# THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF

# THE BIBLE

## FROM 1450 TO 1750

EDITED BY

EUAN CAMERON

This volume charts the Bible's progress from the end of the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment. During this period, for the first time since Antiquity, the Latin Church focused on recovering and re-establishing the text of Scripture in its original languages. It considered the theological challenges of treating Scripture as another ancient text edited with the tools of philology. This crucial period also saw the creation of many definitive translations of the Bible into modern European vernaculars. Although previous translations exist, these early modern translators, often under the influence of the Protestant Reformation, distinguished themselves in their efforts to communicate the nuances of the original texts and to address contemporary doctrinal controversies. In the Renaissance's rich explosion of ideas, Scripture played a ubiquitous role, influencing culture through its presence in philosophy, literature and the arts. This history examines the Bible's impact in Europe and its increasing prominence around the globe.

EUAN CAMERON is Henry Luce III Professor of Reformation Church History at Union Theological Seminary and Professor of Religion at Columbia University. His publications include *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (2000); *Interpreting Christian History: The Challenge of the Churches' Past* (2005); *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250–1750* (2010); and *The European Reformation, Second Edition* (2012).

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF
# THE BIBLE

The *New Cambridge History of the Bible* series comprises four volumes which take into account the considerable advances in scholarship made in almost all biblical disciplines during the previous forty years. The volumes respond to shifts in scholarly methods of study of the Old and New Testaments, look closely at specialised forms of interpretation, and address the new concerns of the twenty-first century. Attention is paid to biblical studies in Eastern Christian, Jewish and Islamic contexts, rendering the series of interest to students of all Abrahamic faiths. The entire *New Cambridge History of the Bible* offers a comprehensive account of the development of the Bible from its beginnings to the present day, but each volume can also be read independently, providing a substantial contribution to the scholarship of the period it covers. The *New History* will provide an invaluable resource for scholars, researchers and students alike.

LIST OF VOLUMES:

Volume 1: *From the Beginnings to 600*
EDITED BY JAMES CARLETON PAGET AND JOACHIM SCHAPER

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EDITED BY RICHARD MARSDEN AND E. ANN MATTER

Volume 3: *From 1450 to 1750*
EDITED BY EUAN CAMERON

Volume 4: *From 1750 to the Present*
EDITED BY JOHN RICHES

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF
THE BIBLE

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VOLUME 3

From 1450 to 1750

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*Edited by*
EUAN CAMERON

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# *Preface*

This volume in the *New Cambridge History of the Bible* has, like its companions in the series, been the work of many hands and of more years than any of us intended. Throughout it all I have appreciated and benefited from the help and support of Kate Brett and Laura Morris, successive religion and theology editors at Cambridge University Press. Their encouragement and occasional spurring-on has enabled me to believe that I could complete editing a project of this size while heavily committed in so many other areas.

My thanks go out above all to the many contributors who have made this volume possible. To those authors who wrote their contributions early in the process, and have endured patiently while the volume reached its final form, I owe infinite thanks for their promptness, civility, and tolerance. To those authors who bravely took on the most challenging, complex commissions and wrote, often under pressure of time, works of astonishing scope, I offer my admiration as well as gratitude. All alike have collaborated in the book's production stages helpfully and promptly when asked. The preparation of the manuscript for the press has been made easy and collegial by the copy-editing team of Regina Paleski and Mary Starkey.

Histories of the Bible are products of a particular historical and cultural moment. We write the history of sacred texts once we appreciate that, how-ever sacred we may hold them, they are products of their cultural environ-ment. As human society takes different forms and undergoes new influences, approaches to ancient texts change and develop. No age in the history of Scripture saw more dramatic transformations in attitudes to the Bible than the early modern period in Europe. It has been a privilege – and a challenge both intellectually and spiritually – to observe those transformations through the eyes of my colleagues and fellow-historians.

E. C.

# *Abbreviations*

| | |
|---|---|
| ASD | [Desiderius Erasmus], *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1969–) |
| *Calvini Opera* | [John Calvin], *Joannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz and E. Reuss (Braunschweig and Berlin: Schwetschke & Son, 1853–1900), vols. xxix–lxxxvii of *CR* as below |
| *CHB* 3 | *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. iii: *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963) |
| *CR* | *Corpus Reformatorum*: vols. i–xxviii comprise [Philipp Melanchthon], *Philippi Melanchthonis Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*, ed. C. G. Bretschneider et al. (Halle: C. A. Schwetschke & Son, 1834–60); many vols. available online at http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/002707182, accessed 5 January 2015; vols. xxix–lxxxvii comprise [John Calvin], *Joannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz and E. Reuss (Braunschweig and Berlin: Schwetschke & Son, 1853–1900); many vols. available online at http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/777068885.html, accessed 5 January 2015 |
| *CWE* | [Desiderius Erasmus], *Collected Works of Erasmus* [in English translation] (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1974–) |
| Darlow and Moule | *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 vols., compiled by T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule (London: Bible House, 1903–11) |
| *DBI* | *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Alberto M. Ghisalberti et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960–) |

| EE | [Desiderius Erasmus], *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols., ed. P. S. Allen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906–58) |
|---|---|
| FVB | *French Vernacular Books: Books Published in the French Language before 1601 = Livres vernaculaires français: livres imprimés en français avant 1601*, ed. Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, 2 vols. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007) |
| HBOT II | Magne Sæbø, Michael Fishbane and Jean Louis Ska (eds.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, vol. II: *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008) |
| Herbert | A. S. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible, 1525–1961, Revised and Expanded from the Edition of T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule* (London and New York: British and Foreign Bible Society / American Bible Society, 1968) |
| LB | [Desiderius Erasmus], *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia: emendatiora et auctiora*, 10 vols., ed. Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736) (Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden]: Petrus Vander Aa, 1703–6) |
| Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra* | Jacques Le Long (1665–1721), *Bibliotheca Sacra in binos syllabos distincta: quorum prior qui jam tertio auctior prodit, omnes sive textus sacri sive versionum ejusdem quavis lingua expressarum editiones: nec non praestantiores MSS. codices, cum notis historicis & criticis exhibit*, 2 vols. (Parisiis [Paris]: Apud F. Montalant, 1723). The first edition appeared in 1709 |
| LW | *Luther's Works*, American edition, 55 vols., ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and H. T. Lehmann (St Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia Publishing House / Fortress Press, 1955–86) [selections in English] |
| MPL | J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia cursus completus, sive bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS. patrum, doctorum, scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum*: Series latina, 221 vols. (Parisiis [Paris]: Apud Garnieri Fratres, editores et J.-P. Migne successores, 1844–91); online edition available at http://pld.chadwyck.com/ (by subscription) |
| NCE | *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn., 15 vols. (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2003; supplements continuing) |

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|---|---|
| *NCHB* 2 | *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 11: *From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) |
| *NPNF* | *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church: First Series*, 14 vols., ed. Philip Schaff et al. (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1886–90); *Second Series*, 14 vols., ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1890–1900) [in English translation: numerous reprints and online editions] |
| *Oxford DNB* | *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: In Association with the British Academy: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, 61 vols., ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edition available at www.oxforddnb.com/ (by subscription) |
| STC (2nd edn.) | A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (eds.), *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*, 3 vols., 2nd edn., revised and enlarged, begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by K. F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91) current, online version is the English Short Title Catalogue available at http://estc.bl.uk |
| Tanner, *Decrees* | Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. [continuously paginated] (Georgetown: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990) |
| Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* | Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* or *Summa Theologiae*, Latin original available online at www.corpusthomisticum.org/iopera.html, based on the 1888 Roman edition, accessed 5 January 2015; *English translation by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province*, 22 vols. (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1911–36); *Summa Theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation, Introductions, Notes, Appendices, and Glossaries*, 60 vols. and index (London and New York: Blackfriars/McGraw-Hill, 1964–80); citations follow the original subdivisions of the work |
| *TRE* | Gerhard Krause, Gerhard Müller et al. (eds.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 36 vols. (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1977–2005)] |
| Valla, *Annotationes* | Lorenzo Valla, *In Novum Testamentum ex diversorum utriusque linguae codicum collatione annotationes*, in |

| | Lorenzo Valla, *Opera omnia*, 2 vols. (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1962), vol. 1, pp. 803–95 |
|---|---|
| Valla, *Collatio* | Lorenzo Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, ed. A. Perosa (Florence: Sansoni, 1970) |
| VD16 | *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts: VD 16*, herausgegeben von der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München in Verbindung mit der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, ed. Irmgard Bezzel (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983–); online version available at www.bsb-muenchen.de/en/catalogues-databases/special-collections/early-and-rare-printed-books/16th-century-vd-16/, accessed 5 January 2015 |
| WA | Martin Luther, *M. Luther, Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 58 vols. plus indexes [many vols. subdivided] (Weimar: Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1883–1948) |
| WA Br | Martin Luther, *M. Luther, Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*: *Briefwechsel*, 12 vols. plus indexes (Weimar: Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1930–67) |
| WA DB | Martin Luther, *M. Luther, Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*: *Die Deutsche Bibel*, 12 vols. (Weimar: Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1906–61) |
| WA TR | Martin Luther, *M. Luther, Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*: *Tischreden*, 6 vols. (Weimar: Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1912–21) |
| Westcott | Brooke Foss Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 3rd edn. rev. by William Aldis Wright (London: Macmillan & Co., 1905) |
| Wing | Donald Goddard Wing (comp.), *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English books printed in other countries, 1641–1700*, 3 vols., 2nd edn. (New York: Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, 1972–88) |

# Introduction

EUAN CAMERON

This volume takes up the story of the Bible where volume II left off, near the end of what is conventionally known as the Middle Ages in Europe. As that volume amply demonstrated, the Bible had saturated the intellectual, literary and artistic culture of Europe and the Near East for centuries, through its presence in Judaism, Christianity, and also in Islam. It had seen the rise of structures and systems that regulated the relationship between Scripture and people, and then the emergence of forces that challenged those systems. Progressively greater assertiveness on the part of the eleventh-century Roman papacy contributed to the mutual excommunications of 1054 and confirmed a long-standing trend for the cultures of the Greek East and the Latin West to diverge, though they never entirely lost contact. From the so-called Gregorian movement of the eleventh century in the Latin West, the clergy had distinguished itself from the laity by layers of sacramental and legal privilege. That separateness had contributed to an educational and scholarly system where the Bible was normally interpreted within cathedral, monastic and later university communities, all composed in one sense or another of 'clergy'. The Bible remained the fundamental source text for both Christian theology and canon law in the Middle Ages. However, as both these disciplines developed their own superstructures of philosophical elaboration and circumstantial exegesis, the whole Bible had tended somewhat to recede into the background, reached through the filters and layers of tradition and authoritative interpretation rather than directly. That perceived 'eclipse' of the Scriptures helped to provoke movements of dissent and heresy by the end of the medieval period, though none of those offered a comprehensive replacement for the prevailing religious system. John Wyclif and Jan Hus challenged the academic mode of theology from within, to some extent in the name of Scripture and its authority. Similarly, movements of lay literacy and lay piety infringed or questioned the separation between the literate, Latin-reading clerical elite and the rest of the people. However, these challenges mitigated

and challenged the structural exclusiveness of medieval religion: they did not bring about decisive structural change.

Change would come in abundance with the sixteenth century. Many of the fundamentals of life in Europe were transformed from 1450 onwards. These processes are well known, and they are largely assumed in the chapters that follow. However, there is value in reflecting briefly on these developments, as they affected the relationship between the Bible and Europe's cultural and religious life. First, the Eastern Empire finally lost its autonomy as a political structure. Between around 1450 and around 1530 the Ottoman Empire rolled over the remains of East Rome, from Constantinople to Greece and the Balkans, until its advance was halted at the first siege of Vienna in 1529. The Austrian Habsburg city would remain a frontier town on the south-eastern edge of political Christendom until near the end of the seventeenth century. The Ottoman sultan's control over the former Eastern Empire, exercised from the old imperial capital of Constantinople, placed many, though by no means all, of the churches of the East under its hegemony. While Ottoman rule did not proscribe Judaism or Christianity in its territories, it did deprive the political structures of these religions of access to power, wealth, and a productive relationship with secular authority. That state of affairs allowed a measure of conflict, even at times of chaos, to break out within the churches of the eastern Mediterranean, and limited the opportunities for creative theological scholarship in those areas. (The relative neglect of the early modern period among scholars of Orthodoxy, even today, testifies to the difficulty of researching and writing about it.) Relations between Western and Eastern Christianity, problematic enough in the Middle Ages before the Ottoman advance, became even more difficult. In the early modern period 'Europe', as a religious, intellectual and cultural space, has often been taken to mean Latin, Western Europe, with all its divisions and problems. When Russia turned its gaze towards the west around 1700 to assert its European character, it would be in the name of secular trends in philosophies and the arts characteristic of the Western Enlightenment. The Russian Orthodox Church would assume the role that it has resumed in the present age, a bastion of distinctive national ethnic memory.

And yet Western Europe transformed its image of its place on the globe, as a consequence of the unexpected, and initially misunderstood, discovery of unknown or little-remembered countries in the rest of the world. The Portuguese first provided a stimulus for expansion by exploring and cornering the route to East Asia via the Cape of Good Hope. This route circumvented the costly and often interrupted trade routes through the Near East,

dominated by the Italian maritime city-states of Venice and Genoa, and by the Ottomans. Portuguese navigators spread the (quite false) impression that the Cape route was narrow and defensible. That rumour stimulated other explorers to attempt a route to Asia by the west. In the course of that attempt the islands of the Caribbean (to be mistakenly and definitively known as the 'Indies') entered the European consciousness. Gradually awareness grew, at least among those involved in trade, exploration or cartography, that a whole new continent, or a set of continents, existed in the west between Europe and Asia. These had been unknown to the ancient geographer Ptolemy and – more disturbingly – apparently unknown also to the Christian evangelists whose 'voice has gone out to all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world' (Rom. 10:18, paraphrasing Ps. 19:4). The peoples of these places either had not heard the message of the gospel or had mysteriously lost or abandoned it, and that would pose a whole other set of dilemmas. The discoveries did not tend, as they might have done later, to discredit the Scripture that failed to show awareness of them. The European mind with elastic flexibility absorbed them somehow into a view of the world shaped by religious imperatives. The newly expanded world must be absorbed into the European world system, remade into places called 'New … [Spain, Netherland, France, England]' where the social mores and, of course, the religion of Europe would be confirmed and spread as widely as possible. Alternatively, the supposedly empty wildernesses could offer a living-space where marginal groups – or those who felt themselves marginalised – could play out their biblical destinies in all their fullness. In sum, the opening up of new worlds initially stimulated the affirmation rather than the abandonment of a worldview shaped by Scripture.

One other historical development is both obviously important and yet controversial in its impact. For centuries the Bible, like every other written text, had relied on the patience and accuracy of scribes for making new copies. From the 1450s, the printing press using movable type became available, and its first substantial product was a Latin Bible. The press by no means eliminated scribal error: indeed, it might contribute to making errors permanent, by reproducing them many hundreds of times. However, when combined with the trends in textual scholarship that emerged in the late Renaissance, the printing press offered enticing and nearly infinite possibilities. In principle the learned could produce stable, identical, affordable copies of the masterworks of European literature, in editions that would allow conversation to take place around an agreed and identical text. In

practice, the new technology spread more randomly, and was dominated by the concerns of businesspeople with money, far more than by the expectations or the visions of scholars.[1] Initially it tended to produce the same kinds of books as the scribes had made, but in greater numbers and at less cost in time and effort. As time went by the potential that we take for granted in printed books, to make standard information readily accessible through accurate referencing and indexing, began to be realized. For biblical scholarship the press would be a transformative tool. Its shadow can be detected, and its presence taken for granted, throughout the story of this volume.

## A new attitude towards texts

Something fairly dramatic happened, towards the end of the Middle Ages in Europe, to the way that scholars viewed historic texts, including the Bible. To the high medieval mind texts served as repositories of statements and propositions that could be evaluated against each other according to the principles of logic, of dialectic. Sacred or otherwise canonical texts stood as authorities, as storehouses of transferrable wisdom. 'Authorities' could be applied, according to the rules of dialectic, even some way out of context if need be. This approach to language, reason and truth helped to generate the medieval genre of the compilation, the digest, the *florilegium*, where texts from different periods in history, written for different purposes, were combined into large composite works. Inevitably also, the gathering of texts in this manner generated apparent contradictions. So it made sense that Gratian of Bologna's great digest of canon law carried the formal title of *A Concord of Discordant Canons* (*Concordia Discordantium Canonum*). An agile and well-trained medieval mind could reconcile apparent contradictions between authorities through logic or 'subtlety', that is, the making of appropriately fine distinctions that would show how what appeared contradictory was not truly so. For example, Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*, where it discusses the seven sacraments, offers a range of spurious reasons, many grounded in authorities, why there should be fewer or more than seven sacraments – before offering logical reasons for the number of seven and disproving all the arguments to the contrary.[2]

[1] See Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), and his Chapter 7 herein.
[2] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, III, q. 65, pt. 1.

This somewhat granular method of handling texts prevailed in theology and canon law for much of the Middle Ages, and great skill was deployed in using it. However, towards the end of the medieval centuries an alternative way of looking at texts began to come into fashion. Teachers of persuasive rhetoric in medieval Italy, known as *dictatores*, sought to produce style manuals for the writing of elegant letters and speeches in Latin. The purpose of this quest was worldly: how to win, impress or reassure a patron; how to cut a dash in politics or the law; how to impress the delegation of a rival city-state. In the nature of things, concern for style tended to become inflated as time went on. Good, grammatically correct Latin was not enough. Rhetorical Latin should follow the canons of style cultivated by the great rhetoricians of antiquity. That most subtle of quintessences, good taste, called for close acquaintance with far more of a body of literature than the propositional requirements of authorities and dialectic. By the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, scholars were seeking out not the most modern digest, but the most ancient complete text of an exemplary author. Many of these texts, forensic orations of Cicero or poems of Catullus, had not been 'lost' to Europe in any absolute sense: they were simply lying discarded in great libraries like the monastic library of St-Gallen, since they served no purpose for the intellectual exercises favoured in the Middle Ages. The hunters for the most ancient, most primitive text of a cherished author grew more skilful as time passed. Enthusiasts for antique texts developed methods of discerning what might be the oldest and most authentic reading. Texts were compared with texts; attempts were made (often dramatically mistaken) to ascertain the true age of the most ancient manuscripts available. Scribes began to imitate the style of the scripts in what were thought to be late antique manuscripts. As a consequence there revived in fifteenth-century Europe the 'Roman' style of writing, which in reality was a form of Carolingian minuscule dating from a previous classical revival in the court of Charlemagne. The type in which this book is printed derives directly from that change in fashion.

So an ancient text was, for the rhetoricians, grammarians and stylists of the fifteenth century, something to be restored and conserved in its entirety and integrity, to be understood for its style as much as its contents. Such conscious antiquarian interest in text became the hallmark of what would become called 'good letters' or the 'humanist' movement. 'Humanist' was originally a somewhat minimalist term, to denote someone who taught good grammar: it came to be freighted with greater significance as the movement gained momentum, encompassing attitudes to ethics, politics and the right way to live. Knowledge of classical literature in Latin could not fail to stimulate curiosity about the

Greek language and literature, from which so much of ancient Roman culture drew its models and its inspiration. While knowledge of Greek had never entirely disappeared from the medieval West, it had become an exceptional ability rather than something routine. From the early fifteenth century, scholars of Greek, often of Byzantine origins, began to take formal or informal teaching positions in Western Europe, spreading knowledge of Greek where they went, in Italy, then in France and elsewhere through their pupils and their writings.[3] The initial impulse for learning Greek in the West was literary, rather than biblical or patristic. By the early sixteenth century François Rabelais's *Gargantua* could claim, with slight exaggeration, that it was a disgrace to call oneself learned without a knowledge of Greek.[4] Two consequences followed. First, since the pressure to learn Greek came initially from the students of literature and rhetoric, theologians had no direct interest in guiding, let alone restraining this development. Secondly, the learned of Europe, but not necessarily the theologically learned at first, acquired competence in one of the ancient biblical languages. As Jill Kraye demonstrates in her chapter below, it proved an irresistible temptation for literary scholars such as Lorenzo Valla and Giannozzo Manetti to deploy their Greek scholarship in the service of what became known as 'sacred philology'. Coincidentally, such scholars confronted the fact that the New Testament was written in a Greek stylistically far inferior to that of the great orators or historians of ancient Greece.

The ripples of the new philology did not of course stop at Greek. Classical scholars, admittedly in much smaller numbers, sought out knowledge of Hebrew, and in due course Arabic and other more exotic languages.[5] An interesting piece of evidence reflects this enthusiasm for exotic philology in Renaissance literature. One of the most mannered and self-indulgent cultural products of the high Renaissance, the fantasy novel *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, first published in 1499, featured an illustration of three doorways representing three life choices, each labelled in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic.[6] Here, however, the implications of learning new (but very old) languages could

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[3] See Jill Kraye's Chapter 2 herein.

[4] See Gargantua's letter to Pantagruel in *Pantagruel* (1532): 'Maintenant toutes disciplines sont restituées, les langues instaurées: grecque, sans laquelle c'est honte que une personne se die sçavant, hébraïcque, caldaïcque, latine … J'entens et veulx que tu aprenes les langues parfaictement. Premierement la grecque comme le veult Quintilian, secondement, la latine, et puis l'hébraïcque pour les sainctes lettres, et la chaldaïcque et arabicque pareillement.' François Rabelais, *Les Cinq livres de F. Rabelais*, 2 vols. (Paris: Flammarion, 1906), vol. 1, pp. 163–4.

[5] See Chapter 1 herein.

[6] [Francesco Colonna], *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of Love in a Dream*, ed. and trans. Joscelyn Godwin (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), p. 135.

not fail to engage the attention of religious professionals. Almost inevitably, learning the sacred languages of Judaism and Islam meant working either with believers or with converts from those faiths. Those Christians who did not have roots in either of those traditions but who nevertheless learned Hebrew found themselves, initially at least, somewhat suspect in the eyes of the over-sensitively orthodox. Over the preservation of post-biblical Hebrew literature the most notorious cause célèbre of early sixteenth-century scholarship broke out, the Reuchlin–Pfefferkorn affair of the 1510s. That recondite dispute over the preservation of Hebrew talmudic and other literature, little understood by most observers at the time, allowed those who so wished to caricature traditional, Latin-only theologians as immoral and lazy obscurantists. Trivialised as many responses to the episode may have been, the Reuchlin affair had a discernible impact on what followed in the Western European church. Those shortly to be entrusted with the defence of orthodoxy found themselves figures of ridicule.

The revival of classical and ancient languages in the early modern period was always a work in progress. Given the continuing estrangement of Eastern and Western churches, and worsening relations between Christianity and Judaism in most of Europe in the sixteenth century, Christian scholars had to establish their own traditions of linguistic teaching and textual as well as literary scholarship. There was much to learn, and it took longer than the period covered by this book. The early propaganda for Renaissance 'sacred philology' sometimes betrayed an overly optimistic view of the challenges ahead.

## The fracturing of Western Christendom

One challenge could neither have been foreseen nor prepared for. From the early 1520s Western Christianity began to break into fragments to a degree and in a way not seen before. There had been schisms before, where the polity of the church was divided between rival claimants for power. There had been religious disagreement and dissent, more easily identified once the concept of 'heresy' acquired a legal and theological definition from the early thirteenth century onwards. Calls for 'reform', usually meaning a greater conformity between the ideals and the performance of ecclesiastics, had been made repeatedly through the Middle Ages. However, through all these conflicts two assumptions about the medieval church had persisted despite challenges and criticism. It was believed that the places, the people and the things of Christian worship, above all the sacraments and the material around them, were holy, set apart and special. Secondly, the way for human beings

to overcome their sinful and creaturely natures was to acquire a transferable quality called 'grace', which could be increased by regular contact with the holy. The religious life of medieval Christians was largely built around the winning of grace through participation in the holiness channelled and purveyed through the Catholic Church.

In 1500 there was no sign that so fundamental a way of thinking about the Christian religion would change radically across much of Europe in the coming decades. Yet so it proved. No glib summary can do justice to the complexity of the story. One part of the story revolves around the spiritual and theological struggles of Martin Luther (1483–1546). Like many another serious monastic, he found himself oppressed by a sense of sinfulness, and questioned whether all the religious acts that he carried out could possibly make up for his fundamental deficiencies. Unlike others affected by the familiar monastic disease known as 'scruples', he responded by thinking through the problem theologically. He did so in passionate engagement with the texts of Scripture that he expounded in the classroom, as a newly minted professor of theology in the new university of Wittenberg. Luther, as he reflected on the process in later life, told how he had resolved his doubts through some very bold and creative exegesis of biblical texts. He decided that the 'righteousness of God revealed in the Gospel' (Romans 1(:16–17)) could not mean what conventional exegesis said that it meant, the 'justice' of the just God who punished sinners: or else no one could be saved.[7] Rather, he concluded that 'righteousness of God' meant what he called the 'passive righteousness', the acquittal, the 'state of being judged to be guiltless' which belonged properly only to Christ, but which God offered to human beings as a gift for Christ's sake. 'Righteousness of God' was, he claimed, a phrase like others in Scripture, where 'the work of God … is, what God does in us, the power of God, with which he makes us strong, the wisdom of God, with which he makes us wise, the strength of God, the salvation of God, the glory of God'.[8] The 'righteousness of God' was the righteousness with which God makes righteous those who are not essentially righteous at all. That was what the prophet Habakkuk had meant when he had written 'the righteous person shall live by his faith'.[9]

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[7] The words 'righteousness' and 'justice' are both expressed by the Latin *iustitia*, so the term was ambiguous and susceptible of diverse interpretations.

[8] Luther offered these reflections in the preface to the 1545 edition of his collected works, the so-called 'autobiographical fragment': see *LW*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 323–38, based on *WA*, vol. liv, pp. 179–87.

[9] Habakkuk 2:4: the Vulgate reads 'iustus autem in fide sua vivet'.

This bold and highly creative piece of exegesis might have remained merely a spiritual solution to a personal dilemma, but for a whole set of coincident factors, and Luther's own genius as a theological expositor and publicist. The theological implication was this: if righteousness was something offered by God, despite the intrinsic unworthiness of the human recipient, then all the religious acts done to acquire 'grace' were not just insufficient but radically misguided. Human beings were rushing around to try to make themselves holy through religious exercises, when God neither asked nor required such things of them. Theologians had for centuries been asking 'How can human beings become holy enough to be saved?': it now appeared that they had been asking quite the wrong question. Human beings were saved despite their radically insufficient holiness.

It is by no means easy to see how and why this interpretation gained so much traction in sixteenth-century Europe. For Luther it remained a doctrine of comfort, suited to a former monastic tormented by his sense of unworthiness. For others, almost certainly, it resonated with philosophical doubts about the church's claims to purvey its material 'stuff' for the good of souls. There is no doubt that the Renaissance provoked in many religious people a yearning for the spiritual above and beyond the material. The idea that contact with 'holy' physical objects could make anyone more inwardly holy had taken a beating from some Neo-Platonising humanists, before the Reformation theologians assaulted it further. While Luther himself resisted philosophising in matters of faith, others, from Erasmus to the theologians of Zurich, were not so restrained.

A furious row broke out from 1517 onwards, which crystallised the abstract theology around a specific practice, and brought these issues to a level of public perception and attention that they might otherwise never have gained. Luther issued a strident but, in terms of its content, quite conservative protest against the issuing of 'indulgences' in the neighbouring province of Mainz. These indulgences traditionally relieved living penitents of the burden of penitential exercises imposed since their last confession. However, by this stage they were also being advertised as available to assist the souls of the departed from purgatory to heaven. Officially, they did not do this with quite the same certainty as they could assist the living; but that subtlety was lost on the preachers who advertised them. Those who marketed them engaged in a fairly transparent effort to raise money for various ecclesiastical causes. Luther argued that the way these indulgences were being marketed posed a danger to souls: those who purchased them, in search of an easy way to salvation for themselves or their loved ones, would almost certainly not gain what they hoped. Despite

the complexity of the reformer's arguments, the notion that the clergy was exploiting the people with spurious and costly token services caught the imagination of a sceptical public. The clumsy efforts of the hierarchy to silence or suppress Luther's views made him a popular hero, while his highly effective pamphleteering won him ever greater celebrity. From the early 1520s onwards the prestige of the old church suffered irretrievable reverses across much of northern Europe. A new understanding of the role of the church itself, based on the theological principles of the Reformation, undergirded drastic changes in the public practice of Christianity. New statements of belief were adopted. New, simpler and less burdensome forms of worship took the place of the old order. The clergy ceased to be a legally separate caste of celibates protected by walls of privilege, and became married citizens. The reformed 'churches' were distinct local polities: they were administered by the lay community, directly or indirectly, even where the church remained autonomous and was not subsumed in civil government.

This seismic shift in religious belief and practice both depended upon and profoundly affected the use of Scripture. Previously, laypeople had been expected obediently and munificently to carry out the religious acts and purchase the religious services provided by their clergy. Now they were called to a new form of religious life, which rested first of all on understanding and accepting the grace promised in the gospel. They were expected to listen, read and learn the contents of their faith. This shift from ritual acts to learning texts changed the relationship between people and the Bible, though in a subtle way. Laypeople were encouraged to have the Bible in their own language, and to learn to read it: men and women and children alike found this new expectation thrust upon them. That in turn meant that a whole new generation of translations had to be written, which did not (as the previous vernacular translations had done) presuppose familiarity with the Vulgate Latin version as a starting-point. Especially in the early days, the rhetoric was sometimes heard that people should read Scripture for themselves, and make their own choices from their reading. In practice that option barely survived the mid-1520s in those reformed churches that became formally established institutions. The Word was not so transparent in its meaning that people might not discover the wrong things if left to themselves. Indeed, many of the translations themselves roused controversy, since in a climate of disputed interpretations the choice of a single word could make a great difference. Instead of a free-for-all based on reading a bare or putatively neutral text, the Reformation provoked the writing of a vast corpus of explanatory literature, much of which is discussed in the following chapters. Confessions of faith and catechisms distilled the key

messages of Scripture into simple propositional forms. Commentaries of vast length, written or dictated by all the major reformers and many minor ones, expounded the meaning of individual books of Scripture. Sermons addressed scripture through *lectio continua*, ensuring that whole books of the Bible, not scattered pericopes, were interpreted for their hearers. All this biblical work served at least two distinct purposes (among many). It helped to confirm the truth of the reformed church's claims, for the benefit of a people who might have to take great risks because of their espousal of the Reformation. It also provided evidence for the claims made by the reformers in debate with their adversaries in other church traditions, and with their rivals in the case of disputes within a given church.

Since so much of the enterprise of reforming Christianity rested upon the authority of Scripture, even greater attention was paid to 'sacred philology', and across a broader front than before. Here a problem lay in store for biblical scholarship among Protestant theological exegetes. Their whole project depended on the expectation that, when the text and context of Scripture were properly understood, it would be clear to all that the Protestant theological reading of the Bible was the historically correct one. The risk with this approach was that sooner or later biblical scholarship would reject the tutelage of dogmatic theology, and discover scholarly fascination with the sheer untidiness of the textual record, its unresolved dubious readings and the alternative ways to construe it. As the later chapters of this book will suggest, by the end of the seventeenth century two contradictory views had coalesced around Scripture in several of the main strands of Protestantism. Dogmatic theologians became increasingly certain that the primordial text was inspired and inerrant, even in its details. Biblical scholars became increasingly doubtful that a single absolutely correct text of Scripture could ever be reconstructed: the primordial version was forever inaccessible.

Meanwhile the Roman Catholic tradition established its own distinctive view of the relationship between Scripture and church. Appreciation of Catholic views of Scripture has suffered in the past from the polemical postures taken on all sides. A complex relationship had always existed between the written text of Scripture and the traditions of the visible church on earth. Tradition, it could be argued, guaranteed the canon of Scripture; it also stipulated how the text should be read. In the sixteenth century it was agreed and established as a principle of Catholic exegesis that the Bible could not legitimately be read against the grain of well-established practices, customs and beliefs in the church. Scripture remained as it had always been, the ultimate source of doctrinal truth: however, Scripture did not subsist in some autonomous

realm apart from the teaching function of the hierarchy. In the considerable body of catechisms and controversial theology that emerged from the period of Catholic reconstruction after the Council of Trent, proof-texting of key points with passages from Scripture characterised Catholic writings every bit as much as their reformed counterparts. However, the Council took the fateful and perhaps inevitable decision to hold the Vulgate Latin translation to be the authentic version of Scripture. So much theological heritage had been based on the minute exegesis of its wording that to relegate it to the status of one translation among others would have threatened the cohesiveness of the faith. Consequently much of the energy of biblical critics within Roman Catholicism was devoted to the somewhat narrow project of trying to purify and stabilise the rather fluid text of Jerome's translation. Nevertheless, some of the most spectacular products of biblical scholarship, the Antwerp and Paris polyglot Bibles, would emerge from the setting of Catholic learning. These works were just not allowed to challenge or in any way to contaminate the agreed traditions of belief and practice, traditions that Catholic reform had so carefully and meticulously purged of its apocryphal elements and brought into alignment.

The sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries were difficult times for many in the Eastern Orthodox traditions. Both Protestant and Catholic churches reached out to those Orthodox communities to which they had access: the latter, for understandable reasons, viewed these approaches with considerable diffidence. The Catholic Church had attempted, through the Council of Florence in the mid-fifteenth century, to establish the kind of hegemony over Orthodox traditions and practices that most of the churches of the East wished to avoid. Relations between the Orthodox and reformed churches were more complex. Some among the Orthodox, most notably Cyril Lukaris, believed that useful things could be learned from the Protestant attitude to Scripture, and tried to incorporate that into their own teachings. In the East as in the West, such innovations could only provoke controversy, and duly did so.

## The shape and purpose of this volume

The structure of this volume is intended to resemble a series of concentric rings or ripples, spreading outwards from the beginnings of modern critical scholarship on the Bible in the early sixteenth century until we reach the Bible's impact on the broader culture and the wider world. The chapters immediately following this begin with the story of the recovery and growth of knowledge of biblical languages in the West in the Renaissance.

Then contributors consider the consequences for the texts of Scripture as the 'sacred philology' of the Renaissance gained a foothold: what debates were initiated, and by what stages the texts of the Bible in the original languages were edited and provisionally established. As a special case in this field of philology, Professor Hamilton's chapter considers the great polyglot Bibles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which displayed the range of scholarship available in Europe in a unique and, as it turned out, unrepeatable way. Subsequent scholars would largely abandon the attempt to confine all versions of the biblical texts in ancient languages within a single volume.

The second part of this volume considers printed translations of the Bible. While vernacular translations were of course not new, *printed* translations began in the second half of the fifteenth century. Moreover, a clear gulf in terms of intention separated the vernacular bibles of the incunabular period from those that emerged in the wake of the Reformation. The first printed translations appear to have been intended for those already familiar with the Vulgate, in large measure clergy, for whom a vernacular edition might have been a valuable study aid for preaching or exposition. Biblical translations after the Reformation – and this applies even to those produced in Roman Catholicism – were written and issued with the laity in mind. Moreover, their editors worked with the controversies of the age very much in view. Some made their theological positions extremely clear, either through the programmatic use of certain vernacular words rather than others (as in Tyndale), the expressing of preferences for some biblical books over others (as with the early Luther) or through expository annotations in the margins (as in the Geneva Bible). After a chapter explaining how the publishing business interacted with biblical scholarship, this section begins its review of translations with the unique, and uniquely problematic, case of the Bibles in Latin. The remainder of this section discusses the translations of the Bible first into the languages of the Germanic language group, then in French, English, the languages of East-Central Europe, and finally the languages of the Mediterranean. Most but by no means all of these translations issued from the movements associated with the Reformation. Some were written outside the countries where they were intended to be used. Some served to support communities of exiles formed when conflict led to repression and persecution.

The third section considers the impact of the Bible on wider issues of religion, within what might be regarded as the ordinary business of religious communities: theories of Scripture and interpretation; the use of the Bible in the different theologies of the period; and the relationship between the Bible and catechesis, preaching and liturgy. There is no specific chapter devoted

to biblical commentaries as such, since commentaries served as vehicles for theological and ethical reflections: those, and a great deal else, are discussed all over the chapters of this and the following section. In the following fourth section, contributors consider how the Bible functioned in areas of thought and inquiry beyond the specific purview of the religious life and religious belief. Even in these supposedly worldly areas biblical ideas and texts functioned as critical sources for discussion and argument. These areas include political and family life, emerging natural philosophy and 'science', rationalism, history, imaginative literature, the visual arts and music. Each of these chapters addresses a vast range of topics, in many cases on a continent-wide scale. Many of the authors have shown great courage in taking on such vast briefs, and have achieved miracles of compression in addressing their topic. Inevitably, however, these chapters should be regarded as guides for further inquiry rather than as definitive treatments of their enormous subjects. In the final section some consideration is given to the Bible in the specialised circumstances of the New World. Biblical texts and arguments permeated the European discourse about the relationship between colonisers and colonised. The Bible functioned as an ideological anchor for those seeking to sustain their Eurocentric assumptions and worldview in a very alien environment.

The 'early modern' period was one of transition. Rightly, historians are now very wary of privileging those aspects of early modernity that look forward to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The sixteenth to eighteenth centuries had their own perspectives and their own views of the world. They were still pre-modern in their attitude to the divine presence in the cosmos, in their assumptions that the history of the world was the history of the cosmos, and the story of the universe was ultimately the story of God's relationship with the human species. Nevertheless, within that pre-modern framework, the biblical scholars of the age laid the foundations for the way that the modern age edits, studies and reads Scripture. The people of the early modern period undoubtedly did not intend the fragmentation and the unrestrained criticism that their inquiries led to. They expected that deeper and closer textual investigation would lead to certainty: in fact, it led to the opposite. Naturally it took many years, and the discovery of many more manuscripts, before scholars fully adjusted to the change in perspective that a scientific approach to Scripture required. Nevertheless, the work of early modern biblical scholars served as a vital preparation for the ages that followed. Thanks to such adaptation the Bible would retain its importance as a constantly renewed source of discussion, debate and insight.

# RETRIEVING AND EDITING THE TEXT IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

# The study of tongues: The Semitic languages and the Bible in the Renaissance

ALASTAIR HAMILTON

## Introduction

Connected from the outset with other religions or other churches, the Semitic languages – Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic – were approached in early modern Europe with all the ambivalence that has characterised Western attitudes to the East through the ages. In the first part of his *Opus majus*, written shortly after 1266, the Franciscan Roger Bacon, the 'doctor mirabilis' noted for his thirst for knowledge, pleaded for the 'study of tongues'. Among the reasons he listed was 'the correction of errors and false statements without end' in the fundamental theological texts, but he also added another one: the importance of languages 'for the conversion of unbelievers'.[1] Both arguments induced the participants in the Council of Vienne, which ended in 1312, to proclaim that chairs in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic and Greek should be founded at the main European universities: Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca, and the seat of the papacy which was then Avignon.

On the one hand, therefore, there was a desire to read the Bible in the original languages, to improve on the existing translations, and to establish the most reliable text possible. On the other, there was a wish to confute the rival monotheistic faiths, Judaism and Islam, and to argue against the Christian churches of the East. The object was ultimately to convert the Jews and the Muslims to Christianity, and to bring the Eastern Christians back to the single Catholic fold. In order to achieve this goal it was essential to become acquainted with their beliefs and their customs, and that could best be done by reading their literature.

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[1] Bacon, *Opus majus*, vol. 1, pp. 87, 110.

## Hebrew

Some of the finest theologians of the Middle Ages had aspired to the knowledge of Hebrew – men such as Bede, Alcuin and Rabanus Maurus, eager to tread in the steps of Origen and Jerome.[2] In the thirteenth century the Mendicant orders had been interested in Hebrew for missionary purposes, and the Spanish Dominican Raimundo Martini had assembled material on the Jews in his notorious attack, the *Pugio fidei*, completed in 1278. Certain monastic orders, notably the Victorines in Paris, attempted to cultivate Hebrew studies, and an increasing number of monastic libraries tried to collect Hebrew texts. Nevertheless, few Christian theologians knew any Hebrew, and those who did seldom had more than a smattering. Many years passed before the proposals made at Vienne were actually carried out.

It took the enquiring and critical spirit of the early humanists to break through the accumulating prejudices against the Jews, suspected of wilfully distorting the Scriptures even by practitioners of Hebrew such as Nicholas of Lyra.[3] By the early fifteenth century we find that in Venice, which had a prosperous Jewish community, Marco Lippomanno was mastering Hebrew. His example would be followed by Giannozzo Manetti in Florence, who learnt the language first, in about 1440, from local converts to Christianity, and subsequently from a practising Jew, with the object both of arguing against Judaism and of investigating the Vulgate. Between 1455 and 1458 he was translating the Bible, and translated the New Testament from the Greek and the Psalms from the Hebrew.[4] The result was an important step towards the diffusion of the humanist persuasion that Hebrew, together with Latin and Greek, was one of the three historic languages, and should be taught and studied accordingly. In Florence Marsilio Ficino used rabbinic writings, although known from translations, in his *De Christiana religione* of 1474, and a few years later the movement acquired further vigour thanks to Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.

