L. Quantin, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006, pp. 251–275, here pp. 267–275.

Appendix 2. *Printings of Jewish Commentaries and Targums for individual biblical books, 1501–1600*⁶⁰

| Book | Commentary | Targum | Editor | Place | Year | Translation | Source |
|----------------|------------|--------|--------------------------|------------|-------|-------------|---|
| Psalms | | y | Giustiniani, Agostino | Genoa | 1516 | | CNCE Edit16 #5916 ⁶¹ |
| Psalms 1–28 | | y | Pagninus | Rome | 1521 | y | Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism," 242–243. |
| Decalogue | Ibn Ezra | | Münster | Basel | 1527 | y | Prijs 29 |
| Joel Malachi | D Kimhi | | Münster | Basel | 1530 | n | Prijs 31 |
| Amos | D Kimhi | | Münster | Basel | 1531 | n | Prijs 34 |
| Genesis | | y | Fagius | Isny | 1542 | y | VD 16 F 552 |
| Minor Prophets | D Kimhi | | Vatable | Paris | 1539 | n | Schwarzfuchs 88–92, 99–105 ⁶² |
| Isaiah | D Kimhi | | Münster | Basel | 1542? | n | Prijs 64 |
| Psalms | D Kimhi | | Fagius | Isny | 1542 | n | VD 16 B3105 |
| Psalms | D Kimhi | | Fagius | Constance | 1544 | y | VD 16 ZV 1634 |
| Pentateuch | | y | Fagius | Strasbourg | 1546 | y | VD 16 B2978 |

⁶⁰ In addition to these partial printings of the Targum by Christians, the Complutensian Polyglot contained the Targum for the Pentateuch with Latin translation, while the Antwerp Polyglot contained Targums for the entire Hebrew Bible with Latin translation. Elias Hutter's Polyglot Bible contained the Targum without translation for the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges and Ruth.

⁶¹ CNCE Edit 16 = Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del xvi secolo.

⁶² The Minor Prophets could be sold as individual books or be bound together.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------|---------|---------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Lamentations | y | Cinqarbres | Paris | 1549 | y | Schwarzfuchs 196 |
| Obadiah, Jonah | y | Mercier | Paris | 1550 | y | Schwarzfuchs 204 |
| Haggai | y | Mercier | Paris | 1551 | y | Schwarzfuchs 213 |
| Canticles | y | Schreckenfuchs | Basel | 1553 | y | Prijs 90 |
| Ecclesiastes | y | Costau | Lyons | 1554 | y | Schwarzfuchs, <i>Lyon</i> , 87 |
| Hosea | y | Cinqarbres | Paris | 1554 | y | Schwarzfuchs 226 |
| Minor Prophets | y | Cinqarbres | Paris | 1556 | y | Schwarzfuchs 242 |
| Minor Prophets | y | Mercier | Paris | 1557– 1558 | n | Schwarzfuchs 251 |
| Joel | | Vatable | Paris | 1557 | n | Schwarzfuchs 248 |
| Decalogue | | Lepusculus, Sebastian | Basel | 1559 | y | Prijs 105 |
| Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zechariah, Malachi | y | Mercier | Paris | 1559 | y | Schwarzfuchs 259 |
| Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Haggai | y | Mercier | Paris | 1559 | y | Schwarzfuchs 258 |
| Habakkuk | | Vatable | Paris | 1559 | n | Schwarzfuchs 256 |
| Proverbs | y | Mercier | Paris | 1561 | n | Schwarzfuchs 268 |
| Ecclesiastes | y | Mercier | Paris | 1562 | y | Schwarzfuchs 273 |
| Malachi | y | Johannes Isaac | Cologne | 1563 | y | VD 16 B3995 |

(Continued)

Appendix 2. (Cont.)

| Book | Commentary | Targum | Editor | Place | Year | Translation | Source |
|--|--------------------------------|--------|----------------|------------------------|---------------|-------------|--|
| Joel | D Kimhi, Rashi, Ibn Ezra | y | Genebrard | Paris | 1563 | y | Schwarzfuchs 279 |
| Ruth | D Kimhi | | Mercier | Paris | 1563 | n | Schwarzfuchs 277 |
| Genesis, Isaiah, Malachi, Proverbs, Joel, Micah, Zechariah ⁶³ | | y | Draconites | Leipzig/ Wittenberg | 1563– 1565 | y | VD 16 B3008, B3402, B3561, B3857, B3922, B3982 |
| Decalogue | Ibn Ezra | y | Mercier | Paris | 1566 | y | Schwarzfuchs 307 |
| Obadiah Jonah Zephaniah | | y | Pontac | Paris | 1566 | y | Schwarzfuchs 305 |
| Jonah | D Kimhi | | Vatable | Paris | 1567 | n | Schwarzfuchs 314 |
| Decalogue | Ibn Ezra | y | Mercier | Paris | 1568 | y | Schwarzfuchs 322 |
| Ruth | D Kimhi | | Vignal, Pierre | Paris | 1609 | n | Delaveau & Hillard #3618 |

⁶³ These books were printed individually, but intended to be a set.

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|-------|------|---|--|
| Psalms 1 | D Kimhi | Muis, Simeon de | Paris | 1612 | | StCB p. 65/398 |
| Nahum | D Kimhi | Vignal, Pierre | Paris | 1615 | n | London: British Library 1560 1653 (2) |
| Malachi | D Kimhi | | Paris | 1618 | n | Delaveau & Hillard #1991 |
| Psalms 20–21, 45, 62 | D Kimhi | Bourdelot, Jean | Paris | 1619 | y | Sammlung Wagenseil VK 125 |
| Psalms 19 | D Kimhi, Rashi, Ibn Ezra | Muis, Simeon de | Paris | 1620 | y | Basel UB FA VII 3/3 |

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HERMENEUTICS AND EXEGESIS IN THE EARLY EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY

Amy Nelson Burnett

Translation, exegesis, and hermeneutics were closely intertwined in the sixteenth century.* If Scripture was the ultimate source of religious authority, it must not only be available in a language that was widely understood, but its contents must be explained correctly and in a way that accorded with the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith. While all evangelicals agreed that the Bible should be translated into the language of the people, they did not necessarily agree either on the proper exegesis of specific passages or on the hermeneutical principles according to which that exegesis was done.

This disagreement is most obvious with regard to the Scripture verses related to the Eucharist. All participants in the debate over the Lord's Supper could draw on a long exegetical tradition for those passages that concerned the sacrament, extending from the church fathers through the scholastic theologians of the late Middle Ages. Heretical groups such as the Waldensians, the Lollards, and various Hussite factions also cited Scripture to defend their understanding of the sacrament; their ideas circulated in Germany and Switzerland on the eve of the Reformation and were incorporated into the evangelical debate as well.¹

* The following abbreviations have been used: ASD: Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, Elsevier, Amsterdam, 1969-; CS: Kaspar Schwenckfeld, *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig, 1907-1961; CWE: Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1974-; EPK: Amy Nelson Burnett (ed.), *The Eucharistic Pamphlets of Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, Truman State University Press, Kirksville MO, 2011; HZW: Edward J. Furcha and H. Wayne Pipkin (eds.), *Huldrych Zwingli: Writings*, Pickwick Press, Allison Park, Pa., 1984; LB: Jean Le Clerc (ed.), *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia*, Leiden, 1703-1706, repr. Gregg, London, 1962; LCC: Geoffrey W. Bromiley (ed.), *Zwingli and Bullinger: Selected Translations with Introductions and Notes*, Library of Christian Classics 24, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1953; LW: Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, 1955-1986; MPL: J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, Paris, 1844-1864; WA: Martin Luther, *Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Weimar, 1883-1986; Walch: Johann Georg Walch (ed.), *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*, St. Louis, 1881-1910; Z: Ulrich Zwingli, *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, Leipzig/Zurich, 1905-1991.

¹ For the example of the Hussites, see Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2011, pp. 78-83.

Much of this exegetical debate is ignored, however, by the tendency of modern descriptions of the eucharistic controversy to focus on the public exchange between Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli that began in the spring of 1527.² This approach ignores the fact that by the time the two reformers first addressed each other, the controversy was already over two years old.³ Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt's eucharistic pamphlets published in the fall of 1524 began the public debate concerning the presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine of the sacrament. Over the course of 1525–1526, authors on both sides published at least sixty-five works that directly addressed the question of Christ's corporeal presence; other pamphlets took up the issue as a secondary topic. Since many of these tracts were printed more than once, the total number of pamphlets related to the eucharistic controversy published during this period was almost three times as high.

These figures make clear that Luther and Zwingli were not the only individuals involved in the eucharistic controversy. Luther published only seven contributions to the debate before 1527, the most important being his enormously influential *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, published in two parts at the turn of 1524/25 and frequently reprinted over the next year.⁴ During this same period Zwingli published a dozen treatises arguing against Christ's corporeal presence in the elements, none of which was reprinted as often as Luther's pamphlets. Other participants in the debate ranged from the well-known, such as Zwingli's counterpart in Basel, Johann Oecolampadius, who published seven pamphlets, to the obscure, such as the pseudonymous Conrad Ryss zu Ofen, whose true identity is still debated by scholars.⁵ Looking only at the treatises of Luther and

² This is especially true of accounts of the controversy in English. Hermann Sasse, for instance, looks at the earlier writings of the two reformers but covers the debates of 1524–1526 in only a few pages, *This is my Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar*, Augsburg Press, Minneapolis, 1959, pp. 137–142.

³ Luther's first major work aimed against Zwingli and all others who denied Christ's corporeal presence), *Daß diese Wort Christi "Das ist mein Leib" noch fest stehen wider die Schwärmer*, WA 23: 64–320, LW 37: 13–150, was published in time for the Frankfurt book fair in the spring of 1527, as were Zwingli's *Freundlich Verglimpfung über die Predigt Luthers wider die Schwärmer*, Z 5: 771–794, and *Amica Exegesis*, Z 5: 562–758, HZW 2: 238–385.

⁴ The other contributions were the prefaces to two different translations of Johannes Brenz's *Syngramma...super uerbis Coenae Dominicae* (WA 19: 457–461, 529–530), his open letters to Strasbourg (1524; WA 15: 380–397, LW 40: 61–71) and Reutlingen (1526; WA 19: 118–125) warning against the teachings of Karlstadt and Zwingli, and his *Sermon von dem Sacrament...wider die Schwärmer* (WA 19: 478–523; LW 36: 329–361) published in 1526 without Luther's involvement.

⁵ Luther's *Das ander teyl widder die hymlichen propheten vom Sacrament*, which attacked Karlstadt's understanding of the Lord's Supper, was printed ten times in 1525.

Zwingli published in 1527 and after thus causes us to miss the significant development in the debate that occurred in the previous years. To understand the role of exegesis in the eucharistic controversy, we must also examine the contributions of other individuals and consider the influence that this early pamphlet war had on Luther and Zwingli.

Examination of all of the relevant Scripture texts cited in the debate would go far beyond the scope of this paper. It will instead look specifically at the two most important passages: the accounts of the institution of the sacrament contained in the synoptic Gospels and 1 Cor. 11, having at their heart Christ's words, "this is my body," and Christ's discourse on his flesh as the bread of life in John 6, culminating with his statement in v. 63, "the flesh is of no avail."⁶ Before we can look at the competing interpretations of these two passages, however, we must first examine the hermeneutical principles that shaped exegesis on both sides of the debate.

I. *Hermeneutical Principles*

Underlying the debate over the Lord's Supper was a fundamental disagreement about the nature of reality, and specifically the relationship between material and spiritual things. What is external, what is internal, and to what extent, if any, are the two connected? How one answered that question determined whether one could accept the traditional view *that* Christ's body and blood were corporeally present in the elements—leaving aside the more difficult issue of *how* the body and blood were present. It also determined which of the two passages, the institution accounts or John 6, one used to understand the sacrament.⁷

Zwingli's most frequently reprinted eucharistic work was *Eyn klare vnderrichtung vom nachtmal Christi*, printed four times in 1526. None of Oecolampadius' works were printed more than twice, but there were four imprints of Ryss's pamphlet, *Antwort dem Hochgelehrten Doctor Johann Bugenhage...das Sacrament betreffend*, which was strongly influenced by Karlstadt and first published in Augsburg at the end of 1525. Cornelis Hoen's *Epistola Christiana admodum...tractans coenam dominicam* was printed three times in its original Latin and three times in German translation. On these and other eucharistic pamphlets, see Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins*, pp. 116–121.

⁶ Matt. 26:26–28; Mk. 14:22–24; Lk. 22:19–20; 1 Cor. 11:23–26; Jn. 6:51–63. All Scripture quotations are from the RSV.

⁷ The significance of metaphysical presuppositions for shaping the eucharistic theology of Luther and Zwingli is brought out most clearly by Helmut Gollwitzer, "Zur Auslegung von Joh. 6 bei Luther und Zwingli," in Werner Schmauch (ed.), *In Memoriam Ernst Lohmeyer*, Evangelisches Verlagswerk, Stuttgart, 1951, pp. 143–168; Gottfried Hammann, "Zwischen Luther und Zwingli: Martin Bucer's theologische Eigenständigkeit im Lichte seiner Auslegung von Johannes 6 im Abendmahlsstreit," in Martin Rose (ed.), *Johannes-Studien. Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Johannes-Evangelium. Freundesgabe der Theologischen*

The central role of the relationship between external and internal was clear from the very beginning of the eucharistic controversy. In Part II of *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, Luther accused Karlstadt of mistaking the proper relationship between the two. He argued that God gives what is inward only through externals, and the outward means of word and sacraments had to precede the inward experience of the Holy Spirit and faith. Karlstadt, however, had reversed this order by claiming that the Holy Spirit must act first; as a consequence he turned the sacrament into a human work.⁸

Luther's eucharistic theology grew out of his fundamental understanding of God's Word as that by which God revealed himself to his creatures. Through the external means of word and sacrament God conveyed and performed his will, and without these externals one had no sure knowledge of or access to God.⁹ Luther's presupposition about this link between external and internal enabled him to accept a literal understanding of Christ's words, "this is my body." It was not only possible that Christ's body be in the bread; it was necessary on the basis of Christ's own words. In a much-cited passage from his 1524 *Letter to the Christians at Strasbourg in Opposition to the Fanatic Spirit*, Luther stated that, "if Dr. Karlstadt or anyone else could have convinced me five years ago that only bread and wine were in the sacrament he would have done me a great service... But I am a captive and cannot free myself. The text is too powerfully present, and will not allow itself to be torn from its meaning by mere verbiage."¹⁰ This commitment to the literal meaning of the words of institution remained unwavering. At the end of the first day of discussions at Marburg, Luther

Fakultät der Universität Neuchâtel für Jean Zumstein, Theologischer Verlag, Zurich, 1991, pp. 109–135; and Erich Seeberg, 'Der Gegensatz zwischen Zwingli, Schwenckfeld und Luther,' in Wilhelm Koepp (ed.), *Reinhold-Seeberg-Festschrift*, Scholl, Leipzig, 1929, 1: 43–80. Lee Palmer Wandel also recognizes the differing understandings of the relationship of material to spiritual as the core of Luther and Zwingli's differences at Marburg, but she misrepresents Luther's view by focusing on his understanding of adiaphora rather than on word and sacraments, 'The Body of Christ at Marburg, 1529,' in Reindert L. Falkenberg et al. (eds.), *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2007, pp. 195–213.

⁸ WA 18:136–139, LW 40: 146–149. Luther's *Letter to the Christians at Strasbourg* was also primarily a denunciation of Karlstadt's emphasis on externals rather than on the word and faith, WA 15: 386–397, LW 40: 65–71.

⁹ On Luther's understanding of word and sacrament, Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther: Confessor of the Faith*, Christian Theology in Context, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009, pp. 131–151; see also David C. Steinmetz, 'Scripture and the Lord's Supper in Luther's Theology,' in idem, *Luther in Context*, second ed., Baker Academic, Grand Rapids, 2002, pp. 72–84.

¹⁰ WA 15: 394, LW 40: 68.

asserted that his opponents had not moved him from Christ's words: "Because the text of my Lord Jesus Christ stands, 'This is my body,' I can truly not get around them but must confess and believe that the body of Christ is there."¹¹

Although Karlstadt addressed the relation between internal and external in the 1524 pamphlets that had so provoked Luther, his position was stated most clearly in *On the New and Old Testament*, one of the pamphlets he published in response to *Against the Heavenly Prophets*. In a discussion strongly influenced by Erasmus' paraphrase of Heb. 8–10, Karlstadt argued that the external ceremonies of the Old Testament had been replaced by the internal working of the New Testament, whose effects were spiritual. He turned Luther's charges on their head and accused the Wittenberger of inverting the proper relationship between external and internal. Christ's blood of the new testament was intended to sprinkle and purify consciences, but Luther made it into a bodily drink, a blood of the old testament that was no better than the blood of animals with which Moses had sprinkled the bodies of the Israelites.¹²

Karlstadt used Jn. 6:63 to argue that Christ rebuked those who wanted to eat and drink his body and blood corporeally, when they were meant as a spiritual food and drink.¹³ This verse was not as central to his understanding of the sacrament, however, as it was to the Swiss reformers. Against those who argued that Christ's body must be really, corporeally, or essentially in the sacrament, Zwingli stated flatly that the flesh was of no avail. There was no connection whatsoever between the spiritual eating that was faith and the sacramental eating of the elements. If fleshly eating was of no avail, then Christ's words instituting the Supper could not be understood literally.¹⁴ Oecolampadius also began with the fundamental

¹¹ Walther Köhler, *Das Marburger Religionsgespräch 1529: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*, Heinsius, Leipzig, 1929, pp. 9, 31.

¹² *Von dem Newen vnd Alten Testament*, Augsburg, 1525, fol. A4r-B3r, EPK, pp. 241–245; cf. CWE 44: 233–243.

¹³ *Erklärung des x. Capitels Cor. I*, Augsburg, 1525, fol. A3r-v, EPK, pp. 221–222; Ralf Ponader, "Caro nihil prodest. Joan. vi. Das fleisch ist nicht nutz/ sonder der geist." Karlstadts Abendmahlsverständnis in der Auseinandersetzung mit Martin Luther," in Sigrid Looss and Markus Matthias (eds.), *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1486–1541): Ein Theologe der frühen Reformation*, Drei Kastanien Verlag, Lutherstadt Wittenberg, 1998, pp. 223–245.

¹⁴ *Ad Matthaeum Alberum de coena dominica epistola*, Z 3: 335–346, HZW 2:132–139; *Commentarius*, Z 3: 773–799, Ulrich Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, Labyrinth Press, Durham NC, 1981, pp. 200–228; W. Peter Stephens, "Zwingli on John 6:63: 'Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro nihil prodest,'" in Richard A. Muller and John L. Thompson (eds.), *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1996, pp. 156–185.

presupposition of the disjunction between spiritual and material, but he expressed it in terms of signs: one should not confuse the sign with the thing signified. This led him to the same conclusion as Zwingli: Christ's words of institution must be understood as containing a trope.¹⁵

Two competing Bible verses thus stood at the center of the eucharistic controversy from the very beginning, reflecting the underlying metaphysical and theological presuppositions of both sides. Those who interpreted "this is my body" literally understood the statement as reflecting a fundamental reality that allowed for a linking of external and internal, and they saw all other Scripture texts as subordinate to this one. Those who rejected the connection between external and internal chose instead "the flesh is of no avail" as the central text, and all other Scripture passages, including the statement, "this is my body," were to be understood in accordance with it.

It is important to realize that this disagreement was clear from the very beginning of the controversy. As we shall see, both sides developed exegetical arguments to justify their position and refute that of their opponents, but these arguments reflected a fundamental, pre-existing understanding of the relationship between external and internal; they did not lead to its formulation.¹⁶ With this in mind, we can now look at how each party developed its exegesis of the two passages over the course of 1525–1526.

II. *The Institution Accounts*

Karlstadt was the first to propose an alternative understanding of the words instituting the Supper. He argued that Christ's statement, "this is my body given for you," had to be taken as a whole, and he held that the demonstrative pronoun, "this," referred to Christ's body, not to the bread. To justify this interpretation, he pointed to the difference in gender between the Greek *touto* or "this", which was neuter, and *artos*, or "bread," which was masculine. In his *Dialogue* on the Lord's Supper, he had one

¹⁵ Oecolampadius, *De Genuina Verborum domini...expositione liber*, Strasbourg, 1525, fol. B8r-C4r. For a comparison of Karlstadt with Zwingli and Oecolampadius, see Burnett, *Origins*, pp. 92–101.

¹⁶ One should therefore not attribute too much to a difference in the importance of the original Greek in determining an individual's understanding of the relevant texts. As discussed below, exegesis of the text in its original language was a technique used to defend a position already arrived at, not one that led to the adoption of that position, *pace* Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 71–72.

participant remark that Christ pointed at himself when he said, "this is my body."¹⁷ Luther mocked Karlstadt's exegesis, especially his understanding of *touto*, and virtually all other participants in the controversy distanced themselves from it as well.¹⁸ Zwingli proposed instead a figurative understanding that he in turn adopted from the Dutch humanist Cornelis Hoen: Christ's words meant, "this signifies my body."¹⁹ Oecolampadius, for his part, adopted a phrase found in Tertullian to argue that the words should be understood as "this bread is a figure of my body."²⁰ At the end of 1525 Kaspar Schwenckfeld visited Wittenberg and offered yet another interpretation of Christ's words proposed by Valentin Crautwald: "my body, which is given for you, is this [sc. bread]." This exegesis of Christ's words made it unnecessary to interpret "is" as "signifies," an equation that Crautwald found unacceptable.²¹ At about the same time, Conrad Ryss zu Ofen published a pamphlet in which he suggested what was in essence a variant of Karlstadt's exegesis: "Take and eat. That which is given for you, this is my body; do this in remembrance of me."²² Last but not least, in a pamphlet published in mid-1526, Balthasar Hubmaier proposed that Christ's words, "do in remembrance of me," meant that the bread offered, broken, and eaten was Christ's body in remembrance.²³

These alternative interpretations of Christ's words of institution proved to be a weakness for the sacramentarians as a whole, for the Lutherans

¹⁷ Karlstadt discussed his interpretation of the words of institution most fully in *Ob man mit heyliger schrift erweysen müge/ das Christus mit leyb/ bluot vnd sele im Sacrament sey*, Basel, 1524, fol. Fir-v, EPK, pp. 137–138, and *Auszlegung dieser wort Christi*, Basel, 1524, fol. a3r–a4r, EPK, pp. 146–147; his remark about Christ's gesture in *Dialogus oder ein gesprechbüchlin von dem gewentlichen vnnnd abgöttischen mißbrauch des hochwirdigsten Sacraments Jesu Christi*, Basel, 1524, fol. b4r, EPK, p. 175; cf. Burnett, *Origins*, pp. 60–67.

¹⁸ *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, WA 18: 144–159; LW 40: 154–170; as representative of how each side viewed Karlstadt's position, Theobald Billican, *De Verbis Coenae Dominicae et opinionum uarietate*, Augsburg, 1526, fol. A5r–A6r; German translation in Walch 17: 1552–1553; Oecolampadius, *Billiche antwort...auf D. Martin Luthers Bericht des sacrament halb*, Walch 20: 594. Both pamphlets are described in Walther Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther: Ihre Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religiösen Beziehungen*, Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1924–1953, 1: 251–252, 295–298.

¹⁹ *Ad Matthaewum Alberum*, Z 3: 343–346, HZW 2: 137–139; *Commentarius*, Z 3: 793–799, *Commentary*, 221–228.

²⁰ Oecolampadius, *De Genuina Verborum...expositione*, fol. B8r.

²¹ *Handlung vnd Gespräch mit den Gelehrten zu Wittenberg*, CS 2: 244–245; cf. Crautwald's description for Schwenckfeld of his revelation concerning the proper understanding of "this is my body," CS 2: 204–206.

²² *Antwort...das Sacrament betreffend*, fol. A2r; Köhler mistakenly saw Schwenckfeld's influence in Ryss's pamphlet because he was unfamiliar with Karlstadt's pamphlets, *Zwingli und Luther*, 1: 275–277.

²³ Balthasar Hubmaier, *Schriften*, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh, 1962, pp. 293–294.

never tired of pointing out that their opponents could not agree on the proper understanding of “this is my body.” The author of the *Syngamma Suevicum*, Johannes Brenz, was the first to describe Karlstadt, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius as founders of three different sects because of their divergent exegesis.²⁴ Theodore Billican gave a more considered refutation of the positions of Karlstadt, Ryss, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius in *On the Words of the Lord's Supper and the Variety of Opinions*, published at about the same time as the *Syngamma* in January 1526.²⁵ In his preface to a German translation of the *Syngamma* published in June 1526, Luther suggested there were at least seven competing interpretations, and he compared his opponents to the beast of Rev. 13, with one body and many heads.²⁶

These charges would be picked up and repeated by other pamphleteers, helping to ensure their broad diffusion. The pastor Andreas Flamm, for instance, echoed Luther in mocking Karlstadt's use of *touto*, ridiculed the argument that “is” should be understood “significatively, transitively, conversively or materially,” and rejected those who inverted the text of Scripture so that it said, “what is given for you, that is my body,” thereby “casting lots with it as the Jews did with Christ's robe.”²⁷ The anonymous author of the 1526 pamphlet *On the Lord's Supper, the Papists' Mass and some New Errors* described “three or four parties” who forced the text of Scripture to agree with their views of the Lord's Supper. Although he described Zwingli's and Oecolampadius' exegesis accurately, he described the third group as claiming that Christ pointed to himself in the Supper and said, “this is my body,” which suggests he had only second-hand knowledge of Karlstadt's view.²⁸

²⁴ Brenz to Dietrich von Gemmingen, 10 Oct. 1525, Johannes Brenz, *Werke. Eine Studienausgabe*, Mohr, Tübingen, 1970–, 2: 371–372; *Syngamma Suevicum*, 1: 235–236.

²⁵ Billican, *De Verbis Coenae Dominicae*, fol. A3r–4v, Walch 17: 1550–1552.

²⁶ Luther's first five interpretations were those of Karlstadt, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, the Silesians, and Ryss; the sixth he identified with Petrus Aloetus (or Florus) of Cologne, who is otherwise unknown, and he said that the seventh was still emerging; WA 19: 458–459; cf. his letter to Reutlingen from early Jan. 1526, WA 19: 121, and *Sacrament...Against the Fanatics*, WA 19: 484, LW 36: 337.

²⁷ Andreas Flamm, *Wider die so da sagen/ Christus fleisch vnd blut sey nit im Sacrament*, Nuremberg, 1526, fol. A3r: “Die ander roth greiff dz wörtle oder verbum substantivum est/ an. Dem lauts significativ/ disem transitive/ dem converseive/ jhenem materialiter. Die dritt roth kert das hinder gar herfür/ vnd sagen die wort des nachtmals lauten also/ Das für euch geben wirt/ das ist mein leyb. Sortizieren eben darumb/ wie die Juden vmb Christus rock.” Flamm earlier praised Luther's *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, the *Syngamma* and Billican's pamphlet, fol. A2v. Flamm's pamphlet is summarized in Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther*, 1: 243–244.

²⁸ *Von des Herren Nachtmal/ der papisten Messen vnnd etlichenn Newen yrrthumen*, Augsburg, 1526, fol. B7v–B8v.

For their part, those who opposed Christ's corporeal presence argued that there was no substantial difference between these various understandings of Christ's words. At the same time that he suggested his alternative exegesis, Oecolampadius emphasized that his view did not contradict Zwingli's "this signifies my body."²⁹ Zwingli asserted that Scripture itself often made the same point by speaking in different ways and using varied terminology; he told Billican that if Karlstadt and Schwenckfeld erred in their exposition of "this is my body," their error was one of the letter rather than of the spirit.³⁰ The two Swiss reformers also took pains to ensure that their published works demonstrated their unanimity. Oecolampadius told Zwingli that he wanted his response to Billican and the Syngrammists printed in Zurich, so that Zwingli could read and modify the contents, if necessary, and he authorized the Zurichers to change whatever they deemed necessary in his response to Willibald Pirckheimer.³¹ As the sheets of Oecolampadius' reply to Luther's *That These Words of Christ...Stand Firm Against the Fanatics* came off the press in late May of 1527, the Basel reformer sent them to Zwingli, who was at that time writing his own response to Luther.³²

Another strategy to counter the charges of disunity was to point out that those who defended Christ's bodily presence did not agree among themselves. Thus Balthasar Hubmaier listed several of the arguments made by scholastic theologians about what occurred when the elements were consecrated, while Oecolampadius claimed that his opponents could not agree about the way Christ's body was present in the sacrament.³³ In the expanded 1526 edition of his *Sermons on the Lord's Supper*, the Augsburg preacher Michael Keller pointed to the disagreement about whether one ate Christ's body as it hung on the cross, as it sat with the disciples, or as it passed through locked doors after the resurrection.³⁴

Those who opposed Christ's corporeal presence also turned the tables on their opponents by accusing them of not understanding the words of institution literally, as they claimed to do. Already in 1521 Karlstadt had

²⁹ Oecolampadius, *De Gemina...expositione*, fol. B8r; see also his *Ad Pyrkaimerum de re eucharistia responsio*, Zurich, 1526, fol. f2v-f3r.

³⁰ Zwingli: *Klare Unterrichtung*, Z 4: 858–859, LCC 24: 235–236; *Ad Theobaldi Billicani... responsio*, Z 4: 902; *Das Diese Worte*, Z 5: 825–827.

³¹ 9 Feb. 1526, Z 8: 521–522; 20 June 1526, Z 8: 629–630.

³² Oecolampadius to Zwingli, 22 and 31 May 1527, Z 9:152–155.

³³ Hubmaier, *Schriften*, pp. 290–291; Oecolampadius, *Billiche Antwort*, Walch 20: 591.

³⁴ Michael Keller, *Ettlich Sermones von dem Nachtmal Christi*, Augsburg, 1526, fol. G3r. On the differences between the 1525 and 1526 editions of the pamphlet, Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther*, 1: 263–266.

argued that the papists did not take Christ's words seriously but instead interpreted them as "in or under the form of bread is my body." In 1524 he criticized all who added an "in" or "under" to Christ's straightforward words, "this is my body," and he asserted that neither "the old nor the new papists" had Scripture to support their belief that Christ's body and blood were corporeally present.³⁵ Over the course of 1526, others took up this argument. In his first published contribution to the debate, Martin Bucer claimed that his opponents imagined that Christ said, "this is my body, present in bread," or "by thinking about bread, the bread will be my body, although it was bread before then."³⁶ Hubmaier also asserted that the traditional exegesis distorted Christ's words, since Christ did not say, "under the form of bread is my body."³⁷ The author of *A Faithful Admonition to all Christians* imitated Karlstadt's polemical tone when he challenged his opponents to cite Scripture that proved Christ's flesh and blood was in the sacrament.³⁸ This argument was effective enough that in his *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*, Luther proposed that in fact the sacramental union between bread and body, and cup and blood, might be understood as a synecdoche, referring to a part for the whole.³⁹

Karlstadt also developed an idea first suggested by Cornelis Hoen that there was no direct command in Scripture authorizing ministers to bring Christ's body into the bread. One could not interpret "do this in remembrance of me" as giving priests this power.⁴⁰ This argument too was taken

³⁵ *Von Beider Gestalt*, Wittenberg, 1521, fol. a4r-b1r, EPK, pp. 53–54; *Auslegung*, fol. aiv–a2v, EPK, pp. 144–145; *Dialogus*, fol. fiv, EPK, pp. 193–194.

³⁶ Martin Bucer, *Apologia... qva fidei suae atque doctrinae, circa Christi Caenam... rationem simpliciter reddit*, Strasbourg, 1526, 20r. The *Apologia* was published in May 1526.

³⁷ Hubmaier, *Schriften*, p. 295; Hubmaier's pamphlet, *Ein einfältiger Unterricht*, was probably published in the late summer or fall of 1526, *Schriften*, pp. 165, 270–271. Similar arguments in Conrad Sam, *Ein trostbüchlin für die kleinnütigen*, Ulm, 1526, fol. A4v-B1r; and [Eitelhans Langenmantel], *Ein kurtzer begryff Von den Allten vnnnd Newen Papisten* (Augsburg, 1526), in Adolph Laube et al. (eds.), *Flugschriften vom Bauernkrieg zum Täuferreich (1526–1535)*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1992, p. 134.

³⁸ *Ein trewe Ermanung an all Christen*, Augsburg, 1526, fol. A2r. The pamphlet is generally attributed to Eitelhans Langenmantel. It has until now escaped notice that the pamphlet is identical with the anonymous *Ain schöner vnd wolgeteüschter grüntlicher bericht*, Augsburg, 1526, attributed to Conrad Sam, and Köhler summarized them as two separate pamphlets, *Zwingli und Luther*, 1: 268–269, 423–426. The tone of the *Ermanung* is closer to Langenmantel's *Begryff* than it is to Sam's *Trostbüchlin*, and so I am inclined to attribute it to the former. *Ein schöner gründlicher Bericht* is edited in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 116–130.

³⁹ *Bekentnis*, WA 26: 443–445, 472; LW 37: 301–303, 330. Luther had first suggested that if one did not want to accept "this is my body" literally, the words could be understood as synecdoche in *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, WA 18: 186–187; LW 40: 197–198.

⁴⁰ Hoen's treatise, which circulated in manuscript before being published in the summer of 1525, in Bart Jan Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen (Honijs) and His Epistle on the*

up by others. In his *Clear Instruction on Christ's Supper* published in February 1526, Zwingli followed Hoen's reasoning when he asserted that it could not be proven that when a priest said, "this is my body," Christ's body was indeed there.⁴¹ His colleague Leo Jud asserted that when Christ said, "do this in remembrance of me," he commanded them not to make flesh from bread or blood from wine, but instead to remember his death as often as they ate bread and drank wine.⁴² Both Conrad Ryss and Oecolampadius repeated Karlstadt's rhetorical question: if priests could not heal lepers, although Christ had expressly given them the authority to do so, how could they make the bread into Christ's body, when they had no explicit command from Christ?⁴³ In fact, as Bucer argued, Christ never promised that as often as one recited, "this is my body," his body would be really and physically present in the bread.⁴⁴

Several sacramentarian writers made use of Erasmus's discussion of the Greek text of the institution accounts to oppose Christ's corporeal presence. Cornelis Hoen cited the distinction Erasmus made between Christ's consecration of the bread and his subsequent statement, "this is my body," in his annotation on 1 Cor. 11:24 in order to question the power of the so-called words of consecration.⁴⁵ Karlstadt was the first to use Erasmus's observation that in Mark's account, Christ did not speak the words concerning the cup until after the disciples had drunk from it; Karlstadt concluded that the disciples must therefore have drunk wine, unless one wanted to maintain that Christ consecrated the wine in the disciples' bellies.⁴⁶ He also pointed out that the words *eucharistas*, "to give thanks," and *eulogisas*, "to bless," were used elsewhere in Scripture without implying

Eucharist (1525), Brill, Leiden, 2006, pp. 230–231; Heiko A. Oberman (ed.), *Forerunners of the Reformation: The Shape of Late Medieval Thought Illustrated by Key Documents*, Fortress, Philadelphia, 1981, pp. 270–273; Karlstadt, *Erweysen*, fol. B1v-B3v, EPK, pp. 120–123; *Dialogus*, fol. e2v-e3r, EPK, pp. 190–191. Karlstadt may have seen Hoen's letter in 1521; see Burnett, *Origins*, pp. 16–20.

⁴¹ Z 4: 796, LCC 24: 189.

⁴² Ludwig Leopoldus (Leo Jud), *Des Hochgelerten Erasmi von Rotterdam/ vnd Doctor Luthers Maynung vom Nachtmal*, Zurich, 1526, fol. B1r.

⁴³ Ryss, *Antwort...das Sacrament betreffend*, fol. C4r-v; Oecolampadius, *Ad Billibaldum Pyrkaimerum...responsio*, fol. d8r-e1v; cf. Karlstadt, *Erweysen*, fol. B2v.

⁴⁴ Bucer, *Apologia*, fol. 22v, 25r; see also Valentin Crautwald, *De Caena Dominica*, CS 2: 430.

⁴⁵ Spruyt, *Hoen*, p. 230; Oberman, *Forerunners*, pp. 272–273; Hoen omitted Erasmus's observation that Thomas Aquinas rejected the claim that Christ consecrated the bread before he told his disciples, "this is my body," ASD VI/8: 230.

⁴⁶ Karlstadt, *Erweysen*, fol. C3r-v, EPK, pp. 126–127; cf. Erasmus' annotations on Mark 14:24, ASD VI/5: 424, and 1 Cor. 11:24, ASD VI/8: 232. The same point was also made in *Ein schöner bericht*, Laube, *Flugschriften*, pp. 118–119.

that there was a transformation of the food so blessed. He concluded from this that neither term could be understood as bringing Christ's body and blood into the elements.⁴⁷ When Leo Jud, writing under the pseudonym Ludwig Leopoldus, cited both the annotations on Mark and the paraphrase of 1 Cor. 10–11 to prove that Erasmus rejected Christ's bodily presence, the Dutch humanist responded defensively, stating that there was nothing in either of these works that could be understood as denying the presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements.⁴⁸ The controversy caused Erasmus to add remarks to the 1527 edition of his Greek New Testament defending his observation that Christ might have used other words to consecrate the bread. In his annotations on Acts 2:42 and 1 Cor. 10:16 he reasserted the position he had stated at greater length in his response to Jud, that Christ did not always consecrate as his body and blood the bread and wine which he gave to his followers.⁴⁹

A final approach to the traditional emphasis on the institution accounts was to tackle them head-on. Billican had stated that he stood on the words of institution and would not be moved by the exegesis of Jn. 6 or by any other arguments. In his response to Billican, therefore, Oecolampadius went through all four institution accounts before taking up Jn. 6.⁵⁰ Demonstrating his own dictum that the words of institution must be understood within the context of the whole passage, Oecolampadius stressed the parallel between the Passover meal and Christ's Last Supper with his disciples. As the Passover lamb was a memorial of the first Passover and exodus from Egypt, so the bread was a memorial of Christ's death on the cross, and neither contained substantially that which they signified.⁵¹ Zwingli and Oecolampadius had both discussed the parallel between the Passover meal and the Last Supper in their eucharistic

⁴⁷ Karlstadt, *Erweysen*, fol. Eiv-E3r, EPK, pp. 133–135; cf. Erasmus's mention of the practice of the early church, annotation on 1 Cor. 10:16, ASD VI/8: 216.

⁴⁸ Leopoldus, *Erasmi... vnd Doctor Luthers maynung*, fol. A6r; Erasmus, *Detectio Praestigiarum cuiusdam libelli*, LB 10: 1564–1565; German translation *Entdeckung... der dückischen arglistenn eines Büchlin inn teutsch...*, Basel, 1526, fol. b6v–c6r. On these pamphlets, see John B. Payne, *Erasmus: His Theology of the Sacraments*, John Knox Press, Richmond VA, 1970, pp. 141–143.

⁴⁹ Annotations on 1 Cor. 11:24, ASD VI/8, p. 230; on Acts 2:42, ASD VI/6, p. 206; on 1 Cor. 10:16, ASD VI/8, p. 216; cf. Erasmus, *Entdeckung*, fol. c3v–c4v.

⁵⁰ Billican, *De Verbis Coenae Dominicae*, fol. A2v, C2v–C3v, Walch 17:1549; Oecolampadius, *Apologetica... de dignitate Evcharistiae*, Zurich, 1526; the response to Billican was published separately in German as *Vom Nachtmal. Beweisung auß euangelischen Schriften*, Basel, 1526, Walch, 20: 634–707.

⁵¹ The parallel is explained at greatest length in Oecolampadius' exegesis of Matt. 26:17–29, Walch 20: 652–680; it is repeated in his discussion of the other pericopes.

pamphlets written in the summer of 1525, and this parallel would remain an important part of their understanding of the Lord's Supper. Zwingli would emphasize it in his exegesis of Ex. 12:11–27 in *That These Words... Eternally Retain Their One Old Meaning* of 1527.⁵²

Luther would use the same strategy of examining all four institution accounts in his 1528 *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*. In sharp contrast to Oecolampadius, however, he mentioned the relationship between Passover and the Lord's Supper only in passing and focused instead on the meaning of "this is my body given for you," and the variation between the accounts in the words concerning the cup.⁵³ The two reformers' differing treatment of the institution accounts illustrates the chasm that separated the two parties: on the one side Luther and his supporters focused on Christ's words understood literally, on the other the sacramentarians thought in terms of figures and symbolic actions.

By early 1527, the opponents of Christ's corporeal presence had developed a variety of responses to the Lutheran emphasis on the institution accounts. As we have seen, ideas introduced by one person were fairly quickly adopted by others, which helped to create a sense of unity despite the diverse origins of the group. The same cannot be said with regard to their understanding of Jn. 6. The exegesis of this passage reveals the differences that existed among those who opposed Christ's corporeal presence.

III. *John 6*

The understanding of Jn. 6 also played an important role in the debate over the Lord's Supper. Christ's discourse concerning his flesh as the bread of heaven had long been understood as a discussion of the Eucharist. Verse 51 ("If anyone eats of this bread, he will live forever; and the bread which I shall give for the life of the world is my flesh") was applied directly to the consecrated host. Verse 54 ("he who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life") could be interpreted as requiring physical reception of the sacrament; taken literally, it was used by the Hussites to justify the communion of infants.⁵⁴

⁵² Zwingli, *Subsidium*, Z 4: 484–488, HZW 2: 210–213; Oecolampadius, *De Genuina... expositione*, fol. 11r–13r; Zwingli, *Das diese Wort*, Z 5: 869–878. The abolition of Passover and its replacement with the Eucharist was a traditional element of medieval exegesis; cf. Nicolas of Lyra's gloss of Matt. 26:28; *Postilla super totam Bibliam*, Minerva, Frankfurt, 1971, fol. 11v.

⁵³ WA 26: 448–479, LW 37: 307–338.

⁵⁴ David R. Holeton, 'The Communion of Infants and Hussitism', *Communio Viatorum*, 27 (1984), pp. 207–225.

There was, however, another tradition that allowed these verses to be used to downplay the reception of Christ's physical body in the sacrament. From the twelfth century onward scholastic theologians developed explicitly the distinction between spiritual communion, or the faith that united believers with Christ and the elect, and sacramental communion, or the physical reception of the elements. Ideally spiritual and sacramental communion occurred simultaneously, but they were not necessarily joined, and indeed, the development of popular eucharistic piety from the thirteenth century helped separate the two. Most laymen and women received sacramental communion only once a year, but they were urged in sermons and devotional tracts to commune spiritually every time they attended mass.⁵⁵ As a consequence, spiritual communion was associated with the mass, but it did not require that Christ's body be eaten in the host by the faithful.

As with the institution accounts, it was Karlstadt who initiated the debate concerning the proper exegesis of Jn. 6. In *Whether One Can Prove... That Christ is in the Sacrament*, he listed ten absurdities that would follow if one understood Jn. 6:51 as teaching that the bread was substantially Christ's body. Augustine's statement, "believe and you have eaten," applied not to the external sacrament but instead accorded with Jn. 6:63, where Christ said, "my flesh is of no avail."⁵⁶ In *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, Luther lambasted Karlstadt's faulty logic, which he summarized as, "Christ's flesh is of no avail, and so it is not in the sacrament." He pointed out that "flesh" and "the flesh of Christ" were two different things. In Scripture, "flesh" meant a carnal mind or understanding; thus when Christ said "the flesh is of no avail," he meant that to understand his spiritual words in a carnal manner brought only death.⁵⁷

This argument was quickly taken up and repeated by Luther's followers. In his open letter *Against the New Error Concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord*, published in late summer 1525 and directed particularly against Zwingli, Johannes Bugenhagen expanded on this

⁵⁵ On the early development of the scholastic understanding of spiritual communion, see Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians, ca. 1080–Ca. 1220*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1984, pp. 73–105; on its importance in the later Middle Ages, Amy Nelson Burnett, 'The Social History of Communion and the Reformation of the Eucharist', *Past and Present*, 211 (2011): 77–119.

⁵⁶ *Erweysen*, fol. F2v-F4r, EPK, pp. 139–141; cf. *Dialogus*, fol. c4v, EPK, p. 181; Augustine, *Homilies on John*, Tractate 25.12, MPL 35: 1602.

⁵⁷ WA 18: 192–199, LW 40: 202–203.

position. Christ did not say, “my flesh is of no avail;” if he had, he would have contradicted himself when he stated that “my flesh is for the life of the world” (Jn. 6:51). Instead, Christ condemned the fleshly understanding of his disciples and contrasted all that was of man with all that is from God, as Scripture elsewhere contrasted the terms flesh and spirit. Andreas Flamm, the Nuremberg pastor Andreas Althamer, and the former Franciscan Jakob Strauss would all repeat this understanding of Jn. 6:63 in their pamphlets.⁵⁸

In his response, Zwingli accused Bugenhagen of twisting Christ’s words by denying that Jn. 6:63 pertained to Christ’s own flesh. Both the church fathers and more recent scholars such as Erasmus understood Christ’s statement as Christ’s auditors had, i.e. as referring to his own body.⁵⁹ Christ had earlier said, “my flesh is truly food,” (v. 54) and that flesh was clearly the subject of v. 63. Zwingli made the point even more clearly in his *Clear Instruction*. Quoting and commenting on St. Augustine’s explanation of Jn. 6:61–62 found in canon law, he argued that Christians did not eat Christ’s carnal flesh and blood. Just as when Christ said “the spirit gives life,” he meant that his spirit gave life, so by “the flesh is of no avail,” he referred to his own flesh. That flesh was indeed of much profit as it was put to death, but its physical eating was of no avail.⁶⁰ The debate over “flesh” and “my flesh” would continue unabated in the pamphlets published by both sides over the next few years, including the major works of both Luther and Zwingli from 1527.⁶¹

Just as important as the interpretation of v. 63 was that concerning vv. 51–55. Both Luther and the Swiss broke with the traditional understanding that linked these verses with the sacrament of the altar.⁶² Already

⁵⁸ *Contra Novum errorem de Sacramento Corporis & sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi*, Wittenberg, 1525, fol. A2r-v; Andreas Althamer, *Von dem Hochwürtigen Sacrament*, Nuremberg, 1526, fol. b1r-v; Flamm, *Wider die so da sagen*, fol. A4v-C3r; Jakob Strauss, *Wider den vnmiltten Irrthum Maister Ulrichs Zwinglins*, Augsburg, 1526, fol. B2r-v.

⁵⁹ Leo Jud also cited the *Enchiridion*, in which Erasmus used Jn. 6:63 to argue that Christ rejected the eating of his flesh unless it was done spiritually through faith; Leopoldus, *Erasmii... vnd Doctor Luthers maynung*, fol. A2v; cf. Ray Himelink (trans.), *The Enchiridion of Erasmus*, University of Indiana Press, Bloomington, 1963, pp. 108–109.

⁶⁰ *Ad... Bugenhagii epistolam responsio*, Z 4: 561–565; *Eine klare Unterrichtung* Z 5: 818–825, LCC 24: 201–211. The Augustine citation came from the *Decretum* Bk. III, dist. II (de cons.), c. 45, Emil Friedberg (ed.), *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, Tauchnitz, Leipzig, 1879–1881, 1: 1330.

⁶¹ Flamm, *Wider die so da sagen*, fol. A8v-B1v; Strauss, *Wider den vnmiltten Irrthum*, fol. B2r-v; Sam, *Trostbüchlin*, fol. B1r-v; Luther, *Das Diese Wort...noch fest stehen*, WA 23: 166–172, LW 37: 78–82; Zwingli, *Das Diese Wort...ewiglich den alten Sinn haben werden*, Z 5: 965–966.

⁶² Gollwitzer, ‘Zur Auslegung von Joh. 6,’ pp. 166–167.

in *On the Babylonian Captivity* Luther stated that Christ's words here concerned not the sacrament but the spiritual manducation that was faith. Sacramental eating of the bread could not give life, for there were many who received the sacrament unworthily, and so the passage should not be understood about the sacrament.⁶³ In his *Corpus Christi* sermon published in 1523, he spoke more polemically, contrasting Christ's understanding of Jn. 6:54 with the interpretation of the pope or devil, which applied Christ's words to the sacrament. Luther described spiritual communion as continual, not periodic, and involving the heart, not the mouth. Christ promised that whoever ate his flesh would have life, but one could receive death from eating the sacrament, thus Jn. 6:54 could not apply to the sacramental elements. He concluded that spiritual communion was a necessary prerequisite for the worthy reception of the Eucharist, but it could not be identified with the sacrament itself.⁶⁴

Zwingli's practice of prefacing his discussion of the Lord's Supper with an exegesis or paraphrase of Jn. 6 makes it harder to see that in fact he agreed with Luther in rejecting the traditional understanding of the passage. Eating Christ's flesh was having faith in Christ; like Luther, Karlstadt, and practically every other author discussing the sacrament, he frequently cited Augustine's "believe, and you have eaten." If eating Christ's body sacramentally could save one, there would be two paths to salvation: by faith, and by eating Christ's body corporeally.⁶⁵ Oecolampadius also rejected the claim that Jn. 6 concerned sacramental eating, since it taught nothing about external signs. The only eating of Christ's flesh was faith. He cited Chrysostom to argue that seeing the sacramental bread should cause one to think of the bread of life, which was signified by that bread.⁶⁶

If Luther and the Swiss agreed that Christ was not here talking about the sacrament, they drew different conclusions about the passage's relevance for the eucharistic controversy. Luther simply dissociated Christ's discussion of eating his flesh from the sacrament: the two could only be connected by the fact that worthy reception of the sacrament required faith, the subject of Christ's discourse. Zwingli and Oecolampadius went

⁶³ WA 6: 502; LW 36: 19.

⁶⁴ WA 12: 580–584.

⁶⁵ *Ad Matthaeum Alberum...epistola*, Z 3: 338–340, HZW 2: 133–135.

⁶⁶ Oecolampadius, *De Genvina...Expositione*, fol. E3r, F4v–5v; *Vom nachtmal. Beweysung*, Walch 20: 698–701.

beyond Luther to turn the passage against the traditional understanding of the sacrament. Christ taught here that *only* the spiritual manducation of his flesh was necessary, and so Jn. 6 became an argument against Christ's bodily presence in the elements. This, of course, was a conclusion that Luther could not accept, and at Marburg he argued that spiritual eating did not exclude bodily eating.⁶⁷

Other contributors to the debate were more conservative in their approach to Jn. 6, believing that the passage did contain positive teaching about the sacrament. All of them drew from the older idea that spiritual communion was in some way connected with sacramental communion, although they disagreed about how to define that connection. The Strasbourgers became vigorous proponents of Swiss sacramental theology, but this was one point on which they differed from the Swiss. Bucer applied Christ's discourse in Jn. 6 more directly to the sacrament. "This is my body, given for you" and "the bread which I give is my flesh" both taught a single manner of eating and drinking, that done by faith. John 6 taught that everything done in the Lord's Supper was spiritual; the only thing that distinguished the message of the two passages was the use of the signs in the latter. Bucer could thus state that when communicants accepted the bread and ate by mouth, at the same time they could know that Christ gave his flesh to eat by faith.⁶⁸ This was a much closer connection between spiritual and sacramental eating than the Swiss were willing to allow.

Other authors drew the same parallel between sacramental and spiritual manducation without insisting on Christ's corporeal presence. Michael Keller, for instance, cited with approval Augustine's discussion of spiritual eating as faith, and then asserted that when Christ instituted the Supper on the night he was betrayed, his disciples undoubtedly received Christ's body and blood in the way that Christ had earlier taught, when they ate the bread and drank the wine.⁶⁹ The Silesians

⁶⁷ Köhler, *Marburger Religionsgespräch*, p. 10.

⁶⁸ Bucer, *Apologia*, fol. 17v-18r, 21r-v, 13v-14v. On Bucer's interpretation of Jn. 6, Ian Hazlett, 'Zur Auslegung von Johannes 6 bei Bucer während der Abendmahlskontroverse', in M. de Kroon and F. Krüger (eds.), *Bucer und seine Zeit: Forschungsbeiträge und Bibliographie*, Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1976, pp. 74-87; Hammann, 'Zwischen Luther und Zwingli'; Irena Backus, 'Polemic, Exegetical Tradition and Ontology. Bucer's Interpretation of John 6:52,53 and 64 Before and After the Wittenberg Concord', in David C. Steinmetz (ed.), *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC: 1990, pp. 167-180.

⁶⁹ *Ettlich Sermones*, Augsburg, 1526, fol. G2v.

were even more explicit in associating Jn. 6:54–55 with the Supper. Crautwald based his exegesis of Christ's words on his identification of the flesh and blood discussed in Jn. 6:55 ("for my flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed") with Christ's statement, "this is my body."⁷⁰

Although they disagreed with the Swiss regarding the understanding of Jn. 6, the Silesians shared the same metaphysical presuppositions concerning the separation of internal and external. During his meetings with the Wittenbergers in December 1525, Schwenckfeld rejected their view that word and sign were bound together. Externals could not confirm or reassure; this was the task of the Spirit alone. Christ was indeed present as Word, but the Silesians distinguished between the dead letter of Scripture and Christ as God's living Word. That Word, God incarnate, could not be bound to any external thing.⁷¹

This spiritualist dualism provided the link between the sacramental and the spiritual manducation of Christ's flesh: the two were related as image and truth, representation and reality. In the Supper Christ repeated and confirmed what he had earlier taught about his body in John 6. The elements of the sacrament did not themselves convey any spiritual benefit, but they represented the spiritual food that was Christ. The Silesians asserted that in the Supper Christ was present as host, feeding his disciples with his body and blood; they in turn received that body and blood with their believing minds.⁷² Their view was thus similar to that of the Strasbourgers, but it differed in its much greater emphasis on the gulf that separated spiritual and corporeal things. Because the link between spiritual and sacramental eating of Christ's body and blood was only representational, it was possible for the Silesians to do without the latter altogether, as made clear by their suspension of celebration of the Lord's Supper in the spring of 1526.⁷³

⁷⁰ CS 2: 204–206, 244–245. On the development of Silesian eucharistic theology, see R. Emmet McLaughlin, 'The Genesis of Schwenckfeld's Eucharistic Doctrine,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 74 (1983), pp. 94–121; R. Emmet McLaughlin, *Caspar Schwenckfeld, Reluctant Radical: His Life to 1540*, Yale Historical Publications Miscellany 134, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1986, pp. 62–76; Horst Weigelt, *Spiritualistische Tradition im Protestantismus: Die Geschichte des Schwenckfeldertums in Schlesien*, de Gruyter, Berlin, 1973, pp. 47–72; Burnett, *Origins*, pp. 129–134.

⁷¹ CS 2: 254–257; cf. Crautwald's open letter to Schwenckfeld, CS 2: 316–317, and his letter to Adam Adamus, CS 2: 432–433; McLaughlin, *Schwenckfeld*, pp. 79–81.

⁷² CS 2: 303–306; 2: 430; Weigelt, *spiritualistische Tradition*, p. 70.

⁷³ McLaughlin, *Schwenckfeld*, pp. 74–76; Weigelt, *spiritualistische Tradition*, pp. 74–76.

IV. *Exegesis and the Eucharistic Controversy*

This survey of eucharistic pamphlets reveals the range of issues raised by the contrasting exegesis of two central Scripture texts in the earliest stage of the eucharistic controversy. Influence can be a difficult thing to trace, but in the case of the eucharistic controversy, where arguments previously deemed heretical were expressed in print for the first time, it is possible to discern the emergence of lines of argumentation within each party. These arguments would have an impact on the men regarded as leaders of each side. Luther and Zwingli both developed their eucharistic theology over time as they articulated positions held before the outbreak of the public debate, worked out the ramifications of those positions, and endorsed ideas first expressed by others. Over this two-year period, Zwingli's eucharistic theology grew more sophisticated as he responded to his opponents and adopted arguments advanced by his allies. Luther closely followed the publicistic war waged by others, and in his first treatise written against Zwingli, *That These Words of Christ...Still Stand Firm Against the Fanatics*, he built on and responded to the arguments proposed by others.⁷⁴

One of the striking features of this early debate is the foundational role played by the exchange between Luther and Karlstadt in 1524–1525. Karlstadt was the first to argue publicly against the traditional exegesis of “this is my body” on the basis of his understanding of Jn. 6:63, while Luther's *Against the Heavenly Prophets* set forth what would become the standard Lutheran response to the sacramentarians. In his discussions of the sacrament published over the next few years, Luther repeatedly asserted that none of the arguments in *Against the Heavenly Prophets* had been refuted,⁷⁵ and the treatise was mined by other Lutherans for arguments to include in their own pamphlets. For their part, the Swiss, the Strasbourgers, and the Silesians all publicly denounced Karlstadt and rejected his exegesis of “this is my body,” but their writings show that they

⁷⁴ See the list of works concerning the Lord's Supper that Luther was familiar with when he wrote his 1527 treatise, WA 23: 41–44.

⁷⁵ For instance, in the prefaces he wrote to two different translations of the *Syngramma* into German, *Gegründeter und gewisser Beschluß*, WA 19: 457, and *Genötiger und fremd eingetragener Schrift*, WA 19: 529. The editor of the English translation of Luther's *Sermon von dem Sacrament* refers to Luther's works published before that treatise as “preliminary skirmishes,” LW 36: 331, but Luther's prefaces make clear that the Wittenberger saw *Against the Heavenly Prophets* as a full-scale assault on the sacramentarian position.

adopted many of the arguments he had first expressed in his pamphlets.⁷⁶ Oecolampadius spoke for many others when he told Luther, “[Karlstadt’s] writings seemed too drunken to me, but where he follows the truth, I won’t abandon it on account of him.”⁷⁷

The repetition of Karlstadt’s ideas by others illustrates the importance of the “multiplier effect” in the development of the eucharistic controversy. Ideas expressed in one work were repeated in works by other authors, thus making them known to a broader audience. Luther’s arguments, already widely dispersed by the frequent reprinting of *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, were spread even further by their inclusion in the pamphlets of men like Bugenhagen, Flamm, Althamer, and Strauss. The conscious effort of the Swiss reformers to present a unified front against their opponents also helped create a more uniform message, as did the partnership of Kaspar Schwenckfeld and Valentin Crautwald in Silesia.

Despite these efforts, however, those who rejected Christ’s corporeal presence in the sacrament were in the final analysis a more varied group than their opponents. To call them all “Zwinglians” is inaccurate and misleading, for it implies that the Zurich reformer was the first and the most influential figure to challenge the belief in Christ’s bodily presence. Zwingli was of course an important contributor to the debate both quantitatively and qualitatively, but the discussion of Jn. 6 shows that there were alternative understandings of the passage that would lead to divisions within the broader sacramentarian movement in the 1530s, as the Strasbourgers moved closer to the Lutherans and the Silesians further developed their Christology. To find a common inspiration for the teaching of the sacramentarians, one must go further back to Erasmus, who shaped their understanding of the dichotomy between spiritual and material things and who provided material for their exegesis of the institution accounts. Karlstadt, the Swiss, the Strasbourgers, and the Silesians can all be called “radical Erasmians” in the sense that they took ideas from the Dutch humanist’s works and used them to argue against Christ’s corporeal presence, although Erasmus himself would explicitly reject their position after the outbreak of the eucharistic controversy.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ As I have demonstrated elsewhere, Karlstadt derived many of those ideas from his reading of Erasmus, from Cornelis Hoen, and from popular Hussite ideas; Burnett, *Origins*, pp. 60–64, 84–85.

⁷⁷ *Billiche Antwort*, Walch 20: 624.

⁷⁸ Payne, *Erasmus*, pp. 143–154. Zwingli freely acknowledged his debt to Erasmus with regard to the Lord’s Supper; Melanchthon to Caspar Aquila, 12 Oct. 1529, Heinz Scheible et al. (eds.), *Melanchthons Briefwechsel: Kritische und kommentierte Gesamtausgabe*,

The contrasting exegesis of key Scripture texts expressed in pamphlets published over the course of 1525–1526 helped clarify boundaries and crystallize differences between the two opposing sides. In a less direct way it also revealed the fault lines that would eventually undermine the unity of those who opposed the traditional belief in Christ's bodily presence. More than any other issue, the early debate over the Lord's Supper reveals the disagreements concerning both hermeneutics and exegesis in the early evangelical movement.

Frommann-Holzboog, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1977-, T3: 611–612, no. 830. For an analysis of Erasmus's influence on Hoen, Karlstadt, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius, Gottfried Krodel, 'Die Abendmahlslehre des Erasmus von Rotterdam und seine Stellung am Anfang des Abendmahlsstreites der Reformation,' Ph. Dissertation, Erlangen, 1955, pp. 197–239; on the Silesians, Douglas H. Schantz, *Crautwald and Erasmus: A Study in Humanism and Radical Reform in Sixteenth Century Silesia*, Baden-Baden, Koerner, 1992, pp. 78–83.

*'CHRISTO TESTIMONIUM REDDUNT OMNES SCRIPTURAE': THEODOR
BIBLIANDER'S ORATION ON ISAIAH (1532) AND COMMENTARY
ON NAHUM (1534)*

Bruce Gordon

In January 1532 the Zurich reformation faced oblivion.¹ Huldrych Zwingli was dead, his reform movement disgraced, and the leadership of the church lay in the hands of the young, untested Heinrich Bullinger.² The facts are well known, and historians have long recognized how close Zurich came to returning to the Catholic fold, to a religion for which many retained sympathy.³ The decisive role of Bullinger in appropriating and transforming Zwingli's legacy is firmly established in the scholarly literature. His theological sensitivity and political acumen brought about the restoration of the Reformed church in the city and its rural lands; ecclesiastical and pedagogical institutions were cultivated and the chief preacher ('Antistes') in the Grossmünster became the principal mediator between the church and its temporal overlord.⁴

¹ Research for this chapter was carried out with the support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the United Kingdom. I would like to thank Jonathan Teubner and Jamie Dunn for their invaluable assistance. I am also grateful to my colleague Dr Joel Baden. My thanks to Dr Rona Johnston Gordon and Bradley Abromaitis, who read earlier drafts of this chapter.

² The literature on Bullinger is now extensive. See Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi (eds), *Architect of Reformation. An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger*, Baker Academic, Grand Rapids, 2004; Peter Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe. Eine Studie zu den 'Dekaden'*, Theologischer Verlag Zürich, Zurich, 2004; Pamela Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness. Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich Clergy 1535–1575*, Verlag Peter Lang, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, 1991. The only full biography of Bullinger is Fritz Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) Leben, Werk und Wirkung* 2 vols, Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2004 and 2005. A helpful study of Bullinger's wider influence is Carrie Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531–1558*, Theologischer Verlag Zürich, Zurich, 2006.

³ On the period 1529–1534 during which the Zurich church collapsed and was restored, see Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002, pp. 119–145. Still the essential work on the Second Kappel War is Helmut Meyer, *Der Zweite Kappeler Krieg. Die Krise der Schweizerischen Reformation*, Zurich, 1981. Also, J.W. Baker, 'Church, State and Dissent: The Crisis of the Swiss Reformation', *Church History*, vol. 57 (1988), pp. 135–152.

⁴ The crucial work on Bullinger's relationship with the Zurich council remains Hans Ulrich Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat. Zur Gestaltung und Verwaltung des Zürcher Staatswesens in den Jahren 1531 bis 1575*, Verlag Peter Lang, Bern and Frankfurt am Main, 1982.

Only weeks after his appointment Bullinger was required to hold an oration in the Grossmünster to mark Karlstag (28 January), a ceremony in honour of Charlemagne, founder of the church.⁵ With this speech, elegantly framed by humanist rhetorical forms, Bullinger gave the Zurich reformation its post-Zwingli identity. He interpreted the past and set the vicissitudes and humiliation of recent times in the context of God's providential plan. He threw across his shoulders Zwingli's prophetic mantle and praised his predecessor as a valiant man of God. Bullinger left the assembled civic leaders in no doubt that the fallen reformer had been a true prophet and an example to all. Zwingli had embodied the qualities of the prophetic office – teaching, rebuking and pastoral care.⁶ As Daniel Bolliger has shown, Bullinger's oration honoured two recently deceased figures, explicitly Huldrych Zwingli and implicitly Johannes Oecolampadius. Zwingli was remembered and valorized in the oration in order that his memory might be honoured, that Zurich might claim its reformation history, and to declare that what had been achieved with the reformation was the will of God. Oecolampadius, in contrast, was not mentioned by name but his presence was unmistakable.⁷ In Basel he had occupied a similar ecclesiastical position to Bullinger's new role in Zurich and was, therefore, a model for how the restored church might look.

The most significant way in which Oecolampadius' influence can be detected lies in the striking parallels between Bullinger's oration and the Basel reformer's 1528 pastoral letter to the clergy.⁸ Oecolampadius' epistle was itself modeled on late-medieval episcopal pastoral missives and demonstrates the extent to which the Swiss Reformed churches retained pre-reformation practices. In following Oecolampadius' letter Bullinger sent an unequivocal message that the prophetic office he had inherited could not be uncoupled from episcopal authority. The prophetic and the institutional offices were bound together; this was the new direction of the

⁵ On the address, see Daniel Bolliger, 'Bullinger on Church Authority: The Transformation of the Prophetic Role in Christian Ministry', in Gordon and Campi, *Architect of Reformation*, pp. 163–170. Also, Fritz Büsser, 'De Prophetarum Officio. Eine Gedankrede Bullingers auf Zwingli', in his *Wurzeln der Reformation in Zürich*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, pp. 60–71.

⁶ Bolliger, 'Bullinger on Church Authority', pp. 164–165.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 167–168.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 168. On Oecolampadius, see Akira Demura, 'Church Discipline According to Johannes Oecolampadius in the Setting of His Life and Thought', Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1964; Ernst Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads*, M. Heinsius Nachfolger, Leipzig, 1939; Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2011.

Zurich church after the Kappel War, the resolution of the problems caused by Zwingli's charismatic leadership. Many believed that his preaching and political machinations had led Zurich into the disaster.

The examination of the prophetic office and of prophecy itself had at heart the question of scriptural interpretation. Bullinger's enterprise can only be understood in the context of the singular way that the Bible was studied and expounded in Zurich. Within the communal tradition of the Zurich church, a tight-knit group of humanist scholars devoted to biblical interpretation and the development of educational institutions took shape. Its members worked together closely in establishing the Schola Tigurina (Lectorium), which was founded on the secularization of the Grossmünster chapter.⁹ Closely connected with Basel and Strasbourg, men such as Konrad Pellikan, Leo Jud, Peter Cholinus, and Theodor Bibliander had mastered Hebrew and Greek as well as textual editing and printing.¹⁰ Bibliander and his erstwhile teacher Pellikan, who enjoyed a close personal and professional relationship, together with Bullinger, would most profoundly shape the direction of biblical scholarship in Zurich during the 1530s and 40s.¹¹ Bibliander succeeded Zwingli directly in the *Lectiones publicae* after the reformer's death on 11 October; he continued to lecture and was confirmed in the position by the Zurich council on 3 March 1532. He taught the Old Testament so persuasively that his lectures were attended by the leading churchmen of Zurich. Bullinger was often present and for almost thirty years took notes that survive in the

⁹ Karin Maag, *Seminary or University. The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560–1620*, Scholar, Aldershot, 1995, pp. 129–146. More recently Anja-Silvia Goeing, 'Die Ausbildung reformierter Prediger in Zurich 1531–1575. Vorstellung eines pädagogischen Projekts', in Herman J. Selderhuis and Markus Wriedt (eds), *Bildung und Konfession*, Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, 2006, pp. 293–310.

¹⁰ R. Gerald Hobbs, 'Pluriformity of Early Reformation Scriptural Interpretation', in Magne Sæbø (ed), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1996–2008, vol. 2, pp. 482–484; idem, 'Conrad Pellican and the Psalms: The Ambivalent Legacy of a Pioneer Hebraist', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* vol. 1 (1999), 72–99; On Bibliander, see Christine Christ-von Wedel, 'Theodor Bibliander in seiner Zeit', in her *Theodor Bibliander, 1505–1564. Ein Thurgauer im gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit*, Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zurich, 2005, pp. 19–60; Emil Egli, *Biographien: Bibliander, Ceporin, Johannes Bullinger* (Analecta reformatoria 2), Zürcher & Furrer, Zurich, 1901. On Pellikan, the standard work remains Christoph Zürcher, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich, 1526–1525*, Theologischer Verlag Zürich, Zurich, 1975.

¹¹ Bibliander differed from Zwingli, who was deeply suspicious of the Masoretic text. As we shall see, Bibliander believed the truth of theology and the reform of the church flowed from an understanding of Hebrew. On Zwingli's exegetical methods, Peter Opitz, 'Zwingli's Exegesis of the Old Testament', in Sæbø, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, vol. 2, pp. 419–428.

Zentralbibliothek.¹² Bullinger used these notes in sermon preparation and often loaned them to colleagues.¹³

This chapter explores the biblical work of Theodor Bibliander in the early 1530s after his appointment in Zurich. Our focus falls on two different types of work, the preface to his *Oratio* on Isaiah (1532) and his commentary on Nahum (1534), to consider his treatment of the prophetic office and of how the prophet should interpret scripture.¹⁴ What emerges from these texts is an astonishing theological vision for the Zurich church in which the humanist arts, the work of the Spirit, and theological and exegetical tradition converge.

Bibliander's *Oratio* on Isaiah was held on 11 January 1532, while he was still provisionally holding Zwingli's post as the principal teacher of scripture in the city. Christian Moser quite rightly characterizes the work as an inaugural lecture in which Bibliander displayed to the leading figures of Zurich his brilliant humanist learning and orthodox theological views.¹⁵ What emerged after Kappel in Zurich were two forms of oral exegesis: the sermons of Heinrich Bullinger as chief preacher in the Grossmünster and the lectures of Theodor Bibliander in the Lectorium. The printed and reworked version of the oration appeared a month later (9 February) from the press of Christoph Froschauer just as the reformer was beginning his cycle of lectures on Isaiah. The dedication of the work to Leo Jud and Konrad Pellikan, his 'beloved teachers', reflects the close bond between these men in Zurich, none of whom was a native. Bullinger thought so highly of the work that he incorporated passages from the *Oratio* in his *De vita et interitu Isaiae prophetae* of 1567.¹⁶ The head of the Zurich church

¹² ZB, Ms. Car I 85, 109–122, 124–149, 151. Notes on the lectures survive from the hands of Bullinger, Rudolf Gwalther, Heinrich Buchman, and Christoph Schappeler. See Ernst Staehelin, 'Die biblischen Vorlesungen Theodor Biblianders in einer Abschrift seines Bruders Heinrich Bibliander', *Zwingliana* vol. 7/8 (1942), pp. 522–526.

¹³ Kurt Jacob Rüetschi, 'Bullinger and the Schools', in Gordon and Campi, *Architect of Reformation*, p. 226.

¹⁴ *Oratio Theodori Bibliandri ad enarrationem Esaiæ prophetarum principis dicta Tiguri III idus Ianuarij ... anno M D XXXII. Tigvri : Apvd Christophorvm Froschover* (Zurich, 1532); *Propheta Nahvm hvxta Veritatem Hebraicam, Latine redditus per Theodorum Bibliandrum ; adiecta exegesi, qua uersionis ratio redditur, & authoris diuini sententia explicatur. Tigvri : Apvd Christoph Froscho., Mense Ivl. Anno M. D. XXXIIII* (Zurich, 1534). On Bibliander's publications, see Christian Moser, *Theodor Bibliander* (1505–1564). *Annotierte Bibliographie der gedruckten Werke*, Theologischer Verlag Zürich, Zurich, 2009. Moser has provided what will now be the standard bibliography. The *Oratio* is B-1.1, p. 25; the Nahum commentary is B-3, p. 39.

¹⁵ Moser, *Theodor Bibliander*, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

was by no means alone in his debt to Bibliander. When Pellikan was preparing his massive commentary on the whole Bible (*Commentaria Bibliorum*¹⁷) he came to a passage in Ezekiel which left even him, the renowned Hebraist, floundering. He handed over the exegesis of the passage (Ezekiel 40–48, the temple vision) to his onetime student Bibliander, who happened to be in the midst of his lectures on the prophet. Internal evidence tells us that Bibliander completed the task on 28 June 1533, just in time to allow the third volume of the *Commentaria* to be printed at the end of the year.¹⁸ Bibliander's contribution was fully acknowledged and his exegesis of the temple vision was included in the reprints of the volume in 1540 and 1582.¹⁹

Pellikan's respect for his former student ran deep, and when the older man wrote his memoirs for his son Samuel and his nephew he included a very human portrait of the young Bibliander as the model Christian humanist scholar.

When Heinrich Bullinger was duly elected in November as head [Antistes] of the Zurich church, so Theodor Bibliander took up in December the position as Zwingli's follower in delivering the theological and biblical lectures, though he only reluctantly accepted the invitation of the brethren. He began with 2 Chronicles at the place where Zwingli had left off, which he completed by the end of the year. On 11 January 1532 this young man of perhaps 22 or 23 began lecturing on the prophet Isaiah. Those present were astonished by his diligence in drawing upon the church fathers as well as the Rabbinic sources, which he read and understood better than any Jew in Germany. The extraordinary progress in Holy Scripture of this industrious man was, to his credit, daily more evident. If it were not for a certain hesitation in speaking, in part because of youthful shyness on account of so many listeners, who came because of his deep learning, so would he have had no reason to leave. Even to this day he has not been able to leave behind this modest humility. He has done so much. So he completed diligently his lectures on Isaiah (by my reckoning they amounted to 111 lectures) and finished on 13 July. Thus my sons you must take as an example the zeal of this man: admire and emulate him so that at some time, if it is God's will, you will serve Christ and God's church tirelessly according to your ability.²⁰

¹⁷ *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa breuia quidem ac catholica / eruditissimi simul & pijssimi uiri Chuonradi Pellicani Rubeaquensis ; qui & Vulgatam commentarijs inseruit aeditionem, sed ad Hebraicam lectionem accurate emendatam ... Apvd Christophorum Froschovervm, Anno M. D. XXXII-M. D. XXXV.* (Zurich, 1532–1535).

¹⁸ Moser, *Theodor Bibliander*, p. 2. Bibliander's exposition of Ezekiel is B-2.1–3, pp. 30–38.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan zur vierten Säkularfeier der Universität Tübingen* ed. Bernhard Rüggenbach, Bahnmaier, Basel, 1877, p. 119.

The combination of modesty, piety and learning formed, in Pellikan's estimation, the model Christian scholar, the very theme of his diary.²¹

Bibliander as Teacher and Exegete

Bibliander's position at the Lectorium in Zurich was financed by the secularization of the Grossmünster chapter, and his duties were onerous.²² In Zurich, the Old Testament occupied a central place, and Bibliander's teaching required six hours, six days a week (Monday to Saturday). There was a division of labour between Bibliander and Pellikan; the former took responsibility for the theological content of the Old Testament and focused on Greek sources, while the latter's position was primarily devoted to instruction in the Hebrew language. As Anja-Silvia Goeing has noted, however, we should not imagine that the delineation of roles was fixed, for in 1535 Bibliander published a Hebrew grammar just as Pellikan's highly theological *Commentaria Biblicorum* was being printed.²³ Without doubt, however, the dominant theological voice in interpreting the Old Testament belonged to Bibliander, and the aforementioned notes from the hand of Bullinger provide a fairly exact sense of what the professor taught in three lecture series.²⁴

Bibliander did not regard himself as a theologian, but a grammarian, though, as we shall see, his publications were rich in theological interpretation. Nevertheless, the study of languages, so central to his understanding of religion, remained at the heart of his intellectual and spiritual endeavours, and in 1548 he published his *De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius*.²⁵ His approach to interpreting the

²¹ On Pellikan, see Bruce Gordon, 'Fathers and Sons: Konrad Pellikan and Leo Jud as Models of Learning and Piety', in Luca Baschera, Bruce Gordon, and Christian Moser (eds), *Finding Christian Models: Cultural Formation in Reformation Zurich*, Ashgate, Aldershot, forthcoming.

²² On Bibliander as teacher, see Anja-Silvia Goeing, 'Vernünftig unterrichten. Bibliander als Lehrer', in Christ-von Weibel, *Theodore Bibliander* pp. 61–82.

²³ Ibid, p. 68. On Bibliander's grammar, see Anja-Silvia Goeing, 'Establishing Modes of Learning. Old and New Hebrew Grammars in the 16th Century', in Anthony T. Grafton, Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, and Anja-Silvia Goeing (eds), *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, Droz, Geneva, 2008.

²⁴ Egli, *Biographien*, pp. 30–41, 135–136.

²⁵ Moser, *Theodor Bibliander* pp. 176–177; see also Fritz Büsser, 'Theodor Biblianders Abhandlung über die Gemeinsamkeit der Sprachen 1548: Von der Sprachwissenschaft zur

Bible was shaped by a method of comparative philology by which all the major languages might be subject to the same rules.²⁶ This objective arose from his belief in the unity of languages, though he was fully persuaded that Hebrew was the ultimate source.

The Isaiah and Nahum Prefaces

Pellikan informs us that during the spring of 1532, as Bibliander was formally appointed Zwingli's successor for the *Lectiones publicae*, he was lecturing on Isaiah. The prophet was held in high esteem by the Swiss reformers and the commentaries by Zwingli and Oecolampadius were crucial theological texts of the early reformation.²⁷ The title of Bibliander's *Oratio* displays this reverence: 'An oration to explicate Isaiah the prince among prophets'. The short book of Nahum allowed Bibliander to develop themes introduced in the preface to the *Oratio*: the nature of God, the character of prophecy, revelation, scripture, Christian authority, non Jewish/Christian cultures, etc. In the Nahum commentary Bibliander places his own translation alongside the Vulgate and provides a detailed philological and theological examination. In the Isaiah preface he carves an image of the prophet while in the commentary we find the prophet at work interpreting scripture.

Isaiah (1532)

Bibliander's preface to his oration on Isaiah runs to thirty-two quarto pages and forms a robust defence of both the Zurich polity and of its hermeneutical principles. The key themes include the role of the interpreter (and Bibliander's own position in particular), the nature of scripture, the prophetic office, and prophecy.²⁸ Through the invocation of Horatius Flaccus (Horace 65–68 BC) and the apostle Paul, Bibliander introduces a

Einheit der Religionen', in Alfred Cattani and Hans Jakob Haag (eds), *Zentralbibliothek Zürich: Schätze aus 14 Jahrhunderten*, Zurich, 1991, pp. 62–65, 170–172; Manfred Peters, 'Theodor Bibliander: De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius. Zurich, 1548', in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* vol. 221 (1984), pp. 1–18.

²⁶ Goeing, 'Vernünftig unterrichten', p. 66.

²⁷ Opitz, 'Zwingli's Exegesis of the Old Testament', p. 422.

²⁸ For a helpful overview of Bibliander's wider themes in his inaugural lecture, see Christ-von Wedel, 'Theodor Bibliander in seiner Zeit', pp. 38–42.

subject that receives considerable attention in both the Isaiah and the Nahum texts, the commensurate nature of classical and Christian learning. Special requirements are laid on those who teach in the Church; they must be of the greatest moral standing, possessing 'morum integritas'.²⁹ The prophetic books – Bibliander here echoes the teaching of Zwingli – are 'full of mysteries' to which the human mind both does and does not have access. These mysteries reveal the usefulness of human learning while serving as powerful reminders that divine knowledge is wholly inaccessible.³⁰ In light of this situation how can anyone be a prophet? Bibliander's confidence and consolation in interpreting scripture reside in the essential acknowledgement that no one is without sin.

The pious, and he cites the examples of Moses, Jonah, and Isaiah, know their weaknesses. They recognize that no one is 'perfect, holy, or without vice'. Further, they are aware of the contingent nature of divine knowledge; it flows not from human genius, but from 'the father of lights and his revealing spirit'. No one is fit to minister and dispense the 'secrets' of God without grace.³¹ God, Bibliander reminds the reader, frequently speaks through the foolish, and he prays for the divine grace necessary to interpret in the manner of the holy prophets.

Grace coupled with scholarship enables the prophet to come to the scriptures with understanding. True prophets are aware of their calling. Bibliander sees himself as offering 'a word of wisdom' to edify, speaking as the ancient prophets spoke of Christ.³² He strives to proclaim Christ, the glory of the immortal God, and the commandment to love God and neighbour. His will not be the words of sophistry and human traditions, but of 'heavenly wisdom and philosophy' ('sapientiae et philosophiae coelestis'). In this respect the prophet Isaiah has a particular place of honour as the 'princeps' and leader – Bibliander uses the rare term 'coryphaeus' to indicate the significance of the prophet – of the prophets ('prophetarum principem et coryphaeum').

Prophets do not turn their faces against human learning and traditions of interpretation. Bibliander speaks of the necessity of addressing 'teachers' living and dead, including the Jews and their treatises, which one

²⁹ *Oratio*, fol. A4r.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. A4v.

³¹ *Ibid.*, fol. A6r, 'Video neminem idoneum ministrum et dispensatorem arcanorum gratiaeque Dei nisi quem mera ipsius gratia reddiderit aptum, ut omnia sint ex fronte bonorum Deo, per Deum, propter Deum, in Deum....'

³² *Ibid.*, fol. A7v.

should consult if time permits (*'non pigebit etiam Iudaeorum tractatus cognoscere, quoties per otium dabitur'*).³³ The writings of great men throw light on the divine word, and Bibliander laments that the works of Appollinarius, Didymus, Eusebius, Origen, and Victor have perished as they would have been of such great assistance in understanding Isaiah.³⁴ Nevertheless, these human authors are fallible and Bibliander quotes Augustine on the difference between scripture and its interpreters, arguing that only scripture is without error, for that is God's prerogative alone (*'solis canonicis scripturis hunc honorem deferre'*).

Bibliander's discussion of the individual qualities of the prophet exposes the delicate balance between scriptural interpretation and the church. The charge against Protestantism, an accusation of which Bibliander was fully aware, concerned the breakdown of church authority and the chaos of individual interpretation of the Bible. Bibliander wants to place the prophets firmly within the church. He follows Peter in insisting that scripture is not for private interpretation (*'scripturam non esse privatae interpretationis'*), for prophecy is not given by human will but is spoken by inspiration of the Holy Spirit. We have to be rightly made (*'recte faciamus'*) to possess the firm prophetic word, which is the Word of the Gospel and grace through Christ, precisely what the prophets sought out and prophesied about. His own wish is to rest in the 'bosom of the Church', the communion of past, present, and future saints. The prophet exists in community, the model of the Zurich church, and Bibliander beseeches his readers to pray that he might speak what is correct and useful, and that he might be granted eloquence by God. At all times he must remain 'spiritually worthy'. He repudiates any notion of heresy. A heretic, in contrast to the prophet, is a person who interprets scripture contrary to the Holy Spirit and holds to 'depraved' interpretations with pertinacity. A prophet submits his words and deeds to the judgement of the church.³⁵

Bibliander develops Zwingli's understanding of the Bible, arguing that the prophetic office is central to the unity of scripture.³⁶ The Old Testament has been divided into the law, the prophetic books, and the historical books, but these distinctions are based on an insufficient understanding of the underlying harmony of the Bible. The prophetic books teach

³³ Ibid., fol. A8r.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., fol. B2v.

³⁶ Opitz, 'Zwingli's Exegesis of the Old Testament', pp. 415–418.

nothing not found in the Pentateuch.³⁷ Likewise, the New Testament stands in full agreement with the Old – there is one author and one spirit, all tending to one end and respecting one ‘scopus’. The prophet is not simply one who foretells the future, but is versed in ‘sacred eloquence’; he is one who has a special knowledge of the divine mind. He is an ‘interpreter’ and ‘intermediary’ granted ‘secret inspiration’ to know about the past and the present. Most significantly to the church, he is a learned person who can explain the will of God from the scriptures and instruct human minds. Such interpreters were known to the Greeks, who named them theologians. Prophets can indeed foretell the future and Bibliander draws attention to Ezekiel and Agabus (Acts 11: 27–28). The Samaritan woman calls Jesus a prophet because he opened the secrets of her heart. Bibliander quotes at length the crucial Zurich passage on prophecy, 1 Corinthians 14:3. In interpreting Paul’s words on prophecy he turns to Ambrose and Jerome.³⁸ Embedded in Bibliander’s definition of the prophet, which in many respects echoes Zwingli, is a clear distinction of the prophet from the laity, who owe him obedience. The office has explicit terms and is worthy of great respect. Bibliander envisages a more hierarchical, institutional form of the prophetic office.

Bibliander nurtures a theme that finds a prominent place in both the *Oratio* and Nahum – the breadth of God’s revelation. The wisdom spoken by the prophets is not confined to the Israelites and Christians. Bibliander writes of ‘virtuous sages’ from all times and of a consensus in their ideas from the laws of reason and nature.³⁹ He refers to Paul’s letter to Titus in which the Apostle writes of ‘one of their own prophets’ among the Cretans who has spoken rightly (Titus 1:12). God is known to all in some way as the common good of truth (‘commune bonum’), and this verity, according to Bibliander, lies at the heart of Paul’s letter to the Romans.⁴⁰ God chose one people to show God’s goodness, justice, etc., but still made God’s self

³⁷ *Oratio*, fol. B4r, ‘Iuxta quem significationis captum quidam libros veteris instrumenti diviserunt atque discrimnarunt in legales propheticos et historicos: verum id non satis exacta ratione. Nam lex Mosaica tractat eadem quae et caeteri prophetae, ipseque Moses propheta bene trito nomine vocatur, similemque sui prophetam Christum videlicet futurum promittit.’

³⁸ On the significance of 1 Corinthians 14:3 in the Zurich understanding of prophecy, see Büsser, ‘De Prophetarum Officio’, pp. 62–63.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. B8v, ‘In horum dicta consensus est: in eorum sententias et decreta pedibus itum est: Eorum consilio negotia suscepta, illorum prudentia et opera gesta, ex illorum arbitrio confecta vel deposita sunt: Horum praeceptis obtemperatum est in rebus publicis et privatis, sacris et prophanis.’

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. C1r.

known and able to be enjoyed by all in some way. That the truth of God was in part given to the gentiles is reflected in the forms of prophecy that existed among them: the Brahmans, gymnosophists, magi, hierophant priests, druids, and sibyls. The ancient world knew of numerous distinguished men – and some women – including the great lawgivers Charundus, Minos, Lycurgus, Solon, and Draco, all of whom revealed something of the divine mysteries.⁴¹

This natural religion, however, was not unpolluted. Even among the oracles the demonic mixed with the truth; Bibliander refers to Simon Magus and the devils who spoke to Christ.⁴² Bibliander counts the ancient poets as types of prophets among the pagans: Musaeus, Orpheus and Linus taught theology, while Hesiod instructed in the lineage of the gods; Eupolis, Aristophanes and Cratinus brought morality to the people through theatre. Languages and written texts have made this useful knowledge available to humanity. The health and maintenance of the ancient republics depended on the rendering and development of the laws and there were indeed many false prophets, immoral poets, and imposters among the philosophers. Nevertheless, there is much to be plucked from the good books of well-intentioned people; a point Bibliander reinforces through the use of the verbs 'excolat', 'instruat', 'formet', and 'muniat', which describe in an almost sacramental manner how good literature feeds the soul.⁴³

All of these gifts are to be considered from the heavenly father and are 'seeds of the just and true God sent down into the fields of the human heart'. The role of the educated and faithful prophet is to make the most of these gifts by bringing them back to the house of God. Bibliander's imagery is rich, evoking a God who dwells in the temple. The most gracious ('clementissimus') God has implanted in all humans the seed of truth ('semina veritatis'), but it is surrounded by thorns, which can most gravely wound the feet of men, for frequently this truth has been corrupted and

⁴¹ Ibid., fol. C2v, 'In hoc porro vitae humanae magisterio rectissime numerabuntur insignes legum latores Charundas, Minos, Lycurgus, Solon, Draco: Tum siqui alii fuerunt apud diversas nationes homines ingenio praestanti ac honesto vitae proposito: qualis apud Scythas Anacharsis, qualis apud Gallos Hercules ille, qui homines Gallos in suam sententiam ortionem trahebat, tanquam si essent omnes ad os illius una cathena devincti.'

⁴² Ibid., fol. C3r.

⁴³ Ibid., fol. C4r-v, 'Ex illorum autem libris, qui boni viri esse et haberi voluerunt, veritatisque indefessi, scrutatores, et virtutis strenui satellites, multum decerpi potest, quod vitam nostram excolat, instruat, formet, ad omni parte muniat, in rebus corpus, famam fortunasque concernentibus.'

destroyed ('corrupta', 'deperidita'). It is like gold to be found in filth ('stercore'); a gem surrounded by vipers and scorpions. In contrast, scripture is wholly pure and sufficient to eternal life, bringing about certain knowledge of God.⁴⁴ According to Bibliander, the mature scholar trained in languages and obedient to the Spirit is able to discern the gold from the waste and interpret the pure Word of God.

The prophetic tradition falls within biblical history, for through the patriarchs God's promises are orally transmitted. With the prophets these words were committed to writing in order to prevent the spread of lies about God and to permit the faithful to know with certainty what has been promised. These written texts were communicated from Joshua and Samuel to the prophets. Bibliander speaks of schools being opened that the 'heavenly philosophy' might be taught 'in professo'.⁴⁵ The prophets are the learned teachers of Israel. They elucidate that which has come from Moses but they accommodate the message to their own times, as contemporary interpreters must do.⁴⁶ Bibliander repeatedly stresses unity and consistency. Prophets teach what is in the Pentateuch, they place individual historical events in salvation history, and their message is consonant with the teaching of the church.

Bibliander introduces a crucial qualification in his treatment of the prophetic office. The true interpreters of scripture will be known by the church and therefore occupy a place of authority and honour. However, even as prophetic voices they remain human and capable of error, though some may be praised above others. Bibliander argues for a hierarchy of prophets, and this is represented in his dedication of the *Oratio* to Pellikan and Jud, who are worthy of greater honour and are addressed in a priestly manner. We detect the institutional direction of his thought. James, Paul, and Peter all bear witness, Bibliander observes, that prophecy is a spiritual gift from God, and that it is to be sought among the more experienced of interpreters. James says that every good thing comes from the Father of light, while Paul speaks of prophecy as spiritual gift, and Peter of prophecy by the inspiration of God.⁴⁷ To human ears the question of prophecy is fraught with difficulties, for it must be remembered that even evil men prophesy by the power of God; God at times entrusts prophecy to evil men

⁴⁴ Ibid., fol. C5r.

⁴⁵ Ibid., fol. C8r, 'Tunc magnus fuit prophetarum proventus, et scholae appertae sunt atque coelestis illa philosophia in professo haberi coepta est.'

⁴⁶ Ibid., fol. C8v.

⁴⁷ Ibid., fol. D3v.

for the edification of the pious as well as to confuse those who refuse to accept the truth. God can work through both holy and unholy men as vehicles of prophecy. The church must listen and test for the truth. Examples of ill prophets are Balam, Saul, Caiaphas, and Judas. They can teach the truth without living according to its norm. They are 'asses bearing mysteries'.⁴⁸

The argument is further refined. Among the true prophets God is not only in their tongues and words, but in their hearts (*Boni non solum in ore ac lingua, sed etiam in pectore gerunt Deum, et de bono thesauro cordis bonum proferunt sermonem Domini*).⁴⁹ Such prophets possess literary and spiritual virtues and are not only theologians but devout Christians. At the judgement seat it will be revealed that they have prophesied in the name of the Lord. Bibliander invokes the authority of Zwingli by referring to the reformer's commentary on Isaiah. Bibliander accepts the distinctions within the prophetic office drawn by Zwingli, beginning with 'vaticinia' – prediction as in the foretelling of the virgin birth.⁵⁰ Second are sermons for their own times but with application to Christ, such as John the Baptist's admonition to prepare the way of the Lord. Thirdly, there are the 'res gestae', which are metaphorical and historical in nature.⁵¹ These categories can only be identified by the discerning reader, the one guided by the Spirit. In reading the prophetic books we should not look principally for exact times, places, and events, for the prophecies about the Messiah are often mixed in with explanations of other things ('rationes'). It is good to be mistrustful of ecstatic utterances: the Spirit is not the author of confusion.

As he begins the epilogue to his preface, Bibliander poses the question of why he has lavished such attention on the details of prophecy and the prophetic office. His concern is the place of prophets in the 'ordo' of creation. Among humans God has ordained that there should be those who have visions through quiet wakefulness, those who have the voice ('vox') conveyed from heaven, and those with secret inspirations of the will of God. In describing the prophetic office these people can be more certain of deeds past, present, and future. Bibliander wants to ensure that those who instruct are encouraged and instill in others a zeal for study and piety

⁴⁸ Ibid., fol. D4r-v.

⁴⁹ Ibid., fol. D4r.

⁵⁰ Ibid., fols D4v-D5r.

⁵¹ Ibid., fol. D5r, 'Aliae vero, ut reipsa et vere gestae sunt, typus tamen sunt rerum a Christo et apostolis actarum, ut Iacob reditus cum tot liberis ex Mesopotamia.'

and to foster the devoted to 'sacred reading and listening'. The humanist arts are inextricably interwoven with prophetic teaching. In Bibliander's mind humanism provides the means by which the prophetic message is transmitted; the true prophet is a Christian humanist, like Isaiah. The prophetic word is contained in the Old and New Testaments as well as in the sealed tablets of undoubted, tested, and examined faith, a reference to Jeremiah.⁵² This sacred philosophy requires the magisterium of the Holy Spirit.

To understand the text one must come to know the author, and Bibliander devotes the final part of his preface to the *Oratio* to the person of Isaiah, providing biographical detail and an encomium for this 'prince' of prophets, who lived under four kings and who for a half century called the people to virtue and excoriated their vices.⁵³ Isaiah, in Bibliander's hands, is the model prophet for Zurich. He uproots evil and educates the people in the Word of God; he is a husbandman ('cultor') of virtue. This concept of building up and tearing down was central to the Zurich understanding of the prophetic office. Bibliander is unstinting in his praise of Isaiah's literary qualities, arguing that his diction and forms of composition are the very equal of any distinguished orators of the classical world. This is a theme that finds expression among the Zurich writers; Bullinger treats it at length in his preface to the 1539 Zurich Latin Bible. Most importantly, Isaiah speaks of the Messiah.⁵⁴ Bibliander cites Jerome's remark that the prophet treats physics, ethics, politics, and anything the human tongue can utter. Indeed, Bibliander refers to Jerome's understanding of the role of the commentator, which is to explain not what he wants but what he thinks. This reference anticipates Bibliander's presentation of Jerome as the ideal interpreter of scripture, the model to be emulated. Such an interpreter should be an expositor, not an adversary of scripture ('ne adversaries potius quam interpres authoris inveniatur'). Bibliander explains that he will use the Hebrew to explain the 'prince of the classical

⁵² Ibid., fol. D6r, 'Contineri autem sermonem propheticum in libris veteris et novi testamenti tanquam in obsignatis tabulis indubitatae, spectatae et exploratae fidei.'

⁵³ Ibid., fol. D6v, 'In populo Iudaico praestantissimus praeco extitit, sub quatuor regibus, quos in titulo sui libri recenset, tuba intonans prophetica circiter 50 annos, strenuus inter primos propugnator veritatis, impugnator vanitatis, cultor virtutum, extirpator vitiorum.'

⁵⁴ Ibid., D7r, 'De Messia vero sic loquitur apperte, de dispensatione carnis adsumptae, de secuta gloria, de mysteriis illius augustissimi regni, ut veteribus tractatoribus non tam propheta quam apostolus, quam evangelista iudicetur. Ex hoc praecipue Christum ediscit cunuchus Candacis reginae, ut Lucas in actis memoriae tradidit. Hunc potissimum Christus Dominus et unicus doctor noster in schola Nazaret sumit in manus, evoluit, explicat, edisserit. Inde plurimum trahitur in evangelicas et apostolicas literas testimoniorum.'

prophets' and hopes that the grace of a holy wind will show itself in the form of a dove. His goal as a prophetic reader of Isaiah is to open the mind of the author and bring it to light. In fulfilling the prophetic role he becomes both Isaiah and Jerome, just as Heinrich Bullinger, in his preface to the 1543 Bible, presents the recently deceased Leo Jud as the embodiment of the translator of the Vulgate. Bibliander's language is significant. The basis for a prophetic understanding of Isaiah is the original language, Hebrew. That is the key to unlocking scripture – the principal duty of prophets. This is precisely what he attempts to perform in the Nahum commentary.

Something of the reception of Bibliander's *Oratio* can be gleaned from a 1532 letter he wrote to his former teacher Oswald Myconius, head of the Basel church.⁵⁵ Although the tone of the missive is affectionate, Myconius' displeasure with the Isaiah oration clearly wounded the young Bibliander, who claimed that he would desist from further publications until he had reached an appropriate age. It was Pellikan, Karlstadt and others who had encouraged him to publish his work. The apparent contrition by no means indicated a retraction of his views, for Bibliander fully repudiated Myconius' objection to his teaching on the salvation of pagans. When Myconius invoked the authority of Paul Bibliander countered with Romans 1:18–32 which he held to teach that God is recognizable to the heathen through creation. If pagans have fallen away from this knowledge into sinfulness, this is also true of many Jews and Christians. The knowledge of God is given to all humanity; all know the highest being which demands good from them and punishes sin. These are themes that course through both the *Oratio* and Nahum. Socrates is the supreme example of the virtuous pagan. Bibliander's authority is once more Jerome, who in his Isaiah commentary (chs 8, 24, 26) writes that in the written law Moses repeated that which had already been revealed to all men in natural law. Out of respect for his teacher and friend, Bibliander promised to remain silent on the subject until Myconius replied. The issue was divisive and the exchange with Myconius dispels any notion of consensus among Zwingli's circle. It was Bibliander's position, however, that prevailed in the sixteenth-century Zurich church.

Bibliander's January 1532 oration on Isaiah is a remarkable text. Delivered to a city in the grip of violent chaos, it is the vision of a relatively inexperienced scholar who was addressing a traumatized community.

⁵⁵ Theodor Bibliander to Oswald Myconius, 29 April 1532. Zürich StA EII 340,48. I am grateful to Rainer Henrich for this information.

In his extensive preface, Bibliander, like Bullinger, gives a full account of the prophetic office. Both men were deeply indebted to Huldrych Zwingli, and they acknowledged the controversial reformer without hesitation. What distinguishes Bibliander is the emergence of themes that would become central to Zurich theology and biblical exegesis. These include the emphasis on the prophetic model, the unity of the Testaments, a particular affinity for the Old Testament and the Hebrew language as the root of all languages, the underlying harmony of languages and culture, the close bond between classical and Christian learning, and the breadth of God's revelation. Bibliander emphasized the authority of the prophet and how it should be tested. Like Bullinger, he was recovering the prophetic office for the post-Kappel world. As a commentator on Nahum he presented himself as a model of how that prophet should lead.

Nahum Commentary (1534)

From 30 June till 6 December 1533 Theodor Bibliander lectured on the Minor Prophets, and the following year his Nahum translation and commentary, an octavo volume of eighty pages, appeared from Froschauer's press.⁵⁶ It was immediately placed on the Index.⁵⁷ Goeing has written, 'Already his inaugural lecture of 1533 on the prophet Isaiah, and then especially his 1534 edition of the Prophet Nahum, are testimonies of [Bibliander's] interlinkings between translation of the Bible, teaching, Hebrew and his grammar enthusiasm.'⁵⁸ The printed volume contains the fruits of Bibliander's teaching on Nahum in the *Lectiones publicae*.⁵⁹ In his preface, Bibliander claims that Nahum has been unjustly neglected, finding little favour among men of letters. Indeed, none of the Zurich biblical scholars had written anything on the book. In Basel the situation differed, marked by the appearance of a new Latin translation with extensive notes in the Old Testament of Sebastian Münster. The differences between the two translations are notable, as the appendix shows. On the whole, Münster chose to stay much closer to the Vulgate. The book of Nahum dates from approximately 663 BCE and treats the fall of Assyria during the reign of Josiah. The destruction of Nineveh, capital of Assyria, is a source

⁵⁶ On the order of Bibliander's lectures, see Egli, *Biographien*, pp. 31–32.

⁵⁷ Moser, *Theodor Bibliander*, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Goeing, 'Old and New Hebrew Grammars', p. 167.

⁵⁹ Egli, *Biographien*, p. 33.

of hope for the people of Judah. It is the divine will. As Nahum declares, the Assyrians may not acknowledge the true God, but they are subject to his judgement and agents of his will.

Bibliander's commentary develops a series of important themes encountered in the Isaiah oration. He opens with a letter to the Christian reader, followed by a preface, the parallel translations (the Vulgate and his own), and, finally, the commentary. This style of presentation was well known among the Swiss; it had been used by Zwingli and Oecolampadius in their commentaries on Isaiah.⁶⁰

The title page declares Bibliander's project. Beneath the title we read, 'Latine redditus per Theodorum Bibliandrum, adiecta exegesi, qua versionis ratio redditur, et authoris divini sententia explicatur.' Bibliander orders the labours of his commentary: a close reading of the Hebrew; a Latin translation drawn from that reading; an analysis of the language; and an explication of the opinions of the divine author (Nahum). The commentary reveals Bibliander's hand as 'grammaticus' and theologian.

Letter to the Christian Reader

The letter to the Christian reader opens with Bibliander's rather threadbare explanation for why he had brought his work to the press: it had not been his intention, but pressed by pious and learned men ('piis iuxta et erudita') he had been moved to prepare and publish his lectures on Nahum. With humility Bibliander writes that although he was reluctant to commit his teaching to print he could not be said to have done so to satisfy the desires of others. He was concerned that among learned people of his age there was a woeful neglect of this short book. Bibliander immediately references Jerome, his venerable conversation partner, to establish directly that his project is in harmony with the translation work of the great church father. The linking of Bibliander's project with Jerome, as Bullinger would do for the Zurich Latin Bible of 1543, is an attempt to negotiate a relationship with tradition through the church father, who bears witness to the heritage of translation among Jewish teachers.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Hobbs, 'Pluriformity', p. 485.

⁶¹ *Propheta Nahum*, fol. A1v. On Jerome's engagement with the Targum tradition in the preparation of the Nahum commentary, see Robert Hayward, 'St Jerome and the Aramaic Targum', in *Journal of Semitic Studies* vol. 32 (1987), pp. 105–123. For an essential study of the Vulgate's relationship to Hebrew, see A. Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek scholarship, and the*

The letter offers an indication of the complex relationship of Bibliander to Jerome that bleeds through the commentary. Without doubt Jerome is the ideal and mentor, the founder of the tradition in which Bibliander wishes to place his work. Jerome's consultation with Jewish scholars animates Bibliander's argument that the truth is only found through engagement with the original language. And yet, this is the very sticking point. For Bibliander needs to separate himself from Jerome in order to validate his own translations, and he does so through a measured critique of the church father's reliance on the Jews, which the Swiss reformer deems excessive. The critique is ever sotto voce, muted by philological and theological material.

The methods of translation are carefully laid out by Bibliander, and to grasp the subtlety of his thought we need to remember the context in which this text arose. What Anja-Silvia Goeing has written of Bibliander's 1535 Hebrew grammar holds true for the Nahum commentary. It was prepared in the setting of the Zurich Lectorium and his audience was primarily the students at the Grossmünster school.⁶² It had another purpose as a test work, or even prolegomenon, for the subsequent Zurich Latin Bible. As mentioned, Bibliander's translation of Nahum was reprinted in the Zurich Bible of 1543. The methods outlined in the Nahum commentary adumbrate the major Zurich translation project. With the Nahum commentary Bibliander signalled a shift in Zurich biblical culture. Zwingli and Pellikan had enormous respect and even reverence for the Vulgate. Bibliander, and possibly Bullinger, was adamant that the translations should come from Hebrew, which, as we have noted, he regarded as the root language.⁶³ The Nahum commentary reveals what the books of the Bible might look like translated according to sound and bold philological and theological principles. Although during the 1530s Konrad Pellikan prepared his enormously influential *Commentaria Biblicorum* in which he held tight to the Vulgate, Bibliander was leading an altogether bolder enterprise.

Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993.

⁶² Goeing, 'Old and New Hebrew Grammars', p. 180.

⁶³ Goeing writes, 'By naming Hebrew the mother of the other languages, he wanted to reconstruct the use of the language customary before the development of Latin and Greek. The characterisation of the Hebrew tongue in its chronological relation to Latin, Greek and finally the different vernacular languages, to which he only referred in his examples of German, highlights the problem that Hebrew writings were at the most only spread through their translations.' Goeing, 'Old and New Hebrew Grammars', p. 173.

What were the principles of this method of translation? Bibliander draws upon a well-established term, 'proprietas', to argue that he has attended to the special character of Hebrew and Latin – the original language and the translation. In every phrase he has sought to capture in Latin the powers of eloquence of the original language.⁶⁴ Such an approach meant eschewing translating the Hebrew word for word, and preferring to work through emulation ('aemulare') of the rhetorical character of the text. Difficult choices had to be made, and at moments the removal and addition of words had been necessary to ensure the sense was rightly caught. He also invokes the principal of 'perspicuitas' (clarity), which would become an essential term among the Zurich translators. The translation should be straightforward and lucid. In sum, Bibliander characterizes his method as literal in its effort to find the apposite Latin word for the Hebrew, sensitive to the literary forms of both Hebrew and Latin, and with an emphasis on simplicity and clarity.

Those who read the translation in the Spirit are described as 'candidi homines' (literally, 'spotless/lucid men'). The expression is multivalent. These are men whose learning permits them to grasp the intricacies of such demanding work. At the same time, the reference to spotless men touches on a central theme in Zurich theology and pastoral writing, and that is the emphasis on purity ('Reinigkeit').⁶⁵ These 'spotless men' will not be offended by his method of working for they shall discern its purpose, which is not to replace the 'common version' ('Ecclesiae vulgatam') with 'our version' ('nostram versionem'). The Vulgate, Bibliander continues, is sanctified by the name of Jerome, and is accepted as the traditional Bible of the church. His intention follows Augustine's remark that it is good to have different translations of the Bible, but to retain one common (familiar) one. The different translations serve the purpose of comparison and debate, but ultimately there must be one, and that one is the Vulgate, through which the light of truth shines forth.⁶⁶ This is precisely the

⁶⁴ *Propheta Nahum*, fol. A2r, 'Et quoniam semel adieci animum ad interpretandum divinum hunc scriptorem Nahum, de novo quoque a Latinum eloquium transtuli, non solum utriusque sermonis Haebraici et Romani proprietatem aemulatus, sed etiam eloquentiae vires exprimere conatu. Appendi autem verba et quantum licuit per claritatem annumeravi, quaedam etiam interdum adiciens perspicuitatis gratia, quae semicirculis conclusi.'

⁶⁵ Bruce Gordon, 'Bullinger's Vernacular Writings: Spirituality and the Christian Life', in Gordon and Campi, *Architect of Reformation*, pp. 117–134.

⁶⁶ *Propheta Nahum*, fol. A2r, 'Praeterea divus Augustinus utile putat varias translationes conferre, unam familiarem retinere, ut ex ista collision multorum uberior veritatis lux emicet.'

argument employed by Bullinger in his prefaces to both the vernacular and Latin Bibles.

Preface

Nahum, Bibliander observes, is often thought irrelevant. There are those who say, 'what does Nahum speaking against the city of the Assyrians have to do with us?' And, further, 'What are those ancient times to us?'⁶⁷ Such are the questions and protests of those who find nothing of any value in a book of the Bible that has little to say about Israel and appears only to catalogue God's fury. This, Bibliander counters, is to miss the point, and he proposes to make the case for the prophet's significance. Far from being remote ancient peoples, the Assyrians in Nahum are a very contemporary warning to abstain from such evil deeds as have led kingdoms and other empires great and small to a most miserable end (*ad misserimum exitum*).⁶⁸ The book is a mirror, and with respect to the true religion there is no difference between modern times and antiquity. God is unchanging. Bibliander urges his readers to a new perspective, one found in Paul's letter to the Corinthians, in which he calls on them to review the ancient deeds of the Jewish race that they might learn what is useful to them.⁶⁹ Bibliander wants the reader to regard the Assyrians in a similar light. They are exemplary in different ways. They reveal God's wrath upon ungodliness. At the same time they are to be studied because through them God reveals truth. The same point is made of classical writers. Nahum may sing of the fates for fate of pagans alien to the religion handed on through Moses, but those writings and others that have been prepared for the gentiles ought not to be compromised (literally 'become dirty') for Christians. They should be listened to attentively.

Bibliander's apology for Nahum begs the question of why he felt it necessary to defend this obscure corner of the Bible. The answer lies in his next move within the text. He opens with a rigorous defence of how seemingly non-Christian literature belongs to the economy of salvation, reflecting the breadth of God's revelation. His preliminary points focus on the ways these works reveal God's intervention in human history and the manner in which they instruct through the provision of examples. To grasp this requires understanding of the nature of God.

⁶⁷ Ibid., fol. B1r.

⁶⁸ Ibid., fol. B9v.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

God is a God of Jews and gentiles and in return for his kindness should be acknowledged and worshipped.⁷⁰ Bibliander explains how the nature of the divine/human relationship is caught in Micah 6:8, 'O mortal, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice and to love kindness and to walk humbly with your God.' Crucially, God has written into the hearts of all men what is right and lawful, what must be fled and what must be done.⁷¹ Therefore, the most kind father, who wants all to be saved and reach the knowledge of the truth, employed lucid and 'ergodioc-tas' men, such as Socrates and Seneca, to restrain the unbridled desires of the human heart and bring it back to the norm for right living. Bibliander finds further evidence of this general revelation in the confession of Cato according to Sallust.

The expanse of God's grace enables Bibliander, in the face of the terrifying condemnations in Nahum, to emphasize divine mercy. In Christ is found the possibility of salvation, but Bibliander does not limit revelation to Christians alone. Virtuous pagans can be saved through grace, for they know Christ although unaware of that knowledge.⁷² Likewise, they are not able to express their knowledge with words. Bibliander cites the example of the centurion Cornelius in Acts 10 who was visited by an angel who tells him that God has heard his prayers. Also saved are the Jewish Patriarchs who have awaited the Messiah. One will find many innocent men today, Bibliander writes, who by no means can reveal in words what the spirit of the Lord amply teaches in the depth of the heart.⁷³ Such people are not cut off from eternal bliss. Bibliander further points to the mentally disabled and infants ('moriones et infantulos'), who do not possess the power to reason. They will be saved.

There is a form of natural theology that does not permit the exculpation of any person. Wicked men can observe how for those who do not listen to their conscience, who do not pay heed to the warnings of excellent men, and who are not moved by natural portents and omens, calamity and death will follow. They should know that God hates the wicked.⁷⁴ The wise, in contrast, record all this in books and propagate it for the learning of all ages. However, before we think that Bibliander glorifies ancient religions and sets them alongside the Israelites and Christians, it must be

⁷⁰ Ibid., fol. B2r.

⁷¹ Ibid., fol. B2v.

⁷² Ibid., fol. B3r.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid., fol. B3v.

noted that he devotes an entire page to the corruptions and perversions of these rites. Pagan religion becomes debased and distorts the knowledge of God available through creation.⁷⁵

The essential marker, or Lydian stone as Bibliander names it, is scripture. Pagan historical accounts are riddled with errors both factual and moral. Sacred history is a 'torch' that throws light into the dark areas and reveals the truth. The history of the Jewish people is a measuring line established for reading the writings of gentiles. 'For from this it is most plain that the Jewish people must be called the private possession of God, that they must be said to be the first born of God, and that God must be especially known in Judea. Meanwhile, however, that same God and lord of all was among the other nations [*dominum universitatis*].'⁷⁶ The subtlety of Bibliander's prose demands attention. While clearly asserting the unique position of Israel, he is careful to qualify his words with the possibility that God spoke to other cultures. Together with the other prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Obediah, Nahum prophesied against the sins of both Jews and gentiles.

Bibliander rounds once more on those who decry the value of Nahum. He recounts the various objections that focus on how this violent book is of no relevance. He reiterates the position he took in the letter to the reader. He is concerned to dispel the misunderstanding about the nomenclature 'Minor Prophet'. This tag is not in any way to be understood as a hierarchical order of revelation. That would be a false judgement, as the text itself shows, for the Minor Prophets are speakers of the same God, gifted with the same spirit and with the same generosity of souls. They announce the same commandments to different races of men.⁷⁷ Further, it is no accident that Nahum is to be found in the Bible, for sacred history reveals the many prophets among the Israelite people and how the wisdom of God arranged that only the clearest speeches should reach the knowledge of posterity. These speeches in a grave, humanly or rather heavenly style surpass by a great distance the effusive and preeminent orations of the Greek rhetoricians.⁷⁸ From these divine works of the prophets one can learn the discipline of piety from ancient times to the coming of the Saviour. The content of that piety was the love of God and neighbour. One learns also how God deals with all matters pertaining to humankind.

⁷⁵ Ibid., fol. B4r.

⁷⁶ Ibid., fol. B5v.

⁷⁷ Ibid., fol. B6v.

⁷⁸ Ibid., fol. B7r.

These come together that humanity might have an abundance of examples for the teaching of piety and the administration of religion ('administrandae religionis').⁷⁹

Nahum's message, therefore, is not simply addressed to the Assyrians, but to all kings, citizens and private men who afflict the people of God with similar injuries. The commentary is a deeply political work in which Bibliander instructs the temporal leaders of Zurich in the dangers of abusive rule. The worship of idols, faithlessness, brutality, arrogance, extravagance, robbery and murder will provoke the judgement of God. The book shows how God is towards the impious and the pious. It is a lesson in how God acts in history, deals with tyrants, and repudiates those who turn against him. Bibliander's text has a mirror of princes quality, and he certainly intended it to be exemplary. Just as God taught by examples through history, it was Bibliander's role as a prophet to interpret these stories to the people.

Commentary on the Title of Nahum

Bibliander emphasizes the significance of the prophetic book's title, and his treatment of the topic runs to eighteen pages. The title reads, 'An oracle concerning Nineveh. The book of the vision of Nahum.' All of the prophetic books, he writes, have a prefixed title, except Jonah. Bibliander rejects the view of 'some of the Jews', who believe that the titles were added by Ezra, though whether they were added by the authors themselves is unknown. What lies beyond doubt is the importance of understanding the titles, for they are the 'key' by which the 'secret writings are laid open.'⁸⁰ The attentive reader can learn a good deal; the titles record the authors themselves, point out many facts, and note the periods in which the orations were written, all of which are excellent means for gaining more exact knowledge. The titles, therefore, are short notes that enlighten the reader on the historical context essential to interpreting and understanding the prophetic book.

The very first word, מַשָּׁא 'massa', returns us to Bibliander's complex relationship with Jerome.⁸¹ He notes that 'massa' has been translated as 'susceptio' by the Septuagint, Aquila and many others. Bibliander quotes

⁷⁹ Ibid., fol. B7r.

⁸⁰ Ibid., fol. B8r.

⁸¹ Ibid., fol. C1v. I have followed the Hebrew as printed in the text.

Jerome on the subject. The quotation is from Jerome's commentary on the Minor Prophets, which Bibliander must have had to hand as he prepared his work on Nahum. Against these venerable authorities Bibliander holds that they have erred fundamentally in their translation. He argues that 'massa' actually comes from the verb 'nasa', which is more frequently translated as 'ferre'.⁸² As a noun it designates metaphorically a sorrowful fate or an inauspicious prophecy, and he offers supporting evidence from Isaiah and Jeremiah. He adds from Jerome's commentary on Habakkuk the church father's remark that 'massa is never displayed in the title, unless it is full of grave and weighty hardships, it would seem.'⁸³ Bibliander's method becomes clear. The translation is crafted through intense philological work and consultation with patristic and contemporary authors from whom he feels at liberty to dissent. In the verses examined below we find that Bibliander treats the Jerome/Vulgate translation with great respect, and in many respects it defines his exegesis. There is no youthful, willful desire to disagree. Quite the contrary, Bibliander is eager to demonstrate how multiple translations are possible, as the Latin cannot capture the Hebrew perfectly. His translation, therefore, because it is faithful to the Hebrew, is part of the tradition of the church in translating the Bible; the scholars in the city are engaged in a truly Catholic endeavour. The philological and theological tasks are in harmony. As Peter Opitz writes, 'the philological work on the text stands wholly in the service of "transformation" of humans through the divine word.'⁸⁴

The relationship to Jerome retains its complexity. When it comes to 'Elcosh', many of the Jewish commentators, Bibliander writes, believe it to be a family name or patronymic – that Elcos was the father of Nahum. 'The Divine Jerome' was aware that this view prevailed among the Jews but refuted it, saying that the name Elcosh was from the land of Nahum's birth.⁸⁵ In this case Bibliander is emphatic that Jerome was absolutely correct, but the church father's authority alone is not sufficient to carry the day. Bibliander draws attention to archaeological and linguistic evidence: there are ruined buildings left of Elcos in Galilee and he explains how Hebrew patronymics work grammatically. Jerome is confirmed by scholarly truth.

⁸² Ibid., fol. C1v.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Opitz, 'Zwingli's Exegesis of the Old Testament', p. 421.

⁸⁵ *Propheta Nahum*, fol. C2v.

After an extended treatment of the Assyrians, Bibliander attempts to establish Nahum chronologically. He is critical of the Jewish sources and believes that Josephus gets the timing wrong. Josephus, according to Bibliander, believed that Nahum prophesied in the times of Uzziah, one hundred and fifteen years before the fall of Nineveh.⁸⁶ Bibliander has no more faith in the Greeks and distrusts Herodotus as a historian.⁸⁷ This view was shared by Bullinger, who referred to Herodotus as the 'father of lies'.⁸⁸ When it comes to the life of Nahum Bibliander rejects Epiphanius' *Lives of the Prophets*, offering muted criticism of Jerome's use of the text. Bibliander never criticizes Jerome directly in the Nahum commentary; it is left to the reader to draw the conclusion. Others are not treated so respectfully. Rabbi Solomon was wrong to think that Nahum was Jonah; the *Chronica Hebraeorum* erred, as did Abraham Ben Ezra and Josephus. Among the church fathers Augustine claimed ignorance of Nahum's life. Jerome alone gets the details correct and effectively refutes others on the question of when Nahum wrote. For Bibliander this was an enormous achievement, for the interpretation of the book hangs on a correct understanding of when the prophet lived.⁸⁹ In complex ways Jerome is exemplary and fallible.

Bibliander turns to an in-depth treatment of the translation. We shall focus on the opening five verses of the first book. The text is set out with Jerome's translation on the left column and Bibliander's on the right. The Vulgate text is unadorned, but the translation of the Zurich reformer has brief notes in the outside margin. These marginal notes flag the content of the passage and enable the reader to scan easily the topics of the book. It is a method of framing the text that will appear in the 1543 Zurich Latin Bible, where the theological loci are placed on the inside margin. In his commentary Bibliander always works with the Vulgate text, demonstrating both his respect for Jerome and awareness that his commentary would be badly received if he presumed to supplant the

⁸⁶ Ibid., fol. C6r.

⁸⁷ Ibid., fol. C7v.

⁸⁸ *Biblia Sacra vtrivsqve Testamenti, et Vetvs qvidem post omnes omnivm hactenus aeditiones: opera d. Sebast. Mynstcri euulgatum, & ad Hebraicam ueritatem quoad fijiieri potuit redditum: collatis ubiq[ue] uetustissimis & probatissimis eius linguae scriptoribus: Novvm uero non solum ad Graecam ueritatem, uerum etiam ad multorum utriusq[ue] linguae & interpretum & codicum fjidem, opera d. Eras. Rot. ultimo recognitum & aeditum: additi sunt e LXX. uersione et Apocryphi libri siue Ecclesiastici, qui habentur extra canonem. Tigvri: Apvd Christophorvm Froschovervm, Anno M.D.XXXIX. fol. B6r.*

⁸⁹ *Propheta Nahum*, fol. C7v.

Church's Latin Bible with his own translation. In the text of the commentary, however, he rapidly distances himself from the Vulgate/Jerome translation. He commences with a summary of chapter one, where God is described in anthropomorphic form ('more humano'), as one who will wage war with the king of the Assyrians. His strength, power, and works are to be remembered, as is his disposition towards the impious and pious.

Bibliander offers further insight into his methodology. Just as the great leaders of pagan times put forward their titles by enumerating the people they have conquered, so also will the 'familiar characteristics' of God be set out one by one in order to demonstrate the most full and terrible majesty of the highest governor ('tremenda summi gubernatoris maiestatem').⁹⁰ Bibliander begins with Jerome's rendering of 'Deus aemulator', arguing that the Hebrew nouns hold more linguistic power than can be rendered by translators.⁹¹ The Hebrew word **אל** (El) translated 'Deus' in the Vulgate can also mean power and strength, for God can accomplish whatever he wants. These qualities stand in contrast to the 'idols of the gentiles'. Concerning 'aemulator' (jealous) Bibliander writes that it is from the Hebrew **קנא** 'Kanno'. God is not indifferent to human sin but hates and punishes evil as an offence. God delights in justice and righteousness, and Bibliander quotes Exodus 20. Those who deny that God can be jealous ('aemulator') create for themselves 'the God of the fig tree, free from all sense of irascibility, who content in inestimable happiness cares little for the affairs of mortals. This god is not angered by sins, but considers it childish trifles that men are set against the divine law.'⁹² Heretical sects in the past have taught this error and such groups, Bibliander warns, are reappearing in the church.

For those Marcionites and diabolical non-Origenenians preparing poultices for their disturbing lusts and being accustomed to little pillows under every side, dispute violently that there is neither rage nor any kind of harshness in God, who is wholly goodness itself, so that even evil spirits and the most lost men might be saved.⁹³

⁹⁰ Ibid., fol. D1v.

⁹¹ Ibid., fol. D1r.

⁹² Ibid., fol. D1v.

⁹³ Ibid., fol. D2v.

After this initial commentary Bibliander once more refines Jerome's translation. He writes that 'furius' ('indignabundus') would be a better translation for קנא (Kanno) than the 'aemulator' of the Vulgate. Yet in his translation he chooses 'Deus inique', reflecting his view that multiple translations are possible as the fruit of good scholarship and pious endeavour. Consistently Bibliander ends his commentary on a passage with a word of pastoral application. This word 'aemulator' can terrify the Assyrians yet give hope to the Jews when they consider that God is not alien to wrath against wicked men but bears indignities angrily and is ready to avenge the calamities of the Israelites.

The most controversial choice made by Bibliander was his use of 'Iove' for God. His explanation falls under the exegesis of 'dominus', where he discusses how the Hebrew YHWH came to be translated as 'dominus' and relates that Jerome followed this practice. His own position, however, is rather different, and he is fully cognizant of the assaults he will have to withstand for this choice of a pagan name. His defence runs to six pages.

I have preferred to retain the sound of the Hebrew word, and the only true name of God, and I have changed it to a small extent by the singular Latin tendency, which in the majority of cases translators allow proper names to be translated. But I am not ignorant of what slanders I shall endure among the unskilled or wranglers, since I restore the name Iove, as if I should want to renew the ancient worship of the Capitoline Jove, and having committed a crime of high treason to adapt the monstrous names of the gods of the gentiles for the true God....I am urged on by goad of piety, so that I might claim the most famous name for our God, because brigands of the air and of men attribute it in a frenzy to wood, to a stone, to metal, to a painting, and to those things altogether which are not God.⁹⁴

Bibliander thinks that YHWH comes from the Hebrew חוה (life), with a yod prefix, meaning a being existing by its own strength, without beginning, without end, in which we also are, live, and move. God gave this name to Moses אֶשֶׁר אֲחִיָּה אֱהִיָּה ('I am who I am'). It made its way to the Greeks through the Septuagint, commissioned by Ptolemy II, who concluded that Jews worshiped the same God as the Greeks. How did Rome acquire the sacred name? Bibliander offers a long quasi-grammatical account of how YHWH could come to be pronounced 'Jehova'. The Romans had the name, but did not worship the God correctly. '...with the divine scriptures having been subordinated, which alone pass on the universal

⁹⁴ Ibid., fol. D3v.

discipline of religion, men tried to ordain divine worship out of their own head.⁹⁵

Bibliander's position on the relationship of the Israelites to pagan religion is highly nuanced, if not ambivalent. At moments he sounds as though outside scripture there is no general revelation to pagans, yet at other times he is emphatic that they did know something of the true God, as is evident in the way that the pagans come to adopt the name YHWH for God. This latter position is brought home in his discussion of Rome and how Abraham had dealings with Crassus and Pompey.

The first inhabitants of Italy from which the Albanian and the Latin and finally the Roman kingdoms sprouted, becoming acquainted with the powerful God of Abraham, first by the fame of his renown but soon by the contracts of the alliance having been instituted by Abraham, began to worship this most high and unique God under his true name, but not always by lawful rite.⁹⁶

Bibliander holds to the view that the true God was worshipped under the name of the false pagan gods of antiquity. He offers a final justification:

It was agreeable to note this briefly about the name of Jove in hope that not only might I be absolved of the crime of offended divinity among fair judges, but also indeed that I might be attended by praise, because I have wanted to snatch away the blessed name of God from its wrongful possessors and return it in pious use to the Lord, to whom is owed all praise and glory forever and ever.⁹⁷

Bibliander's method is to compare the Vulgate with the Septuagint and the Hebrew. As noted he works with Jerome's translation only to argue that on account of the Hebrew his Latin must differ. Jerome provides the framework within which he operates, providing a model of how the individual prophetic voice can work to reform the larger church. Bibliander's authority as a translator of the Bible is shaped by the tradition of Jerome and it is constantly in negotiation with that authority. Even a cursory glance readily exposes the radical differences between Bibliander and the Vulgate. He has not simply cleaned up the text, as Pellikan did in his *Commentaria*, but produced an entirely different translation. Following Bibliander, the Zurich biblical project would be bold in endeavour, shaped by humanist forms, and directed by education and edification. One example of this

⁹⁵ Ibid., fol. D4v-D5r.

⁹⁶ Ibid., fol. D5r.

⁹⁷ Ibid., fol. D6v.

attitude towards translation is Jerome's 'habens furorem', which Bibliander feels compelled to render 'vehemens' because it captures the sense that God is severe and unrelenting in punishing those who think little of God's mercy.

Bibliander's treatment of 'irascens' from verse 1 returns the reader to the underlying harmony of cultures. The Septuagint, he writes, has translated the Hebrew נֹטֵר (noter) as 'ἐξάριωμ', or 'tollens' in Latin, because it renders more accurately the sense of keeping a record of wrongs and of watching for an occasion to repay them.⁹⁸ There is an apt Greek word for this meaning, and in Homer exists a clear sense of punishment in which the divine keep account. In German the same idea of divine punishment is to be found ('Es ist ein armer wirt/ und einer ürten nit beaten mag').⁹⁹ In Malachi 3 there is the book of remembrance and the image of God recording the deeds and words of humanity. Through this brief discussion of 'irascens' Bibliander has shown how the Bible, Homer, modern German and Greek mythology all share the same understanding that God will finally reckon with humanity. Bibliander delights in demonstrating how expressions and their ideas have similar forms in other languages, reflecting the commonalities of human experience.

The linguistic analysis always gives way to theological/practical instruction. Treating 'et mundans non faciet innocentem', Bibliander is clear that God will not acquit but punish those who take advantage of his delay in judgement. Significantly, witness is borne to this truth by a non-Christian.

Even pagan Valerius Maximus was not unaware, saying, 'by a slow step indeed divine anger proceeds to its vengeance: but it heavily makes up for the delay of punishment. Even the common German folk use the expression "lang beyten ist nit geschenckt".'¹⁰⁰

One must watch and pray and wait in readiness for the coming of the Lord.

Bibliander seeks to retain what he saw as the violent language of the text. In verse 3 he takes Jerome's 'infirmatus est Basan' and makes it 'deformatur Basan' (Basan withers/is wasted). He explains that Jerome's translation is a weak interpretation of the Hebrew אִמָּלֵל. In addition, by using 'infirmatus est' and 'elanguit' Jerome has missed the essential repetition of the verb, which Bibliander captures by repeating 'deformatur'.

⁹⁸ Ibid., fol. D6r.

⁹⁹ Ibid., fol. D6v.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., fol. D7v.

Bibliander was eager to preserve the Hebrew rhetorical forms in his translation, and in particular he draws attention to the epanalepsis in Nahum, which he takes as a sign of elegance. Bibliander seeks to retain this rhetorical form of repetition and bracketing in his Latin 'Deformatur Basan et Carmelus, floridusque, Libanus deformatur'. This literary form he compares with Virgil's 'Multa super Priamo rogitan super Hectore multa'.¹⁰¹ He also admires Jerome's sensitivity to metaphorical language, which he regards as absolutely necessary for the human understanding of the divine.

Because certainly the fashion of explaining must be suited to human natures, and it is of first importance that it be clear and effective for persuading, so that those things which are observed in the nature of things by the longest experience, are fitted for human life, from which it is known, what it is, or what it ought to be in the custom of men.¹⁰²

Christ taught in parables, as did the prophets and apostles in order that women and men might understand. In treating verse 5 'ante faciem eius' Bibliander argues that the prophets used direct questions, allegory and similitude to make points more emphatically.

The thunderous language of the opening five verses is followed by a consideration of 'bonus dominus', which Bibliander renders 'benignus est dominus'. The conjunction of 'benignus' with 'esse' conveys Bibliander's sense it is a part of God's being, not simply a quality. The shift from the desolation of the mountains and Basan is indicated by 'rursum'. This goodness of God is testified in the creation and preservation of the world for the sake of humanity, and declared everyday in God's immense kindness to the good and the wicked.¹⁰³ God's loving nature is especially exhibited in the incarnation and crucifixion of Christ, for in his Son he reconciled the world and restored all things lost through 'our first parents'. Bibliander breaks into praise:

Oh the immense benignity of God, oh the inestimable mercy, oh the ineffable treasury of his liberality and munificence! Not if one had a hundred tongues and mouths, not if one spoke with the tongues of men and angels, would one be able to celebrate the goodness of the Lord God, from which as from an everlasting fountain the widest rivers of kindness flow out onto the mortal race.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Ibid., fol. E1r-v. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Bk 1, 750.

¹⁰² Ibid., fol. E1v.

¹⁰³ Ibid., fol. E2v.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., fol. E3r-v.

The central pastoral message Bibliander seeks to impart is that God is generous (benign) towards even sinful humans, both enticing them to improvement and delaying punishment. Even when God punishes the reprobate (Bibliander calls them the 'incurable') the punishment is fit to God's kindness, for God's greatest work is that of mercy ('misericordia'). Witness to the loving nature of God is borne by the pagan authors Homer, Cicero and Pliny the Elder.¹⁰⁵ Anyone who does not consider the divine goodness is most depraved, especially since God gave God's only begotten son for the salvation of the world. In him are all things pertaining to a happy and blessed life. The pious person will be assiduous in all things of virtue, but not because he thinks that by good works he can merit eternal life, for that belongs to Christ alone.

In the sixth verse Bibliander treats 'comfortans Dominus' by stating that the Hebrew word 'moaz' means to furnish strength and support.¹⁰⁶ He engages in philological work concerning the roles of prefixes as instruments for effects of the first order. Soon, however, he turns to the theological meaning, drawing practical, pastoral lessons for the people. God, he writes, is not only kind, but a settled shelter ('suffugium') for all, accessible to those hastening with their whole heart. The distinction between humanity and God is absolute. Many good men who wish the poor well are unable to help them, or they do not will it, or they are put off by the appearance of danger. God alone considers the pain and labour, and God hastens to help in trying times. Those who place their hope in God shall not be shamed in eternity. Bibliander quotes Psalm 50 and Jeremiah 17 to reinforce his message that all hope must be placed in God. This message needs to be deeply pressed on human hearts, otherwise people trust in their own efforts, such as their works, frauds, and superstitious practices ('variis superstitionibus divorum').¹⁰⁷ God is the unique, certain and most safe protection.