Pico, engaged in a search for elements common to all the great religions, was intrigued by the medieval Hebrew and Aramaic texts forming the Kabbalah: the *Bahir*, edited in Provence in the twelfth century, and the *Zohar*, produced in Castile towards the end of the thirteenth. They included a mystical and esoteric interpretation of the Bible which could be used for magical ends, and it was this that interested Pico more than the Bible itself. At the

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[2] Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt*.
[3] Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation*, pp. 63–8.
[4] Dröge, ' "Quia morem Hieronymi in transferendo cognovi" ', esp. pp. 71–9, 83–8.

University of Padua, where he had arrived in 1480 at the age of eighteen, he had benefited from the tuition of the Jewish scholar Elia del Medigo and had decided to study the Semitic languages. His true study of Hebrew, however, started in 1486 after his meeting with Flavius Mithridates, a converted Jew from Agrigento who had already toured Europe teaching Hebrew and Aramaic.[5]

The veneration for Pico in the European world of learning was of general benefit to the study of Hebrew. The German Johannes Reuchlin met him in Rome in 1490. Infected by Pico's enthusiasm for post-biblical Hebrew literature, he took instruction from the Jewish doctor Obadiah Sforno. He too became primarily interested in the Kabbalah and continued his Hebrew studies, relying frequently on the help both of converts and of practising Jews such as his other teacher, Jacob Yehiel of Loans, the emperor's personal physician. His proficiency increased, and his ability to read the Hebrew grammars in the original enabled him to produce a grammar and dictionary in 1506, two years after his friend Konrad Pellikan had issued a Hebrew grammar of his own, which must rank as the first compiled and published by a Christian.[6]

The study of Hebrew spread in Christian Europe. A number of the better Hebraists – men such as Pietro Galatino in Italy and Guillaume Postel in France – followed in the footsteps of Pico and Reuchlin and remained fascinated by the Kabbalah.[7] Many, however, concentrated on the Scriptures and on the rabbinic interpretations. The Tuscan Dominican Sante Pagnini developed his interest in Semitic languages in late fifteenth-century Florence and taught in Rome and then in Lyons. His controversial literal translation of the Bible appeared in 1528. For the Old Testament he had made abundant use of rabbinic material, and he also compiled a Hebrew dictionary and grammar based largely on the works of the rabbi David Kimchi.

At the same time Sebastian Münster, a former Franciscan who converted to Protestantism and was later given a professorship in Hebrew in Basel, went further still with the study of the language. He had been taught it by Pellikan and from 1520 on he issued a series of important grammatical and lexicographical works which were to surpass in quality those of Pellikan, Reuchlin and Pagnini.[8] Thanks to Münster, Hebrew grammar became something of a discipline in its own right which could be applied to the study of the Old Testament, but also to Jewish literature in general.

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[5]  Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 3–118, 241–2.
[6]  For a survey of Hebrew grammars see de la Lama, *Gramática hebrea*.
[7]  Secret, *Kabbalistes Chrétiens*, pp. 73–140, 151–217.
[8]  Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster*, pp. 39–47, 68–72.

Christians, however, could hardly hope to compete with members, or former members, of the Jewish communities. They remained in high demand as teachers of Hebrew and editors of Hebrew texts until well into the seventeenth century. Three *Conversos* (Spanish converts from Judaism or their descendants) would prepare the Hebrew and Aramaic texts of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible in the second decade of the sixteenth century. Jews would constantly be called upon by universities and individuals in need of tuition. Orthodox Jews such as Elijah Levita and Obadiah Sforno, and converts such as Philip Ferdinand, inspired a sense of gratitude, affection and admiration in many of their pupils. The study of Hebrew, particularly in its early phases, was thus the fruit of a more or less constant collaboration.[9]

Yet the Christian objective was still to appropriate Jewish learning, and one of the best indications of the rapid advance of Hebrew studies in the first half of the sixteenth century is the academic status they obtained.[10] In 1517, thanks to an endowment by Jerome Busleiden and the encouragement of Erasmus, a trilingual college was set up at the University of Louvain in the southern Netherlands for the teaching of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The first professor of Hebrew was a Spanish *Converso*, Matthaeus Adrianus. He had already worked in Tübingen, where his pupils included Pellikan, in Basel, where he instructed Wolfgang Capito, and in Heidelberg, where he taught Hebrew to Johannes Brenz and Johann Oecolampadius. He later taught the language briefly, and unsatisfactorily, at the University of Wittenberg.[11] In 1530 the king of France, François I, founded the Collège royal in Paris. Later to become the Collège de France, it was a humanist alternative to the Sorbonne where Hebrew, Greek and Latin, in addition to Arabic, Syriac and other oriental languages, were to be studied.[12] The professors of Hebrew included François Vatable and his pupil Jean Mercier.

Hebrew occupied an important position in the statutes of St John's College, Cambridge, originally drawn up in 1516, five years after the foundation of the college, by John Fisher, the humanist bishop of Rochester, and revised in 1524 and 1530.[13] In 1523 Robert Wakefield, who had succeeded Adrianus as professor of Hebrew in Louvain, left Germany for England when invited to lecture at

[9] Zimmer, 'Jewish and Christian Hebraist Collaboration'; Willi, 'Christliche Hebraistik aus jüdischen Quellen'; Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi*, pp. 39–41; Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era*, pp. 23–7.
[10] Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era*, pp. 27–42.
[11] de Vocht, *Foundation and Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, pp. 241–56, 369–86; Miletto and Veltri, 'Die Hebraistik in Wittenberg'.
[12] Mesguich, 'L'Enseignement de l'hébreu et de l'araméen à Paris'.
[13] Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, pp. 95–8.

Cambridge. In the following year he published his celebrated apology for the study of Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic at the English universities, the *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum, Arabicae, Chaldaicae et Hebraicae*,[14] and in 1530 he left Cambridge for Oxford. When a Regius professorship was created in Cambridge in 1540 it went to Wakefield's brother Thomas, while in Oxford it went to Wakefield's successor John Sheprey.[15]

The German-speaking universities were the most eager of all to launch the study of Hebrew.[16] Luther's emphasis on the original text of the Bible and his own interest in the language, together with the encouragement of Philipp Melanchthon, led to its being taught in Wittenberg by 1520. The first occupant of the chair was Johann Böschenstein from Esslingen, who had himself learnt it from members of the local Jewish community. Thanks to Reuchlin instruction in Hebrew was given at Ingolstadt and Tübingen, and Huldrych Zwingli made sure that it was provided at the trilingual school in Zurich. A professorship was established in Marburg in 1526 and in Basel in 1529. Johann Sturm had Hebrew studied in Strasbourg, and Calvin, who had learnt the language in Paris, Basel and Strasbourg, would insist on its being taught at the academy in Geneva. By the mid-sixteenth century, therefore, it was possible to obtain instruction in Hebrew at most northern European universities, and in many schools and academies, and by the mid-seventeenth century it was regarded as an essential part of the cultural baggage of a Protestant scholar.

The entry of Hebrew into the academic curriculum was attended by advances in the availability of Hebrew texts. Parts of the Old Testament, with rabbinic commentaries, had been printed repeatedly by Jewish typographers ever since the invention of moveable types in the fifteenth century. A Psalter had appeared in Bologna in 1477, and the Pentateuch in Bologna in 1482, in Faro in Portugal in 1487, and in Lisbon in 1491. The press of Joshua Solomon and his nephew Gerson, in Soncino near Milan, had started printing the Talmud in 1484 and produced an edition of the entire Bible in 1488. Further editions followed – in Naples (1491–3), and in Brescia (1495). The first important Christian contribution was some years later. The Dutchman Daniel Bomberg, who had settled in Venice (where he studied Hebrew under a learned Jew), printed his Great Rabbinic Bible in 1516–17.[17] The targums and commentaries, edited by a Jewish convert, Felice da Prato, in collaboration with two Orthodox Jews, Elijah Levita and Yisra'el ben Yehi'el Isserlin, in 1516–17, included those of

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[14] Wakefield, *On the Three Languages*.
[15] Greenslade, 'The Faculty of Theology', esp. pp. 316–18.
[16] Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland*, pp. 88–122.
[17] Chiesa, *Filologia storica della Bibbia ebraica*, vol. II, pp. 327–35.

Onkelos, Jonathan, Rashi, David Kimchi, Saadiya Gaon, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Nahmanides, Gersonides, and the more recent Abraham Farissol. Between 1520 and 1523 Bomberg published the entire text of the Babylonian Talmud, and in 1524–5, with the assistance of a practising Jew of Spanish origin, Jacob ben Hayyim, he brought out an expanded and improved version of the Rabbinic Bible with additional targums and comments by Moses Kimchi and others. In 1529 he went on to publish one of the classical texts on Hebrew grammar, David Kimchi's *Book of Roots*, and would also issue his more advanced grammar, the *Michlol*. The Complutensian Polyglot Bible, with the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Aramaic Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch, printed a few years earlier, was at last published officially in Alcalá de Henares in 1522.

## Rabbinic studies

The Talmud, the Mishnah, the targums and the later rabbinic commentaries were texts with which Christian Hebraists had long been familiar. Where biblical studies were concerned, the principal use to which they were put was the elucidation of terms in the Old Testament. It was to clarify the literal meaning of the Bible that they had been mainly employed by Nicholas of Lyra,[18] and by Sante Pagnini. From David Kimchi, for example, Pagnini derived his translation of the word *hedh* in the last phrase of Ezekiel 7:7. The Vulgate translation, 'gloria' (of the mountains), was based on a misreading of *hedh* as *hodh*. Kimchi suggested that the original meant 'an echo'. Pagnini accepted the suggestion and came up with the translation that was subsequently adopted in the King James Version of the Bible, 'the sounding again' of the mountains.

But the Jewish writings were also used for other purposes. We saw that the object of confuting the Jews had led, even in the Middle Ages, to the collection of information about them, and this was obtained from the writings, and sometimes with the help, of the Jews themselves. To two converted Jews determined to attack Judaism, the Germans Johannes Pfefferkorn and Antonius Margarita, we owe some of the earliest studies of Jewish beliefs, prayers and ritual. Pfefferkorn's *Libellus de Judaica confessione* appeared in 1508, and Margarita's *Der gantz Judisch Glaub* in 1530, and from then on the interest in Jewish ethnography, although frequently with the object of discrediting it, increased steadily.[19] But if anti-Jewish polemics remained an incentive, Jewish

[18] Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, pp. 137–246, 282–357.
[19] Deutsch, 'Polemical Ethnographies'.

material was also used at an early stage for a more historical end. On the one hand there was the light it could shed, not only on the customs described in the Old Testament – an object of growing interest to antiquarians.[20] On the other, as we see in the work of the German Hebraist Paulus Fagius published in the 1540s,[21] it also provided information about the habits of Jesus and his disciples. Another field in which Jewish sources were to play an important part was chronology. The first true attempt to revise the standard view of biblical chronology is generally taken to be Joseph Justus Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum* of 1583, but preliminary work had been done earlier, by Sebastian Münster in his study of the Jewish calendar[22] and by scholars such as Jean Mercier.[23]

Because of the prejudices against Judaism, however, the rabbis had to be approached with caution.[24] In northern Europe Reuchlin had distinguished himself by his heroic opposition, lasting over ten years, to the attempts of Pfefferkorn to destroy all Hebrew books owned by the Jews in Frankfurt and Cologne.[25] Inconstant though the papal attitude to the Talmud may have been, copies were officially burnt in Rome in 1553, and later editions of the text were submitted to severe censorship.[26] Erasmus had encouraged the investigation and improvement of the Vulgate through the study of Greek and the foundation of the trilingual college in Louvain, and had ultimately supported Reuchlin, but he too held an ambivalent attitude to the Jewish tradition in which prejudice prevailed and which was hardly conducive to the study of Hebrew.[27]

As the sixteenth century drew on more and more theologians nevertheless immersed themselves in Hebrew studies and displayed an exceptional acquaintance with rabbinic sources. This was at its most apparent in the Protestant world, where scholars met with greater encouragement and had less reason to fear the disapproval of the authorities. In the margins of the first Reformed translation of the Bible of 1535, Robert Olivétan gave a striking display of rabbinic erudition.[28] But acquaintance with the Jewish commentaries

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[20] For Jewish antiquarianism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds*, pp. 1–22, 33–71, 73–139.

[21] Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony*, pp. 99–118.

[22] Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, vol. 11: *Historical Chronology*, pp. 326–8; Weinberg, 'Invention and Convention'.

[23] Roudaut, 'Avant-propos', esp. pp. 11–12.

[24] Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony*, pp. 12–24.

[25] Brod, *Johannes Reuchlin und sein Kampf*, pp. 178–243; Kirn, *Das Bild vom Juden*, pp. 121–85.

[26] Parente, 'The Index'; Raz-Krakotzkin, 'Censorship, Editing, and the Reshaping of Jewish Identity'.

[27] Markish, *Erasmus and the Jews*, pp. 66–141.

[28] Engammare, 'Olivétan et les commentaires rabbiniques'.

was very far from being a Protestant monopoly. The Spanish editor of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, Benito Arias Montano, revealed his familiarity with the Mishnah in his critical apparatus, especially in his treatment of the structure of the Temple and of sacred measurements.[29] In France the highly Catholic Gilbert Génébrard, himself one of the professors at the Collège royal, had a knowledge of Jewish sources which was admired throughout Europe. In Italy, where Hebrew was taught at the Jesuit Collegio Romano founded in 1551, and where private tuition could be obtained from Jews, even a strictly orthodox figure such as Cardinal Bellarmine showed in his reports on rabbinic writings not only that he was a Hebraist but that he was prepared to accept many of the conclusions of Rashi, David Kimchi, Ibn Ezra, Gersonides and the Baal ha-Turim.[30]

Christian Hebraists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also took part in a polemic which had been started by the widely revered rabbi Elijah Levita.[31] Born in Germany but resident mainly in Italy, Levita stayed for thirteen years with the cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, to whom he taught Hebrew, and was subsequently employed by Daniel Bomberg in Venice. He produced various works on Hebrew grammar, but his revolutionary study on the punctuation and vocalisation of the Old Testament, the *Masoret ha-Masoret*, appeared in 1538 and cast doubts on the reliability of the received version that would influence biblical scholarship for generations to come. Feelings about the matter ran high. Benito Arias Montano boldly defended the Jewish tradition and the Masoretic text of the Bible.[32] The Italian Azariah de' Rossi, the only Jew who responded to Levita, on the other hand, attacked his theories in 1573–5.[33] De' Rossi's views seemed to receive further confirmation when, in 1609, the German Hebraist Johannes Buxtorf published in Basel his *Thesaurus Grammaticus*, and, in 1618–19 the entire text of the Hebrew Bible, based on Bomberg's earlier version with the targums and commentaries, and the Masoretic or grammatical notes. Buxtorf would elaborate on his faith in the Masoretic text in his *Tiberias* of 1620.[34] Levita's various arguments, however, were approved by Scaliger in Leiden, and were resuscitated in 1624 with

[29] Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds*, pp. 23–71; Dunkelgrün, 'The Multiplicity of Scripture', pp. 126–66, 262–363.
[30] Van Boxel, 'Roberto Bellarmino'.
[31] Weil, *Élie Lévita*, pp. 286–343.
[32] Fernández Tejero, 'Benedicti Ariae Montani … *De Mazzoreth ratione atque vsv*' and 'Dos tratados de Benito Arias Montano'.
[33] De' Rossi, *The Light of the Eyes*, pp. xxix, 699–709.
[34] Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, pp. 169–239.

the publication of the *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum* by the French Calvinist Louis Cappel.[35]

In the seventeenth century rabbinic and Hebrew studies, particularly in Northern Europe, received a new impetus.[36] For this there were various reasons. There still remained a desire to argue against Judaism, but the hope of converting the Jews to Christianity was placed ever more frequently in a millenarian context, and the millenarian beliefs were heightened by events such as the readmission of the Jews to England.[37] But there were also more and more scholars who rejected the dogmatic interpretations of the Bible favoured by the committed members of the visible churches and who concentrated on a philological and historical reconstruction of the world of the Old Testament. Although there were sixteenth-century precursors, such as Arias Montano, the movement only came into its own thanks to men such as Scaliger and Grotius in Leiden and John Lightfoot and John Selden in England.[38]

The students of Jewish antiquarianism shared an admiration for the twelfth-century philosopher from Spain Moses Maimonides, venerated for his *Guide of the Perplexed* and his *Mishneh Torah*, a codification of Jewish law and tradition, many editions of which appeared in the course of the sixteenth century.[39] Scaliger, Grotius, Petrus Cunaeus, Georgius Gentius, the younger Johannes Buxtorf and Selden were among the men of learning who praised him as the most rational and comprehensible of the Jewish commentators. The same view was held by the Oxford professor of Hebrew and Arabic Edward Pococke who, in 1655, himself published the Arabic text of the six prefatory sections to Maimonides' commentary on the Mishnah. In the mean time a number of mishnaic tractates had also appeared in Holland. The lead had been taken by the professor of Hebrew at the University of Franeker, Sixtinus Amama, and his pupil Johannes Cocceius published *Sanhedrin* and *Makkot* in the year of Amama's death, 1629. In 1630 the initiative was continued by Constantijn L'Empereur, professor of Hebrew in Leiden, with the publication of *Middot*. In 1634 he published a translation of *Halikhot Olam*, a useful textbook for the study of the Talmud, and in 1637 *Bava Kamma*.[40] By the 1640s

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[35] Lebram, 'Ein Streit um die hebräische Bibel', esp. pp. 29–35; Goshen-Gottstein, 'Foundations of Biblical Philology'.

[36] Feingold, 'Oriental Studies', esp. pp. 450–75.

[37] Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, pp. 190–231.

[38] Toomer, *John Selden*, vol. I, pp. 267–9, vol. II, pp. 441–562, 626–788; Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi*, pp. 158–243.

[39] His fortunes in the Low Countries are studied by Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis*, pp. 15–100, 161–259.

[40] Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies*, pp. 110–32.

the Mishnah had become of central interest to the learned millenarians, and the Dutchman Adam Boreel, a member of the circle centred round Samuel Hartlib and John Dury, was determined to produce a new edition of the entire text. He collaborated with the rabbi Judah Leon in Amsterdam, and the plan bore fruit in the 1646 edition of the Hebrew text officially edited by Joseph ben Israel and with a preface by one of the most influential rabbis of his day, Menasseh ben Israel.[41]

Thanks to Pococke a series of editions of mishnaic texts appeared in England in the second half of the century. Samuel Clarke (1624–69), who played such an important part in the London Polyglot Bible, published *Berakhot* in 1667; the Hebraist Humphrey Prideaux produced a Latin translation of part of the *Mishneh Torah* in 1679; and another of Pococke's pupils, William Guise, prepared an edition of *Zeraim* which appeared posthumously in 1690. Eight years later Willem Surenhuys in Holland would start publishing the entire text of the Mishnah. He completed what remained a monumental edition in 1703.

## Aramaic and Syriac

If it is possible to document the study of Hebrew by Christians since the first centuries of the Christian era it is less easy to do so in the case of Aramaic. This ancient north-western Semitic language, known in the West as 'Chaldee', had become the vernacular in Palestine after the Babylonian exile and remained so in the time of Christ. Not only are passages in Aramaic to be found in the Old Testament, notably in the books of Jeremiah (10:11), Ezra (4:8–6:18, 7:12–26) and Daniel (2:4–7:28), but various expressions of Aramaic origin exist in the New Testament. It was the language of the targums and part of the Kabbalah. It had long been a subject of study, and indeed of speculation, among the Jews themselves, some of whom suggested that it was earlier than Hebrew.[42]

Even if Sante Pagnini had issued an Aramaic dictionary in 1523, the first Christian scholar who actually published an Aramaic grammar and clearly distinguished Aramaic from Hebrew was Sebastian Münster in 1527,[43] thus inaugurating the systematic study of the language. Münster's example was followed by Guillaume Postel. In his *De originibus seu de Hebraicae linguae et gentis antiquitate, deque variarum linguarum affinitate* of 1538 he studied a number of Aramaic

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[41] Popkin, 'Some Aspects of Jewish–Christian Theological Interchanges', esp. pp. 8–11.
[42] Zwiep, *Mother of Reason and Revelation*, pp. 165–70; Rubin, 'The Language of Creation'.
[43] Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster*, pp. 47–50.

terms in the New Testament, and in 1554 the Italian Angelo Canini produced an Aramaic grammar in which he made considerable advances on Münster.[44]

While the proximity between Aramaic and Hebrew was emphasised by the use of a common alphabet, Syriac, which became the literary language of Aramaic-speaking Christians in the third century, was distinguished by an alphabet of its own. The language itself, however, was almost identical to Jewish Aramaic, and its first Western practitioners could be excused for overlooking the subtle differences between the two. Since Syriac was widely regarded in the West as one of the languages of the Eastern Christians, known across Asia, in some form or another, to Maronites, Jacobites, Nestorians and the Christians of St Thomas on the Malabar coast of India, it was always of the greatest importance to the Western missionaries endeavouring to unite the Eastern Christians with Rome. Postel had seen it as an instrument to that effect, and it was with the same object that the Medici printing press or Typographia Medicea, run by Giovanni Battista Raimondi in Rome in the last decade of the sixteenth century, had Syriac types cut. But Syriac was also recognised as essential for biblical studies. Aramaic–Syriac was the language of Christ and his apostles, and it was believed that a Syriac version of the New Testament might exist which was closer to the original than the Greek known to Jerome. Before the nineteenth century the Peshitta, or Syriac New Testament, probably dating from the fifth century, was held to be the earliest Syriac rendering of the text, and it was studied with increasing interest.

The introduction of Syriac in the West can be dated to the Fifth Lateran Council summoned by Pope Leo X and held in Rome between 1512 and 1517.[45] The Council was attended by a delegation of Maronites from Mount Lebanon. Three of the delegates asked permission to celebrate Mass in Syriac and one, Elia, was prepared to teach it to the Augustinian Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi from Pavia, who was commissioned by the Pope to examine the liturgy. The knowledge of Syriac in Europe spread rapidly. In 1538 Postel was on his way back to France after a long visit to the Levant and published his *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum, introductio*, which he had prepared in Venice in the previous year. Although the fashion of presenting exotic alphabets can be traced back to medieval travellers, Postel's approach was more scholarly and the alphabets more numerous and more reliable. They included Syriac. This was the first occasion on which the Syriac

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[44] Weinberg, 'Azariah de'Rossi and Septuagint Traditions', 30–2; Weinberg, 'A Sixteenth-Century Hebraic Approach to the New Testament'. For a survey of Aramaic studies see Tamani, 'Gli studi di Aramaico giudaico'.

[45] For a survey see Contini, 'Gli inizi della linguistica siriaca'.

alphabet appeared in print in a Western book. In the following year Teseo Ambrogio himself published his *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam atque Armenicam et decem alias linguas*. It contained an introduction to various alphabets, but above all to the Syriac, Aramaic and Armenian ones, to which he added specimen texts. In the mean time he had also taught Syriac to the chancellor of Lower Austria, the Swabian Johann Albrecht Widmanstadt.

In 1549 Postel travelled once more to the Levant, and acquired some manuscripts of the Gospels in Syriac which he planned to edit for his friend Daniel Bomberg in Venice (and which would later be used in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible). On his return to Europe he went to Vienna, where he assisted Widmanstadt in preparing an edition of the Peshitta. This was based mainly on a manuscript brought to Europe by Moses of Mardin, a monk from Syria sent by the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch as a legate to Pope Julius III. Moses himself also collaborated in the edition that appeared in Vienna in 1555.[46] The fine Syriac types cut for the occasion were inspired by his handwriting.[47] In the following year another fruit of Widmanstadt's collaboration with Postel appeared: *Syriacae linguae prima elementa*, the first Syriac primer, which remains a landmark in the study of the language.[48] In 1569 in Geneva a second edition of the Syriac New Testament was published, this time by an Italian Jew who had converted first to Catholicism and then to Protestantism, Immanuel Tremellius. Tremellius, however, had no Syriac types at his disposal, and consequently printed the text, which he vocalised fully, in Hebrew characters. Appended to his edition of the New Testament, but also published separately, was his Syriac grammar in which he made a distinction between Syriac and Aramaic.[49]

With the editions of the Peshitta and the grammars of Widmanstadt and Tremellius Syriac studies had got under way. Practitioners could soon be found throughout Europe. Postel's pupils, the Lefèvre de la Boderie brothers, the Flemish scholars Andreas Masius (a pupil of Moses of Mardin)[50] and the far younger Franciscus Raphelengius, would all collaborate on publishing the Peshitta (based on Widmanstadt's edition and Postel's manuscripts) in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1572), to which was appended Masius's Syriac grammar and his Syriac lexicon, the first of its kind. In 1583 Syriac studies

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[46] Brock, 'The Development of Syriac Studies', esp. pp. 96–7. See also Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah*, pp. 64–85, 131–88.
[47] Coakley, *The Typography of Syriac*, p. 33.
[48] The text is discussed and reproduced in Strothmann, *Die Anfänge der syrischen Studien in Europa*, pp. 16, 63–114.
[49] Weinberg, *Azariah de' Rossi's Observations on the Syriac New Testament*, pp. 6–10.
[50] Van Roey, 'Les débuts des études syriaques'.

received further encouragement with the foundation by Pope Gregory XIII in Rome of a Maronite college in which Syriac would become part of the curriculum. From then on Roman-trained Maronites, a number of whom would edit the Syriac and Arabic texts in the Paris Polyglot Bible of 1645, went on to teach Syriac, as well as Arabic, at the Collège royal in Paris.[51] They also produced Syriac grammars. These were mainly for use by the pupils of the college in Rome, but the grammar published by Giorgio Michele Amira in 1596 was the first to designate what is sometimes regarded as the oldest form of the Syriac alphabet by its true name, Estrangela, to point out the difference between the eastern and western dialects, and to provide a woodcut version of the 'Nestorian' or 'reformata' form of the alphabet. It was by far the best presentation of the language to date.[52]

## Ethiopic and Arabic

Although Syriac, 'the sacrosanct language', as Lefèvre de la Boderie put it, hallowed by the mouth of Jesus Christ, was applied to biblical studies, it was, as we saw, also being put to missionary purposes. The same was true of the other two Semitic languages the academic study of which was properly launched in the sixteenth century, Ethiopic and Arabic. Like Syriac they were cultivated by the Catholic Church, and Rome gained the reputation of being the place where Eastern languages could best be studied in Europe.[53] It was the city where many of the Eastern churches were represented, and one of the first of such churches was that of Ethiopia.[54]

The ruler of Ethiopia had dispatched a delegation from the Ethiopian monastery in Jerusalem to the Council of Florence in 1440, and in 1481 the Pope put at the disposal of the Ethiopians the little church behind St Peter's then known as Santo Stefano Maggiore and now as Santo Stefano degli Abissini. By the end of the fifteenth century a small number of Ethiopian monks and pilgrims lodged there. Thanks to one of them, the pilgrim Thomas Walda Samuel, Johannes Potken, a priest from Cologne, started to study Ghe'ez. He borrowed from the Vatican Library an Ethiopic Psalter, which may either have been presented by the delegates to the Council of Florence or donated a little later by Franciscan missionaries who had been sent to Ethiopia in the 1480s.[55]

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[51] Brock, 'The Development of Syriac Studies', pp. 97–101; Gemayel, *Les Échanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe*, vol. 1, pp. 242–63.

[52] Debié, 'La Grammaire syriaque d'Ecchellensis', esp. pp. 104, 110–11.

[53] Hamilton, 'Eastern Churches and Western Scholarship'.

[54] Wijnman, *Ethiopian Typography in Europe*.

[55] Lefevre, 'Su un codice etiopico della "Vaticana"'.

The result was the edition of the Ethiopic Psalter and the Song of Solomon published in Rome in 1513. This was the first book ever to be printed in Ethiopic and the first book to be printed in Rome in any Eastern language other than Hebrew, and Potken, who misleadingly called the language 'Chaldaean', also provided information about the alphabet and the grammar in his introduction. On his return to Cologne he used the same Ethiopic types to reprint the Psalter in 1518.[56] So stimulating did Konrad Pellikan find Potken's edition that he and his pupil Sebastian Münster started learning Ethiopic themselves.[57]

The Ethiopic alphabet had in fact already appeared in Bernhard von Breydenbach's popular account of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1486, and was included by Postel in his *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum* of 1538. In 1548–9 the archpriest of Santo Stefano, Tasfa Seyon, assisted by Mariano Vittorio, published the entire New Testament in Ethiopic, based on three codices in the Vatican Library, two dating from the fifteenth and one from the sixteenth centuries.[58] Three years later, in 1552, Vittorio (now assisted by Tasfa Seyon) also published an Ethiopic grammar.

Scaliger employed Ethiopic types for a calendar in the 1598 edition of his *De emendatione temporum*, but any true advance in the language had to wait until the second half of the seventeenth century. In 1656 Georg Nissel from the Palatinate, who had just set up an Ethiopic printing press in Leiden together with the Dane Theodorus Petraeus, issued his edition of the Ethiopic Song of Solomon. In 1660 he also produced the book of Ruth in Ethiopic, which would be followed by Jonah and Joel.[59] But by far the most important contribution to the study of the language consisted in the grammatical and lexicographical publications of the German scholar Hiob Ludolf. Ludolf owed his progress to the tuition of Abba Gregorius, a monk he met in Rome in 1649 and who joined him in Gotha a couple of years later. At this point Ludolf's Ethiopic studies were generously encouraged by the duke of Saxe-Gotha, Ernest the Pious, who dreamed of an association between the Lutherans and the Ethiopians, and the first edition of Ludolf's Ethiopic dictionary and grammar appeared in 1661. To his Ghe'ez grammar he would also add a grammar of the other Ethiopic language, Amharic.[60]

Arabic studies, by contrast, emerged in somewhat different circumstances. The origins of the Western interest in Arabic had no connection with the

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[56] Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis*, pp. 16–17.
[57] Bobzin, 'Miszellen zur Geschichte der Äthiopistik'.
[58] Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, pp. 227–30.
[59] Rahlfs, *Nissel und Petraeus*, vol. 11, pp. 268–348.
[60] Tubach, 'Hiob Ludolf'.

Bible. Like Syriac Arabic was spoken by numerous Christian communities in the East. Indeed, as time went by it tended ever more to replace traditional languages such as Syriac and Coptic. As the early Western missionaries in the Levant realised the dangers of trying to convert Muslims to Christianity they started to concentrate on winning over the Arabic-speaking Christians to union with Rome. Plans to reunite the churches of the East and the West bore fruit with the Council of Florence, and it was on that occasion, when the bulls had to be translated for the benefit of the Eastern delegates, that the importance of Arabic became particularly evident.[61]

But Arabic was also the language of the Qur'an, and was consequently associated with the great monotheistic rival of Christianity, Islam. Yet it was the language of a civilisation that, in the Middle Ages, was far more advanced than that of Christian Europe. Not only had the Arabs salvaged many scientific and philosophical texts from Classical Antiquity, but they produced scientific works of their own which the Europeans were keen to read and which would revolutionise the practice of medicine. These somewhat contradictory features meant that, as soon as it was possible for Christians to study the literary products of the Arabs, after the conquest of the Spanish city of Toledo in the eleventh century, an international group of scholars assembled in Spain in order to translate both the works of the Arab scientists and the Qur'an.[62] Some sort of school for translators appears to have existed in Toledo since the middle of the twelfth century, while schools intended primarily for missionaries came into existence shortly thereafter. The purpose of the missionary schools was to enable priests to win Muslims in the conquered areas over to the Christian faith and to provide them with a good enough knowledge of the Qur'an to argue against Islam. This too was what led the participants at the Council of Vienne to recommend the foundation of chairs of Arabic in 1312.[63]

For almost three centuries Arabic continued to be associated either with scientific texts or with the missions. It was thus for the missionaries that the Spanish priest Pedro de Alcalá produced the first printed Arabic grammar and dictionary written for Westerners (in Latin types) in Granada in 1505. Not until the sixteenth century did attention shift to the uses of Arabic for students of the Bible.[64]

The change is evident in one of the first examples of polyglot printing, the Psalter published by Agostino Giustiniani in Genoa in 1516. Besides the text in

[61] Hamilton, *The Copts and the West*, pp. 51–5.
[62] Burnett, 'The Institutional Context of Arabic–Latin Translations'.
[63] Cortabarría, 'L'Étude des langues au moyen âge chez les Dominicains'.
[64] Hamilton, 'Arabic Studies in Europe'.

Latin, Greek and Hebrew and the Aramaic targum, it included an Arabic version. Thirty years later, in 1546, the Jewish printer Eliezer ben Gerson Soncino in Istanbul produced a polgylot edition of the Pentateuch. It was printed entirely in Hebrew characters but, to the original text, the Targum of Onkelos and the commentary of Rashi were added a Persian version and the Arabic translation made in the tenth century by Saadiya Gaon.

It was again Guillaume Postel who played a part of vital importance not only in the study of Arabic – he compiled the first proper Arabic grammar, using Arabic types, in 1538 – but also in applying Arabic to biblical studies.[65] He had originally studied Arabic when he visited Istanbul in 1536. On his second visit to the Levant, between 1549 and 1551, he acquired an Arabic manuscript of the Epistles and Acts copied in Egypt by a Coptic scribe in the second half of the thirteenth century. Financial difficulties induced him to sell the manuscript to the Elector Palatine in Heidelberg, and in 1578 the elder Franciscus Junius, the electoral librarian, published a literal Latin translation of Acts and Corinthians, accompanied by a discussion of the variants between the Arabic and the Greek versions. In 1582 Junius's pupil Jacob Christmann appended to his *Alphabetum Arabicum* a passage from Philippians also taken from Postel's manuscript, and in 1583 another German Arabist, Ruthger Spey, employed the same manuscript to publish Galatians.

If Christmann and Spey, and, indeed the Dutch Arabist Jan Theunisz, who edited Titus in 1612, emphasised the importance of their texts as linguistic exercises, Peter Kirsten in Breslau stressed their utility for biblical studies. He too used Postel's Heidelberg manuscript when he published the Arabic Epistle of Jude in 1612, while William Bedwell, reputedly the founder of Arabic studies in England, published the Johannine Epistles in Arabic, also in 1612, mainly from the same Oxford codex from which Jan Theunisz took Titus. Bedwell collated it with a manuscript of the New Testament, dating from 1342, which Scaliger had bequeathed to the University of Leiden. He too approached the texts as a biblical scholar.[66]

In Holland Thomas Erpenius, to whom Bedwell had once taught the rudiments of Arabic and who went on to become the first occupant of the chair of Arabic at Leiden University and the author of an Arabic grammar, published in 1613, which remained unsurpassed until the nineteenth century, easily overtook his predecessors in the importance of his contributions. In 1613 he published his *Passio Domini secundum Matthaeum, Arabice*, an excerpt

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[65] Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, pp. 37–47.
[66] Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist*, pp. 40, 80–3, 138.

from Matthew's Gospel. In 1615 he edited the Arabic version of Romans and Galatians, and in 1616 the entire New Testament, using the same manuscript that had belonged to Scaliger and which William Bedwell had consulted, as well as manuscripts of his own including a codex of the Arabic Gospels dated 1271.[67] Six years later he published the Arabic Pentateuch. This too was based on a manuscript once owned by Scaliger – a Judaeo-Arabic version of a translation by a Mauretanian Jew which, Erpenius believed, was closer to the original than that of Saadiya Gaon published in Istanbul.

Erpenius, who at one point planned to publish a polyglot New Testament with texts in Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic and Armenian, hoped above all to make a major contribution to biblical studies.[68] But he also claimed to have a subsidiary purpose: to spread the Word of God in the East. And indeed, the Bible in Arabic continued to be approached from two different angles. In 1591 the Typographia Medicea in Rome had published a splendid illustrated edition of the Gospels in Arabic which was not intended for scholars but for the Christians of the East (even if the copies with an interlinear Latin translation may also have been meant for students of Arabic).[69] The two objectives, missionary and scholarly, would also be pursued by the various Maronites who participated both in the Paris Polyglot Bible of 1645 and in preparing a missionary version of the Bible (in which the Arabic was made to conform to the Vulgate) published by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in 1671.

In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the study of Arabic was instituted at ever more European universities. Postel, who was given a professorship at the Collège royal in Paris in 1538, is regarded as the first professor of the language at a European academy, and the establishment of his chair was taken as an example by one European university after another. Postel himself held a professorship in Vienna in 1554; thanks to the efforts of Scaliger the University of Leiden founded a chair in Arabic in 1599,[70] and Cambridge and Oxford followed suit in 1632 and 1636 respectively.[71]

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[67] De Jonge, 'The Study of the New Testament', esp. p. 70; Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, pp. 265–6.

[68] Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland*, pp. 86–94.

[69] The text of this and most subsequent printed editions was that of the so-called Alexandrian Vulgate, the version prepared in the mid-thirteenth century by the Copt al-As'ad ibn al-Assal, and translated mainly from a Coptic (Bohairic) version, but with additions taken from variant readings from the Greek and the Syriac. See Burkitt, 'Arabic Versions'. The pioneering study on the subject is Guidi, 'Le traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiopico'. For the manuscripts see Samir, 'La version arabe des évangiles d'al-As'ad ibn al-'Assal'.

[70] Brugman, 'Arabic Scholarship', esp. p. 203.

[71] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning*, pp. 85–115.

The academic status of Arabic meant that the language was usually studied by prospective theologians in connection with the Bible. Apologists of Arabic were eager to dissociate it from Islam, and special emphasis was placed on its proximity to Hebrew and its consequent benefits for elucidating obscure Hebrew terms. There was also a persuasion, which can be traced back to Abraham Ibn Ezra and which persisted well into the eighteenth century, that the book of Job, which presented considerable linguistic difficulties, was originally written in Arabic and that Arabic would provide the key to it.

Only in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, however, at the very time when the standards of Arabic teaching at the European universities started to decline and when Arabists were about to seek alternative means of studying the language and to divorce it once and for all from biblical studies, did an aspect of Arabic particularly relevant to the study of the Bible begin to emerge. While Arabic versions of the canonical texts of the Old Testament and the New were of relatively little use to progress in scriptural studies there was a growing realisation that Arabic was of immense interest as the language in which a number of apocryphal texts survived: the so-called Infancy Gospel published by Heinrich Sieke (Henry Sike) in 1697, the History of Joseph edited by Georg Wallin in 1722 and, above all, 2 Esdras, Simon Ockley's English translation of which was published by William Whiston in 1711.[72]

## Conclusion

During the seventeenth century the European repertory of Eastern languages, both Semitic and non-Semitic, which could be used for biblical studies, increased. The Samaritan alphabet had first been introduced by Postel in his *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum* of 1538. Scaliger and his circle were intrigued by what they regarded as its antiquity, but it was owing largely to the discovery of the Samaritan Hebrew Pentateuch and the Samaritan Aramaic targum by Pietro della Valle in Syria in 1616 that Samaritan studies were truly started.[73] The non-Semitic languages of the East followed a similar pattern. If the study of Armenian in the West had been inaugurated by Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi with his *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam Syriacam, atque Armenicam* of 1539,[74] the interest in the language,

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[72] Hamilton, *The Copts and the West*, pp. 269–73; Hamilton, *The Apocryphal Apocalypse*, pp. 253–84.

[73] See further discussion of the Samaritan Pentateuch and its impact in Chapter 29 in this volume.

[74] Strohmeyer, 'Armenian Manuscripts'.

instruction in which was usually obtained from one of the many members of the Armenian clergy in Rome or Venice,[75] intensified in the seventeenth century. Erpenius (like Giovanni Battista Raimondi before him) hoped to include it in a polyglot version of the New Testament. Many years later, in 1666, the Armenian scholar Uskan Erewanc'i availed himself of the press in Amsterdam to produce the first printed edition of the Armenian Bible based on a thirteenth-century manuscript, but with occasional alterations made to suit the Vulgate.[76] By then the language, although never part of a university curriculum, was known to many European orientalists.

Thanks to the versatile German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher in Rome, Coptic too became a subject of study after the publication of his *Prodromus* in 1636.[77] As for Persian, Gerson Soncino's 1546 polyglot edition of the Pentateuch, which included the sixteenth-century translation into Persian by Joseph ben Joseph Tavus, had aroused the interest of Franciscus Raphelengius and inspired the Vecchietti brothers, Girolamo and Giambattista, to collect Persian versions of the Scriptures for the Pope in the first years of the seventeenth century.[78] The manuscript Persian lexicon Raphelengius produced was consulted eagerly by Scaliger, who was already intrigued by Persian chronology, but it was not until 1639 that Louis de Dieu, also in Leiden, published the first serviceable Persian grammar, and 1669 that the first Persian dictionary was printed, compiled by Erpenius's pupil and successor as professor of Arabic in Leiden, Jacob Golius.[79]

In the early modern period the study of Semitic languages went through a series of changes and modifications. Thanks largely to Sebastian Münster, Hebrew grammar had been rendered independent of the strict study of the Old Testament. Anti-Jewish polemicists drew attention to Jewish ritual. The so-called Christian Kabbalists stressed the elements common to Judaism and Christianity, and the importance of Jewish sources for detecting them, while early Hebraists such as Paulus Fagius used rabbinic material to elucidate events in the life of Christ. Later scholars, like Scaliger, also put their knowledge of Hebrew to philological and historical ends rather than to purely theological and dogmatic purposes. In the course of the eighteenth century the languages of the Middle East, which had once been seen as a united source for a greater knowledge of the original versions of the Scriptures, began to drift

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[75] Levi della Vida, *Manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, pp. 215–17.
[76] Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, p. 170; Kévorkian, *Catalogue des 'incunables' arméniens*, pp. 39–66.
[77] Hamilton, *The Copts and the West*, pp. 195–228.
[78] Richard, 'Les Frères Vecchietti'.
[79] Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental Studies*, pp. 73–9.

apart. There would be a growing tendency to study Arabic primarily as an Islamic language, in conjunction with Persian and Turkish. But if these various languages had acquired the academic status and dignity that contributed to their success and diffusion in Europe, this was largely owing to their application to biblical studies.

# The revival of Greek studies in the West

JILL KRAYE

## Fourteenth-century beginnings

Although knowledge of Greek was exceedingly rare in the West during the late Middle Ages, it never died out entirely. From the ninth to the thirteenth centuries a handful of Western scholars used their abilities in the language to make a small number of Greek works available in Latin translation. The emphasis was on philosophical, theological, scientific and medical texts, serving practical purposes and needs.[1] What began to emerge in the fourteenth century, under the impetus of the nascent humanist movement, was a new desire to gain direct access to Greek works, including the great works of classical literature, rhetoric and history. The scholar who initiated this new attitude, along with so much else in the humanist agenda, was Petrarch. What sparked his interest were the many references to Greek literature which he encountered in his reading of classical Latin authors. His desire to learn Greek was motivated by the belief, which he bequeathed to his humanist followers, that it would give him a deeper understanding of the masterpieces of Roman antiquity.[2]

Petrarch possessed Greek manuscripts of the *Iliad* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I 98 inf.) and of Plato (Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1807, a ninth-century codex, which is the oldest surviving witness of the corpus and

[1] W. Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, trans. J. C. Frakes (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1988); Carlotta Dionisotti, 'The Medieval West', in K. J. Dover (ed.), *Perceptions of the Ancient Greeks* (Oxford and Cambridge MA: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 100–27; R. Beyers et al. (eds.), *Tradition et traduction: les textes philosophiques et scientifiques grecs au moyen âge latin. Hommage à Fernand Bossier* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999).

[2] P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, rev. edn., 2 vols. (Paris: Librarie Honoré Champion, 1965), vol. I, pp. 127–88; R. Weiss, *Medieval and Humanist Greek: Collected Essays* (Padua: Editore Antenore, 1977), pp. 136–92; Michele Feo, Leonzio Pilato, Antonio Rollo et al. (eds.), *Petrarca e il mondo greco: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Reggio Calabria 26–30 novembre 2001*, 2 vols. (Florence: Le Lettere, 2007).

which later passed through the hands of distinguished Italian and Byzantine humanists).[3] To his great regret, however, he was never able to read them, despite seeking the help of two scholars from southern Italy, where knowledge of Greek was kept alive in Basilian monasteries.[4] The first of these, Barlaam of Calabria,[5] taught Petrarch Greek, to little effect, in Avignon around 1342; the second, Leonzio Pilato, also from Calabria, he met in Padua in the late 1350s. Together with his friend Giovanni Boccaccio, Petrarch arranged for him to give public lectures on Greek in Florence, probably from 1360 to 1362, and to make a Latin translation of the two Homeric epics – in reality, a plodding, literal crib equipped with explanatory notes – on which both Petrarch and Boccaccio drew in their writings.[6] During his stay in Florence Pilato also produced poor Latin versions of Euripides' *Hecuba*, including only the opening verses, and of the pseudo-Aristotelian *On Marvellous Things Heard*, as well as examining the Greek texts in the famous Florentine Pandects, a seventh-century manuscript of the Digest of Roman law compiled under the auspices of Emperor Justinian; this initial exploration was not followed up until the final decades of the fifteenth century.[7]

Born in Constantinople, the Basilian monk Simone Atumano succeeded Barlaam as Bishop of Gerace in Calabria in 1348;[8] and in the early 1380s he gave private Greek lessons in Rome, where he was working on a planned trilingual (Hebrew, Greek and Latin) edition of the Bible. Like the translations of Pilato, Atumano's were painfully literal: Coluccio Salutati, an admirer of Petrarch and the first humanist chancellor of Florence, judged Atumano's Latin version of Plutarch's essay *De cohibenda ira*, made during his stay at the papal curia in Avignon in the 1380s, to be so inept that it was unreadable. Even though Salutati knew no Greek, he decided to redo the translation, transforming it from 'half Greek' (*semigrecus*) into Latin; and he tried to convince a Milanese

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[3] F. Pagani, 'Il Platone di Petrarca tra Giorgio Valla e Giano Lascaris: spigolature sul *Parisinus graecus* 1807', *Quaderni petrarcheschi* 17–18 (2007–8), 1027–52.

[4] Weiss, *Medieval and Humanist Greek*, pp. 13–59.

[5] A. Fyrigos (ed.), *Barlaam Calabro: l'uomo, l'opera, il pensiero. Atti del convegno internazionale Reggio Calabria – Seminara – Gerace . . . 1999* (Rome: Gangemi, 2001).

[6] A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio: le sue versioni omeriche negli autografi di Venezia e la cultura greca del primo umanesimo* (Venice and Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1964); [Homer], *Il codice parigino latino 7880.1: Iliade di Omero tradotta in latino da Leonzio Pilato con le postille di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. T. Rossi (Milan: Edizioni Libreria Malavasi, 2003).

[7] N. G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1992), pp. 2–6.

[8] G. Fedalto, 'Simone Atumano, un umanista poco conosciuto', in E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Der Beitrag der byzantinischen Gelehrten zur abendländischen Renaissance des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 57–66.

humanist to perform a similar operation on Pilato's equally awkward Latin version of Homer.[9]

Dissatisfaction with the sorry state of Greek studies in his day led Salutati to make what turned out to be a momentous contribution to the revival of the subject. This was to set Greek on the path to entering the humanist educational programme and establishing itself by the end of the fifteenth century as the second of the two classical languages.[10] In his capacity as chancellor, Salutati wrote to the Byzantine scholar and diplomat Manuel Chrysoloras in 1396, inviting him to teach Greek in Florence. A member of Salutati's circle who had studied with Chrysoloras in Venice whetted the chancellor's appetite for a teacher who could give him and his fellow citizens direct access to the Greek literature in which Cicero and the other Roman authors they so admired had been steeped. Many years later Leonardo Bruni, the most successful of Chrysoloras's pupils, summed up the feelings of Salutati and his disciples at the time: 'For seven hundred years now, no one in Italy has been able to read Greek, and yet we admit that it is from the Greeks that we get all our systems of knowledge.'[11]

In 1397 Chrysoloras accepted the Florentine offer, apparently lured not only by the lucrative salary and attractive conditions (he was permitted to teach a select group of students in his own home) but also by the opportunity to shore up support for the Byzantine Empire, under increasing military pressure from the Turks, by heightening awareness in the West of the value of the Greek intellectual heritage and the need to protect it at all costs. Although Chrysoloras failed to achieve his diplomatic aims he proved to be a brilliant teacher, developing simplified methods of grammatical instruction and concentrating on relatively easy Greek prose works – Lucian, Plutarch, Ptolemy, Xenophon and Isocrates, along with his personal favourites Demosthenes and Plato – which he had his pupils read and, solely as a classroom exercise, render word for word into Latin. Chrysoloras remained in Florence for just three years, leaving in 1400; nevertheless, the training he provided was so well adapted to the requirements of his students that they, along with other Italians whom he went on to teach in Milan, Venice, Rome and Constantinople, became leading

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[9] M. Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch's Lives in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2007), vol. i, pp. 67, 73–6, 97–8; Weiss, *Medieval and Humanist Greek*, p. 271.

[10] R. G. Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads: The Life, Works, and Thought of Coluccio Salutati* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1983), pp. 302–9.

[11] Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins and David Thompson (eds. and trans.), *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1987), p. 24.

figures in the next generation of humanists.[12] One of his students, Pier Paolo Vergerio, was not entirely exaggerating when he claimed, in the very early years of the fifteenth century, that Greek, having become 'thoroughly extinct' among Latin speakers, was now being brought 'back to life' by the group around Chrysoloras.[13]

## Learning Greek in the fifteenth century

During a brief sojourn in Constantinople, 1395–6, one of Salutati's protégés, Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia, managed to acquire the rudiments of Greek by taking lessons from Chrysoloras, before persuading him to accept the position in Florence and continuing his studies there.[14] In the first half of the fifteenth century, when Greek teaching was extremely thin on the ground in Italy, a number of humanists also set sail for Byzantium, staying longer than Angeli and achieving greater mastery of the language. Guarino da Verona, having met Chrysoloras in Venice in 1403, followed him back to Constantinople, where he worked for the Venetian ambassador while gaining a solid command of Greek.[15] His knowledge was surpassed, however, by that of Francesco Filelfo, who stayed even longer in Constantinople, from 1420 to 1427, and married into the Chrysoloras family, becoming sufficiently fluent to write letters and compose verse in Greek.[16] Giovanni Tortelli journeyed to Constantinople in 1435 and spent two years there, during which he encountered other Italians also seeking linguistic instruction (Antonio Cassarino and Gregorio Tifernate) and studied manuscripts of Thucydides, Dioscorides and other Greek authors.[17] As a young man Cristoforo Persona travelled to the East in order to learn Greek and then entered the Roman household

[12] J. Hankins, 'Chrysoloras and the Greek Studies of Leonardo Bruni', in R. Maisano and A. Rollo (eds.), *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del Greco in Occidente* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2002), pp. 151–97; M. D. Reeve, 'The Rediscovery of Classical Texts in the Renaissance', in O. Pecere (ed.), *Itinerari dei testi antichi* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1991), pp. 115–57, at pp. 134–7; Wilson, *From Byzantium*, pp. 8–9; Pade, *Reception*, vol. I, pp. 89–96.

[13] Pier Paolo Vergerio, 'The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth', in C. Kallendorf (ed. and trans.), *Humanist Educational Treatises* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 2–91, at pp. 48–51.

[14] Weiss, *Medieval and Humanist Greek*, pp. 255–77; P. Farzone, 'Iacopo di Angelo da Scarperia', in *DBI*, vol. lxii, pp. 28–35.

[15] G. Pistilli, 'Guarini, Guarino', in *DBI*, vol. LX, pp. 357–69.

[16] P. Viti, 'Filelfo, Francesco', in *DBI*, vol. XLVII, pp. 613–31. See Francesco Filelfo, *Cent-dix lettres grecques*, ed. É. Legrand (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892).

[17] M. Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche intorno a Giovanni Tortelli', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12 (1969), 129–96, at pp. 138–42.

of the Byzantine scholar and theologian Cardinal Isidore of Kiev.[18] Both Giovanni Aurispa and Ciriaco d'Ancona, though not in the same scholarly league as these erudite humanists, learned Greek on their various Eastern journeys: Aurispa plying his trade as a manuscript collector and dealer,[19] and Ciriaco, the Heinrich Schliemann of his day, searching for archaeological objects and inscriptions.[20]

Guarino was instrumental in introducing Greek into the curriculum of humanist schools in Italy. On his return from Constantinople in 1409 he taught in Venice, Florence and Verona, before eventually setting up a school in Ferrara in 1429, at the invitation of the Este court. Although the main emphasis was on Latin, Guarino also stressed the importance of Greek and is known to have possessed a considerable library of manuscripts (including Aristophanes, Sophocles, Homer, Hesiod, Lucian, Plutarch and Aristotle) which could be deployed for teaching purposes. Attracted by his fame as an educator and the still unusual opportunity to learn Greek, students flocked to his school, not only from Italy, but from as far away as England (Robert Flemmyng and John Free). In the late 1470s, when Guarino's school had been taken over by his son Battista, the Dutch humanist Rudolph Agricola came to Ferrara with the express purpose of acquiring knowledge of Greek.[21]

Another renowned humanist educator, Vittorino da Feltre, likewise provided Greek teaching in the school he established in Mantua. Having only a moderate proficiency in the language, which he had studied for a few years in Venice with Guarino, he usually employed Byzantine émigrés as Greek instructors, including George of Trebizond and Theodore Gaza, both of whom later achieved prominence as representatives of Greek learning in Italy.[22] Contemporary accounts of the school indicate that pupils translated works of Plutarch, Aesop and St John Chrysostom into Latin, and also studied Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus and Aristophanes (the last suitably bowdlerised by Vittorino). Before travelling to Constantinople Tortelli gained a grounding

[18] C. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 230–2.

[19] E. Bigi, 'Aurispa, Giovanni', in *DBI*, vol. IV, pp. 593–5.

[20] J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908–21), vol. II, p. 39; Ciriaco d'Ancona, *Later Travels*, ed. and trans. E. W. Bodnar and C. Foss (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

[21] Wilson, *From Byzantium*, pp. 42–7; G. Pistilli, 'Guarini, Battista', in *DBI*, vol. LX, pp. 339–45; J. Ijsewijn, 'Agricola as a Greek Scholar', in F. Akkerman and A. J. Vanderjagt (eds.), *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius 1444–1485: Proceedings of the International Conference at the University of Groningen . . . 1985* (Leiden etc.: Brill, 1988), pp. 21–37, at p. 24.

[22] J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of his Logic and Rhetoric* (Leiden: Brill, 1976); C. Bianca, 'Gaza, Teodoro', in *DBI*, vol. LII, pp. 737–46.

in Greek at the school, as did Pietro Balbi, Ognibene da Lonigo and Niccolò Perotti, all of whom later contributed to the revival of Greek studies.[23]

Relatively few of the Byzantine scholars who moved to the West either before or after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 had successful careers as teachers of Greek. Unlike copying Greek manuscripts, the most common occupation pursued by Byzantine émigrés,[24] teaching Greek in Italy required a higher level of competence in Latin than the majority of them were able to attain. In the second half of the fifteenth century, moreover, they began to face competition from Italian humanists who matched – or claimed to match – their linguistic skills in Greek and far outstripped them in Latin. Educated as philosophers and rhetoricians in Byzantium, they usually preferred to teach these subjects rather than giving lessons in Greek as a foreign language, though straitened circumstances forced some of them to take up this humbler profession.[25] A notable exception is Demetrius Chalcondyles, who held the newly established chair of Greek at the University of Padua from 1463 to 1472, before going on to teach Greek in Florence from 1475 to 1491 and then in Milan until his death in 1511.[26] Another is Constantine Lascaris, though his career was less stellar: after teaching Greek in Milan from 1458 to 1465 he moved in 1467 to the Sicilian backwater of Messina, where his renown nevertheless enabled him to attract students of the calibre of Pietro Bembo, the learned Venetian patrician and future cardinal.[27]

More than as teachers, the Byzantine émigrés contributed to the study of Greek by writing grammar textbooks suited to the needs of Westerners. In this area, too, Chrysoloras played a crucial role, as the author of the most popular Greek grammar in fifteenth-century Italy. Written, at some point before 1406, in the catechistic format often used in pedagogical works, it was entitled *Erotemata* (Questions). Its main attraction was that it appreciably simplified the Byzantine (in both the literal and figurative senses) complexities of

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[23] Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche', p. 134; Wilson, *From Byzantium*, pp. 34–41; N. Giannetto (ed.), *Vittorino da Feltre e la sua scuola: umanesimo, pedagogia, arti* (Florence: Olschki, 1981).

[24] J. Harris, *Greek Emigres in the West 1400–1520* (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 1995), p. 124.

[25] J. Monfasani, 'The Greeks and Renaissance Humanism', in D. Rundle (ed.), *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2012), pp. 31–78, at pp. 45–48 and, for a list of 'Émigré Teachers of Greek in the Renaissance', pp. 69–70.

[26] D. J. Geanakoplos, 'The Discourse of Demetrius Chalcondyles on the Inauguration of Greek Studies at the University of Padua in 1463', *Studies in the Renaissance* 21 (1974), 118–44; A. Petrucci, 'Calcondila, Demetrio', in *DBI*, vol. XVI, pp. 542–7.

[27] T. Manzano Martínez, *Konstantinos Laskaris: Humanist, Philologe, Lehrer, Kopist* (Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, 1994).

Greek grammar, reducing, for example, the fifty-six categories of nouns to just ten, though retaining the traditional thirteen verb conjugations. In 1418 Chrysoloras's former student Guarino abbreviated the work and translated it into Latin, making it even more user-friendly for the students in his school. In this form the *Erotemata* was widely adopted throughout Italy and reached print, in a Greek–Latin edition, as early as 1471.[28] Nevertheless, the *Erotemata* did not completely corner the market in Greek grammars. The Byzantine scholars Theodore Gaza and Constantine Lascaris each produced successful grammatical textbooks, both of which were printed in 1495 by the leading publisher of Greek texts in Italy, Aldus Manutius, who targeted his bilingual edition (the fourth to be printed) of Lascaris's grammar at beginners and his *editio princeps* of Gaza's, without a Latin translation, at more advanced students. The Greek grammar of Urbano Bolzanio (1443–1524), who had travelled extensively in the East and studied in Messina with Lascaris, was the first such work to be written by a Westerner and to be composed in Latin; it was commissioned and published by Aldus in 1497. A grammar in Greek, drafted by Aldus himself during the 1480s but never completed, was posthumously published in 1515.[29]

In addition to instruction in grammar, Westerners studying Greek required help with vocabulary; they therefore sought out a number of late ancient and Byzantine dictionaries: the lexica of Julius Pollux and Harpocration (second century), Hesychius (fifth century), Stephanus of Byzantium (sixth century) and Phrynichus (ninth century); and two large compendia, the Suda (tenth century) and the *Etymologicum magnum* (twelfth century), both of which were printed in 1499. What beginning students needed, however, was not works like these which were written entirely in Greek for native speakers but rather elementary Greek–Latin dictionaries. Some drew up personalised word lists based on their reading, a practice recommended by Battista Guarini;[30] while others relied on a Greek–Latin lexicon of obscure origin which circulated under the name of Cyril of Alexandria. The most influential Greek–Latin dictionary (*Lexicon graeco-latinum*) was published in Milan in 1478, followed two years later by a Latin–Greek one (*Vocabulista latino-graecus*). Both volumes were printed by the humanist publisher Bonus Accursius and edited by the

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[28] A. Rollo, *Gli Erotemata tra Crisolora e Guarino* (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2012).

[29] P. Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529: Grammars, Lexica and Classroom Texts* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Association, 2010), ch. 1: 'Greek Grammars'.

[30] Battista Guarini, 'A Program of Teaching and Learning', in Kallendorf (ed.), *Humanist Educational Treatises*, pp. 260–309, at pp. 282–3.

Carmelite monk Giovanni Crastone,[31] who was also responsible for a Latin translation of Lascaris's grammar, also published by Accursius. Rather than compiling the Greek–Latin lexicon himself, Crastone merely tidied up the alphabetical order and made additions (e.g. including the articles of nouns and the future and perfect tenses of verbs) to a dictionary which had been circulating for many decades in manuscript.[32]

Students of Greek also needed appropriate texts on which to hone their reading and translating skills. Among the prose authors regularly studied in fifteenth-century classrooms were: Aesop, Lucian, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Plutarch and Plato. Poetic texts included Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Apollonius of Rhodes, Theocritus and Quintus of Smyrna; the dramatists Aristophanes, Sophocles and Euripides; the pseudo-Orphic *Hymns* and *Argonautica*; and two popular collections of didactic verse, the *Aurea verba* believed to be by Pythagoras and a collection of gnomic hexameters attributed to Phocylides. Apart from these pagan works, Christian texts already familiar to pupils in Latin were considered particularly helpful for beginners: the 'Pater Noster' and 'Ave Maria' in Greek were often attached to Chrysoloras's grammar; and Greek–Latin psalters were often used as teaching tools: Ambrogio Traversari, general of the Camaldulensian Order and a prolific translator of Greek patristic works, claimed to have taught himself the language by studying a bilingual psalter.[33] As Battista Guarini would later point out, biblical texts were 'admirably adapted' for learning on one's own 'since a verse in the Latin translation is not a syllable longer or shorter than the Greek original', making it easy for students to pick up vocabulary and syntax by comparing the two versions.[34]

Throughout the fifteenth century the standard reason given for studying Greek was to enhance one's knowledge of Latin. In the 1428 preface to his Latin translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*,

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[31] L. Gualdo Rosa, 'Crastone, Giovanni', in *DBI*, vol. xxx, pp. 578–80.

[32] Botley, *Learning Greek*, ch. 2: 'Greek Lexica'; C. Linde, 'Johannes Crastonus's 1481 Edition of the Psalms', *The Library* seventh series 13 (2012), 147–63, at pp. 150–1.

[33] L. Bertalot, 'Zwölf Briefe des Ambrogio Traversari', in *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. P. O. Kristeller, 2 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1975) vol. 1, pp. 251–67, at pp. 262–3. For further instances of using bilingual psalters to teach and learn Greek see P. Botley, 'Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1476–1516', in C. Holmes and J. Waring (eds.), *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond* (Leiden etc.: Brill, 2002), pp. 199–223, at pp. 204–5.

[34] Guarini, 'A Program', pp. 296–7; Botley, *Learning Greek*, ch. 3: 'Student Texts'; N. G. Wilson, '"Utriusque linguae peritus": How Did One Learn Greek and Acquire the Texts?', in C. Caruso and A. Laird (eds.), *Italy and the Classical Tradition: Language, Thought and Poetry 1300–1600* (London: Duckworth, 2009), pp. 62–9, at p. 64.

Filelfo maintained that Westerners were keen to learn Greek because they believed that, with its aid and guidance, they would improve their ability to read and write Latin.[35] It was the ancient Romans themselves who taught Renaissance educators the importance of Greek. 'We follow the example of the learned men of old', wrote Battista Guarini, 'none of whom was ignorant of Greek, and the authority of Quintilian, who says that our literature flowed from the Greeks.' He went on to assert that 'Homer, the prince of poets' was a source for all Latin writers and that Virgil had imitated not only him, in some cases translating verses verbatim, but also Hesiod and Theocritus.[36] Byzantine Greek teachers took the same approach, presumably catering to the well-known attitude of their Western students. In an augural oration for his Greek course at the University of Ferrara, probably delivered in 1446, Theodore Gaza stressed that since almost all of Roman literature and learning had been taken over from the Greeks, those wanting to recover and restore Latin letters had first to devote themselves to Greek, citing Cicero's reliance on Demosthenes and Plato as models and Virgil's on Homer.[37] Lecturers at the University of Florence became adept at spotting less obvious Greek sources of Latin literature: around 1461–2, for instance, Cristoforo Landino informed his students that Persius' fourth satire was based on Plato's *First Alcibiades*.[38] In his philological miscellany of 1489 Angelo Poliziano, whose knowledge of Greek rivalled that of native-speaking émigrés, explained an obscure allusion in Propertius (IV.9.57–8) by referring to two recherché Greek works: the *Dionysiaca* of the Byzantine poet Nonnus and the fifth hymn of the Hellenistic poet Callimachus, for which he provided a Greek text and his own elegant Latin verse translation.[39]

In 1494 Pietro Bembo, while in Messina taking Greek lessons from Constantine Lascaris, wrote an oration in Greek which aimed to convince

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[35] E. Berti, 'Manuele Crisolora, Plutarco e l'avviamento delle traduzioni umanistiche', *Fontes* 1 (1998), 81–99, at p. 82; Wilson, *From Byzantium*, p. 50.

[36] Guarini, 'A Program', pp. 278–9, 282–3; see Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I.i.12.

[37] Theodore Gaza, 'Oratio de litteris graecis', in L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist, und Staatsmann: Funde und Forschungen*, 3 vols. (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1923–42), vol. III, pp. 253–9; J. Monfasani, 'L'insegnamento di Teodoro Gaza a Ferrara', in *Greeks and Latins in Renaissance Italy: Studies on Humanism and Philosophy in the 15th Century* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), Article III, pp. 5–17.

[38] M. D. Reeve, 'Classical Scholarship', in J. Kraye (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 20–46, at p. 35; S. Foà, 'Landino, Cristoforo', in *DBI*, vol. LXIII, pp. 428–33.

[39] Angelo Poliziano, 'Miscellaneorum centuria prima', in *Opera omnia* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1498), sigs. H2ᵛ–8ʳ (ch. 80); Wilson, *From Byzantium*, p. 107. He was an accomplished poet in Greek, as well as in Latin and Italian: Angelo Poliziano, *Epigrammi greci*, ed. M. Lanni and R. Funari (Montepulciano: Editori del Grifo, 1994).

the senate of the Venetian Republic to promote the study of the language. One of the many arguments he adduced was that 'we cannot speak or indicate our meaning in our daily business independently of Greek concepts, nor know what is signified without etymologies from the Greeks'.[40] Guarini, too, observed that 'a great part of our vocabulary takes its origins' from Greek, giving as an example Ovid's statement in the *Fasti* that Venus got her name 'from the foam of the sea' (*a spumis maris*), which would be incomprehensible to students who did not know that Aphrodite came from ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀφροῦ, the Greek equivalent of Ovid's phrase.[41] This explanation and hundreds more like it could be looked up in Tortelli's *De orthographia*, an etymological dictionary of Latin names and words deriving from Greek (e.g. *abacus*, *onomatopoeia*, *zodiacus*); completed around 1451–2, this indispensable reference work was printed nine times between 1471 and 1495.[42]

## Translations from Greek into Latin

Although the provision of Greek teaching in schools and universities slowly increased over the course of the fifteenth century it nevertheless remained very much a minority subject, and relatively few humanists acquired sufficient competence to read the language with ease. Those who became proficient in it were therefore called on to use their linguistic skill to make Greek literary, philosophical, historical and theological works accessible to the educated public by translating them into Latin.

The part played by Chrysoloras in this process of translating the Greek written patrimony into Latin was once again pivotal. He taught his students that the traditional medieval style of 'word-for-word' (*ad verbum*) rendering into Latin, though useful as a pedagogic device for learning Greek, did not constitute a proper translation, which should instead be made 'according to sense' (*ad sententiam*).[43] His prize pupil Bruni, describing the method he used when translating Plato, said that, 'while preserving the sense (*sententiae*)', he was prepared to 'depart a little from the wording (*verba*)', in an effort to ensure

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[40] Pietro Bembo, *Oratio pro litteris graecis*, ed. N. G. Wilson (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2003), pp. 60–1; see also p. 13, where Wilson states that Bembo wrote 'a very passable, if not entirely correct, imitation of classical Greek'.

[41] Guarini, 'A Program', pp. 278–9; Ovid, *Fasti*, IV.63.

[42] G. Donati, *L'Orthographia di Giovanni Tortelli* (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2006).

[43] L. Bertalot, 'Cincius Romanus und seine Briefe', in *Studien*, vol. II, pp. 131–80, at p. 133; Wilson, *From Byzantium*, p. 9. St Jerome had also recommended *ad sententiam* translation in his Letter 57 to Pammachius, which was known to Renaissance scholars.

that 'the most elegant of writers in Greek' did not 'appear lacking in taste in Latin'.[44] Using the idiom and syntax of the target language (classical Latin) to convey the meaning and style of the source language (ancient Greek) became a hallmark of humanist translations.[45]

Renaissance perceptions of Greek style, however, were not necessarily the same as our own nowadays. Taking to heart Cicero's testimonies about the eloquence of Aristotle's writing (probably based on his lost dialogues), Bruni's versions of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Politics* and *Oeconomics* seem strikingly Ciceronian. The aim of these three translations was to supersede the clumsy literal attempts made during the Middle Ages;[46] his version of Plato's *Phaedo* was similarly intended to replace an *ad verbum* medieval translation. In turning speeches by Demosthenes and Aeschines into Ciceronian Latin, Bruni was competing with the master himself, for he knew that Cicero had translated both orations and was attempting to imitate those lost versions.[47]

Although it was Salutati who encouraged Bruni to produce an improved version of the *Phaedo*, Chrysoloras certainly promoted Plato among his students. Bruni went on to translate several more Platonic dialogues as well as the *Letters*,[48] while another pupil, the Milanese humanist Uberto Decembrio, revised Chrysoloras's draft version of the *Republic*, polishing the Latin so that it conformed to the standards that the Byzantine himself had set for proper translating.[49] Chrysoloras made a partial translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* while teaching in Florence; it was completed by a few years later in Rome by his student Angeli.[50] The experience of reading Lucian with Chrysoloras

[44] Leonardo Bruni, *Epistolarum libri viii*, ed. L. Mehus, 2 vols. (Florence: Bernardus Paperinius, 1741), vol. 1, p. 17 (*Ep.* 1.8, to Niccolò Niccoli, 5 September 1400); Wilson, *From Byzantium*, pp. 11–12.

[45] M. Cortesi (ed.), *Tradurre dal Greco in età umanistica: metodi e strumenti: Atti del Seminario di studio Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo . . . 2005* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), esp. E. Berti, 'La traduzione umanistica', pp. 3–15; J. Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden etc.: Brill, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 40–8; Pade, *Reception*, vol. 1, pp. 96–100.

[46] See the preface to his 1416 *Ethics* translation, in Griffiths et al. (eds.), *Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, pp. 213–17.

[47] P. Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 11–12 (*Phaedo*), 18–21 (Demosthenes and Aeschines), 41–5 (Aristotle).

[48] Hankins, *Plato*, vol. 11, pp. 367–400.

[49] S. Gentile, 'Note sulla traduzione crisolorina della *Repubblica* di Platone', in Maisano and Rollo (eds.), *Manuele Crisolora*, pp. 151–173. Uberto's version was in turn revised by his son Pier Candido around 1440.

[50] D. Tessicini, 'Definitions of "Cosmography" and "Geography" in the Wake of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Translations and Editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*', in Z. Shalev and C. Burnett (eds.), *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance* (London and Turin: Warburg Institute/Nino Aragno, 2011), pp. 31–50, at pp. 32–3.

in the classroom spurred other pupils to produce Latin versions of the dialogues.[51]

Italian humanists soon, however, developed their own agenda with regard to selecting Greek texts for translation. In line with their view of Greek as ancillary to Latin, they were especially keen to translate works that dealt with Roman history. The first of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* to be turned into Latin were those of Brutus, Cicero, Pompey and Marius, made by Angeli; next came Bruni's translations of the lives of Mark Antony, Cato Minor, Paulus Aemilius, the Gracchi, Sertorius and Pyrrhus (which included information about Rome's conquest of southern Italy).[52] Bruni employed other Greek texts to fill in gaps in the Renaissance's knowledge of Roman history: in his *Commentary on the First Punic War* (1419) he compensated for the missing second decade of Livy by paraphrasing, abridging and supplementing the account of these events in Polybius; and he made similar use of Procopius in his *Italian War against the Goths* (1441).[53] While Latin versions of a wide range of Greek historical works were produced during the fifteenth century, those that shed light on darker periods of Roman history remained of particular interest. This was presumably why Pope Innocent VIII commissioned Poliziano in 1484 to translate Herodian's account of the Roman Empire from the death of Marcus Aurelius (180) to the accession of Gordian III (238).[54]

Innocent's papal predecessors had acted as patrons for a number of other translations from the Greek. In particular, Nicholas V, a humanist in his own right, promoted and – more importantly – funded a programme intended to produce Latin versions of all extant Greek works. During his papacy, 1447–55, almost every scholar capable of translating Greek was drawn into this grand plan, which became all the more pressing with the fall of Constantinople in 1453.[55] Guarino was assigned Strabo's *Geography*,[56] while Lorenzo Valla, one

[51] D. Marsh, *Lucian and the Latins: Humor and Humanism in the Early Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 7–8, 13–21.

[52] Pade, *Reception*, vol. 1, pp. 113–52. The one version Bruni made of a Greek life, Demosthenes (ibid., pp. 152–4), was connected to his translation of three of the orator's speeches and was intended to be paired with his own reworking of Plutarch's life of Cicero; see Hankins, 'Chrysoloras', p. 189.

[53] Hankins, 'Chrysoloras', pp. 189–90; Botley, *Latin Translation*, pp. 23–39. For the prefaces to these works see Griffiths et al. (eds.), *Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, pp. 192–3, 195–6.

[54] D. A. Rubega, *Studio sulla versione latina di Erodiano lo Storico fatta da Angelo Poliziano* (Venice: Tipografia già Cordella, 1897).

[55] J. Hankins, 'The Popes and Humanism', in A. Grafton (ed.), *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 47–85; A. Manfredi (ed.), *Le origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra umanesimo e Rinascimento* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010), pp. 109–412.

[56] E. B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), pp. 52–82; Wilson, *From Byzantium*, pp. 47, 55–6.

of the most erudite and innovative humanists of his day, was given the huge task of translating first Thucydides and then Herodotus.[57] Uberto Decembrio's son Pier Candido translated Appian for the Pope;[58] and Poggio Bracciolini, a long-standing member of the papal curia, undertook the first five books of Diodorus Siculus, stating that in translating this work he had sought to eliminate 'the verbosity with which the Greeks usually pack their works' and to replace it with the characteristic conciseness of Latin – a commonplace prejudice among Western scholars, but perhaps deployed in this instance to cover up Poggio's shaky knowledge of Greek.[59] Perotti, one of Vittorino's students, produced a proper Latin version of Polybius, in contrast to the abridged paraphrase made by Bruni. He also translated a pair of short essays on anger by Plutarch and St Basil and the *Enchiridion*, Epictetus' brief guide to Stoicism.[60]

For heavy-duty philosophical and scientific assignments the Pope turned to two Byzantines, who distinguished themselves from most other émigrés by their ability to write Latin well.[61] George of Trebizond had already translated several Aristotelian treatises during the papacy of Eugenius IV, 1431–47, but now was asked to make Latin versions of Aristotle's *On Animals* and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems*, as well as Plato's *Laws* and *Epinomis* and Ptolemy's *Almagest*.[62] Theodore Gaza translated *On Plants* by Aristotle's student Theophrastus, and also redid George's versions of *On Animals* and the *Problems*, which had not found favour in Rome.[63] George responded to Gaza's new version, or rather 'perversion', of the *Problems* with a bitter attack on his

[57] M. Pade, 'Thucydides', in P. O. Kristeller et al. (eds.), *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1960–), vol. VIII, pp. 103–8, at pp. 120–5; S. Pagliaroli, *L'Erodoto del Valla* (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2006).

[58] P. Viti, 'Decembrio, Pier Candido', in *DBI*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 488–98, at p. 496.

[59] Poggio Bracciolini, *Lettere*, ed. H. Harth, 3 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 1984–7), vol. III, pp. 82–3, at p. 83 (*Ep.* III.3, to Francesco Accolti, 1448/9); Botley, *Latin Translation*, pp. 47–8. For Poggio's reliance on his curial colleague George of Trebizond for help with this translation see Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, pp. 69–70.

[60] R. P. Oliver (ed.), *Niccolò Perotti's Version of the* Enchiridion *of Epictetus* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1954), pp. 139 (Basil), 143 (Plutarch), 143–4 (Polybius). Perotti's translation of the *Enchiridion* was eclipsed by Poliziano's 1479 version for his patron Lorenzo de' Medici: J. Kraye, 'L'Interprétation platonicienne de l'*Enchiridion* d'Épictète proposée par Politien: philologie et philosophie dans la Florence du XVIème siècle, à la fin des années 70', in F. Mariani Zini (ed.), *Penser entre les lignes: philologie et philosophie au Quattrocento* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires de Septentrion, 2001), pp. 161–77.

[61] Monfasani, 'The Greeks', pp. 72–8, for a list of 'Émigré Greek Translators'.

[62] Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, ch. 3; J. Monfasani (ed.), *Collectanea Trapezuntiana: Texts, Documents and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1984), pp. 698–709 (Aristotle), 744–7 (Plato, rededicated in 1460 to the Venetian Republic), 748–50 (Ptolemy).

[63] J. Monfasani, 'Theodore Gaza as a Philosopher: A Preliminary Survey', in Maisano and Rollo (eds.), *Manuele Crisolora*, pp. 269–81.

rival's cavalier attitude towards the text of Aristotle. George regarded it as entirely appropriate to translate literary works in a free and elegant manner; but he insisted that scientific and technical treatises, such as those of Aristotle, demanded much greater precision and fidelity, even at the cost of producing unidiomatic Latin.[64]

George also translated several patristic texts; among those commissioned by Nicholas V were Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica* and works by Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom.[65] Since Bruni's 1403 Latin version of Basil of Caesarea's *Letter to Young Men on the Utility of Studying Pagan Books*, envisaged as a defence of the humanist movement against accusations of impiety,[66] translations of the Greek Church Fathers had figured alongside those of classical authors. Apart from the monk Traversari,[67] few Italian or Byzantine translators specialised in patristic works; nevertheless, most of them produced at least one Latin version of the Fathers at some point in their careers.[68] Discussions at the Council of Ferrara–Florence, 1438–9, a last-ditch attempt to unite the Eastern and Western churches in the face of the impending Turkish threat, centred on doctrinal positions, in particular concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit, adopted by the Greek Church Fathers, for which the Catholic party could draw on the linguistic and theological expertise of Traversari and of Byzantine scholars who sided with the Church of Rome, most notably the future Cardinal Bessarion.[69] Humanists competent in both Greek and Latin – whether Italian such as Guarino and Aurispa or Byzantine such as George of Trebizond and Theodore Gaza – were much in demand as translators. Bruni, chancellor of Florence since 1427, was able to make good use of his Greek by delivering the official greeting to the Eastern delegation in

[64] George of Trebizond, 'In perversionem Problematum Aristotelis a quodam Theodoro Cage editam', in Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, vol. III, pp. 275–342; Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, pp. 152–6.
[65] Monfasani (ed.), *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, pp. 721–44.
[66] L. Schucan, *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus Ad adolescentes: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des christlichen Humanismus* (Geneva: Droz, 1973), pp. 62–76.
[67] C. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977).
[68] C. Stinger, 'Greek Patristics and Christian Antiquity in Renaissance Rome', in P. A. Ramsey (ed.), *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1982), pp. 153–69; M. Cortesi, 'Umanisti alla ricerca dei Padri greci', in S. Gentile (ed.), *Umanesimo e Padri della Chiesa: manoscritti e incunaboli di testi patristici da Francesco Petrarca al primo Cinquecento* (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1997), pp. 63–75.
[69] C. Stinger, 'Italian Renaissance Learning and the Church Fathers', in I. Backus (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West from the Carolingians to the Maurists*, 2 vols. (Leiden etc.: Brill, 1997), vol. II, pp. 473–510, at pp. 488–91.

their own language; his brief account in Greek of the *Constitution of Florence* also seems to have been written for them.[70]

Patristic translations continued to appear during the second half of the fifteenth century. During the papacy of Pius II, 1458–64, Bishop Balbi, another student of Vittorino, made various Latin versions of the Church Fathers for Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and for the Pope; and in 1479 he dedicated his translation of Chrysostom's homily on patience to Pope Sixtus IV, who was suffering at the time from gout.[71] Like most translators from the Greek, Balbi worked on both Christian and pagan texts; in the latter category he made Latin versions of Albinus' *Epitome of Platonic Philosophy* and Proclus' *Platonic Theology* for Nicholas of Cusa,[72] a keen student of Plato, who also commissioned George of Trebizond to translate the *Parmenides*.[73] Yet another of Vittorino's students, Ognibene da Lonigo, who himself became a teacher and produced Latin versions of Plutarch, Xenophon and Aesop, translated several of Athanasius' treatises against the Arian heresy during the papacy of Paul II, 1464–71, in the hope that this would encourage the Pope to carry on fighting the Turkish infidel in the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople.[74] The Byzantine philosopher John Argyropoulos, best known for his Latin versions of Aristotle, translated Basil's *Hexaemeron* for Sixtus IV.[75]

All fields of learning were enhanced during the fifteenth century by the Greek works made readily available to scholars through Latin translations. The case of philosophy is typical. Previously unknown information about the Presocratics, early Greek Stoics, Pyrrhonian sceptics and Epicureans was disseminated in the Latin version of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, the sole pagan work translated by Traversari.[76] Although the Aristotelian corpus had been accessible in Latin since the end of the thirteenth

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[70] J. Herrin and S. McManus, 'Renaissance Encounters: Byzantium Meets the West at the Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438–39', in M. S. Brownlee and D. H. Gondicas (eds.), *Renaissance Encounters: Greek East and Latin West* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 35–56, at pp. 44–7; A. Moulakis, 'Leonardo Bruni's *Constitution of Florence*', *Rinascimento* NS 26 (1986), 141–90.