Theodor Bibliander would live, teach, and write in Zurich for another thirty years after the Isaiah *Oratio* and the Nahum commentary. There is still much work to be done on the development of his thought. In this chapter we have begun to investigate how the various themes in his writing converged in his interpretation of the Bible. In the Nahum commentary he had become the prophet he described in the *Oratio*. Within the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., fol. E3r.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., fol. E5v.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., fol. E6v.

framework of Jerome's translation (the Vulgate) Bibliander fashioned an entirely different rendering of the text along humanist principles and in concert with Zwinglian theology. His translation was buttressed by a commentary in which the depth and breadth of Bibliander's learning was set out. It was to become the Zurich model – humanist learning in the service of biblical translation. The relationship between Bibliander's translation and Jerome was the negotiated bond of the Zurich church to tradition. Bibliander set the tone for intellectual life in the city after Zwingli. It was a prophetic vision that saw the unitive nature of God's revelation, a unity articulated in culture and theology. In both the *Oratio* and the commentary Bibliander laid out a vision of the mixed *communitas* ruled over by a God who is Lord of the faithful and reprobate, a self-revealing merciful God whose goodness is to be found in the fruits of classical learning, other cultures, and the natural world. Bibliander's prophet, which he himself claimed to be, is a mediator, a hierarchical figure who demands obedience and commands authority. In the Nahum commentary we have the first harvest of Bibliander's encyclopedic knowledge of the Old Testament. In instructing his students he sets out a model of prophetic biblical interpretation: grounded in the original languages, shaped by rigorous linguistic work, but mindful of the tradition of interpretation and the wider church. In the end, it is profoundly theological and pastoral. Intended for the future ministers he was training in the Lectorium this commentary enabled Bibliander to set out lucidly his view of the relationship between language and theology. It was also a broader manifesto for Zurich, an admonition to the ruling council about good government and a lucid statement of the place of the prophet in the community. To read his work is to be taken on a rollercoaster ride that leaves one breathless. If we are to understand the extraordinary confluence of talent that stood beside Heinrich Bullinger, and how that group gave a distinctive character to Reformed Christianity, we must know better the most original mind in Zurich.

*Three Translations of Nahum 1:1–6 (Numbered in
Bibliander's Text; Nahum 1:1–7 in Modern Versification)*

I have included the translation of Sebastian Münster from his *Biblia Hebraica*, which appeared in Basel in 1534/35, making it concurrent with Bibliander's commentary. On the whole we see that Münster stays much closed to the Vulgate than Bibliander does. I have provided English translations of Nahum from the NIV.

Title

NIV: 'An oracle concerning Nineveh. The book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite.'

VULGATE: 'Onus Ninive, liber visionis Naum Helschesei.'

BIBLIANDER: 'Vaticinium grave adversus Ninivem: libellus propheticus Nahum Elcesei.'

MÜNSTER: 'Onus Nineve: liber visionis Nahum Elkosaei.'

1.

NIV: 'The LORD is a jealous and avenging God; the LORD takes vengeance and is filled with wrath. The LORD takes vengeance on his foes and maintains his wrath against his enemies.'

VULGATE: 'Deus aemulator et ulciscens dominus et habens furorem, ulciscens dominus et habens furorem, ulciscens dominus in hostes suos, et irascens ipse inimicis suis.'

BIBLIANDER: 'Deus inique ferens iniurias et ultor Iovis, ultor Iovis et vehemens, ultor Iovis in hostes suos, et iniuriarum memor adversum inimicos suos.'

MÜNSTER: 'Deus aemulator et ulciscens dominus et habens furorem: ulciscitur dominus hostes suos, et conservat (ultionem) inimicorum suorum.'

2.

NIV: The LORD is slow to anger and great in power; the LORD will not leave the guilty unpunished. His way is in the whirlwind and the storm, and clouds are the dust of his feet.

VULGATE: 'Dominus patiens et magnus fortitudine, et mundans non faciet innocentem: dominus in tempestate et turbine viae eius, et nebulae pulvis pedum eius.'

BIBLIANDER: 'Iovis patiens et pollens viribus, at nequiquam dimittens impunita (scelera) Iovis via per turbinem et procellam (est) nebulae autem pulvis pedum eius.'

MÜNSTER: 'Dominus longanimis est et magnus robore, sed fontem non faciet infontem: dominus in turbine et tempestate via eius, nubes veluti pulvis pedum eius.'

3.

NIV: 'He rebukes the sea and dries it up; he makes all the rivers run dry. Bashan and Carmel wither and the blossoms of Lebanon fade.'

VULGATE: 'Increpans mare et exiccans illud, et omnia flumina ad desertum deducens: infirmatus est Basan et Carmelus, et flos libani elanguit.'

BIBLIANDER: 'Qui statim ut increpitavit mare, ipsum arefacit omnesque fluvios exiccat. Deformatur Basan et Carmelus, floridusque, Libanus deformatur.'

MÜNSTER: 'Ipse increpat mare et exiccat illud, atque omnia flumina arefacit: exterminatur Basan et Charmel, atque germen Libani exterminatur.'

4.

NIV: 'The mountains quake before him and the hills melt away. The earth trembles at his presence, the world and all who live in it.'

VULGATE: 'Montes commoti sunt ab eo, et colles desolati sunt: et contremuit terra a facie eius, et orbis et omnes habitants in eo'

BIBLIANDER: 'Montes ab ipso contremiscunt, et colles sese resolvunt. Terra se proripit ex illius conspectus, et totius (adeo) orbis una cum degentibus in eo.'

MÜNSTER: 'Montes concutiuntur ab ipso, et colles resoluuntur: sed et terra ipsa desolatur a conspectus eius, et orbis atque cuncti habitatores eius.'

5.

NIV: 'Who can withstand his indignation? Who can endure his fierce anger? His wrath is poured out like fire; the rocks are shattered before him.'

VULGATE: 'Ante faciem indignationis eius quis stabit? Et quis resistet in ira furoris eius? Indignatio eius effuse est ut ignis, et petrae dissolutae sunt ab eo.'

BIBLIANDER: 'Sub eius excandescencia quis persisteret? In aestu nasi eius quis duraret? Calor ipsius constat in morem ignis, ut silices ab eo dissolvantur.'

MÜNSTER: 'Et quis istabit ante faciem indignationis eius? Aut quis consistet a furore vultus eius? Furor eius conflatur (in hostes eius) quasi ignis: et petrae dissoluuntur ab eo.'

6.

NIV: 'The LORD is good, a refuge in times of trouble. He cares for those who trust in him'

VULGATE: 'Bonus dominus et confortans in die tribulationis, et sciens sperantes in se.'

BIBLIANDER: 'Rursum benignus est dominus, praefidium temporibus difficilimis atque cognitos habens praestolantes se.'

MÜNSTER: 'Bonus est dominus, et est robur in die tribulationis, et cognoscit sperantes in se.'

MOSES, PLATO AND FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS. CASTELLIO'S CONCEPTIONS OF SACRED AND PROFANE IN HIS LATIN VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE

Irena Backus

Castellio's Latin Bible constitutes, rather like the translator himself, something of an odd man out among 16th century Latin Bible translations. It provoked an overtly hostile reaction in the Genevan circles as witnessed by Beza's swingeing attacks on it in 1556 and 1563.¹ Indeed, Castellio's Bible was only republished twice during his lifetime. The first edition of 1551² was followed by two further expanded and corrected imprints in 1554 and 1556.³ The one important addition to the 1554 version was a series of extracts from Flavius Josephus, made up to correspond to the length of a medium sized biblical book. These merit some attention and I shall return to them later on. The final 1556 edition also contained an index. This was also the edition reprinted posthumously by Petrus Perna in 1573.⁴ However, the text did not gain real popularity until the late 17th century with the edition of Thomas Fritsch which appeared in Frankfurt in 1697.⁵ Ferdinand Buisson and Hans Rudolf Guggisberg after him estimate at thirteen the number of editions of the complete Bible published between 1551 and 1778 which implies ten editions from the late 17th and from the 18th centuries.⁶

¹ See Beza's preface to his *Novum D. N. Iesu Christi Testamentum. Latine olim a vetere interprete nunc denuo a Theodoro Beza versum, cum eiusdem annotationibus in quibus ratio interpretationis redditur* (Geneva, R. Estienne, 1556) in *Biblia utriusque Testamenti* (Geneva, R. Estienne, 1556–1557) and his *Responsio ad defensiones et reprehensiones Sebastiani Castellionis, quibus suam Noui Testamenti interpretationem defendere... conatus est* (Geneva, R. Estienne, 1563).

² *Biblia interprete Sebastiano Castalione una cum eiusdem annotationibus*, (Basel, J. Parcus and J. Oporinus, 1551).

³ *Biblia interprete Sebastiano Castalione una cum eiusdem annotationibus. Totum opus recognovit ipse et adiecit ex Flavio Josepho Historiae supplementum ab Esdra temporibus usque ad Machabaeos itemque a Machabaeis usque ad Christum* (Basel, J. Oporinus, 1554). *Biblia interprete Sebastiano Castalione una cum eiusdemque annotationibus ...Accessit quoque rerum et verborum memorabilium index* (Basel, J. Oporinus, 1556).

⁴ *Biblia sacra ex Sebastiani Castalionis postrema recognitione cum annotationibus eiusdem et historiae supplemento ab Esdra ad Machabaeos inde usque ad Christum ex Josepho, index praeterea novus et is quidem locupletissimus* (Basel, Petrus Perna, 1573).

⁵ *Biblia sacra ex Sebastiani Castellionis interpretatione...* (Frankfurt a/M, Thomas Fritsch, 1692). See also H. R. Guggiseberg, *Sebastian Castellio 1515–1563* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), p. 313.

⁶ This list is provisional. Cf. Guggisberg (1997), p. 264–265.

These appeared especially in Germany and in England where John Locke was one of the most prominent English admirers of Castellio's version. As Guggisberg points out, Locke spent the years 1683–1689 in the Netherlands where he would have become familiar not just with the Basel scholar's writings on religious tolerance but also with his Bible. After his return to England in 1693 Locke entered into correspondence with the Dutch historian Philip van Limborch concerning the likelihood of reprinting the Bible in Amsterdam. However, it was not in Amsterdam that the project came to fruition but in London where the work was printed in 1699, if Buisson and Guggisberg are to be believed.⁷

The object of this paper is to examine Castellio's Latin Bible and his other biblical works with a view to analysing his views on the relationship between the sacred and the profane. It is important to note before going any further that Castellio differed from his contemporaries in one important respect with regard to biblical language. Naturally, he considered the Holy Spirit as the author but he did not view the message of the Bible as in any way linked to its language. The biblical message was accessible to all those who had faith, regardless of whether they were literate or illiterate, learned or unlearned. This left room for scholars to interpret the letter of the Bible according to human criteria of grammar, syntax and language and also, as we shall see, to complement the biblical text with apocryphal writings.⁸ In the particular case of a Latin translation of the Bible, this meant translating it as accurately as possible into as good Latin as possible and this in turn meant classical Latin. This view of the Bible is to be contrasted with Beza's as expressed in the preface to his Annotations on the New Testament (1565). For Beza and indeed for Erasmus, the Holy Spirit speaks in Hebrew and Greek which therefore acquire the status of holy or inspired languages.⁹ Beza therefore follows Greek syntax in his

⁷ See Guggisberg (1997), p. 283.

⁸ See Guggisberg (1997), pp. 70–71.

⁹ Cf. Erasmus' preface to the reader, LB 6, ***4v: "...ita in verbis vt apparet plebeis, in syllabis, in ipsis denique literarum apiculis ingenia diuinæ sapientiae condita sunt. Qui miratur cur Spiritus ille diuinus suas opes his inuolucris tegere voluerit, idem miretur cur aeterna sapientia pauperis, humilis et contempti damnatique hominis personam assumerit." Cf. *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, ed. Alain Dufour, Henri Meylan and others (Geneva, Droz, 1960, in progress), vol. II, 228: "quod si graece loquens Spiritus sanctus ab istiusmodi hebraismis non abstinuit...non est (opinor) cur hoc meum studium quispiam reprehendat ». On this see also Irena Backus, « L'influence de l'exégèse d'Erasmus sur le milieu calvinien à Genève » in: Emile Braekman ed., *Érasme et les théologiens réformés* (Brussels, Société Royale d'Histoire du Protestantisme Belge, 2005), pp. 141–147. On Castellio's position see Guggisberg (1997).

New Testament translation as closely as possible, while extolling the virtues of Hebrew as not only the inspired but also the fundamental language on which all the other languages rest.¹⁰ For him, the correct understanding of the biblical message is inseparable from knowledge of biblical languages. This means that a Latin translation of the Bible must remain as close as possible to the biblical idiom. He considers Castellio's theories an aberration. From the second, Greek-Latin, version onwards, he names the Basel scholar explicitly in his preface¹¹ as the most reprehensible contemporary translator and interpreter because of his propensity to sacrifice the authenticity of the Hebrew idiom to elegant Latin.

My object here, however, is not to re-examine the controversy between Beza and Castellio¹² but to focus on the latter's articulation of the sacred and the profane which is, as is to be expected, strongly affected by his view of the status of biblical languages in relation to the biblical message. While orthodox protestant scholars such as Bullinger, Calvin or Beza integrate allusions to classical authors and civilisation into their theology and biblical annotations in commentaries without any justification, Castellio has to remind his readers where the sacred ends and the profane begins, if he is not to reduce the Bible to the same status as the writings of Greek and Latin non Christian authors or make it seem as if the latter also contain something of the inspired biblical message. I propose to focus here, firstly, on Castellio's *Moses latinus* of 1546 which I shall confront with his 1554 translation of the Bible and, secondly, on the extensive fragments from Josephus' *Antiquitates judaicae* which he incorporates into the latter.

Moses Latinus

Castellio makes one of the most revealing statements on his attitude to the Bible in the preface to his 1561 edition of Homer:¹³

¹⁰ *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, vol. II, p. 228: "Studui autem in primis vt non modo a graecis sed etiam a recepta iam olim editione quam minimum deflecterem. Verborum proprietatem adeo studiose sum sectatus vt etiam a synonymis, quoad eius fieri potuit, libens abstinuerim."

¹¹ *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, vol. V, p.170.

¹² See note 59 below and Josef Eskhult's contribution to the present volume.

¹³ *Homeri Opera graecolatina quae quidem nunc extant omnia...In haec operam suam contulit Sebastianus Castalio sicuti in praefatione...* (Basel, N. Brylinger, 1561). See also Guggisberg (1997), pp. 177–178 where the same excerpt from the preface is cited in German translation.

About twenty two years ago when I was a mere stripling, I was so taken with admiration of Homer's illustrious name and with the beauty of his language, that I read him with more diligence than I should have whilst devoting far too little effort to the holy Scripture (I found its barbarous style offensive although I was otherwise favourably inclined to it). However, now that my mind illumined by the light of Christ from above wishes to practise only better things, I have reached the state in which I have to exercise as an adult the art which I learned as a youth. So the same thing has happened to me as that which happened to the Israelites who first served the Chaldaeans most willingly only to be coerced to serve them later on. For such is divine justice that one has to expiate sins that one committed by being made to repeat the sinful action. I mention this here as a warning to boys who can learn by my example to skim over that which needs to be skimmed and to devote themselves fully to that which requires full dedication, so that they do not take the maid for the mistress and the mistress for the maid. In other words, that they do not dedicate themselves to human studies while skimping on study of the sacred. For it is appropriate that study of the sacred should dictate the human subjects of study and that the human subjects of study should serve the study of the sacred.¹⁴

According to Guggisberg, this passage shows Castellio's profound Christian spirituality which makes thoroughly inappropriate any characterisation of him as a Christian humanist moraliser.¹⁵ While this is no doubt true, it is equally interesting to note what Castellio does not say in this self-deprecatory paragraph. In fact, while he deplores that due to his misspent youth, he now has to edit and translate pagan authors such as Homer in order to make a living, he does not make the slightest reference to any alteration of his view of biblical idiom as barbaric nor does he say that things divine are linked to a particular way of talking which may seem barbaric to one schooled in classical grammar and rhetoric. All that concerns him is the message and not the medium. In fact if we look at his literary output, we note that it is very largely devoted to biblical production starting with the extremely popular *Dialogi sacri* first published in 1543 in Geneva by Jean Girard¹⁶ and culminating with his Latin and French translations of the Bible in 1551 and 1555. All his biblical works bear marks of his concern to render the Bible into as good a Latin as possible. Among the works that intervene between those two publications we draw special attention to *Jonas propheta heroico carmine descriptus*, together with

¹⁴ Latin text cited by Guggisberg (1997), p. 178, note 19.

¹⁵ Guggisberg (1997), p. 178.

¹⁶ See Ferdinand Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion. Sa vie et son œuvre*, (Geneva, Droz, 2010 with introduction by Max Engammare. One volume reprint of the two volume Paris, Hachette, 1892 edition.), vol. II, pp. 341–352.

Prodromos, (a Life of John the Baptist also in heroic verse) published in 1545; *Ecloga de nativitate Christi* published in 1546; *Moses latinus ex hebraeo factus et in eundem praefatio qua multiplex eius doctrina ostenditur, et annotationes in quibus translationis ratio sicubi opus est redditur et loci difficiliores explicantur* also published in 1546. This particular work to which I shall be devoting closer attention was followed by the *Psalterium reliquaque sacrarum literarum carmina et preces cum argumentis et brevi difficultiorum locorum declaratione*...published in 1547. His Latin translation of the Bible of 1551 was followed in 1554 by *Jobi de altissima Dei providentia et christianae vitae militia narratio et disputatio*...and by *Ecclesiasticus sive sapientia Josuae Sirachi filii*. Subsequently to the second Latin edition of the Bible (1554) and the French version of 1555, Castellio published in 1556 *Salomonis Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Sapientia cum nono, decimo, undecimo et duodecimo capitibus Ecclesiastici latine*. His editions of classical texts in the strict sense of the term date from after 1555 the sole exception being his *Xenophontis philosophi ac historici opera* which first appeared in 1545 prior to being corrected and expanded in 1553, 1555 and 1561. The other classics edited by Castellio include, apart from his 1561 edition of Homer, the 1559 Herodotus in the translation of Valla and Heresbach amended by Castellio and Diodorus Siculus part-translated and part-emended by him, published in the same year. His Thucydides appeared posthumously in 1564 and was again no more than a corrected version of Valla's translation.¹⁷ In a word, Castellio devoted far more time and effort to his biblical publications than to his editions of the classics. Significantly, he did not choose to correct or amend an existing version of the Latin Bible but produced an entirely original translation.

As the titles of most of his biblical productions show, we are dealing with a scholar who devoted most of his life-effort to transposing biblical writings into classical forms and style. How did he set about doing this and did his view of biblical language evolve at all between the *Dialogi sacri*, where the biblical text is heavily adapted to the needs of schoolchildren and the Bible of 1551/54, and if so how? As it would be going far beyond the scope of an essay to consider all of his biblical production here in detail, I shall focus on the *Moses latinus* of 1546 and the Latin Bible both of which represent examples of translation *sensu stricto* rather than paraphrases or adaptations of the Bible to the classical mode.

¹⁷ For fullest available bibliography we refer the reader to Buisson (2010), vol. II, pp. 341–372.

As regards *Moses latinus*, both Buisson and Guggisberg suggest that in 1546 Castellio took more interest in *belles lettres* than in the Bible as an inspired book and that his perspective changed between then and 1551/1554.¹⁸ I for my part, however, should like to argue that *Moses latinus* and the Latin Bible are the product of the same view of the Bible as an inspired book which ought to share in the merits of classical literature, which accounts for the need to translate it into as good a Latin as possible, rather than claiming misguidedly that its rough Latin style is the product of sacred rhetoric, which cannot be judged by human aesthetic standards. This is the object of Castellio's preface to the *Moses latinus* which is addressed to Barthélemy Argenterio and where he defends his method especially against those who argue that Moses stuttered (cf. Ex. 4, 10). That may well be, replies Castellio, but he did not have a stuttering pen, given that his writings are among the most eloquent.¹⁹ Thus Castellio's preface to the text should be seen as announcing his later biblical works and not as witnessing aesthetic preoccupations of youth which were later to be swept aside.²⁰ Castellio in his preface to Argenterio argues *per anticipationem*

¹⁸ See Buisson (2010), vol. I, esp. pp. 296–297.

¹⁹ Sebastianus Castellio, *Moses latinus ex hebraeo factus et in eundem Praefatio, qua multiplex eius doctrina ostenditur et Annotationes in quibus translationis ratio sicubi opus est redditur et loci difficiliores explicantur* (Basel, J. Oporinus, 1546).

²⁰ *Moses latinus ex hebraeo factus et in eundem Praefatio qua multiplex eius doctrina ostenditur, et Annotationes in quibus translationis ratio sicubi opus est, redditur et loci difficiliores explicantur*. Per Sebastianum Castalionem. Basileae [1546]:

α 2r. /Sebastianus Castalio Bartholomaeo Argenterio medico S. “Quia nonnullos a sacrarum literarum lectione sermonis absterret impolitia, alios obscuritas et ignoti latinis auribus hebraismi, conatus sum Mosen, Bartholomaeae Argenterii, in latinum sermonem tanta facilitate atque elegantia transferre, quanta ipsum si latinus fuisset usurum fuisse, ex ipsius hebraeo sermone conicio ut neque iam peregrinitate quenquam neque obscuritate possit offendere. Sed quoniam non omnia in translatione declarari poterant, adieci Annotationes, quibus difficiles quosdam locos explicavi. Praeterea praefatio-/α2v./nem scripsi quae ad Mosen intelligendum in universum magnopere profutura est.

Atque ut hoc opus exiret quam fieri posset accuratissimum, adhibui illam veterum recitandi consuetudinem et antequam excuderetur, totum duobus quibusdam eruditissimis. viris legi, qui possent de lingua latina ferre iudicium et eorum admonitu non pauca correxi. Deinde aliis hebraeae linguae valde peritis conferendum cum hebraeo sermone dedi et cum eis de locis dubiis contuli, eorumque consilium multis in locis ad interpretationis fidem secutus sum. Denique neque meo, neque aliorum labori neque tempori peperi (nam in eo plus biennio sudatum est) quo prodiret Moses quam fieri posset latinissimus atque facillimus. Neque ta-/α3 r./ men non futuros puto qui laborem hunc reprehendant. Dicit aliquis: placet vetus interpres: ergo illum amplectere et tamen intellige quotidie profici. At idem quod tu conaris fecerunt ante te alii. Confer illorum interpretationes cum nostra et intelliges, si eruditus es (liceat hoc mihi dicere sine invidia) quantum intersit. At non est in sermonis elegantia sita pietas: ne in barbarie quidem. Verum mihi placet ipsa barbaries: at ego eis scribo quibus non displicet elegantia. Delector hebraismorum maiestate atque antiquitate: hebraea lege. Mihi non placet fucus: ne mihi quidem, sed neque sordes.

against two sorts of adversaries: humanists such as Politiano or Budé whom he names as showing greater respect for Homer than for the Bible²¹ and the majority of theologians and biblical scholars of the period who contend that Moses ought to be read either in the Vulgate or in the translation of Castellio's 16th century precursors in the art of Latin Bible translation and that Hebraisms are an essential part of the text. This theory of translating the Bible into Latin goes back to Jerome who proclaims in his letter 57 to Pammachius that it is important to translate sense for sense rather than word for word, the only exception to this rule being the Bible 'where the very order of words is a mystery.' This was emphatically not Castellio's view of Bible translation. He implies that there is no mystery in the actual biblical terms any more than in their order, the subtext here being that divine inspiration has nothing to do with the language of the sacred text. The translator's duty therefore is not to maintain the idiom of the original Hebrew or Greek but to translate into the best possible and purest Latin idiom.

However, Castellio does not aim to expose himself to accusations of treating the Bible and, more precisely, the Pentateuch as if it were a document like any other. So as to avoid this, he has to show that the books of Moses are superior to any human writing. He thus portrays Moses as not just an author who transcends all human arts and sciences but as one who embodies them. This is the real purpose of Castellio's preface to the text revealing a very particular view of the Bible. We are dealing with a concrete justification of a particular way of translating the Bible, and not, as Buisson would have it, a sort of childish expression of ideas that laicise the Bible, making it a foundational document for Christian ethics and devaluing its transcendent qualities, which make Castellio into a sort of naive precursor of the Enlightenment.²² Castellio argues that Moses is the best

Assuetus sum impolitoribus: ergo patere alios assuescere paulo cultioribus. At fuit Moses balbus. /α3 v./ Fateor sed lingua balbus qua nobiscum non loquitur et propter cuius vitium fratris indiguit eloquentia. At non balbum habuit calamum, quo nos hodie affatur, cum eius scriptis nihil possit esse disertius. Sed quid ego ad singula? Qui erunt aequiores ipsi me defendent ultro; iniquis ne Christus quidem satisfecit. Itaque ab aequioribus postulo ut meum hoc studium bono animo susceptum boni consulant. Deinde ut si quae repraehendenda viderint (homines enim sumus) amice me quacunque ratione admoneant. Paratus sum (quod et ante feci) vel errores fateri atque corrigere vel eorum rationem reddere quae etiam recta tamen reprehendi posse videbuntur...".

²¹ See Castellio, *Moses latinus*, fol.γ 8r.: "...vtque desinant vel Plutarchus et Plinius (qui hunc fortasse non legerant) vel Politianus et Budeaus (qui oscitanter legerant) ingeniorum palmam Homero tribuere, poetae magno fateor, sed hoc nostro vate tanto minori, quanto terrena coelestibus, humana diuinis, brevia aeternis viliora sunt."

²² Buisson (2010), vol. I, pp. 296–297.

literary artist, the best poet, the best doctor and the best philosopher there is. I shall focus here on his portrayal of Moses the philosopher, which shows Castellio to establish a link between man and God via the soul. This basically neoplatonist worldview enables the Basel scholar to show not just man's supreme value as creature closest to the divinity but also man's total submission to God. Although the Greeks thought that they were the first to invent philosophy and all other branches of learning, in Castellio's view they did no more than plagiarise Moses.²³

This part of the preface is couched entirely in philosophical terms (just as the medical part is couched in medical terms etc.). Castellio's view of philosophy is Christian. The object of philosophy or the love of wisdom, as he defines it, is to diligently seek to know God. True wisdom is dual knowledge of the Almighty, the knowledge of him via the creation and the knowledge of him via divine prophecies and what he calls "sacred" or "divine" teaching.²⁴ Who is better placed to possess dual knowledge of God than Moses who spoke to the Almighty "face to face" in so far as his human nature could allow it? This according to Castellio enabled him not only to become acquainted with divine teaching but also to acknowledge God as the creator of the universe.²⁵ In other words, as Castellio himself admits, Moses is the purveyor of both natural and revealed theology. However, Castellio goes on to say, as he chose deliberately not to treat theology in this preface, he prefers to go on to show how Moses embodies and transcends all aspects of human philosophy, that is, natural and moral philosophy as well as rhetoric. Without going into unnecessary detail here, I note that as regards moral philosophy Castellio appears to follow the humanist model developed by the Florentine Neoplatonists such as Ficino and Pico della Mirandola while also countering the latter's view of human reason. In his *Oratio de dignitate hominis* Pico argued against theologians that man should emulate the dignity and glory of the angels by "exercising philosophy." He says that man, if he cultivates what is rational, will reveal himself a heavenly being; if intellectual, he will be an angel and the son of

²³ *Moses latinus*, fol. β 6v–7r: "Veniamus ad philosophiam et Graecos ut in caeteris, sic et in hac plagii convincamus, qui sibi omnium artium inventionem attribuerunt, cum artium omnium princeps Moses tot ante saeculis fuerit quam apud Graecos nominarentur artes."

²⁴ *Moses latinus*, fol. β 7r: "Cognoscitur autem Deus tum ex huius mundi fabrica tanquam artifex ex opificio, tum per oracula divinamque disciplinam."

²⁵ *Moses latinus*, fol. β 7r: "...quis melius quaeso tradet quam Moses, qui ad divina arcana admissus, qui cum Deo praesens praesente (quoad mortalis natura patitur) colloquutus et ad totius divinae domus contemplationem intromissus omnia nobis et divina (quatenus fas est) et humana, Dei iussu patefecit?"

God." To him a philosopher "was a creature of Heaven and not of the earth." The Moses he depicts in the *De dignitate* is not the true philosopher in the sense of having both types of knowledge of God, via creation and via privileged access to divine teaching. Pico's Moses is the judge who exhorts human kind to the knowledge of the rational, that is of all human sciences and arts as it is through them man knows God.²⁶ Castellio for his part states that if one knows Mosaic biblical teaching, one will see that it encompasses and transcends all human arts, first and foremost philosophy.

It is useful to remember here that without sharing Pico's concept of reason, Castellio had a far more positive view of it than Calvin and that (although he did not think that man could reach the status of angels by using philosophy), he judged faith to be only a preliminary stage in man's obtaining a full and rational knowledge of God.²⁷ This led him to accept the Bible as not just a source of faith but also as source of rational knowledge, procedure that in turn left him free to criticise antique philosophy as it was by definition not based on the Bible. Calvin, for whom faith was knowledge, was more concerned with showing that reason was a purely human and terrestrial phenomenon and therefore very likely to err because of its corrupt state. However, it could reach some conclusions not entirely contradictory with the Christian doctrine. The difference here between the two theologians is thus one of emphasis, not one of sharply contrasting viewpoints. Castellio considers Bible as the only true source of reason which guarantees the full understanding of God, Calvin adopts a

²⁶ "Let us also cite Moses himself, who is but little removed from the living well-spring of the most holy and ineffable understanding by whose nectar the angels are inebriated. Let us listen to the venerable judge as he enunciates his laws to us who live in the desert solitude of the body: Let those who, still unclean, have need of moral philosophy, dwell with the peoples outside the tabernacles, under the open sky, until, like the priests of Thessaly, they shall have cleansed themselves. Those who have already brought order into their lives may be received into the tabernacle, but still may not touch the sacred vessels. Let them rather first, as zealous levites, in the service of dialectic, minister to the holy offices of philosophy. When they shall themselves be admitted to those offices, they may, as priests of philosophy, contemplate the many-colored throne of the higher God, that is the courtly palace of the star-hung heavens, the heavenly candelabrum aflame with seven lights and elements which are the furry veils of this tabernacle; so that, finally, having been permitted to enter, through the merit of sublime theology, into the innermost chambers of the temple, with no veil of images interposing itself, we may enjoy the glory of divinity. This is what Moses beyond a doubt commands us, admonishing, urging and exhorting us to prepare ourselves..." See <http://www.cscs.umich.edu/~crshalizi/Mirandola/> (accessed on 6th June 2010).

²⁷ See Irena Backus, "The Issue of Reformation Scepticism Revisited. What Erasmus and Sebastian Castellio did or did not know." In: *Renaissance Scepticisms*, ed. R. M. Nieto and Gianni Paganini (Dordrecht, Kluwer-Springer 2008), pp. 63–89.

sharper distinction between human reason and revelation. Both differ from Pico who passed over revelation for the sake of pure, human philosophy which alone sufficed to guarantee man angelic status.

Castellio's view of philosophy is thus closer to Calvin than to Renaissance humanism although, in sharp contrast with Calvin, he does not view human nature as having lost the image of God (in which it was created) due to original sin.²⁸ Calvin, as I have already argued elsewhere, was enough of a humanist to retain the Greek philosophical framework when talking about morality and human emotions. Where he differs from Castellio is to put Christian and classical philosophical thought in opposition to one another, showing how Christianity transforms the conceptual content of notions such as pity (a weakness for the Stoics), glory (worldly glory in Aristotle's view) and so on. This does not make antique philosophy pointless to a Christian. On the contrary, Calvin is convinced of its usefulness but only as a propedeutic discipline. He emphatically does not see Moses as the embodiment of all human teaching but prefers to insist on the otherness of all Christian concepts. The continuity between the pagan and the Christian resides for him not in the former being included in the latter but in a common store of moral and ethical categories, which assume a different meaning according to whether they are used by pagans or Christians. This difference between the two reformers, however, does not mean that Castellio automatically assumes that all pagan philosophical doctrines are correct while Calvin automatically assumes that they are all wrong. This becomes clearer if we take the example of human emotions and qualities, such as anger and virtue. Whereas Calvin in his discussions of anger argues that man's anger was compatible with reason before the Fall, thus vindicating the Stoic view to some extent,²⁹ Castellio argues that biblical examples of Moses getting angry simply serve to point up that the Stoic doctrine of the wise man as one fundamentally free from passions is mistaken.³⁰ As regards virtue, Calvin argues that it does not consist in performing good actions as the Stoics thought but neither does he repudiate the idea that good deeds are conducive to happiness. On the contrary, he recommends acting virtuously to his flock as a practice

²⁸ See Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation* (Leiden, Brill, 2003), pp. 71–85.

²⁹ See Backus, *Historical Method*, pp. 74–76.

³⁰ *Moses latinus*, γ 2v: "Iam iram non esse vitiosam illam Stoicorum indolentiam esse explodendam, inde perspicuum est quod videmus Mosem ipsum et bonos viros ipsumque Deum (ut humano more loquar) irasci."

that certainly does the Christian no harm although it does not procure him true happiness either.³¹ Castellio is more explicit, in accord with his own doctrine of free will, reason and good works. He considers the Stoic concept of virtue as action leading to happiness as correct and compatible with the Bible where God is frequently shown as rewarding good deeds.³²

What of the translation itself? Naturally, for Castellio Moses is the best rhetorician just as he is the best philosopher. Far from emphasizing the simplicity and otherness of biblical rhetoric, Castellio is unusual among his contemporaries and sees it as encapsulating everything that antique authors said on the subject subsequently.³³ He contends, illustrating his argument with detailed examples, that the Mosaic account contains not only all the major rhetorical figures as identified by Quintilian and Cicero among others but incarnates all the three styles outlined by Cicero in *De oratore*: the grand style, the middle style and the plain style. He has made an effort therefore in his translation to convey all three as they occur. As I said, exceptionally for the period, Castellio sees Moses and not the Holy Spirit as the author of the text, but at no point does he deny that Moses received divine inspiration or, to put it in terms closer to his own: everything that Moses had, was God-given and Moses is not to be praised for himself.³⁴ This view of the status of the biblical text shows that Castellio cannot be considered as precursor of the Enlightenment, as Arnold claimed,³⁵ or of modern liberal Protestantism as Buisson contended. I shall return to this point in the conclusion.

There is no fundamental change of perspective in Castellio's translation of the text between 1546 and 1551/1554 or in his critical apparatus, as the example of the creation account taken from Genesis 1 and 2 shows. The most striking feature of Castellio's annotations in both versions is the almost total absence of references to Christian biblical tradition. As a

³¹ See Backus, *Historical Method*, p. 84.

³² *Moses latinus*, fol. γ 2v: "Virtutem autem in actione consistere ex eo fit manifestum quod rectae rationes et praecipuntur et laudantur."

³³ Cf. *Moses latinus*, fol. β 1v: "Videamus ecquid eorum Mosi praetermissum aut quid aliud a posteris inventum sit, quod non ille primus dixerit."

³⁴ *Moses latinus*, fol. γ 8v: "Deinde ut quemadmodum Moses sibi nihil, sed omnia Deo tribuit, hunc spectat, hunc colit, ad hunc omnia refert, sic illi cum recte perlegerint discant non ipsum Mosem celebrare, qui nihil habuit nisi a Deo; non ipsi sibi placere aut insolescere cum Deus omnia alta deprimat, sed seipsos Deo summittere, ei gratias agere, eum laudare, celebrare, canere deque eius lege domi forisque stantes cubantesque dies noctesque cogitare atque ex ea sic vitam traducere ut ad aeternam felicemque vitam perveniant quae nobis promissa est per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen."

³⁵ On this see Guggisberg (1997), pp. 294–296.

specific instance of this I cite Gen. 1, 6–7 on the separation of the waters above and those below by an expanse or firmament. This is the literal rendering of the Hebrew:

And God said: let there be an expanse (*râquiah*- *expanse/firmament*) in the midst of the waters, and let it divide between waters the waters. And God made the expanse and separated between the waters which (*were*) under the expanse and the waters which (*were*) above the expanse; and it was so.

This is Castellio's translation of 1546:

Deinde iussit Deus ut existeret liquidum inter aquas, quod aquam ab aqua disungeret. Fecitque liquidum quod divideret aquam quae super liquidum est ab ea quae subter est.

In 1551/1554 this translation undergoes only a cosmetic change:

Deinde iussit Deus ut existeret liquidum inter aquas quod aquam ab aqua disungeret. Fecitque liquidum quod diuideret aquam quae subter liquidum est ab ea quae super est.

In his annotations on the passage³⁶ he argues in 1546 and 1554 that if the water below is the seas, the water above must be air as the latter contains rain. He goes to some lengths to demonstrate that the two words for heaven in Greek, *ouranos* (the heavenly firmament) and *aether* (air) are covered by one and the same Hebrew word, *râquiah* or *liquidum*, which here means *air*, the *water above* being rain. He also concludes that biblical text notwithstanding, God created earth first and heaven second.³⁷ His interpretation of *liquidum* (literally *uninterrupted clearness*) as *air* has the support of modern scholarship and, more to the point, was adopted by Luther in his lectures on the First Book of Moses given between 1535 and 1545.³⁸ Castellio supports his exegesis in 1546 by referring to sources such as the Sibylline Oracles, Josephus and Ovid, all of which show clearly that rain comes from the sky or the air above. The only significant change in 1554 is the replacement of Ovid by a more detailed reference to Pliny's *Natural History*.

³⁶ *Moses latinus*, pp. 447–448.

³⁷ *Moses latinus*, p. 449: "Nam quod in propositione Moses coelum terrae praeponit, dignitatis, non creationis habet rationem. Idem enim cap. 2 dicit: cum terram coelumque fecisset Deus ubi terram a coelo anteponit. Ex quo patet verborum ordinem non semper eundem esse quam temporis."

³⁸ Cf. Martin Luther, *Vorlesungen über 1. Mose*, 1, 6, in *D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. XLII (Weimar, Herman Böhlau Nachfolger, 1911), p. 20. Luther does not identify the water above as rain and admits to not knowing what the expression means.

If we now turn to Calvin's Commentary of 1554³⁹ and Sermons of 1559⁴⁰ on the same passage (both in French), we note that Castellio's exegesis, apart from his use of non-Christian sources, is the same as Calvin's. However, language apart, Calvin's translation contains important differences from Castellio's such as the use of the first person plural in Gen. 1, 6 and throughout Gen. 1, 1–8 where the original demands. Castellio, we might note, adopts the third person singular narrative throughout Gen. 1, 1–8 and omits the conclusion to Gen. 1, 7 for stylistic reasons. This is Calvin's translation in both the Commentary and the Sermons:

Derechef Dieu dit: qu'il y ait une estendue entre les eaux et que elle separe les eaux des eaux. Dieu donc fit l'estendue et divisa les eaux qui estoient sous l'estendue d'avec celles qui estoient sus l'estendue. Et fut ainsi fait.

As regards the exegesis, Calvin does not cite any antique sources either in his Commentary or his Sermons. However, his interpretation of the passage is the same as Castellio's, albeit more overtly polemical. Like his adversary and like Luther previously, he is fundamentally opposed to Origen's and Gregory the Great's exegesis of there being either a bed of water above the clouds or of applying the water above the firmament or expanse to angels by allegory.⁴¹ He argues in the Commentary the Greeks have two words for heaven where Hebrew has one and that it is absurd to translate the Hebrew here as *firmamentum*, as it is *estendue* or expanse which is meant, a term which corresponds to Castellio's *liquidum* (*uninterrupted clearness*). Like Castellio, he thinks that the water above is simply rain and his mention of floods suggests that he also has Pliny's account in mind.⁴² Where he disagrees with Castellio (without mentioning his name)

³⁹ I refer to the original edition: *Commentaire de M. Jean Calvin sur le premier livre de Moïse, dit Genèse* (Geneva, Jean Girard, 1554), pp.11, 15–16.

⁴⁰ Jean Calvin, *Sermons sur la Genèse, chapitres 1, 11, 4*, ed. Max Engammare (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), pp. 23–24.

⁴¹ See editor's note in Calvin, *Sermons*, p. 24, ad ll.13–15. Cf. Calvin, *Commentaire*, pp. 15–16.

⁴² It is interesting to see these two commentaries in two columns:

Castellio, 1546, p. 448: "AQUA AUTEM SUPERIOR EST PLUVIA QUAE, QUANQUAM SUPRA TOTUM LIQUIDUM NON EST, TAMEN UT SUPRA LIQUIDUM DICATUR SATIS EST SI HABET INFRA SE LIQUIDUM. Nec vero consentaneum est Mosem cum hic de aqua nominatum loqueretur, nullam fecisse pluviae mentionem quae res non est parvi momenti

Calvin, 1554, p. 11: "C'est espace vide qui est tout à l'entour de la terre est l'ouvrage du second iour afin que le ciel ne soit meslé avec la terre...LE MOT QUI SIGNIFIE LESTENDUE NECOMPREND PAS SEULEMENT TOUTE LA REGION DE L'AIR MAIS AUSSI TOUT CE QUI EST PAR-DESSUS NOUS. AINSI LA DISPOSITION TANT DU CIEL QUE DE L'AIR EST APPELEE DE

is in thinking that the order of the biblical account is correct: God did create the heavens before the earth but the Holy Spirit caused Moses to recount it twice so that even the most ignorant could understand.⁴³ In contrast with Castellio, Calvin insists that the creation of rain is a miracle that proves that God has the entire creation in his control. The passage discussed shows clearly the principal differences and similarities between Castellio's and Calvin's approach to the Bible. Castellio can take liberties with style and the order of the account as to him the Holy Spirit inspired Moses but did not dictate the text to him word for word. Similarly, he relies on antique sources to bring out the harmony between the pagan and the Judaeo-Christian while insisting on the latter's superiority. However, in its salient details such as the interpretation of *râquiah* as air and that of *waters above* as rain, Castellio's exegesis is as protestant as Calvin's despite the latter's insistence on the literal inspiration of the Bible and the hegemony of divine providence. Although arriving from different angles, both Castellio and Calvin share, moreover, the preoccupation with explaining every detail and every nuance of the biblical text.

et cuius mentionem et Sibylla et Ovidius de mundi creatione loquentes, fecerunt." [NB. 1551/1554: *om.* "Et Ovidius"] "Necnon Josephus Mosem interpretatus dicit coelum factum esse pluvium. Nec aliud est pluviam *supra* liquidum dici quam latine aquam coelestem." [NB. 1551/1554: *add.* "Itaque Plinius principio libri 31 de aquis ita loquitur: scandunt in sublime et coelum quoque sibi vendicant ac nubium obtentu vitalem spiritum strangulant, quae causa fulmina elicit ipso discordante mundo. Quid esse mirabilius potest aquis in coelo stantibus? Haec Plinius. Eodem modo in 2. Reg. 21 dicitur aqua de coelo destillare, hoc est pluvia."]. EST AUTEM ANIMADVERTENDUM QUOD GRAECE AER ET AETHER ET OURANOS DICITUR QUOD AB HEBRAEIS UNO LIQUIDI SIVE COELI NOMINE COMPREHENDI, NEC ULLAM FIERI A MOSE DISTINCTIONEM AERIS, QUAE INFERIOR EST PARS AB AETHERE QUAE SUPERIOR. Latini quoque totum hoc coeli nomine comprehendunt. Quod si quis pervicacius negat hoc de quo hic Moses loquitur id esse quod graece aer, latine coelum dicitur, ostendat quod mare a superiore aqua dividit et quomodo vocent Hebraei aerem. Aliud quod aquas dividat nihil est."

CE NOM SANS DIFFÉRENCE. MAIS QUELQUE FOIS IL SIGNIFIE L'UN ET L'AUTRE ENSEMBLE, AUCUNE FOIS L'UN TANT SEULEMENT ... Afin de separer les eaux des eaux, dont sourd une grande difficulté. Car cela est estrange au sens commun et du tout incroyable qu'il y ait quelques eaux pardessus les cieux. Pour cette cause il y en a aucuns qui ont recours aux allegories et philosophent icy des anges. Mais c'est hors de propos. ... NOUS SCAVONS BIEN QUE LES PLUIES SONT CRÉÉES NATURELLEMENT MAIS LE DELUGE MONSTE ASSEZ COMMENT NOUS SERIONS SOUDAINEMENT ACCABLEZ DE LA CHUTE IMPETUEUSE DES NUÉES, si les ventailless du ciel n'estoyent pas encloses en la main de Dieu..." *Calvin expresses this more clearly in the Sermons, p. 24: "VOYONS DONC CELA, NOUS CONCLU- RONS QUE LES EAUX DONT IL EST ICI PARLÉ, CE SONT LES VAPEURS QUI S'ESLEVENT EN HAULT, DONT LES PLUIES ET LES GRESLES ET LES NEIGES SE PRODUISENT. Car c'est ung miracle excellent et qui est bien digne d'estre celebré par nous."*

⁴³ Calvin, *Commentaires*, 1554, pp. 15, 16.

Flavius Josephus

Castellio, as we have just seen, did not view every letter and every syllable of the Bible as inspired by the Holy Spirit, in the same way as Calvin did. Is that why he integrated long fragments of Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates* into the second, 1554 edition of his Bible?⁴⁴ Can we agree with Guggisberg who echoes Buisson when he says that Castellio's use of Flavius Josephus shows that he viewed the Bible as primarily a historical work?⁴⁵ Before trying to answer, we need to know something about the precise nature of these excerpts. There are two series of these. The first consisting of extracts from *Antiq.* XI, 7–8; XII, 1–6 is inserted after the end of 4 Esdras and just in front of 1 Machabees. The second longer series of extracts from *Antiq.* XIII, 15–24; XIV, 1–28; XV, 1–14; XVI, 1–17; XVII, 1–14; XVIII, 1–4 (*Iudaeorum adversus Pilatum seditio; item de Iesu Christo*) comes after the end of 2 Machabees. The length of the passages varies. Some amount to no more than a paragraph. Others occupy three or more folio sides.

This suggests a judicious choice of paragraphs likely to fill in gaps in the historical sequence between 4 Esdras and 1 Machabees and between 2 Machabees (which was then often misattributed to Josephus) and the New Testament. There is nothing fortuitous about Castellio closing the sequence with *Antiq.* XVIII, 3–4, the notorious *testimonium flavianum* whose authenticity was set at doubt later on in the 16th century by Joseph Scaliger. Scaliger had no particular axe to grind when he questioned the authenticity of this brief attestation of Jesus' existence and consigned the fragment to Christian apologetics. He simply found it too Christian in tone to be the work of a Jew.⁴⁶ Castellio's attribution of it to Flavius Josephus has

⁴⁴ For a fuller version of this part of my essay in French see Irena Backus, "Les extraits des Antiquités juives de Flavius Josèphe dans la Bible latine de Castellion" in *Sébastien Castellion. Des écritures à l'Écriture. Actes du colloque de l'Université Paris-Ouest, 15–16 avril 2010*, éd. Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (forthcoming: Paris, Garnier). This article focuses on Flavius Josephus and Castellio making no reference to Castellio and Moses latinus and to the issue of biblical language generally.

⁴⁵ *Biblia interprete Sebastiano Castalione una cum eiusdem annotationibus*, (Basel, Oporinus, 1551). For the text of the second edition of 1554 I am relying throughout on the posthumous 1573 edition printed by Petrus Perna in Basel: *Biblia sacra ex Sebastiani Castalionis postrema recognitione, cum annotationibus eiusdem et Historiae supplemento ab Esdra usque ad Machabaeos, inde usque ad Christum ex Iosepho* [...]. For Guggisberg's judgement on the addition of Flavius Josephus see Guggisberg (1997), p. 71. Cf. also Buisson (2010), vol. I, p. 311. The same extracts appear in Castellio's French Bible: *La Bible nouvellement translatee, Avec la suite de l'histoire depuis le tems d'Esdras iusqu'aux Maccabées: e depuis les Maccabées iusqu'a Christ* [...], (Basel, Herwagen, 1555). For modernised version see the edition of Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, (Paris, Bayard, 20005).

⁴⁶ Cf. Henk Jan de Jonge, "Joseph Scaliger's textual criticism of the New Testament", *Novum Testamentum* 38: 2 (1996), pp. 176–193 and literature cited *ibid.*

nothing exceptional about it for his era.⁴⁷ It is worth remembering that that the most common view nowadays is that Josephus did indeed mention Jesus in some way but that his original mention was recast early on by a Christian writer before the time of Eusebius who cites it in its present form in his *Ecclesiastical History* (1.11, 7).⁴⁸ We might note here that Castellio's literal Latin translation of the *testimonium* as well as his numbering literal Latin translation of the *testimonium* as well as his numbering of this and the other chapters of the *Antiq.* in the 1554 edition of the Bible are two factors that help us identify the Greek edition he used as being the editio princeps of 1544, which was due to the Belgian humanist Arnoldus Peraxylus Arlenius (1510–1582).⁴⁹ Arlenius dedicated his first editorial venture to his patron Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who was the ambassador of Charles V in Venice. Arlenius worked mainly in Spain and functioned as the main purveyor of Greek manuscripts for the Basel printers from 1541 onwards.⁵⁰ Although the length of the excerpts, their placing in the volume and Castellio's view of them in relation to the other biblical texts are very much his own, he is by no means the first Bible translator to rely on Flavius Josephus as an aid and a guide to biblical chronology. To cite just one of the many earlier examples I draw attention to several editions of *Biblia cū cōcordantijs veteris et noui testamēti sacrōrū canonum: necnō additionibus in marginibus varietatis diuersorū* [sic] *textuū: ac etiā canonibus antiq̃s quatuor euāgeliorum. Nouissime autem addite sunt concordantie ex viginti libris Iosephi de antiquitatibus et de bello iudaico excerpte (quas Iohannes de gradibus concordatibus congruīssimos locis)* all printed between 1516 et 1525 in Lyon by printers such as Jacques Sacon and others. Although this particular edition of the Vulgate does not go beyond tables of chronological

⁴⁷ Castellio's text: *Testimonium flavianum*, *Antiq.* XVIII, 3, 3 (3, 4 in Arlenius' text and Castellio's version): "Fuit etiam eo tempore Iesus vir sapiens, si virum dicere licet. Fuit enim incredibilium operum effector, magister hominum, qui verum cum voluptate accipiunt multosque Iudaeos, multos item Graecos ad se pellexit. Christus is fuit, quem cum Pilatus ab hominum nostrorum primis accusatum in crucem sustulisset, tamen amare non desierunt qui prius amauerant. Apparuit enim eis tertio die rediuivus, diuinis vatibus et haec et mille alia de eo miranda effatis, atque ab eo denominata Christianorum natio durat ad hunc diem."

⁴⁸ On this see Emil Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, transl. and revised by Gaza Vermes, Fergus Millar and Matthew Black, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973. Original German edition in 5 vols: 1901). For *testimonium flavianum* see especially vol. I (1973), pp. 428–441. Hereafter: Schürer (1973). Cf. also Solomon Zeitlin, *Josephus on Jesus* (Philadelphia, Dropsie College Press, 1931).

⁴⁹ *Phlabiou Iosephou Ioudaikēs archailogias logoi* [...]. *Flauii Iosephi opera*, Bâle, Jérôme Froben et Nicolas Episcopus, 1544. On this edition cf. Frank Hieronymus, *Der griechische Geist aus Basler Pressen*, (Catalogue of the Basel Library Exhibition of Greek editions, 4th. July–22nd. August 1992), (Basel, Basel University, 1992), no. 238, pp. 337–340.

⁵⁰ Cf. Hieronymus, *Der griechische Geist*, no. 238, p. 337.

concordances taken from the *Antiq.* and *De bello*, it shows that Castellio's idea of using the Jewish historian was not entirely revolutionary. This was quite natural seeing as Flavius Josephus' account is itself drawn from the canonical and apocryphal Bible as well as from non biblical sources of varying reliability. Whereas the earlier parts of Josephus' account are mainly based on the canonical Old Testament, the later parts, the very ones that are cited by Castellio, constitute a mixture of biblical, apocryphal, historical and legendary material.⁵¹

The year 1546 marks the appearance not just of *Moses latinus* but also, curious as it may seem, of Castellio's first publication on Flavius Josephus, a bilingual collection of texts for schoolboys entitled *Mosis Institutio reipublicae graecolatina ex Iosepho in gratiam puerorum decerpta ad discendam non solum graecam sed etiam latinam linguam vna cum pietate et religione* printed by Oporinus⁵² and dedicated to George, the son of the same Barthélemy Argentier to whom Castellio dedicated his *Moses latinus* published earlier on in the year. In his dedicatory letter to the boy, Castellio underlines the importance of Bible study for young people which should be undertaken from as early on as possible, life being short. Argentier wants the boy to learn piety as well as Latin and Greek, and Castellio finds Josephus ideal for the purpose. In his longer prefatory letter to the reader Castellio expresses his disapproval, common at the time, especially in humanist circles close to Melanchthon,⁵³ of the increasing use of Greek and Latin profane literature in school programmes. In his view, authors such as Lucian and Terence are above all apt to teach the wrong moral code and their use provides the enemies of Christian (that is, protestant) religion with an excuse for criticising public schools and the education they provide. Castellio thinks that the Jews, who refused the truth of Christianity, did nonetheless and still do have the right idea about children's education which they focus on Scripture. He feels they are to be imitated in this respect, which is why he has decided to teach the elements of political thought not using Plato as the basic textbook but Flavius Josephus who also wrote in Greek. He has naturally simplified Josephus' language and appended his own Latin translation to the Greek extracts. He has made the Latin translations as easy as possible to understand by adapting their syntax and word order to French and Italian idiom.⁵⁴ As

⁵¹ On this see Schürer (1973).

⁵² Cf. Hieronymus, *Der griechische Geist*, no. 240, pp. 341–342.

⁵³ Cf. Irena Backus, "Early Christianity in Michael Neander's Greek-Latin Edition of Luther's Catechism" in *History of Scholarship. A Selection from the Seminars on the History of Scholarship held annually at the Warburg Institute*, ed. C. Ligota and J.-L. Quantin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), pp. 197–230.

⁵⁴ Cf. Buisson (2010) vol. I, pp. 277–278.

regards the contents of the volume, it is mainly composed of extracts on the Mosaic civil, religious and military law. What we have in fact is the sequel to *Moses latinus*. Whereas there, as shown above, Castellio wants to show how Moses encapsulates and transcends antique learning, here, writing for children, his object is to show that Mosaic writings can be used for learning classical languages.

His use of Flavius Josephus in the 1554 Bible obeys rather different rules in Castellio's scriptural programme. This is how he accounts for his insertion of the fragments among the Old Testament Apocrypha:

Seeing as the historical account in the Bible is not complete (it contains nothing on the events between Ezra and the Machabees or on those between the Machabees and the coming of Christ) I filled in these gaps by recourse to Josephus, a Jewish author who wrote in Greek and who lived at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem under the emperor Vespasian. I did not want to add his writings to the text of the Scripture but I simply wanted to satisfy the needs of those who want to know something about this era, which was marked by great changes in the Jewish republic and by the Jews' submission to the Romans under whose dominion Christ was crucified. Those who find this supplement not to their taste, do not need to read it. Seeing as Josephus is sometimes rather more prolix than necessary for our topic and, as some of the passages in his account are quite foreign to sacred history, we have sometimes abridged his text. As he occasionally treats of the same events more clearly in *The Jewish Wars* than in the *Antiquities*, which constitute the chief source of our extracts, we have occasionally used the account as given in *The Jewish Wars*.⁵⁵

We take just one example of this procedure: *Antiq.* XV, 5 in modern numbering, which corresponds to *Antiq.* XV, 6–8 according to Arlenius' and Castellio's division of the text. This particular chapter deals with Herod's war against Malchus, the Arab king as well as the defeat of the Jewish army at Canatha, the earthquake in Judaea, Herod's second campaign and the

⁵⁵ *Biblia*, 1573: Ad lectores admonitio, fol.): (5v.: "Et quoniam Bibliorum historia mutila est (quippe quae nihil contineat earum rerum quae ab Esdrae temporibus usque ad Machabaeos itemque a Machabaeis usque ad Christum gestae sunt) eam suppleui ex Iosepho scriptore Iudaeo, qui Graece scripsit vixitque quo tempore excisa est Hierosolyma ab imperatore Vespasiano. Neque vero id feci quo supplementum hoc pro Sacris litteris habeatur sed ut iis satisfacerem qui temporum illorum gesta libenter cognituri sint cum in eis magnae acciderunt in Iudaeorum republica mutationes et Iudaei in Romanorum potestatem (sub quibus Christus crucifixus est) venerint. Quod si cui tamen displicebit hoc supplementum, licebit non legere. Caeterum quia is Josephus alicubi longior est quam pro argumento nobis proposito scribitque aliena quaedam ab historia sacra, eum nos in huiusmodi locis contraximus. Itemque quoniam in libro de Bello Iudaico (in quo eadem scribit) nonnunquam apertior est aut aliquid ad rem pertinens dicit quod in libris Antiquitatum (ex quibus nos haec excerpsimus) desit, illo nos alicubi vsi sumus."

Jewish victory at Philadelphia. Most of the chapter is taken up with Herod's morale raising address to his troops. *A priori* we would expect Castellio either to omit the entire chapter as having not much to do with sacred history or to focus on Herod's address as the most religious part containing references to the justice of the God-commanded war against the Arabs, a nation of barbarians and infidels who befriended the Jews only to facilitate eventual betrayal. Herod stresses among other things the divine origin of Jewish law and the status of the Jews as God's chosen people. However, Castellio omits the address and prefers instead to give a very accurate summary of the earthquake in Judea and the enemy's joy at the misfortune of the Jews but also their victory at Philadelphia. There are two likely reasons for this choice. Possibly, Castellio preferred to play it safe in the face of the difference between the account of Herod's address in *Antiq.* and *De bello* where Herod's tone is much more militant and military and where no mention is made of the divine origin of Jewish laws or the elect status of the Jews. Faced with such radical difference, Castellio probably preferred to play it safe and omit the address altogether. The other reason, not incompatible with the first could be simply Castellio's wish to fill in gaps in biblical chronology leaving out any overtly religious or theological questions. These are the respective accounts of the episode without the long speech:

De bello I, 19. 3:

But as he was avenging himself on his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity; for in the seventh year of his reign, when the war about Actium was at the height, at the beginning of the spring, the earth was shaken, and destroyed an immense number of cattle, with thirty thousand men; but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the mean time, the fame of this earthquake elevated the Arabians to greater courage, and this by their augmenting it to a fabulous height, as is constantly the case in melancholy accidents, and pretending that all Judea was overthrown. Upon this supposition, therefore, that they should easily get a land that was destitute of inhabitants into their power, they first sacrificed those ambassadors who were come to them from the Jews, and then marched into Judea immediately. Now the Jewish nation were affrighted at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities one after another; whom yet Herod got together, and endeavoured to encourage them to defend themselves by the following speech which he made to them:

Antiq. XV, 5. 2:

At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judea, such a one as had not happened

at any other time, and which earthquake brought great destruction of the beasts of burden in that land. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses; but the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabians were informed of this, and when those that hated the Jews, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports, told them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them, and came with great alacrity against their army; but the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by the calamities they were under, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to despair; for they had no hope that they should be upon a level again with them in battles, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere, while their affairs at home were in such great distress also. When matters were in this condition, the king persuaded the commanders by his words, and tried to raise their spirits, which were quite sunk; and first he endeavoured to encourage and embolden some of the better sort beforehand, and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided to do, lest he should find them uneasy thereat, because of the misfortunes which had happened; so he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the manner following.⁵⁶

Castellio, *Biblia*, (1573) *Antiq.* XV, 7, col, 1399–1400:

Meanwhile at the time of the battle of Actium between Caesar and Antony, in the seventh year of Herod's reign, the land of Judea, shaken by an earthquake the like of which had never been seen before, caused the destruction of numerous beasts of burden. Around ten thousand [*only in Arlenius, all other editions: thirty thousand*] people were crushed by the falling of their houses but the army which was in the open air was not harmed. The Arabs on getting the news (exaggerated by their hatred of the Jews) took courage to the point of becoming convinced that nothing could stand in their way, as the land of their enemy was devastated and their men killed.

They captured and killed the Jewish envoys come to negotiate terms of a truce after their defeat and they made haste to launch an attack on the Jewish army. The Jews, feeling outnumbered and not expecting any reinforcements, wanted to abandon everything without waiting for the enemy. The king, however, speaking with the Jewish leaders and doing his best to give them courage, kept them back and, once he had restored the morale of the more important men, he dared confront the multitude and addresses them as follows to give them courage and to prepare them for battle.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Cited from <http://www.ccel.org/j/josephus/works/ant-15.htm> (accessed on 10 June 2010).

⁵⁷ Castellion, *Biblia*, 1573, col. 1399–1400: "Interea per tempus Actiae pugnae, quae Caesari cum Antonio fuit, anno regis Herodis septimo, concussa Iudeae tellus quantum

Castellio uses Josephus as a source of history. We have a further proof of this in his abridgement of Josephus' account of the reconstruction of the Temple by Herod (*Antiq.* XV, 14 according to the Arlenius/ Castellio division of the text; *Antiq.* XV, 11. 1–7 according to modern division). In fact Castellio omits very little. He translates Josephus' account almost in its entirety here, including most of Herod's speech and the detailed description of the Temple. He obviously judged it important for his readers to have access to this description of the Temple so as to get an idea of Jewish worship immediately before the coming of Jesus. Indeed, although Josephus' dating of the reconstruction is not considered reliable nowadays, Castellio was above all interested in the correspondence between it and John 2, 19–21 which mentions that the Temple has been in reconstruction for the past 46 years.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Castellio's idea of the Bible as an inspired document which confers it special status remains quite constant and differs only slightly from Calvin's conception of the Bible as their respective exegesis of Genesis 1, 6–7 shows. The main difference that marks Castellio out as heterodox and was sufficient to make him the object of severe criticism by Calvin, Beza and others, is his conviction that the text of the Bible is not inspired in every syllable. This, as we saw, leads him to take liberties with the text, which orthodox reformers would have found intolerable and that caused Buisson to think mistakenly that with his biblical work Castellio opened the door

nunquam antea videbatur, multa pecora corruptit oppressaque sunt hominum circiter decem millia ruina domorum, sed exercitus, quod erat sub die mansit illaes. Hoc accepto nuntio Arabes (cum quidem odio Iudaeorum res in maius augeretur) maiores spiritus sumpserunt adeo ut existimarent eversa terra hostium deletisque hominibus nihil iam superesse quod ipsis obstaret. Quinetiam Iudaeorum legatos (qui propter illud detrimentum eo de pace venerant) comprehensos interfecerunt et in eorum exercitum omni studio ire contenderunt. Et Iudaei inferiores se sentientes, nec ullum auxilium expectantes, animos desponderunt et ne exspectatis quidem hostibus omnia deferre volebant. At rex cum ducibus colloquendo et eorum animos reficere tentando, eos retinuit, ac commotis et audacioribus factis quibusdam de praestantioribus ad uniuersam multitudinem iam verba facere ausus est et ad eos eiusmodi orationem habuit ut animum sumpserint et ad pugnam parati fuerint."

⁵⁸ Modern studies on the chronology include especially: Timothy David Barnes, "The Date of Herod's Death," *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 19 (1968), 204–219; P. M. Bernegger, "Affirmation of Herod's Death in 4 B.C.," *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 34 (1983), 526–531; W.E. Filmer, "Chronology of the Reign of Herod the Great," *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 17 (1966), 283–298; Andrew Steinmann, "When Did Herod the Great Reign?," *Novum Testamentum*, 51:1, 2009, pp. 1–29.

to individual interpretation of the sacred text, which made him a venerable precursor to liberal Protestantism.⁵⁹ Moreover, it is not appropriate to argue (as Buisson and Guggisberg have done) that Castellio's perspective changed abruptly and that he turned from aesthete into a pious scholar. His preface to Homer is in perfect continuity with his *Moses latinus* and his Latin Bible. He does not suggest in 1561 that he ever thought that Homer was better than Moses, he simply says that, when young, he devoted too much time to the study of profane literature, something he probably would not have done, had he had access to manuals such as his own introduction to Mosaic polity via the extracts from Josephus, which he dedicated to young George Argentier. *Moses latinus* also shows clearly that Moses includes and transcends all profane learning, which accounts for Castellio's conviction that biblical rhetoric is to be treated as along the same lines but better than profane rhetoric. If Moses transcends all of Greek philosophy while encapsulating it, he also transcends all rhetoric in the same way. As against Calvin and other reformers, Castellio refuses to posit a separate category of biblical rhetoric as based on other fundamentally different principles than profane oratory. There is a coherence and continuity between the sacred and the profane in his thought, which as we saw does not advocate the use of reason to man in the way that Florentine Neoplatonists did. Piety and the Holy Spirit come first to Castellio, only then can reason intervene.

Flavius Josephus fits perfectly well into this perspective. *Pace* Buisson and Guggisberg, the presence of extracts from the *Antiq.* does not mean that Castellio viewed the Bible as a collection of historical documents. He simply wanted to fill in a gap in history opened by the Old Testament Apocrypha. This did not reduce the biblical text to a collection of historical documents and did not raise Josephus to the status of bearer of the sacred message. Josephus, in Castellio's view, remains what he is: a historian, more sacred than antique historians, but no Moses. This makes his text suitable for teaching the elements of Greek and Latin to schoolboys and for providing missing chronological links in the biblical account. Castellio makes this plain not just by his preface to the Josephus section in the Bible but also by having the section itself printed in smaller characters and without any commentary. Furthermore, his translation of Josephus could not provide a greater contrast with his translation of the biblical text. Whereas, the latter is composed according to the dictates of the best of profane oratory, the former is plain and far more literal. His text does no more than throw an exegetical light on the biblical account proper. In this,

⁵⁹ See Buisson (2010), vol. I, p. 311.

Castellio simply adapts a practice, common in his time, among editors of the Vulgate. The fact that he provoked the anger of orthodox reformers does not make him into a forerunner of liberal Protestantism or modern biblical criticism. Unlike Erasmus, Stephanus or Beza he cites no Hebrew or Greek manuscripts. But although, no revolutionary innovator according to modern criteria, he infringed the capital rule regarding the style of biblical translation that the Reformation imposed, a rule that was dictated by its understanding of the nature of the sacred message.⁶⁰ This was enough to make him a confessional outcast in the eyes of Calvin and Beza. His views on free will and religious tolerance added insult to injury.

⁶⁰ Only Lawrence Humphrey (ca. 1527–1590), Marian exile in Geneva and later Master of Magdalen College, Oxford, who adopted the 'Presbyterian position' in the vestments controversy (Cf. Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion* (London, Routledge, 1994), pp. 23–33) took Castellio's side in the latter's dispute on Latin Biblical translation with Theodore Beza. On his see Humphrey's *Interpretatio linguarum seu de ratione convertendi et explicandi autores tam sacros quam prophanos libri tres* (Basel, n. p., 1559), p. 62. This is treated more extensively in Josef Eskhult's article in the present volume.

LATIN BIBLE TRANSLATIONS IN THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION:
HISTORICAL CONTEXTS, PHILOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION, AND THE
IMPACT OF CLASSICAL RHETORIC ON THE CONCEPTION OF
TRANSLATION METHODS

Josef Eskhult

Introduction

In the history of Bible translation, the sixteenth century clearly marks a breakthrough in the effort to make the sacred texts, the Word of God, available to common people in their own language, in the form of translations made directly from the biblical source languages. This was an important point of the Reformation.

Accordingly, the sixteenth century is commonly associated with the great development of Bible versions in European vernaculars. Nonetheless – as is usually forgotten – it also witnessed a comprehensive effort to translate the Bible into Latin from the Greek and Hebrew originals. As a result, the New Testament was provided in Latin in *four* different new translations, while the Old Testament was made available to the users of Latin in *five* entirely new versions. This circumstance has, however, not attracted the attention of many scholars in modern times, and consequently needs to be explored more closely.

Aim and Scope

In this paper, I aim to elucidate some aspects of the theory and practice of Latin Bible translation in the sixteenth century. To begin with, I will describe the historical background in broad outlines, concentrating on the preconditions of this genre and on the functions of a Latin version of the Bible. I will continue to discuss the question of how the Latin Bible translators themselves justified their undertakings with regard to their translation method and demonstrate the influence of the classical rhetorical qualities of *proprietas*, *latinitas*, and *perspicuitas* on the humanist concepts of translation.

The questions to be addressed may be worded as follows: (1) What mainstream currents prompted the need for new Latin translations of the

Bible? (2) What aim and function did a Latin Bible version serve? (3) How do Latin Bible translators in the sixteenth century value the classical and humanist concepts of *proprietas*, *latinitas*, and *perspicuitas*? And, finally, (4) What position do they take towards the Vulgate?

The Prestigious Position of the Field of Latin Bible Translation

At the time of the Reformation, the practice of Latin Bible translation seems to have enjoyed exceptional importance, dignity, and reputation, because it combined two areas of learning of very high prestige: the Latin language and the Bible. It is no overstatement to say that Latin was the foundation and mainstay of European society and culture. Serving as the means of communication in the learned world, Latin was an integral part of the academic culture. By transmitting and mediating all ancient and medieval learning, Latin had become the carrier of all knowledge accumulated from classical antiquity through the Middle Ages. In that way, Latin was the synchronous as well as diachronic intermediary of knowledge. Finally, Latin was considered to be one of the most ancient languages in the world, clearly surpassed only by Hebrew and Greek, and perhaps by Aramaic and Arabic. In the explicit opinion of Theodore Bibliander (1506–1564), a prominent orientalist and theoretician of language relationships in the mid sixteenth century, Latin was the unifying factor in a world of linguistic multiplicity; by its wide diffusion among many nations it remedies the Babelic confusion of tongues; by its semantic precision and its lexical richness it prevents an epistemic confusion of all disciplines. Latin must be seen as the closest thing to a common language of mankind, Bibliander concludes.¹

As for the significance of the Bible to Western culture, I wish to evoke some sense of the high level of veneration of Bible translation at that time. Lawrence Humphrey (1527–1580), prominent English humanist in the mid sixteenth century, perceived it as follows in his *Interpretatio linguarum*: “What matter more excellent and more magnificent might be found or be conceived than the translation of the Bible? What matter more elevated than to act as the interpreter of God? What matter more divine than to talk with God, or rather to make God speak, or in some way to attribute new speech to God, and almost to be the creator of the Creator?”²

¹ *De communi ratione omnium linguarum et litterarum commentarius*, 1548, p. 30 f.

² *Interpretatio linguarum seu de ratione convertendi et explicandi autores tam sacros quam prophanos libri tres*, Basel 1559, preface, p. 3.

Historical Background: The Vulgate as the Bible of Western Christianity

The practice of Bible translation dates back to antiquity. Western Latin Christianity received a variety of versions in antiquity. Among them, Jerome's translation gradually gained ground. In the Carolingian Renaissance it came to be fully accepted in order to meet the demand for a standardized biblical text. At the dawn of the Reformation, Western Christianity, still using Latin as its sacred language, thus possessed a Latin Bible inherited from antiquity and which, since it was widely spread and used, was known as the Vulgate. As the understanding of Hebrew and Greek increased in the decades around 1500, biblical humanists observed that the Vulgate contained translation mistakes and deficiencies due to its scribal transmission. These findings created the need for a reconstitution, or a reconstruction, of the Latin biblical text. In the main, the scholars had recourse to three different methods: to revise the Vulgate from the most ancient manuscripts, to improve it by means of the Greek and Hebrew originals, or, finally, to make an entirely new translation from the source languages. I will discuss the outcome of the last approach.

Historical Contexts: The Renaissance and the Reformation

The scholars who thus chose to translate the Bible into Latin tried to emulate the Vulgate with regard to its accuracy concerning the proper sense of the original and with regard to its Latin language usage, especially concerning lexical and syntactic purity. The regard taken for these qualities might be seen as a response to the new demands on Bible interpretation and on Latin usage that are related to the Reformation and Renaissance Humanism respectively.

To begin with, Renaissance Humanism introduced a new standard of good Latin usage: to be approved, every word had to find support in the authority of ancient Latin authors. Humanist Latin, and Neo-Latin in general, meant a reorientation towards ancient Latin and thus a dissociation from the medieval linguistic tradition. In its Ciceronian extreme, Renaissance Humanism had the potential to revive the tension between classicist purism and ecclesiastical Latinity. This tension found expression in the famous Ciceronian debates in the decades around 1500. Erasmus defended the use of established ecclesiastical vocabulary in his *Dialogus Ciceronianus*, from 1528, a treatise that marks the culmination of these debates. Erasmus describes orthodox Ciceronianism as a hidden return to

paganism and as a concept in which the pagan linguistic form triumphs over the Christian contents, which are what is most worth discussing. Regardless of the Ciceronian position, the moderate classicizing norm had some repercussions on the practice of Latin Bible translation, although never, with one possible exception, to the point of a radical adaptation to the classicist code.

On the other hand, the Reformation meant a renewal of exegetical methods that prompted a need for accuracy. Instead of extracting *allegorical* meanings, the exegesis proceeded to identify the *historical* and *literal* meaning. As far as the exploration of the Old Testament is concerned, this shift of focus caused the rise of Hebrew philology. The rabbinical achievements of Bible commentary in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance were utilized by Christian Hebraists and paved the way for their increasing knowledge of biblical Hebrew.

Aims and Functions of a Latin Bible Version

We cannot understand the aim or function of sixteenth-century Latin Bible translations unless we comprehend the position of Latin as the language of the learned world and of the Church. In early modern Europe, educated people had acquired almost all their learning from books written in Latin and were for that reason able to express themselves more easily and fluently in Latin than in their own vernaculars. They were able to adapt the Latin language to make it an efficient and usable tool for their scholarly and literary discourse. So Latin was really and truly the vernacular of the learned. No wonder, then, that Latin remained the theological means of communication and retained the same basic role it had played in the Middle Ages, viz. to be the language in which the Christian doctrine was preserved, discussed, and transmitted.

Since Latin had ceased to be a spoken vernacular, Latin versions of the Bible did not have any function in the divine service. Instead, they were meant for scholarly work and/or for the private reading of a learned public. Roughly put, we might distinguish *two different functions* of Protestant Latin Bible translations: the scientific *exegetical* function and the humanist *rhetorical-educational* function, both represented to a greater or less extent.

The exegetical function was to supply the Bible scholars with a translation facilitating a prompt comprehension of the precise and proper meaning of the original. This function called for fidelity to Hebrew and Greek

idiosyncrasies, usually to the point of keeping the word-order of the original. The translation should therefore uncover and reveal the innermost character and structure of the original, thus giving a key to the original. The humanist function consisted of presenting a readership not acquainted with Hebrew and Greek with an understandable translation, free from obscurity and with literary qualities. Some translators, e.g. Erasmus and Tremellius, succeeded in combining these functions.

As intimated, these functions worked in opposite directions with regard to the linguistic usage, a tension reinforced by the Ciceronian movement. Still, the exegetical function predominated: the bulk of new translations were attempts to bring the Bible into closer formal conformity with the Hebrew or Greek original. Traditional ecclesiastical vocabulary turned out to be sufficient, while scholastic terminology was avoided. Regardless of the clash between both functions, some Protestant Latin Bible versions, whether more accurate or more communicative, came to be viable alternatives to the Vulgate.

The use of Latin also created the possibility to propose a new exegesis to a broad target group: the Latin-speaking Republic of Letters, i.e. the international community of scholars in early modern Europe. At the same time, Latin had the advantage of offering a place of refuge for free discussion of an exegesis that could be perceived as potentially dangerous. It was easier to escape censorship if the Bible interpretation and commentary were presented in a Latin form inaccessible to common people.³ Theodore Bibliander underlines this asylum-function of the Latin language.⁴ This did not, however, prevent several Protestant Bible translations from being put on the papal Index of Forbidden Books.

Classical Rhetorical Theory and its Reception in Humanist Translation Theory

I will begin by describing classical rhetorical theory on language and style, *elocutio*, and go on to demonstrate its reception in the humanist theory of Bible translation. In classical rhetoric the main linguistic virtues were divided into the qualities of *proprietas*, *latinitas*, *perspicuitas*, *ornatus*, and *aptum*. *Proprietas*, *latinitas* and *perspicuitas* might be considered

³ See further Hans Helander, *Neo-Latin literature in Sweden in the period 1620–1720: Stylistics, vocabulary and characteristic ideas*, Uppsala 2004, p. 25 f.

⁴ *De communi ratione omnium linguarum et literarum*, p. 31.

communicative virtues, *ornatus* an aesthetic virtue, and *aptum* a socio-linguistic virtue.

Proprietas refers to the proper designation of things and ideas. *Latinitas*, refers to linguistic correctness of vocabulary and syntax. In the field of individual words it consisted of the use of *verba Latina*. In the field of words joined together, it was made up of an idiomatically correct syntax, a quality which was designated by the term *verba emendata*. *Perspicuitas*, 'transparency', relates to the comprehensibility of individual words and of words joined together in a sentence, qualities labelled *sermo dilucidus* and *sermo distinctus* respectively. *Ornatus* denotes the use of rhetorical devices, while *aptum* was the quality of choosing words suitable to the speaker and his audience. In addition, *elegantia*, 'choiceness in diction', could be defined as something in between *latinitas* and *ornatus*. There were many synonyms of these concepts: *puritas*, *mundities*, and *castimonia* were equivalents to *latinitas*; while *claritas* in its rhetorical sense meant the same thing as *perspicuitas*.⁵

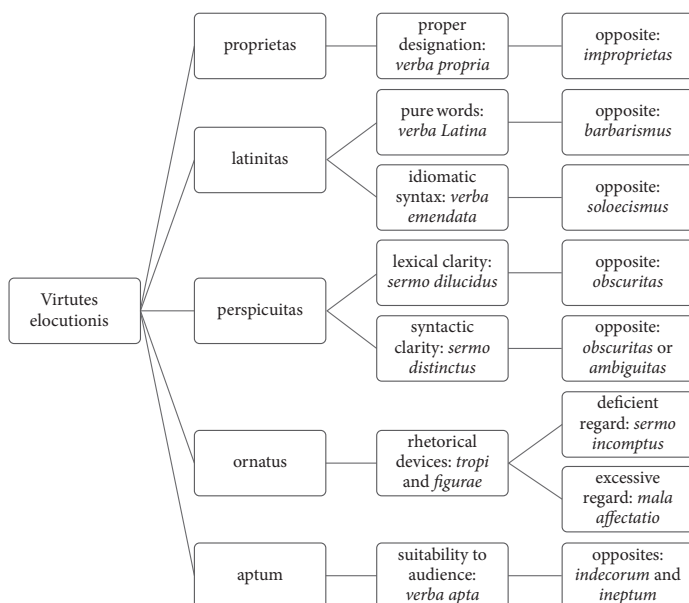
There were also well-defined opposites or violations of these linguistic virtues, namely *improprietas* as opposed to *proprietas*; *barbarismus* and *soloecismus* in opposition to *puritas*; *obscuritas* and *ambiguitas* in contrast to *perspicuitas*; *sermo incompertus* and *mala affectatio* as opposed to *ornatus* in deficient or excessive regards; and, finally, *indecorum* and *ineptum* as mistakes against *aptum*.⁶

The concepts of classical elocution with their major ramifications might schematically be represented as in the diagram on p. 173:

Theories about Bible translation can be traced back to antiquity. In a letter entitled "The best method of translating" (Letter 57), St. Jerome makes a famous distinction between the translation method to be employed in profane literature as opposed to the one to be used when translating the Sacred Writ. He requires a version of the Bible to keep the original word-order, as it contains a mystery. At the time of the Reformation, scholars who favoured a literal method often invoked this statement. In spite of this statement, Jerome did not in fact recommend any painstaking literalism in Bible translation. In the same letter, he rejects Aquila's method of rendering minute details. In a letter on the translation of the Psalms (Letter 106, §54), he cautions against translating word-for-word to the

⁵ See further Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of literary rhetoric: A foundation for literary study*, Leiden 1998, pp. 216–244.

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 460–470.



point that the understanding is damaged or lost. In a letter to Augustine (Letter 112, §19), Jerome says that in translating the Hebrew he keeps at times more to the sense than to word-order. Although Jerome thus conceived a dichotomy between rendering *verbum de verbum* and *sensus de sensu*, in practice he combined both approaches in his Bible translation. In the Vulgate, both are represented.

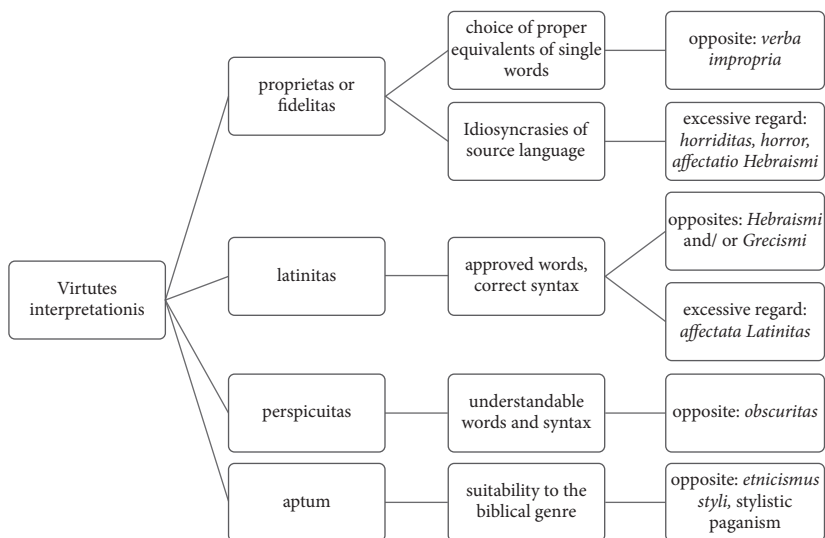
In his treatise *De doctrina Christiana*, (book 2, §§43–44) Augustine discusses the linguistic problems created by an overly close adaptation to the original in Latin Bible translation. A translation keeping to the literal sense has the value of providing a means for distinguishing between right and wrong renderings of biblical passages. The use of impure barbaric words and ungrammatical constructions for that purpose is justifiable. Such cases of barbarism and solecism might be considered to be innovative and also more understandable to the listeners than a conventional refined purity (*litterata integritas*), Augustine concludes.

Classical rhetoric was to form the basis of a humanist theory of translation. What formerly had been instructions for the eloquent speaker was turned into advice for the translator. In his choice of words, i.e. in the lexical stage of translation called *delectus* or *electio verborum*, the translator was required to choose proper, pure, comprehensible, and suitable

words.⁷ *Proprietas* was, however, reduced to the quality of rendering the sense of the original accurately, and it accordingly coincides with *fidelitas*, while the concepts of *latinitas*, *perspicuitas*, and *aptum*, kept their classical meanings. In theological subject matters, such as the field of Bible translation, especially in Latin, the opposite of *aptum* was termed *ethnicismus styli*, i.e. stylistic paganism.

As an integral part of humanist education, the classical rhetorical concepts served as the guidelines for Latin Bible translators in the sixteenth century. As such, they also provide a clue for evaluating the characteristics of their translations. The same concepts even recur in modern discourse on Bible translation: the concern for precision and accuracy, the choice of natural words, and the striving for clarity. However, modern translation theory has to a greater extent been pervaded by the dichotomy between literalness and freedom, or between formal and dynamic equivalence in Eugene Nida's influential terminology. This dichotomy turns out to be less apt to serve as an analytical tool for my purpose.

Humanistic theory of Latin Bible translation might, in the form of a diagram, be approximately reconstructed as below:



⁷ See further Frederick Renner, *Interpretatio. Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler*, Amsterdam and Atlanta 1989, pp. 38–79 and p. 217 ff.

Philological Justification with Regard to Proprietas, Latinitas, and Perspicuitas and in Relation to the View on the Vulgate

Erasmus as the pioneer

As is well known, the great humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) happened to be the first to challenge to authority of the Vulgate. His Latin translation of the New Testament extended the scope of biblical humanism, won approval in the Protestant world, and marked a new epoch.

Andrew Brown, who recently edited the Erasmian Latin New Testament, calls attention to its main characteristics in stating: “His aim was to convey the meaning of the Greek more accurately and more clearly than the existing Latin Vulgate version, and at the same time to employ a more elegant classical Latin style, purged from linguistic barbarism.” In the main, this statement holds true, but it might need to be modified. We will look into what Erasmus himself has to say about his considerations regarding these qualities. Replying to those who wished that nothing would agree with the Vulgate, Erasmus argues: “I have not done this in order that the language would be more polished and refined (*politior*), but in order that it would be more correct (*emendatior*) and more clear (*dilucilior*). I have not tried to find problems unnecessarily. ... We are dealing with a sacred subject matter, where it is ridiculous to boast of human erudition and also impious to make a show of human eloquence.”⁸ Furthermore, describing his method of translation, he says: “I have rendered into Latin what I have found in the collated Greek manuscripts and, in doing so, I have, as far as possible, accommodated to the plain purity of the Roman language.”⁹ Finally, when explaining his departures from the wordings of the Vulgate, he maintains: “I have removed evident and conspicuous solecisms and everywhere, as far as possible, followed the elegance of the language in such a way that the simplicity, or plainness, does not turn out to be minor.”¹⁰

⁸ *In Novum Testamentum annotationes*, 1527, the preface, p. 5: Sed erunt e diverso quibus haec admodum pauca videatur et malint nihil cum aeditione Vulgata convenire. Verum hoc non egimus, ut sermo politior esset, sed ut emendatior ac dilucilior. Nec erat hic in scyrpo, quod ajunt, quaerendus nodus. ... In re sacra versamur – et in ea re quae simplicitate puritateque potissimum est orbi commendata – in qua ridiculum sit humanam eruditionem ostentare velle, impium humanam jactare eloquentiam.

⁹ *Novum testamentum omne*, 1521, the preface, p. 6: Nos, quod in emendatis Graecorum codicibus repperimus, Latine vertimus observata, quod licuit, sermonis Rhomani simplici munditie.

¹⁰ *In Novum Testamentum annotationes*, 1527, the preface, p. 2: Soloecismus evidentes ac prodigiosos submovimus et ita sermonis elegantiam ubique, quantum licuit, secuti sumus, ut nihilo minor esset simplicitas.

In the statements quoted above, Erasmus only makes a modest claim to elegance. He mastered classical Latin completely, but, as we have seen in *Dialogus Ciceronianus*, he disapproved of the Ciceronian approach to ecclesiastical subject matters. In his version of the New Testament, the Latin vocabulary does not conform to the classicist norm, although the style displays fluency and ease.

Furthermore, Erasmus held the Vulgate in high esteem and did not dissent with it unless he had good reasons. His deviations from the Vulgate find support in the exegesis of the Church Fathers. Nonetheless, Erasmus disapproved of the attitude of people who say: "We are satisfied with the translation of Jerome." Opposing this attitude, and using his common metaphorical language about water, he maintains that one cannot neglect the Greek original: *The Christian teaching is first and foremost to be drawn from the wellsprings rather than from the streams and pools*. What is more, Erasmus points out that a great deal of Jerome's emendations from the Greek original have nowadays been lost, corrupted, or distorted by the faults of the copyists.

It is no exaggeration to state that Erasmus influenced the subsequent development of Latin Bible translation. Erasmus himself emphasizes his pioneering effort in saying: "I have prepared the way, I have recovered an uncultivated land, I have levelled the ground of the racetrack, I have opened a field."¹¹

Sebastian Münster

To begin with, the first Protestant to translate the Old Testament from Hebrew into Latin was Sebastian Münster (1488–1552). In the preface to his translation he calls attention to the commotion that followed in the wake of Erasmus' Latin New Testament. He anticipates that he will arouse the same reaction by his effort.¹² Sebastian Münster was one of the leading Hebrew scholar in the early to mid sixteenth century, professor of Hebrew in Heidelberg and Basel. His teacher in Hebrew was Conrad Pellican (1478–1556), himself an autodidact. Both belonged to a circle of Bible scholars that has been called "the Rhineland school of exegesis".

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 2: Nos viam ... constravimus. ... Nos novalem ... repurgavimus. ... Nos circi solum aequavimus ... Nos campum aperuimus.

¹² *Biblia Hebraica Latina planeque nova ... tralatione*, 1546 (first edition 1534), the preface, p. 3 Nemo non novit, quantus tumultus superioribus annis excitatus fuerit contra Erasmum, quod corrigere ausus fuerit, sic enim illi loquuntur, sanctum evangelium et violare rem tam sanctam. Idem mihi eventurum scio, multorum calumnias haud obscure praevidens, qui in hoc theatrum ingredi praesumpserim et veteris testamenti novam tentarim versionem.

Justifying his undertaking, Münster dwells on three main points: first, the Vulgate is insufficient; second, fidelity to the original requires a literalist approach in keeping to Hebrew idiosyncrasies, but not in rendering figurative senses literally and vice versa; and third, the Old Testament has to be interpreted in the light of traditional knowledge of the Hebrew tongue at hand in the medieval rabbinical exegesis. Münster's translation might be seen as an expression of the *scientific exegetical* function of a Latin Bible version.

In his view on the Vulgate, Münster, like Erasmus, doubted that the transmitted text originated from Jerome, whose translation, he suggests, might already have been lost in ancient times. In any case, he thinks, it must have been intentionally distorted by some rival to Jerome and mixed up with the preceding translations. Still more mistakes have crept into the Vulgate because of the copyists. One cannot continue tolerating these errors, Münster declares. However in Münster's opinion it was presumably not a problem that the Latin usage of the Vulgate did not satisfy the classicist Latin standard.

Münster defines his aim as being to produce a translation that is as close as possible to the Hebrew source text, *Hebraica veritas*, intentionally disregarding purity and elegance, *dismissa latinitatis elegantia*. He retains Hebraisms that are understandable to Christian readers and thinks it better to keep the rude and rough Hebrew style than to adapt it to Latin idiom, which cannot but damage the sense. Finally, in order to render Hebrew wordings all the more faithfully he says he did not refrain from coining new Latin words.¹³ He does not mind if people will accuse him of linguistic barbarism. His reason is that not even the smallest letter or stroke lacks sense in the Holy Writ, and therefore he works according to the principle "not to add or take away" anything from it.

Münster belonged to the first generation of Hebrew scholars in Europe. To understand Hebrew they had to learn it from the Jews, to whom the knowledge of Hebrew was confined. They also benefitted from the achievements of medieval rabbinical exegesis as well as their grammars and lexicography on biblical Hebrew, especially *Michlol* and *Sefer ha-Shorashim*¹⁴

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 3: nos in hac nostra editione hoc unum praecipue spectavimus, ut dimissa latinitatis elegantia, quae etiam in plerisque locis haud observari potuit, simpliciter Hebraicam veritatem ... produceremus. ... p. 14 Quicquid tamen obscuritatis propter Hebraismos ipsos invecum est, id annotationum beneficio dilucidavimus. ... p. 14 Nec admodum moveor illorum verbis, qui aiunt, horrorem Hebraici sermonis omnino tollendum et apposite Latino sermoni accommodare (...).

¹⁴ It was translated into Latin as *Liber radicum* in the sixteenth century and remained a crucial lexicographical resource of Biblical Hebrew for the entire early modern period.

by the French rabbi David Kimchi (1160–1235). Münster thought that these resources should be utilized. His idea was that among the learned Jews there was still a living knowledge of biblical Hebrew, based on the tradition dating back and passed down from the antiquity. By consulting learned Jews, Münster believes, St. Jerome made use of the same bank of knowledge, and Münster repeatedly invokes Jerome as his example.

Leo Jud and Theodore Bibliander

Moving on to the Latin Bible published in Zürich in 1543, its prime mover was Leo Jud (1482–1542), a pastor in Zürich (who was not descended from Jewish lineage, as his name might suggest). He translated the bulk of the Old Testament into Latin anew, and Theodore Bibliander completed the remaining parts (Psalms 102–150, Job, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Ezekiel 40–48, and Daniel). The New Testament was taken from Erasmus in a slight revision, and Conrad Pellican reviewed and edited the entire Bible.

The anonymous author of the preface, who convincingly can be identified with Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), justifies the need for this version, explains the background of its coming into being, describes the method of translation followed by Leo Jud, and, finally, relates the whole enterprise to the practice of Greek and Latin Bible translation in antiquity.

The need for the undertaking in question is justified by the failings of existing Latin Bibles: the Vulgate has been emendated with too much reliance on the Septuagint, and new Latin translations cling too much to Hebrew idiosyncrasies, which are too difficult for people not acquainted with Hebrew to understand.

Furthermore, the genesis of the version can be related to the intellectual network of the so-called Rhineland school of exegesis. The preface clarifies that Leo Jud attended public lectures on the Old Testament in Zürich from 1526 and onwards. In this course, Conrad Pellican played the key part. Pellican tells about these lectures in the preface to his Bible commentary (*Commentaria Bibliorum*, Zürich 1532–1539). He says that he used to start out from the Vulgate, proceed to the Hebrew text, and then compare it with the Septuagint and the German translation. Bullinger mentions that these public lectures also explored the patristic and rabbinical traditions of biblical interpretation. An eager listener, Leo Jud collected a body of information usable for the new version of the Bible he had in mind.

In the preface we have a very detailed description of his method of translation. We are told that the translator did not take a literalist approach. He aimed at fidelity to the sense without keeping too much to the

individual words, unless the subject matter called for a more accurate rendering. The concern for lexical purity (*oratio Latina*) was complex, related to the burning question of whether Christian Latin vocabulary should be avoided in favour of classical Latin. Our translator thought it should not.¹⁵ It is argued that it is unnecessary to change naturalized ecclesiastical words such as *fides* for *fiducia*, *benedictus* for *laudatus*, *gratia* for *favor*, and *evangelizare* for *laetum nuntium afferre*. All this discussion clearly forms a part of the ongoing Ciceronian debate. Bullinger goes on to argue that there are expressions that cannot be rendered well in another language without losing the proper sense. One ought to pay more regard for the religion than for the external form. The translator intended, as far as possible, to use good Latin diction and to avoid uncommon Hebraisms. The Bible itself is written, it is stated, in a style far from rhetorical ornament, but nevertheless it enjoys a cultivated simplicity. Leo Jud succeeded, it is inferred, in striking a happy medium between the two extremes: vain eloquence and literalist meticulousness. On the syntactic level, the translator modified the Hebrew sentence structure by levelling its pitfalls, filling up its gaps, and supplementing concise expressions.

In his view on the Vulgate the author of the preface takes the position that it does not correspond everywhere to the Greek and Hebrew truth and that the transmitted edition probably does not represent Jerome's translation. What is more, the Vulgate has no right of precedence: In antiquity, Eastern and Western Christianity had access to a great variety of versions of the Bible. This makes it unlikely that the Church ever has been bound to a given version. In this connection, Augustine is cited as stating (*Doctrina Christiana* 2,36) that innumerable people had translated the Bible into Latin.

Sebastian Castellio

Sebastian Castellio (1515–1663) began to translate the entire Bible into Latin in the early 1540s (1542). His motive and mainspring for undertaking this enterprise was to produce a version more acceptable to readers of the target language. How did Castellio himself conceive the aim of his translation? The answers are to be found in his introduction to his translation of the Pentateuch, entitled *Moses Latinus* from 1546; in the preface to the

¹⁵ *Biblia sacrosancta*, 1544 (first edition 1543), the preface, p. 4 f.: Curavit ubique ut oratio sive versio esset simplex et, quantum potuit, Latina, exceptis verbis aliquot et idiomatis, utpote et ab apostolis usurpata, quae receptiora et notiora sunt quam ut mutari conveniat aut necesse sit. ... Iste noster, ut in hoc opere non affectavit eloquentiam, ita munditiam, si qua in promptu fuit, non respuit.

complete Latin Bible, *Biblia*, from 1551; and in his Defence of his Bible translations (into French and into Latin), in 1562. Castellio consistently emphasizes his intention to provide a more pure (*latinior*), more fluent, more elegant, more perspicuous (*magis perspicua*), and more reliable translation. He does not hesitate to describe all previous attempts at Latin Bible translation as unpolished and obscure.¹⁶

Castellio's translation is a manifestation of the *rhetorical and educational humanist* function of a Latin version of the Bible. The translator takes a humanistic approach in the sense that he employs all the linguistic resources of Latin: its rich and ample lexis and its many possibilities for syntactic variation. His target group is a readership who take pleasure in good Latin or students required to learn this kind of Latin. The underlying idea was to provide a teaching medium for the benefit of the schools in order that the pupils may learn Latin and piety at the same time. Another point of the rhetorical humanist function is the striving to promote classical Latin at the expense of conventional ecclesiastical vocabulary.

In a fictitious dialogue Castellio anticipates future criticism. He expects some critic to say:

– "I am satisfied with the ancient translation."

To which Castellio answers: – "Embrace it, then, and be sure to make progress every day"

The critic says: – "But the same thing that you attempt, others have done before you."

Castellio replies: – "Compare their translation with mine and realize, if you are learned enough, how great the difference is, if I may allow myself to claim that without provoking envy."

The critic says: – "But piety does not depend on the elegance of the language (*sermonis elegantia*)."

Castellio rejoins: – "Neither does it rest on barbaric usage (*barbaries*)."

The critic says: – "But I am pleased with a most barbaric usage."

Castellio retorts: – "I am, however, writing for those who are not displeased with elegance."

The critic says: – "I take delight in the majesty of the Hebrew style and its antiquity."

Castellio counters: – "Read the Hebrew original."

¹⁶ *Biblia interprete Sebastiano Castellione*, 1551, the preface, p. 1: Ego operam dedi, ut fidelis et latina et perspicua esset haec translatio, quoad eius fieri posset, ne quem deinceps orationis obscuritas aut horriditas aut etiam interpretationis infidelitas ab horum librorum lectione revocaret. Sed perspicuitatis et fidelitatis potissimam rationem duximus; *Defensio translationum suarum*, p. 9: cupiebam extare latiniorum aliquam nec non fideliorum et magis perspicuam sacrarum literarum translationem; ... Transtuli igitur sacras literas in latinum sermonem qua fide atque puritate et facilitate potui (...).

The critic says: – “I am not pleased with rhetorical colouring (*fucus*).”

Castellio responds: – “Nor am I, but neither with an impure diction (*sordes*).”

The critic says: – “I am accustomed to more unpolished translations.”

Castellio objects: – “You are now at liberty to be accustomed to more cultivated versions.”

The critic says: – “But Moses stammered.”

Castellio explains: – “I concede he did, but he does not speak to us by means of his tongue, neither does he need the eloquence of his brother. However, his pen did not stammer, by means of which he speaks to us today. Nothing can be found more eloquent than *his* writings.”

Castellio conceived Moses as the most ancient or a kind of prototypical rhetorician and philosopher, being convinced that Greeks and Romans had plagiarized all their eloquence and philosophy from Moses and other Hebrews. This idea can be traced back to the Christian antiquity (notably Eusebius) and theoretically it underlies Castellio’s translation method. Moses was to be represented in a style corresponding to his real eloquence in Hebrew in order that he would be able to match his pagan equals like Homer. Castellio says: “I have endeavoured to translate Moses with such a fluency and elegance as he would have used himself, had he been a Latin citizen.”¹⁷

Finally, we might ask: What did Castellio think about the divine inspiration? The veneration for a sacred text had up to his time brought about a literalist approach in order to safeguard the fidelity to the original. Castellio’s solution was easy: the Holy Spirit only inspired the message and left the free choice of words to the speakers or writers.

Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius

The last Latin version of the Old Testament to appear in the sixteenth century, published in four volumes 1575–1579, was translated by Immanuel Tremellius (1510–1580) and his co-worker Franciscus Junius the Elder (1545–1602). Tremellius was a prominent Hebrew philologist, maybe the best of his time. He was born of Jewish parents in Ferrara in Italy, converted to Catholicism, but soon decided for the Protestant movement and came to hold professorships of Hebrew in Cambridge and Heidelberg.

Tremellius and Junius explain their method of translation in their foreword to the Books of Moses (1575). They define the translator’s task as

¹⁷ *Moses Latinus*, preface, p. 1: ... conatus sum Mosem, Bartholomaeae Argenterii, in Latinum sermonem tanta facilitate atque elegantia transferre, quanta ipsum, si latinus fuisset, usurum fuisse (...).

twofold: to understand the sense of the original and to render it suitably. The understanding may be drawn either from the context or from the force of the words. Tremellius and Junius maintain that they have carried out these two steps. They have weighed the significance of single words, compared them to their use in other passages, and explored their context. When rendering all this into Latin, they have retained the Hebrew word order as far as possible in the Latin language,¹⁸ unless the clarity of the passage, *evidentia loci*,¹⁹ called for a departure from it. They have retained meaningful and pregnant Hebraisms, avoided barbaric words (*barbarismi*),²⁰ and attempted to make Moses speak to the Christian world in a style comparable to that he used himself when he addressed his fellow countrymen.²¹

In doing this, they invoke the advice of Jerome and Augustine to go back to the sources (*ad fontes*). However the Church Fathers never got the opportunity to perform this task. Jerome pointed out the way rather than accomplishing anything worthy of the great thing he endeavoured to do. Recent Bible translators have to some extent carried through the program of the Church Fathers, but they have at the same time failed in the basic interpretation of the proper sense of words, distorted them and disregarded the Hebrew marks of punctuation.

Tremellius and Junius succeeded in combining accuracy with sufficient regard for Latin idiom. This fulfilled both functions: the *scientific*

¹⁸ This limitation of the dependence on Hebrew syntax is justified by reference to the Latin language, which indicates the quality of *Latinitas* on its syntactic level (*verba emendata*, its opposite being *soloecismi*).

¹⁹ This concern highlights the principle of *perspicuitas*. *Evidentia* "the quality of being manifest" is a concept in classical rhetoric classified by Quintilian as a narrative virtue (*Institutio oratoria* 6.2.32) and as a rhetorical device (8.3.61). It is defined as a vivid representation of an object or an event, by means of which description a visual impression, an image, is produced in the mind of the listener, as if he were present himself. Compared to the quality of *perspicuitas*, *evidentia* enhances and reinforces the clear presentation. Quintilian says: *plus est evidentia quam perspicuitas* (8.3.61). In the sixteenth century *evidentia* does not seem to have been distinguished from *perspicuitas*, but was considered a synonym, just like 'evidence' in the sense of 'clearness' in the English usage of that time (see OED, s.v. evidence, I, 1).

²⁰ The reference to the avoidance of barbarisms pinpoints the regard for the quality of *Latinitas* on its lexical level (the use of *verba Latina* as opposed to *barbarismi*).

²¹ *Testamenti veteris Biblia sacra*, 1575, the preface, p. 4 In quibus apte et accommodate reddendis etiam Hebraici sermonis ordinem, ut per Latinam linguam licuit, servavimus, nisi aliud evidentia loci postulare. Hebraismos singulares et ἐμφατικωτέρους, quam ut mutari possent, Patrum exemplo religiose retinuimus, alios Latine quam optime per nos fieri potuit expressimus in contextu, Hebraeorum vocum interpretationem de verbo ad verbum margini apponentes, Barbarismos fugimus, denique enixi sumus ut Mosche Latinus Christianum orbem personet idque eodem argumento, quo civium suorum et gentilium aures dum vixit personebat.

exegetical function and the *rhetorical humanist* one. The qualities were promptly recognized by their contemporaries and the translation continued to enjoy universal approval as long as Latin remained the language of scholarship.

*Excursion I: Lawrence Humphrey on the Achievements of Erasmus
and Castellio*

New Latin Bibles were the subject of an intense discussion in the contemporary Republic of Letters.²² In his above-mentioned treatise, *Interpretatio linguarum*, Lawrence Humphrey gives us some insight. Looking back to the humanist beginnings of Latin Bible translation he states: "I cannot but praise Erasmus for his effort to restore the New Testament to its former and true splendour, in order that Christ would speak more clearly, more truly Latin and more purely to us, considering that he did this in a most corrupt age marked by unclean and barbaric usage even under many people's opposition." Humphrey is astonished that there was such an uproar against Erasmus who translated and commented the New Testament with such caution and prudence and who, when he did alter anything, referred to the support of the Church Fathers, only seldom dissenting with them.

Humphrey did not approve of a literalist method for Latin Bible translation. If the Bible is to be expressed in Latin, Humphrey says, it ought to speak as much Latin as possible, provided that this does not violate the principle of *aptum*.²³ The translator ought to place the rich and abundant Latin lexis at his disposal and make use of the most apt and appropriate words. Castellio did perfectly right in utilizing all the resources of the Latin language in order to embellish the Word of God.²⁴ Humphrey thinks that the time has come to represent the Word of God in a more polished style. "Why should the Holy Writ continue to have a rough linguistic appearance, when all the profane Letters and Arts are now shining?"²⁵ Humphrey concludes by bidding foreign words that diverge from the purity of the Latin language to return to the nether regions from whence they have emerged.²⁶

²² See further my own study, Josef Eskhult, "Latin Bible versions in the age of Reformation and post-Reformation" in *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift*, edited by Anders Jarlert, Malmö 2006, pp. 31–67.

²³ *Interpretatio linguarum*, p. 59.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 62.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 63.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

Excursion II: Münster and Tremellius on Their Theological Motives

Münster and Tremellius also justify their preoccupation with the Old Testament from a theological point of view. For all intents and purposes, they take the same position as Saint Augustine in his saying *Novum Testamentum in vetere latet, vetus in novo patet* "The New Testament is hidden in the Old, the Old Testament is revealed in the new." Even though this ought to have been the mainstream opinion throughout Church history, it has not been undisputed. For instance, Lactantius says: "The Jews employ the Old Testament, we use the New" (*Judaei vetere Testamento utuntur, nos novo*), but hastens to add that they do not diverge, since Christ is the author of both (*Divinae institutiones*, 4,20,5).

In the last part of his preface, Münster raises the question of with what intention the Old Testament is to be read. Importantly, he draws his arguments from Martin Luther and, more precisely, his preface to the Old Testament (1524). Münster states: "The New Testament is nothing but a clear public preaching of the prophecies and promises contained in the Old Testament about their fulfilment in Christ. The Old Testament is the basis on which the New Testament is founded and by which it is confirmed. Christ says that the Scriptures testify about him and that Moses wrote about him (John 5:39 and 45). Paul, the apostle, declares that the Gospel has been promised in the Scriptures (Rom. 1:2)."

Tremellius objects to the opinion of people who do not consider it worthwhile to waste time on such an antiquated matter as the Old Testament. They are entirely mistaken, he claims. Quoting from Augustine, Tremellius says: "The Church of God is nourished by means of two breasts: The Old and the New Testament." He continues: "No one has ever preached our misery more seriously and the mercy of God more profoundly than Moses."

Summary and Conclusions

This paper explores Protestant Latin versions of the Bible in the age of the Reformation. It surveys their historical preconditions, identifies their aims and functions, and describes the philological reasons and the translation principles by which the translators were motivated.

The development of the field of Latin Bible translation has been related to some major cultural contexts: namely the unthreatened position of Latin as the learned language, the Reformation with its focus on the literal

sense of the Bible, and the Renaissance revival of classical learning, letters, and linguistic usage. Latin versions of the Bible served their purpose in these contexts and basically fulfilled two different functions: a scientific exegetical one and a humanist rhetorical one. These functions represented the needs and demands of two target groups: students of biblical Hebrew and the learned public devoted to classical learning.

I have demonstrated that the main classical rhetorical concepts of *elocutio* provide a clue for analysing the statements on translation method made by the translators themselves on their Bible versions. The linkage to classical rhetorical theory turns out to be fundamental to a right understanding of their translation principles. They shared the same conceptual framework, but differed in method of translation. Erasmus paid regard to grammatically correct and syntactically clear usage and strived for semantic precision. Münster focused on rendering Hebrew words and phrases with the utmost accuracy. Leo Jud tried to improve Latin diction. Castellio aimed at idiomatic classical Latin. Tremellius succeeded in combining fidelity to the source text with literary qualities in Latin.

GLOBAL CALVINISM: THE MAPS IN THE ENGLISH GENEVA BIBLE

Justine Walden

Introduction

Five maps were included in the English translation of the Geneva Bible of 1560: Eden, Exodus, Canaan, the Holy Land in the time of Christ, and the travels of St. Paul (Figures 1 and 3–6).¹ The maps were presented as ‘helps’ to assist readers visualizing difficult scriptural passages. They were important enough to be mentioned in the title page and bound with God’s revealed word. But they are ambivalent in status: novel on the one hand but supernumerary from any doctrinal perspective; mediocre in quality even by standards of the time, but sometimes given full-page spreads.² In her wide-ranging survey of maps in bibles, Delano-Smith describes the phenomenon of maps in bibles as “a product of the Genevan rather than the Lutheran reform.”³ If the use of maps indeed blossomed in Calvin’s Geneva in particular,⁴ these maps would have a historical specificity worth delineating.

¹ The Old Testament maps were inserted at Genesis, Numbers, and Joshua, respectively. In the New Testament, the Holy Land map appeared at the book’s outset just before the Gospel of Matthew. The map of St. Paul’s travels was inserted at Acts. All maps were placed in [W. Whittingham; A. Gilby; T. Sampson; R. Hall]. *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament...* Geneva, 1560.

² The maps have also been ignored by biblical scholars. David Daniell’s 962-page study of the English Bible mentions the maps only in passing. *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence*. Yale University Press, 2003, p. 302. Catherine Delano-Smith’s *Maps as Art and Science: Maps in Sixteenth Century Bibles* provides excellent documentation of maps in bibles but little by way of analysis. (London: King’s College, 1990).

³ Ibid, 29. Maps had been included in some Lutheran and Zurich bibles of the mid 1520s and Antwerp bibles of the 1530s and 40s but only sporadically. This map reappeared in some. Coverdale’s bible of 1525 copied maps from Luther’s folio of 1523, and included a detailed map of Palestine and Egypt which is upside down from a modern standpoint. James Strachan. *Early Bible Illustrations*. Cambridge University Press, 1957, pp. 54, 76. Oecolampadius used two maps in a Commentary on Isaiah that was first published at Basle in 1525 and reprinted 1558 in Geneva with maps by Barbier and Crispin. Ingram, Elizabeth Morley. “Maps as Readers’ Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles,” *Imago Mundi* 45, 1993, pp. 29–44; p. 33. See also Ian Green. *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*. Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 66, ff. 94. Maps were also included in Wolfe’s English New Testament of 1549, Jugges’s Tyndale Testaments of the 1550s, and some editions of the Great Bible, Bishop’s and King James’ bibles. Delano-Smith, p. xxv.

⁴ Upon surveying over 1,000 16th century English bibles and New Testaments, Delano-Smith concludes that “the history of maps in Bibles is part of the history of the Reformation.

The maps indeed reveal much about the attitudes of the Geneva Bible translators and their milieu. They embodied the purposes of the translators exiled at Geneva and their reflections on the state of Protestantism in the decade of the 1550s, and performed a variety of unstated symbolic and imaginative functions. The maps worked to shore up Protestant hermeneutics and claims to legitimacy, and just as the metrical psalms added to Geneva Bibles have been shown to be integral to the construction of Protestant identity, they can be taken as expressions of the ambitions of the Protestant project and markers of cultural significance. The maps also embody the tensions—such as that between the popular and scholarly and between the simple and sophisticated—that existed within the aims of early English Protestantism and within the Geneva Bible as a whole, and they were a conscious, if contradictory, assertion of cosmopolitanism, which is confirmed upon an examination of the translators' experiences in exile first at Frankfurt and then in Geneva.

To decode the meanings of the Geneva Bible maps, one must cast one's net widely. I here look at the bible's paratactic materials and notes; at the status of and attitudes toward geographic and cosmographic knowledge among Englishmen circa 1550; at records of exile experience—in particular, the so-called prayer book controversy at Frankfurt and the exiles' sojourn at Geneva—and at epistolary evidence from the bible's translators and their associates. Occasionally I turn to the views of the Geneva Bible translators' mentor and hero, Jean Calvin. I here consider the exiled translators as a collective, which is justified in that they meant their translation to be taken as such and in that the English congregation regularly made its decisions on a consensual basis. I also focus on the maps as a collective; and though I discuss connotations of some maps in particular, do not discuss all of them individually. It should be said that there is a great deal that this story will leave out—in particular, the important links between the translators' egalitarian views and the ways in which these cohered with maps and a cosmographic worldview. Such will have to wait for a later essay.

Intentionality: Foundations and Hermeneutics

Though they may appear an afterthought, there is much to argue that the maps in the Geneva Bible were after all quite intentional. The exiles who

Bibles that contain maps are overwhelmingly Protestant editions, or...were published by printers known to have had reformist sympathies or to have been willing to print reformist literature." Delano-Smith, p. xvi.

left England upon Mary's ascension in 1553 were deeply preoccupied, as were most early modern Englishmen, with foundational documents.⁵ They were adept at banding together to create charters, petitions, and articles of government and church order. They understood the importance of outlining rules for a polity as a way of regulating corporate behavior, the importance of articulating their contractual agreements in script or print, and the importance of disseminating these ideas to a wider audience through sermon and codex. Thus the Geneva translators set out to draft a new liturgy at Frankfurt immediately upon arriving in 1554, and once a dispute erupted, of which more later, expressed a keen awareness of the importance of formulating precedent and expressing it in writing. They worried that their church might "falle in great hassard" if they continued to employ superfluous ceremonies, and they warned the Frankfurt magistrates of the importance of setting correct models for the future: "yff thies men armed by your authoritie shall do what they liste, this evell shalbe in time established by yow and never be redressed."⁶ When they failed to establish the form of stripped-down worship they preferred at Frankfurt, they betook themselves to Geneva and began to draft further statements of their faith such as the *Form of Common Order* and the Geneva Bible itself. The translation of the bible into English was itself a foundational act—an attempt to draft a document which would supersede earlier bibles and which would spread the word of God in the manner in which the exiles saw as properly apostolic.

This group was extremely sensitive to the power of representation. While the issues that cropped up in the Frankfurt prayer book dispute were multiple, two of its important fault lines were egalitarianism and scriptural historicism. The Whittingham contingent—that is, the side in the prayer book controversy to which the Geneva Bible's translators belonged—deplored the use of various ceremonies outlined in the Edwardian prayer book, in particular the donning of special vestments such as the surplice by liturgical officiants.⁷ They considered the surplice redolent of the hierarchies of Catholicism and an unacceptable

⁵ As hundreds of ecclesiastical and court records from early modern England attest.

⁶ Whittingham and fellow translator Thomas Sampson were also trained in law and were therefore doubly attentive to the importance of precedent. Thomas Wood. *A Brief Discourse of the Troubles Begun at Frankfurt, 1554–1588*. London: Elliot Stock, 1908. pp. xlii, 21. *A Brief Discourse* is often attributed to William Whittingham, but Patrick Collinson has convincingly attributed it to Wood. See Dan Danner. *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1555 to 1560*. New York: P. Lang, 1999, p. 34.

⁷ Such views had their precedents in the vestments controversy of the 1550s.

expression of the elevation of social status. Since their criterion of appropriate ceremonial forms was the account of the apostles, the wearing of the surplice was, they felt, without scriptural warrant. All this is to say that the Geneva Bible translators were highly attuned to the power of symbol and to how they felt their church ought to represent itself. They understood gestures, liturgical objects, and garments to stand synecdochally for an entire world of meanings and as such, may be said to have inhabited a world of supercharged referents—a world wherein acts of representation were rife with significance. Given this careful attention to founding documents and the finely tuned hermeneutic sense of the Marian exiles, the Geneva Bible's maps, far from having been an afterthought, were likely to have been very carefully considered insertions indeed.

The Translators

The point when the Geneva Bible translators decided to add maps to their bible was probably just before its completion in 1560.⁸ It was likely no earlier than 1559, since four of the maps were modeled on the French vernacular bible of that year printed by the Geneva partnership of Nicolas Barbier and Thomas Courteau—and in this they reflect the exiles' close connections to and esteem for the French Calvinist church.⁹ But there are no records of decisions made about the maps or of who was ultimately responsible for conceiving of their inclusion, and what we know about the bible's actual translation is minimal.¹⁰ The project was accomplished by a small cadre of English Protestants exiled in Geneva during Mary's reign, a group who cared enough about their new faith to suffer multiple peregrinations for it, for they had arrived at Frankfurt, some after first having sojourned in one or more continental cities, and then had emigrated from

⁸ They began their translation in 1558.

⁹ All of the Barbier-Courteau maps save that of the Mediterranean were modeled on Jacob Ziegler's *Atlas of Palestine* issued in Strasbourg in 1532. Barbier and Courteau had the maps made specifically for their bible by an as-yet unknown craftsman. Illustration woodcuts were also obtained from Antoine Rebul who had used them in his French bible of 1560. A.W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible, the Documents Relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525–1611*. London, New York, H. Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911, pp. 27–28.

¹⁰ To describe the literary influences on the Geneva bible would require a separate and elaborate account. In short, the bible was based on "a re-examination of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin sources, but it owed much to earlier translations." Craig Hardin. "The Geneva Bible as a Political Document," *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Mar 1938, pp. 40–49, p. 40. Among its sources were the 'Beza Codex' and bibles by Pagninus, Leo Juda, Olivetan, and Tyndale. The style of its marginal notes was set by this last.

that city at Calvin's behest after the prayer book dispute. The leader of both the larger Geneva congregation as well as the coterie of translators was William Whittingham, an Oxford trained Hebraist who had produced a preparatory New Testament in Geneva in 1557.¹¹ In addition to Whittingham, the only other translators known with certainty are Anthony Gilby and Thomas Sampson.¹² Both of these men were skilled in Hebrew and other languages and had studied at Christ Church, Oxford with Whittingham. Gilby assisted Whittingham in compiling the *Form of Common Order*,¹³ considered himself "one of [Calvin's] scholars," and later translated Calvin's *Commentary on Daniel* and Beza's Psalms of David.¹⁴ Thomas Sampson studied law, migrated back and forth between Strasburg, Frankfurt, and Geneva, and his letters written in exile reveal a profound faith in the importance of translation.¹⁵ Details on the printer of the Geneva Bible, Rowland Hall, are scarce, though he would have been integral to the placing of the maps in the bible and in borrowing or purchasing the map blocks from the French printers.¹⁶ John Bodley, the bible's primary underwriter, could have spearheaded the decision to include maps

¹¹ This *New Testament* was then incorporated, with changes to its annotations, into the complete bible of 1560. Daniell, p. 279.

¹² John Knox, Christopher Goodman, Miles Coverdale, Jean Calvin, and other affiliates (Thomas Wood, Thomas Becon) have also been posited as translators of the Geneva Bible. While Knox and Goodman were both intimately connected with the translation group and some of their political views resonate with the bible's notes, they do not appear to have played an active role. Miles Coverdale was in Geneva in 1558, but is not clear whether he was consulted in the translation. Bruce Metzger, "The Geneva Bible of 1560," *Theology Today* Vol 17, No. 3, Oct, 1960, pp 339–352, p. 340. As for Calvin, though he was of inestimable influence on the refugees at Geneva and contributed both the map of Eden and an 8-page introductory letter to the bible, his intervention in the work seems to have been minimal. His prefatory letter had in fact first been written twenty years earlier for Olivetan's French bible. Daniell, p. 279. Metzger, however, remarks that the Calvin checked Whittingham's translation. p. 345. In regards to Sampson's allegiances in the prayer book dispute, he was something of a turncoat, appearing first on the Cox side of the prayer book dispute and only later in the Whittingham camp.

¹³ Knox, Foxe, and Cole also contributed to this effort. *ibid*, p. 340.

¹⁴ Lewis Frederick Lupton. *A History of the Geneva Bible*. Volume 5, London, Fauconberg Press. 1966, p. 44.

¹⁵ See, for example, Sampson to Bullinger, Sep 13, 1556 and Apr 23, 1557 in Hastings Robinson, Ed. *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation...Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich...* Cambridge University Press, 1847. pp. 178–181.

¹⁶ Hall printed in London at "gutter lane" in the early 1550s, surfaced as a member of Knox's congregation, and was received as citizen of Geneva in 1557. He set up a press in Geneva with help of William Williams in 1558, in 1559 printed a book of psalms, and in 1560' the full Bible. Back in England, he printed (in order) Calvin's sermons, Cicero's letters, Geneva's laws in English, and a discovery narrative.

since publishers were often responsible for paratactic material.¹⁷ Most likely, though, the trend to place maps in bibles was simply ‘in the air’ in Geneva, and though we can’t say with surety precisely who was responsible for placing the maps in the Geneva Bible, given the exiles’ commitment to consensus—they repeatedly sent petition-style letters to show that the opinions being transmitted were collective—with all probability the decision was undertaken by the translators, printer, and financier in conjunction with the members of the congregation.

The Church in the World and Protestant Evangelism

English Protestants spent the 1540s arguing about transubstantiation. But by the 1550s, their concerns began to move beyond such theological abstraction. They grew increasingly concerned with pragmatic and political matters such as how their church would relate to the world in all its concrete and institutional realities, and to this end repeatedly solicited epistolary advice from Continental reformers on church order and polity. This new pragmatism extended to concerns about how to spread the Protestant message in a hostile time through preaching and other media. The prefatory letter to the Geneva Bible reflects this new realism. It described the importance of “the increase of his kingdome...,”—that is the gaining of converts—and it described a very real fear of England’s lack of preachers, or rather its surfeit of crackpot sermonizers, the “certeine wanderers, amongst whom...are such rufenly rakehells, and common couseners,...by whose preachings, the worde off truthe is become odious, in the eies off the people”. One presumes that the translators meant their work to offset the effects of such roguery.

Accompanying this commitment to their church in the world was an Erasmian inclination to bring the word of God to everyone, even the unlearned. The Geneva Bible translators expressed this stance in their prefatory letter. A three-page address ‘To the reader’ designated the bible’s audience as the “simple lambs,” presumably the semi-literate or those who knew scripture only through hearing it read aloud. The translators explained how they had included “brief annotations upon all the hard places”—marginal comments on difficult passages—and how they did not alter ‘usual names’ “for feare of troubling the simple readers”. Calvin, too, had recently stressed the importance of reaching the simple and the

¹⁷ Green, p. 68.

less experienced—he termed them the ‘simple folk’—and his emphasis surely influenced the translators’ stress on this sector of the population.¹⁸ The very form of the bible reinforced evangelism or didacticism, for it contained a plethora of ‘helps’ to guide interpretation, including the novel addition of chapter summaries, key words, and an extensive index.¹⁹ The maps, then, formed just one component of this suite of interpretive aids. The bible’s evangelical ambitions were also reflected in its modest size and price: in contrast with the grandiose Great Bible, it measured a mere $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ inches and was eminently affordable.

The Geneva Bible translators explicitly wanted people not just to read their bible but rather to “earnestly studie it and in all your life practice it, that you may now *appeare in dede* to be the people of God...” (my italics) This emphasis on appearing ‘in dede’ reveals two aspects of the translators’ focus. The first was on their aforementioned attention to the expression of their church in the world. The second was their conviction that to be a proper Christian, one needed not only to hear and understand God’s word, but to publically assert one’s allegiance and identification. That the bible demanded this and addressed itself to those “partly...already in the fold of Christ” meant it was intended to sway the lukewarm or the Nicodemites. The Geneva translators thus seemed to see their religion as poised on the edge of expansion and were keenly aware that hiding one’s convictions damaged the church’s prospects of success. Here again were traces of Calvin’s influence, for he issued outspoken denunciations of Nicodemism in the 1540s through his death in 1564.

The pragmatic English Protestants of the 1550s saw themselves as firmly anchored in the world, attempting to build God’s visible church on earth and to spread the evangelical message across it. Maps jibed with these concerns in the most basic of ways, engaging in concrete and worldly reality in order to encompass and represent it. Maps thus mirrored the new Protestant imperative of displaying one’s religious convictions outwardly—of asserting religious convictions in an unambiguously public and visible way.²⁰

¹⁸ Jean Calvin. *Commentary on Genesis*. Transl and Ed. John King. Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1965. p. xxvii.

¹⁹ Such sentiments may have reflected the views of Gilby, who consistently expressed populist commitments in his prefaces decades later. His declaration in 1579 that he had translated Calvin’s commentary on Daniel “in this plaine and rude sort for the commoditie of the simple and unlearned” was one of many such remarks. Lupton, p. 45.

²⁰ The edition of the Geneva Bible printed the following year further emphasized the need to outwardly show religious allegiance with its new frontispiece, which bore the

Historical Legitimacy and Novelty

The Geneva translators were also concerned with establishing Protestantism's historical legitimacy. Charged with novelty in an age in which newness was strictly pejorative, Protestants needed to demonstrate that they were restoring the true and ancient faith, not inventing a new one. To do this required evidence that their church extended into the biblical past.²¹ Lacking Catholicism's episcopal chain of descent from the apostles, Protestants responded by developing a theory of history that located the church's ancestry in scripture and the true church to have existed wherever God's word was preached.²² Then they identified typological connections between ancient biblical history and the present day, and presented pre-Christian figures such as the embattled Israelites as early incarnations of the one true church.²³ This framework might be used to generate multiple imaginative identifications with biblical figures and events, and the Geneva Bible translator group employed it creatively and with conviction. Christopher Goodman, a close associate of the circle of translators, thus compared the stand of the Whittingham group at Frankfurt to Paul and Barnabas' resistance to Judaic doctrine,²⁴ and his compatriot John Bale likened his harrowing shipboard experiences upon his flight from England to those of Paul at Malta.²⁵ The point of such analogies was to remind Protestants that their struggles had a distinctive, ancient, and quasi-sacred pedigree.

opening inscription from Matthew V: "No man lighteth a candell, for to put it under a bushell, but pon the candlesticke." [William Whittingham et al.] *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages...* Geneva: M.D.LXII. [i.e. 1561].

²¹ One commentator said of Protestants, "they must change everything". William Naphy, "No History Can Satisfy Everyone: Geneva's Chroniclers and Emerging Religious Identities," in Bruce Gordon, Ed. *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-century Europe*. Aldershot, Hants, England; Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 32, 35, 37.

²² Alec Ryrie, "The Problems of Legitimacy and Precedent in English Protestantism," p. 81 in Gordon, *Protestant History*.

²³ Calvin too continually employed rhetoric toward similar ends: "God has associated us with the holy Patriarchs...in order that we, disregarding the distance of time which separates us from them, may, in the mutual agreement of faith and patience, endure the same conflicts. Calvin, p. xxxviii. For how Protestants constructed their sense of historical legitimacy, see Ryrie and Bruce Gordon, "The Changing Face of Protestant History and Identity in the Sixteenth Century," in Gordon, *Protestant History*.

²⁴ Robinson, p. 770. Christopher Goodman to Peter Martyr. Geneva, Aug 20, 1558.

²⁵ Graeme Murdock. *International Calvinism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. p. 33.

The exiles' inclusion of maps in their bible is striking within this context of efforts to establish historical legitimacy, for geography was a patently novel discipline, one that tended toward brash iconoclasm in its challenges to ancient authority. The presence of maps was in this sense at odds with Protestantism's assertions of antiquity.²⁶ Other equally novel features of the Geneva Bible represented this same tension. The bible was issued not in black letter, but in a roman fount, a style that would have borne clear connotations of humanist sophistication and high style,²⁷ and its emblematic frontispiece and arresting use of white space would have been aesthetically daring to contemporary viewers.²⁸ The bible's division into verses was also an unprecedented innovation in English bibles, but the exiles justified it on the basis of ancient example: "we have followed the Ebrewe examples, which have so even from the begyhning distinct them."²⁹ This balance between novelty and tradition effectively mirrored the same tensions within the larger Protestant project and was only one of the many ways in which the Geneva Bible and its maps seemed to pull in contrary directions.

Exodus

The most important biblical typology employed by the Marian exiles was their identification with the Israelites, which they expressed in their Bible through their inclusion of the Exodus map at Numbers 33 (Figure 1). The map stood as a talisman of the Geneva group's own recent peregrinations and signaled the exiles' identification with the ancient and embattled, but

²⁶ David Livingstone. "Geography, Tradition and the Scientific Revolution: An Interpretative Essay," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1990, pp. 359-337; p. 364.

²⁷ Olivetan's 1535 bible published by Girard in Geneva first used roman type in a French bible. Lupton, Vol. 3, p. 62. Prior to this, the use of Roman type in French language printing was first seen in 1519. On the use of types in French printing, see Hendrik Vervliet. *French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus*. New Castle, Delaware, and London: Oak Knoll Press, The Bibliographical Society, and The Printing Historical Society, 2010. The Geneva Bible's sophisticated use of Roman type was received tepidly by the English, since later versions turned back to the use of black letter. Metzger, p. 343. However, some Geneva New Testaments were always consistently produced in Roman type while the Bishop's bible was always issued in blackletter. Green, p. 65.

²⁸ Daniell notes that only a sophisticated audience would have grasped the classical references in the Time and Truth emblem used as the frontispiece to Whittingham's 1557 *New Testament*. pp. 288-289.

²⁹ A closer precedent was Estienne's Greek-Latin *New Testament* of 1551, which had been divided into verses. His 1553 French bible was the first complete bible to follow.

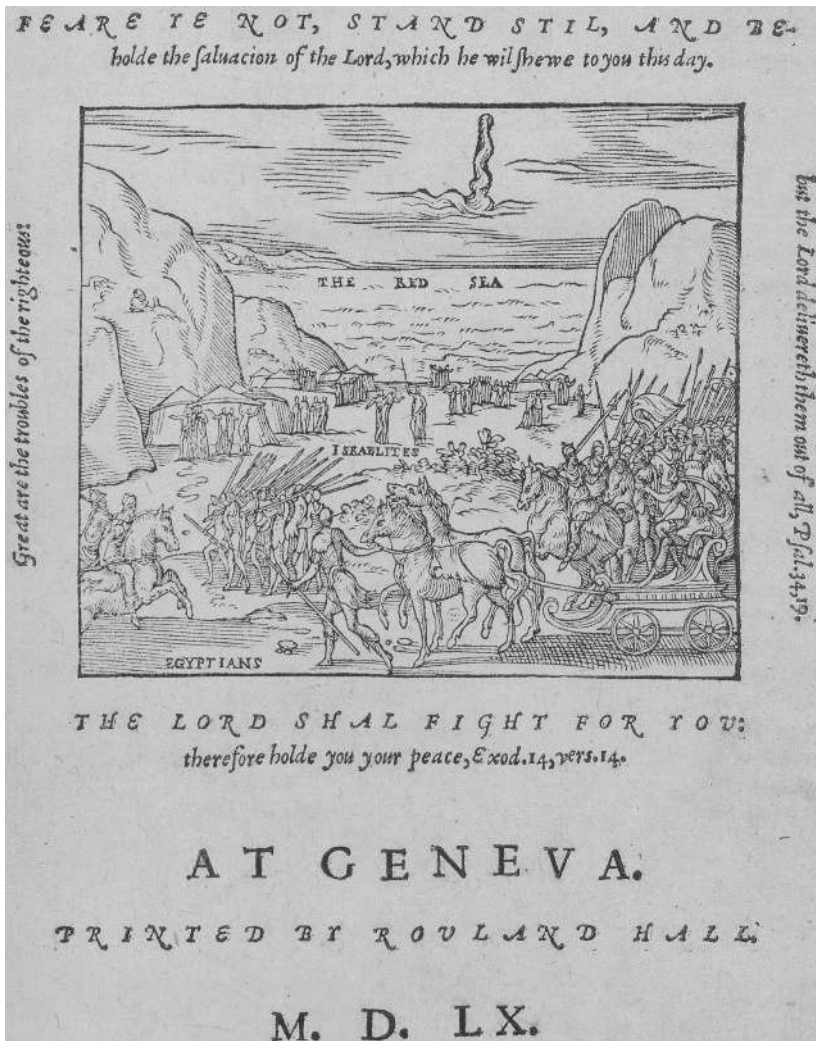


Figure 2. Emblematic Frontispiece from the Geneva Bible 1560, Huntingdon Library (EEBO, STC (2nd Ed./ 2093.)

Source: Geneva Bible of 1560, Huntingdon Library. (EEBO, STC (2nd ed.)/2093.)

generally lacked. Even better, the map supplied the vicarious experience of pilgrimage, another traditional aesthetico-religious experience that Protestantism had cast aside. That these maps were indeed meant to provide fodder for both historical reflection and experiential identification is bolstered by Barbier and Courteau's claim that that their maps "would

present as if living before the eyes of those who find it difficult to imagine and consider the words by themselves”(my translation).³¹ Here, the Geneva Bible’s maps were a touch subversive, for they advanced visual forms of religious experience within an iconophobic context.