[71] A. Pratesi, 'Balbi, Pietro', in *DBI*, vol. V, pp. 378–9; Stinger, *The Renaissance*, pp. 229–30.

[72] J. Monfasani, 'Nicholas of Cusa, the Byzantines and the Greek Language', in *Greeks and Latins*, Article VIII, pp. 215–52, at p. 218.

[73] Monfasani (ed.), *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, pp. 303–4, 747–8.

[74] G. Ballistreri, 'Bonisoli, Ognibene', in *DBI*, vol. XII, pp. 234–6; Athanasius, *Opuscula*, ed. S. Fiaschi (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2006); Stinger, *The Renaissance*, p. 230.

[75] E. Bigi, 'Argiropulo, Giovanni', in *DBI*, vol. IV, pp. 129–31; Wilson, *From Byzantium*, pp. 86–90.

[76] M. Gigante, 'Ambrogio Traversari interprete di Diogene Laerzio', in G. C. Garfagnini (ed.), *Ambrogio Traversari nel VI centenario della nascita: convegno internazionale di studi (Camaldoli-Firenze . . . 1986)* (Florence: Olschki, 1988), pp. 367–459.

century, the new humanist translations were generally more comprehensible and accurate than the unwieldy and at times garbled medieval versions.[77] A few works by the Greek commentators on Aristotle were known in Latin during the Middle Ages; however, with Ermolao Barbaro's translation of Themistius' paraphrases, printed in 1481, this entire body of interpretative material started to be opened up to Renaissance philosophers.[78] It was Platonism, however, that underwent the most dramatic transformation: while medieval thinkers had to make do with only a handful of dialogues in Latin, Marsilio Ficino published a translation of the complete works of Plato in 1484.[79]

## Greek manuscripts and printed books

The number of Greek manuscripts available to Western scholars for the purposes of study or translation greatly increased during the fifteenth century. Many of these were produced in Italy by Byzantine scribes,[80] but there was also a large influx of manuscripts from the East. Beginning in 1396, when Salutati sent Angeli a 'wish list' of Greek works to acquire during his stay in Constantinople,[81] humanists such as Filelfo who travelled to the Byzantine capital eagerly sought out manuscripts to take back to Italy.[82] In 1423 Aurispa landed in Venice after his second voyage to the East with a cargo of 248 Greek manuscripts.[83] Nicholas of Cusa, while in Constantinople to make arrangements for the council intended to unite the Eastern and Western churches, used his spare time to hunt for Greek manuscripts, finding not only a codex of Proclus' *Platonic Theology*, which was later translated into Latin for him by Balbi,[84]

[77] C. B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1983), ch. 3.
[78] R. B. Todd, 'Themistius', in Kristeller et al. (eds.), *Catalogus translationum*, vol. VIII, pp. 57–102, at pp. 74–7, 79, 91–2; C. H. Lohr, 'Renaissance Latin Translations of the Greek Commentaries on Aristotle', in J. Kraye and M. Stone (eds.), *Humanism and Early Modern Philosophy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 24–40.
[79] G. C. Garfagnini (ed.), *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone: studi e documenti*, 2 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 1986); Hankins, *Plato*, vol. I, pp. 265–366.
[80] Monfasani, 'The Greeks', pp. 60–5, for a list of fifteenth-century Byzantine copyists.
[81] Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario*, ed. F. Novati, 4 vols. (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1891–1911), vol. III, pp. 129–32, at p. 131; Weiss, *Medieval and Humanist Greek*, pp. 260–2; Witt, *Hercules*, pp. 304–5.
[82] A. Calderini, 'Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo', *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 20 (1913), 204–424.
[83] Giovanni Aurispa, *Carteggio*, ed. R. Sabbadini (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1931), p. xv.
[84] MS Monacensis graecus 547, described in Proclus, *Théologie platonicienne, livre i*, ed. and trans. H. D. Saffrey and L. G. Westerink (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968), pp. cxix–xxvi; H. D. Saffrey, 'Pietro Balbi et la première traduction latine de la *Théologie Platonicienne* de Proclus', in P. Cockshaw et al. (eds.), *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, 2 vols. (Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1980), vol. II, pp. 425–37.

but also a copy of Basil's *Adversus Eunomium*, which was adduced as vital evidence in support of the Catholic position at the council.[85]

In the first half of the century a few collectors were able to build up substantial libraries of Greek books: Antonio Corbinelli managed to acquire seventy-nine volumes, some of them from Aurispa, which went to the Badia of Florence,[86] while Niccolò Niccoli had sixty-one Greek items in his collection, which was inherited by Cosimo de' Medici, from whom it passed to the monastery of San Marco.[87] By contrast, in the second half of the century there were three collections which each contained over five hundred Greek codices.[88] The first of these, the Vatican Library, expanded its Greek holdings, which included a large number of patristic and biblical manuscripts, under Nicholas V in order to support his translation programme.[89] Nicholas, for example, sent to Constantinople to acquire a copy of Origen's *Contra Celsum* in the hope that Theodore Gaza, who had stressed to him the importance of translating this important defence of Christianity against paganism, would produce a Latin version himself. Gaza, however, was tied up with other obligations; and in 1477 he passed on the assignment to future Vatican librarian Cristoforo Persona, who finally made the translation using the manuscript which had entered the papal collection two decades earlier.[90] The second large Greek library belonged to Lorenzo de' Medici, whose agent, the Byzantine scholar Janus Lascaris, was able to acquire some 200 Greek manuscripts for him on journeys to the East and to southern Italy organised by Poliziano in the early 1490s.[91] The third library was amassed by Cardinal Bessarion with the explicit aim of preserving the legacy of Greece after the collapse of the

[85] Stinger, *Humanism*, pp. 215–16.

[86] R. Blum, *La biblioteca della Badia fiorentina e i codici di Antonio Corbinelli* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1951), pp. 99–110; Wilson, *From Byzantium*, p. 26.

[87] B. L. Ullman and P. A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco* (Padua: Antenore, 1972), pp. 76–89.

[88] J. Hankins, 'The Study of Greek in the Latin West', in *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2003–4), vol. 1, pp. 273–91, at pp. 285–6.

[89] R. Devreesse, *Le Fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vatican des origines à Paul V* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1968), pp. 11–43; A. Manfredi, 'Note preliminari sulla sezione greca nella Biblioteca Vaticana di Niccolò V', in F. Bonatti and A. Manfredi (eds.), *Niccolò V nel sesto centenario della nascita: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Sarzana . . . 1998* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2000), pp. 49–70.

[90] Stinger, *The Renaissance*, p. 232; Wilson, *From Byzantium*, pp. 80–1.

[91] S. Gentile, 'Lorenzo e Giano Lascaris: il fondo greco della biblioteca medicea privata', in G. C. Garfagnini (ed.), *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo: convegno internazionale di studi (Firenze . . . 1992)* (Florence: Olschki, 1994), pp. 177–94; E. B. Fryde, *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici, 1469–1510*, 2 vols. (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1996), vol. 1, p. 7.

Byzantine Empire.[92] This precious collection of manuscripts, which included many patristic works and at least thirty-five Greek bibles, was bequeathed by Bessarion to Venice, where it languished in inaccessible crates for half a century before becoming the nucleus of the Biblioteca Marciana.[93] Though lacking the resources of a wealthy cardinal, two other émigrés, who earned a modest living by teaching Greek, managed to build up smaller, but nevertheless impressive, libraries. Constantine Lascaris (unrelated to Janus) assembled a collection of about eighty Greek codices, which he gave to the city of Messina around 1494 and which eventually ended up in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.[94] The Greek library of Andronicus Callistus, sold in 1475 to the Milanese printer Accursius for the substantial sum of 200 ducats, was large enough to fill six cases.[95]

Accursius seems to have made use of Callistus' manuscripts in his programme of printing mainly bilingual grammar books, dictionaries and teaching texts,[96] some of them edited by Crastone. These books, published in Milan between 1478 and 1481, were marketed as aids to those wishing to learn Greek and were apparently designed to be used for self-instruction, a trend which became more common in the early sixteenth century.[97] By this time Greek printing was already established in Italy. Starting in 1465, isolated Greek words and passages had appeared in Latin works – though they were sometimes left as blank spaces because there were not enough sorts in the printer's type-case. As for the first complete book to be printed in Greek, Chrysoloras was yet again the path-breaker: his *Erotemata*, together with Guarino's abbreviated Latin translation, was issued in Venice in 1471; and eight further editions, three entirely in Greek and five bilingual, were published during the fifteenth century, often with the Greek text of the Lord's Prayer and Hail Mary appended. It was

[92] L. Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1979), esp. pp. 147–9.

[93] M. Zorzi, 'Bessarione e i codici greci', in G. Benzoni (ed.), *L'eredità greca e l'ellenismo veneziano* (Florence: Olschki, 2002), pp. 93–121; J. Monfasani, 'Criticism of Biblical Humanists in the Quattrocento Italy', in E. Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 15–38, at p. 16 n. 10.

[94] M. Davies and J. Kraye, 'Cardinal Bessarion and Ludovico Saccano', in P. Jackson and G. Rebecchini (eds.), *Mantova e il Rinascimento italiano. Studi in onore di David S. Chambers* (Mantua: Sometti, 2011), pp. 225–38, at pp. 229–30.

[95] G. Cammelli, 'Andronico Callisto', *Rinascita* 5 (1942), 104–21, 174–214, at pp. 206–7; E. Bigi, 'Andronico Callisto', in *DBI*, vol. III, pp. 162–3; Botley, 'Learning Greek', p. 202.

[96] A bilingual Aesop (*c.* 1478) and a Greek edition of Theocritus' *Idylls* and Hesiod's *Works and Days* (*c.* 1480).

[97] Linde, 'Johannes Crastonus's 1481 Edition'; Botley, 'Learning Greek', pp. 201–6, 220; Botley, *Learning Greek*, pp. 115–16.

not, however, his grammar, but that of Constantine Lascaris, issued in Milan in 1476, that earned the distinction of being the first book printed entirely in Greek. The first literary text to reach print in Greek was the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia* ('Battle of the frogs and the mice'), published together with the Latin translation of Carlo Marsuppini in Brescia around 1474. Homer was not printed in Greek until the magnificent folio volume of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, edited by Chalcondyles and published in Florence in 1488. The following year Poliziano's *Miscellanea* was published, also in Florence, incorporating lengthy passages in Greek, such as Callimachus' fifth hymn,[98] which was printed without capitals, accents or breathings, according to the humanist's well-grounded belief that this was the ancient style. By contrast, another Florentine product, Janus Lascaris's 1494 edition of the *Greek Anthology*, not only had the full complement of accents and breathings but was also printed entirely in capitals.[99]

In addition to Chalcondyles and Lascaris, various other Byzantine émigrés were involved in printing Greek books as editors, printers or compositors.[100] One such was Zacharias Callierges, a Cretan scribe who set up a publishing house in Venice, where he printed the *Etymologicum magnum*, edited by his compatriot Marcus Musurus, in 1499, quickly followed by editions of Galen and of two Greek commentators on Aristotle, Ammonius and Simplicius. Although Callierges continued to publish Greek books for another two decades, he never abandoned his career as a copyist and, as late as 1523, his reputation as the 'most accurate scribe in Rome' and 'perhaps in Italy' earned him a commission from Baldassarre Castiglione to copy the fifth-century anthology of Stobaeus.[101]

Aldus Manutius, an obscure humanist schoolmaster from the Roman countryside who had studied with Battista Guarini in Ferrara, found his mission in life when he moved to Venice at the end of the 1480s and established a printing firm devoted to publishing works of ancient, and above all Greek, literature and learning. The first book to come off his press was Constantine Lascaris's grammar, printed in 1495. The same year he embarked on a much

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[98] See n. 39 in this chapter.

[99] M. Davies, 'Introduction', in *Incunabula: The Printing Revolution in Europe 1455–1500: A Guide to Unit 45 of the Microfiche Collection: Printing in Greek* (Reading: Primary Source Microfilm, 2003), pp. 13–20, at pp. 14–16.

[100] J. Monfasani, 'Greek Renaissance Migrations', in *Greeks and Latins*, Article 1, pp. 1–14, at pp. 6–7.

[101] E. Mioni, 'Callierge, Zaccaria', in *DBI*, vol. XVI, pp. 750–3; G. Rebecchini, 'Further Evidence about the Books of Baldassarre Castiglione', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000), 271–6, at pp. 272–3.

more ambitious project: a five-volume edition of Aristotle and related works, totalling around 3,700 folio pages of Greek and taking four years to complete. By the end of the century Aldus had printed editions of Musaeus, Theocritus, Aristophanes, Athenaeus, Dioscorides, a collection of Greek epistolography and an assemblage of Greek and Latin astronomical and astrological texts, as well as grammars, lexica and a Greek prayer book for the exile community in Venice.[102] He had also developed a font, modelled on contemporary Greek handwriting, which, despite its Byzantine complexity and surfeit of ligatures and abbreviations, was widely adopted in the following century.[103]

Greek printing in the fifteenth century, for all its undoubted intellectual importance, was a very small affair in terms of numbers: only 62 Greek books were printed compared to, for instance, 144 in Hebrew.[104] Of far greater significance for the dissemination and preservation of the Greek heritage, both classical and Christian, were the many hundreds of editions of Latin translations from the Greek published during these same years.[105] By 1500 not only could manuscripts of virtually all extant Greek works be found in Italy,[106] but a substantial portion of these were available in print, for the most part in Latin translation.[107]

## The Greek Bible

The Bible occupied only a marginal position in fifteenth-century Greek studies, the main thrust of which was directed towards classical and, to a smaller extent, patristic texts.[108] Yet even though engagement with the Greek text of the Bible was limited, the issues raised in connection with it were closely

[102] Davies, 'Introduction', pp. 16–17; M. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979); M. Davies, *Aldus Manutius, Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice* (London: British Library, 1995); Wilson, *From Byzantium*, pp. 127–44; L. Balsamo, 'Aldo Manuzio e la diffusione dei classici greci', in Benzoni (ed.), *L'eredità greca*, pp. 171–88.
[103] N. Barker, *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century*, 2nd edn. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992).
[104] *Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue*, http://istc.bl.uk/, searched by language (Greek and Hebrew) and sorted by year to eliminate post-incunables.
[105] M. Cortesi and S. Fiaschi, *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa secoli xv–xvi*, 2 vols. (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008).
[106] Reeve, 'Classical Scholarship', p. 36.
[107] O. Mazal, *Die Überlieferung der antiken Literatur im Buchdruck des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2003), vol. I, pp. 83–334: 'Die klassische griechische Literatur im Inkunabeldruck' and vol. IV, pp. 900–25: 'Die griechische patristische Literatur'.
[108] Monfasani, 'Criticism', p. 17.

related to the central concerns of the Greek revival, and the cast of characters was much the same.

Valla's study of the Latin Vulgate in relation to the Greek New Testament was unquestionably the century's most important contribution to biblical philology. He wrote in total about 2,000 notes,[109] which survive in two redactions: a version known as *Collatio* ('Textual comparison'), written in Naples and completed in draft form by 1443;[110] and a revised version, referred to as *Annotationes* ('Philological observations'), which he worked on in Rome from 1453 till his death in 1457.[111] His purpose in both redactions was not to establish the correct Greek text of the New Testament but rather to compare the Latin translation to the Greek manuscripts, at least seven of which he consulted,[112] so that the Vulgate could be brought into line with *Graeca veritas*, the truth of the original Greek.[113] Valla's hostility to scholasticism, especially its overreliance on philosophy and neglect of the language-based knowledge cultivated by humanists, found expression in his contempt for medieval exegetes such as Thomas Aquinas who dared to interpret the New Testament despite their complete ignorance of Greek.[114]

Although Valla had strong theological views which he set out in his other writings, he steered clear of such issues in his biblical annotations, which were narrowly philological in scope, focusing on errors of vocabulary, grammar and style.[115] As an accomplished translator from the Greek and the author of what was to become the standard Renaissance guide to Latin usage and syntax,[116] he was able to identify a range of mistakes which marred the accuracy of the Latin New Testament and obscured its message. As well as lexical precision, he stressed the need for consistency in translation, pointing out wherever the Vulgate used two or more Latin words to render the same Greek term; in his eyes the eloquent and honest simplicity of the Greek text was damaged by

[109] J. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 67.
[110] Lorenzo Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, ed. A. Perosa (Florence: Sansoni, 1970).
[111] Lorenzo Valla, *In Novum Testamentum ex diversorum utriusque linguae codicum collatione annotationes*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. E. Garin, 2 vols. (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1962), vol. 1, pp. 803–95.
[112] Bentley, *Humanists*, p. 37. Five of these seven manuscripts were discovered in and around Milan by Ciriaco d'Ancona: Valla, *Annotationes*, p. 845.
[113] Valla, *Collatio*, p. 8.
[114] Valla, *Annotationes*, p. 865; Bentley, *Humanists*, p. 61; Monfasani, 'Criticism', p. 25.
[115] S. Garofalo, 'Gli umanisti italiani del secolo xv e la Bibbia', *Biblica* 27 (1946), 338–75; Monfasani, 'Criticism', pp. 22–8.
[116] D. Marsh, 'Grammar, Method and Polemic in Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae*', *Rinascimento*, NS 19 (1979), 91–116.

this artificial striving for elegant variation.[117] Applying the humanist principle of *ad sententiam* translation to the Bible, he criticised passages in the Vulgate where the meaning had been distorted by *ad verbum* rendering or by using the same case in Latin as in the Greek even though the case structure of the two languages differed.[118]

Valla never published his annotations on the New Testament, though manuscripts circulated among a select group, including Nicholas V, to whom Valla dedicated the *Collatio* in 1453, and Nicholas of Cusa, who borrowed the Pope's copy.[119] Both redactions have a very thin manuscript tradition, indicating almost no fifteenth-century diffusion: the *Collatio* survives in only two codices,[120] the *Annotationes* in just one, which, however, had the good fortune to be discovered by Erasmus in the abbey of Parc on the outskirts of Louvain in 1504 and printed the following year in Paris under his auspices.[121] This momentous event for the history of the Bible shows that sometimes what matters is not how many people read a book, but who reads it.

Giannozzo Manetti was not so lucky. His translation of the Greek New Testament, the first new Latin version to be made since Jerome, also has a very slender manuscript tradition, with only two extant codices, both now in the Vatican Library;[122] but until recently the translation has attracted no attention, and it remains unpublished. According to Manetti, who had studied Greek with Traversari,[123] the commission came from Nicholas V,[124] who seems to have embraced the Bible in his plans to create a vast library of humanist Latin translations. In addition to the Greek New Testament, Manetti embarked on a new version of the Hebrew Bible, completing only the Psalms.[125] He also brought

[117] C. Celenza, 'Renaissance Humanism and the New Testament', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24 (1994), 33–52, at pp. 41–5; Bentley, *Humanists*, pp. 52–3.

[118] Valla, *Collatio*, pp. 6, 9, 183, 214 (*ad verbum*), 201, 242 (cases); Bentley, *Humanists*, pp. 54–5; Monfasani, 'Criticism', p. 27.

[119] Valla, *Collatio*, p. xlix; Botley, *Latin Translation*, p. 89.

[120] Valla, *Collatio*, pp. ix–xvii: Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 502; Biblioteca de la Catedral, Valencia, 170.

[121] W. Bracke, 'Erasmus and Lorenzo Valla's *Adnotationes Novi Testamenti:* A Note on Royal Library of Belgium, MS 4031–4033', in D. Sacré and J. Papy (eds.), *Syntagmatia: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), pp. 163–78.

[122] Botley, *Latin Translation*, p. 85 n. 107: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 45 and Urb. lat. 6.

[123] S. Foà, 'Manetti, Giannozzo', in *DBI*, vol. LXVIII, pp. 613–17, at p. 613.

[124] Giannozzo Manetti, *Vita di Nicolò V*, ed. and trans. A. Modigliani (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2005), p. 66.

[125] Giannozzo Manetti, *Apologeticus*, ed. A. de Petris (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1981), pp. xi–xx.

his knowledge of Hebrew to bear on two phrases in the New Testament;[126] in both cases, however, he failed to recognise that the words spoken by Jesus were in Aramaic, and incorrectly changed them to classical Hebrew.[127]

Manetti was in Rome from 1453 to 1455, when Valla was there working on his *Annotationes*, so it is likely that he had some awareness of the treatise; but Valla's influence on Manetti's translation is not particularly noticeable. Manetti is invariably more cautious and conservative than Valla, making fewer and less extensive changes to the Vulgate than those recommended in the *Annotationes*. Both, however, took a thoroughly humanist approach to the text of the New Testament, using their expertise in the classical languages to improve the accuracy and style of the Latin translation.[128] So, in dealing with what appeared to be an obvious corruption in the Vulgate – John 21:22, when Jesus, speaking of the beloved disciple, says to Peter: 'sic eum volo manere donec veniam, quid ad te?' ('so I wish him to remain until I come, what is it to you?'), although the Greek began with ἐάν ('if') and therefore called for *si* rather than *sic* – Manetti changed the Latin to agree with the Greek in his translation,[129] and Valla argued in his *Annotationes* that *sic* was either a careless error or an overbold emendation by a scribe.[130]

Valla had been alerted to the passage by Cardinal Bessarion,[131] who was engaged at the time in an ill-tempered debate about it with George of Trebizond, a former protégé with whom he had fallen out.[132] George defended the accuracy of the Vulgate reading *sic*, maintaining that ἐάν with a verb in the indicative (θέλω), as here, implies an affirmation rather than a hypothetical condition and that Jerome had deliberately chosen *sic* to make explicit Jesus' implicit reference to the Second Coming ('until I come'). This rendering, moreover, had behind it not only the authority of Jerome, who was better versed in Greek than anyone in the fifteenth century, but also that of other Latin Church Fathers such as Augustine, who had quoted and interpreted the passage in his translation. Although the suggested emendation entailed merely removing the *c* from *sic*, even such a small change would give licence

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[126] Mark 5:41: ταλιθὰ κούμ/talitha cumi; Matthew 27:46 and Mark 15:34: Ἠλὶ Ἠλὶ λεμὰ σαβαχθανί/Heli Heli lema sabacthani.

[127] Botley, *Latin Translation*, p. 98.

[128] Ibid., p. 94; Monfasani, 'Criticism', p. 33.

[129] Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, p. 97 n. 121.

[130] Valla, *Annotationes*, p. 846.

[131] Valla, *Antidotum in Pogium . . . lib. iv*, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, pp. 325–66, at p. 340.

[132] Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, pp. 90–101; Monfasani, 'Criticism', pp. 28–30; Wilson, *From Byzantium*, pp. 61–2; C. Linde, *How to Correct the* Sacra Scriptura? *Textual Criticism of the Latin Bible between the Twelfth and Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2012), pp. 175–9, 260–2.

to further arbitrary tampering with the Vulgate text.[133] Bessarion responded to George's claims with a treatise in which he asserted the primacy of the Greek text over any Latin version or interpretation and insisted that the correct translation was *si*, which Jerome had indeed written but which had suffered scribal corruption.[134] Just as George had cited Latin Church Fathers in favour of his position, Bessarion adduced the Greek Fathers Origen, Chrysostom and Cyril, whose exegesis of the passage showed that ἐάν had the force of 'if' and should therefore be translated as *si*. He also attempted to steal George's thunder by quoting Augustine (*De doctrina Christiana* II.II and 14) on the necessity of returning to the original and of giving preference to the Greek text over the Latin in doubtful cases.[135]

Given the controversy aroused by the proposed alteration of a single letter in the Vulgate, it may seem surprising that the publication in 1481 of a bilingual Psalter, with a new Latin version facing the Septuagint Greek text, provoked no reaction whatever. The volume was another collaboration between the Milanese publisher Accursius and Crastone, who had previously edited dictionaries and translated Lascaris's grammar for him. Crastone stated clearly in the preface that his Latin version was designed to help those wishing to learn Greek and that consequently he had translated word for word (*verbum verbo reddidi*). Although this sometimes meant introducing Greek constructions into the Latin text, Crastone pointed out that Grecisms could also be found in Virgil's poetry (*Georgics* II.542).[136] So keen were Crastone and Accursius to assist the beginning student of Greek that the original and translation were matched up line by line, with even word-divisions occurring at the same place in the Greek and Latin. The idea of using a literal Latin crib as a tool for teaching Greek went back to Chrysoloras, who, like Crastone, distinguished these pedagogic devices from proper translations. Bilingual psalters, moreover, were commonly employed by learners of Greek. Presented as a didactic aid, aimed at language students rather than theologians, the 1481 Psalter was not of interest to conservative biblical critics, nor apparently to its target readership, since, in contrast to Crastone's very popular Greek–Latin dictionary and his translation of Lascaris's grammar, it was never reprinted.[137]

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[133] Monfasani (ed.), *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, pp. 169–70, 311–12.

[134] Cardinal Bessarion, *In illud Evangelii: 'Sic eum volo manere, quid ad te'*, in Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, vol. III, pp. 70–87. George reiterated and elaborated his views in a later treatise addressed to Pope Paul II: Monfasani (ed.), *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, pp. 574–6.

[135] Monfasani (ed.), *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, pp. 574–6.

[136] *Psalterium cum canticis*, ed. and trans. Giovanni Crastone (Milan: Accursius, 1481), fol. 2v.

[137] Linde, 'Johannes Crastonus's 1481 Edition'; Botley, 'Learning Greek', p. 205; Botley, *Learning Greek*, p. 76.

# Humanist Bible controversies

RICHARD REX

The application of humanist scholarship to the Bible has often been reckoned among the 'causes' of the Reformation. A teleological dialectic that set obscurantist scholasticism in opposition to progressive humanism furnished much twentieth-century historiography with a convenient perspective in which to place both Luther's emergence and the hostile reaction to his ideas. Nor was this without a pedigree: the quip 'Erasmus laid the eggs that Luther hatched' was coined in the 1520s, and the narrowing orthodoxies of the Counter-Reformation squeezed Erasmian ideas out of the church to which he steadfastly professed allegiance. As so often, however, hindsight is a poor guide. Humanist biblical scholarship before the Reformation was neither a crescendo of theological provocation nor the subject of intense controversy, though it did arouse occasional disquiet. What made humanist biblical scholarship controversial was the Reformation crisis itself, which changed both the immediate and the historical perspective on the humanist, and especially the Erasmian, scriptural project. Luther, in making theology the stuff of popular controversy, dragged biblical philology into the public arena as well. In those turbulent years it was not just scholastics but also humanists who could find themselves troubled by the challenges that humanist scholarship could pose to traditional theology.

## The Italian prelude

A common but misleading distinction used to be drawn between the 'Renaissance humanism' of Italy – pagan, epicurean and shallow – and the 'Northern humanism' that later flourished beyond the Alps – Christian, austere and profound. The pioneering work of Charles Trinkaus, followed up since by many other scholars, has done much to dispel this traditional misapprehension, although its long shadow continues to stretch over the subject.[1]

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[1] C. Trinkaus, *In his Image and Likeness*, 2 vols. (London: Constable, 1970), esp. vol. II, ch. 12, pp. 563–614, 'Italian humanism and the scriptures'.

But as Trinkaus argued, early 'humanism' was Christian: humanist scholars in fifteenth-century Italy applied themselves and their critical techniques to early Christian as well as to classical literature, and to scriptural as well as to patristic texts.

The first Italian scholar to bring the techniques of humanist philology to bear upon the sacred texts was that most original and influential figure, Lorenzo Valla. In Lent 1443, while working at the court of Naples, he began making a systematic comparison of the Latin of the Vulgate New Testament with what he revealingly termed the *Graeca veritas* (by analogy with the established term *Hebraica veritas* for the Hebrew Old Testament). By the time he moved to Rome in 1448 he had digested his notes into a work entitled *Collatio Novi Testamenti*. At Rome he was encouraged by figures such as Cardinals Bessarion and Nicholas of Cusa to continue his initiative: indeed, Bessarion made contributions to his labours. Valla decided to dedicate the work to Pope Nicholas V, though as yet it was a work in progress rather than a finished item, and it was therefore made available only to selected readers.[2]

Lorenzo Valla's first challenger was not a hidebound scholastic but another humanist luminary, Poggio Bracciolini, whose attack in the early 1450s was more the roaring of an old lion under threat from a younger rival than the pious anguish of a loyal Catholic who saw the faith at peril from the solvent of an unbounded rationalism – which is one of the ways he dressed up what was essentially a personal vendetta.[3] Poggio's attack, laid out in a series of 'orations', took on just about every aspect of Valla's scholarly achievement, including his biblical philology. However, Poggio knew of the *Collatio* only by hearsay – as Valla pointed out in his reply, the *Antidotum* – and his charges were therefore framed in the broadest terms. On the basis of *obiter dicta* in the *Elegantiae*, where Valla alluded to discrepancies between the Vulgate and the Greek, Poggio accused him of showing contempt for St Jerome, of tampering with the sacred text, and of undermining the entire Western theological tradition by using the concept of *Graeca veritas* to call the Latin Bible into doubt.[4]

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[2] For the genesis and evolution of Valla's text see Alessandro Perosa's introduction to his critical edition of the earlier recension, Valla, *Collatio*, esp. the summary at pp. xlviii–l.

[3] It has been argued that the entire episode sprang from the fact that a Catalan pupil of Valla's circulated some pungent stylistic criticisms of Poggio because Poggio, in his turn, had let fall some offensive remarks about Catalans. Lorenzo Valla, *Antidotum primum: la prima Apologia contro Poggio Bracciolini*, ed. Ari Wesseling (Assen and Amsterdam: van Gorcum, 1978), pp. 26–7.

[4] Salvatore Camporeale, 'Poggio Bracciolini contro Lorenzo Valla: le Orationes in L. Vallam', in *Poggio Bracciolini 1380–1980: nel vi centenario della nascita* (Florence: Sansoni, 1982), pp. 137–61, esp. pp. 140–42 and 149–50. For an example, see Valla's *Elegantiae*,

Poggio's invectives did not deter Valla, nor did they impede the reception of his labours in Rome. It has been suggested that Nicholas of Cusa put Valla's work under embargo,[5] but there is no reliable evidence either that Valla was trying to publish it or that anyone was trying to stop him. Certainly Valla emphasised in his *Antidotum* that the *Collatio* was as yet unpublished,[6] and he seems to have continued work on it, leaving it at his death (1457) in the state in which Erasmus was to find it nearly fifty years later. Moreover, the principle that the Vulgate stood in need of correction seems to have been accepted, whatever Poggio's objections, without serious controversy. For Nicholas V summoned to Rome a scholar named Giannozzo Manetti, whose credentials were all the better for his knowledge of Hebrew, to undertake the task of correcting the Vulgate.[7] Manetti addressed his task in a more modest way. He did not seek to vindicate his taste by scorning the stylistic limitations of the Vulgate, and, by starting with the Psalter, he worked in an area less likely to give offence to pious ears, as there were already several Latin renderings of the Psalter in circulation.

Like all those who entered the field of humanist biblical scholarship, Manetti anticipated criticism. His *Apologeticus* was written, he claimed, because when he sent a copy of his Psalter to Alfonso I of Naples, certain scholars objected that to revise or repeat the work of Jerome was arrogant and superfluous.[8] He names no names, and any criticisms seem to have been spoken or at least informal: perhaps they were nothing more than echoes of Poggio's attack on Valla. Manetti consoled himself with the reflection that most authors met criticism, and, beyond that, his chief argument is that if it was legitimate for Jerome to translate the Old Testament afresh, then it was equally legitimate for others to attempt the same task. The rest of his text is little more than a history of Bible translation down to the time of Jerome and a detailed analysis of the discrepancies between the two Vulgate versions of the Psalms (one based on the Hebrew, the other on the Septuagint) then most common in Latin Bibles. There is hardly a hint of real scholarly controversy in the *Apologeticus*, and certainly none followed it.

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lib. iv, cap. 24, where he expresses amazement at Jerome's use of 'sementis' in place of 'semen': *De linguae latinae elegantia* (Paris: S. Colinaeus, 1529), fol. 112r.

[5] R. Fubini, 'Una sconosciuta testimonianza manoscritta delle Annotationes in Novum Testamentum del Valla', in O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi (eds.), *Lorenzo Valla e l'umanesimo italiano* (Padua: Antenore,] 1986), pp. 179–96, at p. 195.

[6] Valla, *Antidotum primum*, p. 118.

[7] G. Manetti, *Apologeticus*, ed. A. de Petris (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1981), pp. xvi and xix.

[8] Ibid., pp. 3–4.

Manetti's work, however, like Valla's, was cut short by death (1459), and the prior death of Nicholas V (1455) had removed the driving force from any plans to revise the Vulgate. Although occasionally mooted thereafter, an official revision would not be undertaken until late in the sixteenth century, by which time it had become a thoroughly Counter-Reformation project, and the works of Valla, who had first set out the need for a revision and had first laid out the method of implementing it, had been put on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.

Neither Valla's audacious labours nor the more cautious efforts of Manetti attracted anything like the attention that would greet those of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Desiderius Erasmus in the following century. The reason for this is not far to seek. Valla and Manetti still worked in a manuscript culture. Valla's critical ideas on the New Testament spread but slowly, in Latin, within a narrow academic elite, and never became the stuff of popular preaching. It was his *Elegantiae* that made his reputation: among the earliest printed best-sellers, it was first published in 1471 and saw over twenty-five editions by 1500, with over ninety more by 1540.[9] Valla was a controversial figure, but it was the acerbic tone of the *Elegantiae* and his willingness to criticise even classical authors for stylistic failings that made him so, not his work on the New Testament. The limited impact of the early Italian humanist exercises in scriptural philology can be inferred from a census of manuscripts. Valla's *Collatio* survives in only two manuscripts, and his *Annotationes* in only one.[10] Likewise, Manetti's Psalter and *Apologeticus* survive respectively in only three and eight manuscripts, most of them still in Rome and only one outside Italy.[11] His work remained almost unknown until the twentieth century. In the fifteenth century humanist biblical scholarship was at most mildly controversial.

## The Erasmian theme announced

It was Desiderius Erasmus who rescued Valla's scriptural labours from obscurity. Erasmus stumbled across the manuscript of the *Annotationes* at the abbey of Parc, near Leuven, in 1504 and published it the following year. The impact was still limited. Erasmus anticipated hostility, but met with none, and it is revealing that what he specifically anticipated was a priori prejudice against

[9] Figures based on Marielisa Rossi, *Lorenzo Valla: edizioni delle opere, sec. xv–xvi* (Manziana (Rome): Vecchiarelli, 2007), pp. 34–131. There were only three editions of the *Annotationes* by 1540.
[10] Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, pp. xi–xvii.
[11] Manetti, *Apologeticus*, pp. xv and xliii.

the book because of its author's reputation for 'mordacity'. But he also fore-
saw the charge that Valla, as a mere 'grammarian', had no business trespass-
ing on the territory of theologians. He met it with the modest claim that
grammar might be a useful handmaiden to the 'queen of the sciences', and
with an appeal to the authority and example of Jerome. Jerome had empha-
sised against his critics that it was one thing to be the author of a sacred text,
another to be a translator. Therefore, Erasmus went on, correcting the errors
of a translation or a copy did not amount to questioning the divine inspir-
ation of the original. The most dangerous charge he anticipated was that 'it
is not right to change anything in Holy Scripture', which he parried with the
observation that it must therefore be even worse to let scribal errors stand
uncorrected. Patristic authority could be invoked for the verification of the
Latin Old and New Testaments against their Hebrew and Greek originals,
and the Council of Vienne had encouraged the study of Hebrew and Greek
as such.[12]

Yet the publication of Valla's *Annotationes* by the Parisian printer Josse Bade
raised no hackles, and the theologians of the Sorbonne did not pay it the dubi-
ous compliment of their attention. Erasmus's correspondence in 1505 shows
no signs of the kind of troubles that would beset him from 1519 as his Greek
New Testament went into its second edition. This much controverted scholar
did not publish the first of his forty or so *Apologiae* and *Responsiones* until 1517,
though, as we shall see, there was a dry-run in the epistolary controversy
with Maarten van Dorp. Erasmus himself pointed out in 1525 that none of
the objections that were by then coming at him from all sides had been raised
when he first printed Valla's work: 'Valla's *Annotationes* were published at Paris
nearly twenty years ago. If the enterprise was blasphemous, why was this not
pointed out to Josse Bade? The theologians should not have held their peace
in a matter of such import.'[13]

The real impact of printing Valla's work was in inspiring further efforts
along similar lines. It was the starting point for Erasmus's own *Annotations
on the New Testament*, which not only borrowed his title but recycled much of
his material. And Valla's example was also invoked by Lefèvre d'Étaples in the
preface to his commentary on Paul's epistles of 1512 – the text on which Luther
based his epoch-making lectures at Wittenberg in 1515–19.[14]

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[12] *EE*, vol.1, ep. 182, pp. 407–12 (*CWE*, vol. 11, pp. 89–97).
[13] Erasmus, *Adversus Petri Sutoris . . . debacchationem Apologia* (Basel: Froben, 1525), sig. d3v.
[14] G. Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'intelligence des écritures* (Geneva: Droz, 1976), pp. 80–2.

## The Lefèvre interlude

Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples had already enjoyed a long and fulfilling scholarly career when, in the autumn of his years, he decided, in a fashion that initially owed much to the monastic and contemplative traditions of the Middle Ages, to abandon secular learning and devote himself henceforth to the study of Holy Scripture. His first project was the *Quincuplex Psalterium*, an edition of the Psalter which presented five Latin versions of the text: the Vulgate Hebrew, the Vulgate Septuagint and the Gallican, in parallel columns with a detailed commentary; and the Vetus Latina and a redaction of Lefèvre's own compiled from the other four in an appendix. This proved popular and entirely uncontroversial, and earned Lefèvre commendation not only from the humanist community but also from prominent reforming churchmen such as Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros of Toledo and Cardinal Giles of Viterbo.[15] Similar ventures in Italy were equally uncontroversial. Felice da Prato's *Psalterium ex Hebreo*[16] and Agostino Giustiniani's still more comprehensive *Psalterium Octuplex* of 1516 ruffled no feathers, though Erasmus rather cattily remarked of the latter that it was so commercially unsuccessful that Giustiniani was reduced to giving it away.[17] Not even Lefèvre's focus on the 'literal sense' of the Psalms caused his readers any qualms, for the literal sense, in his view, was not that which 'the Jews call the literal sense, making David an historian rather than a prophet', but the sense 'which the Holy Spirit, speaking through the prophet, intends'.[18] In other words, the true sense was Christ: Lefèvre's interpretation was entirely conventional.

Lefèvre's second essay in scriptural criticism was his commentary on Paul (1512). This might have been controversial, because Lefèvre offered alongside the Vulgate text his own Latin paraphrase based on the Greek, but the only evidence adduced for any contemporary criticism looks more like an intelligent query than a hostile response.[19] A few years later Erasmus would remark,

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[15] Ibid., pp. 78 and 86 (n. 30).

[16] Felice da Prato, *Psalterium ex Hebreo* (Venice: Bomberg, 1515).

[17] For Felice da Prato and Giustiniani see Paul F. Grendler, 'Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515–1535', in E. Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 227–76, at pp. 228–33 and 233–40. *EE*, vol. III, ep. 886, p. 424 (*CWE*, vol. VI, p. 161).

[18] Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Quincuplex Psalterium* (Paris: Estienne, 1509), fol. α.v.