The Exodus map functioned as propaganda for Protestant concerns at a hermeneutic level, for it and its fellow maps performed the important service of testifying to scripture’s literal veracity. As against Catholicism’s alleged allegorical license, the stories told in scripture were to be taken as real historical events, and the map not only pointed to and highlighted the events portrayed in the bible, but served as an authorial witness that the biblical events it depicted had indeed transpired. In short, to represent historical events geographically and so concretely was to assert their truth. This ability to point to the historical sites of biblical narrative would become an important weapon against allegorical interpretation as well as skeptical disbelief, and mapping in support of the literal meaning of Bible would increase dramatically in the seventeenth century.

Despite the translators’ averred concern for the ‘simple lambs’, the Geneva bible’s maps tended to undermine this purpose. The translators clearly considered themselves biblical scholars and when provoked, did not hesitate to pour their scorn upon the unschooled. When they departed Frankfurt for Geneva, they lacerated their rivals as “some whiche tooke them selves, to be lerned...”—that is, as lacking education.³² Thus the Geneva bible was equally meant for a scholarly audience, which was made explicit in the translators’ professed attention to “every point and worde,” in their careful designation of the interpolation of English words through a novel system of diacritical marks and italics; in their use of verse division, which encouraged more precise textual engagement; and in their address of their project to “both the learned and others.”³³ And when the translators wrote in their preface that they undertook their translation in consideration of “how hard a thing it is to understand the holy Scriptures, and that errors, sectes and heresies growe daily for lack of the true knowledge thereof,” they revealed their fear of untrammelled biblical interpretation by unschooled readers. The Geneva Bible thus represented an uneasy tension between generosity toward and distrust of the common person to

³¹ Ingram, p. 30.

³² Wood, p. 59.

³³ Daniell considers it an important but overlooked fact that the Genevan scholars were translating a large portion of Old Testament poetic and prophetic books into English from Hebrew from the first time. p. 298.

interpret scripture.³⁴ Luther had originally championed the view that the unlearned might freely access the truths of scripture in order to deprive the Catholic church of claims to authority over scriptural interpretation. But by the 1550s, Protestants were increasingly backing away from wholehearted trust in the 'simple folk' to extract correct opinions without guidance. The maps and other didactic 'helps', then, which were presented with such seeming generosity and benevolence, were also tinctured with suspicion, and in undercutting the view of 'self-interpreting', or 'perspicuous' scripture that Protestants had initially espoused, revealed an erosion of faith in the ability of the very 'simple lambs' whom the bible professed to reach.³⁵

Eden and Canaan

The first map included in the Geneva Bible was a copy of Calvin's map of the location of Eden. Visually, the map was based on Sebastian Munster's 1545 *Cosmographia*, and it was placed at the Geneva Bible's outset, in Genesis.³⁶ After the Eden map's first appearance in Calvin's *Commentary on Genesis* of 1554, it had resurfaced in bibles produced by French printers at Geneva and finally in the English translation which we are considering. Like the Exodus map, the Eden map (Figure 3) worked on multiple levels, the primary of which may have been its association with Calvin. Along with other contributions to the Geneva Bible by Calvin, such as his preface on Christ as the end of the Law, it asserted alliance, if not allegiance to his theology in full, and pointed up Calvin's exegetical brilliance in solving the problem of the location of the Garden of Eden.³⁷ The Hebrew biblical text

³⁴ This tension surfaces yet again when one realizes that the bible was frankly too small to take extensive notes and was thus prohibitive of real scholarly usage. Green, p. 60.

³⁵ At the same time, the Geneva Bible's didacticism was minimal and its notes spare in contrast to earlier editions such as the *Glossa Ordinaria*. Daniell, p. 275. Green, p. 74.

³⁶ Alessandro Scafi. *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth*. University of Chicago, 2006.p. 276, Scafi also suggests Calvin relied upon Michael Servetus' 1541 edition of Ptolemy since this work was found in the library of the Geneva Academy. p. 277.

³⁷ I studiously avoid discussion of the nature and extent of the Geneva Bible's so-called 'Calvinism' because it is far too complex to be discussed here. The Geneva bible was tarred as offensively Calvinist on the basis of its notes as early as 1604. While there are without question Calvinist elements and influences in it, there are also clear deviations from Calvin's opinions, and recent critics have denied the bible's alliance with extreme or strident Calvinism. For this latter opinion, see Maurice Betteridge. "The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and Its Annotations." *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 1, Spring, 1983, pp. 41–62; also Daniell and Danner.

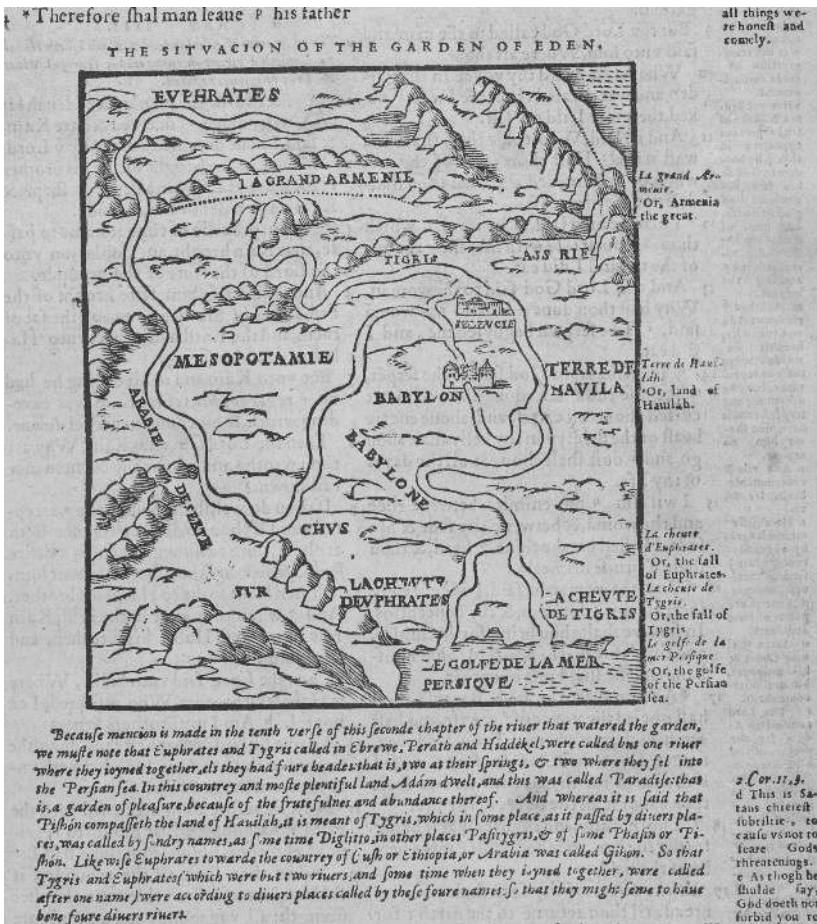


Figure 3. Map of Eden from the Geneva Bible 1560, Huntingdon Library (EEBO, STC (2nd Ed./ 2093.)

Source: Geneva Bible of 1560, Huntingdon Library. (EEBO, STC (2nd ed.)/2093.)

of Genesis had described a river that watered Eden and then divided, “becoming four headwaters” or four individual rivers. For centuries, scholars had debated the identity of these four rivers. The first two were generally accepted to be the Tigris and Euphrates; the last two, ‘Pishon’ and ‘Gihon’ in the Hebrew, were taken to be the Ganges and the Nile. This reading raised the difficulty of describing how all four of the rivers intersected.³⁸

³⁸ In his *Summa*, Aquinas had reconciled the problem of the four rivers with the notion that they flowed underground.

Calvin, in an ingenious philological reshuffling, decided that the term 'headwaters' might reference either the head or the mouth of a river, and that one could therefore take Pishon and Gihon to be outfalls of the Tigris and Euphrates.³⁹ The importance of this reinterpretation was that it meant that scripture was coherent and that the words in God's holy book matched the world. In addition, one could definitively place Eden in Mesopotamia, and not, as previous exegetes had done, in some other-worldly realm. Terrestrial paradise really had existed but was simply lost somewhere in the past.

Calvin's map of Eden made other less overt claims. Some sixteenth century, exegetes, Luther included, decided that paradise had been eliminated by the deluge.⁴⁰ Calvin disputed this assertion, insisting that the flood had not changed the shape of the earth. For Calvin, the past needed to have clear continuities with the present for his scriptural hermeneutics to remain comprehensible. It was important for him to demonstrate the existence of traces of the location of the Garden of Eden and its rivers, for this proved that "It is the same earth,"⁴¹ which in turn verified the consistency of scripture.

Oddly, the Eden map showed the general location of Eden but did not specify the walled garden's perimeter, and so ambiguously asserted both the presence of paradise as well as its absence. Eden had once been precisely locatable; now only traces of its existence, such as the four rivers, remained. This ambivalence demonstrated quite succinctly Calvin's claims about the nature of man, God, and their mutual roles and duties. Paradise no longer existed in all its pristine purity because of man's sin and God's consequent anger, but fragments remained because of His infinite mercy, for which we ought to be grateful. The persistence of these fragments revealed God's immanence in the physical world and its history—a notion which undergirded Protestant attempts to create godly polities on earth.⁴²

³⁹ Calvin's insights were not entirely original. He followed his Catholic predecessor Steuchus, though he disparaged Steuchus' errors all the while. Ingram, p. 35. For more on the mapping of the garden of Eden, see Scafi.

⁴⁰ Luther, for example, argued that postdiluvian earth contained no remaining traces of God's original goodness in the world; these had been totally effaced by the deluge, and speculation about the location of paradise was therefore "an idle question". Scafi, p. 266.

⁴¹ Ingram, p. 35.

⁴² The Eden map also served as a reminder of man's shared and unitary origins. All humanity was said to derive from the same progenitors, and this claim could be employed in arguments for a universal and consensual Christian brotherhood. As Calvin put it, all men "proceed from one fountain." Calvin, p. 97.

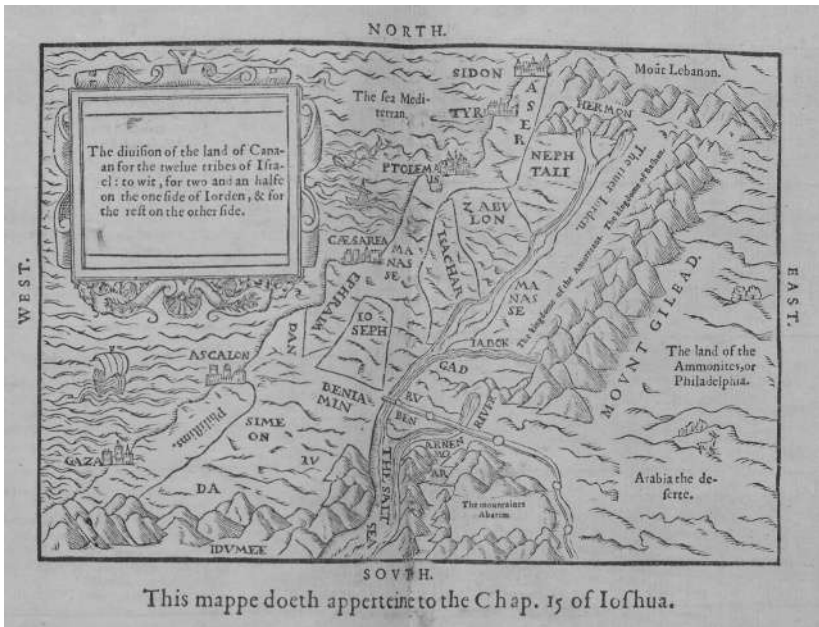


Figure 4. Map of Canaan from the Geneva Bible 1560, Huntingdon Library (EEBO, STC (2nd Ed./ 2093.)

Source: Geneva Bible of 1560, Huntingdon Library. (EEBO, STC (2nd ed.)/2093.)

The map of Canaan (Figure 4) offered a rough diagram of how the Promised Land was parceled out to each of the twelve tribes of the Israelites. As with all the maps, it served certain pragmatic functions. The description of the Israelites' entry into the Promised Land in the book of Joshua had consisted of twelve chapters of confusing names and boundary descriptions, so the reduction of this narrative to an image made a certain amount of practical sense. The map also served as a bookend to the Exodus story, showing the end of the Israelites' travails: the fulfillment of God's promise of land and repatriation after long wanderings. But most striking about the map is its depiction of the egalitarian result of the distribution process: it depicts land tracts of roughly uniform size neatly circumscribed with boundary lines. Given the valences attached to landholding for Englishmen—it was long considered the basis for nobility—this map would have resonated within an English context. That is, given their imaginative apparatus, both translators and their readers likely saw in the Canaan map not desert tracts but rather neat parcels of shires and hundreds.

Two important debates in England in the 1550s and 1560s concerned property rights and ideal commonwealths. Thomas More's *Utopia*, widely read and discussed in England in the 1550s,⁴³ had proposed the radical remedy of eliminating private property as a foil to the longstanding classical idea that property ownership was a distinguishing feature of humanity. As More's narrator Raphael Hythlodæus had it, private property was the root of all criminal activity. During this same period, English landowners began to assert rights of private property and enclose rural pasturage. The exiles, particularly the several who had studied law, were likely familiar with legal wrangling over boundaries and the increasing use of maps as evidence in legal disputes over territorial rights, ownership, and jurisdiction, and the Canaan map would have carried echoes of these ideas.⁴⁴

A bit of textual analysis in the Geneva Bible itself confirms this hypothesis. There was of course a basis for scriptural reflections on property holding, since the bible had recounted how the apostles had shared their property. Acts 2:44 had declared that "All who believe were together and had all things in common....". The translators showed themselves thoroughly preoccupied with establishing views quite contrary to communal property holding by their inclusion of a preponderance of annotations discouraging shared property ownership. Their note to Acts 2:44 thus included the following careful adjustment: "Not that their goods wer mingled all together: but such order was observed that every man frankly relieved an others necessitie." Three other emphatic clarifications followed along the same lines, one going so far as to reassure readers that in apostolic times, no "idle loyterers" were maintained (Acts 4:32). Clearly the Geneva translators were concerned with questions of landholding, egalitarian distribution of land and labor, and the formation of ideal communities, and they quite naturally expressed these views in their bible. That the translators saw the Canaan map as an image of fair property allocation may explain why of all the Geneva Bible maps, only Canaan lacked Ptolemaic borders graduated in degrees of latitude and longitude. That is, the point of Canaan was to demonstrate egalitarian distribution of land in the abstract, not to confirm historical location or actual tract size.

⁴³ See, for example, Terence Cave. *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts*. Manchester University Press, 2008.

⁴⁴ Marina Leslie. *Renaissance Utopias and the Problem of History*. Cornell University Press, 1998. p. 37; Richard Helgersen. "Inventing Noplace, or the Power of Negative Thinking," *Genre* 15, 1982, pp. 101–121. p. 14.

truth, and the representational vehicle of the map was not yet equivalent with absolute veracity. Real islands had been juxtaposed with plausible and downright legendary ones on even the best isolario maps of the 1530s, and even Munster's venerable *Cosmographia* included apocryphal islands.⁴⁷ Maps which used the Ptolemaic system continued to be "viewed with much suspicion" by navigators and it was not until 1569 that Gerardus Mercator offered confirmation that geographical coordinates and compass courses were indeed compatible.⁴⁸ And as late as 1622, geography as officially taught treated of the "division of the earth into parts real and imaginary."⁴⁹ What this means is that while early modern maps did make reportorial claims to truth, they were not necessarily taken by thoughtful viewers as such. They regularly combined reality with fiction, and as such embodied a rather shimmering claim to veracity, one akin to the claim made by Thomas More's *Utopia* map: certainly true for the credulous, possibly true for the more sophisticated viewer. So the Geneva Bible maps may have in fact been directed at the gullible, those who unreflectively assumed the veracity of maps. But even here there was a contradiction, for it is not clear how much maps would have meant to the "simple lambs." As Smith has noted, geographic knowledge was not necessarily widespread in mid-sixteenth century England, and one could not take for granted the average Englishman's ability to read a map in the middle of the 16th century.⁵⁰ Not until Christopher Saxton published his atlas of county maps of 1579 could British subjects "imagine in any detail the land to which they belonged."⁵¹

The Geneva Bible maps undercut their own claims to sophistication in other ways. The technology to make gloriously detailed copperplate maps was eminently available, and very beautifully executed maps had appeared in earlier bibles. The Geneva Bible maps, though, were executed

⁴⁷ Luigi Monga. "Translating the Journey: A Literary Perspective on Truth in Cartography," in Conroy, Jane, Ed. *Cross-Cultural Travel: Papers from the Royal Irish Academy Symposium on Literature and Travel*. New York: Peter Lang, 2003, pp.18–19. Totally accurate longitudinal coordinates were not established until the middle of the 18th century and imaginary notions continued to creep into maps until then. Monga, p. 24.

⁴⁸ Woodward, 87. Livingstone has shown how early modern geography was firmly tied to magical and astrological interests, and Monga has declared sixteenth century cartography to be an outright "froth of copies, adaptations and lies." Monga, 26. McLean writes that mid century cosmography was in transition; at "a moment of liminality." Matthew McLean. *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Munster: Describing the World in the Reformation*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007. p 45.

⁴⁹ Smith, p. 98.

⁵⁰ *ibid*, p. 95.

⁵¹ Leslie, p. 37.

as rough and simple woodcuts. Given the Protestant preference for 'plain style' as over eloquence, this naïveté was likely quite studied, for a rudimentary format would at once heighten appeal to the unsophisticated viewer and reinforce other Protestant commitments. With astute visual immediacy, the simplicity of these diagrams might oppose Catholicism's perceived devotion to overelaborate ritual; imitate Moses, who was known to have communicated simply in order to command popular fealty; and echo the Protestant commitment to the idea of self-evident literal and historical biblical truth.

Cosmography and the Theater of the World

An important clue to understanding the Geneva Bible maps is their presentation as "certeyne mappes of Cosmographie." That is, they were meant to transcend the merely geographic and enter the realm of such distinguished and ambitious projects as Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia* of 1550 and Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1570.⁵² In the cosmographic view, the world did not consist merely of landforms devoid of spirit, but served as both a backdrop to, as well as a player in, the drama of salvation history. As with Calvin's Eden map, God was immanent in the forms of the world as well as in human history, and expressed Himself providentially therein. Ortelius' work utilized the metaphor of the world as theater to express mapping as a moral project.⁵³ Calvin, too had evoked an alliance with the cosmographical tradition when he wrote that "After the world had been created, man was placed in it as in a theatre, that he, beholding above him and beneath the wonderful works of God, might reverently adore this Author."⁵⁴ We might plausibly assign similar views to the Geneva Bible translators themselves.

The notion of the world as theater was meant to bring man to a qualified knowledge of the divine. As Calvin had phrased it, "Let the world become our school if we desire rightly to know God." The mute instruction

⁵² One could offer a long excursus here about the role and value of ancient place names on maps to Hebraists and the relation of mapping to translation, philology, and exile.

⁵³ Denis Cosgrove. "Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93, 2003, pp. 852–870; p. 854. Ortelius later added to his *Theatrum* the *Parergon*, a collection of forty images devoted to sacred geography which included a map of possible locations for terrestrial paradise and employed a humanist philological approach.

⁵⁴ Calvin, p. 64.

of heaven and earth could in fact lead to godly knowledge. However, these were in themselves insufficient to attain true godliness. For this, the study of scripture was required. Nor was the 'world as theater' metaphor warrant for in-depth scientific investigation, for to attempt to understand nature or to inquire into God's essence were both "foolish labors." We must be modest and proceed "no further in our inquiries than the Lord, by the guidance and instruction of his own works, invites us."⁵⁵ Cosmography was in this sense an eminently safe, even shallow form of science, for it remained ever on the surface of the world, charting it and wondering at it but never attempting to delve into it.⁵⁶ Its straightforward depictions of the world's landforms in turn conformed to the Calvinist hermeneutic of simplicity: it posited no hidden concordances; one could take visible reality at face value. In this, the cosmographical metaphor of the world as theater of salvation betokened boundless epistemological optimism, a faith in the very representability of knowledge.⁵⁷

Within this cosmographic worldview, maps functioned as emblems of humanist cosmopolitanism. The roots of this view lay in Ciceronian rhetoric and were allied with a Neostoic emphasis on the cultivation of reason, which was thought to necessarily loosen ties of local attachment.⁵⁸ Erasmus served as a key intellectual leader for cosmopolites, and his wedding of classical views of language as the foundation of civil society to the Christian aim of translating the bible to bring God's word to all peoples had been foundational. The cosmopolitan tradition was also formed by the *ars apodemica*, wherein humanists, "influenced by the specifically internationalist outlook of the movement," advocated travel abroad to dispel bigotry and unreflective parochialism.⁵⁹

Frankfurt, Geneva, and Cosmopolitanism

To posit a commitment to ideals of cosmopolitanism among early Puritans may seem farfetched or out of keeping with the stereotype of Puritan parochialism. Yet a brief look at the experience and rhetoric of the Geneva

⁵⁵ Ibid. pp. 60–62.

⁵⁶ Calvin rarely spoke explicitly about geographic or cosmological concerns, though he noted in his *Commentary on Genesis* that "We indeed are not ignorant, that the circuit of the heavens is finite, and that the earth, like a little globe, is placed in the centre." Available copies of Copernicus had only just been issued in 1543. Ibid, 61, ff. 2.

⁵⁷ Cosgrove, p. 858, McLean, p.144.

⁵⁸ Cosgrove, pp. 859, 862.

⁵⁹ Monga, p. 41.

translators confirms their allegiance to the cosmographic worldview, particularly in the Whittingham contingent (that is, the translation group)'s opposition to their brethren in the Frankfurt prayer book controversy. The dispute erupted as the exiles were formulating their new church order at Frankfurt in 1555. The congregation divided over whether they ought to adhere to the forms of liturgy and governance established in the Second Book of Common Prayer developed during the reign of Edward VI. The Whittingham group considered liturgical elements such as vestments and kneeling to be unapostolic, superfluous vestiges of 'popish' ceremony, and called for a turn to the more austere liturgical order of the French church at Geneva.⁶⁰ The congregation ultimately managed to craft a compromise liturgy and maintained peace, albeit fragile, until Richard Cox arrived in Frankfurt in March of 1555. With his new group of refugees, Cox insisted that worship revert to those forms used in the Edwardian prayer book, for "they would do as they had donne in Englande, and that they would have the face off an English churche."⁶¹ The Whittingham group retorted that Cox and his affiliates were "too precise in enforcing the English ceremonies, and unreasonably partial to our own country," a charge which the Cox group in fact accepted. They conceded that they were "too much inclined" toward love of their country, though not in any way that was "not agreeable to God's holy word."⁶² The Whittingham party, countered Cox and his affiliates, was so unpatriotic as to have "cast off every feeling of humanity," and in declining to follow English ceremonies they were ingrates to king and country.⁶³ The Whittingham contingent rejected this accusation, declaring that had Edward lived longer, he would have moved the church in a more internationalist and truly apostolic direction. The exiles eventually appealed to Calvin for advice, and he responded in favor of Whittingham and his followers with a strikingly cosmopolitan statement. He reproached the Cox group for their chauvinism, writing, "ye are more geven and addicte to your countrie then reason woulde."⁶⁴ In the

⁶⁰ Mary Anne Everett Green. *Life of Mr. William Whittingham, Dean of Durham: From a ms. in Antony Wood's Collection, Bodleian Library*. New York, A.M.S. Press, 1870, p. 6.

⁶¹ Wood, p. 38.

⁶² *ibid.*, p. 61. The Cox group was also disturbed at the prospect of the new austere ceremonies "for that we woulde decline from the decrees of our elders." For the Whittingham party, the elders most worthy of emulation were not one's immediate genealogical forbears but, through an imaginative collapsing of distance, the apostles themselves.

⁶³ Robinson, David Whitehead and others to Calvin, Frankfort, Sep 20, 1555, pp. 756–757.

⁶⁴ Wood, pp. 35–36; 51. Robinson, Whittingham to Calvin, from Frankfort, p.765.

end, the Frankfurt congregation was unable to heal the breach. The final details of this will not concern us here, except to say that upon Calvin's invitation, Whittingham and his party made their way to Geneva.

The exiles who emigrated to Calvin's Geneva thus shared an ideal of brotherhood in a faith which transcended national boundaries. Traces of such cosmopolitanism are rife in the rhetoric of international fraternity and cooperation that they shared with the Protestant leaders with whom they corresponded.⁶⁵ Given the provisional nature of Protestant settlements in the early 1550s—its strongest points were outposts of exile—for their faith to remain viable, Protestants needed to turn a blind eye to national affiliations and consider all believers as brethren in the fold of Christ. Yet this did not mean that the Geneva exiles had abrogated their devotion to England. They repeatedly expressed their internationalist convictions in the same breath as their love of country, addressing the bible, for example, to all believers as well as “our Beloved in the Lord the Brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.” and always underscoring their Englishness in their correspondence.⁶⁶ Their adoption of the Israelite motif, which saw God as solicitous of England as he had been of Israel, was at some level unreservedly jingoistic. But this mix of allegiances was not so much a contradiction as a fact of sixteenth century life, and humanist ideals of universality could comfortably coexist with loyalty to mother country. McLean, for example, has shown how Munster's *Cosmographia* incorporated mapping, sacred philology, a providential view of history, and both nationalist and universalist views,⁶⁷ and such were the attitudes expressed by the Geneva Bible's maps. The maps unapologetically asserted a transcendent loyalty to an international Protestantism and universal brotherhood of all men alongside rhetorical claims evincing commitment to nation.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ For example, the exiles repeatedly addressed continental leaders and each other in filial and familial terms such as ‘most excellent father’ and ‘brothers’. See Robinson, *passim*.

⁶⁶ The Whittingham party also repeatedly addressed their other efforts to the English nation. In Gilby's preface to Knox's *Faythfull Admonition* of 1554 and 1558, he admonished “O ye people of England, wheresoever you be scattered or placed...” Danner, p. 37. Thomas Sampson thanked Bullinger “not in my own name only, but in that of England.” Robinson, Apr 23, 1557, Strasbourg, p. 180.

⁶⁷ McLean, pp. 103, 163, 330, 242, 323, 12.

⁶⁸ Calvin too embodied the compatibility of cosmopolitan ideals and national loyalties. Calvin counseled the Whittingham party “that...the distance of place should not dissipate or rend in sunder...brotherly agreement.” And his epistolary reach was increasingly far-flung and internationalist, yet he always retained the sense of France as his homeland and

Geneva

In looking to understand the cosmopolitan attitudes of the Geneva Bible translators, one cannot overlook their profoundly formative experiences in the city of Geneva. Their stay in the Swiss city not only inspired their translation of the bible to begin with⁶⁹ but offered them a real world experience of international harmony, and in so doing deepened their cosmopolitan convictions. At the same time and rather paradoxically, the exiles developed a distinctly local attachment to the city of Geneva itself, which would in turn bear a disproportionately large impact upon the future English Protestantism.

Of great significance is the fact that Whittingham and his peers arrived in Geneva in 1555 at the zenith of Calvin's fortunes there. Just prior to their arrival, Calvin had confirmed his dominance over the city.⁷⁰ The exiles were spared witness of the struggles of the previous decade and would have seen only its fruits. Consistory discipline had grown dramatically in Geneva in the 1550s⁷¹ and by 1555, the exiles would have beheld a city characterized by an abundance of preaching,⁷² a populace adherent to the ideals of a godly community, and the spectacle of Genevan children rehearsed in their catechism.⁷³ It is no wonder that Knox, a close affiliate of the translation circle, considered Geneva "the pureste reformed church in Christendome" and the place "where as Gods worde is truly preached

directed the majority of his efforts towards its evangelization. Robinson, Whitehead and others to Calvin, Frankfort, Sep 20, 1555; p.762, ff. 1. Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism*. Yale University Press, 2002. Pp. 110, 113.

⁶⁹ Calvin's Geneva was abuzz with scholarship and printing beginning in the decade of the 1550s, and this played no small part in the translators' decision to undertake the Geneva Bible. They acknowledged this in their preface when they wrote that they betook themselves to their task as a result of being surrounded by translations in "divers tongues" and "so many godly and learned men."

⁷⁰ William Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation*. St. Martin's Press, 1994. Pp. 198, 231.

⁷¹ In 1553, the consistory issued 16 excommunications. By 1560, it dispatched over two hundred per year. Benedict, p.102. Countless edicts and ordinances were also issued penalizing blasphemy, gambling, drunkenness, and sumptuary violations.

⁷² Sermons were offered in her four churches on an average of a dozen times each week. E. William Monter, *Calvin's Geneva*. New York, Wiley, 1967, p 100.

⁷³ Naphy, *Calvin*, pp 228–229. Benedict notes that multiple testimonials exist as to how comprehensively manners and morals had been reformed, p. 99. Gillian Lewis remarks that between 1557 and 64, Geneva created an extraordinary impression on foreign visitors. "Calvinism in Geneva in the Time of Calvin and of Beza (1541–1605)," in Menna Prestwich, Ed. *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1985, p 41.

manners beste reformed and in earthe the chieftest place off true comforte.”⁷⁴

A cosmopolitan spirit operated in Geneva on two fronts. First, in 1555 Calvin emerged triumphant in a political struggle between internationalist and localist loyalties. Beginning in the late 1540s, native or ‘good’ Genevans, as they called themselves, began to resent the suppression of local traditions by the flood of mostly French immigrants who followed Calvin to Geneva. They expressed their resistance to Calvinist hegemony by naming their children with the traditional names of local saints.⁷⁵ Calvinist ministers banned the practice and forcibly rechristened children with Old Testament names. At base, the conflict was between a xenophobic populace and one with broader affiliations, and it came to a head at the local council elections of 1555 when the ‘good Genevans’ or Perrinists were accused of nepotism and clannishness in obtaining council positions. The opposed sides never came to arms, but tensions almost erupted in a street battle.⁷⁶ Because the Perrinists had initiated this particular confrontation in an ill-considered bout of drunken disobedience, Calvin was able to rout them via executions and banishments, and he moved the following year to enfranchise more French refugees into the bourgeoisie so as to pack the Genevan electorate with supporters.⁷⁷ Against this background, one may suppose that Calvin’s invitation of the Frankfurt group to Geneva contained motives well beyond the ambit of brotherly charity, and that maps in Calvin’s Geneva automatically connoted cosmopolitan as over local-traditional identification.

The meaning of another of the Geneva Bible’s ‘helps’, the forty page, alphabetized dictionary of Old Testament names and interpretations of their meanings, is thus brought into relief. In their Bible, the Geneva translators wrote that names should be “godlie advertisements” as well as “memorials and markes” of the children of God, and presented their table of names to “call backe the godlie from that abuse, when they shal know the true names of the godlie fathers...” A reference to abuses in naming practice can only refer to the Perrinist party dispute, and the dictionary

⁷⁴ Wood, p. xlix. This quote is also sometimes attributed to Whittingham himself.

⁷⁵ There was much animosity toward Calvin from 1545 to 1555. Lewis, p. 41. Naphy situates the xenophobia conflict as beginning around 1550. Naphy, *Calvin*, p.169.

⁷⁶ Benedict, p.101.

⁷⁷ Naphy, *Calvin*, p.192. After routing the Perrinists, Calvin stocked the ruling councils with magistrates who believed in Calvinist principles. Virtually unopposed, his dominance ensued through 1564. Monter, pp. 88–89, 99.

probably aimed to preclude future recursions to a provincialism that abrogated a commitment to internationalist Protestantism. As with the maps, the Hebrew name dictionary may seem a rather arbitrary addendum, but upon review it reveals the exiles' local experiences as well as their abstract ideals.⁷⁸

In addition to witnessing Calvin's triumph over localism in the Geneva city council, the exiles would have experienced a city swarming with immigrants. Geneva sustained large Italian, English, and Spanish communities in addition to the French, and immigration was on the increase during the exiles' tenure there.⁷⁹ The apparent concord between so many diverse nationalities made a deep impression and caused John Bale, a member of the Whittingham circle, to wax rhapsodic:

Let other men fayne other miracles; but Geneva seemeth to me to be the wonderfull miracle of the whole worlde; so many from all countries come thether as it were unto a sanctuary,.... Is it not wonderfull that Spanyardes, Italians, Scottes, Englishemen, Frenchemen and Germaines, differing in manners, speech and apparell; sheep and wolves, bulles and beares, being coupled onely with the yoke of Christe should live so loveingly and friendly like a spirituall and Christian congregation, using one order, one cloyster and like ceremonies.⁸⁰

Many exiles probably intended to remain at Geneva indefinitely. After all, they had no idea how long Mary's reign would last. So several obtained Genevan citizenship,⁸¹ and when upon his departure, Whittingham engaged in a florid and ritualistic document exchange with the Geneva city council to obtain rights as a Genevan citizen in perpetuity, he may have been crafting a contingency plan.

Back in England, the exiles' experience at Geneva cast a long shadow. The exiles maintained correspondence with the city during the 1560s and

⁷⁸ Their attitudes toward naming cannot be detailed here, but they are linked to the exiles' Christian-humanist convictions about the possibility of literally living God's historic word through adopting historically correct Hebrew names; their emphasis on a visible adoption of Protestantism; their expectation that they, like the Israelites, would multiply with great rapidity; and their hopes for an expansive future for Protestantism.

⁷⁹ Murdock, p. 36. 1559 was Geneva's peak immigration year, and by 1560, religious immigration had doubled the number of people in the city. Monter, p.109. Murdock, p. 34.

⁸⁰ From the English dedicatory letter to John Bale's *Acto Pontificum Romanorum* (Pageant of Popes), translated into French in 1561 by Badius and translated into English in 1574, quoted in Lupton, Vol. 3, pp.107–108.

⁸¹ The council book at Geneva noted that "Christopher Goodman, son of William, and Englishmen of Chester, has been gratuitously admitted citizen at his own request." Robinson, Jun 1, 1558, p. 768, ff. 1.

brought their internationalist vision back across the channel, where it seems to have crept into a wider Protestant consciousness in subsequent decades.⁸² In 1611, when a new authorized translation of the bible was proposed as a replacement for the Geneva version, it was suggested that “some perchance overvalued the Geneva Notes, out of that special love they bare to the Authors and Place whence it proceeded.”⁸³ The attitudes absorbed and fostered in Calvin’s Geneva had turned into a collective, idealized memory of both a specific location and an ideal of godly cosmopolitanism, all of which were embodied by the Geneva Bible’s maps.⁸⁴

Conclusion

The Protestant vision represented by the maps in the Geneva Bible was multivalent and not altogether consistent. Harnessing cosmography as an adjunct form of representation to suit an iconophobic faith, the maps worked to express the concerns of an English Protestantism poised for global expansion and desirous of historical legitimacy. While the maps in the bible were inflected by local and particular experiences such as the exiles’ stays at Frankfurt and Geneva, their meanings were also inflected by broader cultural currents such as a pragmatic desire to represent Protestantism as a visible community with a global reach and attitudes toward the new sciences of geography and cosmography. Individual maps would have possessed specific valences in an English context, and maps produced in the context of Geneva would have signified a commitment to a sophisticated and cosmopolitan universalism which neither eclipsed

⁸² When reprimanded in Scotland for intervening in the affairs of an alien commonwealth, Christopher Goodman, an affiliate of the translation circle, replied, “My lord secretary, though in your policy I be a stranger, yet I am not so in the kirk of God; and, therefore, the care thereof appertaineth no less to me in Scotland, than if I were in the midst of England.” The exiles’ experiences in the city also formed the basis of permanent and close friendships. At his death, Whittingham bequeathed tokens of esteem—“each an old ryal”—to Goodman and Gilby, the only members of the Geneva group still living. Everett Green, p. 36; Lupton, pp. 45–51.

⁸³ Betteridge, p. 47.

⁸⁴ Benjamin Brook. *The Lives of the Puritans*, Volume 2. Gardners Books, 2007. pp.124–125. Such rhetoric persisted at length. William Bradshaw declared that “all Churches and all members of the Church, in what Country so ever they be, are not to be accounted Forreyners to one another, because they are all Citizens of heaven, and we all make one family or body.” Patrick Collinson. “England and International Calvinism,” in Prestwich, p. 213.

the exiles' identity as Englishmen nor precluded the development of strong loyalties to the city of Geneva. The Geneva Bible's maps straddled the scholarly and sophisticated as well as the simple and unadorned, and ultimately represented, in small, the lively tensions which attended the formation of English Protestant identity in the 1550s.

“EPITOME OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, MIRROR OF GOD’S GRACE,
AND COMPLETE ANATOMY OF MAN”: IMMANUEL
TREMELLIUS AND THE PSALMS

Kenneth Austin

The importance of the book of Psalms in the sixteenth century can hardly be overstated.¹ For a start, it was widely translated into the vernaculars of Europe, including German, English, Dutch and French.² In addition, commentaries on some or all of it were composed by, among others, Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples (1509), Johannes Bugenhagen (1524), Conrad Pellican (1527), Martin Bucer (1529), John Calvin (1557) and Theodore Beza (1579).³ While Desiderius Erasmus only wrote on eleven of the Psalms, these were in fact the only parts of the Old Testament to which he devoted his exegetical attention.⁴ For his part, Martin Luther engaged with this text on numerous occasions throughout his career: he delivered two sets of lectures on the Psalms in Wittenberg in 1513–1515 and 1518–1521, produced a German translation of the Psalter in 1523–1524, wrote a commentary, *Four Psalms of*

¹ For the preceding period, see Nancy van Deusen (Ed.), *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999).

² Miles Coverdale, *Goostly Psalms and spirituall songes* (London, c. 1535); Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze, *Les Psaumes en Vers Français, avec leurs melodies. Fac-similé de l’édition genevoise de Michel Blanchier, 1562*, ed. Pierre Pidoux (Geneva: Droz, 1986); Jan Utenhove, *De Psalmen Davidis, in Nederlandischer sangs-ryme* (London, 1566). See also Robin A. Leaver, ‘Goostly Psalms and spirituall songes: English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535–1566’ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Edward H. Lauer, ‘Luther’s Translations of the Psalms in 1523–1524’, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 14 (1915), 1–34.

³ Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples, *Quincuplex Psalterium Fac-similé de l’édition de 1513* (Geneva: Droz, 1979); Johannes Bugenhagen, *In librum Psalmorum Interpretatio* (Basel, 1524); Conrad Pellican, *Psalterium Davidis* (Strasbourg, 1527); Martin Bucer, *Sacrorum Psalmorum libri quinque...* (Strasbourg, 1529); John Calvin, *In Librum Psalmorum Commentarius*, in G. Baum et al. (Eds), *Ioannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*, vols 31 & 32 (Braunschweig, 1887). Theodore Beza, *Psalmorum Davidis et aliorum prophetarum, libri quinque: Argumentis & Latina Paraphrasi illustrate, ac vario Carminum genere latinè espresso: Theodoro Beza Vezelio* (Geneva, 1579).

⁴ Erasmus wrote on the following Psalms: 1, 2, 3, 4, 14, 22, 33, 28, 38, 83 and 85. See Desiderius Erasmus, *Expositions of the Psalms*, ed. Dominic Baker-Smith, translated and annotated by Michael J. Heath, in *Collected Works of Erasmus* vols. 63 & 64 (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

Comfort, in 1526, produced a revised translation of the Psalter in 1531, and offered further commentaries and sermons on individual Psalms during the 1530s.⁵

However, it is apparent that it was the Reformed tradition, above all, with which the Psalms came to be most closely associated. As Bruce Gordon has recently noted, the Psalms were of particular importance for John Calvin.⁶ In 1537, Calvin had persuaded the Genevan Council to incorporate the singing of Psalms within worship, and during the 1550s he lectured on them regularly. In 1557, he produced his own commentary on the book; perhaps tellingly, he used the preface to provide the only autobiographical account of any great length (in the course of which, he identified himself with David, the author of the Psalms).⁷ Especially following the metrical translation into French of Clément Marot and Theodore Beza – 27,000 copies of which were apparently sent into France from Geneva⁸ – the singing of Psalms, whether marching into battle, facing martyrdom, or in the seemingly endless conflicts over sacred space, came increasingly to be seen as a crucial element of Reformed identity.⁹

Various commentators have also emphasised the extent to which Calvin's interpretation of the Psalms marked a break with previous exegesis.¹⁰ Most recently, G. Sujin Pak has focused particular attention on the

⁵ See for example Martin Luther, *Operationes in Psalmos* (1519–1521) in *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, vol. 5 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1892, 1966).

⁶ Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 285–288.

⁷ Jean Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, ed. James Anderson, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845–1847), volume 1, preface. See also Gordon, *Calvin*, pp. 1–46, which draws heavily on the autobiographical elements of this text.

⁸ Wulfert de Greef, 'Calvin's Writings' in Donald K. McKim (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 52.

⁹ Barbara B. Diefendorf, 'The Huguenot Psalter and the Faith of French Protestants in the Sixteenth Century' in Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Eds), *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800). Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993), pp. 41–63; Edward A. Gosselin, 'David in Tempore Belli: Beza's David in the Service of the Huguenots', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 7, 2 (1976), 31–54; Graeme Murdock, *Beyond Calvin. The Intellectual, Political and Cultural World of Europe's Reformed Churches* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 110–113. See more generally Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 40–75.

¹⁰ See Barbara Pitkin, 'Imitation of David: David as Paradigm for Faith in Calvin's Exegesis of the Psalms', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993), 843–863; Jerry E. Shepherd, *The Book of Psalms as the Book of Christ: A Christo-Canonical Approach to the Book of Psalms* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1995), esp. pp. 34–45. See also Bernard Roussel, 'John Calvin's Interpretation of Psalm 22' in Mack P. Holt (Ed.), *Adaptations of Calvinism in Reformation Europe. Essays in Honour of Brian G. Armstrong* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 9–20.

so-called 'Messianic Psalms', i.e. those Psalms quoted in the New Testament as prophecies of Christ's incarnation, passion, resurrection, ascension and kingdom (Psalms 2, 8, 16, 22, 45, 72, 110 and 118).¹¹ In this work, she argues that whereas previous interpreters – both in the middle ages and in the early stages of the Reformation – had argued that these Psalms should be read as literal prophecies, Calvin's understanding of the "literal sense" led him to devote his attentions to the life and experiences of David, as author of the Psalms. In so doing, Calvin's exegesis put far less attention on the Trinity and the dual nature of Christ than previous commentators. This brought posthumous charges of judaizing from the Lutheran Aegidius Hunnius (1550–1603), before a subsequent defence was mounted by the Reformed theologian David Pareus (1548–1622). As a consequence, Pak contends, the different approaches to the exegesis of these Psalms contributed to the formation of distinct Protestant confessional identities.¹²

In this article, I intend to investigate the impact of these developments on the work of one particular member of the Reformed tradition, namely the Italian convert from Judaism and renowned biblical scholar, Immanuel Tremellius (c.1510–1580).¹³ There are a number of reasons why Tremellius is a valuable case-study. As I have argued elsewhere, his Latin translation of the Bible, produced in conjunction with Franciscus Junius (1545–1602),¹⁴ and first published in Frankfurt in 1575–1579, played a fundamental role in the emerging Calvinist church.¹⁵ Not only was it remarkably successful – going through more than thirty editions between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries – but through the quality of its scholarship, it

¹¹ G. Sujin Pak, *The Judaizing Calvin. Sixteenth-Century Debates over the Messianic Psalms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Also see G. Sujin Pak, 'Luther, Bucer and Calvin on Psalms 8 and 16: Confessional Formation and the Question of Jewish Exegesis', *Grotiana* 85 (2005), 169–186.

¹² Also on this theme see Stephen G. Burnett, 'Reassessing the 'Basel-Wittenberg Conflict': Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discussion of Hebrew Scholarship' in Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (Eds), *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 181–201.

¹³ On Tremellius, see Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism. The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

¹⁴ On Junius, see Friedrich W. Cuno, *Franciscus Junius Der Altere, Professor Der Theologie Und Pastor (1545–1602). Sein Leben Und Wirken, Seine Schriften Und Briefe* (Amsterdam, 1891), esp. pp. 48–57; Christiaan De Jonge, *De Irenische Ecclesiologie van Franciscus Junius (1545–1602)* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1980).

¹⁵ Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, *BIBLIORUM PARS PRIMAE, id est QUINQUE LIBRI MOSCHIS Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti* (Frankfurt am Main: Andreas Wechel, 1575–1579). This was reprinted in London in 1580.

made a viable challenge to the position of the Vulgate, and in so doing helped to break the dependence of the Reformed tradition on its Catholic heritage.¹⁶ Secondly, his edition of the Psalms was produced as a separate volume on at least one occasion, further reflecting the centrality of the book in this era, as well as augmenting the potential influence of Tremellius' interpretation of it.¹⁷

Third, it is clear that Tremellius may be closely linked with a number of the most prominent commentators on the Psalms within the Reformed context. Martin Bucer (1491–1551) had been the first to offer Tremellius a position, at the Strasbourg Gymnasium, following his flight into exile from Italy in 1542; the pair both spent time in Cambridge together at the end of the following decade, with Tremellius not only attending Bucer's lectures on Ephesians, but also subsequently publishing two works based on them.¹⁸ Tremellius also enjoyed warm relationships with John Calvin (1509–1564) and Theodore Beza (1519–1605). These men both wrote letters of recommendation on his behalf, and also sought to bring him to Geneva when the Academy was first set up; for his part, Tremellius produced a translation of Calvin's Genevan catechism into Hebrew,¹⁹ and wrote to Beza asking him to protect him against charges of judaizing late in his career.²⁰ Meanwhile, David Pareus, who would defend Calvin against this accusation in relation to his commentary on the Psalms, was a student of

¹⁶ Kenneth Austin, 'Immanuel Tremellius' Latin Bible (1575–1579) as a Pillar of the Calvinist Faith' in David Adams and Adrian Armstrong (Eds), *Print and Power in France and England, 1500–1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 27–38.

¹⁷ Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, *Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi, Scholiisque pernecessariis illustrati* (London: Henry Middleton, 1580). Interestingly, Henry Middleton also published an English translation of Beza's commentary on the Psalms in the same year: *The Psalmes of David, Truly Opened and explained by Paraphrasis, according to the right sense of every Psalm. With large and ample Arguments before every Psalme, declaring the true use thereof... Set foorth in Latin by Theodore Beza. And faithfully translated into English, by Anthonie Gilbie* (London: Henry Middleton, 1580).

¹⁸ Immanuel Tremellius, *Praelectiones doctiss. in Epistolam D.P. ad Ephesios, eximii doctoris Martini Bucer, habitae Cantabrigiae in Anglia Anno MDL & LI. Ex ore praelegentis collectae, & nunc primum in lucem editae diligentiae Immanuelis Tremellii* (Basle, 1562) and Immanuel Tremellius, *Libellus Vere Aureus D. Martini Bucer de vi et usu Sacri Ministerii cum in genere tum de singulis partibus eius, nunquam antehac typis impressus* (Basle, 1562). On Bucer, see R. Gerald Hobbs, 'How Firm a Foundation: Martin Bucer's Historical Exegesis of the Psalms', *Church History* 53 (1984), 477–491; see also Gerald Hobbs, 'Martin Bucer and the Englishing of the Psalms: pseudonymity in the service of early English Protestant piety' in D.F. Wright (Ed.), *Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 161–175.

¹⁹ Tremellius, *Initatio electorum Domini* (Paris, 1554).

²⁰ Tremellius to Theodore Beza, September/ October 1579, in Alain Dufour et al. (Eds), *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, vol. 20 (Geneva: Droz, 1998), no. 1373.

Tremellius' at Heidelberg, where he matriculated in 1566, and would subsequently write in Tremellius' defence.²¹ Finally, the importance of the Messianic Psalms for Judaeo-Christian relations, that Pak has highlighted, is a subject of especial interest in the work of a Christian convert like Tremellius whose attitudes towards his former brethren were always subject to particular scrutiny.²²

It is the intention of this article to examine Tremellius' treatment of the Psalms in this context.²³ In particular, it will seek to understand how Tremellius conceived of what he was doing, his attitude towards the book of Psalms, and the distinguishing characteristics of his approach within the broader spectrum of sixteenth-century biblical scholarship.²⁴ Of course at this stage it must be acknowledged that whereas many of the works to which reference has been made above were commentaries, Tremellius' work is an annotated translation. But at the same time, it is an

²¹ On this, see Walter Koch, 'Ehrenrettung des judenchristlichen Professors Immanuel Tremellius durch den Pfälzischen Theologen David Pareus', *Blätter für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte* 27 (1960), pp. 140–144.

²² Kenneth Austin, 'Immanuel Tremellius (1510–1580), the Jews and Christian Hebraica' in Achim Detmers and J. Marius J. Lange van Ravenswaay (Eds), *Bundesheit und Gottesvolk. Reformierter Protestantismus und Judentum im Europa des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Emden: Foedus, 2005), 71–88. On this theme more generally see Heiko A. Oberman, 'Discovery of Hebrew and Discrimination Against the Jews: The *Veritas Hebraica* as Double-Edged Sword in Renaissance and Reformation' in Andrew C. Fix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Eds), *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 1992), 19–34. G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983); Ilona N. Rashkow, 'Hebrew Bible Translation and the Fear of Judaization', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 21 (1990), 217–233.

²³ For the sake of simplicity, I will describe this work as being by Tremellius. Unfortunately, the respective contributions of Tremellius and Junius are never elaborated upon, beyond the fact that Junius alone was credited with responsibility for the Apocrypha. Tremellius was, of course, the senior man; Junius would make a series of revisions to the text following Tremellius' death. All of this would suggest that Tremellius' voice was the more dominant one, but it would be unwise to overlook Junius' contribution.

²⁴ See Alastair Hamilton, 'Humanists and the Bible' in Jill Kraye (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 100–117; Basil Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries' in S.L. Greenslade (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. 3: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 38–93; Beryl Smalley, 'The Bible in the Middle Ages' in D.E. Nineham (Ed.), *The Church's Use of the Bible. Past and Present* (London, 1963), 57–71; E.G. Rupp, 'The Bible in the Age of the Reformation' in D.E. Nineham (Ed.), *The Church's Use of the Bible. Past and Present* (London: SPCK, 1963), 73–87; Dean P. Lockwood and Roland H. Bainton, 'Classical and Biblical Scholarship in the Age of the Renaissance and Reformation', *Church History* 10 (1941), 125–143; Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Reformation of the Bible. The Bible of the Reformation. Catalog of the Exhibition by Valerie R. Hotchkiss and David Price* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

underlying contention of this article that such a distinction should not be overplayed. Calvin, for example, incorporates discussion of the Hebrew text throughout his commentary.²⁵ By the same token, although Tremellius' principal concern may have been that of producing as accurate a translation of the Hebrew text into Latin as he could, the substantial annotations with which he supplemented his translation – these are often similar in length to the original text, if not longer – serve notice of his intention also to aid his readers in understanding the Scriptures.

Indeed, it is important to consider Tremellius' work in this light. Historians of biblical scholarship, of course, tend to focus on the works of the leading theologians – whose works, it is perhaps assumed, were the most important, original and influential. But theirs were far from being the only voices contributing to the discussion. Given the success of his Bible, not to mention the separate edition of the Psalms, one can at least make the claim that his insights were wide-reaching. But the fact that he is not considered to be one of the leading Calvinist theologians, means that an investigation of Tremellius' engagement with the text will offer a somewhat different angle for examining how the text could be understood in the sixteenth century. As a convert, a scholar and a member of the Reformed faith, his position was hardly typical, but in adding his voice to the chorus of sixteenth-century interpretations of the Psalms, we will be able to come to a fuller appreciation of the role which it occupied.

It makes sense to begin with Tremellius' approach to the Psalms as a whole. In Tremellius and Junius' edition of the Old Testament, the Psalms appear in the third volume, the so-called *Poetical Books*, which contain the biblical books running from Job through to the Song of Songs.²⁶ This volume is dedicated to Johann Casimir of the Palatinate (1543–1592), the third son of Duke Frederick III, who, following his father's death in 1576, and the succession of his Lutheran brother, Ludwig VI, offered a haven for many of the Calvinist professors of Heidelberg University in his independent principality of Pfalz-Lautern of the Electoral Palatinate. The separate edition of the Psalms which appeared in 1580 replicated exactly the translation and the annotative materials; the only textual difference was that the preface is an abridged version of the preface to the third volume of the complete Bible.

²⁵ On this theme see Max Engammare, '*Johannes Calvinus trium linguarum peritus?* La question de l'Hébreu', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 58 (1996), 35–60.

²⁶ i.e. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs.

Unfortunately Tremellius and Junius say very little about the works which they consulted in producing their edition of the Psalms. In the preface to their translation of the Bible as a whole, they indicate that they have made use of previous works, but sought to improve upon them, without highlighting the deficiencies of their predecessors: indeed, they concede that it would have been spiteful and execrable for them to identify the errors, while passing over the many good things contained in those texts.²⁷ In the preface to the Psalms specifically, they make allusions to both St. Basil the Great (330–379) and Augustine of Hippo (354–430), who had written on the Psalms in the early church.²⁸ Given Tremellius' connections with Bucer, Calvin, and Beza, mentioned above, one would expect that he had consulted their works, and indeed that, at the University of Heidelberg, he had access to a number of the other editions which were then available, but he does not make explicit reference to them.

On the other hand, he does use certain expressions which would suggest a familiarity with them. For instance, in the *argumentum* with which the book as a whole is introduced, he writes: "This book contains the holy songs of the Psalms, which were written in the Old Church up to the fatal time of Antioch: and moreover it is truly an epitome of the Old Testament, a mirror of the grace of God, and a complete anatomy of the whole of man".²⁹ Luther, in the Preface to the Psalter (1528) had written: "... if you would see the holy Christian Church painted in living colour and shape, comprehended in one little picture, then take up the Psalter. There you have a fine, bright, pure mirror that will show you what Christendom is."³⁰ Meanwhile Calvin, in the preface to his commentary on the Psalms, wrote: "I have been accustomed to call this book not inappropriately, 'An Anatomy of all the Parts of the Soul' for there is not an emotion of which anyone can be conscious that is not here represented as if in a mirror".³¹ While such characterisations may not have been exclusive to Luther and Calvin, they

²⁷ Tremellius, *Bibliorum Pars Prima*, preface.

²⁸ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, preface. Cf. Saint Basil, *Exegetic Homilies*, trans. Sister Agnes C. Way, The Fathers of the Church, A New Translation, vol. 46 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1963), pp. 151–359, containing homilies on Psalms 1, 7, 14, 28, 29, 32, 33, 44, 45, 48, 59, 61, 114; Saint Augustine, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 5 vols (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001–2005).

²⁹ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Argumentum.

³⁰ Cited in Oswald Bayer, 'Luther as interpreter of Holy Scripture' in Donald K. McKim, *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 80.

³¹ Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, preface.

are perhaps the most likely sources for Tremellius; more importantly, his echoing of their terminology would surely have been both conscious and recognised as such.

In the remainder of the argumentum, Tremellius elaborates somewhat on the beneficial subject matter which he believes is contained in the Psalms. In this book, he remarks “evidence [*documenta*] of all kinds is shown, concerning the generous promises and actions of God towards his own people, and his severity towards his enemies, and his faithfulness to all; further, concerning our faith in his promises, on submission, weakness, patience, constancy and our liberation in adverse circumstances... and finally concerning our whole duty towards God and his faith towards us in Christ: relating to all of these, very elegant and very famous prophecies are contained throughout, for the consolation and encouragement of the Church”.³²

Such comments about the universal nature of the Psalms, and their exemplary character, are echoed in the preface. Tremellius notes that: “The book of Psalms includes all that is useful, it predicts the future, it commemorates the histories of past events, it carries the law to the living, it shows how people should live and (as I might say once and briefly) it is a store of good examples for the people”. Moreover, he continues, “it heals the old wounds of our souls, and is accustomed to apply a very quick remedy to recent wounds; and it cures what is affected, and preserves that which is healthy”.³³ In all of this, it is apparent that Tremellius sees in the Psalms a source of great comfort, both for the individual Christian, and indeed for the church as a whole. It demonstrates God’s concern for his flock, and provides evidence of His trustworthiness; at the same time, it helps to establish the patterns of behaviour which are expected of his Christian followers.

A further theme to which Tremellius devotes a considerable part of his preface concerns the effectiveness with which the biblical message is matched to its poetic expression. “For since the Holy Spirit seemed hardly to lead humankind to virtue, and we, on account of the corruption of our nature, which follows our desires, seemed to neglect living rightly, what does it [i.e. the Psalter] do? It mixes beautiful rhythms of songs with its message, so that when we hear it, we are soothed by its sweetness and grace, and perceive inadvertently the usefulness which arises from the words – just like those experienced doctors who, when they are giving a

³² Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Argumentum.

³³ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, preface.

harsh medical drink to the sick, often smear honey over the cup, so that those who are ill do not miss out on its usefulness because of its harshness." Of course, the idea of the scriptures as a form of spiritual remedy is a commonplace, but the distinction between the beauty of the poetry and the (potential) harshness of the underlying message is rather less typical.

Tremellius continues to develop this theme through the preface: "Indeed, the words of the Psalms are measured [*modulentur*] for the home, and spread outside, and if anywhere anyone is troubled with a suffering spirit, after he has been enchanted by the poetry of the Psalms (as thus I would say), he will go away from there with these holy rhythms in his wild soul, however distressed it was." The Psalms, he suggests, extending the metaphor further, help to bring harmony: "the Psalm is the tranquillity of souls, a bringer of peace, and restrains the troubles and disruptions of our minds: for it alleviates the anger of the mind, and calls back excess to restraint. The Psalm gathers friends, drives away opponents, and reconciles adversaries.... Therefore, since the modulation [*modulatio*] of the Psalms shows the great kindness of all the good things which men do together, just like singing together [*concentum*] uniting men just like providing a chain in the mind, and joining the people together for a symphony of one choir".³⁴

But it is not just their effect in binding people together for which the musical qualities of the Psalms are to be praised; they also aid their recollection. How wisely the two were linked, he comments, for: "we sing these works, and we learn useful things as well, and in this way examples take shape more effectively in our mind. For if teachings are introduced into our minds with a certain force, they do not tend to remain; but when they are insinuated and introduced with delight and grace, I do not know how they could be made to stick longer in our minds, or to cling to our minds more constantly." Of course, it is to be expected that in a work of this kind, the particular qualities of the specific biblical book under scrutiny should be extolled, but in his praise of both the strength of its message, and the beauty of its expression, Tremellius does seem to have gone further than usual; moreover, his emphasis on the latter would appear to distinguish his approach to the text from that of his predecessors.

The twin concern with both the medium and the message of the Psalms indicated in the preface is fully reflected in the annotations with which

³⁴ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, preface.

Tremellius supplements his translation, and it is to these we shall now turn. The former manifests itself above all in a concern with the Psalms as a piece of literature. Several main elements may be identified as parts of this kind of analysis. Perhaps the most striking of these is seen in Tremellius' concern with the issue of genre. This is most commonly addressed in the first annotation on the Psalm, and often (though inconsistently) Tremellius uses Greek terms to this end. So, for instance, Psalms 1, 2 and 11 are identified as being 'of an instructive type' [*generis didascalici*]; Psalms 3, 5, 6 and 10 are prayers [*ευκτικός*]; and Psalms 4 and 7 are identified as a mixture of the two. Psalm 8 is labelled as one of 'praise' [*επαινετικός*]; similarly, Psalm 9 is labelled as *επαινετικός, sive laudativus*; Psalm 15 as 'an instruction, in the form of a dialogue, containing a question and an answer' [*διδασκαλικός, formae διάλογούσης, quaestione & responsio constans*]; Psalm 16 is a mixture *'partim ευκτικά, partimque ευχρίσικά'*; and Psalm 21 is characterised as *συνηδυσιτικός, id est gratulatorius*. While previous writers had sometimes identified similar features in the individual Psalms, none seems to have done this as a matter of course. Moreover, the use of Greek terms would appear to be intended to enhance these texts as examples of rhetoric.³⁵

A second, and closely related feature of Tremellius' annotations, consists of the attention which he devotes to the structure of the Psalms. In the first instance, this tends to follow on from his identification of the particular genre. For instance, on Psalm 49, having identified that the Psalm is *διδασκαλικός*, Tremellius notes that it "contains three parts, an *exordium* up to verse 6, a most elegant proposition of the security from faith, between verses 6 and 17, and an hortatory conclusion to all the pious people through the example of the Prophet, from there to the end".³⁶ On Psalm 78, Tremellius identifies four parts: "An *exordium* for the first four verses; a proposition from there to verse 12; a narration of the administration of God and of the wickedness of the people from there to verse 68; and a conclusion containing the explanation of the present state of the people, from there to the end".³⁷ This identification of the structure is then reinforced at various subsequent stages through the annotations: on many

³⁵ Cf. 'The Psalmes digested into a briefe table, and brought to certain principal heades, according to the direction of M. Beza' which precedes the English translation of Beza's Psalm edition, printed in London in 1580. Though this table acknowledges Tremellius' work in relation to the Psalms, there is not a direct correlation as regards the classification of them.

³⁶ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 49.

³⁷ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 78.

occasions, this is simply to highlight the point at which a particular Psalm moves from one of the stages previously identified into the next, but in some Psalms these sections are further broken down into their component parts.

Again, it is worth pointing out that, in a fair number of instances, Tremellius uses Greek terms to denote these particular elements of a given Psalm; even when he employs Latin, he is using technical language, identifying particular parts of speech (e.g. *'exordium'*, *'propositio'*, *'narratio'*, *'conclusio'*). Whereas other commentators were principally concerned with how the theological message of the text should be understood, Tremellius is evidently considering the Psalter here as a piece of literature.

Third, Tremellius draws attention to many of the literary features of the text. So, for example, on Psalm 10.8 ("He sits in ambush in the villages"), Tremellius points out that 'villages' is used as an example of synecdoche, by which is meant 'infrequently visited places'.³⁸ On Psalm 19.3, ("Day to day pours forth speech, and night to night declares knowledge"), on *'eruc-tat'* (pours forth), Tremellius comments: "that is, it pours out without end, just like a perennial spring pours forth water abundantly: metaphor"; meanwhile on *'sermonem'* (speech), he remarks: "concerning the glory of God by his way: an elegant prosopopeia,³⁹ as the two following verses explain".⁴⁰

Elsewhere in the annotations, Tremellius also draws attention to examples of apostrophe (e.g. Ps. 4.3), hyperbole (e.g. Ps. 6.7), sarcasm (e.g. Ps. 9.7), metonymy (e.g. Ps. 11.4), aposiopesis [i.e. the sudden breaking off of a sentence] (e.g. Ps. 13.2), periphrasis (e.g. Ps. 13.6), allegory (e.g. Ps. 30.6), syllepsis [i.e. a word fulfilling two different roles in relation to different words in the same sentence] (e.g. Ps. 35.8), and metalepsis [i.e. a particular form of metonymy] (e.g. Ps. 59.8). Interestingly, this kind of comment also features occasionally in the marginal comments, which address issues relating to the Hebrew text. This is the case, for instance, on Psalm 20.2 ("the Lord answer you at the time of trouble!"), where in relation to the phrase he renders *'tempore'* he indicates that the Hebrew text might be rendered more literal in Latin as *'in die'*.⁴¹

³⁸ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 10.8.

³⁹ i.e. a rhetorical figure in which persons or things are feigned to speak.

⁴⁰ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 19.3.

⁴¹ In the RSV translation of this passage, the line is rendered: "The Lord answer you in the day of trouble!"

Of course, it is in these areas that the concern with the Psalms as a literary text starts to blur into an effort to elucidate the meaning of the scriptures, and consequently it is not surprising that the commentaries of other reformers should occasionally identify similar features. For instance, on Psalm 2.3 ("Let us burst their bonds asunder, and cast their cords from us"), Calvin identifies this as 'a prosopopeia in which the prophet introduces his enemies as speaking; and he employs this figure the better to express their ungodly and traitorous design'.⁴² However, it would seem that this was not so great a concern for these other authors as it was for Tremellius: on average, he identifies at least two or three such features in a typical Psalm, and given the relative brevity of his annotations (compared, for example, with Calvin's commentary), they may be regarded as one of the predominant elements. Again, this would serve to illustrate the distinct approach he took to the biblical text.

In the remainder of the article, I will turn to the second of the major themes identified by Tremellius and Junius in their preface, namely the spiritual succour which they felt that the Psalms could deliver. To this end, I will look to analyse the more theologically-focussed elements of their exegesis, especially in relation to the messianic Psalms, but also to an extent in the book as a whole.

A recurrent feature of the annotations intended to assist the reader's interpretation of the biblical text consists of references to other texts. In the vast majority of cases, of course, these are references to other biblical passages, whether elsewhere in the Psalms (an increasingly recurrent feature as the book develops, and themes and features of the text are repeated), to other places in the Old Testament, and also on a fair number of occasions to places in the New Testament (especially Acts and Romans, but also the Gospels).⁴³

Less common, but consequently more striking are allusions to non-biblical works. Here, a range of classical authors predominate. Among others, Tremellius refers to Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* in relation to Psalm 11.6 (bk 2.48), Psalm 19.11 (bk 2.15) and Psalm 58.5 (bk 8.23); there are also allusions to Virgil, both his *Georgics* (Ps 29.9) and the *Aeneid* (Ps 68.31); Aristotle's *History of Animals* is cited on several occasions, in relation to the hart of Psalm 42.2 (bk 6.29), the snail of Psalm 58.9 (bk 9.32) and the

⁴² Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 2.3.

⁴³ e.g. Ps. 2 (Acts 4.25); Ps. 14 (Romans 3); Ps. 16.10 (Acts 2.25).

dove of Psalm 74.19 (bk 5.13); there is even a reference to Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture* in relation to the east wind mentioned in Psalm 78.26 (bk 1.28). On two occasions (Ps 74.9 and 79.1), Tremellius refers to a book by Josephus, presumably his *Antiquities of the Jews*. Elsewhere there is a reference to David Kimhi (discussed below), while Jerome, Augustine and Cassiodorus are all mentioned in passing in relation to Psalm 58.5. Through these references, Tremellius reveals the broad range of his reading (including classical, biblical, rabbinic and patristic texts), presumably in part a reflection of his training as a humanist, but perhaps also an indication that he felt each of these traditions should be brought to bear on the biblical text.