[19] R. Cameron, 'The Attack on the Biblical Work of Lefèvre d'Étaples, 1514–1521', *Church History* 38 (1969), 9–24, finds little evidence for early attacks on Lefèvre's Paul (pp. 10–13). Cameron represents Dr George Civis, a canon of Tournai, as complaining to Clichtove about Lefèvre's work (p. 11), but he was merely passing on some queries that had been raised with him in conversation. J.-P. Massaut, *Critique et tradition à la veille de la réforme en France* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1974), p. 50.

in defending his own scriptural endeavours, 'I hear Lefèvre is approved by everyone,' and when his own New Testament appeared in 1516 he reiterated the point that no one had attacked Felice's Psalter or Lefèvre's Paul.[20] Such criticism as there may have been was focused on the potential doctrinal implications of specific comments and paraphrases rather than on the nature and methodology of the enterprise as such. Thus Lefèvre had taken up Valla's claim that the Vulgate was not the work of Jerome and preferred 'uxor' (wife) over 'mulier' (woman) as a translation for the Greek γυναῖκα in 1 Corinthians 9:5.[21] This reading, still contested, with its implication that Paul was married, could easily be seen as a threat to the Catholic tradition of clerical celibacy. But while some discussion of these points went on in conversation or correspondence, it does not seem to have registered in print or in the pulpit. Not even Lefèvre's talk of 'faith alone' in expounding Romans caught anyone's eye – except perhaps Luther's.[22]

## The Erasmian theme developed

It was the scriptural programme of Erasmus himself that was to elicit the sort of objections he had anticipated in publishing Valla's *Annotationes*. Even before the appearance of his epoch-making parallel-text edition of the New Testament, concerns about his project were being noised abroad. This was partly for intrinsic, but more for extrinsic, reasons. While Lefèvre's labours had caused at most a minor stir, Erasmus had already made some powerful enemies, first through his determined support for Johannes Reuchlin in the controversy over 'Jewish books', and secondly through his complex and wildly popular satire *Encomium Moriae* (*In Praise of Folly*), whose many targets included busy friars, indolent monks and complacent theologians.[23]

The first public controversy over Erasmus's biblical scholarship took the form of an epistolary exchange with a young humanist at the University of Leuven, Maarten van Dorp, in which they debated the proper relationship

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[20] *EE*, vol. II, ep. 337, p. 112, to Dorp, *c*. May 1515 (*CWE*, vol. III, p. 137); and to Bullock, 31 Aug. 1516, *EE*, vol. II, ep. 456, p. 324 (*CWE*, vol. IV, p. 47).

[21] Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Contenta . . . Epistola ad Rhomanos . . . Commentariorum libri quatuordecim* (Paris: Estienne, 1512), sigs. α2v–α4v; and fols. 17v (text) and 119v (commentary). See also Massaut, *Critique et tradition*, pp. 53–5.

[22] Lefèvre, *Commentariorum libri quatuordecim*, fol. 75r, 'solam fidem' and 'sola fide' – though his meaning here was far from Luther's.

[23] See Erika Rummel's books *The Case against Johann Reuchlin* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002) and *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1989) for this background.

between humanism and theology. This exchange has generally been read as a straightforward controversy arising from the ambition of a young scholar who was endeavouring to curry favour with the theology faculty, which he had just joined, by breaking a lance with the colossus of contemporary humanism. However, in a brilliant re-reading of this episode,[24] Lisa Jardine has drawn attention to Dorp's strong humanist credentials and to his continuing professional collaboration with Erasmus throughout this period to argue that their public controversy was an artificial disagreement staged in order to generate favourable publicity for a range of humanist publications including Rodolphus Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* and Thomas More's *Utopia*.[25]

Dorp's contribution to the exchange was chiefly concerned with the satirical gibes at theologians in Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, which, he proposed, were far from harmless fun, and might damage Christendom by undermining respect for that elite group. He was further anxious about the possible inference that only the *humanitatis studia* were of intellectual value, and not philosophy or theology. So he warned against attaching excessive importance to rhetoric and the humanities, especially if this were done at the expense of dialectic (the fundamental intellectual tool of scholasticism). Aware that Erasmus's academic ambitions extended to 'sacred literature' (*sacras literas*), he concluded by considering the two projects on which Erasmus was working: the edition of Jerome and the critical comparison of the text of the Vulgate New Testament with the Greek. While Dorp had no problems with the former project, he voiced serious misgivings about the latter. For it seemed to impugn the truthfulness and integrity of the Vulgate, which he defended on the grounds that the Catholic Church would otherwise have erred (which was unthinkable) in relying upon it for so many centuries in its authoritative teaching. Nor could he accept that the Greek Church might have transmitted its texts more faithfully than the Latin Church, given that the Greeks had fallen into doctrinal error. Although Erasmus might claim to be doing nothing more than indicate discrepancies between the Greek and Latin texts, the seeds of doubt and uncertainty would be sown. He therefore called on Erasmus either to confine his annotations to stylistic issues or to refute these arguments for the integrity of the Vulgate.[26]

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[24] L. Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,1993), pp. 111–18. See Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, vol. 1, ch. 1, for a more traditional reading of this episode, though she too notes the perplexing ambiguities of Dorp's position.

[25] Rodolphus Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* (Leuven: Martens, 1516); Thomas More, *Utopia* (Leuven: Martens, 1516).

[26] *EE*, vol. 11, ep. 304, from Dorp, *c.* Sept. 1514, pp. 10–16, at pp. 14–15 for the New Testament (*CWE*, vol. 111, pp. 18–23, at pp. 20–2).

Though Dorp's open letter circulated at first only in manuscript, Erasmus's response was soon available in a printed version, issued by Froben of Basel in August 1515. Dorp's letter joined it in print in a volume issued by Thierry Martens at Leuven in October. The bulk of Erasmus's reply focused on the *Encomium Moriae*: only the final fifth took up the issue of the Vulgate. This section, though brief, was decisive. Erasmus asked why Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine often had readings that differed from the Vulgate; and whether it was better to retain a long-standing scribal error against the combined testimony of the Greek, of Jerome and of the oldest Latin manuscripts. He observed that the doctrinal differences between the Greek and Latin churches did not hang on the wording or translation of the New Testament, and that therefore the Greeks had no motive to corrupt their text. Finally, he claimed that the Greek alphabet was less prone to scribal error than the Roman.[27]

Dorp's argument about the time-honoured status of the Vulgate in the Latin Church was potentially more threatening. If the teaching authority of the Catholic Church were invested in the Vulgate, criticism of its text could be construed as heresy. Erasmus countered by warning against the 'common custom of theologians' of making any and every practice an issue of ecclesiastical authority, by challenging Dorp to name a general council that had explicitly authorised the Vulgate, and by offering a satirical draft of the kind of decree that would be necessary to enshrine such views in canon law. He also invoked hierarchical authority in his own defence, referring to the bishops and reputable theologians who had endorsed his project, and avowing his willingness to have it judged at Rome. By the standards of some of Erasmus's later apologetics this was a good-tempered response, and one that perhaps achieved its objective, in that Dorp subsequently revised his views – though he ascribed this to the impact rather of Thomas More's rejoinder than of Erasmus's. Dorp's inaugural lecture of 1516 renewed his commitment to *bonae literae* and the *tres linguae* and praised Valla, Lefèvre and Erasmus – though at the price of earning its author a reputation for inconsistency and unreliability.[28]

Erasmus's exchange with Dorp was more a debate than a controversy. Indeed, if Jardine is correct in reading it as a collusive performance, its objectives may have included pre-empting opposition to the forthcoming Erasmian New Testament. It was conducted without rancour, it was followed only in

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[27] *EE*, vol. 11, ep. 337, to Dorp, *c*. May 1515, pp. 90–114 (*CWE*, vol. 111, pp. 111–39).
[28] For More's letter to Dorp see *In Defence of Humanism*, ed. Daniel Kinney in *The Complete Works of St Thomas More*, vol. xv (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. xix–xxviii and 1–127. For Dorp's lecture (published in 1519) see Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, vol. 1, pp. 10–12.

specialist circles, and it was resolved peaceably. It did not erupt into the legal proceedings through which Reuchlin was dragged for many years in the matter of 'Hebrew books', nor did it see the personal bitterness and insinuations of heresy that overshadowed the polemics in which Erasmus was ultimately to become bogged down.

## The Erasmian theme completed

The appearance in 1516 of the *Novum Instrumentum*, Erasmus's edition of the Greek New Testament with a facing Latin translation and copious textual annotations, was viewed even by contemporaries as a momentous event. Early reactions were mostly favourable. Erasmus's decision to dedicate the edition to Pope Leo X was an obvious enough attempt to fend off possible attack, and it seemed to work. Murmurs of discontent were reported, for example from Antwerp and Basel, but only in vague and general terms, and these were heavily outnumbered by the plaudits that rolled in, even from Leuven and Cologne.[29] Hieronymus Dungersheim wrote from Leipzig in 1517 with some polite queries, notably about Erasmus's note on Philippians 2:6–7, which he felt ran counter to patristic use of the text to refute Arianism. But his letter is devoid of accusations or threats, and the fact that this scholastic theologian was trying to learn Greek at this time confirms that his letter should not be read simplistically as an attack.[30] The only open attack came not from the backwoods obscurantists but from a scholar generally identified with the cause of *bonae literae*. It was Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples who first publicly took issue with Erasmus's scholarship, in the second edition of his commentary on Paul in 1516.[31] He chose to engage with Erasmus's rendering of Hebrews 2:7 ('Thou madest him a little lower than the angels'), which is in turn a citation of Psalm 8:6. Objecting on theological grounds to the idea that Christ could be thought to be lower than the angels, Lefèvre argued that Paul, writing to the Hebrews, must originally have cited the Hebrew version of this psalm, which reads 'a little lower than God'. In his enthusiasm he

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[29] *EE*, vol. II, ep. 541, to Capito, 26 Feb. 1517, p. 490 (*CWE*, vol. IV, p. 265), for Antwerp; *EE*, vol. II, ep. 561, pp. 299–302, from Capito, for Basel.

[30] *EE*, vol. II, ep. 554, pp. 506–10 (*CWE*, vol. IV, pp. 286–90).

[31] Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Contenta . . . Epistola ad Rhomanos . . . Commentariorum libri quatuordecim* (Paris: Estienne, [1516]), fols. 225v–229v. This edition appeared over the date '1515', although it manifestly post-dates Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum*, and perhaps did not appear until 1517: Erasmus first refers to it in July that year (*EE*, vol. III, ep. 607, pp. 19–20, to Tunstall, 17 July 1517; *CWE*5, vol. v, pp. 31–2). Lefèvre had already presented his views on Hebrews 2:7 and Psalm 8:6 in his *Quincuplex Psalterium*, fol. 14v.

more or less accused Erasmus of heresy, even though this was an instance in which Erasmus simply endorsed the Vulgate rendering, which in turn was an exact reflection of the Greek. This attack cut Erasmus to the quick, the more so because it came from a respected and fashionable scholar, and in reply he penned the first of what were to be many works entitled *Apologia*. It was printed in August 1517, and had been printed a total of four times by spring 1518. Erasmus's correspondence for the year following Lefèvre's attack is filled with righteous indignation as he endlessly relives the attack and his own vigorous defence.

## The Magdalene intermezzo

The first full-scale pamphlet controversy over the application of Renaissance humanist techniques to the sacred text was occasioned not by the work of Erasmus but by that of Lefèvre d'Étaples. His attempt to sift through the biblical evidence underlying the medieval cult of Mary Magdalene brought critical scholarship into a far more sensitive area – that of popular devotional practice. The appeal of the cult of the Magdalene in the Middle Ages rested on the raising of the fallen woman to the heights of heroic sanctity, a parable for the transformative power of divine grace. Lefèvre's *De Maria Magdalena*[32] carefully disentangled the traditional figure of 'Mary Magdalene' into three separate individuals: Mary Magdalene, from whom Jesus exorcised seven demons; Mary of Bethany, the sister of Martha and Lazarus; and the unnamed woman, reputed to be a sinner, who washed Jesus' feet in the house of Simon the Pharisee (Luke 7). The medieval cult figure of 'Mary Magdalene' was a conflation of the three (traceable at least as far back as the time of Origen). Lefèvre's surgery had implications for the fabric of prayer, preaching and pilgrimage that had been woven around this figure, and he was aware of this, urging reform of liturgical texts where appropriate, but also insisting that his thesis, far from undermining popular devotion, would enhance it, as the people would now have three saints where they had thought to have only one.[33]

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[32] Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *De Maria Magdalena, et Triduo Christi Disceptatio* (Paris: Estienne, 1517).

[33] For the Magdalene controversy see A. Hufstader, 'Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Magdalen', *Studies in the Renaissance* 16 (1969), 31–60; and most recently Sheila M. Porrer (ed. and trans.), *Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Three Maries Debates*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 451 (Geneva: Droz, 2009), with an ample introduction and a full bibliography. For Lefèvre's points about devotion and reform see pp. 167–9 and 391.

It was the practical implications of his thesis that turned what might have been a mere scholarly curiosity into a cause célèbre. Prominent theologians were drawn into the lists to uphold the honour and integrity of the 'unique Magdalene', and indeed of the Catholic Church, which had sanctioned her cult. Among them was John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, whose *De Unica Magdalena Disputatio*[34] invoked the authority and tradition of the church, the testimony of the liturgy and the continuity and vigour of popular devotion to buttress an analysis of the scriptural evidence which pointed out some significant flaws in the detail of Lefèvre's arguments and exploited the fact that Mary Magdalene and Mary of Bethany were never found in the same place at the same time (enabling Fisher to argue that these were simply two appellations for one and the same person).[35] Other critics of Lefèvre argued on similar lines, and included two senior figures in the Paris faculty of theology, Marc de Grandval and Noel Beda (soon to become Erasmus's Parisian *bête noire*).

Lefèvre's long-time associate Josse Clichtove leapt to the defence of his friend and endeavoured to defuse the situation by proposing that the controversy was merely historical, a matter of fact rather than a matter of faith. Lefèvre himself modified his thesis somewhat in the light of Fisher's arguments, but added to his revised edition some sceptical reflections on the pious tradition that held the 'three Maries' (Our Lady, Mary the mother of James and John, and Mary the wife of Cleophas) to be the daughters of St Anne by successive husbands. This was pouring fat on the fire, and while Fisher elaborated his counter-arguments in two further pamphlets against Clichtove and Lefèvre respectively, some leading Sorbonnists weighed in, and the issues surrounding the identity of the Magdalene and the progeny of St Anne became the stuff of popular as well as academic debate.[36]

Neither truth nor historicist humanist principles were the monopoly of any party to this dispute. The quintessentially scholastic John Mair endorsed Lefèvre's analysis of the Magdalene question,[37] while John Fisher was a humanist patron and friend of Erasmus whose name had appeared among the 'illustrious men' who backed Reuchlin in the controversy over 'Hebrew books'. Lefèvre himself, though sceptically 'modern' in his approach to 'Mary Magdalene' and St Anne, remained convinced of the authenticity of

[34] John Fisher, *De Unica Magdalena Disputatio* (Paris: Bade, 1519).
[35] R. Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,] 1991), ch. 4.
[36] Porrer (ed.), *Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples*, pp. 113–23.
[37] Massaut, *Critique et tradition*, p. 67.

the spurious correspondence between St Paul and Seneca (which he included in his edition of Paul's letters[38]) and of the identification of the late antique author of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* as Dionysius the Areopagite, supposedly a Greek philosopher converted to the faith by St Paul himself, and further venerated in France as the St Denis who brought the faith to Gaul. Lefèvre never betrayed a scintilla of doubt about Dionysius, despite the objections already advanced by Valla, and his loyal lieutenant, Josse Clichtove, included a substantial defence of the legend in his *Antilutherus* of 1524.[39] Finally, Lefèvre had challenged Erasmus on the same kind of ground on which he himself came under fire, for in taking issue with Erasmus's interpretation of Hebrews 2:7 he placed dogmatic considerations above philology.[40]

Spawning over a dozen substantial treatises within a few years, and holding the attention of cardinals, bishops and the Sorbonne, the Magdalene controversy was arguably bigger news in France and England before 1520 than was Luther's challenge to indulgences, then the centre of theological attention in Germany and Italy. Both controversies were driven more by concern for the authority of the church and for popular religious practice than with humanist scholarship as such. What made the difference between the Lefèvre affair and the Luther affair was that the former, unlike the latter, remained a dispute among scholars, conducted in the relative privacy of academic Latin, and that Lefèvre, unlike Luther, did not rise to the bait when his opponents construed his position as a principled challenge to the authority of the church. It was in fact the explosion of the Luther affair beyond the traditional confines of academic disputation that laid the Magdalene controversy to rest, and that first brought the academic big guns of the era to bear against Erasmus.

## The Lutheran climax

Although the application of humanist critical scholarship to scriptural texts is often seen as one of the 'causes' of 'the Reformation', it is important to appreciate that 'the Reformation' – or at least the emergence of Luther's radical challenge to Catholic theology – radically distorted not only the historical perspective in which the 'humanist Bible controversies' would be seen but also the immediate perception of the humanist scriptural enterprise.[41] As Erasmus

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[38] Lefèvre, *Commentariorum libri quatuordecim* (1512), fols. 226v–229r.
[39] Massaut, *Critique et tradition*, pp. 180–5.
[40] Ibid., pp. 61–6.
[41] Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, vol. II, p. 152 suggests that Luther changed the perspective for the controversies between Erasmus and his Catholic opponents, but introduces what seems to me an erroneous simplification in proposing that the early

himself later recalled, it was only after the second edition of his New Testament and *Annotationes* that he came under heavy fire.[42] This new wave of hostility was conditioned by the new context. 'Erasmus laid the eggs that Luther hatched' may be a questionable judgement, but it stood at the heart of the backlash that now set in. The case against Erasmus was never restricted to his scriptural scholarship: it also encompassed his critique of ecclesiastical abuses and his corrosive satire. But his scriptural programme was always a central issue.

Before 1517 there were but whispers of concern over the application of Renaissance humanist scholarship to the Bible. It was only after Luther's emergence that conservative preachers started to snipe publicly at Erasmus's scriptural work. In February 1518 Johann Eck, already a public opponent of Luther's, wrote to voice misgivings about Erasmus's work. Yet this remained a private communication, and even Eck prefaced his comments with some tactful praise.[43] By autumn 1518 Erasmus was writing of the 'storms of obloquy' that friars and theologians were unleashing against his New Testament, yet even now he felt able to add, 'all of it so far behind my back'.[44] His correspondence reports hostile sermons from Bruges, Cologne and Leipzig in 1518; and from Antwerp, Louvain and Strasbourg in 1519.[45] Tension was rising. The Leipzig sermon provoked the German humanist Petrus Mosellanus to leap to Erasmus's defence with his *Oratio de variarum linguarum cognitione paranda*,[46] which in turn provoked the ire of the Leuven scholastic Jacobus Latomus, the *De trium linguarum, & studii theologici ratione Dialogus*.[47]

By spring 1519 a sort of conspiracy theory linking Luther and Erasmus was being mooted, and Luther himself went fishing for Erasmus's support in a letter of March that year. In reply, Erasmus cautiously drew back from his approach, disavowing the idea that he was 'as they call it, a standard-bearer of this new movement'.[48] His 'they' shows that he sensed the risk posed by association with Luther. By 1521 Erasmus had heard of a sermon in Paris that identified four outriders of the Apocalypse: Luther in Germany, Lefèvre in

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polemics against Erasmus focused more on philology and the later polemics more on doctrine. I argue that Luther's emergence is a crucial precondition for the emergence of serious Catholic polemic against Erasmus, and that doctrinal and philological criticisms are intermingled from the start.

[42] Erasmus, *Adversus Petri Sutoris*, sig. N5R.

[43] *EE*, vol. III, ep. 769, pp. 209–12, 2 Feb. 1518 (*CWE*, vol. V, pp. 287–93).

[44] *EE*, vol. III, ep. 876, p. 414, to Justus Jonas, 19 Oct. 1518 (*CWE*, vol. VI, p. 145).

[45] Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, vol. I, ch. 6, surveys the pulpit offensive against Erasmus in these years.

[46] Petrus Mosellanus, *Oratio de variarum linguarum cognitione paranda* (Basel: Froben, 1519).

[47] Jacobus Latomus, *De trium linguarum, & studii theologici ratione Dialogus* (n.p., n.d. [1519]).

[48] *EE*, vol. III, ep. 980, pp. 605–7 at p. 605, 30 May 1519 (*CWE*, vol. VI, pp. 391–3, at p. 391).

France, an anonymous Franciscan in Italy, and Erasmus in the Netherlands.[49] Ironically, there was a structural convergence beneath the opposing analyses of conservative and innovative commentators in these early years of the Reformation. Luther and his followers were keen to emphasise the parallels between his case and those of humanists such as Reuchlin, Lefèvre and Erasmus, in order to avail themselves of the humanist rhetoric that painted their opponents into the corner as obscurantist fuddy-duddies; while those opponents were quick to tar the humanists with the brush of Luther's increasingly flagrant heresies.[50]

## Variations on the theme of Erasmus

The first disturbing controversy into which Erasmus was drawn over the New Testament was with the English scholar Edward Lee (later Archbishop of York).[51] Lee, who certainly had humanist aspirations, and whose style and scholarship were later praised by no less an authority than Roger Ascham, had gone to Leuven to study, and met Erasmus there. Their relationship seems to have begun amicably, with Erasmus, who often welcomed the assistance of younger scholars, accepting his offer of comments with a view to improving the second edition of the *Annotationes*. However, it all seems to have gone to Lee's head, and his assistance turned into what Erasmus found an irritating stream of captious carping. Lee's observations were initially philological, but became increasingly dogmatic and pompous. His friendship with Erasmus collapsed under the strain, and Lee started to plan a printed critique of the *Annotationes*. A phalanx of English humanists, led by Thomas More and John Fisher, did their utmost to make peace between the two men for fear that Lee might bring English scholarship as a whole into European disrepute. But after a complex and contested process, Lee's attack appeared as *Annotationes Edouardi Leei*,[52] and brought down upon its author the full fury of Erasmus and his friends. Stung by Lee's allegation that he was dabbling with heresy, Erasmus retorted that Lee's work was an exercise in nitpicking motivated by envy and ambition. As a result, Lee was promptly pilloried by Erasmus's

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[49] Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples*, p. 93.

[50] Luther even affected the outcome of the Reuchlin controversy. Reuchlin's case was going quite well at the papal curia until 1517, but then, as the shutters started to go up, he fell out of favour. See Rummel, *Case against Reuchlin*, pp. 21–4 and 27–8.

[51] The clearest summary of this tangled controversy is in Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, vol. 1, ch. 5, pp. 95–120, on which this paragraph is based.

[52] Edward Lee, *Annotationes Edouardi Leei* (Paris: Gourmont, 1519).

self-appointed henchmen, such as Ulrich von Hutten and Wilhelm Nesen, as one of the 'obscure men', the scholastic obscurantists who railed against Reuchlin and *bonae literae*.

Lee was chiefly concerned that the challenging of certain specific readings which had become important in the justification of scholastic and even patristic doctrines might call those doctrines themselves into doubt.[53] Thus his index to his annotations on Erasmus's work has headings such as 'He has the temerity to change the church's reading'; and 'Points that seem to me to smack of the Arian heresy'.[54] Like many of Erasmus's critics, however, Lee was capable of some remarkably silly observations. Thus where Erasmus observed that a word in the Vulgate was not to be found in the Greek text, Lee responded that it was in the Latin, and that 'no one could be so unfair as to suggest that our translator would have added it if it was not in the Greek text from which he had worked'.[55] One gets a sense from this of why Lee might indeed have felt that Erasmus sometimes made fun of his contributions. That said, Lee did land some blows, and not the least of his grievances was that Erasmus took some of his comments on board without acknowledgement, a suspicion that has received some endorsement from Erika Rummel.[56] Almost his first annotation observes that despite his general theory of the superiority of the Greek tradition to the Latin, Erasmus judged in favour of the Latin tradition in Matthew 1:18, where the Latin had 'Christ' and the Greek 'Jesus Christ'. For Lee this was mere inconsistency. Erasmus's reply was that the pious addition of 'Jesus' early in the Greek tradition was more likely than the omission of the holy name in the Latin translation.[57] Equally, one can see in Erasmus's more acerbic and self-justificatory comments a measure of justification for Lee's diagnosis that he found criticism of any kind hard to take.

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[53] Robert Coogan's work on the Erasmus–Lee controversy boils down to arguing that Lee's charges of Pelagianism and other heresies were not without some justification, an analysis that seems to recapitulate not simply the charges of Erasmus's opponents but also their crude and deficient methodology. See R. Coogan, *Erasmus, Lee and the Correction of the Vulgate: The Shaking of the Foundations* (Geneva: Droz, 1992). For a more balanced and thorough account of the controversy see the work of Cecilia Asso (note 57 in this chapter).

[54] Edward Lee, *Apologia Edouardi Leei contra quorundam calumnias* (Paris: Gourmont, [1520]), sigs. DD3r and DD4r.

[55] Ibid., fol. XXXIXr.

[56] Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, vol. 1, pp. 101–8.

[57] Cecilia Asso, *La teologia e la grammatica: la controversia tra Erasmo ed Edward Lee* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki editore, 1993), pp. 64–65. The gist of her excellent analysis is to be found in her article 'Martin Dorp and Edward Lee', in Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 167–95.

Erasmus's controversy with Lee was intricately connected with his revised version of the *Annotationes*, on which he was working when Lee first made his acquaintance, and which he published in March 1519. The temperature had already been rising, but now it reached boiling point. Erasmus's proposal to render the opening of John's Gospel 'In principio erat sermo' in place of the traditional 'In principio erat verbum' went too far, fulfilling growing fears that he was tinkering with Holy Writ. These words were perhaps the best known in the entire Bible. Read as part of the 'Last Gospel' at the end of every celebration of Mass, they would have been familiar even to most of the laity, and were often inscribed on scraps of parchment for use as amulets or recited as charms.[58] It was easy for popular preachers to seize on this in representing Erasmus as a threat to the faith, as Henry Standish did in a sermon at Paul's Cross in London.[59] From this point, the attacks came thick and fast.

Diego López de Zúñiga (Latinised as Stunica) entered the field around the same time as Edward Lee, writing first against Lefèvre in 1519, and then against Erasmus in 1520. Zúñiga was by far the most technically qualified of Erasmus's critics, having himself worked on the Complutensian Polyglot. Zúñiga and Erasmus exchanged ten increasingly embittered pamphlets over the next ten years. Zúñiga was a far more capable version of Lee: a humanist himself, but a better stylist and a better philologist. In a laborious survey of their voluminous controversy, R. H. Graham has shown not only that Zúñiga at times scored heavily off Erasmus but also that, while never openly conceding an inch, Erasmus did in fact take on board some of Zúñiga's criticisms in his third edition of his *Annotationes* (1522).[60] Their controversy touched on some of the great issues of New Testament criticism, including the use of the word 'God' to refer to Jesus, but also became bogged down in special pleading and intellectual pride.[61] Zúñiga just kept on and on until eventually Erasmus succeeded in mobilising his powerful friends in Rome to enjoin silence upon his foe. Erasmus's decision to make a public break with Luther over the freedom of the will in 1524 probably did much to purchase this relief. Zúñiga's last

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[58] *Novum Testamentumomne: multo qum antehac diligentius ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum, emendatum ac translatum, non solum ad Graecam veritatem, verum etiam ad multorum utriusque linguae codicum, eorumque veterum simul & emendatorum fidem*, ed. Erasmus (Basel: Froben, 1519), p. 189. See also E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 214–15.

[59] *EE*, vol. IV, ep. 1126, p. 310, to Buschius, 31 July 1520 (*CWE*, vol. VIII, pp. 8–9).

[60] R. H. Graham, 'Erasmus and Stunica: A Chapter in the History of NT Scholarship', *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 10 (1990), 9–60, esp. pp. 16–17, 23 and 40–1.

[61] Ibid., pp. 18–22 and 58–9.

pamphlet appeared that year, although Erasmus allowed himself the luxury of the last word in 1529.[62]

By the mid-1520s the notion that 'Erasmus laid the eggs' was widespread among those hunting for Luther's intellectual progenitors. Zúñiga directly imputed Lutheranism to Erasmus in 1522,[63] and the charge was explored more thoroughly in the work of an Italian scholar, Alberto Pio de Carpi's *Responsio accurata & paraenetica* (1529). This drew a response in its turn from Erasmus in 1529, to which Pio composed a monumental riposte that appeared posthumously in 1531.[64] Erasmus's *Apologia* (1531) against Alberto Pio in turn elicited an *Antapologia* from the Spanish Ciceronian Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1532. Sepúlveda's impeccable Latin puts the final nail in the coffin for the notion that these controversies are reducible to a clash between humanists and scholastics. Rather, it was a profound debate over the proper contribution of philology to theology. Some of Sepúlveda's points against Erasmus were taken into account in the fifth edition of the *Annotationes* in 1535.[65] Agostino Steuco, the indisputably humanist Vatican librarian who wrote against Luther and Erasmus, added Lorenzo Valla to the roster of Luther's forerunners.[66] Steuco also compiled a collation of Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old Testament, *Recognitio Veteris Testamenti*,[67] which made several sound criticisms of elements of Erasmus's scriptural programme.

The greatest threat that Erasmus faced, though, came from that citadel of Catholic orthodoxy, the Sorbonne. Noel Beda, dean of the Paris theology faculty, was on the offensive against both Erasmus and Lefèvre.[68] His concern was primarily dogmatic, and he was sensitive to the slightest hint of error, milling their texts with an inquisitorial zeal that slipped regularly into uncharitable

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[62] Ibid., pp. 16–17.

[63] Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, vol. I, pp. 166–8.

[64] Myron P. Gilmore, 'De Modis Disputandi: The Apologetic Works of Erasmus', in J. G. Rowe and W. H. Stockdale (eds.), *Florilegium Historiale: Essays Presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 62–88, at pp. 77–8. See also Nelson H. Minnich, 'Alberto Pio's Defense of Scholastic Theology', in Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 277–95.

[65] Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, vol. II, pp. 126–7.

[66] G. Di Napoli, *Lorenzo Valla: filosofia e religione nell'umanesimo italiano* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1971), pp. 366–7. For Steuco see Ronald K. Delph, 'Emending and Defending the Vulgate Old Testament: Agostino Steuco's Quarrel with Erasmus', in Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 297–318.

[67] Agostino Steuco, *Recognitio Veteris Testamenti* (Venice: Aldus,] 1529).

[68] See J. K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France: The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500–1543*, SMRT 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 176–80 and 186–95. See also his 'Erasmus, the University of Paris, and the Profession of Theology', *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 19 (1999), 18–46.

and distorted interpretation in order to maximise the yield of heresy. But for the Lutheran context that dominated the 1520s, his criticisms might never have seemed anything other than what they were – small-minded, self-righteous and malevolent carping. The Lutheran context, however, left Erasmus and Lefèvre potentially vulnerable to the imputation of heresy. Beda declared himself 'stupefied' that anyone could impute error to the Bible endorsed by saints and scholars for a thousand years.[69] He regularly conflates the errors of Luther with those of Erasmus and Lefèvre, for example ascribing to all three of them the doctrine of justification by faith alone.[70] Under Beda's leadership the Sorbonne's condemnations of Erasmus were formulated in 1526–8, but the political rearguard action Erasmus fought against them with the aid of friends at Francis I's court delayed their publication until 1531.

Peter Sutor (a Latinisation of Cousturier) was perhaps the only textbook case of the hidebound scholastic to cross swords with Erasmus. His *De tralatione Bibliae* must have gladdened Erasmus's heart. As a former Sorbonnist, Sutor was in one sense everything that Erasmus might have feared: well connected, impeccably orthodox, and possibly in a position to turn Europe's most powerful intellectual institution against him. Yet it is evident from the mixture of relish and contempt with which Erasmus sets about him that, in another sense, his intervention was a gift, the perfect opportunity to vindicate himself and to cast his enemies as the enemies of all good sense. From the opening page, with its inevitable and irresistible invocation of the classic proverb, 'ne sutor ultra crepidam' (the cobbler should stick to his last), Erasmus rips Sutor to shreds, beginning with his allegedly unspeakable Latin. Although unduly harsh, the humanist cliché of the barbarous scholastic was not entirely unjustified in this case, and Erasmus joyously recites his neologisms, barbarisms, solecisms and 'cacography' (punning on 'chalcography', or printing, to poke cruel fun at his opponent's poor spelling or typesetting).[71]

Having established to his own satisfaction his critic's utter incompetence, Erasmus expatiates on the disorderly structure, defective logic and unmitigatedly derivative content of his treatise, taking particular pleasure in observing that Sutor's critique of Lefèvre on Hebrews was nothing more than a crude summary of his own reply to Lefèvre on the same subject! For the rest, in his view, it was just Zúñiga, Lee and Latomus without the style.[72] Sutor

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[69] Noel Beda, *Annotationum. . . in Jacobum Fabrum Stapulensem libri duo: Et in Desiderium Erasmum Roterodamum liber unus* (Paris: Bade, 1526), fol. IIIv.

[70] Ibid., fol. ccv v.

[71] Erasmus, *Adversus Petri Sutoris*, sigs. a4v and b1r.

[72] Erasmus, *Adversus Petri Sutoris*, sigs. a7v, a8r, b2v, h7v and i5r.

could hardly gainsay the weight of patristic testimony for the inspired status of the Septuagint translation, but nevertheless insisted that the Septuagint had been vitiated by scribal error from the first moment it was copied – thus excluding any chance that it might compete with the Vulgate. Sutor was one of those for whom the heresies of the Greeks and the unbelief of the Jews left the Greek and Hebrew scriptures devoid of all credibility wherever they deviated from the Latin text endorsed de facto by the infallible Roman Catholic Church.[73] His attempt to show that the Vulgate translation was itself divinely inspired rested on the notion that Jerome, whom he reckoned solely responsible for the Vulgate, had been rapt, like St Paul, into the heavens, where he had received illumination direct from the Holy Spirit. Erasmus's devastating response was that the text of Jerome's on which Sutor based his case was, on stylistic grounds, demonstrably spurious.[74]

Minor controversies continued to echo around the issues thrashed out between Erasmus and his opponents. In England Richard Pace and John Fisher clashed over the inspiration of the Septuagint, which the former had impugned in announcing his intention of publishing a new Latin version of Ecclesiastes.[75] In Rome Cardinal Cajetan, whose humanist interests had, like Fisher's, flourished in his latter years, embarked on a series of scriptural commentaries that did not scruple to question the Vulgate's readings. This earned him hostile attention from Paris and, once he was safely in his grave, from his fellow Dominican Ambrogio Catarino Politi (Catharinus). Noel Beda and his colleagues also pursued a vendetta against Agazio Guidacerio, who lectured in Hebrew at Francis I's Collège royal in Paris.[76] These persistent attacks eventually achieved some success. Valla, Lefèvre and Erasmus all fell under comprehensive ban in the first *Index librorum prohibitorum* issued by the father of the Roman Inquisition, Paul IV, in 1559, though later versions of the *Index* limited the extent of the censures.[77] And from the point of view of the Catholic Church it was fortunate indeed that the papacy was not stampeded into judgement earlier. The Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VII, who received the dedications of so many of the major publications of biblical humanism, refrained, whether out of wisdom or vanity, from a condemnation of the Erasmian

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[73] Petrus Sutor, *De tralatione Bibliae* (Paris: Petit, 1525), fols. xviiiv–xixr.

[74] Ibid., fol. xxxixr; Erasmus, *Adversus Petri Sutoris*, sigs. e6r–fiv.

[75] R. Rex, 'St John Fisher's Treatise on the Authority of the Septuagint', *Journal of Theological Studies*, ns 43 (1992), 55–116.

[76] Grendler, 'Italian Biblical Humanism', pp. 247–51 (Guidacerio) and 252–63 (Cajetan).

[77] Heinrich Reusch (ed.), *Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart,1886), pp. 183 and 193. Compare p. 259 for the less sweeping condemnation of Erasmus in 1564.

programme that, at the height of popular agitation over Lutheranism, might have proved terminal for papal credibility.

The story of the 'humanist Bible controversies', then, should not be told as a whiggish narrative of philological progress paving the way for theological revolution. It was the Reformation that made biblical humanism controversial. Nor does the aftermath offer a simple contrast between scholarly advance in Protestant cultures and academic stagnation in Catholic. The hermeneutical keys of Protestantism – law and gospel, and covenant theology – could easily become intellectual straitjackets every bit as constricting as the *consensus ecclesiae* and the decrees of the Council of Trent. It will not do, however, simply to extend an unfair verdict against Catholic scholarship to Protestant scholarship as well. The Reformation undeniably diverted much theological energy into internecine polemics, and therefore probably slowed the development of critical scholarship. But significant scholarly work continued to be carried out on both sides of the divide – only with scholars in general taking more care than Erasmus to tread carefully in the minefields of dogma. There were exceptions, such as Benito Arias Montano and even Luis de León, who fell foul of the Spanish Inquisition; or Sébastian Castellio, who fell foul of Calvin in Geneva. But achievements such as the Sixtine Vulgate and the Clementine Septuagint, the new Latin translation of the Bible completed by Tremellius and Junius, and the fine Bibles that issued from the presses of Étienne and Plantin, are testimony enough to the vitality of humanist philological scholarship on all sides, albeit under the keener doctrinal surveillance and self-censorship of the age of confessionalisation.

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# The Old Testament and its ancient versions in manuscript and print in the West, from *c.* 1480 to *c.* 1780

SCOTT MANDELBROTE

In 1753 controversy broke out in Oxford over an essay published by Benjamin Kennicott (1718–83). Kennicott compared the text of 1 Chronicles 11 with that of 2 Samuel 5 and 23, which appeared to be parallel descriptions of the same set of events. In so doing he identified numerous textual discrepancies and inconsistencies, many of which appeared to derive from errors of transcription. These were compounded further when Kennicott made reference to other ancient witnesses to the text. The Greek of the Jewish Bible of the Hellenistic world, the Septuagint, was particularly poorly attested for these passages. All of which made the task of the vernacular translator, whose work Kennicott looked to improve, especially complicated.[1] Although there were Hebraic fundamentalists in mid-eighteenth-century Oxford, including the followers of John Hutchinson who comprised some of Kennicott's bitterest opponents, these were not surprising findings to the world of early modern scholarship.[2]

[1] Benjamin Kennicott, *The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament Considered* (Oxford: at the [Sheldonian] Theatre; Clements, Rivington [and others], 1753); a second part of this work was published in 1759; Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 2602. On Kennicott see Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson J fol. 3, f. 372; William McKane, 'Benjamin Kennicott: An Eighteenth-Century Researcher', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 28 (1977), 445–63; David S. Katz, 'The Chinese Jews and the Problem of Biblical Authority in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England', *English Historical Review* 105 (1990), 893–919; David B. Ruderman, *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 23–56.

[2] David S. Katz, 'The Hutchinsonians and Hebraic Fundamentalism in Eighteenth-Century England', in David S. Katz and Jonathan I. Israel (eds.), *Sceptics, Millenarians and Jews* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 237–55; Derya Gürses, 'Paradigm Regained: The Hutchinsonian Reconstruction of Trinitarian Protestant Christianity (1724–1806)', Ph.D. thesis, Bilkent University, 2003.

Kennicott built knowingly on the work of the early seventeenth-century Huguenot critic from Saumur, Louis Cappel (1585–1658). Cappel's *Critica sacra* (Paris, 1650) treated the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old Testament as parallel witnesses, and discredited the notion, commonly held by Protestants in particular, that the contemporary Hebrew Bible, including the vowel points, represented the original state of the text.[3] Such scepticism looked back to the arguments of the foremost early sixteenth-century intermediary between Hebraic scholarship and Christian readers, Elijah Levita (1469–1549).[4] As such, it was grounded in the scholarship that had produced the very printed texts on which later critics and translators relied – the rabbinic Bible whose third edition (Venice, 1548) Levita helped to edit; the dictionaries of Hebrew and Aramaic that he compiled – as well making use of the conclusions of Levita's studies of the rabbinical critical apparatus (or Masorah, which had codified certain earlier, oral traditions concerning the reading of the biblical text).[5]

Later critics, notably the Oratorian Richard Simon (1638–1712), had admired Levita's work and started to extend it. They examined for themselves manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible and its principal ancient translations, and they reconsidered the authority of existing printed versions.[6] From Kennicott's point of view, the attitudes of Charles-François Houbigant (1686–1783), another Oratorian critic who himself produced an edition of the Hebrew Bible, were an important stimulus to looking anew at the authority and antiquity of the Masorah. Like the Hutchinsonians whom Kennicott encountered at Oxford, Houbigant rejected the vowel points introduced by the compilers of the Masorah, preferring himself the system of consonantal vocalisation, based on

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[3] See J.C.H. Lebram, 'Ein Streit um die hebräische Bibel und die Septuaginta', in T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 20–63; François Laplanche, *L'Écriture, le sacré et l'histoire:érudits et politiques protestants devant la Bible en France au XVIIe siècle* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1986), pp. 181–327; Georg Schnedermann, *Die Controverse des Ludovicus Cappellus mit den Buxtorfen über das Alter der Hebräischen Punctation* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1879); N.J.S. Hardy, 'The *Ars Critica* in Early Modern England', D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 2012, pp. 191–209.

[4] Louis Cappel, *Arcanum punctationis revelatum* (Leiden: J. Maire, 1624), pp. 2–3; Gérard E. Weil, *Élie Lévita, humaniste et massorète* (Leiden: Brill, 1963); Deena Aranoff, 'Elijah Levita: A Jewish Hebraist', *Jewish History* 23 (2009), 17–40.

[5] Sophie Kessler Mesguich, 'Early Christian Hebraists', in *HBOT* II, pp. 254–75; Stephen G. Burnett, 'The Strange Career of the Biblia Rabbinica among Christian Hebraists, 1517–1620', in Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (eds.), *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 63–84.

[6] Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* ([Amsterdam: n.p., 1680), pp. 573–98; the most acute study of Simon remains Paul Auvray, *Richard Simon (1638–1712)* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974); see also Jean Bernier, *La Critique du Pentateuque de Hobbes à Calmet* (Paris: Champion, 2010), pp. 250–63.

the Hebrew *matres lectionis*, developed by François Masclef (1662–1728). Unlike the Hutchinsonians, however, Houbigant wished to use the readings of other ancient versions of the Old Testament to guide him in an almost conjectural method of re-establishing the text.[7] This was the way in which Houbigant had sought to improve on the readings of the rabbinic Bible, which he consulted in the convenient form of an edition with notes by Everardus van der Hooght (Amsterdam and Utrecht, 1705). That was itself based on the revision of text by the Utrecht Christian Hebraist Johannes Leusden and the Amsterdam Jewish printer Joseph Athias, which had first been published in 1667.[8] The same Bible was used as the basic text for correction by Kennicott. He took, however, a fundamentally different tack from Houbigant, at the same time benefiting from the encouragement of colleagues whose own practices largely echoed those of the Oratorian scholar.[9] These Oxford scholars were conscious of the achievement of an earlier generation of critics at that university, notably John Fell and, above all, John Mill, in establishing the variants in the Greek text of the New Testament largely from surveying the evidence of manuscript readings, either through the witness of print or through direct collation.[10] This was the method that Kennicott eventually decided to emulate, having had his eyes opened by consideration of the Hebrew manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. The rest of Kennicott's life was to be spent in correspondence and study. First, he sought sponsorship and information. Then, between 1760 and 1769, he collected the witnesses of as many Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts of the Bible as possible, towards a variorum edition of the Old Testament. Finally, he worked on the production of that edition (published at Oxford in two volumes

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[7]  Charles-François Houbigant, *Prolegomena in scripturam sacram* (Paris: A. C. Briasson & L. Durand, 1746); Charles-François Houbigant (ed.), *Biblia hebraica*, 4 vols. (Paris: A. C. Briasson & L. Durand, 1753). See also Mireille Hadas-Lebel, 'Le P. Houbigant et la critique textuelle', in Yvon Belaval and Dominique Bourel (eds.), *Le siècle des Lumières et la Bible* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1986), pp. 103–12; Françoise Deconinck-Brossard, 'England and France in the Eighteenth Century', in Stephen Prickett (ed.), *Reading the Text: Biblical Criticism and Literary Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 136–81; John Rogerson, 'Charles-François Houbigant: His Background, Work and Importance for Lowth', in John Jarick (ed.), *Sacred Conjectures: The Context and Legacy of Robert Lowth and Jean Astruc* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2007), pp. 83–92. Manuscripts relating to Houbigant's version of the Bible may be found in the Archives de l'Oratoire, Paris, Mss. Fol. 10–14.

[8]  Darlow and Moule, nos. 5134 and 5140; Theodor Dunkelgrün, 'Like a Blind Man Judging Colors: Joseph Athias and Johannes Leusden Defend their 1667 Hebrew Bible', *Studia Rosenthaliana* 44 (2012), 79–115.

[9]  Cf. Gregory Sharpe, *Two Dissertations: I. Upon the Origin, Construction, Division, and Relation of Languages. II. Upon the Original Power of Letters; Wherein is Proved. . . that the Hebrew Ought to be Read without Points* (London: John Millan, 1751); Bodleian Library, Ms. Eng. Lett. d. 145, ff. 8–9 (Thomas Hunt to Sharpe, 21 July 1750).

[10]  Darlow and Moule, nos. 4711 and 4725; Adam Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley: A Study of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament 1675–1729* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954).

in 1776 and 1780, and citing 615 biblical manuscripts and 52 printed editions of all or part of the Hebrew Bible), which might provide the ground on which conjectures could be confirmed or rejected on the basis of textual evidence.[11]

The passage of time has not been kind to Kennicott. As Ernst Würthwein puts it: 'the actual value of [his edition] for the recovery of the original text is very small'.[12] From the late nineteenth century, editors turned against the eighteenth-century fetish for the consonantal text without wholly regaining the respect for the Masoretes as editors that had animated Levita and earlier critics. Instead, they tended to conclude simply that Kennicott's efforts proved that nothing much could be learned from manuscripts that were all late in origin and derived from a tradition that had already largely been standardised when they were written. Disillusioned with his work collating for Kennicott, Ignatius Adolphus Dumay (a French convert from Judaism, and sometime soldier, pedlar and calligrapher) commented that if his master saw ten times as many manuscripts as Houbigant had, it would only cause him to make ten times as much confusion.[13] Dumay had friends among Kennicott's Hutchinsonian opponents, some of whom articulated the view that since sixteenth-century editors had carefully collated manuscripts in preparing printed editions of the Hebrew Bible, further work of this kind was unnecessary.[14] Even for admirers and emulators of Kennicott, such as Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi, professor of Hebrew at Parma from 1769, his relative failure to take into account manuscript traditions other than those of the Hebrew Bible and Samaritan Pentateuch weakened his achievement, which thus remained primarily one of collation and not one of criticism.[15]

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[11] Benjamin Kennicott, *The Ten Annual Accounts of the Collation of Hebrew MSS of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Fletcher, Prince, Rivington [and others], 1770); on conjectures see also Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 12, ff. 6–8; cf. Darlow and Moule, no. 5160.

[12] Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes (London: SCM, 1980), p. 38.

[13] Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott e. 43, f. 71; [Ignatius Adolphus Dumay], *Letters of Mr the Abbot of \*\*\* Ex Professor of the Hebrew Language in the University of \*\*\* to Mr Kennicott* (Paris [i.e. London]: ... the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1772). Dumay's identity and authorship of this work are explored by Cecil Roth, 'Salomon Israel, Writing Master in Oxford, 1745 – *alias* Ignatius Dumay', *Oxoniensia* 28 (1963), 74–8. Cf. *A Letter to a Friend, Occasioned by a French Pamphlet Lately Published against Doctor Kennicott* (London: Elmsley & Prince, 1772); Paullus Jacobus Bruns, *De Libello contra Beniaminum Kennicott* (Rome: typis G. Salomoni, 1772).

[14] William Jones, *Memoirs of the Life, Studies, and Writings of the Right Reverend George Horne, DD* (London: Robinson, Rivington [and others], 1795), p. 99.

[15] Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi, *De Hebraicae typographiae origine ac primitiis seu antiquis ac rarissimis Hebraicorum librorum editionibus seculi xv disquisitio historico-critica* (Parma: Ex Regio typographeo, 1776), p. 99.

Yet Kennicott himself was not unaware of several of these problems. He recognised, for example, that he had important precursors, notably in the Hebrew Bible prepared at Halle by Johann Heinrich Michaelis in 1720.[16] Similarly, he knew that surviving manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible were mostly of late date, later indeed than the earliest manuscript witnesses to the Septuagint.[17] He argued that a significant part of his achievement lay in providing the means to get behind the received printed text, and thus to reveal whatever earlier tradition had been. For over a century Protestant critics had sought to defend their activities against the attacks of those of their brethren for whom the Hebrew Bible was literally and entirely God's Word by pointing out that the original manuscripts of the Bible did not survive.[18] Criticism was therefore necessary to interrogate the text. Even if Kennicott was understandably given to overestimating the intellectual importance of the variants that he had discovered, the project of determining what variants there might be and to what tradition they belonged was not a foolish one. Despite modern discoveries (notably those of the Dead Sea Scrolls), editors of the Hebrew Bible must still rely in part on the work of the Masoretes. Recognition of the limits of reconstructing the original text through the methods of nineteenth-century classical scholarship has therefore led to a more positive evaluation of Kennicott's activities.[19] The depth of the impression made by Kennicott on his exact contemporaries was underlined by the decision of Oxford University and its press in 1788 to follow up his work with a parallel project to collate the variants in the manuscripts of the Greek Septuagint text, under the direction of Robert Holmes (1748–1805).[20]

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[16] Kennicott, *Ten Annual Accounts*, pp. 141–8; cf. Darlow and Moule, no. 5144.

[17] Kennicott, *State of the Printed Hebrew Text*, pp. 305–9.

[18] Richard A. Muller, 'The Debate over the Vowel Points and the Crisis in Orthodox Hermeneutics', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10 (1980), 53–72; Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, 'Foundations of Biblical Philology in the Seventeenth Century: Christian and Jewish Dimensions', in Isadore Twersky and Bernard Septimus (eds.), *Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA,: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 77–94.

[19] For example, M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts', *Biblica* 48 (1967), 243–90; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd edn. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), esp. pp. 17–36; Richard D. Weis, '"Lower Criticism": Studies in the Masoretic Text and the Ancient Versions of the Old Testament as a Means of Textual Criticism', in Magne Sæbø, Peter Machinist and Jean Louis Ska, SJ (eds.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, vol. III / 1: *The Nineteenth Century* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), pp. 346–92. Stephen G. Burnett misunderstands the work of both Kennicott and de Rossi by suggesting that they simply sought 'a path back to the autographs' of the Bible: 'Later Christian Hebraists', in *HBOT* II, pp. 785–801, at p. 801.

[20] Robert Holmes, *The First Annual Account of the Collation of the Mss. of the Septuagint Version* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1789); Bodleian Library, Mss. Holmes 1–149, 151–64.

To the eyes of modern scholars this appears a very different project from that of Kennicott, since, as the work of Holmes and his successors underlined and as was recognised by many early modern critics, the Greek Old Testament survives in a manner that bears witness to several ancient traditions, both of itself and of the Hebrew Bible that underlies it. Yet for early modern critics the two undertakings were often part of a single project of textual rediscovery, whose purpose was to overcome what was widely believed to be the corruption of earlier texts by their later custodians, editors and printers. Holmes promised to complete the work that Kennicott had begun, although neither project in practice comprehended the full range of critical sources for the text that early modern scholars had already identified as desirable.

   Part of the justification for the work of Kennicott and even of Holmes lay in the belief that the skills necessary to undertake such tasks remained relatively novel in the mid-eighteenth century. Kennicott alluded to this when he remarked that the study of Hebrew had only revived in the past hundred years (by which he meant since the time of Cappel), and when he noted the importance of the discoveries of Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741) in setting the dates of Greek manuscripts.[21] A member of the famous Benedictine congregation of St Maur, based at the Abbey of Saint Germain des Prés in Paris, Montfaucon was himself responsible for pioneering work on the tradition of the Septuagint. He collated a range of manuscripts with the witness of the Greek Fathers, in order to improve on existing reconstructions of the so-called Hexapla of Origen (the third-century theologian who had developed the method of laying out versions of the Greek Old Testament in parallel with the Hebrew, its transliteration into Greek, and one another).[22] Montfaucon's edition of the fragments of the Hexapla demonstrated the superiority of eighteenth-century access to manuscripts (notably, in his case, those of the Royal Library and other Parisian collections), but more importantly it underlined the development of critical skill in identifying and classifying codices. Montfaucon was concerned not only with manuscripts of parts of the Hexapla themselves, but also with the survival of the critical signs with which Origen had marked the text. In so doing he was embarking on a project

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[21] Kennicott, *State of the Printed Hebrew Text*, p. 308; cf. Bernard de Montfaucon, *Palæographia Græca* (Paris: Guerin, Boudot &Robustel, 1708).

[22] Bernard de Montfaucon, *Hexaplorum Origenis* (Paris: Guerin, Boudot & Robustel, 1713); the original impetus for the work appears to have been a fragment of the Hexapla that Montfaucon himself had acquired: see Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Ms. Nachlass Groddeck, ff. 217–18 (Montfaucon to Gabriel Groddeck, 25 December 1697).

of criticism that promised to take him beyond the witness of any surviving manuscript, since no single text to which he had access either preserved completely the editorial activities of Origen's scriptorium in Caesarea or could itself be dated to as early as the mid-third century or before.[23] The skill with which Montfaucon collected manuscript evidence, dated and weighed the authority of texts, and compiled historical vocabularies all gave testimony to a transformation in scholarship that took place in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It was not that the precursors whose work Montfaucon used, in particular Flaminio Nobili (1532–90) and Johannes Drusius (1550–1616), had entirely different aims from him. Instead, both the tools at their disposal and their more limited conception of the task at hand made what they could achieve very much less.[24] Like Kennicott, Montfaucon was able to make use of a network for collaborative scholarship, and to correspond widely with professional or semi-professional librarians.[25] He had travelled extensively to inspect manuscripts himself. Indeed, his direct contacts even reached beyond Latin Christendom, to Mount Athos and the manuscripts of Greek monasteries themselves.[26] Thanks to Montfaucon's own publication of facsimiles of manuscripts, it was now possible readily to make comparisons of script and style. Montfaucon also encouraged fellow Maurists in parallel projects, of which the most important was the research carried out by Jean Martianay

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[23] See Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[24] On Nobili see Hildebrand Höpfl, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sixto-Klementinischen Vulgata* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1913), pp. 126–7. Nobili's notes on the text were published in the Vatican or Sixtine edition of the Septuagint (Rome, [1587]) (Darlow and Moule, no. 4647), and were spoilt by many typographical errors; see also Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Mss. R. 2–5 (notes on the Septuagint by Nobili's collaborator Pierre Morin). They were reprinted both in the Parisian edition of the Septuagint (edited by Jean Morin, 1628) and in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot Bible (1653–7). Drusius's work on the Hexapla began with *In Psalmos Davidis veterum interpretum* (Antwerp: Plantin,] 1581), see Tresoar, Leeuwarden, Ms. 729 Hs. (especially Drusius to Carolus à Roorda, 1 July 1590); it culminated in *Veterum interpretum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Arnhem: Johannes Ianssonius, 1622), and was used by Morin, Walton and Lambert Bos (who published an edition of the Septuagint at Franeker in 1709). See also Peter Korteweg, *De nieuwtestamentische commentaren van Johannes Drusius (1550–1616)* (Melissant: n.p., 2006).

[25] On the expansion of professionalism see Maurice Caillet, 'Les Bibliothécaires', in Claude Jolly (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, vol. II: *Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Promodis, 1988), pp. 372–89.

[26] See Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fonds français 19229, ff. 1–10; Bernard de Montfaucon, *Travels of the Learned Father Montfaucon from Paris thro' Italy* (London: Curll, Sanger, Gosling & Lewis, 1712), esp. pp. 325–6 for judgements on the relative merits of biblical manuscripts in the Vatican and in Parisian libraries.

(1647–1717) into the life and writings of St Jerome and the textual history and earliest manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate.[27]

By the early eighteenth century an expansion of editorial activity was possible for Greek texts that promised to transform earlier understandings of the text of the Old Testament. In addition to Montfaucon, the work at Oxford of John Ernest (Johann Ernst) Grabe (1666–1711) underlined these factors. Grabe was himself a disciple of John Mill, whose later influence on Kennicott has already been noted, and was able to draw on existing interest in editing the Septuagint at Oxford.[28] His intention was to complete an unfulfilled aim of English seventeenth-century scholarship by providing a critical edition of the Greek Old Testament, taking full account of the text provided by Codex Alexandrinus.[29] This fifth-century manuscript, at the time believed to originate in first-century Egypt, had been given to the king by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lukaris (1570–1638), and reached England in 1628.[30] Although contemporary scholars quickly agreed on its antiquity and importance, efforts to edit it foundered during the 1640s, and its availability in print thus remained fragmentary.[31] In his editorial labours Grabe received facsimiles of manuscripts made for him by Isaac Newton in Cambridge, by Montfaucon in Paris, as well as from the Vatican Library and elsewhere.[32] At times Grabe appeared to share the assumption made by some earlier English critics that Codex Alexandrinus represented the oldest and best source for the Septuagint,

[27] Filipe le Cerf, *Bibliotéque historique et critique des auteurs de la Congrégation de S. Maur* (The Hague: Pierre Gosse, 1726), pp. 307–22; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fonds français 19663; Ms. Latin 11936.

[28] John Ernest Grabe, *Epistola ad clarissimum virum, D[omi]nu[m] Joannem Millium* (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1705). See Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Ms. NKS 1675 2°, number 76; Bodleian Library, Ms. Smith 62, pp. 55–8.

[29] Now British Library, London, Mss. Royal I D. v–viii.

[30] Samuel Richardson (ed.), *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe* (London: Society for the Encouragement of Learning, 1740), p. 618; Matthew Spinka, 'Acquisition of the Codex Alexandrinus by England', *Journal of Religion* 16 (1936), 10–29; Scot McKendrick, 'The Codex Alexandrinus or the Dangers of being a Named Manuscript', in Scot McKendrick and Orlaith A. O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text* (London: British Library, 2003), pp. 1–16.

[31] Variant readings were provided in the London Polyglot which, however, followed the text of the Vatican edition of 1587. Editions of biblical texts based on Codex Alexandrinus were otherwise limited to Job (Patrick Young (ed.), *Catena graecorum patrum in beatum Iob* (London: Ex typographio Regio, 1637)) and Psalms ([Thomas Gale (ed.)], *Psalterium, juxta exemplar Alexandrinum* (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1678)).

[32] For example, Bodleian Library, Mss. Grabe 36, pp. 16, 38–49; Grabe 23, ff. 5–10; specimens such as these might in turn be copied by others compiling their own collections for reference. See, for example, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Ms. Diez c. Quarto 35 (collections of J.B. Mencke, 1698–9), based in part on tracings made for John Mill.

and that other manuscripts were corruptions of its tradition.[33] As he worked, however, the purity of the text that he produced was compromised both by his exercise of critical judgement across a wider range of manuscript evidence and, perhaps, by his continued use of earlier editions based on other manuscripts.[34] The prompt production of his edition was marred by Grabe's premature death, yet nevertheless it was quickly reprinted overseas and circulated widely.[35]

The circumstances that applied in the time of Grabe or Montfaucon to scholarship on the Greek text of the Old Testament were not repeated with reference either to the Hebrew Bible or the other ancient, Oriental versions of the Old Testament. Kennicott was right therefore to draw attention to the novelty of his approach, which perhaps also reflected the growing specialisation of different types of Old Testament criticism. That, in turn, owed something to the way in which the practice of criticism had been shaped both by polemic and by the dynamics of two centuries of religious confessionalisation. Yet if argument and religious difference divided the world of scholarship, it might also forge alliances within it. Indeed, Christian critics from the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth centuries might be ranged across three camps, each of which at times crossed denominations regardless of the pressure for confessional uniformity.

First, many Catholic scholars distrusted the contemporary Hebrew Bible, believing it to have been irredeemably corrupted by the Jews, and as a result upheld the textual authority of ancient translations, above all the Vulgate but also, for a significant minority, the Septuagint. By no means a dominant argument in the early to mid-sixteenth century, this view was bolstered both by the endorsement of the Vulgate at the Council of Trent and by the controversy around the editing of the Antwerp Polyglot and its critical apparatus in the 1570s. In its most sophisticated form, for example in the work of the Oratorian Jean Morin (1591–1659), a version of this argument underpinned complex enquiry concerning the history of biblical texts.[36]

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[33] For example, the judgement of Thomas Smith in 1678 (Bodleian Library, Ms. Smith 60, p. 130), echoing what appeared to be the opinion of Patrick Young.

[34] See Bodleian Library, Mss. Grabe 49, 51–2.

[35] John Ernest Grabe (ed.), *Septuaginta Interpretum*, 4 vols. (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano,] 1707–20); a version of Grabe's work, prepared by Johann Jacob Breitinger in four volumes, was printed at Zurich between 1730 and 1732.

[36] For example, Léon de Castro, *Apologeticvs pro lectione apostolica, et evangelica, pro vulgata Diui Hieronymi, pro translatione LXX virorum* (Salamanca: haeredes Mathiae Gastii,1585). On Castro and the turn against biblical humanism more generally see Fernando Domínguez Reboiras, *Gaspar de Grajal (1530–1575): Frühneuzeitliche Bibelwissenschaft im Streit mit Universität und Inquisition* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1998), esp. pp. 609–72; José

Second, largely through the revolution in scholarship worked by Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609) in Leiden and emulated by Cappel and others in the first half of the seventeenth century, some scholars in the Reformed churches (including the Church of England) increasingly entertained similar ideas about the need to be critical of the received text of the Old Testament, without endorsing the authority of the Vulgate.[37] For the most sophisticated of these writers, no single text could possibly provide evidence of the original state of Scripture. Less sophisticated positions endorsed the notion that a divine original might be located in the Septuagint, part of whose appeal lay in its early status as a vernacular translation.[38]

More significantly, the ideas of Cappel ran counter to the emerging consensus among Lutheran scholars, which was primarily shaped by the work of Johannes Buxtorf I (1564–1629) in Basel. Both scholars and controversialists in the tradition of Reformed orthodoxy echoed Buxtorf's views. Among controversialists, John Owen wrote publicly against the prolegomena to the London Polyglot Bible (1653–7).[39] Johann Heinrich Hottinger of Zurich, who had been educated in Leiden, was critical of Morin's conclusions and unpersuaded by Cappel.[40] James Ussher and his Parisian informant, Arnold Boate, similarly emerged as being unconvinced by or critical of scepticism about the value of the Hebrew Bible.[41] At the same time, Catholic Hebraists at the Collège royal,

López Rueda, *Helenistas españoles del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1973), pp. 73–87. See also Natalio Fernández Marcos and Emilia Fernández Tejero, *Biblia y humanismo* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1997). On Morin see Paul Auvray, 'Jean Morin (1591–1659)', *Revue Biblique* 66 (1959), 397–413. For medieval arguments concerning the textual authority of differing Latin traditions, including the Vulgate, and for the pre-Reformation history of the critical comparison of the Greek and Hebrew with the Latin text, see Cornelia Linde, *How to Correct the* Sacra Scriptura? *Textual Criticism of the Latin Bible between the Twelfth and Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2012).

[37] See the works cited in note 3 of this chapter.

[38] Witness the work of the Deventer printer Jan Colomp, in yoking together Brian Walton's preface to the London Polyglot Bible (here printed in Latin alone) with the posthumous *Syntagma* of the Reformed critic and suspected plagiarist Johannes Wowerius (printed from a copy owned by Geverhart Elmenhorst and first published in Hamburg in 1617): *Dissertatio* (1658); G.T. Hartong, 'Overijsselse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de zeventiende eeuw', *Overijsselse historische bijdragen* 103 (1988), 60–83.

[39] John Owen, *Of the Divine Originall, Authority, Self-Evidencing Light, and Power of the Scriptvres* (Oxford: Hall & Robinson, 1659); Muller, 'Debate over the Vowel Points'.

[40] Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Exercitationes anti-Morinianæ* (Zurich: Joh. Jacob Bodmer, 1644); Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, Ms. F. 45, ff. 49–53.

[41] See Arnold Boate, *Animadversiones sacrae ad textum Hebraicum Veteris Testamenti* (London: Bishop, Junius & Sadler, 1644), of whose naivety Buxtorf was himself critical (Zentralbibliothek, Ms. F. 45, f. 53); Richard Parr (ed.), *The Life of the Most Reverend Father in God, James Ussher* (London: Nathanael Ranew, 1686), pp. 557–89, 620–22; Elizabethanne Boran, 'An Early Friendship Network of James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, 1626–1656',

such as Siméon de Muis or Valérian de Flavigny, collaborated in defending the importance of the Masoretic text, and in the process criticised their rivals at the Sorbonne as well as Morin.[42]

Buxtorf and his followers provided the strongest defence for the linguistic integrity and antiquity of the contemporary Hebrew Bible. They endorsed the value of historical Jewish scholarship and translation, and found particular significance both in the work of the Masoretes and in the witness of the ancient Aramaic paraphrases of parts of the Hebrew Bible, the targums (which, although post-Christian in their surviving form, preserved, according to Buxtorf, elements of earlier traditions of Jewish transmission of the Bible).[43] In so doing, they returned to the work of the Jewish editors of the rabbinic Bibles of the sixteenth century and incorporated their conclusions more definitively into one strand of Christian biblical scholarship.[44] Although interested in all aspects of historical Jewish culture and eager to benefit from the knowledge of Jewish informants, Buxtorf and others maintained an ambivalent attitude to Jews both past and present. One consequence of this was to ossify the intellectual achievements in textual scholarship achieved in Buxtorf's generation, rather than to provide the basis for incremental scholarly advances.[45] Despite this, Buxtorf's edition of the rabbinic Bible was useful to Baruch de Spinoza, one of the most insightful critics of textual authority of the late seventeenth century, whose work worried both Jews and Christians.[46]

The environments in which different scholars encountered texts of the Old Testament were shaped by concrete factors as well as intellectual

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in Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter Reformation* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), pp. 116–34.

[42] Laplanche, *L'Écriture, le sacré et l'histoire*, pp. 299–327; Victor Baroni, *La Contre-Réforme devant la Bible* (Lausanne: Éditions la Concorde, 1943), pp. 412–13.

[43] Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 134–202; Johannes Buxtorf (ed.), *Biblia sacra Hebraica & Chaldaica: cum Masora*, 4 vols. (Basel: Ludovicus König, 1618–19), Darlow and Moule, no. 5120.

[44] For near-contemporary Jewish debate about related issues see Aaron Rubin, 'Samuel Archivolti and the Antiquity of Hebrew Pointing', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 101 (2011), 233–43.

[45] See Anthony Grafton, '"Pandects of the Jews": A French, Swiss, and Italian Prelude to Selden', in Scott Mandelbrote and Joanna Weinberg (eds.), *Jewish Texts and their Readers in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); Stephen G. Burnett, 'Lutheran Christian Hebraism in the Time of Salomon Glassius (1593–1656)', in Christoph Bultmann and Lutz Danneberg (eds.), *Hebraistik – Hermeneutik – Homiletik* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 441–67.

[46] J.M.M. Aler (ed.), *Catalogus van de bibliotheek der Vereniging het Spinozahuis te Rijnsburg* (Leiden: Brill, 1965), p. 20; J. Samuel Preus, *Spinoza and the Irrelevance of Biblical Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

assumptions. Greek manuscripts (which were by no means limited to biblical, patristic or ecclesiastical texts) were extensively copied, traded, looted and exchanged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, allowing collections north of the Alps to rival those established in Italy during the fifteenth century and developed thereafter.[47] Librarians were sufficiently competent to attempt to include lists of Greek manuscripts in the catalogues that they published, and it was not difficult to find either printers or copyists capable of handling Greek.[48] The significant Greek-speaking Christian minorities of the Venetian and later

[47] Examples include the establishment of Cardinal Bessarion's library at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice and the subsequent growth of that collection from 1468; the cataloguing, study, expansion and rearrangement of the Greek collections of the Vatican, especially in the late sixteenth century; the extensive copying of manuscripts by Greek exiles in Venice for Spanish scholars and collectors such as Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (whose network reached as far as Athos) in the 1530s and 1540s; the development of libraries of Greek texts by German humanists in Nuremberg and Augsburg, and at the ducal and university libraries in Munich and Heidelberg (from the last of which captured books were transferred by mule to the Vatican under the watchful eye of the Greek librarian, Leone Allacci, in 1622–3); the purchase by the Earl of Pembroke of 240 Greek manuscripts belonging to Giacomo Barocci and their gift to the Bodleian Library in 1629; the purchase on behalf of Queen Christina of Sweden in 1650 of the Parisian collections of Alexandre and Paul Petau, themselves composed of manuscripts copied for earlier generations of French humanists, and their eventual distribution among libraries in Rome, Stockholm and Leiden; the stocking of the libraries of the King of France and his ministers by agents and copyists travelling in Greece, the eastern Mediterranean and the Levant. For these see respectively Lotte Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1979); Robert Devreesse, *Les Fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1968); Anthony Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 70–91; Hans Eideneier (ed.), *Graeca recentiora in Germania: Deutsch–griechische Kulturbeziehungen vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994); David Hoeschel, *Catalogus Graecorum Codicumqui sunt in Bibliotheca Reip: Augustanae Vindelicae* (Augsburg: Ad insigne pinus, 1595); Donald F. Jackson, 'Augsburg Greek Acquisitions, 1600–1633', *Codices Manuscripti* 30 (2000), 27–34; Johann Georg Herwart von Hohenburg, *Catalogus Graecorum Manuscriptorum Codicum* (Ingolstadt: Adam Sartorius, 1602); Elmar Mittler et al. (eds.), *Bibliotheca Palatina*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg: Braus, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 78–86, 461–72; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Italien 2169; Ian Philip, *The Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 37–41; Karel Adriaan de Meyier, *Paul en Alexandre Petau en de geschiedenis van hun handschriften* (Leiden: Brill, 1947); Simone Balayé, *La Bibliothèque nationale des origines à 1800* (Geneva: Droz, 1988), pp. 70, 97, 107; Donald F. Jackson, 'A Delivery of Greek Manuscripts in 1686', *Scripta* 3 (2010), 73–6.

[48] See Pierre Petitmengin, 'Collections des manuscrits et bibliothèques européennes vers 1600', in Luce Giard and Christian Jacob (eds.), *Des Alexandries*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2001–3), vol. 1, pp. 275–87; Jacobus Philippus Tomasinus, *Bibliothecae Venetae manuscriptae publicae & privatae* (Udine: Nicolaus Schiratti, 1650); for the standardised instructions drawn up by Charles du Cange and Jean-Baptiste Cotelier for the collecting of Greek manuscripts, given out by Louis XIV's minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, see Jacob Soll, *The Information Master* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), pp. 105–6.

the Ottoman Empires, notably from the islands of Crete, Chios and Cyprus, provided a continuing source both of human talent and of texts, even if few of the latter promised as much as Codex Alexandrinus.[49] The extensive use of the Greek Old Testament by the Fathers and in the New Testament, moreover, underpinned a sense of its importance for scholars and translators, regardless of religious confession. Although only a translation of uncertain antiquity and questionable divine inspiration, therefore, the Septuagint vied with the Vulgate (the Latin translation attributed to St Jerome) as a source against which to weigh the surviving witness of the Hebrew Bible itself.

An edition of the Septuagint was undertaken as a part of the process for the revision of the Vulgate, which had itself been approved by the Council of Trent. A Latin translation (which, however, also drew on the Vetus Latina) was published in 1588 (despite the fact that Catholic writers disagreed among themselves about the significance of both Greek and Hebrew texts as a basis for criticism of the Vulgate).[50] The resulting edition of the Vulgate (the Sixto-Clementine) derived from both the correction of an existing standard text against the earliest surviving manuscript witness and its comparison with parallel ancient traditions, in both Hebrew and Greek. Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–85) took a leading hand in the long editorial process of the revision of the Vulgate, eventually as part of a commission formed by Pope Sixtus V and led by Cardinal Antonio Carafa. He investigated the history of previous editions and the manuscripts they had used; oversaw the provision of Greek manuscripts for the Vatican Septuagint edition; and assisted Willem Canter with the compilation of the list of variant readings of the Greek Psalms for

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[49] See David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 7–65; David Holton (ed.), *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Deno John Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962); Maria Francesca Tiepolo and Eurigio Tonetti (eds.), *I Greci a Venezia* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2002); Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 201–23; Thomas Cerbu, 'Leone Allacci (1587–1669): The Fortunes of an Early Byzantinist', Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1986; for the significance of Cyprus as a source of manuscripts for French collections in the third quarter of the seventeenth century see Jean Darouzès, 'Manuscrits originaires de Chypre à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris', *Revue des études byzantines* 8 (1950), 162–96.

[50] See Höpfl, *Beiträge*; Darlow and Moule, nos. 4647, 6179; Giancarlo Pani, 'Un Centenaire à rappeler: l'édition Sixtine des Septante', in Irena Backus and Francis Higman (eds.), *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)* (Geneva: Droz, 1990), pp. 413–28; Jared Wicks, 'Catholic Old Testament Interpretation in the Reformation and Early Confessional Eras', in *HBOT* II, pp. 617–48; Natalio Fernández Marcos, 'Filología bíblica y humanismo: las controversias del siglo XVI español en torno a la Biblia', *Cuadernos de pensamiento* 12 (1998), 93–110.

inclusion in the Antwerp Polyglot (1569–72).[51] He was also the dedicatee of the work of Franciscus Lucas Brugensis (1549–1619), whose annotations made use of Latin and polyglot manuscripts from a wide range of libraries in the Low Countries.[52] As Cardinal Librarian of the Vatican, Sirleto presided over the most complete scholarly community for the transcription and editing of manuscripts (whether in Latin, Greek or Oriental languages) of the late sixteenth century, outshining even the resources of the Spanish Royal Library at the Escorial.[53] As a result of the efforts of Sirleto and his contemporaries, the status of Codex Vaticanus (which had been clumsily restored in the fifteenth century) as the oldest known near-complete manuscript of the Greek Old Testament was firmly established for the first time. Nevertheless, there remained uncertainty about its date (thought to be ninth century) compared to the antiquity of surviving manuscripts of the Vulgate and the Fathers.[54] Collations of important manuscripts from elsewhere in Italy and from Spain were procured under Sirleto's supervision for the revision of the Vulgate.

[51] See, for example, Bibliteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 6189, especially f. 152; Ms. Vat. Lat. 6219; Ms. Reg. Lat. 2023, ff. 329, 385–8, 393; Darlow and Moule, no. 1422. On Canter see Theodor William Dunkelgrün, 'The Multiplicity of Scripture: The Confluence of Textual Traditions in the Making of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568–1573)', Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 2012, esp. pp. 272–6. For Sirleto see Georg Denzler, *Kardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–1585): Leben und Werk* (Munich: Hueber, 1964); Irena Backus and Benoît Gain, 'Le Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–1585), sa bibliothèque et ses traductions de Saint Basile', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes* 98 (1986), 889–955.

[52] Franciscus Lucas Brugensis, *Notationes in Sacra Biblia* (Antwerp: Plantin,] 1580), pp. 3–24.

[53] Anthony Grafton, 'The Vatican and its Library', in Anthony Grafton (ed.), *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1993), pp. 3–45; cf. Gregorio de Andres, OSA, *El cretense Nicolas de la Torre: Copista griego de Felipe II* (Madrid: Benzal, 1969).

[54] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Gr. 1209 (now dated to the fourth century, and identifiable in Vatican catalogues from 1481: Devreesse, *Fonds grec*, p. 82); Stephen Pisano, 'L'Histoire du *Codex Vaticanus* B pendant quatre siècles:les notes inédites du cardinal Mercati', in Patrick Andrist (ed.), *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)* (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2009), pp. 105–18; T.C. Skeat, 'The Codex Vaticanus in the Fifteenth Century', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 35 (1984), 454–65; for Sirleto's views on Codex Vaticanus see esp. Ms. Vat. Lat. 6219, ff. 68–9; Denzler, *Kardinal Guglielmo Sirleto*, pp. 128, 132. Earlier editors, including Erasmus, had not fully understood its significance for either the Old or New Testaments: see Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 134–5. In addition to Codex Vaticanus, the editors of the 1587 Septuagint are known to have used Mss. Vat. Gr. 1241–2, 1244 (collations made from manuscripts in the Laurentian Library in Florence) and Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Ms. Gr. z . 1. They also used a manuscript provided by Carafa, perhaps Ms. Vat. Gr. 1252. See Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), pp. 181–2; E.B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), pp. 206–8; Tullia Gasparrini Leporace and Elpidio Mioni, *Cento codici Bessarionei* (Venice: Libreria vecchia del Sansovino, 1968), p. 29.

These included the readings of the oldest surviving and near-complete manuscript of the Vulgate, Codex Amiatinus (named after the Tuscan monastery that housed it), as well as many other codices.[55] Collations made for Cardinal Marcello Cervini, Sirleto's patron and predecessor, and brought to the Council of Trent also enabled the comparison of the incomplete New Testament text of Codex Bezae (a manuscript of the Greek and Latin Gospels and Acts dating from about 400, at the time located at the monastery of St Irenaeus at Lyon) with Codex Vaticanus.[56] Although the accuracy of such work was often compromised by the necessary expedient of entering collations into existing printed editions, the scope and vision of this work on the Greek and Latin texts of the Bible was remarkable. One explanation for that lay in the fact that this work contributed to the understanding not only of the text of the Old Testament but also that of the New.[57]

Both the Septuagint and the Vulgate appeared alongside a growing variety of Oriental witnesses to the Old Testament text in the various polyglot editions of the Bible that were published from the 1510s to the 1650s.[58] Those editions indicated graphically the textual complexities that scholars were exploring. They printed parts of the Old Testament canon written in Aramaic rather than Hebrew, as well as showing clearly the extent of apocryphal texts composed originally in Greek (whose authority and authenticity many later Protestant proponents of the Hebrew text duly called into question). They

[55] Long thought to be an Italian production, we now know that Codex Amiatinus (now Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Ms. Amiat. 1) was written at Wearmouth-Jarrow at the end of the seventh century: see H.J. White, 'The Codex Amiatinus and its Birthplace', *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* 2 (1890), 273–308; see also Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2001), pp. 33–4; Patrick McGurk, 'The Oldest Manuscripts of the Latin Bible', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1–23.

[56] Hildebrand Höpfl, *Kardinal Wilhelm Sirlets Annotationen zum Neuen Testament* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1908), esp. pp. 36–50 (but with significant errors in its citations and descriptions); Biblioteca Vallicelliana, shelfmark S. Borr. P. 11. 8 (cf. Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma, shelfmark 71.2.F9). These are both copies of *Divinae scriptvrae, veteris ac novi testamenti* (Basel, 1545) that contain Sirleto's emendations and the collations from Codex Bezae made by Gentian Hervet. They also contain collations of Codex Vaticanus with the Old Testament and with patristic biblical citations, made by Sirleto and by Vatican scribes. See also D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 283: the manuscript is now in Cambridge University Library, Ms. Nn.2.41.

[57] See, for example, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Mss. Vat. Lat. 12959–60 (using *Biblia sacra*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: Plantin, 1583)), for collations for the Vulgate; Mss. Vat. Gr. 1239–40 (using *Sacrae scripturae veteris novaeque omnia* (Venice: in aedibus Aldi et Andreæ soceri,1518)); see also Alfred Rahlfs, 'Die Abhängigkeit der sixtinischen Septuaginta-Ausgabe von der aldinischen', *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 33 (1913), 30–46.

[58] The most important were those of Alcalá (Complutensian, 1514–17); Antwerp; Paris (1629–45); and London. See Darlow and Moule, nos. 1412, 1422, 1442, 1446.

underlined the significance of the targums for the understanding of the Hebrew text, and thus compounded doubts about the care with which ancient and medieval Jews had preserved the supposed divine original. They demonstrated that the church preferred to use different sources from the Hebrew in its liturgical use of the Psalms, and eventually suggested that Hebrew script and the Hebrew Bible might be more recent reworkings of older traditions preserved, for example, in the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The earliest of the Polyglot Bibles, the Complutensian, printed texts in Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic and Latin, where these were available. The Hebrew text, although pointed, lacked the full apparatus of the Masorah. Edited by a group of Converso scholars (of whom the most significant was Alfonso de Zamora (*c.* 1474–*c.*1545)) under the supervision of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, it was based on two Spanish manuscripts dating from 1280 and 1482, as well as on printings of the Hebrew Bible from Naples (1491–3) and Lisbon (1491).[59] Modern scholars have suggested that similarities between the Complutensian text and recently discovered ancient manuscripts preserving Babylonian traditions of vocalisation of the Hebrew indicate that the editors had access to further codices, now lost or destroyed.[60] Targum Onkelos (an early Aramaic paraphrase of the Pentateuch, which was highly regarded in rabbinic tradition) was included in the Complutensian Polyglot, with a Latin gloss. Zamora and Pablo Núñez Coronel also prepared Latin versions of the remaining targums of the Hebrew Bible. In the end, neither these nor the original texts were published, and Cisneros's prefatory remarks to the Bible explained that they had been rejected because they were corrupt and 'mixed with the nonsense' of the Talmud.[61] For the Greek Old Testament, the editors (Dimitrios Doukas, who had worked in Venice with Aldus Manutius, and Hernán Núñez de Guzmán) made use of two manuscripts lent directly from the Vatican Library, as well as a copy of one of Bessarion's manuscripts sent

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[59] Universidad Complutense, Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, Ms. BH Mss. 1–2; Darlow and Moule, no. 5076; Adrian Schenker, 'From the First Printed Hebrew, Greek and Latin Bibles to the First Polyglot Bible, the Complutensian Polyglot: 1477–1517', in *HBOT* 11, pp. 276–91; María Teresa Ortega Monasterio, 'Spanish Biblical Hebrew Manuscripts', *Hebrew Studies* 45 (2004), 163–74; see also *Arejo a la edición de la Biblia Políglota Complutense* (Valencia: Fundación Bíblia Española Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1987).

[60] P. Kahle, 'The Hebrew Text of the Complutensian Polyglot', in *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954–6), vol. 1, pp. 741–51.