Closely connected to this element of his commentary are those parts where he seeks to provide additional information. We see this, for instance, in relation to Psalm 89.26 ("I will set his hand on the seas, and his right hand on the rivers"), where Tremellius mentions in relation to '*mari*' and '*fluminibus*' respectively '*rubro & mediterraneo*' and '*Euphrati, Jardeni, Paludi, Sirbonidi etc.*'⁴⁴ Similarly, on Psalm 5, which is entitled "To the choirmaster: for the flutes. A Psalm of David" there is a lengthy discussion of a whole range of instruments. Tremellius writes: "The Hebrews are speaking of these types of musical instrument which are hollowed out and blown; for the trumpets ('*tubae*') of the priests, and the trumpets ('*bucinae*') of the Levites were of this sort. And since the sound of this type of instrument is produced by emitting air, they are called "pneumatic"'.⁴⁵

The reference to Kimhi, mentioned above, arguably falls into the same category. Rabbi David Kimhi (c.1160–1235) was responsible for an important rabbinic interpretation of the Psalms; Bucer and Calvin both interacted with it.⁴⁶ The title of Psalm 45 reads: "To the chief musician upon the lilies; of the sons of Korah; for instruction; a song of loves".⁴⁷ In the original text, in which the term 'hexachorda' appears, Tremellius remarks: "The Hebrew word is indeed variable in meaning, but its origin is certain: for it is derived from another Hebrew word which means six, as Kimhi teaches: on account of this, this term may be used as much about hexachord instruments, as about the flowers of lilies, since in the latter the leaves are six-fold, and in the former the chords are six-fold. And we have chosen this

⁴⁴ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 89.26.

⁴⁵ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 5.1.

⁴⁶ See Joshua Baker and Ernest W. Nicholson (Eds. and trans.), *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi on Psalms CXX-CL* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

⁴⁷ RSV translation.

interpretation from the ambiguous word, since it seems more suitable in this context".⁴⁸ Given how important Kimhi's interpretation was in the context of Reformation exegesis, because of his rejection of traditional Christian interpretations of certain Psalms, it is perhaps surprising that Tremellius should draw on his work even on such an innocuous issue; it is certainly inconceivable that Tremellius was unaware of Kimhi's theological teachings. Nonetheless, this decision on Tremellius' part makes it clear that he was unwilling to engage in anti-Jewish polemic.

There are a number of Psalms in which Tremellius, like Calvin before him, considers the context in which it was written. In the main, this is prompted by the opening verse itself. On some occasions, he simply points out that the circumstances are established in the opening verse. For instance, on Psalm 34, which begins "A Psalm of David, when he feigned madness before Abimelech, so that he drove him out, and he went away", Tremellius notes simply that "The occasion of writing this is explained in verse 1".⁴⁹ But in Psalm 39, there is no such explanation. Nonetheless, Tremellius writes: "It seems from the context and the argument that this Psalm was written at that time when David was thrown into great trouble by the conspiracy of Absalom".⁵⁰ A fuller discussion precedes his analysis of Psalm 44. There he writes: "for it seems that this ode was either written by David as a recollection of those times in which the Israelites were vexed by the Philistines, from the days of Solomon up to David, as the church protects itself from the preceding example, and prepares itself for its afflictions; or it was written by some other man of God at the time of the Babylonian captivity, since the pious use this formula of prayer".⁵¹

On rare occasions, Tremellius does provide more of an insight into his approach to biblical interpretation. A good example of this appears at the beginning of his analysis of Psalm 56 ("To the choirmaster: according to the Dove on Far-off Terebinths"). He writes: "this inscription is consistent with many different ways of interpretation: but since we do not remember elsewhere prefigured in holy songs allegorical (as they call them) titles, and it seems unreasonable to apply obscure inscriptions to these arguments; it seems better to interpret these words simply [*simpliciter interpretari*], just as it seems more appropriate to the argument of the Psalm.

⁴⁸ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 45.1.

⁴⁹ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 34.1.

⁵⁰ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 39.1.

⁵¹ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 44.1.

For they generally interpret the first word as ‘dove’; but it is certain that its other particular and natural meaning is that of his voice, just as we interpreted it at Zephaniah 3.1.”⁵² It is rare that Tremellius should explain why he has preferred one reading over another, but his emphasis on the ‘simple reading’, might be regarded as his most common approach.

That is not to say, however, that he never moves beyond what is contained in the text. Particularly noteworthy in his annotations on the Psalms are the number of occasions on which he makes reference either to Christ or the kingdom of Christ. Of course, reading Christ into the Old Testament was hardly an original development, and the book of Psalms was a greater locus for this kind of analysis than most. Nonetheless, given all that has been said above about Tremellius’ other concerns and his approach to the biblical text, this is still remarkable. It certainly is worth mentioning that the Christological reading – or at least making allusions to Christ in the analysis of particular Psalms – is by no means restricted to the Messianic Psalms (for which there were explicit New Testament references).

For instance, in the argumentum to Psalm 19, Tremellius writes: “David, with the clear evidence which God shows, both in the things he has created and in his holy word, begs God to forgive his sins, and lead him to holiness by the spirit, and receive him in Christ.”⁵³ Then, towards the end of the Psalm, Tremellius explains how he understands the end of the Psalm: “there are three parts of the petition. The first, the liberation from sins committed in error, for two verses; the second, the preservation of the pious in obedience to God, and sanctification, in verse 14; and third, the acceptance of the person by Christ, who is the first point of entry [*aditus*] to the remission of sins and sanctification”.⁵⁴ On the final line, “O Lord, my rock and my redeemer”, Tremellius gives as a gloss on ‘*redemptor*’, the comment: “in Christ, who saves his people from their sins”.⁵⁵ By means of comparison, it is worth noting that Calvin makes no mention of Christ in his far lengthier discussion of this Psalm. Moreover, this kind of analysis is far from rare in Tremellius’ work. Of course it may be that Tremellius, as a convert, was seeking to assert his Christian credentials, but I would suggest that there is more to it than that. Given his characterisation of the book of Psalms as a whole, discussed above, it would seem that the role of

⁵² Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 56.1.

⁵³ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 19, argumentum.

⁵⁴ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 19.12.

⁵⁵ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 19.15.

Christ as the figure through whom the spiritual benefits described in the Psalms would actually be delivered was central; for this reason, he considers it necessary to stress this connection at regular intervals.

However, in relation to the so-called Messianic Psalms, a slightly different set of factors are in play. Most obviously, because there are explicit allusions in books of the New Testament to these Psalms, reading them Christologically is essentially an element of explaining the Bible as it presents itself – albeit that this reading is not only derived from the particular lines of the Psalms under scrutiny.

Above all, Tremellius develops a typological approach in relation to these Psalms in which he seeks to emphasise the analogous situations of David and Christ. For example, in the argumentum to Psalm 2, Tremellius asserts that the Psalm deals with “the attempt of the impious against the kingdom of David and of Christ”.⁵⁶ This is echoed in the first main note, where Tremellius comments that the main idea of the Psalm “is accommodated to David and his kingdom, just like to the figure [*typum*] of Christ and his church; and particularly to Christ and the Church”. Later in the same note, alluding to one of the key proof texts, he notes that in Acts 4.25, “it is applied to the kingdom of Christ, that which was first set out in relation to the kingdom of David, since to such a degree it was fought by so many enemies”.⁵⁷ On verse 2, “Jehovam” is glossed as “the creator [author] of the kingdom of David, and of Christ”. In the same verse, not only does Tremellius offer ‘Christum’ in the text itself, but in the corresponding annotation, he comments, “that is, anointed, either the figure of David, or Christ who is the truth of figures [*typorum veritas*]”.⁵⁸ In relation to ‘Zion’ in verse 6, he remarks: “at the place of the kingdom of David, and as a figure of the Church of Christ: for this can be said about David, cf. 1 Samuel 16.16, and also about Christ, cf. Ephesians 1.20 ff.”.⁵⁹ In relation to verse 7, on ‘*filius meus*’, he comments: “that is, chosen for the calling and administration of the kingdom of God; which ought to be applied figuratively [*typice*] to David, and completely [*perfecte*] to Christ, as in Acts 13.33 and Hebrews 1.5 and 5.5”.⁶⁰

A similar impression is created by Tremellius’ discussion of Psalm 22. In his first annotation, Tremellius comments: “... although certain verses

⁵⁶ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 2, argumentum.

⁵⁷ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 2.1.

⁵⁸ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 2.2.

⁵⁹ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 2.6.

⁶⁰ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 2.7.

and some parts can be applied to David, we do not doubt that it should properly be applied to Christ, concerning which David prophesies by the spirit of God. And this Psalm consists of two parts: a prophecy in which the sufferings of Christ are shown, up to verse 23; and the action of kindness, or the prediction of the gifts of God and of the future kingdom of Christ, from there to the end. For these two elements, namely suffering and glory, constitute the whole teaching of the Gospels, as is set out in 1 Peter 1.11".⁶¹ In many ways, in fact, these comments help to reveal not only what Tremellius was doing in relation to the Messianic Psalms, but in relation to the Psalms as a whole. For Tremellius, the Psalms offer a potentially difficult, but ultimately rewarding message: life is likely to involve considerable hardship, but faith in God's concern for his flock ought to act as spiritual sustenance; and of course, Christ provided the best evidence of God's reliability, and also served as the means by which the spiritual rewards would be achieved.

Both as a free-standing text, and as part of his complete biblical edition, Tremellius' rendering of the Psalms was widely disseminated in early modern Europe: more than thirty Latin editions were published, and these in turn exerted a considerable influence on the biblical scholarship of the age more generally. For many of his readers, of course, the most important thing was that this was a Latin translation provided by a leading expert in Hebrew – an individual who had been trained in that language since his youth. But in a sizeable proportion of these editions, the translation was supplemented by a substantial quantity of annotative materials. While Tremellius was by no means an original theologian, these annotations nonetheless reveal his desire to aid his readers in understanding and appreciating the biblical text.

This examination of Tremellius' edition of the Psalms demonstrates a number of things. First, it provides an insight into the way that Tremellius approached the biblical text: in particular he demonstrates an unusually high concern with approaching the book as a literary text, highlighting issues such as genre and structure and drawing attention to a wide range of linguistic features. Secondly, there is an effort to provide an elaboration on the factual subject matter, in which Tremellius evidently draws on both his own knowledge of Jewish culture, and, perhaps unusually within the Reformed context, quite explicitly on a range of classical texts. Third, but

⁶¹ Tremellius, *Psalmi Davidis*, Psalm 22.1.

only to a limited degree, he demonstrates his engagement with the rabbinic tradition; interestingly, while his knowledge of this tradition may have exceeded that of many of the other commentators who wrote on the Psalms, its explicit role in his edition of the Psalms was limited to a single mention, and that on a relatively uncontentious issue.

Finally, as we have seen, Tremellius did engage in a level of theological exegesis. Above all, he demonstrated a readiness to read Christ into a number of the Psalms. This was most pronounced in the so-called Messianic Psalms, but it was not limited to them. Unlike Calvin, he does not use this analysis to launch attacks on the Jews or on Catholics; in keeping with Calvin, but unlike earlier commentators, he does not look to find evidence for either the Trinity, or the dual nature of Christ. Instead, his emphasis is on a rather more spiritual reading of the Psalms. Perhaps inspired by the increasing enthusiasm with which the Reformed communities around him had taken up the book of Psalms, Tremellius was keen to highlight its beauty as a piece of literature, and its therapeutic value for those undergoing spiritual hardship; his approach was not the most theologically sophisticated in circulation, but in these respects it did perhaps address some of the most pressing concerns of his contemporaries.

AUGUSTINE AND THE GOLDEN AGE OF BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN LOUVAIN (1550–1650)

Wim François

At least two events in 1546 proved crucial for the development of a Louvain school of biblical scholarship. During its fourth session, on 8 April 1546, the Council of Trent had declared the Latin Vulgate to be the authentic version of the Catholic Church – authoritative because it conformed to sound evangelical doctrine – while at the same time expressing the hope that a critical revision be realized as soon as possible.¹ Only a few weeks after the Council's pronouncement, the Imperial authorities in the Low Countries, the Louvain Faculty of Theology, and the printer Bartholomew van Grave (Gravius) contracted an agreement with a view to the publication of a revised version of the Vulgate (and of both a Dutch and a French translation based upon it). The work of critically revising the Vulgate was entrusted to the Louvain theologian John Henten.

Also in 1546, Emperor Charles V appointed two so-called royal professors at the University of Louvain, one to lecture on Scripture and the other on scholastic theology. Instead of lecturing for six weeks a year, as was the custom for ordinary professors at the university, the holders of both new chairs had to lecture every day.² There is much to be said for the suggestion

* I wish to thank Ms. Jennifer Besselsen-Dunachie for her invaluable assistance in translating the text.

¹ 'Acta. 34. Sessio quarta: Decretum ... Recipitur vulgata editio Bibliae' in *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio*. T. V. *Actorum* Pars IIa, Stephan Ehses (ed), Herder, Freiburg i. Br., 1911, pp. 91–92 (henceforth abbreviated as CT, 5-III). For a recent translation of the decree, see *The Scripture Documents: An Anthology of Official Catholic Teachings*, Dean Philip Béchar and Joseph A Fitzmyer (eds), The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, MN, 2002, pp. 4–6. On the Vulgate at the Council of Trent, see amongst others Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, vol. 2: *The First Sessions at Trent 1545/47*, trans. Ernest Graf, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, Edinburgh, 1961, pp. 52–98; Arthur Allgeier, 'Ricardus Cenomanus und die Vulgata auf dem Konzil von Trient' in *Das Weltkonzil von Trient: sein Werden und Wirken*, Georg Schreiber (ed), vol. 1, Herder, Freiburg, 1951, pp. 359–380; Beniamino Emmi, 'Una votazione pro o contro i testi originali della S. Scrittura al Concilio di Trenti', *Angelicum*, vol. 34, 1957, pp. 379–392.

² Edmond J M van Eijl, 'De theologische faculteit te Leuven in de XV^e en XVI^e eeuw: Organisatie en opleiding' in *Facultas S. Theologiae Lovaniensis 1432–1797. Bijdragen tot haar geschiedenis. Contributions to its History. Contributions à son histoire*, Edmond J M van Eijl (ed), Peeters, Leuven, 1977, pp. 95–98 and 152.

that in so doing, Charles V again associated himself with the spirit of the Council of Trent. During their humanistically or even Erasmian-inspired fifth session, on 17 June 1546, the Council fathers had expressed their desire that biblical studies be made available in institutes for training the clergy: in this way priests would be able to base their preaching on biblical texts.³ And although the Council fathers had not forbidden Catholics to read the Bible in the vernacular themselves, a far greater benefit was expected from priests and preachers who were able to explain the Scriptures according to the Tradition of the Church to their flock. Recognizing the value of the Scriptures for the life of faith in the Church, while at the same time on its guard against an idiosyncratic reading of the Bible, the Tridentine Church emphasized the position of the priests and preachers as mediating figures between, on one hand, God's Word preserved in the Church, and on the other hand, the laity. With this measure the Council fathers sought to respond to Protestant claims that the Bible was the sole, necessary and sufficient basis of the faith and that doctrine as formulated by the Reformers – and not by the 'Old Church' – agreed with the Scriptures.

The contract for the revision of the Vulgate by John Henten and the establishment of the royal chair of Sacred Scriptures at Louvain together led to both the development of textual criticism of the Latin Vulgate in the Louvain theological milieu and the appearance of qualitatively good and influential Bible commentaries, mainly during the period between 1550 and 1650.⁴ Louvain biblical scholarship was moreover shaped by another,

³ The text of the decree: 'Sessio quinta: Decretum de lectione et praedicatione' in CT, 5-III, pp. 241–243. For a recent translation, see *The Scripture Documents*, Béchard and Fitzmyer (eds), pp. 6–10. On the origin of the Tridentine decree on Bible study and preaching, see Johann E Rainer, 'Entstehungsgeschichte des Trienter Predigtreformdekretes', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, vol. 39, 1915, pp. 255–317 and 465–523; Arthur Allgeier, 'Das Konzil von Trient und das theologische Studium', *Historisches Jahrbuch im Auftrage der Görres-Gesellschaft*, vol. 52, 1932, pp. 313–339; Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, vol. 2, pp. 99–124; Leopold Lentner, *Volkssprache und Sakralsprache: Geschichte einer Lebensfrage bis zum Ende des Konzils von Trient*, Herder, Vienna, 1964, pp. 264–274; Antonio Larios, 'La reforma de la predicación en Trento (Historia y contenido de un decreto)', *Communio*, vol. 6, 1973, pp. 22–83; Andrew Byrne, *El ministerio de la palabra en el concilio de Trento*, Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona, 1975, pp. 58–92; Frederick J McGinness, 'An Erasmian Legacy: Ecclesiastes and the Reform of Preaching at Trent' in *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations*, Ronald K Delph, Michelle M Fontaine, and John Jeffries Martin (eds), Truman State University Press, Kirksville, MO, 2006, pp. 93–112.

⁴ For a concise introduction to biblical scholarship in early modern Louvain, see Victor Baroni, *La Contre-Réforme devant la Bible: La question biblique*, La Concorde, Lausanne, 1943, pp. 235–237 and 287–296; Robert De Langhe, 'Les recherches bibliques à l'Université de Louvain' in *Sacra Pagina: Miscellanea biblica congressus internationalis catholici de re*

broader evolution. The renewed interest in Augustine at the end of the Middle Ages and in the early modern era, which thoroughly influenced the interpretation of the Scriptures by Luther, Calvin and other reformers, also led the Louvain theologians to a specific focus on the Church father, not least in their Bible commentaries.⁵ The interpretation of Augustine's doctrine of grace and free will would even give rise to serious tensions within the Louvain theological milieu.

The first section of this chapter will be devoted to the results of the textual criticism of the Bible that issued from the work of theologians and philologists educated in Louvain. I will then focus on Bible commentaries and pay particular attention to appeals to Augustine's works in the second half of the sixteenth century. A third section will be devoted to the development of an 'Augustinian' interpretation of the Bible in Louvain (and Douai) in the early seventeenth century. The last section will deal with the Bible commentaries that issued from the Augustinian-minded theological circles around Cornelius Jansenius of Ypres.

Textual Criticism of the Bible and Theology

As stated, the work of revising the Vulgate had been entrusted in 1546 to John Henten or Hentenius (1499–1566).⁶ Henten had lived as a Hieronymite monk in Portugal, but returned to Louvain around 1540 and joined the Dominican order in 1548. In addition to a knowledge of theology, he had

biblica, Joseph Coppens, Albert Descamps, and Édouard Massaux (eds), vol. 1, Duculot, Gembloux, 1959, pp. 29–30.

⁵ Wim François, 'Exégèse biblica agustiniana en Lovaina en el siglo XVI', *Augustinus*, vol. 54, 2009, pp. 199–217. On Augustinianism at the Faculty of Theology in Louvain, see especially *L'Augustinisme à l'ancienne Faculté de théologie de Louvain*, Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Kenis (eds), University Press – Peeters, Leuven, 1994. Further, Anthony David Wright, *The Counter-Reformation: Catholic Europe and the Non-Christian World*, 2nd ed., Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005, pp. 1–33, 163–164, and 232–241.

⁶ For biographical information on John Henten see, amongst others, Edmond-Henri-Joseph Reusens, 'Hentenius (Jean)', *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol. 9, 1886–87, cols. 233–236; Roger Aubert, 'Henten (Jan)', *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, vol. 23, 1990, cols. 1286–1287. On Henten's version of the Latin Vulgate, see Henri Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, vol. 1: *Octateuque*, Desclée de Brouwer, Rome, 1922, pp. 128–136; Luc Dequeker and Frans Gistelinck, *Biblia Vulgata Lovaniensis 1547–1574*. Theology Faculty Library. Exhibition on the Occasion of the XII Congress of the International Organisation for the Study of the Old Testament. August 25 – Sept 8 1989, Bibliotheek van de Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Leuven, 1989, pp. 17–20; Jean-Pierre Delville, 'L'évolution des Vulgates et la composition de nouvelles versions latines de la Bible au XVI^e siècle' in *Biblia. Les Bibles en latin au temps des Réformes*, Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (ed), PUPS, Paris, 2008, p. 78.

very good mastery of Greek and even Hebrew and had edited two Latin translations of commentaries assembled from the Church fathers (in particular the Greek), one on the Gospels, in 1544, and one on the remaining parts of the New Testament, in 1545. Henten prepared his revised version of the Vulgate under the supervision of the theologians Ruard Tapper and Peter de Corte (Curtius). He adopted many readings from Robert Estienne (Stephanus)' Latin Bibles of 1532 and 1540 (which had previously been placed by Louvain theologians on the list of forbidden books). In his preface Henten pays extensive homage to the text-critical work of Estienne but also lashes out against those people who had inspired Estienne to compose his erroneous marginal notes and his prefaces. Henten further compared the text with more than thirty Latin manuscripts and two incunabula.⁷ The variant readings taken from the manuscripts were included in the margin of the new edition, with an indication of the number of manuscripts giving the variant in question, considered an important criterion for the validity of a reading. Henten's revision of the Latin Bible was completed in early November 1547, more than one year after he had begun the work. It was published by the Louvain printer-publisher Bartholomew van Grave. This *Biblia Vulgata Lovaniensis* was widely distributed and reprinted several times.

In the years 1568 to 1573 the splendid Polyglot Bible or *Biblia Regia* was published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp; it contained biblical materials in five languages: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Aramaic and Syriac.⁸ This work had been supervised and the proofs corrected by the Spanish scholar and

⁷ *Biblia. Ad vetustissima exemplaria nunc recens castigata ...* Joannes Hentenius (ed), Bartholomaeus Gravius, Leuven, 1547, ff. *ijv-*ijr. He used, amongst others, the fourteenth-century *Codex Bessarionis*, which had been a gift from Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472) to the Louvain theologian Henricus van Zomeren (c. 1418–1472) and was subsequently preserved in the Holy Spirit College in Louvain, but which perished when the university library was burned in May 1940. Henten further consulted the so-called *Codex Atrebatensis Sericatus* or *Anjou Bible* (early fourteenth century), which is still preserved in the Maurits Sabbe Library of the Louvain Faculty of Theology. See Luc Dequeker, 'The Anjou Bible and the *Biblia Vulgata Lovaniensis*, 1547/1574' in *The Anjou Bible. A Royal Manuscript Revealed: Naples 1340*, Lieve Watteuw and Jan Van der Stock (eds), Peeters, Leuven, 2010, pp. 127–138.

⁸ On the Antwerp Polyglot Bible see, amongst others, Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589): A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, vol. 1, Van Hoeve, Amsterdam, 1980, pp. 280–315; Bernard Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527–1598. Studie over een groep spiritualistische humanisten in Spanje en de Nederlanden, op grond van hun briefwisseling*, VRB, Groningen, 1961; Id., *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)*, The Warburg Institute, University of London, London – Brill, Leiden, 1972, pp. 45–69; Robert J Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2007, pp. 67–75.

humanist Benito Arias Montanus (1527–98). He had been assisted by a number of Louvain theologians including Augustinus Hunnaeus and Cornelius Reyneri Goudanus, and by the Jesuit biblical scholar Johannes Wilhelmi Harleminus.⁹

An important contribution to the realization of the Polyglot Bible was also provided by Andreas Masius (1514–73),¹⁰ an alumnus of the Louvain *Collegium trilingue* and a diplomat, from 1538 to 1548 in the service of John of Weeze, bishop of Constance and, after Weeze's sudden death, from 1548 to 1558 in the service of William V, duke of Cleves. In line with traditional and perhaps questionable ecclesial practices, he had striven in Roman curial circles for the acquisition of ecclesiastical privileges and prebends for his patrons. Sympathetic to the tradition of Catholic biblical humanism, however, Masius considered the biblical sources to be the driving force par excellence behind a pure practice of the Catholic faith, and he applied himself to the study of the biblical languages Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac. Three years after his marriage in 1558, he retired to a farmstead in Zevenaar, in the present-day Netherlands. As a married Roman Catholic lay scholar, he produced his most outstanding works far from the academic environment of his day, works that offer a permanent testimony to his dedication and skill. One of the pioneers of Syriac studies in western Europe, Masius' Syriac grammar of 1571, which became part of Plantin's Polyglot Bible, stands out as one of the great philological achievements of the sixteenth century. His commentary on the book of Joshua was published posthumously by Plantin in 1574. Its reconstruction of the Greek text of Joshua remains significant for textual criticism, particularly because Masius was able to make use of a valuable manuscript of the Syro-Hexapla that is no longer at our disposal. On the right-hand page, a literal Latin translation is included next to the Septuagint text. The left-hand page of the text edition provides the Hebrew text and a literal Latin translation, with the Aramaic (Chaldee) interpretation in the margin where it differs

⁹ Diederik Lanoye, 'Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) and the University of Louvain, 1568–1576', *Lias*, vol. 29, 2002, pp. 23–44.

¹⁰ Albert Van Roey, 'Les études syriaques d'Andreas Masius', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, vol. 9, 1978, pp. 141–158; Id., 'Masius en Zevenaar', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van Lennik*, vol. 3, 1986, pp. 7–27; Id., 'Les débuts des études syriaques et André Masius' in *V Symposium Syriacum 1988. Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 29–31 août 1988*, René Lavenant (ed), Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, Rome, 1990, pp. 11–19; Wim François, 'Andreas Masius (1514–1573): Humanist, Exegete and Syriac Scholar', *The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, vol. 61/3–4, 2009, pp. 199–244. An edition of most of Masius' correspondence is *Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden 1538 bis 1573*, Max Lossen (ed), Alphonse Dürr, Leipzig, 1886.

from the Hebrew. At the bottom of both the right-hand and left-hand pages the Latin Vulgate translation is printed. In addition to this text edition, Masius offered a fairly noteworthy commentary on the book of Joshua, which grants him, as a layman, unique status during the Golden Age of Catholic biblical scholarship. His ongoing interest in the Talmud and the Kabbalah, his ability to relativise cultic exaggerations and place the emphasis on the discipleship of Christ, his criticism of the clergy's pursuit of opulence and sensual pleasure etc., made him the object of suspicion in Rome and led to the censure of a number of passages in his work. Although he has been referred to as a liberal exegete,¹¹ Masius remained loyal to, if critical of, the Catholic Church until the end and more than once expressed his hostility towards the Reformation, '*pestilentissima illa pestis haeresis*'.¹²

Since Arias Montanus considered the Vulgate a philological absurdity and only under pressure from the Spanish king Philip II was prepared to include its text in the *Biblia Regia*, the revision of the Catholic Church's official version was again put on the scholarly agenda. A revised edition had to observe the stipulations of the Tridentine decree with regard to the authenticity of the Vulgate while at the same meeting the humanists' concern for a philologically justified Latin text. The task of revising the Vulgate text was assigned in 1570–71 to Francis Lucas 'Brugensis' (1548/49–1619),¹³ a promising student of theology in Louvain with a particular interest in scriptural studies. Because of his orientation towards biblical studies, he also entertained good contacts with the aforementioned Johannes Wilhelmi Harleminus, professor of Scripture and biblical languages at the Jesuit college in Louvain. Harleminus taught him the sacred tongues and together with the professors Hunnaeus and Goudanus supervised the revision work.¹⁴ Francis Lucas' mandate went further than that of John Henten more than twenty years earlier: in his prologue Henten had declared that he would not consider the problem of the Vulgate's agreement with the

¹¹ Joseph Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramäischen Studien*, Theodor Ackermann, Munich, 1884, p. 205; 'freisinniger Bibelforscher'.

¹² Masius to Johann von Vlaten, 19 October 1559 (Lossen), p. 321; see also Masius to Octavius Pantagathus, 30 November 1546 (Lossen), nr. 20, pp. 21–23; Masius to Gerwig Blarer, 10 August 1548 (Lossen), nr. 24, p. 28.

¹³ Still important for an overview of Francis Lucas' life and works is Arthur Carolus De Schrevel, 'Lucas (François)', *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol. 12, 1892–1893, cols. 550–563.

¹⁴ Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, pp. 136–146; Dequeker and Gistelinck, *Biblia Vulgata Lovaniensis*, pp. 27–29; Delville, 'L'évolution des Vulgates', pp. 78–79.

Greek or Hebrew Bible; Lucas was assigned the explicit task of comparing the several readings of Henten's edition with the ancient commentaries and the 'original sources' of the Bible, namely, the Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic texts of the Old Testament and the Greek and Syriac of the New Testament. Lucas made use of the textual material Plantin and Arias Montanus had collected with the intention of editing the *Biblia Polyglotta*.¹⁵ Since in 1569 a papal Vulgate committee had begun its activities with a view to the revision of the Vulgate and Francis Lucas wanted to avoid the impression of prejudging the committee's conclusions, it was decided simply to adopt the text of the 1547 version but to include in the margin new variant readings, indicating their sources and not simply their number. These variant readings were the outcome of Lucas' application of an important new principle of textual criticism: not the number of manuscripts but their quality grants plausibility to a certain reading. By 1574 the revised edition of the *Biblia Vulgata Lovaniensis* was complete and it was published by Plantin in Antwerp. Since space in the octavo edition of the Vulgate Bible was too limited to offer explanation of the preference for a particular reading, in 1580 Francis Lucas published separately the more extensive text-critical *Notationes*, which contained explanations of the variant readings of the Vulgate. In 1583 Plantin was able to publish a beautiful edition in folio of the revised *Biblia Vulgata Lovaniensis* that included the *Notationes*.

The text of the Louvain Vulgate Bible of 1583 served as a basis for the successive papal Vulgate committees in Rome, especially those established by Sixtus V (1590) and Clement VIII (1592). An exemplar of the 1583 *Biblia Vulgata Lovaniensis* is still preserved in Rome with a text containing deletions and the margins provided with handwritten variants, the printed marginal notes of the *Lovanienses* having been crossed out. The exemplar is obviously that used by the committee established by Sixtus V to put forward the results of its deliberations; as *Codex Carafianus* it is named after the committee's chairman, Cardinal Antonio Carafa.¹⁶ The committees' activities eventually led to the publication of the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate (1590–92).¹⁷ Notwithstanding the fact that the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate presented itself as the definitive version of the Vulgate and that Pope

¹⁵ *Biblia sacra. Quid in hac editione Theologis Lovaniensibus praestitum sit, paulo post indicator*, Franciscus Lucas (ed.), Christopher Plantin, Antwerp, 1580, ff. *2v–3r.

¹⁶ Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, pp. 171–172.

¹⁷ Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, pp. 181–208; Delville, 'L'évolution des Vulgates', pp. 79–80.

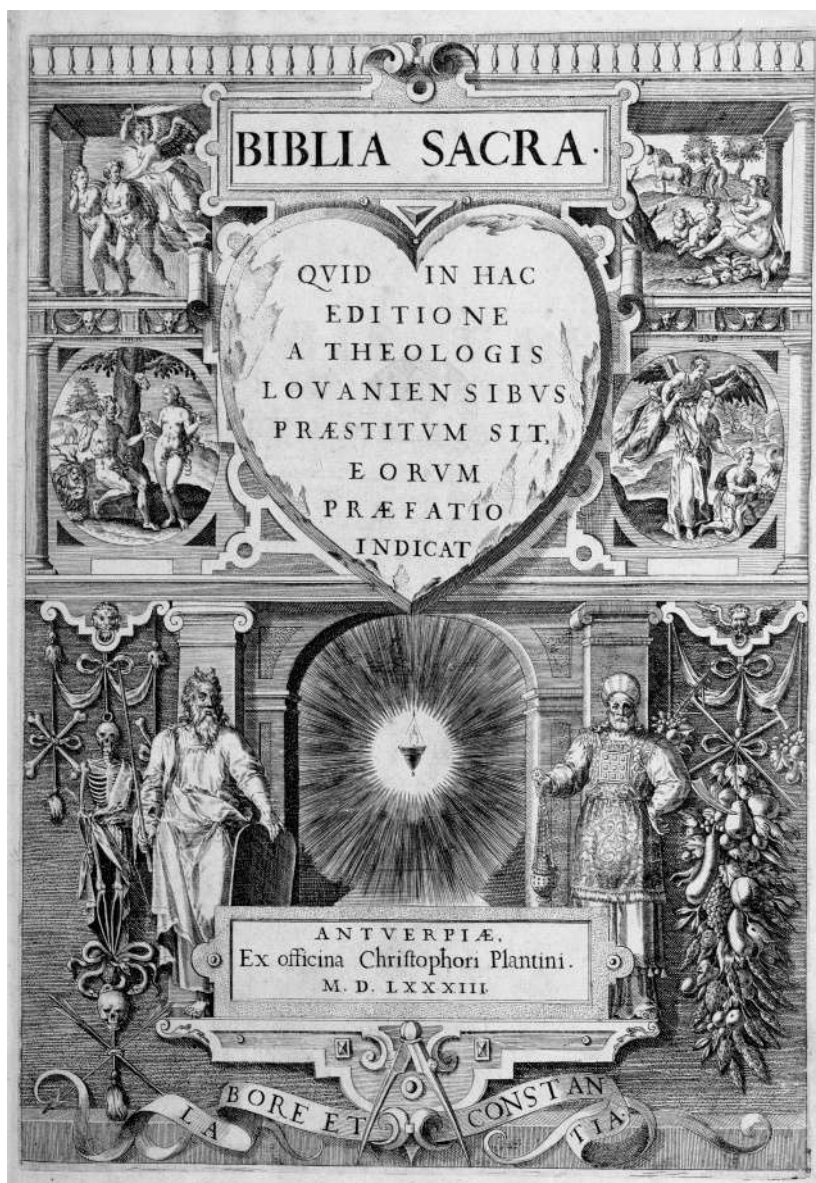


Figure 1. *Biblia sacra. Quid in hac editione a theologis Lovaniensibus praestitum sit [...]*, ed. Franciscus Lucas 'of Bruges', Christopher Plantin, Antwerp, 1583 (KU Leuven, Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, Maurits Sabbe Library, P 22.053.2/Fo BIJB)

Clement VIII even prohibited editions provided with text-critical marginal notes,¹⁸ Francis Lucas – since 1581 member of the episcopal curia in Saint Omer and occasionally involved in the biblical education of future priests – continued to follow the work in Rome with a (text-) critical eye. In 1603 he published a list of the most important corrections introduced in the Vatican edition of the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate.

We must recognise, however, that the Louvain scholars in general, and Francis Lucas in particular, did not want to restrict themselves to mere text-critical studies but aimed at penetrating the content of Scripture. In 1606 Lucas published, with Plantin's son-in-law John (I) Moerentorf or Moretus in Antwerp, two tomes of his commentary on the Gospels, the first containing introductory material in addition to a commentary on Matthew, the second commentaries on Mark, Luke and John, followed by a *Notarum ... libellus duplex*. In the latter work Lucas includes both the corrections to the Greek text made by the editors of the *Biblia Regia* and the corrections to the Vulgate made by the Vatican committee, while at the same time pointing out some variants that were thought to make the text conform even more closely to Jerome's original text of the Vulgate. In 1612 the third volume of Francis Lucas' commentary, containing supplementary material to the Gospels of Luke and John, was published by the widow and sons of John (I) Moretus. In 1616 the fourth and final volume appeared, containing some further additional material with regard to the Gospel of John and some concluding observations. Francis Lucas' well-deserving commentary, however, has received scarce attention, let alone an investigation of its theological perspective. This contrasts with the reception his text-critical work has enjoyed.

Equally famous – at least from a text-critical point of view – are Lucas' 1617 *Concordance*, an alphabetical list of words found in the Latin Bible and published with the assistance of the Antwerp printer-publishers John (II) and Balthazar (I) Moretus,¹⁹ and his 1618 revised and enlarged edition of the *Correctiones* included in the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. In the latter, Lucas prudently suggests that some additional passages are in need of correction 'if the authority of the Supreme Pontiff agrees'. When Francis Lucas died in 1619, he left money and a corrected version of all his

¹⁸ This leads Delville to observe: 'On ne peut nier que le xv^e siècle s'achève par une pétrification du texte biblique en monde catholique et qu'il sera difficile de retrouver le goût de la recherche qui a marqué ce siècle' (Delville, 'L'évolution des Vulgates', p. 80).

¹⁹ Frans Neiryndck, 'La Concorde de Franciscus Lucas Brugensis', *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, vol. 55, 1979, pp. 366–372.

scriptural works to the executors of his will with a view to a re-edition of all his work on the Scriptures. Only in 1712, however, was such an edition published, through the efforts of Gerard van Velden, by Christian Vermey in Antwerp (possibly a false address, in place of Leyden).²⁰

Most of the theologians studying and teaching the Bible as member of the Louvain faculty were secular clerics. It should be noted, however, that a Franciscan school of Bible exegesis had already been initiated in the 1520s by Francis Titelmans, in the Franciscan study house in Louvain that was incorporated in the university.²¹ Titelmans had published an *Elucidatio in omnes epistolas apostolicas* (1528), *Collationes quinque super epistolam ad Romanos B. Pauli Apostoli* (1529) – launching a debate with Erasmus on matters of textual criticism and biblical commentary²² – *Elucidatio in omnes psalmos* (1531) and *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten Salomonis* (1536). In 1536 he had ceased his activities as lecturer and prolific writer on the Scriptures to become the first Capuchin friar in Italy to come from the Low Countries. Biblical work from his pen that existed in manuscript form was edited after his untimely death, in 1537, by his brother Peter Titelmans and was published as *Elucidatio in evangelium secundum Joannem* (1543), *Elucidatio in evangelium secundum Matthaëum* (1545), *Elucidatio in librum Job* (1547), and *Commentaria in Cantica Cantorum* (1547). Titelmans' biblical work went through several reprints in all the important printing centres of western Europe.

Titelmans was succeeded in Leuven by Nicholas Tacitus Zegers (c. 1495–1559).²³ Having lectured on the Scriptures for eleven years, from 1548

²⁰ Some references to the scriptural work of Francis Lucas are also to be found in Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, 'La Bible de Lobbes à Tournai. Pour l'histoire d'une bible en deux volumes' in *Autour de la Bible de Lobbes* (1084). *Les institutions. Les hommes. Les productions. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée au Séminaire épiscopal de Tournai, 30 mars 2007*, Monique Maillard-Luyppaert and Jean-Marie Cauchies (eds), Facultés Universitaires Saint-Louis, Brussels, 2007, pp. 99–101.

²¹ For further references, see Paolo Sartori, 'Frans Titelmans, the Congregation of Montaigu and Biblical Scholarship' in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, Erika Rummel (ed), Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2008, pp. 215–223; Benjamin De Troeyer, *Bio-bibliographia franciscana Neerlandica saeculi XVI*, vol. 1: *Pars biographica*, B. de Graaf, Nieuwkoop, 1969, pp. 87–100; vol. 2: *Pars bibliographica*, B. de Graaf, Nieuwkoop, 1970, pp. 278–365.

²² Paolo Sartori, 'La controversia neotestamentaria tra Frans Titelmans ed Erasmo da Rotterdam (1527–1530 ca.). Linee di sviluppo e contenuti', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, vol. 52, 2003, pp. 77–135.

²³ De Troeyer, *Bio-bibliographia franciscana*, vol. 1, pp. 192–203; vol. 2, pp. 407–423; Id., 'Bio-bibliografie van de minderbroeders in de Nederlanden. 16de eeuw. Voorstudies', *Franciscana*, vol. 18, 1963, pp. 1–29, esp. 8–29; Id., 'Zegers (Zegerus), Niklaas', *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 2, 1966, cols. 962–965.

Zegers lived in a series of convents, mostly executing the functions of guardian or vicar. During this latter period he completed and edited the scriptural works that he had prepared during his lectureship in Louvain, which entitles him to inclusion as an exponent of the Golden Age of biblical scholarship. In 1553 Zegers published with Arnold Birckmann in Cologne a three-volume *Scholion in omnes Novi Testamenti*, which explained with the help of several Greek and Latin writers the difficult or obscure passages of the New Testament. In 1555 he published with the heirs of Birckmann in Cologne his *Epanorthotes*, a collection of revisions of the Latin version of the New Testament in the light of the original Greek (and Hebrew) text and the commentaries of ancient writers. The ultimate aim of his exegetical and text-critical work was to arrive at a scholarly and sound revised version of Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum*. And indeed, Zegers succeeded in publishing his *Novum Jesu Christi Testamentum* in 1559 with Stephanus Valerius in Louvain. Although this work has fallen into oblivion, with no extant copies, Zegers' ambitions had been lofty: he hoped that the Pope would decide to prescribe his Latin edition, after thorough verification by erudite persons, as the sole authoritative text for the whole of Christianity and to the exclusion of all other editions that should deviate from it.²⁴ In 1557, after Zegers had published his *Scholion*, his *Epanorthotes*, and, as the pinnacle of his exegetical and text-critical work, his *Novum Testamentum*, he also edited a concordance with Jan de Laet (Joannes Latius) in Antwerp. The works of Zegers, who died in 1559, excel in their succinctness and give lasting testimony to his acquaintance with the sacred languages Greek and Hebrew, his familiarity with ancient Christian writers and, in addition, to his thorough study of manuscripts.

Zegers was succeeded as a lecturer of Sacred Scriptures by Adam Sasbout (1516–53)²⁵ – also a very fascinating figure – whose exegetical writings and homilies were edited after his death at the age of 36. Among his works are to be found a commentary on the Epistles of Paul and the other Apostles and a commentary on Isaiah, published for the first time through the efforts of his pupil and admirer Cornelius Verburch by the printer-publisher Anthony Mary Bergaigne in Louvain in 1556 and 1558

²⁴ See the dedication to Pope Julius III in *Epanorthotes. Castigationes in Novum Testamentum, in quibus depravata restituuntur, adiecta resecantur, & sublata adjiciuntur*, Nicolaus Zegerus (ed), Arnold Birckmann, Cologne, 1555, f. A3r-v: '... Si tamen digna et catholica uti speramus iudicabitur, adprobare, et apostolica autoritate roborare confirmare, et pro germania atque authentica ubique terrarum legendam committere [hanc novi instrumenti editionem], posthabitis in editionibus, quae huic adversantur'.

²⁵ De Troeyer, *Bio-bibliographia franciscana*, vol. 1, pp. 233–240; vol. 2, pp. 254–264.

respectively. It is attested, however, that these commentaries were largely based upon manuscript notes taken during lectures given by John Leonard van der Eycken, the first ever royal professor of Sacred Scriptures at the Louvain theological faculty; Sasbout had used this material, which he supplemented for his own courses, and its publication after his death under his name was not entirely justified.²⁶ Although Sasbout is often labelled Augustinian-minded, a comprehensive treatment of his work remains to be undertaken.

Appreciation of the text-critical work of John Henten, Francis Lucas 'Brugensis', Andreas Masius, and Nicholas Tacitus Zegers crossed confessional borders. The London Polyglot of 1657, edited by Brian Walton,²⁷ included in its appendix Masius' annotations to the book of Joshua, the collations of the Latin Vulgate (both Old and New Testaments) with the text given by Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin and Syriac writers that had been produced by Henten, Lucas, and 'aliis Theologis Lovaniensibus', and Lucas' work on the Greek and Latin variants of the Gospels. As a kind of supplement to this Polyglot, the *Critici sacri* were published in London by Cornelius Bee in 1660.²⁸ The volumes were reissued in 1695 in Frankfurt. A new edition published in 1698 in Amsterdam included substantial additions to the original edition; these additions were also published in two separate supplementary volumes to the Frankfurt edition.²⁹ In the *Critici sacri* we find Masius' commentary and annotations to Joshua in addition to his annotations to Deuteronomy, Jeremiah and the Gospels, Zegers' annotations to diverse New Testament books, and Lucas' *Notationes* from 1580. Again, we must bear in mind that text-critical work was only one element of these scholars' enterprise, which also embraced commentaries on the content of Scripture. To date these interpretative enterprises have received only scant attention and their theological slant awaits further investigation.

²⁶ Cf. *infra* n. 31.

²⁷ *Biblia sacra polyglotta...* Brian Walton (ed), Thomas Roycroft, London, 6 vols., 1655–1657.

²⁸ *Critici sacri: sive annotata doctissimorum virorum in SS. Biblia Annotationes et Tractatus ...* Cornelius Bee et al. (eds), Jacobus Flesher, London, 9 vols., 1660.

²⁹ *Critici sacri: sive Annotata doctissimorum virorum in Vetus ac Novum Testamentum ... Editio nova...* Henricus & vidua Theodori Boom, Joannes & Aegidius Janssonii à Waesberge, Gerhardus Borstius, Abrahamus à Someren, Joannes Wolters, Amsterdam, 8 in 9 vols., 1698. To complete this major work, a *Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus* was published in Amsterdam in 1701 in two volumes and a *Thesaurus novus Theologico-Philologicus* in 1732, also in two volumes, two valuable collections of text-critical and philological dissertations composed by the most important biblical scholars of that day.

*Bible Commentaries and the Appeal to Augustine in the Second Half
of the Sixteenth Century*

*John Hessels, an Early Representative of an Overt Augustinian Bible
Exegesis*

It has been stressed that the institution of a royal chair of Sacred Scriptures at the Faculty of Theology in Louvain, in the wake of decisions at Trent, resulted in the production of biblical studies of a high quality. As the Scriptures were now taught every day for one hour by a qualified professor, in 1554 the faculty was able to eliminate the public lessons by the *baccalaurei biblici* for the *prae-baccalaurei*.³⁰

Commenting on the Scriptures was the task of the successive occupants of the royal chair of Sacred Scriptures. The first scholar to occupy this position was John Leonard van der Eycken or Hasselius (†1552) who as a skilful student of the *Collegium trilingue* in Louvain was said to have an excellent mastery of the sacred languages. It was work by Hasselius that, edited and supplemented, was published posthumously under Adam Sasbout's name.³¹ While Hasselius served as part of a delegation to the Council of Trent in 1551, his chair was entrusted to the young doctor in theology Michael Baius (1513–89), who had been president of the Pope's College – one of the most important colleges for students of theology – since the previous year.³² After Van der Eycken died in Trent in 1552, his young substitute remained in his post for nearly four decades. Baius is renowned for underpinning his theological views regarding the radical depravity of human nature and the necessity of God's grace with ample references to the Bible and Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings – a methodology he regarded as the primary channel of communication between the opposing confessional camps in Europe. Moreover, Baius' theological formulations bore the evident mark of Augustine's mode of expression, which generated a tone that differed from the customary scholastic-theological language of his day. Accusations that Baius had deviated from confirmed

³⁰ Van Eijl, 'De theologische faculteit te Leuven in de XV^e en XVI^e eeuw', p. 131.

³¹ Émile Van Arenbergh, 'Hasselius (Jean-Leonardi)', *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol. 8, 1884–85, cols. 747–749; Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550*, vol. 2: *The Development*, Librairie Universitaire, Leuven, 1953, pp. 218–220.

³² The Pope's College was one of the major university colleges, exclusively destined for students in theology belonging to the secular clergy. It had been established by will of Adrian of Utrecht, pope since 1521 as Adrian VI, who had died in 1523. (*Documents relatifs à l'université de Louvain (1425–1797)*, vol. 3: *Collèges et pédagogies I*, Edmond-Henri-Joseph Reusens (ed), Chez l'auteur, Leuven, 1881–85, pp. 197–228).

orthodoxy ultimately, in 1567, provoked Pope Pius V's condemnation of several propositions taken from Baius' writings (a condemnation repeated in 1580 by Gregory XIII), a judgement to which Baius and his like-minded colleagues submitted.³³ Although Baius' zeal for biblical education is attested,³⁴ he left no printed Bible commentaries for posterity. Interesting Bible commentaries were, however, produced by Baius' equally Augustinian-minded friend and colleague John Hessels (1522–66),³⁵ who was successively lecturer of theology and Scripture at the Premonstratensian abbey of Park,³⁶ ordinary professor at the Faculty of Theology, and from 1562 holder of the royal chair of scholastic theology. A few months before taking up this final position, Hessels had also become the first president of the 'minor' College of the Holy Spirit.³⁷ It is ironic that Baius, royal professor of Sacred Scriptures for nearly four decades, left behind no printed

³³ From the abundant literature available on M. Baius, we refer to Xavier-Marie Le Bachelet, 'Baius, Michel', *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 2-1, 1905, cols. 38–111; Henri de Lubac, *Augustinisme et théologie moderne*, Aubier, Paris, 1965, esp. pp. 15–48; Vittorino Grossi, *Baio e Bellarmino, interpreti di S. Agostino nelle questioni del soprannaturale*, Augustinianum, Rome, 1968; Alfred Vanneste, 'Nature et grâce dans la théologie de Baius' in *Facultas S. Theologiae Lovaniensis 1432–1797*, van Eijl (ed), pp. 327–350; Alfred Vanneste, 'Le "De prima hominis justitia" de M. Baius. Une relecture critique', and Manfred Biersack, 'Bellarmin und die "Causa Baii" in *L'Augustinisme à l'ancienne Faculté*, Lamberigts and Kenis (eds), pp. 123–166 and 167–178; Karim Schelkens and Marcel Gielis, 'From Driedo to Bellarmine: The Concept of Pure Nature in the 16th Century', *Augustiniana*, vol. 57, 2007, pp. 425–448.

³⁴ Baius' zeal to explain the Gospel of John, and – how could it be otherwise – the Epistles of Paul are attested by archival materials. See *University Archives*, Leuven, Persecutio Goessaica, ff. 4–5, and Herman Vander Linden, 'L'Université de Louvain en 1568', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, vol. 77, 1908, pp. 9–36, esp. 17–20.

³⁵ On Hessels' life and works see, for example, Edward Van Even, 'Hessels (Jean)', *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol. 9, 1886–87, cols. 320–322; Jacques Forget, 'Hessels, Jean', *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 6, 1920, cols. 2321–2324; André Duval, 'Hessels (Jean)', *Catholicisme*, vol. 5, 1957, col. 699–700.

³⁶ Joannes Molanus, *Historiae Lovaniensium*, liber XI, 16, Petrus Franciscus Xaverius de Ram (ed), vol. 2, Hayez, Brussels, 1861, p. 691. Comp. Emile Valvekens, 'L'Ordre de Prémontré et le Concile de Trente: Le chapitre national néerlandais de 1572', *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, vol. 6, 1930, pp. 74–101, esp. 75–76; Norbert Joseph Weyns, 'La réforme des Prémontrés aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles particulièrement dans la circarie de Brabant', *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, vol. 46, 1970, pp. 5–51, esp. 14–15. This is an early testimony to the cooperation between the Louvain theologians who belonged to the Augustinian faction of the faculty and the abbots of the (rich and powerful) Brabantine Premonstratensian abbeys. Louvain theologians not only spent some years teaching the young Norbertines but eventually contributed to the Premonstratensians' unequivocal decision in favour of a strict Augustinian theology of grace. This would become even more manifest in the course of the seventeenth century.

³⁷ The College of the Holy Spirit had been established in 1442 and was intended for students of theology who belonged to the secular clergy. In 1561 a new wing was added to the college buildings in order to offer housing to the ever-increasing number of students. This 'minor' College of the Holy Spirit had its own president and administration, distinct

Bible commentaries, whereas Hessels, his colleague in scholastic theology, did. It must, however, be noted that Hessels' Bible commentaries were obviously the printed reflection of courses he had taught as ordinary professor and were only edited, by his younger colleague Henry Gravius, and printed, by John (1) Bogard (Joannes Bogardus) in Louvain, posthumously. A commentary on the First Letter of Paul to Timothy, a commentary on the First Letter of Peter and a commentary on the First Letter of John were published in 1568; a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew followed four years later. The works contained manifold references to Augustine, underpinning an outspoken Augustinian theology of grace. This character has been demonstrated by analysis of Hessels' commentary on the parable of the Workers of the Eleventh Hour (Matt 20:1–16),³⁸ and of his way of dealing with the threefold temptation and the nature of concupiscence in 1 John 2:15–18a.³⁹ Although never reprinted, Hessels' commentaries continued to influence the biblical teaching of subsequent generations of Augustinian-minded theologians.

from the original or 'major' College of the Holy Spirit (*Documents relatifs à l'université de Louvain* (1425–1797), vol. 3, Reusens (ed), pp. 9–101).

³⁸ See Jean-Pierre Delville, *L'Europe de l'exégèse au XVI^e siècle: Interprétations de la parabole des ouvriers à la vigne (Matthieu 20,1–16)*, University Press – Peeters, Leuven, 2004, pp. 468–474: In Hessels' commentary on Matt 20:1–16, Augustine's doctrine of grace is a dominant presence. Hessels for example comments on Matt 20:16b 'Multi sunt enim vocati, pauci vero electi', as 'they are only few who, from the mass of perdition or the human race are separated by God's grace, and predestined [praeordinati] to the eternal life, and elected [electi]'. Hessels' insistence on the idea of election of the few is confirmed by including cross-references to Luke 13:23 and Rom 8:28, and to Augustine's *De praedestinatione*. The Church father's text even inspires Hessels to make a dig at the clerics, amongst whom just as few would be elected as amongst other Christians. Notwithstanding his emphasis on God's predestinating decrees, Hessels also assumes that 'from the saints, every individual will be accepted according to its capacity', apparently not failing to involve man's abilities in the process of justification. Comp. Joannes Hessels, *In sanctum Iesu Christi Evangelium sec. Matthaeum commentarius*, Joannes (1) Bogardus, Leuven, 1572, ff. 147–148.

³⁹ See Wim François, 'Augustinian Bible Exegesis in Louvain. The Case of John Hessels' Commentary on 1 John 2:15–18a', *Augustiniana*, vol. 57, 2007, pp. 399–424: Hessels' commentary on 1 John 2:15–18a is full of references to the Bible and the Church fathers, with Augustine taking pride of place. In Hessels' commentary on 1 John 2:16 it is even possible to recognize the two stages we also find in Augustine's exegesis of the verse. In his discussion of the threefold temptation of 1 John 2:16, Augustine's *Second Homily on the First Letter of John* and book ten of his *Confessiones* clearly plays an important role. When Hessels writes in more fundamental terms on *concupiscentia*, however, he makes abundant use of Augustine's anti-Pelagian work *Contra Iulianum*, and the Church father's vision of the sin of Adam and original sin is clearly evident. Hessels' commentary on the passage, and in particular its second part, is formed in places by the stringing together of quotations from Augustine's book. Nevertheless, the Louvain theologian seems to be fully aware of the two stages of Augustine's exegesis of 1 John 2:16, which confirms that he was well acquainted with the Church father's work and realm of thought. The Louvain master has also demonstrably consulted the Venerable Bede's *Commentary to the First Epistle of John*, which is, in

Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent, a Catholic Biblical Humanist with Pastoral Concerns

Although he never held the royal chair of Sacred Scriptures,⁴⁰ Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent (1510–76),⁴¹ a colleague of Baius and Hessels, proved to be Louvain's major biblical scholar of the sixteenth century. Jansenius had studied arts and theology at the University of Louvain, where he lived in the Holy Spirit College. At the *Collegium trilingue* he had also devoted himself to the study of Greek and Hebrew. He was successively lecturer at the Premonstratensian abbey of Tongerlo (1540–47) and a parish priest in Courtrai/Kortrijk (1547–61). Having been awarded the degree of doctor of theology in 1562, he was appointed ordinary professor of theology at Louvain University and granted a prebendaryship at the chapter of the second foundation in the collegiate church of St. Peter in Louvain. In January 1563 he also became president of the 'major' College of the Holy Spirit, to be sent somewhat more than a month later to the Council of Trent, in the company of his colleagues Baius and Hessels (Summer 1563 – Spring 1564). On his return to the Low Countries, he was appointed the first bishop of Ghent. However, due to the revolt in the Low Countries he did not take possession of his episcopal see until September 1568; in the intervening period he was able to further the redaction of his foremost Bible commentaries.⁴²

passages, a summary of Augustine's *Second Homily on the First Epistle of John*. Both Augustine's and Bede's approaches had been included in Thomas' *Summa Theologiae*. Most striking, however, is that Hessels' explanation of the threefold temptation is faithful to Augustine. Comp. Joannes Hessels, *In primam B. Ioannis apostoli et evangelistae canonicam epistolam absolutissimus Commentarius*, Joannes (I) Bogardus, Leuven, 1568, ff. 36–42.

⁴⁰ On Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent see, among others, De Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue*, vol. 2, pp. 512–515; Jan Roegiers, 'Cornelius Jansenius (1565–1576)' in *Het bisdom Gent (1559–1991): Vier eeuwen geschiedenis*, Michel Cloet, Ludo Collin, and Robrecht Boudens (eds), Werkgroep de geschiedenis van het bisdom Gent, Gent, 1991, pp. 35–50 and 540–541; Jan Roegiers, 'Jansénius (Corneille)', *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, vol. 26, 1997, cols. 942–947; *Cornelius Jansenius van Hulst. Theoloog en Pastor. Bisschop van Gent*, Jan de Kort and Jan Lockefeer (eds), Oudheidkundige Kring 'De Vier Ambachten', Hulst, 2010.

⁴¹ Cornelius Jansenius is given the suffix 'of Ghent' because he would become bishop of Ghent after his professorship at Louvain. He should not be confused with Cornelius Jansenius 'of Ypres'.

⁴² On Jansenius' exegetical work, see Dietrich Wünsch, *Evangelienharmonien im Reformationszeitalter: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Darstellungen*, De Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 1983, pp. 209–230; Michael Andrew Screech, 'Erasmus and the *Concordia* of Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ghent: Christian Folly and Catholic Orthodoxy' in *Colloque Érasmien de Liège. Commémoration du 450^e anniversaire de la mort d'Érasme*, Jean-Pierre Massaut (ed), Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1986, pp. 297–307; Michael Andrew Screech, 'The Diffusion of Erasmus's Theology and New Testament: Scholarship in Roman Catholic

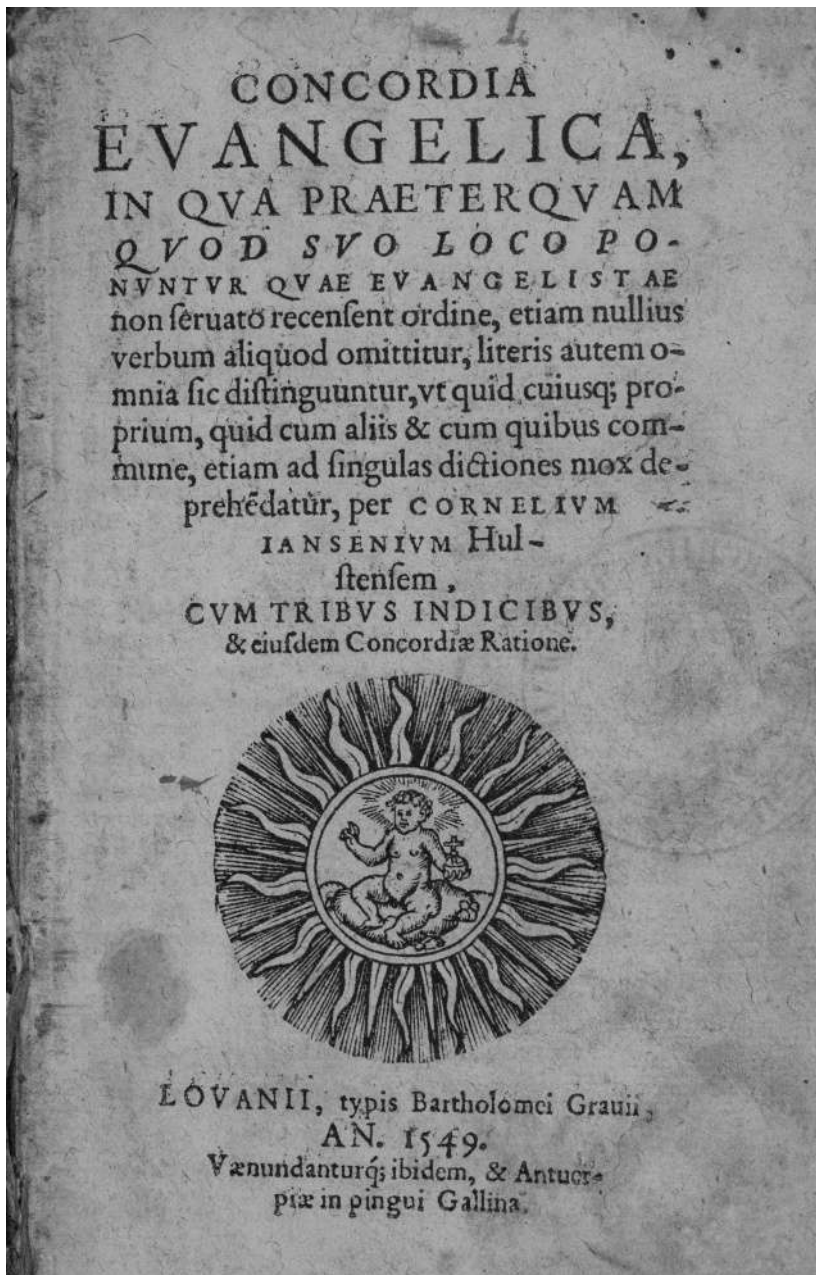


Figure 2. Cornelius Jansenius 'of Ghent', *Concordia evangelica* [...], Bartholomew van Grave, Louvain, 1549 (KU Leuven, Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, Maurits Sabbe Library, P225.032 JANS Conc)

As early as 1549, when still a parish priest in Courtrai/Kortrijk, Jansenius published a so-called *Concordia evangelica* in collaboration with the printer-publisher Bartholomew van Grave in Louvain. This work consisted of a harmony text based on the four Gospels and even some parts of the Acts of the Apostles. Jansenius explicitly partook in the tradition of gospel harmonies initiated by Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum*. Jean Gerson's *Monotessaron*, which since the end of the Middle Ages had been the most important representative of the genre, had been succeeded by Andreas Osiander's *Harmonia evangelica* in 1537. Basing himself on the Augustinian intuition that notwithstanding their differences the Gospels did testify to a fundamental consensus, and aiming at aligning Osiander's harmony with the Catholic Tradition, Jansenius saw it as his main task to draft an *ordo evangelicae historiae*, that is, to reconstruct as exactly as possible the sequence of events in and around Jesus' life. A set of *sigla* was used to indicate which Gospel lay at the basis of his unified text and from which Gospel the variant readings in the margin were borrowed, an approach that testified to a degree of scholarly circumspection.⁴³

Jansenius has also handed down commentaries on various Old Testament Wisdom Books, including commentaries on the book of Proverbs (edited in Louvain by John (I) Bogard in 1568), paraphrases of the Psalms and the Old Testament *cantica* that were sung during the divine office (Louvain, Peter de Zangre or Petrus Zangrius 'Tiletanus', 1569), and a commentary on *Ecclesiasticus* or Wisdom of Jesus Sirach (Louvain, Petrus Zangrius, 1569). His annotations on the Wisdom of Solomon appeared posthumously (Douai, John (I) Bogard, 1577).

In 1571–72 Jansenius' most famous publication left the presses of the Louvain printer-publisher Petrus Zangrius: his commentaries on his earlier gospel harmony. These *Commentaria in suam Concordiam ac totam historiam evangelicam* made up a bulky work of more than 1100 folios printed in double columns. As an example, reference can be made to J.-P. Delville's treatment of Matt 20:1–16 – the parable of the Workers of the Eleventh Hour⁴⁴ – where it is demonstrated that Jansenius first took care

Circles Despite the Tridentine Index. (More on the Role of Cornelius Jansenius (1510–1574), Bishop of Ghent)' in *Théorie et pratique de l'exégèse. Actes du troisième colloque international sur l'histoire de l'exégèse biblique au XVIe siècle* (Genève, 31 août – 2 septembre 1988), Irena Backus and Francis Higman (eds), Droz, Geneva, 1990, pp. 343–353; Jean-Pierre Delville, 'Jansenius de Gand (1510–1576) et l'exégèse des paraboles', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. 92, 1997, pp. 38–69. The article has been inserted as a section in Delville, *L'Europe de l'exégèse au XVIe siècle*, pp. 474–487.

⁴³ Wünsch, *Evangelienharmonien im Reformationszeitalter*, pp. 209–222.

⁴⁴ Delville, *L'Europe de l'exégèse au XVIe siècle*, pp. 475–487.

to establish the correct reading of the Vulgate text on the basis of a study of the Greek (or, when the occasion required, the Hebrew) 'original' and the variants in the Latin manuscript tradition. In establishing the text and clarifying its direct sense through the insertion of all kinds of philological and historical annotations, Jansenius paid tribute to Erasmus, whose *Annotationes* on the New Testament he explicitly incorporated, although his editors cautiously eliminated Erasmus' name and replaced it with 'quidam' in editions after 1586.⁴⁵ This approach was, however, only a practical step, necessary in order for Jansenius to achieve his primary aim, to discern the so-called *scopus* of the parable, the intention of Christ and that of the inspired author. In Jansenius' view, the *scopus* should be established by means of comparisons with possible synoptic parallel texts, from the direct context of the particular Gospel in which the text is found, and by confronting the interpretation of patristic writers such as John Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine, and even recent authors. Delville has demonstrated that with regard to the *scopus* of Matt 20:1–16 Jansenius found inspiration in Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, in addition to the commentaries of Luther and other Protestant writers such as Martin Bucer and Philip Melancthon, which he combined with the Catholic commentaries of, in particular, Alphonse Tostat and Thomas de Vio Cajetan. The *scopus* of Christ's parable in Matt 20:1–16 was to teach how, on the last day, preference in the demonstration of God's goodness would be given to those who came last in this life (pagans, as well as the humble and rejected), which could never be considered an injustice to those who came first (Jews and those who boast of their own works). Jansenius introduced in this instance the Augustinian idea (possibly indirectly via Luther) of trusting in God's grace more than in man's own works.⁴⁶ It was only as a proof of the fertility of the text, and as subsidiary to its *scopus*, that Jansenius mentioned the spiritual senses of the Scriptures (allegorical, tropological and anagogical) that had so thoroughly occupied medieval Bible commentators.

⁴⁵ See Screech, 'Erasmus and the *Concordia* of Jansenius', and id., 'The Diffusion of Erasmus's Theology'.

⁴⁶ Cornelius Jansenius, *Commentariorum in suam Concordiam, ac totam Historiam Evangelicam partes IIII*, Petrus Zangrius Tileanus, Leuven, 1571, vol. 3, f. 270: 'Hoc enim significat responso patrisfamiliâs, quem notandum est plus gratiae fecisse illis qui minus de operibus suis gloriari poterant, omnino autem nihil gratiae illis qui de operibus et labore suo maximè gloriabantur, non ut intelligamus magis à Deo coronandos qui minimè sunt operati, sed quòd in illos Deus benignior sit futurus, qui gratiae ipsius magis confisi de operibus suis minimè confidunt: illos autem illius gratiae qua vita aeterna datur fore expertes, qui tantum in proprijs confidunt operibus'. Comp. Delville, *L'Europe de l'exégèse au XVI^e siècle*, pp. 475–487, esp. 485–486.