[61] Universidad Complutense, Ms. BH Mss. 6, a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century manuscript of the Targum Onkelos; cf. BH Mss. 4–5 (two of the original three volumes of the additional translations by Zamora and Coronel); Cisneros's judgement can be found at sig. +iiiv of the 'Prologus ad lectorem' in the first volume of the Bible.

by the Venetian Senate, and other texts that Cisneros had collected. Juan de Vergara worked on an interlinear Latin translation.[62] Uncertainty about the textual origins of parts of the Greek text, especially in volume four of the Polyglot, has led modern scholars to suggest the influence of manuscripts that do not survive or that remain unidentified, but which preserve readings otherwise known to date back to Christian antiquity.[63] Nevertheless, for many contemporary readers, as well as for later editors, the Hebrew and reformed Vulgate texts of the Complutensian Polyglot were at least as interesting as the Greek.[64] Moreover, the attempts made in both the Hebrew Old Testament and Greek New Testament texts to reconstruct what the editors thought were original patterns of accentuation, which contrasted both with their immediate sources and with the preservation of later patterns of Greek accents in the Septuagint text, suggested a clear hierarchy of textual authority and critical aspiration in the making of the Complutensian Polyglot.[65]

The extent to which scholars encountered readings from the Complutensian Polyglot, however, was complicated by its relatively slow and imperfect distribution from Spain.[66] Partly as a consequence of this, the Septuagint edition

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[62] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Mss. Vat. Gr. 330 and 346; Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Gr. z. 5, the copy of which has now been identified as Universidad Complutense, Ms. BH Mss. 22 (see Natalio Fernández Marcos, 'Un manuscrito complutense redivivo', *Sefarad* 65 (2005), 65–83); Universidad Complutense, Ms. BH Mss. 23; Gregorio de Andrés, 'Catálogo de los códices griegos de las colecciones: Complutense, Lázaro Galdiano y March de Madrid', *Cuadernos de filología clásica* 6 (1974), 221–66; Franz Delitzsch, *Fortgesetzte Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Complutensischen Polyglotte* (Leipzig: Edelmann, 1886); Ángel Sáenz-Badillos, *La filología bíblica en los primeros helenistas de Alcalá* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 1990).

[63] J.D. Barthélemy, 'Les Relations de la Complutensis avec le Papyrus 967', in Detlef Fraenkel, Udo Quast and John William Wevers (eds.), *Studien zur Septuaginta: Robert Hanhart zu Ehren* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), pp. 253–61; Séamus O'Connell, *From Most Ancient Sources: The Nature and Text-Critical Use of the Greek Old Testament Text of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2006).

[64] See, for example, the copy now in Bibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, shelfmark 2° Bibl. 24ª/1–4 (bought by Johann Eck at Rome in December 1521), or that in the Maurits Sabbebibliotheek, Leuven, shelfmark P.22.04/FO/COMP V.1–6, originally in the library of the Convent of St Francis of Assisi, Palma, Mallorca. The Vulgate text was based on Universidad Complutense, Mss. BH Mss. 31–4, the first of which, in Gothic characters, was held to be a particularly ancient witness; see Basil Hall, *Humanists and Protestants* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1990), pp. 39–41.

[65] See John A.L. Lee, 'Dimitrios Doukas and the Accentuation of the New Testament Text of the Complutensian Polyglot', *Novum Testamentum* 47 (2005), 250–90.

[66] Julián Martín Abad, 'The Printing Press in Alcalá de Henares: The Complutensian Polyglot Bible', in Kimberley van Kampen and Paul Saenger (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions* (London: British Library, 1999), pp. 101–15, rightly draws attention to both the size of the edition and its relatively extensive survival; a partial census is James P.R. Lyell, *Cardinal Ximenes* (London: Grafton, 1917), pp. 91–101, which lists 97 surviving copies from an edition of 600. This has been amplified to more than 150 known

edited by Andrea Torresano, and published by him as part of the Aldine Greek Bible in 1518, was largely followed in most sixteenth-century reprintings of the Greek Old Testament, and Venetian printings of the rabbinic Bible established the basis for future editions of the Hebrew text. Despite claims to have used the oldest manuscripts, Torresano and his assistants seem to have based their work at least in part on fifteenth-century copies, which had been made for Bessarion.[67] Although a succession of complete Hebrew Bibles had been published in Italy from 1488, the textual tradition was transformed by the editors employed by the Christian printer Daniel Bomberg in Venice for the first rabbinic Bible, published in 1517. The work of Felice da Prato (a convert from Judaism) and, above all, of the editor of the second rabbinic Bible (1525), Jacob ben Hayyim (who himself later converted to Christianity), introduced material from the Aramaic targums (supplementing Targum Onkelos with readings from Pseudo-Jonathan and other texts that represented the western or Palestinian tradition of the targum), and published the Masorah, which had been lacking entirely or in part from earlier Hebrew Bibles. Felice da Prato was the first scholar to publish a Hebrew Bible based on the collation of multiple manuscript sources, and his edition was the first to be printed including the variant readings of the Bible text (in particular, some incidences of the divine name and other words, which were traditionally written consonantally in the text, but with a marginal reading explaining an alternate way in which they should be read aloud). Jacob ben Hayyim was responsible for the codification of the threefold apparatus of the Masorah in printed form and for establishing its claims to antiquity and authority. Bomberg and his assistants thus established the form of the Hebrew Bible for many Jewish and for most Christian readers, and made clear the relationship between that form and the work of medieval Jewish commentators. Their work was based on traditions that embodied all strands of the ancient transmission and commentary of the Hebrew text, principally as these had come together

copies by F.J. Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 14–15, and Julián Martín Abad, *La imprenta in Alcalá de Henares (1502–1600)*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Arco, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 231–3. None notice either of the copies mentioned in note 64.

[67] Robert Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1954), p. 142; Johannes Dahse, 'Zur Herkunft des alttestamentlichen Textes der Aldina', *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 29 (1909), 177–85 (despite sometimes wild speculation on the travels and influence of particular manuscripts); Biblioteca Marciana, Mss. Gr. z. 5–6; Darlow and Moule, no. 4594. The editors may also have used Mss. Gr. z. 2–4 and Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Grec 2 (at the time in the library of Santa Maria dell'Orto in Venice, but acquired by the French king twenty years later, with other manuscripts sold by the Cretan Antonios Eparchos, through the offices of Guillaume Pellicier): see Henri Omont, 'Catalogue des manuscrits grecs d'Antoine Éparque', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 53 (1892), 95–110.

in the manuscripts and scholarship of Spain.[68] The style and content of those manuscripts was already familiar, and undergoing development for both Jewish and Christian purchasers, in late fifteenth-century Italy.[69] Thanks to Bomberg's printing presses it formed the principal basis for later consultation of the Hebrew Bible. Few European scholars had access to either of the polyglot Pentateuchs in Hebrew type that Eliezer Soncino printed at Constantinople in 1546–7.[70]

The editor of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, Benito Arias Montano (c. 1525–98), was aware of the unpublished work of the Complutensian editors on the targums and encouraged to base his work on the Hebrew Bible on the Complutensian edition and the Venetian rabbinic Bibles, since these texts had received papal approbation at the time of their publication. It seems likely that he also had access to a twelfth-century manuscript of the Hebrew Bible that had belonged to Zamora.[71] Manuscripts made available to him by the English

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[68] Darlow and Moule, nos. 5083, 5085; Bertram Eugene Schwarzbach, 'Les Éditions de la Bible hébraïque au XVIe siècle et la creation du texte massorétique', in Bertram Eugene Schwarzbach (ed.), *La Bible imprimée dans l'Europe moderne* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1999), pp. 16–67; David Stern, 'The Rabbinic Bible in its Sixteenth-Century Context', in Joseph R. Hacker and Adam Shear (eds.), *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), pp. 76–108, 252–68. The specific manuscripts used are unknown; some deriving from Ashkenazi traditions certainly appear to have informed Pratensis's textual practice: see Jordan S. Penkower, 'Jacob ben Hayyim and the rise of the Biblia Rabbinica', Ph.D. thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1982 (in Hebrew) The copy of the first rabbinic Bible in the collections of the British and Foreign Bible Society, held at Cambridge University Library (shelfmark BSS.140.B17.1-3), which once belonged to Christian David Ginsburg, contains corrections that Darlow and Moule reported as being by the editor. I can find no evidence from the annotations to support this claim, which was first made when the book belonged to the Jesuit library at Ingolstadt. See also Christian David Ginsburg (ed.), *Jacob ben Chajim ibn Adonijah's Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible*, 2nd edn. (London: Longmans, 1867).

[69] See Andreina Contessa, 'Sephardic Illuminated Bibles: Jewish Patrons and Fifteenth-Century Christian Attitudes', in Jonathan Decter and Arturo Prats (eds.), *The Hebrew Bible in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 61–72.

[70] Darlow and Moule, nos. 1417–18 (the texts provided were (1546) Hebrew, Targum Onkelos, Judaeo-Persian and Judaeo-Arabic; (1547) Hebrew, Targum Onkelos, Ladino and a Greek version in Hebrew characters; both contained the commentary of Rashi). An exception was Joseph Scaliger, who owned a copy of the 1546 edition: see Paul Botley and Dirk van Miert (eds.), *The Correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger*, 8 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 2012), vol. I, pp. 200–2. See also Julia G. Krivoruchko, 'The Constantinople Pentateuch within the Context of Septuagint Studies', in Melvin K. H. Peters (ed.), *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Ljubljana, 2007* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), pp. 255–76.

[71] The standard work on the editing of the Polyglot is now Dunkelgrün, 'Multiplicity of Scripture'; for Montano and the transmission of Zamora's work on the targums see also Sergio Fernández López, 'Arias Montano y Cipriano de la Huerga, dos humanistas en deuda con Alfonso de Zamora:a propósito de sus versions latinas de la Biblia y el Targum', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 60 (2011), 137–59; on Zamora's manuscript Bible see also María Josefa de Azcárraga Servert, Emilia Fernández Tejero and María Teresa

Catholic exile John Clement enabled Montano to defend the integrity of the Hebrew text (especially in the highly contested book of Psalms) and assisted Canter in compiling his variant readings of the Septuagint.[72] Montano's treatment of the Hebrew text generated considerable criticism and debate, yet in many ways the most significant novelty of the Antwerp Polyglot lay in the printing of the targums. In that undertaking Montano was able to call on an Aramaic manuscript (now lost) that had originated in the work on the Complutensian Polyglot and had later come into the possession of Andreas Masius (1514–73). Masius, who had lived for a long time in Rome and had access to collations from Codex Vaticanus, also prepared for Plantin a critical edition of the book of Joshua in Greek, on which he had been working since the 1550s. This sought to restore the text known to Origen, in part through the witness of a manuscript of a seventh-century Syriac translation of the Septuagint, which preserved the critical symbols of the Hexapla. Masius also endeavoured to show how both the Hebrew and Greek Old Testaments might be brought in closer conformity to the Vulgate through appropriate textual and historical criticism that recognised the processes of their composition over time.[73] By privileging the editorial work of Origen, Masius placed his faith in the work of the critic who dealt with what he called a 'mixed' text of the Septuagint, rather than in the prospect of the discovery of a single, pure manuscript tradition of

Ortega Monasterio, *El Manuscrito Hebreo Bíblico G-II-8 de la Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000); Maria Victoria Spottorno, 'The Textual Significance of Spanish Polyglot Bibles', *Sefarad* 62 (2002), 375–92.

[72] Dunkelgrün, 'Multiplicity of Scripture', pp. 296–319; Glasgow University Library, Ms. Gen. 322 (a fifteenth-century manuscript of the Octateuch, lent to Plantin in 1568). On Clement see also Grantley Robert McDonald, 'Raising the Ghost of Arius', Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden University, 2011, pp. 100–18.

[73] Andreas Masius, *Iosvæ imperatoris historia* [ed. Franciscus Raphelengius] (Antwerp: Plantin, 1574); Masius's manuscript is now lost, but it may have been the first part of an eighth-century Bible that otherwise survives in Milan, Biblioteca Pinacoteca Accademia Ambrosiana, Ms. C. 313 inf. Further editions of the Syro-Hexapla from the Milan manuscript followed in the later eighteenth century: Mathias Norberg (ed.), *Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris Ambrosiano-Mediolanensis* (Lund: C.G. Berling, 1787); Caietanus Bugatus (ed.), *Daniel secundum editionem LXX: interpretum* (Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1788). See also Max Lossen (ed.), *Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden 1538 bis 1573*, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 2 (Leipzig: Dürr, 1886); J.H. Jongkees, 'Masius in moeilijkheden', *De Gulden Passer* 41 (1963), 161–8; Jan Wim Wesselius, 'The Syriac Correspondence of Andreas Masius', in René Lavenant, SJ (ed.), *V Symposium Syriacum 1988* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990), pp. 21–9; Wim François, 'Andreas Masius (1514–1573): Humanist, Exegete and Syriac Scholar', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 61 (2009), 199–244; Theodor Dunkelgrün, 'The Hebrew Library of a Renaissance Humanist: Andreas Masius and the Bibliography to his *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia* (1574), with a Latin Edition and an Annotated English Translation', *Studia Rosenthaliana* 4 2–3 (2010–11), 197–252; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Reg. Lat. 2023, ff. 228–9.

that translation. In doing so, he regarded himself as treading in the tradition of the earlier editors of the Complutensian Polyglot and, possibly, of the Aldine Septuagint. For his immediate predecessors, who had reissued the Aldine text in print, claiming disingenuously to have collated additional witnesses for the first time, he had nothing but contempt. Their claims were 'lying humbug'.[74]

The most distinctive feature of later Polyglot Bibles lay in their recovery of additional manuscript witnesses to Oriental translations of the Hebrew Bible or the Septuagint. Whereas it remains unknown both what happened to Masius's Syro-Hexaplaric manuscript and how and where he acquired the book, some later discoveries are better documented. A couple of examples may help to underline the continuing difficulty that early modern scholars faced in correctly identifying manuscripts in unfamiliar tongues and scripts; the risks that travellers and collectors ran in acquiring rarities; and the intellectual complexity that surrounded the assimilation of new manuscript witnesses into contemporary understandings of the textual tradition of the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament.

In many ways the most remarkable act of recovery was that of the Samaritan Pentateuch. This was a version of the first five books of the Hebrew Bible that was thought to antedate the Masoretic text, and which preserved a different tradition of reading from that of the Masorah. Guillaume Postel (1510–81) was perhaps the first European scholar to acquire any manuscript in Samaritan and to know of the Samaritan Pentateuch. His pupil Joseph Scaliger corresponded with Samaritan communities in both Egypt and Palestine at the end of the 1580s, and owned a manuscript of the chronicle of Joshua in Arabic, written in Samaritan script. Scaliger, however, did not succeed in obtaining a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch.[75] By the early seventeenth century numerous

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[74] The fullest study of Masius as editor remains the unpublished work of Max Leopold Margolis, 'The Syriac Version of the Greek Joshua' (Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, Philadelphia, ARC Ms. 6, Box 9); see also Leonard J. Greenspoon, 'A Preliminary Publication of Max Leopold Margolis's *Andreas Masius*, together with his Discussion of Hexapla-Tetrapla', in Alison Salvesen (ed.), *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 39–69. Margolis rightly noticed that Masius used a version of the Aldine text as the basis for his annotations and collations, but failed fully to appreciate his regard for the Complutensian, or perhaps to understand just why Aldine readings are so common in Masius's work. The puzzle may be explained when one realises that Masius collated the Complutensian text into a copy of the 1545 Basel edition of the Septuagint (*Divinae scriptvrae, veteris ac novi testamenti*), which was based on the Aldine edition. Masius's collations survive (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 2° L. impr. c. n. mss. 80), but have not previously been noticed.

[75] See Alastair Hamilton, 'Scaliger the Orientalist', in Arnoud Vrolijk and Kasper van Ommen (eds.), *'All my Books in Foreign Tongues': Scaliger's Oriental Legacy in Leiden* (Leiden: Leiden

scholars were on the track of one. In 1616 Pietro della Valle (1586–1652) bought a fourteenth-century manuscript of the text in Damascus, which he sent back to Europe through the offices of the French ambassador in Constantinople, and which was deposited in 1623 in the library of the Oratory in Paris.[76] Other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century copies were quickly acquired through agents in Syria by James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, and, a little later, by Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc. Their generosity soon dispersed copies of the text to Oxford, London, Leiden and Rome, to add to those that had already reached the Vatican Library and the Ambrosiana in Milan directly from the Levant.[77] Through their correspondence, moreover, they sought to assist and understand the work of Jean Morin, who had originally thought of publishing the Samaritan text alongside his edition of the Septuagint (1628), and who later prepared it for publication (along with the Samaritan Targum) in the Paris Polyglot Bible (1629–45).[78] The Samaritan Pentateuch raised a host of questions for contemporary scholars, few of which were easily resolved. These included doubts about the nature of Hebrew script and the dating of manuscripts; further debate over the relative antiquity of the Masoretic text, whose status was worsened by chronological similarities in the Samaritan and the Septuagint versions; and increased doubts about the reliability of Jewish witness to the Bible.

For many orthodox scholars in the Reformed tradition, however, the Samaritan Pentateuch did not provide an ancient witness that might

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University Library, 2009), pp. 10–17; Botley and van Miert (eds.), *Correspondence of Scaliger*, vol. II, pp. 99–116; Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, Ms. Or. 249.

[76] Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Samaritan 2; see also Francis Richard, 'Achille de Harlay de Sancy et ses collections de manuscrits hébreux', *Revue des études juives* 149 (1990), 417–47.

[77] Philippe de Robert, 'La Naissance des études samaritaines en Europe aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles', and Mathias Delcor, 'La Correspondance des savants européens, en quête de manuscrits, avec les Samaritains du XVIe au XIXe siècle', both in Jean-Pierre Rothschild and Guy Dominique Sixdenier (eds.), *Études samaritaines* (Louvain: Peeters, 1988), pp. 15–26 and 27–43; James G. Frazer, 'Ussher's Sixth Copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch', *Vetus Testamentum* 21 (1971), 100–2; G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 78–85; Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Orient* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 159–204; Jean-Pierre Rothschild, *Catalogue des manuscrits samaritains* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1985), pp. 12–14; Jean-Pierre Rothschild, 'Autour du Pentateuque samaritain: voyageurs, enthousiastes et savants', in Jean-Robert Armogathe (ed.), *Le Grand Siècle et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 6 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), pp. 61–74. Jacobus Golius independently obtained his fifteenth-century copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, Ms. Or. 6) from Damascus through the Venetian merchant Antonio Doratus.

[78] See Darlow and Moule, nos. 4674, 1442. Cf. Jean Morin, *Exercitationes ecclesiasticae in vtrumque Samaritanorvm Pentatevchvm* (Paris: Antonius Vitray, 1631); Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Latin 9340, ff. 63–75.

undermine the authority of the Hebrew Bible. Instead, it represented one of the sources of the Septuagint version, and helped to explain its divergence from the Hebrew text.[79] For others, knowledge of alternatives to the textual traditions of rabbinic Judaism created fresh opportunities to study the process of the transmission (or revelation) of the Bible and new ways of making sense of the transition between the Old and New Testaments, both in terms of history and of theology. Awareness of historical differences within Judaism, as well as of surviving groups such as the Karaites who appeared to deny rabbinical authority, contributed to such studies, and at times provided seventeenth-century Protestant authors with a stick with which to beat Catholic critics who asserted the authority of the church in determining the form of Scripture.[80]

The Samaritan Pentateuch, and also the increased availability of Syriac and Arabic texts of the Old Testament, testified to the success with which early seventeenth-century travel and trade with the Ottoman Empire opened up new vistas for biblical scholarship in contemporary Europe. Other discoveries, however, were less fortunate. These included a manuscript, which was acquired by Peiresc's agents from Coptic monks in Egypt, subsequently rescued for Cardinal Barberini from pirates by the Knights of Malta, and fervently hoped to be an ancient and complete copy of Psalms according to Origen's Hexapla. On its eventual arrival in Rome, this book turned out to be no such thing; instead, it was a fourteenth-century manuscript having only five columns of text, in Armenian, Arabic, Bohairic, Syriac and Ethiopic. The idea that the biblical versions edited by Origen survived complete in the monasteries of Coptic or Maronite monks in Egypt or Lebanon was one of many reasonable delusions that both inspired heroic acts of collecting and led to repeated scholarly disappointments.[81] An even more protracted process of disillusionment followed on Peiresc's supposed acquisition of the Ethiopic

[79] See Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 116–22.
[80] J. van den Berg, 'Proto-Protestants? The Image of the Karaites as a Mirror of the Catholic–Protestant Controversy in the Seventeenth Century', in van den Berg and Ernestine G. E. van der Wall (eds.), *Jewish–Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1988), pp. 33–49; for contact and exchange with contemporary Karaites in Poland and the Ottoman Empire see Arnoud Vrolijk, Jan Schmidt and Karin Scheper, *Turcksche boucken: De oosterse verzameling van Levinus Warner, Nederlands diplomat in zeventiende-eeuws Istanbul* (Eindhoven: Lecturis, 2012), pp. 89–90.
[81] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Barberinianus Orientalis 2; Ms. Barberinianus Latinus 6488, ff. 46–7; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fonds français 24419, ff. 239–42. More generally, see Oleg V. Volkoff, *À la recherche de manuscrits en Égypte* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1970).

book of Enoch. Ethiopic biblical texts had been available in print, based on manuscripts obtained in Rome (where there was a considerable Ethiopian community), since the publication of the Psalter by Johann Potken in 1513.[82] New Testament texts were also in print by the mid-sixteenth century, and both they and the Psalter eventually found their way into the London Polyglot Bible in the 1650s. In 1636, however, Peiresc had acquired a copy of what he believed to the prophecies of Enoch, a text known from both rabbinic and early Christian sources, and perhaps linked in some way with the biblical patriarch. This manuscript excited considerable interest in the 1650s, but was later exposed as an entirely different text, having nothing to do with the biblical Enoch. Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704), the first European scholar properly to master Ge'ez in the seventeenth century, ridiculed Peiresc's gullibility. Ludolf himself demonstrated that Ethiopic versions of the Old Testament largely derived from the Septuagint.[83]

Knowledge of languages exposed the credulity that accompanied some manuscript discoveries. Elsewhere, awareness of history and context exposed simple assumptions about authority that had satisfied earlier generations of critics. Hottinger, for example, painfully explained why a scroll of the Pentateuch, which was venerated as a relic by the Dominicans at Bologna, could neither be in the hand of Ezra nor date from the time of restoration of the Jews by Cyrus (as the early sixteenth-century Hebraist François Tissard had believed). The simple act of discovery might ultimately reveal less about divine purposes than the work of the critic, who reconstructed the historical relationships between texts as they stood in the past, perhaps as long ago as the time of Christ himself.[84] Although they disagreed with his conclusions

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[82] Darlow and Moule, no. 3560; this was reprinted in Potken's polyglot Psalter of 1518 (no.1413).

[83] Hiob Ludolf, *A New History of Ethiopia*, 2nd edn., trans. J.P. (London: Samuel Smith, 1684), pp. 261–70; cf. the earlier qualified optimism of Johannes Drusius, *Henoch* (Franeker: Fredericus Heynsius, 1615), pp. 23–36; Ariel Hessayon, 'Og King of Bashan, Enoch and the Books of Enoch: Extra-Canonical Texts and Interpretations of Genesis 6:1–4', in Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene (eds.), *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 5–40; Miller, *Peiresc's Orient*, pp. 295–328; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Latin 9340, ff. 111–13; Johannes Tromp, 'The Treatise on the Patriarch Henoch by Johannes Drusius (1550–1616)', in Martin F.J. Baasten and Reinier Munk (eds.), *Studies in Hebrew Literature and Jewish Culture* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), pp. 103–50. A genuine text of Ethiopic Enoch was discovered by James Bruce, who travelled in Abyssinia in the early 1770s, and edited in the nineteenth century.

[84] Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Thesaurus philologicus*, 2nd edn. (Zurich: Joh. Jacob Bodmer, 1659), pp. 506–8; cf. François Tissard, *Grammatica hebraica* (Paris: Gourmontius,1508), sig. h1v. The scroll was later consulted by Montfaucon, who used the fact that it had

about the Masorah, in many ways Morin, Cappel, Walton or Simon echoed the method of argument that Hottinger displayed in this instance.

The scholarship that produced the seventeenth-century Polyglot Bibles was international in ways that advanced beyond the exchange of information by Catholic editors in the previous era. The reach of European economic and religious life in the Mediterranean that had helped to bring Greek editors to work on the Bible in the west during the sixteenth century extended to the Levant, as exemplified in the careers of Gabriel Sionita (Gibrâʾil al-Sahyûnî) or Abraham Ecchellensis (Ibrahîm al-Hâqilânî). Both Sionita and Ecchellensis were Lebanese Christians who had worked in Rome. Sionita edited Syriac materials (including a Psalter) in Paris and provided Latin translations of Syriac and Arabic texts for the Paris Polyglot, for which Ecchellensis translated the Arabic book of Ruth.[85] Morin's contacts as an editor embraced Patrick Young in London and scholars working on the Septuagint and on Greek liturgy in Cardinal Barberini's circle in Rome.[86] Manuscripts might be copied and exchanged between Protestant and Catholic editors, as was once the case with the Cotton Genesis (an illustrated, fifth- or sixth-century Greek manuscript, which was then suspected to be of even greater antiquity). Peiresc brokered its loan from London to the Jesuit scholar Fronto de Duc, who had access to it in Paris from March 1618 to February 1622. As with manuscript purchases, such exchanges did not always yield the revolutionary information that scholars sought (Peiresc regretted that the Cotton Genesis lacked the editorial marks of Origen).[87] Equally, scholars and librarians were not always forthcoming with information, even to those who had previously helped them. Thus, when working towards an edition of the Septuagint from Codex Alexandrinus in the mid-1640s, Young found that Barberini's librarian, Lucas Holstenius, was

been received by the Dominicans in 1308 to argue that older Hebrew manuscripts survived than some late seventeenth-century critics supposed: see Montfaucon, *Travels*, pp. 436–8.

[85] See Bernard Heyberger (ed.), *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605–1664)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

[86] [Richard Simon (ed.)], *Antiquitates Ecclesiae Orientalis* (London: Geo. Wells, 1682), pp. 273–88; Ingo Herklotz, *Die Academia Basiliana: Griechische Philologie, Kirchengeschichte und Unionsbemühungen im Rom der Barberini* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2008).

[87] British Library, Mss. Cotton Julius c.iii, f. 290; Cotton Julius c.v, ff. 220–2, 229–30, 236r–v, 283–4, 288–9; James Carley, 'Thomas Wakefield, Robert Wakefield, and the Cotton Genesis', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 12 (2000–3), 246–65; Colin G.C. Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library* (London: British Library, 2003), p. 151. Copies made of the miniatures from the manuscript survive at Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fonds français 9530. For the difficulties that later scholars had in gaining access to the Cotton Genesis see Sophie van Romburgh (ed.), *'For my worthy friend Mr Franciscus Junius': An Edition of the Correspondence of Francis Junius F.F. (1591–1677)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 865–74.

unwilling to repay earlier kindnesses with fresh collations of his own.[88] The compilers of the London Polyglot nevertheless used manuscripts in Paris and Leiden to supplement the readings of Spanish and Italian sources that they knew through earlier printed editions. In addition, the prolegomena by the editor, Brian Walton, reproduced the scholarship of Montano, as well as that of Cappel. This expansion of information, however, increased rather than reduced the doubts that many readers had about the authenticity and value of the Masoretic text, on which they depended for the principal witness to the Old Testament. Walton, for example, was keen both to draw attention to the limitations of earlier Polyglot Bibles and to underline the antiquity of usage in each of the traditions of translations that he had reproduced. He called on the writers of the New Testament and the witness of both ancient and modern churches that were not subject to Catholic authority in order to prove that the rabbinical tradition of the Hebrew Bible was not identical with the history of the Bible in Christianity and ancient Judaism.[89]

For some Christian scholars from the late sixteenth century onwards, understanding of the textual history of the Hebrew Bible, which they knew primarily through the editions of Bomberg, was damaged by disquiet about the way in which Jewish mystical texts, especially the *Zohar*, treated the significance of the Masoretic vowel points. A method that had been shared by late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Christian scholars of Hebrew texts was increasingly regarded with suspicion, and a gap in interpretation opened up which was reinforced on the Jewish side by the criticism of Christian uses of Kabbalah by scholars such as Leon Modena.[90] More importantly, the ongoing debate over the pointing of the Hebrew Bible allowed Christian scholars to reconcile discrepancies between it and other ancient traditions by adjusting the vocalisation of words in the Hebrew text.[91] An extreme example of this

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[88] F.J.M. Blom, 'Lucas Holstenius (1596–1661) and England', in G.A.M. Janssens and F.G.A.M. Aarts (eds.), *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History and Bibliography* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), pp. 25–39.

[89] Brian Walton, *The Considerator Considered* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1659), pp. 231–93.

[90] See Goshen-Gottstein, 'Foundations of Biblical Philology'; M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 102 (1983), 365–99; Yaacob Dweck, *The Scandal of Kabbalah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 151–69; cf. Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala: 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2012); Robert J. Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007); Boaz Huss, 'The Text and Context of the 1684 Sulzbach Edition of the *Zohar*', in Chanita Goodblatt and Howard Kreisel (eds.), *Tradition, Heterodoxy and Religious Culture* (Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2006), pp. 117–38.

[91] Stern, 'Rabbinic Bible', p. 107.

was the behaviour of Kennicott's Hutchinsonian opponents. By contrast, Azariah de' Rossi, the most sophisticated of late sixteenth-century Jewish scholars, considered topics such as the development of Hebrew script and the historical use of Greek and Aramaic translations by Jewish communities that chimed with the concerns of later Christian critics, such as Morin.[92] As early modern scholarship on the manuscripts and traditions of the Hebrew Bible and Old Testament developed, therefore, the understandings that had established the content and authority of the Hebrew text came to be challenged. That text in any case remained curiously unfamiliar to many Christian critics. Engagement with historical traditions of Jewish scholarship was limited to a relatively restricted range of works, read through the prism of grammars and dictionaries increasingly written specifically for Christian readers.[93] The unfamiliarity of the original texts of the Old Testament was not, however, limited to Hebrew. Greek Bibles initially shared with Hebrew ones the absence of divisions by chapter and verse that Christian readers used increasingly to navigate their printed texts of Scripture by the mid-sixteenth century.[94] In both, the order of books was surprising to readers used to the Vulgate or to vernacular translations. Although much Greek typography drew on models that reflected the teaching of Greek script by Renaissance writing masters, the types used to reproduce Samaritan or Aramaic (like those for Hebrew) more closely echoed historical rather than contemporary manuscript styles.[95]

The superficial similarity of problems of access shared by the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint should not obscure an important change of emphasis, which had been wrought in the later sixteenth century. Increasingly by then, questions arising from the handling of the Septuagint text and knowledge of the manuscript tradition that underpinned it shaped Old Testament scholarship and criticism. Discrepancies between the Septuagint and the Hebrew opened up a space in which other ancient versions could also come to play a

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[92] Azariah de' Rossi, *The Light of the Eyes*, ed. and trans. Joanna Weinberg (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[93] Cf. Stephen G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660)* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 93–188.

[94] Jordan S. Penkower, 'Verse Divisions in the Hebrew Bible', *Vetus Testamentum* 50 (2000), 379–93. The Antwerp Polyglot and its successors and the Leusden-Athias Bible were equipped with this apparatus, as were late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of the Septuagint.

[95] See Nicolas Barker, *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century* (Sandy Hook, CT: Chiswick Book Shop, 1985); Alan D. Crown, 'Manuscripts, Cast Type, and Samaritan Palaeography', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 72 (1990), 87–130; J.F. Coakley, *The Typography of Syriac: A Historical Catalogue of Printing Types, 1537–1958* (London: Oak Knoll, 2006).

stronger role and in which the possibility existed to abandon pure textual witnesses for an understanding of the mixed traditions of translation with which ancient editors had themselves worked. It was paradoxical that such an understanding should lead, in the first instance, to criticism of the Masorah, whose achievements in this light had already been recognised in the early sixteenth century. The critical scholarship of the Hebrew text in which Kennicott participated, and the collection of manuscript witnesses that he pioneered, thus represented an attempt to deal with suggestions of obsolescence and unfamiliarity with regard to the received text of the Old Testament.[96] It responded to technical developments and innovation in palaeography and textual criticism that had been most fully formed in approaches to the Septuagint, but that had also shed light on other ancient versions. In the 1750s, therefore, Kennicott returned to questions that had apparently been settled in the 1510s and 1520s. At that time the vernacular translations that Kennicott ultimately wished to see revised had not even been made, and assumptions about the Hebrew Bible and about the relationship between contemporary Jews and Christians were very different from what they would become.

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[96] Cf. Edward Breuer, *The Limits of Enlightenment: Jews, Germans, and the Eighteenth-Century Study of Scripture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 33–107.

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# Critical editions of the New Testament, and the development of text-critical methods: From Erasmus to Griesbach (1516–1807)[1]

ELDON J. EPP

## Introduction: the surviving Greek New Testament manuscripts

Writings from antiquity, such as the Greek New Testament, have been transmitted to us through manuscripts that were copied and recopied numerous times until the printing press, by permitting the production of multiple identical copies, slowed and eventually brought hand-copying to an end. Currently some 5,500 different Greek manuscripts of New Testament writings on papyrus, parchment and paper have survived (as well as thousands of manuscript copies of translations in Latin, Syriac, Coptic and several other ancient languages). Only 1 per cent of these Greek manuscripts contain the entire twenty-seven books, because most manuscripts, as they were produced and circulated, contained a smaller group of writings, commonly the Four Gospels or the Pauline Letters, or Acts and the Catholic Letters. Surviving manuscripts, however, frequently have only a single book, as is the case with

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[1] Part 2 of this chapter ('From Lachmann (1831) to the present') may be found as chapter 1 in volume IV. Both parts owe much to my earlier research while I was a Fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (1974–5), which resulted in 'The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism: Solution or Symptom?' *Harvard Theological Review* 69 (1976), 211–57; repr. with added notes in Eldon J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays, 1962–2004*, Novum Testamentum Supplement 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 125–73. Also see now Eldon J. Epp, 'Traditional "Canons" of New Testament Textual Criticism: Their Value, Validity, and Viability – or Lack Thereof', in Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes (eds.), *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, SBL Text-Critical Studies 8 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), pp. 79–127.

about 83 per cent of our manuscripts (excluding lectionaries) up to around 800 CE, while 15 per cent have two to nine books, and only seven manuscripts from this period (2 per cent) contain ten or more New Testament writings. Often it is not possible to tell how many writings originally occupied an individual manuscript, especially in the numerous cases where portions of only one or a few writings survive.

Then too, the quantity of manuscripts in use in Christian communities at any given time cannot be known or even estimated, yet the proportion of extant early manuscripts (from the first eight or nine centuries) compared to later surviving copies became a crucial point in the text-critical developments and controversies to be assessed below. The table shows that only 6 per cent of all surviving Greek manuscripts of the New Testament date prior to the period around 800 CE, and therefore 94 per cent were copied and utilised after that period. The table indicates also that manuscripts from the first eight centuries of Christianity very often are fragmentary: 90 per cent survive with only one to twenty-four leaves (written on both sides), so that a mere 10 per cent have twenty-five or more leaves. The size of a complete ancient codex depended on numerous factors, but volumes with significant portions of the New Testament generally contained 150 to 300 leaves. Overall, these figures on available material may appear to be minimal with respect to early manuscripts and the quantity of surviving leaves, but rich resources remain, including papyrus copies from 200 to the early 300s CE with fifty to ninety-five leaves each; two elegant codices from about 350 with complete or nearly complete New Testaments; four more large codices from the following century; several from the sixth century; and so on.

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[2] These data on surviving manuscripts have been updated from Eldon Jay Epp, 'Are Early New Testament Manuscripts Truly Abundant?', in David B. Capes, April D. DeConick, Helen K. Bond and Troy A. Miller (eds.), *Israel's God and Rebecca's Children: Christology and Community in Early Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado and Alan F. Segal* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), pp. 77–117, 395–99, esp. tables 6.5, 6.8 and 6.9. Further updates may be secured from the Münster Institute for New Testament Textual Research: www.uni-muenster.de/intf/ (Go to 'Institute' → 'List of NT manuscripts' → 'recording list of Greek manuscripts' → 'Kurzgefasste Liste' → 'continuation here'). The current raw total of manuscripts is around 5,800; the approximately 5,500 *different* manuscripts result when duplications, misplaced items etc. are removed from the lists. Manuscripts dated in two adjoining centuries (e.g. third/fourth) are grouped with those in the earlier century.

Different extant Greek manuscripts up to and around 800 CE by century
(Data to early 2015)[2]

| Date: up to and around: | Number of different MSS extant from each century | Number of different fragmentary MSS: 1–24 leaves | Number of different extensive MSS: 25–533 leaves | Total number of different extant MSS (cumulative) | Percentage of all 5,500 different extant MSS (cumulative) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 200 CE | 11 | 9 | 2 | 11 | 0.2% |
| 300 CE | 56 | 53 | 3 | 67 | 1.2% |
| 400 CE | 51 | 48 | 3 | 118 | 2.1% |
| 500 CE | 58 | 53 | 5 | 176 | 3.2% |
| 600 CE | 78 | 67 | 11 | 254 | 4.6% |
| 700 CE | 45 | 42 | 3 | 299 | 5.4% |
| 800 CE | 29 | 24 | 5 | 328 | 5.9% |
| TOTALS | 328 | 296 | 32 | | |

In the ninth century scribes began to use the faster minuscule or cursive script, and, for that and other reasons, extant manuscripts increased rapidly from then on, especially minuscules and lectionaries. The increase from the eighth century to the ninth was 65 per cent, to the tenth, another 64 per cent, and then a remarkable 113 per cent more to the eleventh century, for a total of about 1,900 surviving Greek manuscripts around 1100 CE. Handwritten copies continued to be produced on parchment and paper into the mid-nineteenth century, to bring the current total of different manuscripts (in early 2015) to approximately 5,500.

No manuscript is absolutely identical to any other, and among all the Greek manuscripts perhaps a third of a million variations exist. Textual critics attempt to sort through those myriad differing readings to establish the earliest attainable text of the New Testament. Such a reconstructed text is designated a 'critical text' because multiple manuscripts have been employed in the process, and when the variant readings are displayed along with the text (in the margins or usually at the foot of the pages) it becomes a 'critical edition'. The techniques utilised to decide which variant in each case should be part of the text – that is, the presumably earliest reading – constitute the 'critical methods' and commonly are designated as text-critical 'criteria for the priority of readings'. Obviously, then, critical editions of the Greek New Testament and critical methods in textual criticism are intertwined and inextricable. Indeed, the construction of every critical edition moves hand in hand with the development of and experimentation with critical methodologies – an interaction

that has continued, reciprocally, from the outset of the eighteenth century until the present.

Variant readings were discussed by Origen (*c.*184–254) and Jerome (*c.*345–420) in a rudimentary fashion, mentioning their presence in 'few', 'some' or 'many' manuscripts, or their theological or even geographical appropriateness in their contexts, or their insertion by detractors. At that time, and for many centuries to come, critical texts of the New Testament, and much more critical editions, were at best latent concepts that would come to realisation only in the late Renaissance and the Reformation periods. Obviously the invention of the printing press was crucial, and the first published editions of the Greek New Testament appeared in 1516 in Basel (edited by Erasmus) and in 1522 in Spain (the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, overseen by Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, with the New Testament printed already in 1514, but not distributed until 1522). Apart from the advantage of possessing standard texts widely available through multiple identical copies, scholars now had – in one of these printed editions – a reliable basis for collating Greek New Testament manuscripts.

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (*c.* 1466–1536) was invited (and later pressured) to publish his edition, containing a Greek text and a revised Latin Vulgate text, by his printer, Johann Froben in Basel. The Greek manuscripts available to Erasmus – those in the neighborhood, so to speak – became the sources for his hastily compiled text. Erasmus was in Basel from August 1514 until January 1515, where he utilised primarily two twelfth-century minuscule manuscripts, now numbers 2 and 2815 in the official list, and 2814 for Revelation, supplemented here and there by 817, 2816 and 2817. Since 2814 lacked the last verses of Revelation (22:16–21) and Erasmus was pressed to finish the edition, he translated these verses into Greek from the Latin Vulgate. Though it is said often that Erasmus utilised the famous minuscule 1, it is unlikely that he made much use of it, and apparently he did not know the important majuscule E of the Gospels–both also at Basel.[3] For his second edition (1519), however, Erasmus replaced the version of Jerome's Vulgate with his own Latin translation, though in the fourth edition (1527) he placed both the Vulgate and his Latin version in columns parallel to his Greek text.