In Jansenius' Bible commentaries we seldom meet the animated debates with the Protestant adversary that we find in theological controversial literature of this period, including that of his Louvain colleagues. Incidentally, Delville observed in his study of exegesis in the sixteenth century that Protestant and Catholic Bible scholars not only read each other's work but also freely borrowed ideas from each other.⁴⁷

Jansenius' *Concordia* and his commentary on the gospel harmony, along with his commentaries on various Old Testament Wisdom Books, in particular his paraphrases of the Psalms, were highly regarded and exercised a strong influence among Catholic exegetes, pastors, and those training to be pastors. His works were reprinted in all the major printing centres of Europe – in Louvain, Douai, Antwerp, Paris, Lyons, Venice, and Mainz, for example – until late in the seventeenth century.⁴⁸ It would seem that Jansenius associated himself with a tradition that had existed since the end of the Middle Ages, in which the Gospels and the Psalms were considered the primary sources for a biblical spirituality that was also accessible to the laity. Jansenius' works were not destined for a lay readership but aimed to provide his clerical students and priests – necessary mediators between God's Word and the faithful – with Bible commentaries that were both based upon a sound exegetical foundation and served a spiritual and pastoral-liturgical purpose. In this sense, Jansenius aligned himself with the Tridentine project of a genuine renewal of Catholic Church life. His *Concordia* and his commentary on the harmony of the Gospels were meant to provide an exegetical basis for the sermons priests were expected to give during Sunday mass. His paraphrases of the Psalms served a similar purpose, for the Psalms were the basis of the liturgy of the hours (in which many of the laity also participated), and a verse from the Psalms was also read or sung between the epistle and gospel readings during mass.

The combined exegetical and pastoral-liturgical motivations behind Jansenius' work are also apparent in a range of homilies on the gospel readings of the Sunday mass that were selected by the German canon George Braun and published by Ioannes Gymnicus at Cologne in 1577, a year after Jansenius had died in his cathedral city of Ghent. The homilies had been developed from the *Commentaria* on the gospel harmony. Written in Latin, they were primarily intended for a readership composed

⁴⁷ Delville, *L'Europe de l'exégèse au XVI^e siècle*, pp. 323, 435–436, 551–553, and 574–579.

⁴⁸ An overview of the diverse editions: Roegiers, 'Jansénius (Corneille)', cols. 945–946; Delville, *L'Europe de l'exégèse au XVI^e siècle*, p. 474. More on the reception of Jansenius' *Concordia* in Wünsch, *Evangelienharmonien im Reformationszeitalter*, pp. 222–230.

of priests and preachers, who would be able to use them as a source of inspiration while preparing their homilies. As a bishop, Jansenius had made a point of preaching during Sunday mass in his cathedral or another church.

Thomas Stapleton, Augustinian Bible Commentator or Crypto-Molinist?

Another Bible commentator from Louvain to exert a strong influence, even until late in the seventeenth century, was Thomas Stapleton (1535–98).⁴⁹ An English Elizabethan exile in Louvain since 1559, Stapleton studied theology at the university there and spent a period in Paris to perfect his knowledge of the sacred tongues. During the period from 1563 to 1569 Stapleton was active as a freelance controversialist who, predominately in English, attacked the Protestants and their doctrines.

In 1569 he moved to Douai, place of exile par excellence for English Catholics. In Douai, he promptly matriculated at the university, which had been founded only seven years earlier, and began to lecture on theology. Stapleton obtained a doctorate in 1571 and was subsequently appointed professor of Sacred Scriptures. For his controversial theological literature he began writing in Latin. He entered the noviciate of the Jesuits in 1585, but at the age of fifty his health was unable to sustain the harsh discipline and he left the order a year later to resume his former offices. Stapleton, however, maintained a warm relationship with the Jesuits, and after Leonard Lessius' *Theses theologicae* had, at the instigation of Michael Baius, been censured by the theological faculties of Louvain (1587) and Douai (1588) because of its alleged semi-Pelagian doctrines, Stapleton sided with Lessius against the Louvain theologians and his Douai colleagues.⁵⁰ Because of his standpoint, he was subsequently excluded from all the activities of the faculty and had to resign his teaching. The animosity towards Stapleton's doctrinal position subsided for a while but regained momentum in the summer of 1590, when the Louvain theologians expressed concern about two sermons Stapleton may have given, entitled

⁴⁹ For an introduction to the life and the work of Thomas Stapleton, see Gordon Albion, 'An English Professor at Louvain: Thomas Stapleton (1535–1598)' in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti De Meyer: Universitatis Catholicae in Oppido Lovaniensi iam annos XXV professoris*, vol. 2, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Leuven, 1946, pp. 895–913; Marvin Richard O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation*, Yale University, New Haven, CT and London, 1964, pp. 23–81.

⁵⁰ Edmond J M van Eijl, 'La controverse louvaniste autour de la grâce et du libre arbitre à la fin du XVI^e siècle' in *L'Augustinisme à l'ancienne Faculté*, Lamberigts and Kenis (eds), pp. 234–235 and 271.

Contra praedestinationem ex solo Dei placito and *Contra gratiam efficacem*. The Douai Faculty of Theology had forbidden the publication of the contested sermons, but Stapleton was said to have tried to publish them in Antwerp. The nuncio in the Spanish Netherlands, Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, shared the theologians' concerns and charged the bishop of Antwerp, Laevinus Torrentius, with attempting to prevent the publication of the sermons in his bishop's town. The latter, however, found no single trace of the contested sermons.

Whether by coincidence or not, also in the summer of 1590, King Philip II signed the letter appointing the 55-year-old Stapleton to be royal professor of Sacred Scriptures in Louvain. Ironically, the Jesuits' friend succeeded Michael Baius, one of his main theological opponents during the Louvain controversy of the preceding years. Attached to his professorship Stapleton also received a canonry in the chapter of the first foundation in St. Peter's church in Louvain. Soon afterwards he was also made dean of Hilvarenbeek, in the diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, in the present-day Netherlands.

At the end of his stay in Douai and during his tenure as professor of Sacred Scriptures in Louvain, Stapleton published a series of *Promptuaria*.⁵¹ These books of sermons covered the gospel texts to be read at mass throughout the liturgical year and commented on this material from both a moral and a dogmatic standpoint. In 1589 Stapleton edited, in collaboration with the publisher Michael Sonnius in Paris, a so-called *Promptuarium catholicum* on the gospel texts that were to be read during mass on Sundays and holy days. Each *Promptuarium* begins by quoting the text in full and is followed by a short commentary of two or three pages at most. Stapleton hoped this book of commentaries would provide a useful manual for clerics who had to preach not only for the edification of their own people but also against the so-called heretics who claimed that Catholic doctrines could easily be refuted by reference to the Gospels themselves. In 1591, while Stapleton was teaching in Louvain, his *Promptuarium morale super evangelia dominicalia* was published by the widow of Christopher Plantin and John (I) Moretus in Antwerp. It had been divided into two separate volumes, which had both been published in 1591, first a *pars aestivalis*

⁵¹ O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation*, pp. 70–71; Jeanine De Landtsheer, 'The Relationship Between Jan Moretus and Thomas Stapleton as Illuminated by their Correspondence' in *Antwerp, Dissident Typographical Centre: The Role of Antwerp Printers in the Religious Conflicts in England (16th century)*, Dirk Imhof, Gilbert Tournoy, and Francine de Nave (eds), Snoeck-Ducaju, Antwerp, 1994, pp. 75–83; Jeanine De Landtsheer, 'Catalogue n 72' in *Antwerp, Dissident Typographical Centre*, Imhof, Tournoy, and de Nave (eds), pp. 140–141.

(literally: summer part), which comments on the gospel readings for the 24 Sundays after Pentecost and, later the same year, a *pars hyemalis* (literally: winter part), which covers the 28 remaining Sundays of the liturgical year. Stapleton's *Promptuarium morale* was not openly controversial. The text of the Sunday gospel reading was followed, in a smaller letter-type, by a *Pericope moralis huius Evangelii* and then by 'Stapleton's immensely learned, verse by verse commentary, which might run to as many as ten pages and never less than five'.⁵² During subsequent years Stapleton continued in the polemical strain of the *Promptuaria catholica*. The *Promptuarium catholicum* on the gospel texts for the saints' days was edited in 1592 and published together in one volume with the *Promptuarium* of the gospel texts for Sunday mass; that year an edition left the presses of Gottfried von Kempen in Cologne and another those of Peter (I) Beelaert or Petrus (I) Bellerus in Antwerp. In 1594 Stapleton completed the last of this series, the *Promptuarium catholicum* on the gospel texts of the mass on each weekday of Lent, from Ash Wednesday to Maundy Thursday; it was published by the printing offices of the Birckmann family in Cologne. Stapleton's *Promptuaria* were reprinted several times in important printing centres throughout Europe (in Antwerp, Paris, Lyons, Venice, and in Cologne and Mainz, German Catholic centres marked by a strong Jesuit presence, amongst others) up until the eighteenth century, providing great assistance to many parish priests in the preparation of their sermons.⁵³

Although Stapleton would always remain a genuine controversialist, having been entrusted with the courses on Scripture at Louvain, he had also to direct his mind to more scholarly objectives. Like many Catholic Bible commentators of the time, he gave priority to the literal sense of the text, but he also sought to put forward its correct interpretation, considered in light of the ongoing controversies of his age. He attempted to

⁵² O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation*, p. 70.

⁵³ In 1610 the third Synod of Antwerp decreed that pastors should possess in their personal libraries Stapleton's *Promptuaria moralia* and *promptuaria catholica*. Cf. *Decreta synodi dioeceseanae Antverpiensis, Mense Maio anni M. DC. X. celebratae ...* Ioannes Miraeus (ed.), Ioannes (I) Moretus, Antwerp, 1610, p. 46. Comp. Robert Lechat, *Les réfugiés anglais dans les Pays-Bas espagnols durant le règne d'Élisabeth 1558–1603*, Bureaux du Recueil, Leuven, 1914, pp. 200–201. M. R. O'Connell incorrectly noted that both *Promptuaria moralia* and *catholica* were translated into Flemish (O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation*, p. 71); the error may be due to an erroneous interpretation of the passage in Lechat's book or even based on a confusion with the High German translation of Stapleton's *Promptuarium* on the gospel texts for Sundays and holy days, entitled *Kirchen- und Hausspostil, Oder Catholisches Zeughauss*, made by Aegidius Sturz and published in 1595 by Wolfgang Eder in Ingolstadt.

repudiate the scriptural interpretations of Calvin and his so-called 'lackey', Theodore Beza. Stapleton conceived of the lectures he gave at Louvain as 'antidotes' to the 'poison of Calvin and Beza'.⁵⁴ When they were published in 1595 by the printer John (I) van Keerberghen (Joannes Keerbergius), these lectures formed two distinct parts, the first of which, *Antidota evangelica*, included a study of each of the four Gospels. The second part, the *Antidota apostolica*, was itself divided into two volumes, which contained commentaries on Acts and commentaries on Romans respectively.⁵⁵ In 1598, a third volume containing commentaries on First and Second Corinthians was added to the *Antidota apostolica*. In his *Antidota*, Stapleton passed over without further commentary any passage he judged to have been left untouched by the Protestants.⁵⁶ When dealing with Bible verses that did play a part in the controversy between Catholics and Calvinists, however, Stapleton quoted directly from Calvin and/or Beza in order to advance his personal assessment of their arguments, reinforced by Augustine (and sporadically by other Church fathers). Judging by the modest number of reprints, Stapleton's *Antidota* seem to have been far less popular than his *Promptuaria*.

It is worth mentioning that Stapleton also entered into a debate with the Cambridge theologian William Whitaker, whom he depicted as the 'anglocalvinista'. Whitaker was anxious to demonstrate that the authority of Scripture was independent of the Church's judgement. Stapleton, by contrast, emphasized the Church's authority with regard to both the recognition of the canon and the explanation of the sacred books. Stapleton took up this issue in some parts of his *Principiorum fidei doctrinalium demonstratio methodica* (1578) in particular, launching the controversy with Whitaker, and it is also evident in his *Principiorum fidei doctrinalium relectio scholastica & compendiaria* (1596), which was a rejoinder to one of Whitaker's responses to his views.⁵⁷

Analysis of key texts taken from Stapleton's *Antidotes on Paul's Epistle to the Romans* provides us with a good insight into his method and

⁵⁴ Comp. O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation*, pp. 72 and 73–74.

⁵⁵ Thomas Stapleton, *Antidota apostolica contra nostri temporis haereses ... In Epistolam B. Pauli ad Romanos: Tomus II*, Joannes (I) Keerbergius, Antwerp, 1595. See among others p. 623: 'toxico Calviniano suam Antidotum tribuemus'.

⁵⁶ Comp. O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation*, p. 73.

⁵⁷ See in particular Heribert Schützeichel, *Wesen und Gegenstand der kirchlichen Lehrautorität nach Thomas Stapleton: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kontroverstheologie im 16. Jahrhundert*, Paulinus, Trier, 1966, passim; comp. O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation*, pp. 54 and 74–77; also Jeanine De Landtsheer, 'Catalogue n 76' in Antwerp, *Dissident Typographical Centre*, Imhof, Tournoy, and de Nave (eds), pp. 143–144.

theological position with regard to Adam's fall and its consequences for posterity.⁵⁸ The Louvain controversialist theologian accused the Protestants of having wrongly interpreted the apostle's words. (In the process he did away with all the nuances of Calvin's and Beza's thought). Stapleton sought to substantiate his interpretation of Paul's epistle by means of literal quotations, free allusions and formal references to Augustine, in particular to his anti-Pelagian writings, the Church father being also a preferred Protestant point of reference. Hence, in the course of his argumentation, he labels Augustine a '*sanior interpres Apostoli*',⁵⁹ more sane or judicious than Calvin or Beza. On one hand, Stapleton's abundant appeals to Augustine undoubtedly ingratiated him with the Augustinian-minded faction of the faculty. On the other hand, it is obvious that he shared neither the methodology ('Scripture and Church fathers only') nor the pessimistic view on post-lapsarian humankind, nor the theological ideas on justification, grace and free will of Baius and the radical Augustinian faction in Louvain.⁶⁰ Probably Stapleton wanted to remain true to the later scholastic tradition represented by Thomas Aquinas, who was accused by the Reformers of having distorted the faith. To a large degree, Stapleton's theology was a return to the eclectic Augustino-thomistic spirit as represented by Ruard Tapper, who had also actively supported the Jesuits, when they established themselves in Louvain in 1542.⁶¹ Stapleton's affinity to the Jesuits was even more pronounced: his emphasis on the cooperation of man's free will in opting for the good, be it under God's grace, was undoubtedly marked by a Molinistic theology⁶² and eventually led him to the

⁵⁸ See my article Wim François, '*Augustinus sanior interpres Apostoli*. Thomas Stapleton and the Louvain Augustinian School's Reception of Paul' in *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation*, R. Ward Holder (ed), Brill, Leiden, 2009, pp. 363–386. This essay has to be supplemented by Wim François, 'Thomas Stapleton (1535–1598) sobre la caída de Adán y las consecuencias de ella para su descendencia. ¿Exégesis agustiniana o crypto-jesuitica?', *Augustinus*, vol. 55/1, 2010, pp. 129–140.

⁵⁹ Stapleton, *Antidota apostolica in Epistolam B. Pauli ad Romanos*, p. 399.

⁶⁰ Michael Seybold, 'Zur theologischen Anthropologie bei Michael Baius (1513–1589) und Thomas Stapleton (1535–1598)' in *Wahrheit und Verkündigung: Michael Schmaus zum 70. Geburtstag*, Leo Scheffczyk, Werner Dettloff, and Richard Heinzmann (eds), vol. 1, Schöningh, Paderborn, 1967, pp. 799–818, esp. 817–818.

⁶¹ Alfred Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, vol. 1: *Histoire générale*, Lamertin, Brussels, 1926–27, pp. 41–42, 56–57, 79–83, and 104–107. Comp. Martijn Schrama, 'Tapper über die Möglichkeit gute Werken zu verrichten. "Non omnia opera hominis mala"' in *L'Augustinisme à l'ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain*, Lamberigts and Kenis (eds), pp. 63–98, esp. 65–66; also John Patrick Donnelly, 'Padua, Louvain and Paris: Three Case Studies of University-Jesuit Confrontation (1591–1596)', *Louvain Studies*, vol. 15, 1990, pp. 38–52, esp. 42–46.

⁶² Stapleton, *Antidota apostolica in Epistolam B. Pauli ad Romanos*, p. 339–341: Rom 6:20 'Quum servi eratis peccati, liberi eratis iustitiae'.

affirmation of God's 'middle knowledge', which was devised to save both God's omnipotence and human liberty.⁶³ Stapleton's abundant appeals to Augustine while at the same time interpreting the Church father from within a Thomistic interpretational framework and his affinity with the Jesuits and their Molinistic theology are probably the keys to understanding why Philip II chose him as a successor to Michael Baius. The king may have been seeking to restore peace in the faculty after the turbulent years dominated by Baius (and Hessels) by returning to the 'old' school of Augustino-thomism represented by Ruard Tapper.

Although Stapleton may initially have supported the Jesuit project of establishing a separate Louvain circuit of philosophical courses and *examens* in parallel to the traditional pedagogies of the arts faculty, his loyalties increasingly shifted to the theological faculty. In 1596 he was sent as part of a delegation to the nuncio Frangipani, together with his theologian-colleagues Jacobus Jansonius and Joannes Clarius, in order to voice the theological faculty's opposition to the Jesuits' aspirations.⁶⁴

In January 1597, after only seven years as professor, Stapleton accepted the offer of a proto-notaryship in Rome and prepared to commence his new life at the Papal Court, where he was generally expected to receive the cardinalate in succession to William Allen. However, Stapleton's leave from Louvain, as well as the requested travel allowance, was delayed, and his health deteriorated. Stapleton never moved to Rome; he died on 12 October 1598 in Louvain.

In retrospect we can conclude that Jansenius and Stapleton were the most significant Louvain Bible commentators of the sixteenth century,

⁶³ In his *Antidota* to Rom 11:29 (comp. 9:11–13) Stapleton explicitly refers to Luis de Molina's *Concordia Liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis* in order to defend the idea of *scientia media* (Stapleton, *Antidota apostolica in Epistolam B. Pauli ad Romanos*, pp. 756–758; Michael Seybold, *Glaube und Rechtfertigung bei Thomas Stapleton*, Bonifacius, Paderborn, 1967, pp. 296–297). It means that God has a knowledge of *futuribilia*, of all possible future contingent – hypothetical – events or circumstances, and of the choice man *would* (conditional) freely make under such or another circumstances, if man was offered God's grace. By middle knowledge God sees what each man would do with its innate freedom were it to be placed in this or in that or, indeed, in infinitely many orders of things. It is upon this foreknowledge that God founds his predestinating decrees and decides to create this or that order of things and causes, with these or those circumstances... It is of course also God who creates the grace necessary to effect the cooperative action of the individual (Comp. Henry W Sullivan, *Tirso de Molina and the Drama of the Counter Reformation*, 2nd ed., Rodopi, Amsterdam, 1981, pp. 33–34). Inversely, Molina and other Jesuits regularly referred to Stapleton to make their point (Comp. Seybold, *Glaube und Rechtfertigung bei Thomas Stapleton*, p. 366).

⁶⁴ Bruno Boute, *Academic Interests and Catholic Confessionalisation: The Louvain Privileges of Nomination to Ecclesiastical Benefices*, Brill, Leiden, 2010, pp. 297–298.

producing works that proved to be influential among Catholic exegetes and pastors for decades and even centuries after their first publication.⁶⁵ Both scholars made an extensive appeal to Augustine, as was customary in the Louvain theological milieu, even if it be that Jansenius' reception of Augustine was kept in check by his biblical humanism or Stapleton's by an outspoken Thomistic, in this instance specifically Molinistic, interpretational framework. Both Stapleton's *Promptuaria* and his *Antidota* were intended to repudiate the biblical interpretations of Calvin, Beza and other reformers. Hence, Stapleton's approach differed from that of Jansenius, who was far less controversial and even built upon the insights of humanist and Protestant biblical scholarship. Whereas Jansenius and Stapleton belonged to the mainstream group within the faculty, John Hessels may be considered an early representative of (radical) Augustinian Bible exegesis, in line with his like-minded friend Baius. His Bible commentaries, however, although they were never reprinted, continued to have resonance among later generations of Augustinian-minded Bible commentators.

Interest in Augustine's theology and Bible commentary also went hand in hand with the publication of several of his works in the Louvain academic milieu. To mention only *De doctrina Christiana*, Augustine's programmatic work on Bible hermeneutics and a matter of contention between Catholics and Protestants: it was printed in Louvain in 1561 and 1562 (by the printer Stephanus Valerius for John (I) Bogard) and in 1574 (Hieronymus Welle or Wellaeus). The theologians' ultimate ambition, however, was to publish an improved edition of the Church father's *opera omnia*. The new edition was prepared by a group of sixty-four advanced students of the Louvain Faculty of Theology, under the supervision of ten editors and one final editor, John Molanus. It was published in the years 1576–77 by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp.⁶⁶ In his dedicatory letter to cardinals Cristophoro and Ludovico Madruzzo, successive prince-bishops of Trent and hosts of the Council, Plantin stressed that the contemporary religious controversies could only be ended by 'the weight and authority

⁶⁵ Wünsch, *Evangelienharmonien im Reformationszeitalter*, p. 229: 'Bei der Würdigung der katholischen Theologie des ausgehenden 16. Jahrhunderts ist diese Schriftgelehrsamkeit zu beachten und nicht etwa als Monopol der Kirchen der Reformation zu sehen'.

⁶⁶ Arnoud Visser, 'How Catholic was Augustine? Confessional Patristics and the Survival of Erasmus in the Counter-Reformation', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 61, 2010, pp. 86–106; Lucien Ceyssens, 'Le "Saint Augustin" du XVIIe siècle: L'édition de Louvain (1577)', *XVIIe Siècle*, vol. 34, 1982, pp. 103–120. Also Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589)*, vol. 1, pp. 205–218.

of the Holy Scripture' and 'its faithful interpretation by the holy fathers of the Church'. Having successfully promoted the former (by the publication of the Polyglot Bible), Plantin's aim was now to concentrate on the Fathers, with Augustine taking pride of place.⁶⁷ Since the edition avoided controversialist items and even silently built upon parts of Erasmus' *censurae* and marginal notes,⁶⁸ it met the objectives of humanist Catholic scholarship to which most of the above-mentioned Bible exegetes and commentators also gave testimony. For these reasons the Louvain edition of Augustine's works was used across the confessional spectrum throughout the seventeenth century.

Augustinian Theology and Bible Exegesis

Guilielmus Estius and Augustinian Bible Exegesis in Louvain and Douai

William Hessels van Est (1542–1613), or Guilielmus Estius,⁶⁹ from a Catholic family in Gorinchem or Gorcum (Holland), had obtained the degree of master of arts at the Louvain Pedagogy of the Falcon in 1561,⁷⁰ whereafter he started studying theology at the Pope's College in Louvain. Michael Baius, the president of the Pope's College, was among his most important teachers, together with John Hessels (both Baius and Hessels were

⁶⁷ Christopher Plantin to Christopher and Ludovic Madruzzo in *Opera D. Aurelii Augustini ... tomis decem comprehensa*, Joannes Molanus et al. (eds), Christopher Plantin, Antwerp, 1576–77, vol. 1, f. *3r: 'Duae res praecipua videri possunt ... quibus omnis de religione controversia, ancepsque de rebus fidei disputatio, stabilitate veritate, terminari solet; ipsius videlicet Scripturae sacrae pondus et auctoritas, ac simul eiusdem sanctorum partum fidelis expositio: quarum in priore promovenda, quantum operae posuerimus et industriae, nulla impensarum habita ratione, non obscure docet veteris illudque novique Testamenti opus, quod in Regis Catholici nomine iam pridem apparuit: alteram vero, uti deinceps conficiamus, pari diligentia, studioque contendimus. Cuius voluntatis nostrae primi testimonii loco erit egregium hoc D. Augustini monumentum ...'

⁶⁸ Comp. Visser, 'How Catholic was Augustine? Confessional Patristics', pp. 99–100.

⁶⁹ On Estius' life and theology, see in particular Théodore Leuridan, *Les théologiens de Douai*, vol. 5: *Guillaume Estius*, Rousseau-Leroy, Amiens, 1895; Louis Salembier, 'Estius', *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 5, 1913, cols. 871–878; J. Fruytier, 'Est (Willem Hessels van)', *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 7, 1927, cols. 418–423; Alfons Fleischmann, *Die Gnadenlehre des Wilhelm Estius und ihre Stellung zum Bajanismus. Eine dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung zu den Gnadenstreitigkeiten des ausgehenden 16. Jahrhunderts*, Lassleben, Kallmunz – Regensburg, 1940, pp. 2–45; Xaverio Ferrer, *Pecado original y justificación en la doctrina de Guillermo Estio*, Madrid, 1960.

⁷⁰ The four Louvain University colleges destined to educate students in the preparatory seven liberal arts are usually called 'pedagogies'. Their names are the Pedagogy of the Pig, the Falcon, the Lily, and the Castle. See *Documents relatifs à l'université de Louvain (1425–1797)*, vol. 4: *Collèges et pédagogies II*, Edmond-Henri-Joseph Reusens (ed), Chez l'auteur, Leuven, 1886–88, pp. 1–442.

representatives of the outspoken Augustinian faction of the faculty), Josse Ravesteyn, or 'Tiletanus', (continuing the old Augustino-thomistic line of Ruard Tapper), in addition to Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent. As a student of theology, Estius had also contributed to the edition of Augustine's works, in particular to the ninth volume.⁷¹ At the establishment of the Louvain King's College by Philip II in 1579, founded in order to provide the country with a new generation of good priests, Estius was appointed as a professor of theology. On 18 April 1579 he received a prebend in St. Peter's church in Louvain. On 22 November 1580, he was promoted to doctor of theology.

In 1582 Estius moved to the University of Douai,⁷² where Philip II had appointed him president of the Royal Seminary as well as professor at the theological faculty. In the latter capacity, he first occupied the chair of controversial theology, was subsequently charged to comment on the Sentences of Peter Lombard – he even worked through two cycles of a complete commentary – and eventually proceeded to the chair of Sacred Scriptures. Estius would occupy this chair until the end of his life, devoting most of his time and energy to the study of the Epistles of the Apostles, an activity that would gain him renown as a Bible commentator. His esteem for the Scriptures also emerges from the fact that as a president of the Royal Seminary he daily discussed the short passage from the Bible that had been read during the meal in the seminary refectory.

Estius revealed himself to be an markedly Augustinian-minded theologian. When the Louvain Faculty of Theology censored 31 propositions taken from Lessius' *Theses theologiae* as semi-Pelagian in 1587, the Archbishop of Cambrai consulted the sister-faculty of Douai with the purpose of having them likewise pronounce their judgement. On 20 February 1588 the Douai faculty issued an even more developed and outspoken censure than Louvain, of which Estius was the principal author. It was on this occasion that Stapleton, who disagreed with his colleagues on the Lessius' censure, was excluded from the activities of his faculty. A breve issued by

⁷¹ This volume contains, amongst other works, *In Evangelium Joannis expositio*, *In Epistolam Joannis expositio*, *De decem chordis*, *De pastoribus*, *De ovibus*, *De symbola fidei ad Catechumenos lib III*, *Tractatus de diversis XIII*, *Meditationum liber*.

⁷² It is not by coincidence that Francis Lucas left Louvain for Saint-Omer in 1581, whilst Guilielmus Estius moved to Douai in 1582. They joined the stream of professors, students and citizens fleeing the university town, particularly in the years 1578–85, impelled by the turmoil of war, the exactions of a Spanish garrison billeted within the city walls, and the plague epidemic that accompanied the situation of war. See Diederik Lanoye and Peter Vandermeersch, 'The University of Louvain at the End of the Sixteenth Century: Coping with Crisis?', *History of Universities*, vol. 20, 2005, pp. 81–107, esp. 87–91.

Pope Sixtus V on 15 April 1588, charging the Louvain theologians not to continue their quarrel with the Jesuits, was not published in Douai, where the Lessius controversy was soon followed by another, which concerned the teachings of the Jesuit Jean Decker and their alleged Molinistic slant.⁷³ In 1595 Estius became provost of the chapter of St. Peter in Douai and as such chancellor of the university.

Estius died in 1613 in Douai at the age of 72. His most important works were edited posthumously. He is said to have himself commenced the edition of his commentary on the Epistles of Paul, with the help of his disciple and friend Bartholomew Peeters, to whom on his deathbed he entrusted responsibility for the work's completion. Estius had also intended to introduce the commentary with about twenty prolegomena but was unable to finish them.⁷⁴ Estius' commentary on the Epistles of Paul (to the Romans, Corinthians and Galatians) eventually appeared in 1614⁷⁵ and a second part, including a commentary on the remaining Epistles of Paul, supplemented by one on the Catholic or Apostolic Letters, in 1616.⁷⁶ Both volumes were published by Balthazar Bellère, or Bellerus, in Douai, under the supervision of Bartholomew Peeters, who even completed the commentary from 1 John 5:6 onwards, which had been left unfinished by the master himself, and thus included a commentary on 2 and 3 John from his own pen. The edition in question was reissued several times in Paris in the course of the seventeenth century. In 1631, the scholar Jacob Merlo Horstius had a revised edition published by Peter Henning in Cologne, which was corrected and supplemented on the basis of handwritten notes by Estius himself. Additionally, Merlo substituted the text of the *Castigatio Lovaniensis*, used by Estius, with the more recent Sixto-Clementine version of the Vulgate.

The commentaries bear testimony to Estius' principal interest in establishing the most trustworthy reading of the (Latin) text by means of a thorough comparison with the Greek text and the reading of the Church fathers (both Greek and Latin), and, if necessary, the version included in diverse Latin manuscripts while at the same time integrating the achievements of

⁷³ Fleischmann, *Die Gnadenlehre des Wilhelm Estius*, pp. 28–36. Comp. van Eijl, 'La controverse Louvaniste', pp. 217–271.

⁷⁴ Leuridan, *Guillaume Estius*, p. 18, with a reference to Bartholomaeus Petrus, *Candido lectori in Guilielmus Estius, In Omnes Divi Pauli Apostoli Epistolas Commentariorum Tomus Posterior... accesserunt... in quinque epistolas catholicas commentaria*, Balthazar Bellerus, Douai, 1616, f. a3r.

⁷⁵ Guilielmus Estius, *In Omnes Divi Pauli Apostoli Epistolas Commentariorum Tomus Prior*, Balthazar Bellerus, Douai, 1614.

⁷⁶ Comp. Salembier, 'Estius', col. 874.

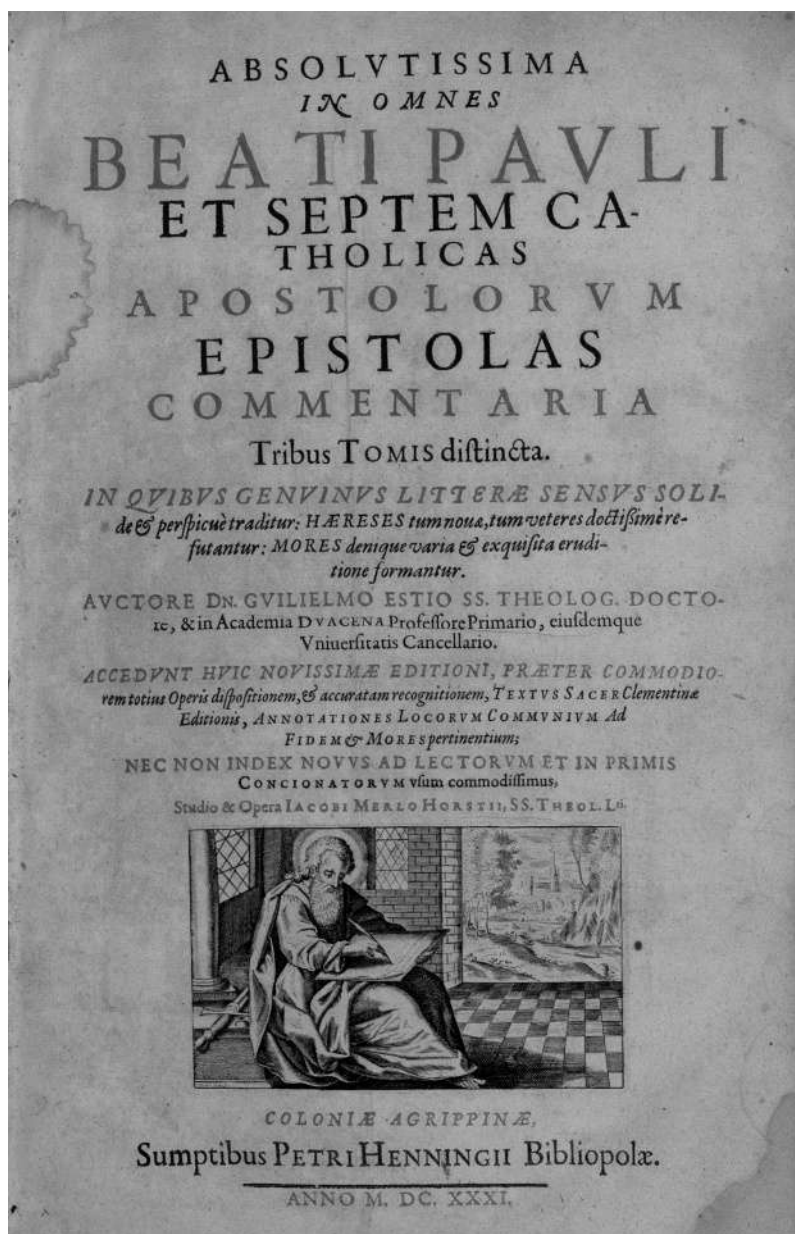


Figure 3. Guilielmus Estius, *Absolutissima in omnes beati Pauli et septem catholicas apostolorum epistolas commentaria*, ed. Jacob Merlo Horstius, Peter Henning, Cologne, 1631 (KU Leuven, Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, Maurits Sabbe Library, 279.334.2 ESTI 1631)

humanist (in this instance, erasmian) text-critical scholarship. Estius' aim was to establish the literal sense of the Scriptures, the sense intended by the inspired writers, which was considered an appropriate basis for the construction of a coherent theology. Estius also estimated highly the value of the living Tradition of the Church, as a means to establish a genuine Scripture-based theology. In this regard, Estius evidently also invoked the Church fathers, with Augustine taking pride of place, but not to the exclusion, however, of scholastic theologians such as Thomas Aquinas – which meant his methodology differed thoroughly from that of Baius – and the important Bible commentators of the late Middle Ages and early modern era. Estius' extremely erudite *Commentaries on the Epistles of the Apostles*, in the version edited by Merlo Horstius, would bring him lasting fame as an exegete and theologian. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries they went through several reprints in diverse printing towns in Europe, but noticeably in the French-speaking Jansenist centres of Douai, Paris and Rouen. They were reissued in Louvain by J.-P.-G. Michel in 1778 and form the basis of the nineteenth-century Mainz editions by Franz Sausen (1841–45) and Johannes Holzammer (1858–59). A last edition of Estius' commentary on the Epistles was published in Paris as late as 1892.

In addition to his commentaries on the Epistles of the Apostles, Estius' wrote his *Annotations to the Principal and More Difficult Passages of the Scripture* (*Annotationes in praecipua ac difficiliora sacrae scripturae loca*), which were published in 1621 by the widow and heirs of Peter Borremans in Douai through the efforts of Gaspard Nemius, a disciple of Estius and later archbishop of Cambrai.⁷⁷ In the preface to the work, the circumstances in which it came into being are explained. In the Royal Seminary, where Estius was the president, it was customary for a chapter from Scripture to be read in the refectory. After the meal, Estius would choose a striking or at first sight obscure verse and would either ask a pupil to present his understanding of the text or himself formulate an objection to a certain explanation of the text as a starting point for a further clarification. Although it is beyond doubt that Estius prepared himself thoroughly for these discussions, his expositions, whose scope was mainly moral, were less elaborate and less well-considered than his regular courses on the Scriptures. Eight years after Estius' death a summary of these conversations, which had been devoutly assembled by a pupil but not revised by Estius himself, was edited as a result of the efforts of the aforementioned

⁷⁷ Guilielmus Estius, *Annotationes in praecipua ac difficiliora sacrae scripturae loca*, typis viduae & haeredum Petri Borremans, Douai, 1621. Comp. Salembier, 'Estius', cols. 874–875.

Gaspard Nemius.⁷⁸ After a second edition had been edited in Cologne in 1622, a considerably enlarged and less defective third edition was published through the efforts of Bartholomew Peeters in Douai in 1629, by the printer-publisher Gerard Patté. Several other reprints saw light in the course of the seventeenth century.

As became evident in the course of the later Jansenist controversy, some of Estius' commentaries and annotations on sufficient and efficacious grace could be considered questionable.⁷⁹ As a point of departure let us take Estius' famous annotation to John 10:15: 'This passage shows that Christ has not died for all men, but only for the elected, so that they be saved'.⁸⁰ In several places Estius denies that all men have been bestowed with the '*auxilium*' of God's sufficient grace, which might imply that Christ's redemptory death granted all men the ability to be saved (*posse*) but was only efficacious for those who were granted another grace that predetermined and precluded them to be both willing and performing (*velle* and *agere*) the good, but remained inefficacious for those guilty of resisting God's grace.⁸¹ Denying grace that might be merely sufficient,

⁷⁸ *Gaspar Nemius to Henry Francis Vander Burch* in Estius, *Annotationes*, f. †3r: 'Siquidem ex lectis ad mensam de more scripturae sacrae capitibus, locum unum alterumve exagitatum discussumque explicare solitus est, tanta soliditate ac claritate, ut omnes ab ejus ore, tanquam vivo oraculo, penderent, plurimique dicta singula annotarent'; *Gaspar Nemius to the reader* in Estius, *Annotationes*, f. †4r: 'Solet auctor quo tempore regio Duacensi seminario praesideret, ex lectis de more ad mensam scripturae sacrae capitibus, unam, alteramve sententiam insigniorem, ad fidei vel morum doctrinam pertinentem alicui e seminarii alumnis, qua quaerendo, qua obijciendo proponere, eandemque postea, quatenus opus erat plenius explicare. Ne vero quidquam non praemeditatum in medium adferret (mirum dictu) quanta cura ac diligentia dicenda annotare, et in adversaria referre sit solitus. Neque primis duntaxat annis eam curam adhibuit; sed et posterioribus ab hac consuetudine non recessit'.

⁷⁹ Comp. Fleischmann, *Die Gnadenlehre des Wilhelm Estius*, pp. 101–159; Ferrer, *Pecado original y justificación*, pp. 135–146.

⁸⁰ Estius, *Annot. in Io* 10:15: '*Et animam meam pono pro ovibus meis ... Hic locus ostendit Christum non pro omnibus mortuum, sed pro solis electis, scilicet ut salventur*'; comp. the classical formulation in *Com. in 1 Tim* 2:4.6: 'QUI OMNES HOMINES VULT SALVOS FIERI, ET AD AGNITIONEM VERITATIS VENIRE ... QUI DEDIT REDEMPTIONEM SEMETIPSUM PRO OMNIBUS ... sciendum est, nulla necessitate nos cogi ad hunc intellectum, quo illud, *pro omnibus*, ad omnes omnino & singulos homines referatur. Potest enim convenienter, & secundum morem scripturae sic accipi, *pro omnibus*, id est, pro hominibus omnium gentium, seu pro hominibus toto orbe dispersis; iuxta illud quod redempti Christo canunt Apoc 5. *Redemisti nos Deo, in sanguine tuo, ex omni tribu & lingua & populo & natione*. Porro quoniam nobis incognitum est, qui sint ex omnibus gentibus ad redemptionem & salutem praedestinati; propterea sic pro omnibus absolute oramus (quemadmodum supra explicatum est) ut, quod ad singulos attinet, neminem velimus ab oratione nostra exclusum'.

⁸¹ Estius, *Com. in Rom* 10:14; *Ti* 2:11; *Annot. in Io* 3:17. '*Non enim misit Deus filium suum in mundum, ut iudicet mundum; sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum ... ne quis hic imaginetur auxilium sufficiens offerri omnibus hominibus*'.

Estius proposes instead a firm belief that Christ's redemptory death and the grace it entails to those who are bestowed with it can only be thought of as efficacious.⁸² This position leads Estius to assert explicitly in other comments and annotations God's predestination of the elect, absolutely independent of any preview of meritorious cooperation on the part of the elect.⁸³ Estius did, however, in a very Bañezian way accept the cooperation of free will, in the sense that it was in such a way precluded and stimulated

⁸² Estius, *Com. in Rom* 5:18: 'SIC ET PER UNIUS IUSTICIAM IN OMNES HOMINES IN IUSTIFICATIONEM VITAE ... alii, ut universalitatem servant eandem in utroque membro, posterius sic exponunt; per unius iusticiam omnes homines iustificari quantum ad sufficientiam attinet. Sed & hoc praeter mentem apostoli: qui comparat delictum Adae cum iusticia Christi quantum ad effectus utriusque, non quantum ad causarum sufficientiam'; *Annot. in Io* 6:37: 'Omne quod dat mihi pater ad me veniet. Et infra: Nemo potest venire ad me, nisi pater qui misit me, traxerit eum. Et iterum: Propterea dixi vobis, quia nemo potest venire ad me, nisi fuerit ei datum à Patre meo ... consequens est, non omnibus dari auxilium simpliciter ex parte Dei sufficiens ad hoc, ut veniat ad Christum; quia non omnes ad Christum veniunt, neque omnes à patre trahuntur, & quicumque non veniunt non trahuntur efficaciter; imo quicumque non trahuntur efficaciter ... non possunt venire sensu composito. Non enim simul consistunt, non trahi à Patre, & venire ad Christum ...'

⁸³ Estius, *Com. in Rom* 2:4; *Rom* 8:28ff: 'IIS, QUI SECUNDUM PROPOSITUM VOCATI SUNT SANCTI ... Dei, inquam, propositum, id est voluntas praevia, praedestinatio, ac decretum aeternum, Syrè praeordinatio: ut secundum propositum vocati seu vocaticii dicantur, qui non ex ullis suis meritis, sed solo Dei consilio ac beneplacito, eligentis ab aeterno quos voluit, ad salutem vocantur. Quae periphrasis est praedestinatorum. De hac vocatione quae fit secundum propositum Dei, sic Augustinus ... QUOS AUTEM PRAEDESTINAVIT, HOS ET VOCAVIT ... Haec enim vocatio semper efficax est, & electorum propria. Intelligitur autem hoc loco vocatio vel ad fidem, vel generatim ad iusticiam & sanctitatem vitae, & omnino ad salutem'; *1 Cor* 4:7: 'Rectè proinde S. Augustinus hanc Pauli sententiam usurpat & inculcat adversus Pelagianos, ut doceat omne bonum quo quis ab alio discernitur, atque alium praecellit, à Deo dari: ideoque nec gratiam dari secundum merita; neque ex meritis praevisis quenquam à Deo ad vitam praedestinari: sed tam praedestinationem quam gratiam, quae praedestinationis effectus est, prorsus ac mee gratuitam esse ... Iam ex his etiam illi redarguuntur, qui dicunt, aequali dato vel oblato gratiae auxilio persaepe contingere ut hic agat, ille non agat; aut ut alius alio plus minúsve; ut discretio sit ex libero hominis arbitrio, non ex gratia Dei. Quod apostolicae doctrinae contrarium esse non dubitamus'; *Phil* 2:13: 'DEUS EST ENIM QUI OPERATUR IN VOBIS VELLE ET PERFICERE PRO BONA VOLUNTATE ... Deum in hominibus efficaciter per gratiam suam operari hoc quod est velle bonum salutare, & hoc quod est idipsum exsequi, Dico, efficaciter; tum quia omnis operatio Dei efficax est ... nec velle nec operari consistit in vestris viribus, sed Deus est qui per suam gratiam utrumque in vobis operatur ... Deum, non propter ullum meritum nostrum, sed pro suo beneplacito & gratuita voluntate bona erga nos, operari in nobis velle & perficere: ne quis gratiam hanc operantis Dei sibi ex meritis suis provenire existimet...'; *1 Tim* 4:10; *Annot. in Io* 17:9; 17:20; comp. *Is* 54: '... Unde non recte sumunt ex hoc loco argumentum, qui docent Deum omnibus hominibus dare sufficientia salutis auxilia. Non enim gratia Dei suspenditur ex hominum acceptione, ut non sit gratia & praedestinatio hominis mere gratuita ... Unde non sequitur, si illi singularia illa praesidia data sunt a Deo ergo omnibus hominibus data esse: Imo potius contrarium sequitur, non omnibus data esse'.

by God that it was only prepared to opt for the good.⁸⁴ Inversely, Estius emphasizes that many men are not drawn by God in an efficacious way to Christ, rigorously stressing that God from all eternity has rejected a part of humanity and that he has done so independently of any preview of man's demerits, even before taking into account the corrupt nature of post-lapsarian mankind.⁸⁵ In order to underpin his views, Estius makes abundance reference to Augustine (in particular his anti-Pelagian works), but also to Prosper of Aquitaine, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Jerome and other patristic authorities, in addition to Thomas Aquinas (whom he reads in a Bañezian sense) and early modern writers such as Cajetan, Jansenius of Ghent, Titelmans and Hessels – Baius' friend – amongst other '*recentiores*'.⁸⁶ As we might expect, Estius' successors in Douai did not hesitate to point to propositions in his work that required correction – they identified the influence of Estius' teachers Michael Baius and John Hessels – while at the same time acknowledging their author's piety, erudition and good faith, at a time when the Holy See had not yet pronounced an infallible judgement on these doctrines. Only three decades later a proposition that was similar to Estius' position and characterized as semi-Pelagian the statement that Christ died and offered his blood to cover the sins of all humanity would (allegedly) be discovered in Jansenius' *Augustinus* and resulted in that statement's condemnation by the papal bull *Cum occasione* (1653).⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Estius, *Com. in 1 Cor* 15:10: 'ET GRATIA EIUS IN ME, VACUA NON FUIT ... Hic autem illius gratiae significat quendam in se effectum ... NON EGO AUTEM, SED GRATIA DEI MECUM ... auxilium non est, nisi agente etiam eo qui adiuvatur. Igitur hic insinuat cooperatio gratiae & liberi arbitrii: sic tamen ut gratia principalius operetur. Nam gratia voluntatem adiuvans non ab ea vicissim adiuvatur: & quidem sic adiuvat voluntatem, ut faciat eam operari, movens ad operandum'; comp. *1 Cor* 14:32; *2 Tim* 2:10.

⁸⁵ Estius, *Com. in Rom* 9:3: '... SICUT SCRIPTUM EST: IACOB DILEXI, ESAU AUTEM ODIO HABUI ... Iam hinc colligendum relinquit apostolus, argumento à figura ad rem in figura ac mysterio significatam, neque electionem hominum ad aeternam salutem, neque reprobationem esse ex ullis operum meritis; sed Deum ex solo suae voluntatis arbitrio, alios eligere ad salutem; alios autem reprobare; non quod Deus aliquos damnare velit immerito: sed quia sicut totus effectus praedestinationis non cadit sub merito, ita nec totus effectus reprobationis. Quod enim Deus aliquos permittit cadere in peccatum, cuius merito postea damnationem incurrant (quae quidem permissio primus est reprobationis effectus) non potest esse ex eorum merito ... prorsus apparebit ex eius sententia, tam reprobationem quam electionem absolutè non ex ullis esse praevisis meritis'; comp. *1 Cor* 15:20.

⁸⁶ Estius also boasts of having John Leonard Hasselius' commentary on the Epistles of Paul at his disposal in manuscript form. See Estius, *Com. in Rom* 14:5.

⁸⁷ Carolus Duplessis d'Argentré, *Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus*, vol. 3, Andreas Cailleau, Paris, 1736, pt. 2, p. 574; *Censura sacrae facultatis Duacensis in quasdam Propositiones de Gratia depromptas ex Dictatis Philosophicis Dominorum Lengrand et Marechal*, Albert Tossanus, Douai, 1722, p. 112, with a reference to *Annot. in Io* 10:15: 'In hoc,

Apart from his scriptural commentaries, which were brought together in the three-volume *Opera omnia Estii in sacram scripturam*, edited in Venice in 1739, Estius also left to posterity his commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, which appeared in a first edition in Douai 1616. As noted above, Estius integrated, in addition to the Bible and Augustine, the later scholastic tradition of Thomas Aquinas and his main modern commentator, Domingo Báñez, who starting from the primacy of divine motion stressed the intrinsic efficacy of God's grace and predestination irrespective of foreseen merits. It has been said that Estius synthesised Augustinianism (Baianism?) and Bañezian Thomism.⁸⁸ Some of the propositions with regard to free will, predestination and efficacious grace made by Estius in his commentary on the Sentences were characterised by later generations of theologians as needing to be read with circumspection, given the doctrinal decisions in the wake of the (anti-) Jansenist controversy; Estius' rejection of Mary's immaculate conception falls into the same category. The edition of Estius' commentary on the Sentences that was published in Naples in 1720 even contains corrections to these issues.

Mention should also be made of the book published by Bartholomew Peeters one year after Estius' death that contained a collection of fourteen theological discourses the professor had given in Douai. One of these discourses, of 21 July 1609, deals with *De Magdalena evangelica*, whom Estius distinguished from the sinful woman (Luke 7:36–50) and Lazarus' sister. His discussion shows how thinking had evolved in Catholic theological milieus, for almost a century earlier, in 1519, the Paris theologians had issued a condemnation of this proposition that was then defended by, amongst others, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. Another

ut ingenue loquamur, aperte continetur quinta haeresis Janseniana'. In addition to pointing out that the Holy See had not as yet pronounced an infallible judgement on the doctrines under discussion, Leuridan pointed out in Estius' defence that the *Annotationes* had been based on students' notes and had never been revised by Estius himself before being published posthumously. He was convinced that Estius would never have permitted their publication with this formulation (Leuridan, *Guillaume Estius*, p. 16). It must be observed, however, that comparable Jansenizing statements are also to be found in his regular commentaries.

⁸⁸ Fleischmann, *Die Gnadenlehre des Wilhelm Estius*, pp. 36–37 and 159: 'Bañezianischer Thomismus und ein Augustinismus bajanischer Prägung haben in Estius eine gewisse Synthese eingegangen, wie sie wohl in der Theologie jener Zeit kaum eigen Gegenstück haben dürfte'. X. Ferrer, however, denies that Estius had *intentionally* tried to reconcile Bajanism and Thomism, emphasizing that the Douai theologian took a distant stance with regard to both the doctrinal fundamentals and the method of Baius' theology (Ferrer, *Pecado original y justificación*, pp. 197–198).

discourse, of 27 September 1612, deals with the question *An Scripturae sacrae plures sint sensus litterales?*; Estius defends a negative response.

Notwithstanding his reputation for being close to the ideas of Hessels and Baius, Estius was called '*doctor fundatissimus*' by Pope Benedict XIV. He has been declared venerable and his feast day is 20 September.

Jacob Jansonius, a Transitional Figure in Louvain

Back in Louvain, Thomas Stapleton was succeeded as royal professor of Sacred Scriptures by Jacobus Jansonius (1547–1625).⁸⁹ Originally from Amsterdam, Jansonius had studied arts at the Louvain Pedagogy of the Pig – one of the four pedagogies where the liberal arts were taught – and after his graduation in 1562 he devoted himself to the study of theology. He was a resident of the Pope's College, which was at that time presided over by Michael Baius, whom Jansonius greatly admired and from whom he borrowed the strictly Augustinian theory of justification. Jansonius was also one of approximately sixty *baccalaurii* who worked on the new critical edition of Augustine's works that Louvain theologians prepared between 1570 and 1576.⁹⁰ Jansonius obtained a licentiate's degree in theology in 1575. In 1578 – the year his hometown chose the side of the Reformation – he became president of a new college that Baius had founded and that was, quite aptly, named after Saint Augustine.

⁸⁹ For an introduction to Jacobus Jansonius' life and work, see Lucien Ceyssens, 'Jansonius (Jacques)', *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol. 37, 1972, cols. 467–474; Id., 'Autour de Jacques Jansonius, professeur à Louvain (1547–1625)', *Augustiniana*, vol. 22, 1972, pp. 358–397; Id., 'Jacques Jansonius (1547–1625) et l'augustinisme à Louvain' in *L'Augustinisme à l'ancienne Faculté*, Lambrigts and Kenis (eds), pp. 283–298. Ceyssens' description of Jansonius as a pious, devout and humble theologian has to be complemented by more recent articles in which Jansonius is depicted as a powerful player within a Louvain network of academic politics. See particularly Bruno Boute, 'Academics in Action: Scholarly Interests and Policies in the Early Counter Reformation: the Reform of the University of Louvain 1607–1617', *History of Universities*, vol. 18/2, 2003, pp. 34–89, esp. 45, 57, and 62–64; Id., 'Saint, Scholar, Exorcist? About Jacobus Jansonius, Professor at Leuven (1547–1625)' in *The Quintessence of Lives: Intellectual Biographies in the Low Countries Presented to Jan Roegiers*, Dries Vanysacker, Pierre Delsaerdt, Jean-Pierre Delville, and Hedwig Schwall (eds), Brepols, Turnhout, and Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique, Louvain-la-Neuve and Leuven, 2010, pp. 83–110; also Toon Quaghebeur, 'In luce et theatro totius orbis: The Unsuccessful Condemnation of De Dominis by the Theological Faculty of Louvain', *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, vol. 27, 2006, pp. 447–470, elaborating, amongst other roles, Jansonius' contribution to the condemnation the Louvain theologians drafted, albeit hesitantly, of Marcus Antonio de Dominis' anti-papal writings.

⁹⁰ Ceyssens, 'Jacques Jansonius', p. 287 assumes that under the supervision of professor Henricus Gravius, Jansonius contributed to a seventh part, which contains the treatises on grace.

However, because of the precarious political, military, and economic circumstances of the time, this college was soon closed down.

In 1580 Jansonius was appointed one of the five ordinary professors at the theological faculty and was granted a canonry of the second foundation in St. Peter's church that was attached to his professorship. Having taught as an ordinary professor for about four years, in 1584 he obtained his doctoral degree. Jansonius gradually managed to occupy several key positions within the faculty and even within the university as a whole. Imbued with a Augustinian theology, he was one of the main movers behind the 1587 Louvain censure of Lessius' theological model of grace and free will. It comes as no surprise that he succeeded his master Michael Baius as president of the Pope's College in 1589 and he devoted himself to this office for the remainder of his life.⁹¹ A declared adversary of a Jesuit theology, in 1595–96 he was one of the protagonists within the Louvain academia of the successful opposition to the Jesuit plan to set up philosophical courses and examinations in competition with the traditional pedagogies of the arts faculty.⁹²

In 1598 Jansonius was appointed royal professor of Sacred Scriptures. Disappearing from the forefront of academia for a while, he diligently devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures, without, however, attaining the heights of a Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent or even a Thomas Stapleton, partly as a result of his sketchy knowledge of Greek and Hebrew.⁹³ Leaving the teaching of the courses to Henri Rampen in 1616, Jansonius continued to apply himself to study ... and to academic politics. Earlier, in 1614, Jansonius had also been appointed dean of the collegiate church of St. Peter in Louvain and vice-chancellor of the university. B. Boute has called Jansonius 'the face of the University of Louvain in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, an academic oligarch without equal'.⁹⁴ Jansonius managed to influence the *Visitatio* of 1617, a general revision of

⁹¹ One of his boarders was Cornelius Jansenius the younger. Consequently, it is sometimes said that the radical Augustinian justification theory was passed on from Baius through Jansonius to Cornelius Jansenius; in this sense Jansonius could be considered an intermediary figure between the two giants, Baius and Jansenius. This depiction of the course of events, which does insufficient justice to the complexity of relationships within the Faculty of Theology, has rightly been questioned in Boute, 'Saint, Scholar, Exorcist? About Jacobus Jansonius', pp. 85 and 109.

⁹² Boute, 'Saint, Scholar, Exorcist? About Jacobus Jansonius', pp. 87–95.

⁹³ Ceyssens further proposes that Jansonius' inclination for prayer and contemplation made him sensitive to the spiritual meaning of the biblical text precisely at a time when Catholic Bible commentators were primarily seeking the literal sense of a Bible passage within its broader context (Ceyssens, 'Jansonius [Jacques]', *BN*, vol. 37, 1972, col. 468).

⁹⁴ Boute, 'Academics in Action', p. 62.

the academic statutes of the languishing University of Louvain that was issued in the wake of a visitation by two commissioners endowed with apostolic and princely authority. One of the visitors was Joannes Drusius, the abbot of Park, and a friend and confidant of Jansonius who, operating as Drusius' ghostwriter, drafted the entire 1617 *Visitatio*.⁹⁵ The charter stipulated amongst other things that as a prerequisite for receiving an academic degree, prospective theologians had to have attended the courses of the three royal, in this instance archducal, professors at the faculty, one of Sacred Scriptures and two of scholastic theology,⁹⁶ or a least prove they had followed a comparable trajectory in the study house of one of the religious orders incorporated in the university. By implication, attendance at the Jesuit courses was not considered sufficient basis for admission to examination and graduation by the faculty.⁹⁷

Several works from Jansonius' pen have been handed down, including his *Liturgica* (1604) and a range of Bible commentaries. Various course notes are preserved in manuscript form and a number of his commentaries also appeared in print; they include a commentary on the Song of Songs, first published in 1596 (Joannes Masius [John Maes] and Philippus Zangrius [Philip de Zangher], Louvain) and reissued in 1603 and 1605, further an *Expositio* or explanation of the Psalms and the *cantica* that were sung during the divine office, dating from 1597 (Joannes Masius and Philippus Zangrius, Louvain) and reprinted in 1617 – more or less the same work was also published under a different title in 1610, 1611 and 1622 – and finally a commentary on the book of Job from 1623 (Henry Lodewijcxsoon van Haestens [or Henricus Hastenius] and Philippus Zangrius, Louvain).

At the end of his career Jansonius also wrote *In Evangelium S. Joannis expositio*, an explanation of the Gospel of John that was inspired by the extensive treatise that Augustine had also devoted to this Gospel. Although the work was complete in 1625, Jansonius' death delayed its appearance

⁹⁵ Boute, 'Saint, Scholar, Exorcist? About Jacobus Jansonius', pp. 103–107; Id., 'Academics in action', pp. 45 and 61–67. Also, Michel Van Waefelghem, 'La Visite de l'Université de Louvain par l'Abbé du Parc, Jean Druys sous le règne des archiducs Albert et Isabelle', *Analectes de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, vol. 7, 1911, pp. 53–60 and 85–116; vol. 9, 1913, pp. 209–216 and 265–322.

⁹⁶ In addition to the royal chairs established by Charles V, a second chair of scholastic theology had been established by Philip II in 1596, who at the same time stipulated that the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas would from then on replace the Sentences of Peter Lombard (Van Eijl, 'De theologische faculteit te Leuven in de XV^e en XVI^e eeuw', pp. 99–102).

⁹⁷ 'Visitatio almae universitatis studii generalis oppidi lovaniensis' in *Documents relatifs à l'université de Louvain (1425–1797)*, vol. 1: *L'université en général*, Edmond-Henri-Joseph Reusens (ed), Chez l'auteur, Leuven, 1893, pp. 615–616. Comp. Boute, 'Saint, Scholar, Exorcist? About Jacobus Jansonius', p. 105.

until, as a result of the influence of the Norbertines of Park, it was published in 1630 by the Louvain printer Bernardinus Maes.⁹⁸ Ceyskens described this work as an ultimate testimony to Jansonius' sustained Augustinianism.⁹⁹ It is also interesting because John Maes, then subprior and later abbot of Park, prefaced it with an *Elogium et vita Jacobi Janssonii*, which remains an important source for all subsequent biographies of Jansonius.¹⁰⁰

In the dedicatory letter to Abbot Drusius of Park,¹⁰¹ Jansonius refers, not without some measure of pride, to a digression in his commentary on the twelfth chapter of the Gospel of John in which, in accordance with Augustine's model,¹⁰² he has devoted a couple of pages to the topic of grace and free will. He also refers to the provincial chapter of the Premonstratensians of 1620 (not 1621, as he erroneously writes), which had unambiguously prescribed that the members of the order should remain faithful to Augustine's doctrine on grace and free will.¹⁰³ In this digression,

⁹⁸ Jacobus Jansonius, *In Evangelium S. Ioannis expositio*, Bernardinus Maes, Leuven, 1630.

⁹⁹ Ceyskens, 'Jacques Jansonius', p. 296.

¹⁰⁰ Joannes Masius, *Elogium et vita Ex. D. Iacobi Janssonii* in Jansonius, *In Evangelium S. Ioannis expositio*, ff. *iij r – *viii v. The *Elogium et vita* has also been edited in Ceyskens, 'Autour de Jacques Jansonius', pp. 363–372.

¹⁰¹ Jansonius, *In Evangelium S. Ioannis expositio*, ff. *ij r–v.

¹⁰² Augustinus, *In Ioh. tract.* 53, 5–11, ed. Radbodus Willems (CC SL, 36), Brepols, Turnhout, 1954, pp. 454 l. 1 – 457 l. 21.

¹⁰³ Jansonius, *In Evangelium S. Ioannis expositio*, f. *ij v. From the preceding passages it becomes clear that there had been strong cooperation between the Louvain theologians belonging to the Augustinian faction of the faculty and the abbots of the (rich and powerful) Brabant Premonstratensian abbeys. Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent was lecturer at the Premonstratensian abbey of Tongerlo (1540–47) at the invitation of abbot Arnold Streeters (r. 1530–60), who was a promoter of learning. John Hessels for his part taught theology and Scripture to the young Norbertines of the abbey of Park between 1551 and 1559, and assisted the abbot, Ludovicus van den Berghe (r. 1543–58), and his successor, Charles Van der Linden (r. 1558–76), in their attempts to restore strict observance of the rule and community life. Largely due to the facilities and material support offered by the abbey, Hessels simultaneously continued his own studies at the Faculty of Theology. Jansonius was a good friend and ally of Joannes Drusius (r. 1601–34), an important advocate of the university's interests when a reform was implemented (1607–17). As the vicar of the Premonstratensians' Brabant circarie, Drusius also promoted a strict observance of the rule, not only in his own abbey but also in the other houses belonging to the circarie. The Premonstratensians' unequivocal decision in favour of a strict Augustinian theology of grace was largely inspired by the Louvain theologians in general and by Jansonius in particular. This option had been endorsed by the provincial chapters of 1620 and 1624, which were presided over by Drusius. That they had sided with Augustine's theology and spirituality would become even more manifest in the course of the seventeenth century. See Weyns, 'La réforme des Prémontrés aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles'; Id., 'De Brabantse Norbertijnen en het Jansenisme', *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, vol. 29, 1953, pp. 5–66; Jan Ev. Steynen (ed), 'Capitula Provincialia Circariae Brabantiae, o. Praem (1620–1643)', *Analecta Praemonstratensia* [Études], vols. 17–18, 1941–42, pp. 12 and 46.

which is on the quotation in John 12:39–40 of Is 6:10, Jansonius elaborates on the origin of evil, stressing the overwhelming responsibility of man's free will, on the predestination of the elect, and on God's *gratia efficax*, which incites man's will in such a way that it is able to accomplish efficaciously the good that God made it long for and willing to pursue. To underpin his views on efficacious grace Jansonius referred primarily to Augustine's *De correptione et gratia*.¹⁰⁴ He knew the works of Augustine very well and drew particularly from his books on grace and free will, written against the semi-Pelagian monks of Hadrumetum and the Provence. It would be fair to say that Jansonius' commentary is in places nothing more than a chain of quotations from works in which Augustine elaborates on his theology of grace and free will.

In summary, around 1600, the chairs of Sacred Scriptures in Louvain and Douai were occupied by similar personalities. Jacob Jansonius and William Estius were both Catholic immigrants from Holland, a province that had opted for Protestantism in their younger years. Both were pivotal figures in the religious and academic politics of their universities, which had become bastions of confessional orthodoxy and educational centres for future labourers, according to Boute's words, in the vineyards of the Lord in the Spanish Netherlands, in the missions in the Dutch Republic and in the British Isles.¹⁰⁵ And most importantly for our topic, both were thoroughly influenced by an Augustinian theology and spirituality that gradually regained momentum after the debacle of Baianism and showed themselves adversaries of the theological model of grace and free will advocated by the Jesuits. In places the biblical commentaries of Jansonius and Estius take the shape of genuine theological treatises inspired by Augustinian theology. Estius, by far the more talented exegete, and one of the glittering stars of the theological faculty of Douai, wrote a commentary on the Epistles of Paul that would be reprinted once again even at the end of the nineteenth century. In addition to Estius' works, the combination of Augustinian theology and Bible commentary would find sublime

¹⁰⁴ Jansonius, *In Evangelium S. Ioannis expositio*, p. 425: God's grace operates as an inner spiritual force or inspiration that brings about such a strong desire and brilliant love in man that he effectively prevails over the conflicting desire represented by the will of the flesh or concupiscence. Thus, man's will in *statu naturae lapsae* is incited by the Holy Spirit in such a way that it is able to accomplish efficaciously what is longed for and willed, and that man desires it so to be, is because God makes him do so ('*dare etiam ut velit*'). Comp. Augustinus, *De correptione et gratia* 12, 38, ed. Georges Folliet (CSEL, 92), Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 2000, p. 266 l. 7–9.

¹⁰⁵ Free after Boute, 'Saint, Scholar, Exorcist? About Jacobus Jansonius', p. 84.

expression and lasting influence through the works of Cornelius Jansenius of Ypres and his disciple Libertus Fromondus.¹⁰⁶

Augustinianism, Jansenism and Bible Commentary

Cornelius Jansenius of Ypres and the Apogee of Augustinianism in Louvain

Cornelius Jansenius (1585–1638),¹⁰⁷ also born into a Catholic family in Holland, studied arts at the Pedagogy of the Falcon in Louvain and graduated as a *magister artium*, having passed, ranked first, the general examinations of the four pedagogies of the arts faculty. He studied theology whilst residing in the Pope's College, which was under the presidency of the aforementioned Jacob Jansonius, admirer of Augustine, pupil of Baius, and 'academic don par excellence'.¹⁰⁸ There he met two students from the prince-bishopric of Liège, Henry van Caelen (Calenus) from Beringen, and Libert Froidmont (Fromondus) from Haccourt, with whom he struck up a friendship that would last for the rest of his life.

Having obtained the degree of bachelor of theology in 1609, Jansenius left Louvain for Paris, where he hoped to find a university milieu that was more oriented to the skilful study of the sources of theology. In Paris, Jansenius studied in particular Hebrew and possibly also Greek. He also became close friends with Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, who as the abbot

¹⁰⁶ Jansonius had tried to influence the choice of his successor as royal professor of Sacred Scriptures – acting against the statutes of his 'own' *Visitatio* – by offering his resignation in 1624 in favor of his substitute Henry Rampen. The faculty, however, expressed its dissatisfaction at Jansonius' démarches in a letter to the king. It first invoked that when 38 years earlier, in 1586, Michael Baius had submitted a similar petition in favor of his nephew Jacob Baius, who had acted as his substitute for several years, the faculty resolutely rejected the petition. Secondly, the faculty called to the king's mind that no injury should be done to the Louvain theologians' care that the professorship be granted to the candidate most skilled in biblical studies. Thirdly, candidates who were all equally competent should not be given the impression that the matter had been arranged in advance. Finally, attached to the royal chair of Sacred Scriptures was a canonicate, its collation being liable to strict ecclesiastical rules (*Acta Facultatis Theologiae*, 10 July 1624, *State Archives in Belgium*, Leuven, OUL, vol. 387, ff. 204–206).

¹⁰⁷ Lucien Ceyssens, 'Jansenius, Cornelis', *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 9, 1981, cols. 393–417; Jean Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres (1585–1638)*, Études augustiniennes, Paris, 1989, pp. 86–87 and 177–191; Bernard Chédozeau, 'Aux sources de la publication de la Bible catholique en français: C. Jansénius, L. Froidmont, Saint-Cyran' in *L'image de Jansénius jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Edmond J M van Eijl (ed), University Press, Leuven, 1987, pp. 93–103, reincluded and supplemented by the prefatory texts to the *Tetrateuchus* in Bernard Chédozeau, *Port-Royal et la Bible. Un siècle d'or de la Bible en France 1650–1708*, Nolin, Paris, 2007, pp. 37–53.

¹⁰⁸ Boute, 'Saint, Scholar, Exorcist? About Jacobus Jansonius', p. 85.

of Saint-Cyran was to have a profound influence on Jansenius and the Jansenist movement. Attracted by a life of intense study, the friends shared a house in Paris from c. 1610, before establishing themselves on the country estate of Duvergier's mother in Camp-de-Prats near Bayonne, in the French Basque Country, where they indulged themselves in an unremitting study of the sources of Christianity: the Bible, as well as the councils of the ancient Church, and the Fathers of both East and West. These investigations were intended to provide them with the materials required to establish 'loci communi' and were structured by means of a system of filing cards relating to the doctrines and the sacraments of the Church as well as to the more difficult scriptural passages. As far as the Scriptures were concerned, the two men included their literal, allegorical, moral and even political sense, amassed from the teachings of the Fathers without regard for all the various glosses and compilations that had nurtured the scholastic commentaries.¹⁰⁹ Jansenius remained in Bayonne for five years, interrupted only by a visit to his sick father in 1614, an event that was also used as an opportunity for his ordination as a priest.

After the death of his father in early 1617, Jansenius was retained in Louvain and entrusted with the governance of the newly established Sancta Pulcheria College, a college intended for students from the diocese of Haarlem in Holland; he retained the presidency until 1624.¹¹⁰ Jansenius again matriculated at the University of Louvain, obtaining the degree of doctor of theology in October 1617. Only a half year later, he received an ordinary chair of theology at the university and an attached canonry in St. Peters in Louvain. This position required him to teach for six weeks during the summer holidays. His preference was to devote these courses to explanation of Scripture, beginning with a book of the Old Testament. Initially he was uncertain about the method he should follow, as he found unsatisfactory the most current scheme, allegoric interpretation, which made the works of the Jesuit Cornelius a Lapide a mine for preachers.¹¹¹ When he was preparing his courses on the minor prophets during the late summer

¹⁰⁹ Jean Orcibal, *Jean Duvergier de Hauranne abbé de Saint-Cyran et son temps (1581–1638). Les origines du jansénisme II*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Leuven – Paris, 1947, pp. 137–148, esp. 146–148. Comp. Chédozeau, 'Aux sources de la publication de la Bible en français', 2007, pp. 37–38.

¹¹⁰ In 1631 Jansenius would return to the college as provisor.

¹¹¹ Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, 19 April 1618, in *Correspondance de Jansénius. Les origines du jansénisme I*, Jean Orcibal (ed), Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Leuven – Paris, 1947, nr. 9, p. 31; 3 July 1618, *Cor.*, nr. 10, p. 38; 5 August 1618, *Cor.*, nr. 11, p. 40. Comp. Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres*, pp. 86–87.

of 1619, he expressed the hope that the annotations that he and Duvergier de Hauranne had accumulated in Camp-de-Prats might be to some advantage, albeit he also realized that not too much was to be expected from them. In any case, his notebooks had not yet been sent from France.¹¹² Teaching his courses on the Bible occupied him every year in the second part of the summer.¹¹³ In 1623 he examined the book of Proverbs. Having talked about this project to his friend the abbot of Saint-Cyran on the occasion of a meeting in 1623, the latter asked Jansenius to have the course notes copied, not only for himself but also for his like-minded friend Sébastien Bouthillier, the bishop of Aire, who strongly desired to see them. And although the author attached only limited importance to these course notes, which were destined merely for class instruction, and had no time to revise them, he recognised that they were sufficient for comprehension of the literal sense of the text (and any other senses did not matter very much in his opinion). In compliance with Saint-Cyran's request, he sent his course notes on Proverbs to France in October 1623.¹¹⁴ In addition to his work as an ordinary professor, Jansenius also taught some extraordinary courses in the Pulcheria College, on Thomas Aquinas or a Hebrew language course, for example.¹¹⁵

In Louvain, the issue of predestination, grace and free will had regained momentum in the years 1618–19, as the old controversy between the Faculty of Theology and the Jesuit Leonard Lessius flared up again.¹¹⁶ Jansenius, who had already studied Augustine, amongst other Church fathers, during his stay in Bayonne, was to have his attention specifically drawn to Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings by Jacob Oly, a student from Holland. Jansenius had set himself the objective of studying Augustine, since as a result of the famous 'Congregationes de auxiliis' (1597–1607), Pope Clement VIII had not only imposed silence on the discussion of grace and free will – after decades of passionate debate in the Catholic Church – but had also made Augustine, the 'doctor gratiae', the arbiter in the matter.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, [September 1619], *Cor.*, nr. 15, p. 52.

¹¹³ See also Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, 15 October 1620, *Cor.*, nr. 19, p. 65.

¹¹⁴ Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, 7 July 1623, *Cor.*, nr. 63, p. 233; 1 September 1623, *Cor.*, nr. 66, p. 244; 13 October 1623, *Cor.*, nr. 68, pp. 247–248; Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, 17 November 1623, *Cor.*, nr. 69, p. 251.

¹¹⁵ Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, 19 April 1618, *Cor.*, nr. 9, p. 31; 3 July 1618, *Cor.*, nr. 10, p. 36.

¹¹⁶ Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, [September 1619], *Cor.*, nr. 15, pp. 52–53.

¹¹⁷ 'Le reste de temps, [je l'employ la pluspart à la lecture de S^t Augustin que j'ayme unicquement, me semblant qu'il n'y a rien entre les anciens ou modernes qui en approche de cent lieux. Et tant plus le ly-je, tant plus beau je le trouve]'. See Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, 15

In 1624 Jansenius had just obtained a good prebend in Lille when he was entrusted by the University of Louvain with a special mission to the Spanish court. With the help of the archdukes Albert and Isabella, the Jesuits had succeeded in establishing public courses in philosophy in their study house in Louvain, which the university considered a straightforward assault on its privilege of supplying higher education. After Jansenius had returned from his mission, he went to Paris to pick up again his studies with Saint-Cyran, which he had abandoned several years earlier. His study was abruptly interrupted when he was sent again to Madrid, for in 1625 Philip III had established an extraordinary chair within the Louvain theological faculty for the Jesuits, a decision that had met with vehement opposition from the Louvain theologians who mostly belonged to the secular clergy. In Madrid, Jansenius was able to obtain a decision that was favourable to the Faculty of Theology.

After Jansenius' return to Louvain during Lent 1627, he resumed his personal studies. His intention was to found a 'nouvelle Sorbonne', where scholars would devote themselves to positive theology. To this end, he rented a house and established himself there in the company of his friend Libert Froidmont; both theologians dedicated themselves to the study of the Bible and the sacred languages Greek and Hebrew, as well as to the Church fathers, with Augustine taking pride of place.

On 23 March 1630, Jansenius was promoted to the royal chair of Sacred Scriptures over two other candidates, Henry Rampen, who had previously taught the courses on Scripture in place of Jacob Jansonius, and William ab Angelis (Willem van Engelen). Although both Rampen and ab Angelis had actively lobbied the Council of State in Brussels, Jansenius was favoured because his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, although elementary, stood out in contrast to the complete ignorance of his competitors. Moreover Jansenius had the support of Jacob Boonen, the archbishop of Malines. In a letter of 27 March, Jansenius informed Saint-Cyran about his appointment and observed that as a '*lectio quotidiana*' the assignment required him to give some 145 classes a year, which would leave him with at least 220 days at his disposal to indulge in other kinds of research! As on earlier occasions, Jansenius indicated that he hoped the annotations from their period in Camp-de-Prats would prove to be very useful when it came

October 1620, *Cor.*, nr. 19, p. 65. Comp. Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, 7 July 1623, *Cor.*, nr. 63, p. 234: writing about the theologians of Louvain, Jansenius exclaims that '... il n'y a lieu où Seraphim [=St.-Augustin] est tant revere comme icy'.

to the time-consuming teaching,¹¹⁸ but he also, however, continued to appeal to his friend of old to supply him with additional information that could be helpful for his courses, which were to begin with the book of Genesis and would eventually encompass the entire Pentateuch. He hoped to include some concise 'political' considerations, analogous to those he used to hear in person from his friend Saint-Cyran. He further declared that 'the moral considerations were of little benefit, since he had to keep it brief', which, he added, 'induced him to limit himself to the literal sense of the books'. And he added that the supply of passages they had harvested from the works of the Fathers in Gascony, were very much of service, despite the fact that more than half concerned the mystical and allegorical senses.¹¹⁹ In his preface to Genesis, Jansenius pleads the case for the primacy of the literal sense, pointing to his conviction that the Mosaic books provide a historical account of events that really happened. According to Jansenius, the spiritual sense is legitimate in as far as it is sustained by the literal, historical reading of the books. In order to discover the latter, the sense that the inspired writer had in view or that is most favoured by the context (or at least not impeded by it), the Bible commentator may draw on human science and knowledge, albeit that human philosophy must be brought into accordance with the Scriptures' sense (rather than the Scriptures' sense being brought into accordance with philosophy).¹²⁰ In the commentary itself, Jansenius' attention to the relationship between the literal and spiritual senses is limited and for the most part oriented to the patristic – that is, Augustinian – interpretation of the text. Jansenius was preoccupied with interpretation of the biblical text in the controversy with Calvin, and the reformer's name frequently appears in the Louvain theologian's commentary. He feels on home ground when the biblical verse concerns the role of faith in the process of justification, giving him the opportunity to argue against Calvin and the Protestants. It goes without saying that he repeatedly refers to Augustine in order to underpin his point of view.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, 27 March 1630, *Cor.*, nr. 138, p. 453: 'Nostre travail sur l'Ecriture me viendrait bien à propos, mais il me manque beaucoup, et sur S. Augustin je n'ay rien...' See also p. 455 n. 3.

¹¹⁹ Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, 3 May 1630, *Cor.*, nr. 140, p. 460.

¹²⁰ *Praefatio in Genesim* in Cornelius Jansenius, *Pentateuchus sive Commentarius in quinque libros Moysis*, Jacob Zegers, Leuven, 1641, pp. 6–7. Comp. Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres*, pp. 181–182; Chédozeau, 'Aux sources de la publication de la Bible en français', 2007, p. 43.

¹²¹ Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres*, pp. 183–185.

Having completed his commentaries on the Pentateuch, at an unknown date, Jansenius started his commentaries on the Gospels.¹²² In addition to an even more pronounced predilection for the literal sense, in these commentaries we also encounter his preoccupation with opposing Calvinist doctrines by means of his own interpretations regarding the Church, the sacraments and, last but not least, the question of grace and free will. His appeal to Augustine, and in particular to the Church father's anti-Pelagian writings, entices him to sporadic affirmations of the doctrines of predestination and efficacious grace. This is clearly the case in his commentary on John 10:15–16 and 26–27, where, taking the two texts together, Jansenius seems to accept that the good shepherd who laid down his life for his sheep died only for those who were predestined to be saved.¹²³ On John 10:28, Jansenius asserts that those who are predestined to eternal life are not able to fall away from it through their own will, because God's generous grace has bestowed on them the possibility and the will to persevere. And just like his teacher Jacob Jansonius, Jansenius refers in this regard to Augustine's *De correptione et gratia*.¹²⁴ In other words, the elect, who have received from God the indestructible will to long and strive for the good, will indeed never resist his grace. Efficacious grace taken in this sense did not simply deny man's free will in the same way it did according to the Calvinists, who stressed the total incapacity of man's will to resist divine grace. Affirmations of predestination – the foundation of efficacious grace – are also to be found in John 6:37, 39.¹²⁵ The orthodoxy of Jansenius' opinions with regard to predestination and efficacious grace was prone to suspicion.

¹²² Cornelius Jansenius, *Tetrateuchus, sive Commentarius in sancta Iesu Christi evangelia*, Jacob Zegers, Leuven, 1639.

¹²³ Jansenius, *Com. in Io* 10:15: 'ET ANIMAM MEAM PONO PRO OVIBUS MEIS, id est vitam ipsam pro eis liberandis profundo...'; 10:16: '... Vocantur autem Oves, vel per anticipationem, quia oves erunt, vel potius ratione praedestinationis Dei...'; 10:26: '... NON ESTIS EX OVIBUS MEIS, id est, ex praedestinati ad vitam aeternam, sed potius ad interitum, prout exponit August.'; 10:27: 'OVES MEAE, id est praedestinati, et mihi ad salvandum dati...'

¹²⁴ Jansenius, *Com. in Io* 10:28: '... Sic enim eis dabitur vita aeterna, ut ne quidem per proprium velle ab ea excidere possint: nam eis perseverandi possibilitas et voluntas divinae gratiae largitate donatur, ut latius August. de Corrept. et gratia c. 12. Insinuat autem eos e contrario in aeternum perituros, eo quod non essent ex ovibus suis, ut notat August. Tract. 48'.

¹²⁵ Jansenius, *Com. in Io* 6:37: '... AD ME VENIET, id est reipsa indeclinabiliter mihi credet: quia quos Deus ab aeterno salvandos praedestinavit, hos sine dubio secundum illud propositum suum vocabit. Nam illos solos Christo homini Pater dat, quos elegit atque praedestinavit...'; 6:39: 'HAEC EST ENIM VOLUNTAS EIUS, QUI MISIT ME, PATRIS, UT OMNE, QUOD DEDIT MIHI, ex decreto praedestinationis ejus salvandum, NON PERDAM EX EO'. Comp. 17:9: 'Ideo autem pro eis rogo, QUIA TUI SINT, aeterna salutis electione'.

Jansenius conceived his assignment as holder of the chair of Sacred Scriptures in line with the new statutes issued in the wake of the 1617 *Visitatio*. According to these statutes, the royal professor of Sacred Scriptures was encouraged to provide his audience with clear instruction and to avoid long and superfluous digressions. He had, in particular, to emphasize those biblical passages that the Protestant adversaries had diverted from their genuine sense. He had to explain the Scriptures not in the light of his own idiosyncratic opinions but according to the sense held by the Holy Church and established by the unanimous consensus of the Fathers, as the Council of Trent had required.¹²⁶ When in combat with his Protestant adversaries, in particular Calvin, Jansenius appealed to Augustine, much revered in Louvain. His mastery of Hebrew and Greek seems to have been more than satisfactory and was only to improve as he advanced in his study of Scripture.¹²⁷ Jansenius' clarity and conciseness when explaining complex and obscure biblical passages was very much appreciated in an attestation registered in the *Acta Facultatis* at the end of his professorship, in December 1635. It was moreover said that he had gained great insight into sacred doctrine through his reading of the Church fathers, and in particular Augustine, as well as his knowledge of sacred history and his skilfulness in the biblical languages. These qualities were considered to be the reason why an ever-growing audience of Louvain students attended his courses.¹²⁸

Jansenius also became entangled in political affairs. He deplored the European political strategy of Cardinal Richelieu, the French chief minister, whose alliances with both the princes of Orange in the Low Countries and the Protestant princes of Germany meant that the Thirty Years' War dragged on and the revival of Catholicism in Europe was eventually impeded. By way of criticism of Richelieu's politics and with the support of the government in Brussels, Jansenius wrote in 1635 the *Mars Gallicus*,

¹²⁶ 'Visitatio almae universitatis studii generalis oppidi lovaniensis', pp. 612–613.

¹²⁷ Jansenius to Saint-Cyran, 26 November 1632, *Cor.*, nr. 182, p. 551. Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres*, p. 177.

¹²⁸ Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres*, p. 179, with a reference to *Acta Facultatis Theologiae*, 18 December 1635, *State Archives in Belgium*, Leuven, OUL, vol. 388, f. 53v: 'regiam S. Scripturae professionem adeptus maxima discipulorum frequentia ob insignem in perplexis etiam et obscuris Scripturae locis cum brevitate claritatem suo munere hactenus functus est. ad hanc autem doctrinae lucem, perpetua SS. Patrum et praesertim Divi Augustini lectione, scientia historiae sacrae, et linguarum Latine, graece, Hebraice, egregia peritia sibi paravit aditum'. Comp. Louis Jadin, 'Procès d'information pour la nomination des évêques et abbés des Pays-Bas, de Liège et de Franche-Comté d'après les Archives de la Congrégation Consistoriale', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, vol. 8, 1929, pp. 248–260, amongst others pp. 250 and 257.

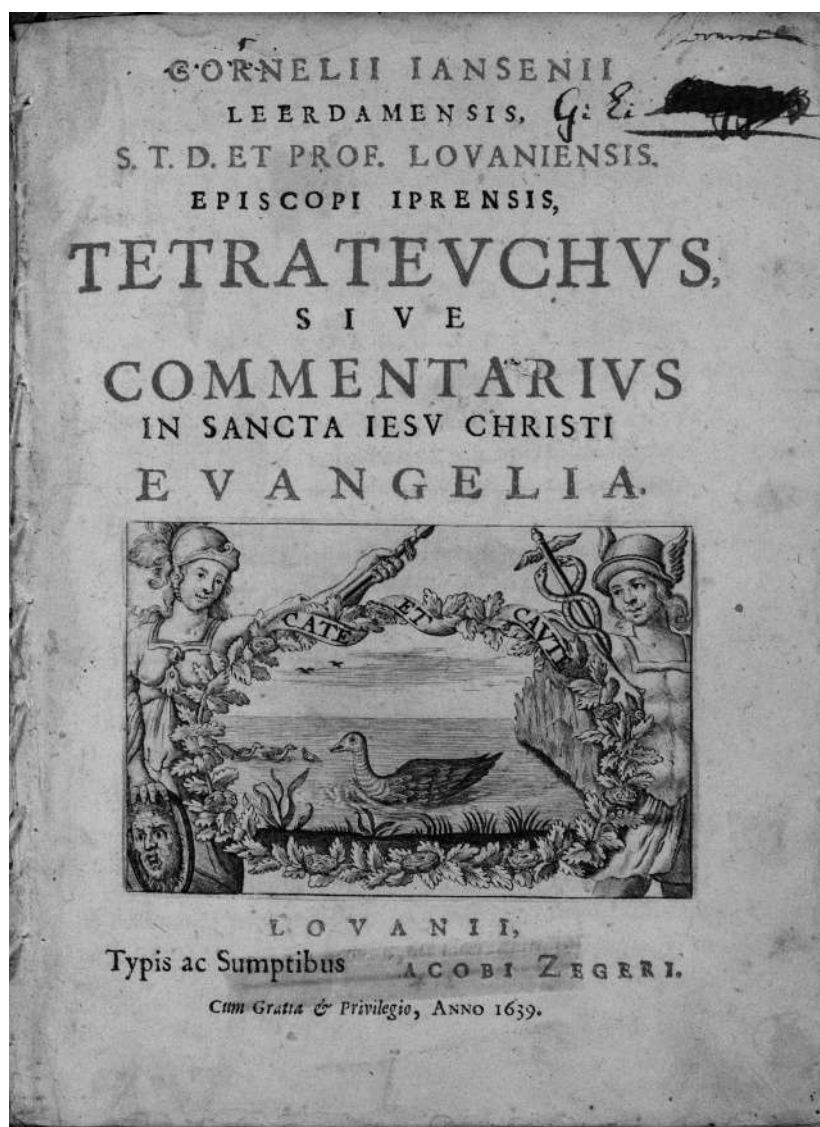


Figure 4. Cornelius Jansenius 'of Ypres', *Tetrateuchus, sive Commentarius in sancta Iesu Christi evangelia*, Jacob Zegers, Louvain, 1639 (KU Leuven, Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, Maurits Sabbe Library, 2-004083/B)

to the great discontentment of Richelieu. This work undoubtedly contributed to the development of Richelieu's determined anti-Jansenist policy in France.

Although appointed bishop of Ypres in October 1635, Jansenius was only able to take possession of his episcopal see the following year. He began making pastoral visitations in his diocese and rebuilding the episcopal palace. He maintained good relations with the clergy, secular as well as regular, including the Jesuits, whom he consulted when confronted with all kind of questions of conscience. This openness to the contribution of the Jesuits in the spheres of spirituality and pastoral care was not uncommon among Louvain theologians who became bishops, even though in the university context these men had fiercely opposed the Society's attempts to organise public lectures on philosophy and, ultimately, theology in their own Louvain college and, with the exception of Thomas Stapleton, had generally rejected the Jesuits' Molinistic theology. Jansenius brought his manuscripts with him from Louvain to Ypres: his commentaries on the Scriptures and his famous *Augustinus*, a study in three parts in which he treated the doctrine of grace and free will along the lines of Augustine's thinking and which he conceived as a contribution to the settlement of the debate 'de auxiliis' in the sense intended by Clement VIII. Although on 23 January 1638 Jansenius had obtained the necessary privileges for an edition of his commentaries on the Pentateuch and the four Gospels, these works would only be published posthumously, by his like-minded disciples and friends Libertus Fromondus, who would succeed him in the royal chair of Sacred Scripture, and Henry Calenus. Jansenius succumbed to the plague on 6 May 1638.

Jansenius' *Tetrateuchus sive Commentarius... in Evangelia* eventually appeared with the Louvain printer-editor Jacob Zegers in 1639. The commentary was followed by *Series vitae Jesu-Christi juxta ordinem temporum*, a series of the successive events in Jesus' life, with references to the scriptural passages dealing with the events in question, an exercise characteristic of the scriptural spirituality of the Jansenist milieu. Jansenius' *Tetrateuchus* would prove to be very successful and went through some 25 reprintings by printing houses in Louvain, Paris, Rouen, Lyons and Brussels, giving testimony to their wide reception. Nineteenth-century editions followed in Malines (Pierre-Joseph Hanicq, 1825) and Avignon (F. Seguin, 1853), and a French translation was edited in 1863 by the Lyonese publisher Jean-Benoit Pélagaud. Jansenius' *Pentateuchus sive Commentarius in quinque libros Moysis* was published by Jacob Zegers in 1641; some five editions of this work are known. The *Pentateuchus* was supplemented in

1644 by his *Analecta in Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Sapientiam, Habacuc et Sophoniam*, most probably the notes for the courses he taught as an ordinary professor from 1618 onwards. The propagation of Jansenius' commentaries was little hindered by the fact that some of the statements made in the commentary on the Gospel of John became the object of suspicion, in particular in the wake of the condemnation of Jansenius' *Augustinus* and the ensuing attempts to eradicate Jansenism in France.¹²⁹

Libertus Fromondus: Augustinian Theology and Bible Commentary Continued

After Cornelius Jansenius had become bishop of Ypres, he was succeeded as royal professor of Sacred Scripture at the beginning of 1637 by his former student and like-minded friend Libertus Fromondus (1587–1653).¹³⁰ Fromondus had met Jansenius for the first time in the Pedagogy of the Falcon in Louvain, where he had started his study of the liberal arts in 1604. Two years later, Fromondus had to interrupt his studies, evidently due to a lack of financial means, to work for three years as a lecturer of philosophy in the Premonstratensian abbey of St. Michael in Antwerp. After his return to the College of the Falcon, he successively taught rhetorics (1609–14) and (natural) philosophy, in particular mathematics, physics and astrology (1614–28). Meanwhile, he also studied theology, received a canonry in Tournai and completed his studies in 1628 with a doctorate.

¹²⁹ In 1660 Charles Mallet, doctor of divinity of the Paris faculty, grand vicar, canon and archdeacon of Rouen, being determined to do away with Jansenist influences from the diocese of Rouen and from the cathedral chapter in particular, pointed to 'two horrible maxims. 1) The Son of God who died for his flock, only died for those predestined. 2) The predestined cannot resist the grace that will be given them and hence they cannot perish'. Mallet was even able to have the *Tetrateuchus* delivered to the fire by the executioner, at the order of the secular magistrate in Rouen. Mallet returned to the matter in his work *Examen de quelques passages de la traduction française du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons*, Rouen, 1676, pp. 299 ff., 328 ff., 333–338, 343 ff., 346, and 352. Antoine Arnauld stood up for Jansenius' orthodoxy in his work *Nouvelle défense du Nouveau Testament de Mons contre le docteur Mallet* published in 1680. Comp. Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres*, pp. 185–186 and 188–190.

¹³⁰ Lucien Ceyssens, 'Le janséniste Libert Froidmont (1587–1653)', *Bulletin de la Société d'Art et d'Histoire du Diocèse de Liège*, vol. 43, 1963, pp. 1–46. Ceyssens was also the author of the biographical entries on Fromondus in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, vol. 19, 1981, cols. 153–157; *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol. 34, 1967, cols. 314–321; *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 5, 1964, cols. 1530–1534. See also Jacques Forget, 'Froidmont Libert', *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 6, 1913, cols. 925–929, and H Demaret, *Notice historique sur Libert Froidmont de Haccourt, docteur en théologie, professeur de l'université de Louvain, etc. et son Mémorial établi, en 1661, au chœur de l'église de Hallembaye, paroisse de Haccourt, École professionnelle Saint-Jean-Berchmans, Liège, 1925.*

In the months following his doctoral promotion, Fromondus continued to share a large house in the town with Jansenius, their 'nouvelle Sorbonne', where both men devoted themselves to the study of the sacred languages and the Church fathers, in particular Augustine. After Jansenius had been appointed royal professor of Sacred Scriptures in 1630, Fromondus succeeded him as an ordinary professor of theology, which only required him to teach a six-week course during the holidays, and as such became a canon of St. Peter's church in Louvain. In addition, Fromondus became a lecturer of theology in the abbey of Park, giving expression again to his fondness for the Premonstratensians, with whom he had already become acquainted in the abbey of St. Michael in Antwerp. He also left the 'nouvelle Sorbonne', while at the same time resuming his studies and publications in the fields of mathematics, physics and astrology (1530–36).¹³¹

After Jansenius was appointed bishop of Ypres, Fromondus' career took a new turn: he left his teaching assignment in the abbey of Park to become president of the Craendonck College in Louvain and eventually, in January 1637, succeeded Jansenius as professor of Sacred Scriptures. There had been three candidates for the position: Fromondus and, again, Henry Rampen and William ab Angelis, both of whom had been rivals of Jansenius for the same chair in 1630. Jansenius personally intervened, however, at the Council of State in Brussels in favour of Fromondus, who was beyond doubt the most competent of the three candidates. Referring to Fromondus' knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, amongst other things, the members of the Council of State voiced their preference for his candidature. On 27 January 1637 he was officially appointed to the chair. In November 1639, Fromondus became dean of St. Peter's church in Louvain and, in this capacity, vice-chancellor of the university.¹³² In 1640 Fromondus exchanged the Craendonck College for the Collège de Liège, where he was to remain president until the end of his life.

As royal professor, Fromondus was responsible for the daily classes in Scripture at the Louvain Faculty of Theology. He obviously took as a point of departure Jansenius' commentaries on the Pentateuch and on other Old Testament books and on the Gospels. Convinced of the immense value of these works, Fromondus, together with Henry Calenus, put considerable effort into ensuring their posthumous publication. Jansenius' *Tetrateuchus* was brought onto the market in 1639, his *Pentateuchus* in 1641. The titles are obviously aimed at establishing a link between the Torah of Moses and the Gospels, the former being considered a prefiguration of the

¹³¹ Ceyssens, 'Le janséniste Libert Froidmont', pp. 6–14.

¹³² Ceyssens, 'Le janséniste Libert Froidmont', pp. 14–17.

events fulfilled in Jesus Christ; the title *Tetrateuchus* may have been devised by Fromondus, who was much more inclined towards a figurative interpretation of the Bible. In 1644 Fromondus and Calenus also published Jansenius' *Analecta* on the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Habakkuk, and Sophonias.¹³³

Fromondus – who also published and defended Jansenius' *Augustinus* – made obvious use of Jansenius' writings, continuing his teacher's work by producing further biblical commentaries on the Song of Songs and, in particular, on several books of the New Testament: the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse and the Epistles, both the Epistles of Paul and the Apostolic or Catholic Epistles.¹³⁴ With the addition of Fromondus' own commentaries, the whole New Testament had been covered.

Fromondus was in less of a hurry to publish his own lectures. He did request and receive, at the end of 1652, the patent for the publication of his short commentary on the Song of Songs, after he had also received an *imprimatur* on 22 November from his good friend and colleague, the book censor Jacob Pontanus, who had also given the *approbatio* to Jansenius' works. The *Brevis commentarius in Canticum Canticorum* was published in 1653 in Louvain by Hieronymus Nempaeus (or Jerome Nempé), who had married the widow of the publisher Jacob Zegers.

Fromondus possibly had specific reasons for wanting to publish the short commentary on the Song of Songs, a biblical book that had always been popular among the mystics. He deliberately added the publication of the *Divisio animae ac spiritus*, a work of the mystically endowed Capuchin father Joannes Evangelista of s' Hertogenbosch, who lived in the Louvain monastery and had a fair amount of contact with Fromondus. As early as 1638, an attempt had been made to publish the *Divisio animae ac spiritus*, but the work did not appear, possibly because there were doubts about its orthodoxy. Lucien Ceysens has observed that Fromondus felt drawn to this sort of mystically endowed people.¹³⁵ Fromondus was after all the spiritual director for the Carmelite nuns in Louvain, who included a number of mystically endowed sisters in their midst, such as Isabella of St. Paul (†1641) and Joan of St. Francis (†1650). When Fromondus included the *Divisio animae ac spiritus* in the 1653 publication of his *Brevis commentarius in Canticum Canticorum*, to be on the safe side, he also

¹³³ Ceysens, 'Le janséniste Libert Froidmont', pp. 21–22; comp. Chédozeau, 'Aux sources de la publication de la Bible en français', 2007, pp. 40–41.

¹³⁴ A profound reading of Fromondus' work has confirmed Forget's assertion that his commentary on the Epistles is in places largely a summary of Estius' long and learned commentaries (Forget, 'Froidmont Libert', col. 928).

¹³⁵ Ceysens, 'Le janséniste Libert Froidmont', pp. 17–19.

included his own *Notulae ad libellum de animae ac spiritus divisione*, as well as John Malderus' *Iudicium de extasi perpetua*, in which the former bishop of Antwerp (r. 1611–33) had warned against the illicit sayings of the new mystics.¹³⁶ Fromondus' commentary on the Song of Songs was reprinted several times thereafter.

Ceyssens notes that with the exception of his commentary on the Song of Songs, Fromondus was not interested in the publication of his Bible commentaries. He draws this conclusion from the fact that when referring in his testament to his manuscripts, the Louvain theologian made no mention of the publication of his lectures on the Scriptures.¹³⁷ The aged professor died on 28 October 1653, his death obviously accelerated by the growing pressure from the Church authorities on the adherents of Jansenism.¹³⁸ His Bible commentaries were published posthumously: the commentary on the Acts of the Apostles (*In Acta apostolorum commentarius*) in 1654, the commentary on the Apocalypse (*Commentarius in Apocalypsum*) in 1657, and finally the commentary on the Epistles of Paul and on the Catholic or Apostolic Epistles (*Commentarius in omnes epistolas Pauli apostoli et septem catholicas*) in 1663, all by Hieronymus Nempaeus in Louvain. It was again Pontanus who delivered the approbations for the printing of Fromondus' works.

In his comprehensive biographical article of 1963, Ceyssens notes that these Bible commentaries saw little success,¹³⁹ although the grounds for this statement are not entirely evident as all these commentaries, whether individually or collected in one volume, were reprinted several times, in particular in the Jansenist centres of Louvain, Paris and Rouen. The commentary on the Acts of the Apostles in particular, must have had some resonance; the last edition dates, to my knowledge, from as late as 1819 (Henry Baumans, Louvain).

Conclusion: Biblical Scholarship in Louvain from Jansenius to Jansenius...

Between 1550 and 1650 several biblical scholars in Louvain and Douai contributed to the Golden Age of Catholic Bible exegesis. They were inspired by the Tridentine Church's aim to provide priests and preachers with a solid knowledge of the Scriptures, since these pastors were considered the

¹³⁶ Ceyssens, 'Le janséniste Libert Froidmont', pp. 38–40.

¹³⁷ Ceyssens, 'Le janséniste Libert Froidmont', p. 40.

¹³⁸ Ceyssens, 'Le janséniste Libert Froidmont', pp. 41–44.

¹³⁹ Ceyssens, 'Le janséniste Libert Froidmont', p. 45.

necessary mediators between God's Word and the laity. With the help of the biblical tongues, Greek and even Hebrew and other oriental languages, and inspired by a concern for the establishment of the true text of the Bible, the biblical scholars who appear in this chapter were seeking the literal sense, the sense of the holy text intended by Jesus and the inspired writers. For their search they equipped themselves with the insights of the Church fathers, with Augustine taking pride of place. Some *Lovanienses*, namely, professors at the Faculty of Theology, at the study houses of the orders represented in Louvain, or alumni working elsewhere, distinguished themselves in textual criticism of the Bible, although they never set this enterprise apart from their commenting on the content of Scripture; these men included John Henten, Nicholas Tacitus Zegers, Andreas Masius, and Francis Lucas of Bruges. The most important Louvain Bible commentator of the sixteenth century was undoubtedly Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent, who in combining humanist biblical scholarship with an authentic pastoral concern may be considered an exponent of the endeavour to bring about genuine renewal of the Catholic Church. Thomas Stapleton's search for the right interpretation of the Scriptures took place in the context of confrontation with the ideas of Calvin, Beza, and other reformers. Strangely enough, Stapleton referred copiously to Augustine, while at the same time interpreting the Church father through a strident Thomistic and even Molinistic understanding. In so doing, Stapleton provided a counterbalance to the growing tendency to favour Augustine's anti-Pelagian theology of grace and free will, a development to which his outstanding colleague in Douai, Guilielmus Estius, gave testimony and that left its mark on Estius' biblical commentaries. In Louvain this evolution was represented by Jacob Jansonius and came to a head in the biblical commentaries of Cornelius Jansenius of Ypres and his like-minded friend and disciple Libertus Fromondus. The pronounced biblical humanist emphasis that characterised the first part of the Golden Age of biblical scholarship had given way to a far more theological (Augustinian) reading of the Scriptures. After the death of Fromondus, the chair of Sacred Scriptures in Louvain was awarded to Nicolas Du Bois, an anti-Jansenist who was appointed for Church-political reasons and was totally incompetent as a theologian and Bible commentator.¹⁴⁰ With the appointment of Du Bois the Golden Age of Catholic Bible exegesis in Louvain came to an end.

¹⁴⁰ Lucien Ceyssens, 'La promotion de Nicolas Du Bois à la chaire d'Ecriture Sainte à Louvain (1654)', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, vol. 34, 1962, pp. 490–553.

LOOKING BACKWARDS: THE PROTESTANT LATIN BIBLE IN THE EYES OF JOHANNES PISCATOR AND ABRAHAM CALOV

Mark W. Elliott

In assessing how much and in what way the Protestant Latin bible was important for Protestants one needs to evaluate what such a thing meant to those who came decades after the main flurry of Latin bible production. To this end it shall be considered how it featured in the work of two theologians who were active in the early and mid- Seventeenth Century, one Calvinist and the other Lutheran, namely Piscator and Calov.

Piscator

Johannes Piscator (1546–1625) came from Strasbourg, then taught at Neustadt an der Haardt for a few years before finding his place at the ‘true Reformed seminary’ of Herborn in Nassau. In his commentaries on the historical books of the Pentateuch, which came out gradually over the last twelve years of his life, he used the Tremellius-Junius translation as a guide, but also offered his own translation of the biblical text in a parallel column. Thus the ‘Tremellius-Junius OT’ might well have been ‘a viable alternative to the Vulgate’¹ although it appears curious why he would give in a facing column another translation that hardly varies in substance from it, except for being a bit wordier. To investigate this requires understanding Piscator’s view of Scripture.

In his Preface to his New Testament Epistles Commentary² Piscator contends that Scripture contains three kinds of things: the true and certain, the useful and necessary, and also the pleasant. The ‘true and certain’

¹ Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius* (c.1510–1580) (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History Aldershot-Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 167.

² *Johan. Piscatoris Commentarii in omnes libros Novi Testamenti: antehac separatim editi: nunc verò in unum volumen collecti*, Herbornae Nassoviorum, 1613. The main work is still Frans L. Bos, Johannes Piscator. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der reformierten Theologie, Kampen 1932. Also useful is Walter J. Ong, ‘Johannes Piscator One Man or a Ramist Dichotomy?’, in: *Harvard Library Bulletin* 8, 1954, 151–162. For some assessment of the influence of his translation, see Rudolf Dellsperger, ‘Das Heilig Wort Gottes in der Hauptstadt’. Zum theologie- und kirchengeschichtlichen Hintergrund der Berner Piscatorbibel,

he deals with very quickly by stating that, since Scripture hands on true things, then it is clear that these were spoken by the Holy Spirit, on the grounds that Christ called him 'the Spirit of Truth'. (The reasoning is a little circular and rapid, as though not his main interest here.) Second, the 'useful and necessary things' are the right worship of God and the true happiness of humans; the former can be subdivided into two further parts (here the Ramism becomes obvious) : external and internal right worship, of which the latter is the greater and without which the former would in fact displease God. The various desirable, internal qualities are then spelled out with a host of Scripture references. Eventually he gets round to the aesthetic ('pleasant') feature of Scripture, which consists in the 'history of the Church' – whose 'status' is recounted in order from the beginning of the world right up to its very end – because the book of Revelation continues the story in the form of predictive prophecy. In all there are seven stages. What is to be learned is twofold: the number of persons in the church as it grew through the ages – with more to come when the great number of Jews convert – and the external rites through which God was honoured and worshipped. There follows a section all about how sacrifice was observed intermittently throughout the history of Israel. The aesthetic for this Reformed scholar is not only the order of the history of the saints, as per the third classification, but is to be seen most clearly when worship that has glorified God has been given priority.

Let us take an apparently random example of the translation on which Piscator based his annotations – on Lev 8:10–11.³ (The randomness is perhaps only apparent since sacrifice pervades Piscator's commentaries and theology like no other topic.) The most obvious difference between the Tremellius-Junius translation and Piscator's own is that, as Moses anointed it with oil, he (1) sanctified the tent and its contents (which might reflect a more forensic view of sanctification, rather than one in

Zwingliana 16, 1983–1985, 500–516. Andreas Mühling, 'Arminius und Herborner Theologen, am Beispiel von Johannes Piscator', in idem, *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe* (Brill's Series in Church History, 39; Leiden: Brill 2009), 115–134.

³

Tremellius & Junius: *10 Quumque accipiens Mosche oleum unctionis unxisset tabernaculum ipsum altare, & quicquid in eo erat, ut sanctificaret illa; 11 Et aspergens eo altare ipsum septem vicibus, unxisset ipsum altare, & omnia instrumenta ejus, & labrum.*

Piscator's own translation: *10 Post accipit Moses oleum unctionis, unxitque tabernaculum & quicquid in eo erat, & sanctificavit illa, 11 Et sparsit ex eo super altare septies, unxitque altare & omnia instrumenta ejus, & labrum, & scapum ejus, ad sanctificandum ea.*

which holiness is caused by a prior disposition); (2) it was the tent itself and not the altar (Tremellius-Junius kept their options open by the apposition of 'tent' and altar), and (3) Moses sprinkled the altar *for the purpose of sanctifying all these things* (absent in Tremellius-Junius). Yet for all his rearranging of the sense here, he will not change the words of his Protestant Latin bible when these denote *realia*, even though he thinks the translation could have been more accurate: '*oleum*', '*tabernaculum*', '*instrumenta*' and '*labrum*' are all kept. This is even though his *scholia* (of a philological nature), which he writes before his annotations (of an exegetical nature), note '*tabernaculum*] Heb. *Habitaculum*', and he then glosses this 'the place where God dwelled, sitting between the two Cherubim.' He also makes sure that '*sanctificare*' is understood to mean to consecrate or destine for the worship of God.⁴ There is to be no sense that what happened was anything magical. The sprinkling in the first verse is to pronounce an invisible state of affairs, and then in the second, to make the place fit for worship rather than to invest things with any ontological change. The other significant *scholia* is on verse 15, that the blood *expiates* the altar, while the oil in the previous verses, and the rest of the blood which falls on to the base of the altar, only sanctifies, that is consecrates or prepares for worship. Expiates means nothing less than 'to take away sin', so he spells it out in bold type: **Entsündigen**.

When Piscator comes in the *Annotationes* section to comment on the passage 'theologically', then he explains that the oil poured on the head of the priest symbolizes the descent of dove on Christ. Nothing else is made of that anointing of the head; for he is much more interested in what the blood (v.15) does, or rather in a small detail from that verse.⁵ The right ear lobe, the right little fingers and toes of Aaron and his sons are dipped in the blood and this is to symbolize that the good deeds of the faithful are no more than hearing the word of God sincerely and trying to live it out, except for the imperfection which clings to them yet is removed by the blood of Christ.

⁴ Scholia (p. 266) Tabernaculum] Heb. Habitaculum. Nempe habitaculum illud sacrum, ubi habitabat Deus, insidens arca federis inter duos Cherubos. Synecd generis. Sanctificaret] consecraret, destinaret ad cultum Dei.

⁵ Ibid: 'Quod infirma auricula dextra, pollex item manus dextrae, & pollex pedis dextri, in Aharone & filiis sanguine arietis illita fuerunt: videtur significasse, nullius fidelis bona opera, quantumvis dextre, id est, sincere audiat verbum Dei, & factis exprimere conetur, Deo grata esse: nisi imperfectio quae illis adhaeret. Sublata fuerit per sanguinem Christi.'

In the tradition of Christian (and Jewish) interpretation Leviticus 8 is traditionally taken to be intended as a statement about the priesthood, but one would hardly know that from reading Piscator, who prefers to use the chapter as a repository of Christian theological terms.

If we look at how the Latin bible served him when it came to the New Testament, in his preface to the Second Volume (on the Epistles),⁶ Piscator tells the reader that there should not be factions in the Church, and that Luther, Calvin and Zwingli are becoming like Peter, Paul and Apollos once were for the Corinthians. However even if there should be a generous width for differing doctrinal positions among Christians, he refuses to concede that there is any room to manoeuvre when it comes to the *practice* of fraction in the Lord's Supper. He complains that the physical breaking of bread in many churches is getting ignored, even though Christ did so before giving it to his disciples and into their hands, not mouths. One must (out of reverence for Christ) get the practical details right!

What is noticeable in these earlier commentaries on the NT letters is how the biblical text itself is not a prominent feature. It is given, as per Beza's translation, but there is no erudite linguistic *scholia* let alone an alternative translation. There is little close reading going on in his expositions. Perhaps Hebrew always seemed worth playing closer attention to, as a holy language, and Greek less so. There is something of the same motivation behind Tremellius' translation of the NT from the Syriac, which was in part undertaken in order to come closer to the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus⁷, but also, and more clearly in the case of Paul, in order to capture the *veritas Hebraica* of Paul's 'Hebrew mind' through a *veritas Semitica*. For the majority of the Reformed, who after the first edition of the Tremellius-Junius bible seem to have stated a preference for Beza's translation from the Greek over anything based on the Syriac, any complicating of matters by offering new translations of Greek words was not going to help. We have already seen Piscator's reluctance to change the translation of key words in the OT. Again, what mattered more was attention to the logic of the argument rather than to words and idioms.

There had been some controversy over the German *Lutherbibel* with the appearance of a bible at Neustadt with alleged Calvinist alterations.⁸

⁶ *Analysis Logica Epistolae Pauli ad Ephesios*. He had already finished the NT by 1589, and it was published 1591.

⁷ As Austin argues.

⁸ Jakob Andreae, *Christliche, Treuherzige Erinnerung, vermannung und warnung vor der zu Neuenstatt an der Hart nachgedruckten, verfälschten und mit Calvinischer Gotteslästerlichen -Lehr beschmeissten Bibel D. Martin Luthers*, Tübingen 1588; also, David

As for criticisms of the Latin bible itself there is a deeper issue of the continuing influence of Pagnini's translation as base for Luther and Castellio alike.⁹ The purpose of annotations adjoined to translation by the Reformed method – even of merely chapter headings and cross-references in the margin – was that no great secrets should remain unintelligible. Unlike Tremellius or Pagnini who render proper names according to transliterating Hebrew (e.g. Jews are *Jehudae*) Piscator eschews such distraction.¹⁰

To take one specific example of his treatment of the NT, Piscator comments: In verse 3 of Ephesians 1, having mentioned the heavenly blessings of justification and sanctification, Paul then ascends to bring to mind higher and more ancient benefit, that is the eternal election of God, with which he again ties a cause, that is 'the merit of Christ' when the apostle says: 'God had chosen us in Christ', that is that he would save us through Christ, he who would reconcile the grace of God to us by his merit and effect faith in us by his spirit. He then adds the final cause, which partly touches us, partly God, namely that we might live as holy; for this is to be to our nature and to the glorifying of God's name. For this sanctification of us is the action of God, by which among other things leads us to salvation and hence has the reason of the efficient cause. ...Then in verse 5 he repeats the benefit of election in other words—calling it 'predestination', and joins to it the benefit of effectual calling which is called *ὑιοθεσία*, that is adoption, by which God called us through the gospel and through the faith he gives us adopts us as sons.¹¹

Pareus, *Rettung der zu Neustadt an der Hardt in Anno 87 und 91 gedruckten Teutschen Bibel wider D. Jacobi Andreae und anderer arwider ausgesprengte unverschämte Lesterungen*, Amberg 1593.

⁹ In the spirit of 'evangelical reform', Pagnini dedicated his Bible translation of 1541 to Herman von Wied of Cologne.

¹⁰ Sanctus Pagninus, *ISAGOGAE seu introductio in SACRAS LITTERAS et mysticos sacrae scripturae intelletcus libri xix* Coloniae Apud haerdes Ioannis Quentel & Geruuinum Calenium, Anno 1563. A rather trite-sounding dismissal of doctrinal infighting leads to a peroration about the need to sail between the Scylla and Charybdis of the literal and mystical senses as he puts it, which would surely give some room to agree to disagree. Lastly, in a tantalizing afterthought, the Hebrew language is described as the primary, original human language, rather than a divinely mysterious one. The emphasis lies on the relationship of the cognitive to the ethical: learning Scripture by heart leads to mildness of life; unlike with those who learn pagan poetry.

¹¹ Piscator, *Analysis*, 1124–1125: vers.3: *Deinde altius ascendit, & superius quoddam atque antiquius beneficium commemorat, videlicet electionem Dei aeternam; cum qua rursum causam conjungit, videlicet meritum Christi, quum ait, Deum elegisse nos in Christo, id est, ut servaret nos per Christum, quippe qui nobis suo merito conciliaturus erat Dei gratiam, & suo spiritu fidem in nobis effecturus. Addit autem electionis causam finalem, quae partim nos respicit, partim Deum, nempe ut sancta vivamus: hoc enim & ad*

If we compare the notes to the Tremellius-Junius bible here¹² we note two things: a gloss of '*adoptizandos*' which Piscator completely ignores. A look at the 1577 edition with Beza's translation shows that the term *adoptizandos* is not there either, but it has crept in to later editions of Tremellius-Junius.¹³ Second, there a gloss on 'election' as that 'by which God is said to have elected us in Christ, since it seemed to him to destine along with him us who were not yet born, whom he would adopt through Jesus to be sons.'¹⁴ Again, in Piscator, there is no such sense of the eternal electing necessitating any corresponding particular 'adoptions' in time. Piscator does not make too much of this as one might expect for one who in some respect contributed to the Arminian cause, as Andreas Mühling has argued.¹⁵ 'To be adopted' is perhaps a fudge which would have pleased neither Beza nor Piscator.

Calov

Abraham Calov¹⁶ trained at Rostock between 1634 and 1637, and became Professor at Königsberg, before moving to a position as Lutheran pastor in Danzig (1643–1650), and then called getting a chair at Wittenberg. As one whose theology had to be distinctly biblical, it was only right that his main

naturam nostram instaurandum & ad nomen Dei glorificandum pertinet. Haec autem ipsa nostri sanctificatio, actio Dei est, qua nos inter alias ad salutem adducit: ac proinde rationem aliquam causae efficientis habet. Tum vers. 5 repetit beneficium electionis alio verbo, vocans scilicet praedestinationem: eique annectit beneficium efficacis vocationis qua *uiosthesian* nominat, id est adoptione, qua Deus efficaciter nos vocans per Evangelium, & fide donans, per illa ipsam fidem nos in filios adoptat.

¹² *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, sive, Libri canonici praeae Iudaeorum Ecclesiae à Deo traditi, Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, brevibusque scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio & Francisco Junio. Accesserunt libri qui vulgo dicuntur apocryphi, Latine redditi, & notis quibusdam aucti à Francisco Junio. Multo omnes quam antè emendatiùs editi & aucti locis innumeris: quibus etiam adjunximus Novi Testamenti libros ex sermone Syro ab eodem Tremellio, & ex Graeco à Theodoro Beza in Latinum versos, notisque itidem illustratos. Secunda cura Francisci Junii 1593: Sicut elegit nos k in ipso ante jactum mundi fundamentum, ut simus sancti & inculpati coram eo charitate 5 Qui predestinavit nos quos adoptaret in filios per Jesum Christum in sese, pro benevolò affectu voluntatis suae. k adoptandos.*

¹³ *Jesu Christi D.N. Nouum Testamentum Theodoro Beza, interprete., Londini, : Excudebat Thomas Vautrollerius Typographia, 1577.*

¹⁴ Qua nos dicitur Deus in Christo elegisse, quoniam videlicet ei visum est apud se nos nondum natos destinare quos per Jesum Christum adoptaret in filios.

¹⁵ 'Arminius Und Die Herborner Theologen.' (See footnote 2.)

¹⁶ Volker Jung, *Das Ganze der Heiligen Schrift: Hermeneutik und Schriftauslegung bei A Calov* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1999.) T.R. Schmeling, 'Strenuus Christi Athleta. Abraham Calov (1612–1686): Sainted Doctor and Defender of the Church', *Lutheran Synod Quarterly*, 44:4 (December 2004).

theoretical work which underlay his commentary-writing and his Systematic theology (*Systema Iocorum theologicorum*, (12 volumes, 1655–1677) was his *Criticus sacer biblicus* (1643/1672). His exegetical work comes from his Wittenberg lectures and while one can date them to the middle of the Seventeenth Century, they have a backward rather than a forward-looking spirit.

Unlike Piscator, Calov on the same passage in Ephesians made his own translation, as for all his biblical commentary on Paul's Epistles.¹⁷ His exegesis contains a direct attack on the *Calviniani*.

In the enumeration of spiritual benefits there is an order, from the eternal decree of God, from election to eternal life, towards the things in time which concern us. It is not that election is the cause of these spiritual things as the 'Calvinians' intend but that those spiritual things became from eternity, and those things [concerning us] were in time, and that the former were to be made clear by the latter thereafter, and to be made known to us through temporal blessings by which we are led to that beatitude towards which we are predestined from eternity. So with the Apostle the fore-ordination to sonship (προὐρισμος εἰς υἱοθεσίαν) follows election, not because election is prior in the order of nature to pre-ordination or predestination or is its cause...For election and predestination explain each other just as synonyms...he elected by predestining; from this verse it is clear that that the election was not made absolutely, as though out of simple will God predestined or chose some to adoption or to eternal life, or that it was because of works or merits of people, but because Christ and his merits were grasped by faith. So 'the elect' are not those who are from simple will or foreseen good works predestined to eternal life, but those who God saw would be finally believing in Christ or who would die in Christ. It is not that faith which is our act or work that is the impulsive cause of election, but this faith is nothing other than the apprehension of Christ's merits which is the only impulsive cause, which the faithful appropriate for themselves and God foresees from eternity those or these who would make it their own and would die in the faith. He does not elect us so that we be in Christ, but he elects us in Christ.

The Calvinians seek a number of different explanations but do not find anything consistent. Macovius says that God elects us that we might be holy and blameless in him. It is too forced to say that the words 'that we might be holy' relate to the goal of election. The term '*en auto*' is used to define the form or the essence of election, not its goal.¹⁸ Some of them like Gomarus

¹⁷ Abraham Calov *Annotatationes ad Ephes.*, Cap I in *Biblia Testam. Veteris [et Novi] illustrata in quibus... id imprimis sedulo agitur, ut unicus literalis Scripturae sensus undique adseratur, et confirmetvr... insertis etiam ex voto eruditorum annotatis Grotii vniversis*, Vol IV. *Francofurti ad Moen*, 1672–1676.

¹⁸ 'Varias quidem adversas explicationes quaerunt Calviniani, sed nullam consonantem & constantem inveniunt. Macovius *Elegit nos, ut essemus sancti & inculpati in ipso*, id

(*Opera* III disp X thLVII) want to make it the principle efficient cause and yet Johann Cocceius (p299) refutes this. No, προῳρισμός εἰς υἱοσθεσίαν means that he did not predestine some people but rather that he intended a goal of 'perfect adoption'. There are also those who recognize that '*en auto*' is to be rendered 'in him', and to be explained that in Christ means that God elects us as members in the head, as with Zanchius and Polanus: head then members. But the Apostle is discussing our election not the election of Christ, and not of such an order of election. This order does not suit the Calvinians' hypothesis, when they state that we are elected at first not absolutely but then thereafter...Others recognize that we are to be adopted (*adoptizandos*), as Beza adds, in Christ as Mediator. But it is not for us to add to Scripture. For what certitude is there left in Scripture? He does not elect so that he would adopt us in Christ, as Piscator would like along with Beza, but chose us in Christ for eternal life, as the Apostle puts it.¹⁹ It pleases me more that the cause be noted as to why God elected us, such that the sense be: he elected us in Christ, that is on behalf of Christ, as the Helvetic Confession and Hyperius have it. So it is not only the execution of election but our election itself that is made through Christ (Chrysostom and Photius.)

Here Calov accuses Beza, — it would seem unfairly since it was only a gloss,— for tinkering with the text. Calov's dislike for the Reformed two-step approach to election in Christ is strengthened by righteous indignation on this. This might seem a little rich from one who has earlier defended Luther on Rom 3:28 for adding 'allein' to 'durch den Glauben'.²⁰ Yet what he has attempted is to divide and conquer the Reformed exegetes as they tried to follow the logic of the Pauline text.

coactum nimis est, & verba illa, *ut essemus sancti*, ad *finem* electionis pertinent. Vox autem *en auto* ad electionis formam vel *quidditatem* definiendam adhibita est, non ad finem ejusdem.' (Vol IV, 648).

¹⁹ 'Sunt quo agnoscant quidem, *en auto* reddendum esse in ipso, sed id ita explicare, quod in Christo, ut membra, in capite, nos elegerit Deus, velint cum Zanchio de nat. Dei librV ap 2 & Polano in Didasc pag 41, quod scilicet ordo monstretur, primum caput esse electum, deinde membra in capite. Sed Apostolus de electione nostri, non vero de electione Christi agit, nec de ordine tali electionis hic quidquam tradit. Ut taceam, quod ordo ille non conveniat hypothesibus Calvinianorum, cum statuant, primum nos absolute electos esse, deinde vero consilium de nostri redemptione per Christum...Ideoque alii agnoscunt, in Christo ut Mediatore ADOPTANDOS, quod Beza addit. Sed nostrum non est, Scripturae aliquid addere...Quae certitudo tum relinqueretur in Scriptura? Non elegit, ut *in Christo adoptaret nos*, ut Piscator cum Beza vult, sed elegit nos in Christo ad vitam aeternam, ut habet Apostolus.' (ibid.)

²⁰ Calov, at *Annotationes*, 67 claims that Luther on Romans 3:28 can be defended as having employed a German idiom; for what does 'not justified by works' mean than 'justified by faith alone'? Some earlier Catholic versions had done the same.

Calov also offered his own account of the history of the Protestant Latin bible.²¹ In it he complements the combination of faithfulness and clarity in Sebastian Muenster's translation (1525–1534/1539 & 46), which Isidore Clarius plagiarized in 1540. At the same time Pagninus' translation was popular with Louvain theologians, while Matthias Polus found it to be 'maxime literalem'. Luther was complementary of both Muenster and Pagninus.²² His fellow Lutheran Lucas Osiander (1534–1604) worked with the Vulgate in order to produce an improved version of that, instead of starting from scratch. It is indeed interesting that Osiander's Lutheran attempt did little more than take the Vulgate and try to amend it.²³ This is partly explained by his vocation of controversial theologian in hot debate with Catholics. Calov then relates the story of the Zürich bible fairly much without comment. The Tremellius-Junius version beloved by the Dutch became the basis for the Dutch bible, without always being authoritative. That Latin bible was 'Hebraising' and had many occasions of bold interpolations supposedly to help with the meaning of the text. A. Rivet (d. 1650) of Leiden has noted its excessive licence and called it more elegant than accurate, although, thinks Calov, its attempt to be accurate also causes it to lose all elegance. Drusius (Arminian Orientalist at Franeker, d. 1616) was probably too hard on it but Matthias Polus is too kind, while damning it with faint praise ('*nimiis eam laudibus magis oneret, quam ornet.*') He notes Piscator's efforts: the annotations which were used when Luther's bible was translated into Dutch, the *scholia* and the translation which came later (1646), but Calov holds him accountable for an earlier German bible of 1604 whose language was unworthy of being called German, and what is worse was based on Tremellius-Junius.

However as might be expected, Calov is strongest when reporting the Lutheran contribution. He returns to consider Lucas Osiander's paraphrases to which his annotations to the bible were added in 1612. These have been much undervalued, he thinks. Osiander always looked to

²¹ *Praeloquium Generale : XIV De versionibus Scripturis.*

²² Calov reports Luther's opinion of the achievements of Muenster & Pagnini (Tom VIII Jen. Germ de Schem-hamphor: Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi, 1543): 'Das ist zween feine Männer Sanctes und Münster studio incredibili & diligentia inimitabili die Biblia verdolmetschet/viel gutes damit gethan/aber die Rabinen ihnen etwa zu mächtig/dass sie auch der Analogie des Glaubens gefehlet/und der Rabbinen Glosse zu vil nachgehänget haben.'

²³ Lucas Osiander, *Sacrorum Bibliorum secundum veterem seu Vulgatam translationem, ad fontes Hebraici textus emendata: et breui ac perspicua explicatione illustrata* (Tübingen: G. Gruppenbachius, 1592.)

express the literal sense of the original and showed brevity even in inserting short theological commonplaces in the spirit of Luther and Brenz, and Calov himself has gained much from using these. But the best thing is that Osiander seemed to favour the conservative approach of just altering the Vulgate where necessary. Those without German were missing out on Luther's 'labore saluberrino' so Osiander saw his task to get some of that across in the notes he supplied. He makes the point that if one translates too literally then there is still need for interpretation and so this creates uncertainty. Scripture is to be read and clarity is most important, for there are enough matters in Scripture which are unclear in content without adding things by having language that is obscure. Osiander claimed that he often gave only one interpretation even in places where the meaning was contested; for the work is not for scholars but disciples. He by-passed all the hermeneutical difficulties of which Flacius supposed Scripture was full. Also, as his dean at Tübingen said, Osiander was learned in Hebrew but 'not addicted to commentaries of Hebrews'.²⁴

We can observe here that Calov concurs with Piscator in valuing the clarity of Scripture. Yet something of the spirit of Osiander's winning paraphrases had rubbed off on Calov, as can be seen in his treatment of the same OT passage with which we began our discussion of Piscator.²⁵

Osiander's paraphrases work to explain the point of what was going on in the priestly preparations. The oil is the same as used in all holy things, and serves to make the priest ideal as one who were obedient to the High Priest. This means that the significance for the Church very much concerns the function of the priesthood as preaching the gospel and presenting Christ crucified in the sight of the people's (as often as they hear the gospel so often Christ is crucified for them, as though placed before their eyes), not in offering up the mass.²⁶

²⁴ Last of all, Calov mentions the paraphrase of German bible, the so-called *Ernestina* (which was a team-project under the auspices of Ernest, Duke of Saxony, with J. Gerhard on Genesis ; D. Olsnerus on Leviticus.)

²⁵ Pars II *Levitici: De Personis* Caput VIII.

²⁶ Lucas Osiander, *Quinque Libri Moysis Iuxta Veterem Seu Vulgatam Translationem, Ad Hebraeam veritatem emendati, brevi ac perspicua explicatione illustrati* (Tübingen: G. Gruppenbachius, 1573), 555: 'Tulit & unctionis oleum, quo linit, seu unxit Tabernaculum, cuius compositio in Exod cap.30 prolixè describitur, cum omni suppellectili sua, deest: & sanctificavit ea (unguendo scilicet oleo sacro.) Cumque [sanctificans] aspersisset altare septem vicibus oleo sacro, unxit illud eodem oleo, & omnia vasa eius, quicquid suppellectilis ad sacrificia requirebatur: labrumque, in quo abluebant Sacerdotes manus ac pedes operaturi sacris, cum basi sua sanctificavit oleo, i. unguendo consecravit sacris usibus. Quod sacrum oleum fundens etiam super caput Aaron unxit eum, & consecravit, seu sanctificavit eum, ut esset idoneus obeundo summo sacerdotio. Filios quoque eius oblatos consecravit, Heb.

In turn, Calov on Lev 8:10–12 does not waste much time on the syntax which corresponded to theological details in Piscator's mind. He is much more concerned with a bigger picture, by zooming out to discuss: 'who are priests?' The events which are here related, argues Calov, did not take place on the same day as the Princes of Israel received their gifts as in Num 7:1, as Tremellius and Junius comment on this passage. The strength of the Reformed bible in drawing concordant parallels, for Calov, can actually be a weakness when the wrong parallels are chosen. Exod 29:36f is the right text to help us understand Lev 8, for it shows us just how consecration is done: Moses, as Lev 10:12 observes, anointed Aaron because he, Moses, was prophet of the Lord; just as elsewhere kings were anointed by prophets—1 Sam 10:1; 16:13; 2 Reg 9:1–6; 1 Reg 19:15; 2 Reg 8:18— until the line is set up and the priests take over the consecration. So here Aaron must be washed, so that the reader might be put in mind of a high priest of that kind, who needs purification...he had to be adorned with sacred clothing because, deformed by sins, he is not allowed to go forwards without the clothing of the innocence of Christ, whose breastplate alone gleams with the clarity and integrity (made known through Urim and Thummim). He then quickly turns to argue (against Bellarmine) that while Moses was a prince, he was not a priest too, so as to be a type of Pope. There is no proof he was a high priest. The Lutheran 'two kingdoms' doctrine is preserved from attacks on both sides. A priest is a minister and a preacher or prophet. Unlike Piscator, the traditional view of Leviticus 8 as concerning priesthood has returned, even though in this Lutheran vision, the priest is no superhuman, but a witness to Christ.

Conclusion

One might draw from the evidence presented that the Reformed place the emphasis on the letter of the text, and Lutherans on the spirit behind it. Of course, that sounds like a caricature and needs nuancing: indeed, Piscator

Adduxit (ablutos prius cum patre Aarone, aqua) vestivitque tunicis [lineis] & cinxit baltheis: imposuitque capitibus eorum mitras, ut hoc habitu in posterum, rem sacram facturi, uterentur, ut iusserat Dominus. Nam & hi inferiores Sacerdotes sacrificaturi erant. [Ministri autem Evangelii sacrificant: non, quando Christum in Missa offerunt (quod nusquam in sacris literis, nec praeceptum a Domino, nec observatum ab Apostolis legitur) sed quando Evangelion, de passione & morte filii Dei, auditoribus proponunt: ut fiduciam suam in meritum & expiationem Christi collocantes, per fidem consequantur remissionem peccatorum suorum. Quoties enim Evangelion audiunt: toties illis Christus crucifixus quasi ob oculos est positus.

wished to write good Latin and not be bound by Hebrew names, and his whole interpretation served Christological dogmatics, at points in the text where this could be done. Calov wanted to squeeze as much Christian meaning out of as many verses as he could and therefore his exegesis attends more closely to more Scripture than in his Reformed counterpart. Yet in his Christocentric, almost Christomonist vision, the Latin bible is a servant rather than a master.

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