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[3] On Erasmus see Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 112–61, esp. pp. 112–37. On whether Erasmus's emphasis was on producing the Greek text or the Latin translation, see p. 114 and Henk Jan de Jonge, 'Novum testamentum a nobis versum: The Essence of Erasmus' Edition of the New Testament', *Journal of Theological Studies* 35 (1984), 394–413, esp. pp. 395, 407–13. See also Pierre-Yves Brandt, 'Manuscrits grecs utilisés par Erasme pour son édition du *Novum Instrumentum* de 1516', *Theologische Zeitschrift* 54 (1998), 120–24, at pp. 121–2 for the manuscripts employed.

It should not go unnoticed that Martin Luther (1483–1546) utilised Erasmus's Greek text of the second edition and its accompanying Latin translation in preparing the 1522 New Testament portion (known as the 'September Testament') of the monumental Luther Bible.[4]

Likewise, William Tyndale (*c.* 1494–1536), who completed the MA degree at Oxford a year before Erasmus's Greek New Testament appeared, used one or more of Erasmus's early editions (1516, 1519, 1522) for his English translation. He was unsuccessful in printing this English New Testament in England, but succeeded doing so in Germany in 1525, with copies available in England by mid-1526. Heresy, along Lutheran lines, led to Tyndale's imprisonment and death at the stake in Belgium.[5]

In classical studies, Erasmus's most loyal and widely influential student was a German, Beatus Rhenanus[6] (1485–1547), who worked as an editor at Froben's press in Basel in the period from 1511 to 1528, when he returned to Germany. It was at Froben's that Beatus encountered Erasmus, who moved Beatus towards concentrating on textual criticism. Beatus placed emphasis on the codicological and palaeographic study of manuscripts – especially old ones and their old readings – as more faithful to the original. Like Erasmus, he sought to understand scribal errors, even their psychological causes, and asserted that comparison of manuscripts must replace the often rampant conjectures by critics of his day. Of course, conjectures were numerous in his own textual editions of Pliny, Tertullian and others, but he considered them a last resort, and he has been credited with developing 'the most original textual critical technique of his day'.[7] Unlike Erasmus, Beatus never treated scriptural texts.

The Complutensian Polyglot, treated in the following chapter, presented the Greek text and the Latin Vulgate in parallel columns in its volume 5, which, as noted, was sponsored by Cardinal Jiménez, printed in 1514, but published only in 1522.[8] The manuscripts employed in the construction of

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[4] On Luther see Hans Volz, Kenelm Foster, R. A. Sayce, S. Van der Woude, E. M. Wilson, R. Auty and Bent Noack, 'Continental Versions to *c.* 1600', in *CHB* 3, pp. 94–109 at pp. 95, 99–100.

[5] On Tyndale see S. L. Greenslade, 'English Versions of the Bible, 1525–1611', in *CHB* 3, pp. 141–7, and chapter 13 in this volume.

[6] For Beatus see the masterful book by John F. D'Amico, *Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism: Beatus Rhenanus between Conjecture and History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) esp. pp. 47–55 on Erasmus's influence; on Beatus's text-critical methods, pp. 71–84, 94–98, 101–2, 108–9, 116–17, 133, 138–39, 206–8; on conjectures, pp. 60, 66, 76–7, 80, 83. Like Erasmus, he used the 'harder reading' criterion (ibid., p. 65).

[7] Ibid., p. 3; see also pp. 72, 94–5, 98, 145–6, 206–8.

[8] On the Complutensian Polyglot Bible see Bentley, *Humanists*, pp. 70–111, and Chapter 6 in this volume.

the Hebrew, Septuagint and Vulgate texts of the Complutensian edition have been identified, but virtually nothing is known of the Greek manuscripts used for the New Testament text. Only one is specified, lent to Jiménez by Pope Leo X. Yet the Erasmian and Complutensian editions qualify as critical texts because multiple manuscripts were employed. Neither, however, was accompanied by an apparatus of variant readings, although Erasmus published his *Annotations* along with the Greek text and his own Latin translation, and these notes, covering a thousand passages, explained his textual choices. The Complutensian editors, while offering hundreds of sketchy marginal notes on grammatical and other matters, provided only four notes with detailed discussions of text-critical problems (1 Cor. 13:3, 15:51; 1 John 5:7; and Matt. 6:13).

As to criteria for choosing among variants, little was offered in the Complutensian edition, though Jiménez instructed his editors to alter the standard texts only in accordance with old manuscripts. In reality, extensive evidence suggests that the editors were reluctant to change the Latin Vulgate text to conform to the Greek, but favoured instead constructing a Greek text that would be supportive of the Vulgate. For example, when variants in the Greek text appeared, the tendency was to choose the reading agreeing with the Vulgate.[9] Critical principles earlier exemplified in Erasmus's edition included the preference for the 'harder reading', apparently its earliest use, and increasingly through successive editions he cited patristic evidence when discussing textual issues in his *Annotations*. Overall, however, Erasmus emphasised identifying the causes of textual corruption and, on that basis, removing textual errors.[10]

In 1534, in Paris, Simon de Colines (Colinaeus) published an edition of the Greek New Testament that, while its text was largely a mixture of readings selected from the Complutensian and Erasmian editions, moved a step forward in that some 150 readings inserted in the text resulted from the editor's collation of a few known manuscripts.[11] Such direct examination of

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[9] On manuscripts and critical principles used in the Complutensian edition see ibid., pp. 74–111, esp. 81, 89, 92–7, 103–7, 110–11.

[10] Ibid., pp. 153–61, including examples; on Erasmus's *Annotations*, pp. 123–4, 139–41; on the 'harder reading', pp. 153–4, 158; on patristic evidence, p. 144 n.86; on scribal errors, pp. 35–8; on adumbrations of the principle of preference for the reading that explains the others, p. 157; D'Amico, *Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism*, pp. 37–8.

[11] On Colinaeus see F.H.A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students*, 4th edn., rev. Edward Miller, 2 vols. (London: George Bell, 1894), vol. 11, p. 188, who refers to the 'Prolegomena' (§ 1144) of John Mill's 1707 edition (see below); Basil Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries', in *CHB* 3, pp. 38–93, at p. 61.

manuscripts and placing some of their individual readings in the edition's text, as opposed to building a text largely by piecing together extensive sections of several manuscripts (a procedure employed by Erasmus and for the Complutensian Polyglot), represents an intermediate stage between a critical text and a critical edition, to which attention now turns.

## Early critical editions and emerging criteria for the priority of readings

Initially, critical editions were produced to provide the 'true' or 'original' text of the New Testament, a goal later altered by many to claim the reconstruction only of the 'earliest attainable text'. In our own day, nearly five centuries later, the purpose has been expanded also to disclose information that textual variants might yield about the history and thought of the churches in various periods.[12]

### *Disparity between critical principles and practice*

The distinction of being the first critical edition of the New Testament – a Greek text with variant readings displayed – belongs to the influential 1550 third edition of Robert Estienne (Stephanus or Stephens), published in Paris. Its text was drawn very closely from the fifth edition of Erasmus (1536), but it offered in the inner margins variants from the Complutensian Polyglot and from fifteen manuscripts collated by Stephanus's son, Henri. These manuscripts for the most part were in Paris, although readings from Codex Bezae (now designated D, dating *c*. 400) were included, marked with the Greek letter *beta*. Theodore Beza himself, for whom this codex was named and who later, in 1581, presented it to the University of Cambridge, made little use of the manuscript or of Codex Claromontanus ($D^p$, sixth century), which he also owned, either in his edition of 1565 or its nine later revisions or printings. He used both the Complutensian Polyglot and Stephanus's fourth edition of 1551, resulting in a text much like his sources.[13]

The numerous editions and reprintings of Stephanus and Beza's Greek Testaments, with their similar texts, both of which owed much also to the Complutensian and the later Erasmian editions, solidified and popularised that form of text. It was timely, then, for the appearance of another popular

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[12] See, e.g., Eldon Jay Epp, 'It's All about Variants: A Variant-Conscious Approach to New Testament Textual Criticism', *Harvard Theological Review* 100 (2007), 275–308.

[13] On Stephanus and Beza see Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship', pp. 61–7; Bruce Manning Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th edn. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 149–52.

edition that would became a milestone–though perhaps not the landmark that frequently it is claimed to be. This was the Greek New Testament published in 1633 by the Elzevier publishing firm in Leiden, and it offered an audacious claim in its preface: 'You now have, therefore, the text received [*textus receptus*] by all, in which we present nothing altered or corrupted.' It is from this affirmation that the ubiquitous term *textus receptus* originated, and it was this kind of text that earlier was translated to produce the major European translations of the New Testament, including the English King James Version (1611), whose translators relied heavily on Beza's editions of 1588–9 and 1598.[14]

As noted earlier, the few Greek manuscripts that can be identified as actually used for these early editions from Erasmus to Elzevier stem from the twelfth century or so, while the much earlier manuscripts known at the time, Codices D and D$^p$, were little used because their differing readings seemed to depart too dangerously from the 'received text'. Yet, as history will disclose, two years short of two centuries after the Elzevier edition, Karl Lachmann, in 1831, would demonstrate that this *textus receptus*, in reality, should be 'received' by *none*, and rather should be replaced by a text based on manuscripts and readings reaching back to the fourth century.

In classical studies, such a bias towards older manuscripts began at least as early as Angelo Poliziano (1454–94), who provided textual criticism with a relatively objective basis by pioneering the search for the provenance, dates and genealogy of manuscripts; describing their palaeography and codicology; forming manuscripts into groups for which archetypes could be determined; and developing a hierarchy of manuscript authorities for correcting texts. The highest authority was assigned to readings in the old manuscripts. His short life prevented him from providing an edition of a classical writing to serve as a model, and unfortunately his views on manuscript analysis, radical for his time, were of limited influence.[15]

A hundred years after Stephanus's edition, Brian Walton published his *Biblia Sacra polyglotta*.[16] Volume 5 held the New Testament in six languages, including the 1550 Greek text of Stephanus, where Walton noted readings of Codex Alexandrinus, and the supplementary volume 6 offered readings from Codices Bezae and Claromontanus, thirteen other Greek manuscripts, and

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[14] On the Elzevier edition of 1633 see Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, p. 152; H.J. De Jonge, *Daniel Heinsius and the Textus Receptus of the New Testament: A Study of his Contributions to the Editions of the Greek Testament Printed by the Elzivers at Leiden in 1624 and 1633* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), esp. pp. 48–66.

[15] D'Amico, *Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism*, pp. 23–7.

[16] *Biblia Sacra polyglotta*, ed. Brian Walton, 6 vols. (London: Thomas Roycroft,1654–60). For further discussion see Chapter 6 in this volume.

readings from Stephanus's margins and some other sources. Ten years later the Polyglot was placed on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.

A significant advance, if only in principle, came with the edition of John Fell[17] (Oxford, 1675), whose title claimed to provide variants from more than one hundred witnesses, though his abbreviation list specified only ten individual manuscripts and eight groups, each under a single siglum, thereby obscuring the source of numerous variants. He devoted a portion of his six-page preface to explain the rise of variant readings, though without a formal statement of 'canons of criticism' – as principles for the priority of readings came to be called. Intriguing, however, is the report of Christopher Matthew Pfaff in 1709 that Fell had affixed thirty-seven such canons to a copy of his 1675 edition.[18] Although Fell's critical apparatus occupied an average of one-fifth of each page, his text was little affected by the variant readings, for it largely followed the Elzevier 1633 edition (the first, as noted above, to describe itself as the *textus receptus* or 'received text'). Moreover, Fell placed little emphasis on patristic citations and allowed more weight to mere numbers of manuscripts in support of a reading than to quality of witnesses.

Three decades later, also in Oxford, Fell's preliminary efforts came to fruition in the grand 1707 critical edition by John Mill,[19] for it was Bishop Fell who urged Mill to publish an edition and who supported the project financially until Fell's death in 1686. The edition in its structure and format (though not in the nature of its Greek text) set the standard for major editions ever after, due to two prominent features. First was the extensive apparatus of variant readings that occupied approximately the bottom 25 to 30 percent of each of the 809 double-column pages of Greek text, plus a sixty-four-page 'Appendix ad Notas Superiores'. Altogether Mill provided some 30,000 variants – a high multiple compared with those in Fell. The second feature that would become standard was the 'Prolegomena', in Mill's case extending to 168 folio pages. The apparatus contained variants from some ninety Greek manuscripts, more than a third collated or re-collated by Mill himself, as well as readings from the

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[17] On Fell see Adam Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley: A Study of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament 1675–1729* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954), pp. 52–3; Scrivener and Miller, *Plain Introduction*, vol. II, pp. 199–200; Marvin R. Vincent, *A History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1903), p. 67.

[18] Reported in Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley*, p. 92; see further in this chapter.

[19] On Mill see ibid., pp. 56–88, 142–46; on the 'Prolegomena', pp. 68–71; on the text and apparatus, pp. 71–4. See also Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament; with Remarks on Its Revision upon Critical Principles* (London: Bagster, 1854), pp. 41–9; on Fell's support, p. 42; Scrivener and Miller, *Plain Introduction*, vol. II, pp. 200–3.

Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Arabic, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon and Persian versions, but especially from the Old Latin and Vulgate. In addition, it was replete with citations from numerous patristic writers.

The scope of Mill's 'Prolegomena' overwhelmed all prefatory material in previous editions of the Greek text, for it considered at length the history of textual transmission, including patristic writers and versions (with emphasis on the Old Latin and its relation to the Syriac and Coptic) and the history of the printed text. It differed, however, from those in subsequent Greek Testaments in that Mill offered no formal list of principles to be employed in selecting readings. Doubtless this approach was allied closely with the other major difference between Mill's edition and most that were to follow: he did not offer his own critical Greek text, but merely printed Stephanus's 1550 text, with only some thirty alterations. This was a disappointment, and stood in contradiction to the extensive apparatus found at the foot of the pages, leaving the impression that those thousands of variant readings possess little intrinsic significance. Once again, however, a report from another scholar filled out the picture. Richard Bentley had already in 1691 indicated that Mill had planned to publish, with his edition, texts of ancient manuscripts including Codices Alexandrinus, Bezae and Claromontanus, surely indicative of Mill's preference for the oldest documents.[20] As it turned out, printed editions of these important manuscripts appeared only in 1786, 1793 and 1852, respectively, to be superseded, of course, by facsimile editions in more recent times. Had Mill met this goal, textual criticism would have advanced significantly.

In addition to the implied preference for early manuscripts, additional text-critical principles can be extracted from Mill's notes and prolegomena. For example, he specified that harmonisation was the major cause of contamination in the Gospels; that patristic citations and the Old Latin version were important for establishing the text; and, notably, that variant readings that were smooth and easy were to be rejected. Here we encounter the 'rule' that the harder reading has priority (later expressed as *lectio difficilior lectio potior*), a principle developed by Erasmus, yet one that Mill at first rejected but later embraced in his appendix, when referring to a variant in Galatians 4:14: 'I reckon this reading to be genuine, as also almost all that are somewhat hard

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[20] Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, pp. 44–6. See 45 n. for the Latin text of the relevant portion of Bentley's *Epistola ad Joannem Millium* (1691). The letter is viewed as initiating the grand age of classical scholarship in England: C.O. Brink, *English Classical Scholarship: Historical Reflections on Bentley, Porson, and Housman* (Cambridge and New York: James Clarke / Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 41–83.

and look absurd.'[21] He stated the matter more strongly in his 'Prolegomena' when discussing Simon Colinaeus's 1534 Greek Testament:

> For this editor seems to have determined in his own mind that that is the best reading and to be preferred to the rest which would be clearer and more lucid than the remainder. Now nothing is more misleading than this rule, in these sacred books particularly. In them, in proportion as a thing is more obscure, it is generally speaking more authentic, and out of the various readings that occur, those which seem clearer are justly suspected of falsification on the ground that they have crept in from the margin of the manuscripts in the room of other obscurer ones.[22]

Mill died two weeks after his edition was published, but even lacking a freshly formed critical text, any formal list of text-critical principles and the publication of ancient manuscripts, he has been called 'the founder of textual criticism'[23] because of his apparatus, which, he felt, would permit the true readings to be discerned. This was sufficient to establish his reputation.

As might be expected, not all welcomed Mill's edition with its 30,000 variants. Notable among the detractors was Daniel Whitby who, in 1710, asserted that the effect of Mill's work was 'to render the standard of faith insecure, or at best to give others too good a handle for doubting'.[24] Yet the subsequent alternating defences and attacks effectively advertised Mill's edition, and Richard Bentley in a 1713 essay brilliantly defended the then deceased Mill and his work, demonstrating that the sacred text had not been rendered precarious by 30,000 manuscript variations – or even by more as new manuscripts would appear. After all, Bentley affirmed, it is better 'to have more anchors than one' and it is 'a great blessing that so many manuscripts of the New Testament are still among us'.[25]

In 1710 Ludolph Küster[26] pirated Mill's edition, republishing it in the Netherlands. In actuality, Küster, an accomplished scholar, improved on

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[21] Latin text and translation in Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley*, p. 147.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Philip Schaff, *A Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version*, 4th edn. (New York and London: Harper, 1903), p. 244. Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, p. 41, stated that 'Mill's edition has been said to commence the age of manhood in the criticism of the Greek Testament'.

[24] Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley*, p. 106; see pp. 105–15 for a discussion of the detractors and defenders and 112–15 for excerpts of Bentley's essay.

[25] Ibid., p. 114.

[26] On Küster see Scrivener and Miller, *Plain Introduction*, vol. II, pp. 203–4; Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley*, pp. 79–80, 89–91. Küster was brought to England by Richard Bentley *c.* 1694 (Brink, *English Classical Scholarship*, p. 28).

Mill, for he divided the voluminous 'Prolegomena' into 1,513 sections for easier reference; inserted in their proper places the variants in Mill's extensive 'Appendix' that were collected too late for inclusion in the original apparatus; improved the reference system between text and apparatus; and added variants from twelve manuscripts. Küster, however, made no advance either in the critical text itself or in text-critical methodology.

At this time, however, a methodological advance that developed rapidly and has persisted to this day had its beginnings. As noted, Fell may have been the first to compile text-critical principles, though he did not publish them, but Gerhard von Maestricht (hereafter Gerhard) appears first to have compiled such a list for publication when he provided forty-three 'Canons of Criticism' (so named) in his 1711 Greek Testament and discussed them at length. A curious twist, however, is that Pfaff,[27] in his 1709 *Critical Dissertation*, published thirty-three canons that he reported had been given to him in 1708 by Gerhard, undoubtedly an earlier draft of the latter's forty-three. Pfaff placed twenty-five of these canons in suitable subcategories: four relating to the one dictating a work, five concerning the scribe, four about the introduction of errors, and twelve to be used in separating true from false variants. He stated also that Codex Vaticanus was to be preferred to Codex Alexandrinus (definitively affirmed later by Westcott and Hort in 1881–2) and he alluded to the harm caused by variants created in the interests of orthodoxy. Incidentally, this latter issue was not pursued at length – if at all – until 1993, when Bart D. Ehrman published his influential *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*.[28]

Closer examination of Gerhard's own published canons[29] will enlighten us about the sentiments of the time. As was typical then, his Greek text of the New Testament offered no improvement, for he printed that of Fell. Yet he incorporated Fell's variant readings, adding modestly to them, so that his apparatus, on average, occupied about one-fourth of each page. Given his aim to improve on his predecessors, especially Mill, his list of canons became a

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[27] On Pfaff and his canons see Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley*, pp. 91–3.

[28] Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[29] On Gerhard von Maestricht see Epp, 'Eclectic Method', pp. 217–19 and the references there; reprinted in Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism*, pp. 131–3. Gerhard's Greek Testament names its editor 'G.D.T.M.D.' for Gerhardus De Trajectu Mosae Doctor, the subject of controversy; see Ezra Abbot, 'Gerhard von Mastricht', in *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel and Other Critical Essays* (Boston: Ellis, 1888), pp. 184–8.

model for future prolegomena to a critical text – a model in form but only partially in content. Akin to Fell's preface, nearly half of the canons treated scribal habits and causes of variants (Canons i–iii, v–vii, xvi, xxiv, xxvi–xxvii and others), though some guiding principles were inherent as well:

- Variations recognisable as due to the presumption or impudence of a copyist are not 'variant readings' (xxvi, xxvii, see ix) and are to be rejected in favor of the 'received readings' (see viii).
- 'Absurd' readings are to be discarded (xxii).
- Both copyists and manuscripts can be observed as prone to add or to omit (xv, xxx, xxxi).
- One codex does not make for a variant reading (ix), nor do two codices in agreement against a received reading that makes sense (x), nor do three or four codices produce a viable variant against twenty manuscripts (xi), for 'a great number of manuscript codices, for instance twenty or more, establish and approve a received and common reading of good sense, above all in a case of a variant involving an omission' (xii), nor does a reading of three or four codices that does not alter the sense – whether consisting of addition, deletion, or change of construction – command attention, for 'certainly no reason is compelling that will prefer a variant reading to a received reading' (viii).
- A variant reading commonly disappears when the origin of that reading is ascertained (xxiv) – a guideline that would loom large in the future.

Among these canons, some clear or implied principles emerged, showing progress towards our current criteria, namely, readings to be rejected include obvious scribal errors; repetitious items from the context or from harmonisation; additions or omissions if either tendency is found to be characteristic of a particular scribe or manuscript; and (most important from our standpoint) a reading shown to have arisen from another is to be rejected. Altogether, however, Gerhard's canons offered a garbled array of principles, including his strong and widely shared propensity for the *textus receptus* and his conviction that numerous manuscripts outweigh the evidence of a few, a view destined to disintegrate over the following 120 years. Yet Gerhard's canons acquire greater significance upon recognising that, in 1713, both Johann Albrecht Bengel (in Heidelberg) and Johann Jakob Wettstein (before he was twenty years old) encountered these canons and obviously were rather profoundly affected by them. (Wettstein's access doubtless was facilitated by the publishers of Gerhard's text, Wettstein and Smith in Amsterdam, the former a relative.) Bengel published three refutations, first in the *Apparatus criticus*

(an appendix to his 1734 edition) and the third in his preface to *Gnomon Novi Testamenti* in 1742.[30]

### Distancing the text from the textus receptus

Before the appearance of these two giant figures, Bengel and Wettstein, two others arrived on the scene. A small step away from the received text, though little noticed, was taken by Edward Wells[31] when he drew variants from Mill's apparatus to alter 210 passages, thereby producing the first full New Testament (1709–19) to forsake the *textus receptus* in favour of ancient readings. The small degree of departure, however, does not qualify as a decisive move from the received text, which would be accomplished only a century and a quarter later.

But a giant step was envisioned by Richard Bentley,[32] who offered the first promise of linking canons of criticism and their inherent critical methods to the fresh construction of a critical, eclectic text. Previous critical editions – those displaying variants – in large measure had taken over texts of one or another predecessor: Stephanus used Erasmus, Fell utilised the Elzevier text, Mill printed Stephanus's, and Gerhard took over Fell's text. Bentley, however, in his 1720 pamphlet on *Proposals for Printing* a Greek and Latin New Testament, intended to produce a new edition of the Greek and Latin 'as represented in the most ancient and venerable MSS. in Greek and Roman capital letters' (Proposal 1). Wettstein, by the way, took full credit for Bentley's decision in 1716 to undertake this edition: 'At last I was successful in persuading the great critic [Bentley] to entertain the design of editing the New Testament.'[33]

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[30] Later published separately as J.A. Bengel, *Apparatus criticus ad Novum Testamentum criseos sacrae compendium, limam, supplementum ac fructum exhibens*, 2nd edn., ed. P.D. Burk (Tübingen: Johann Georg Cotta, 1763), pp. 76–78; J.A. Bengel, *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, 3rd edn., ed. J. Steudel (Tübingen: Ludovicus Fridericus Fues, 1855), pp. xiv–xxi (hereafter *Gnomon* (Latin edn.)). The refutation was eliminated from the English edition of *Gnomon* (Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins, 1864) and its reprint: *New Testament Word Studies*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1971), see vol. 1, pp. xx–xxi, xxxiv (hereafter (English edn.)).

[31] See Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, p. 155; Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, ed. and trans. Glenn W. Most (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 64.

[32] On Bentley see Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley*, pp. 112–26; Brink, *English Classical Scholarship*, esp. pp. 70–3, 77–81; Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, pp. 54–6, 63–4; Vincent, *History of Textual Criticism*, pp. 70–5. The text of his *Proposals* may be found in Arthur A. Ellis, *Bentleii critica sacra: Notes on the Greek and Latin Text of the New Testament, Extracted from the Bentley MSS. in Trinity College Library* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, 1862), pp. xvii–xix; on emendations see Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, pp. 226–31. On his rescue of the four-volume Codex Alexandrinus from a night-time fire in the Cottonian Library (1731) see Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley*, p. 125.

[33] C.L. Hulbert-Powell, *John James Wettstein 1693–1754: An Account of his Life, Work, and Some of his Contemporaries* (London: SPCK, 1937), p. 25.

Bentley's three-page document clearly asserted that the antiquity of manuscripts was primary, with the corollary that readings chosen for the text must be confirmed by 'the old versions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, and Æthiopic, and of all the fathers, Greeks and Latins, within the first five centuries', adding that any reading intruding upon any copies since that time is 'of no value or authority' (Proposal IV). Bentley believed that the resultant Greek text would take him back to the time of Origen's New Testament text (mid-third century) and therefore (he assumed) to the text that was standard at the time of the Council of Nicaea. He expressed certainty that the use of these oldest Greek and Latin (Vulgate) manuscripts would 'so settle the original text to the smallest nicety, as cannot be performed now in any *classic* author whatever' (Proposals II and III). But, as often noted, Bentley's resultant text would have been that only of Western Christendom, and his likely realisation of this weakness, as more and more collations appeared, may have contributed to the endless delay in fulfilling his plans.

Bentley, in England, had access to two ancient and significant majuscule manuscripts of the New Testament, Codices Alexandrinus (siglum A, fifth century) and Bezae (siglum D, now dated *c*. 400, containing the Gospels and Acts). The latter had numerous aberrant readings, so the former was considered by Bentley to be the oldest and best manuscript at the time, but he sought collations elsewhere, obtaining among others two of Codex Vaticanus (siglum B, fourth century), one by Abbé Mico (*c*. 1720) and the other, far superior, by Abbé Rulotta (1729).[34]

These collations of what in our own time is considered the premier manuscript of the New Testament may have altered or at least unsettled Bentley's plans for the edition, according to one persuasive hypothesis: Bentley's assumption was that readings from this newly collated old manuscript should agree with Codex Alexandrinus, but that was often not the case. Rather, it became clear that Vaticanus, a very ancient manuscript, did not fit into Bentley's stemma; indeed, its readings led him to realise that the whole basis for his edition was flawed. He would have to redraw his stemma, allowing for at least *two* major recensions in the fourth century, and this effectively rendered unachievable the goal of his edition: to recover a *single* recension in the fourth century.

Bentley's undertaking was a magnificent failure. But in that failure, the visionary Master of Trinity laid the basis for all subsequent critical editions of

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[34] See Scrivener and Miller, *Plain Introduction*, vol. I, p. 110. Rulotta's collation is reproduced in Ellis, *Bentleii critica sacra*, pp. 119–54.

the New Testament, and set out principles that guide the best editors to this day: cross-linguistic comparisons, the use of patristic and versional evidence, and working from as many manuscripts as one can find.[35]

Finally, Bentley asserted that 'in the sacred writings there's no place for conjectures or emendations. Diligence and fidelity, with some judgment and experience are the characters here requisite,' adding that he would 'not alter one letter in the text without the authorities subjoined in the notes' (Proposals v and vi). In his earlier letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1716) Bentley was more specific about the old manuscripts to be utilised: none 'under nine hundred years old,' that is, only those earlier than about the ninth century.[36]

Bentley's firm resolution to eschew emendations, however, stands in sharp contrast to procedures employed by him, the quintessential classical scholar, in producing critical editions of Horace, Terence, Milton, Manilius, Homer and others, all of which were replete with conjectural emendations. In the preface to his edition of Horace (1711), Bentley stated that it is in emending texts that 'pure reason, the light cast by sense and necessity prevail'. Hence, sense and thought may triumph over readings in manuscripts. He adds, 'Do not therefore think it enough to worship scribes, but venture to think for yourself.'[37]

Also, Bentley pronounced that 'We prefer reason and sense to a hundred codices, especially when accompanied by the testimony of the old Vatican codex' (referring to a manuscript of Horace),[38] thus turning his back on Gerhard's canons that stressed counting the manuscripts in support of readings. This measure of ambivalence between old manuscripts and the emendation of texts appears to have been resolved in Bentley by an uneasy synergism between the two. What cannot be known, however, is whether, in the final analysis, he would have been able to avoid emendation in his proposed edition of the New Testament.

Alas, Bentley, though he was to live for twenty-two more years, never followed through on this project – certainly hindered, not only by the methodological conflicts just mentioned, but also by his long tenure as Master of

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[35] William L. Petersen, 'Richard Bentley and New Testament Textual Criticism: Reverence and Irreverence', in Jan Krans and Joseph Verheyden (eds.), *Patristic and Text-Critical Studies: The Collected Essays of William L. Petersen*, New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 40 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 568–80. See also Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley*, pp. 124–5.

[36] Ellis, *Bentleii critica sacra*, p. xv.

[37] Brink, *English Classical Scholarship*, p. 66, quoting Bentley's preface to his edition of Horace.

[38] Ibid., p. 71.

Trinity College, Cambridge (1700–42) – a tumultuous period when, with a large measure of arrogance and autocracy, he sought numerous controversial educational reforms. Yet Bentley's proposed principles and methodology marked a major turning point by championing a move away from the late manuscripts that, since Erasmus, had formed the basis of the *textus receptus* and towards reliance on the earliest available manuscripts – as well as on the early versions and patristic sources – for forming afresh a critical text of the New Testament. Bentley was proposing actually to revise the accepted Greek text itself, a daring act at the time.

It is not clear whether or not Daniel Mace, a little-known English scholar, was influenced by Bentley's proposal when he published anonymously a diglot entitled *The New Testament in Greek and English: Containing the Original Text Corrected from the Authority of the Most Authentic Manuscripts* (1729).[39] The very title enunciated what was primary for Bentley and what was to become a major canon of textual criticism: the earliest manuscripts carry the most weight. Hence, Mace's Greek text moved against the already dominant *textus receptus*, though he appears not to have described his implied principle, or any others, except one that is highly suspect. At Galatians 4:25, he omits 'Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia', defending its omission against the entire manuscript tradition by affirming 'as if there were any manuscript so old as Common Sense'.[40] This criterion apparently was operative in his arbitrary alterations to the text whether supported or not by manuscript evidence, thus vitiating the noble sentiments of his subtitle.

Although there were adumbrations in Mill's 'Prolegomena' of Bentley's fresh and basic principle to employ only the earliest witnesses to the New Testament text, thereby explicitly abandoning the 'received text', it would be the greater part of a century before that late text would be discredited in theory, though even then not fully in practice, by Johann Jakob Griesbach, and a full century until Karl Lachmann made a clean break with the *textus receptus*. And, until the mid-nineteenth century, virtually all of those labours would be carried out, no longer in England, but on the Continent.

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[39] On Mace see Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley*, pp. 97–102; Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, pp. 65–6; Vincent, *History of Textual Criticism*, p. 75; and Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, pp. 157–8, who treat Mace more kindly.

[40] Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley*, p. 99. Bentley also proposed this conjecture, as noted in *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th rev. edn., ed. Barbara and Kurt Aland (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993), p. 500, note on Gal. 4:25.

## Grouping witnesses and the recognition of external and internal evidence

Johann Albrecht Bengel[41] of Württemberg initiated a new era through advancements on three fronts, motivated by concern that Mill's 30,000 variants would be detrimental to faith. First, his 1734 edition offered a revised Greek text, though not in a straightforward fashion, for such a revision would not yet have been tolerated by ecclesiastical authorities. Rather, he avoided offence (or worse) by two mechanisms: (1) he printed the *textus receptus* and altered it (except in Revelation) only if the reading to be inserted had been present in one or more preceding editions; and (2) he listed other significant variants in the lower margin, but cleverly marked them with Greek letters to indicate (α) the original text, (β) a reading superior to that in the text, (γ) a reading equal to that in the text, (δ) one inferior to that in the text and (ε) a reading to be rejected. Effectively, of course, this amounted to a revision, albeit obscured, of the *textus receptus*.

Second, Bengel, in his 1725 'Prodromus' ('forerunner') to his proposed edition, divided textual witnesses into two groups ('nations'): African and Asiatic. The African group encompassed the oldest manuscripts and versions – the kind that Bentley had preferred – which Bengel then subdivided into two 'tribes', one with Codex Alexandrinus, the other with the Graeco-Latin codices and the Old Latin, Coptic and Ethiopic versions. The Asiatic group centred in Constantinople and included the later manuscripts. So Bengel in actuality had three groups, two early and one later.

Earlier Mill had treated Codex Alexandrinus and the Old Latin as a kind of group, and Bentley spoke of three sources for our Greek manuscripts – Egypt, Asia and the West – giving weight to the combined testimony of the oldest documents from Alexandria and the West – again, a rudimentary group. Bengel, however, was the first to offer a formal system for grouping witnesses, thereby laying the groundwork for later theories of 'text types'. Obviously, the chief significance of Bengel's classifications was his sharp separation of the oldest manuscripts, the African – which were fewer but with readings 'always

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41 On Bengel see Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, pp. 158–60; Scrivener and Miller, *Plain Introduction*, vol. ii, pp. 210–13; Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, pp. 64–70 and notes; Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, pp. 68–73; Samuel Prideaux Tregellesin and T.H. Horne, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, 4 vols., 11th edn. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860), vol. iv, pp. 66–71; Vincent, *History of Textual Criticism*, pp. 87–90.

ancient' – from the Asiatic, which, 'many as they are, have often but little weight'.[42] Bengel here enunciated for the first time in a systematic formulation the fundamental principle that *textual witnesses must be weighed and not merely counted*, and, reinforcing Bentley, stressed the importance of *external evidence*, the term used later for assessing the age, quality, geographical distribution and groupings of manuscripts supporting various readings. Bengel's scheme of three basic groups was supported by Johann Salomo Semler and Griesbach, who identified them as Alexandrian, Western and Constantinopolitan (much like our current configuration).

Third, and of great significance, Bengel moved beyond Bentley in the formal discussion of additional canons of criticism concerned with *internal evidence*, which are used to assess what authors were most likely to write and what scribes were likely to transcribe. In his 'Prodromus', Bengel's celebrated canon was phrased as *proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua* ('the difficult [reading] is superior to the easy'), later expressed as *difficilior lectio potior* ('the more difficult reading is preferable [to the easier]' and customarily worded as 'the harder reading is to be preferred'). Erasmus, as noted earlier, developed this criterion, and Mill utilised it with some frequency in his prolegomena, but Bengel brought it to the forefront, perhaps in response to his own urgent question as to which reading (in a given case) is likely to have given rise to the others. It might be said also that he was reducing all of Gerhard's forty-three canons 'to one comprehensive rule of four words'.[43] Later Bengel offered his list of twenty-seven canons (named *monitis* – 'admonitions') in his *Gnomon Novi Testamenti* (1742). The 'harder reading' guideline appeared here differently phrased in numbers 13 and 14:

> 13. A reading which does not allure by too great facility, but shines by its native dignity, is always to be preferred to that which may fairly be supposed to owe its origin to either the carelessness or the injudicious care of copyists.

He added in number 14 that a reading exhibiting 'too great facility [suggests] a *gloss*'.[44]

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[42] See Tregelles in Horne, *Introduction*, vol. IV, pp. 69–70; he also gives Bengel's Latin text of these statements.

[43] Eberhard Nestle, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1901), pp. 16–17, 239; see Bengel, *Apparatus criticus*, p. 69; also Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, pp. 68–9. Mill, however, suggests that he discovered it (Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley*, p. 147). Not only did Erasmus and Mill touch on internal criteria, but Gerhard as well (see earlier in this chapter), notably in asserting that a reading loses priority if shown to have arisen from another.

[44] As in Bengel, *Gnomon* (Latin edn.), p. xiii; (English edn.), vol. I, p. xviii (emphasis in original).

Akin to Mill and Bentley before him, Bengel's list emphasised the high value to be placed on the oldest Greek and versional manuscripts in Admonition 12:

> 12. ... More witnesses are to be preferred to fewer; and, which is *more important*, witnesses which *differ* in country, age, and language, [are to be preferred] to those which are closely connected with each other; and *most important of all, ancient* witnesses [are to be preferred] to modern ones. For, since the original autographs (which were in Greek) can alone claim to be the Fountain-head, the highest value belongs to those streams which are least removed from it; that is, to the most ancient codices, in Greek, Latin, & c.

Also of importance was Bengel's introduction of geographical factors when he mentioned that witnesses differing in locality and language were preferable (see also Admonition 15, below). Alongside Bengel's high regard for the oldest manuscripts must be placed another of his affirmations: 'Almost the whole variety of readings was created a long time before the Greek manuscripts extant today,' implying that 'ancient manuscripts are already not less corrupt than more recent ones'.[45]

Two other closely related canons are number 9, that versions and patristic quotations carry little weight when they differ from Greek manuscripts, but 'where Greek manuscripts vary, those have the greatest authority, with which versions and fathers agree', and number 10, that the Latin Vulgate, when supported by Latin Fathers, acquires a singular 'high antiquity'.

For Bengel the internal and external criteria are counterparts, though it is clear nonetheless that the external considerations command the first and the decisive voice, as documented above and as implied by the phrasing of his succinct summary of text-critical principles (Admonition 15):

> There are, therefore, *five* principal means of judging the Text. The *Antiquity* of witnesses, the *Diversity* of their extraction, and their *Multitude*; in the next place, the *Origin of the corrupt* reading, and the *Native* appearance of the *genuine*.[46]

The first three items here concern external criteria (as in Admonition 12, but also 9–11), the other two internal (as in 13–14), and significantly Bengel separated the two categories with a semicolon and *tum* ('then', 'in the next

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[45] Bengel, *Apparatus criticus*, p. 12, as cited in Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, p. 70 n.33. See also Bengel's Admonition 8: '*Greek* manuscripts so ancient as to date before the varieties of reading themselves are very few: the rest are very numerous' (Bengel, *Gnomon* (English edn.), vol. 1, p. xvii (emphasis in original)).

[46] Bengel, *Gnomon* (Latin edn.), p. xiii; (English edn.), vol. 1, p. xviii (emphasis in original). I have added 'in the next place' (*tum*) from Bengel's Latin text, quoting otherwise the English edition.

place'). So Bengel stated precisely how he valued these criteria: antiquity of witnesses was pre-eminent; then their geographical, language and age distribution; and last – though still significant – their number. After all, at this time ancient manuscripts were relatively rare, and therefore it was difficult to ignore the sheer quantity of later witnesses – a matter that would await future adjustment. The secondary listing of internal considerations renders them subsidiary to the external, and this hierarchy is supported in two additional ways: first, Bengel's strong emphasis on the most ancient witnesses, not only in his two-nation scheme, but also explicitly in Admonitions 12 and 15. Second, his Admonitions overall stressed external principles, for three-fourths of the relevant items (4–5, 7–12, 18) concerned manuscripts, versions and church writers, whereas only two (13–14) treated internal considerations.[47]

For Bengel, therefore, text-critical criteria were of two distinct and separable kinds, external and internal, with the former superior to and more decisive than the latter. Yet, two further Admonitions, 16–17, implied that eclecticism became operative when either the evidence or the canons conflicted. He said of his five principles for judging the text, 'Where these concur, none can doubt but a skeptic; when, however, it happens that some of these favor one reading, and some another, the critic may be drawn now in this, now in that direction; or, even should he decide, others may be slow to agree with him.'[48]

How, then, did Bengel's canons of criticism shape his text of the New Testament? Since he largely retained the *textus receptus*, the effects that would naturally have been expected to flow from his theories – a revised and eclectic text of the Greek New Testament – are not to be found. Neither the ecclesiastical climate nor the Christian scholarship of the time was ready for such a change, and would not be for another century. Though Bengel failed to follow his principles consistently, he effectively set in motion two processes, both destined to affect significantly both the establishment of the New Testament text and the discipline of textual criticism itself. One effect would be the continuing recognition that the most ancient manuscripts, and not the most numerous or smoothest, were the best manuscripts. The other would involve the alternating cooperation and tension between external and internal criteria in

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[47] Timpanaro disagreed (*Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, p. 68, quoting Bengel, *Apparatus criticus*, p. 18 (1763, but 1st edn. appeared in 1734)): in his view, Bengel placed internal considerations first: 'It is only when two readings are equivalent in themselves', declares Bengel, 'that the decision is referred to a more accurate examination of the manuscripts.' (How this statement is to be reconciled with the pervasive evidence from 1742 that the antiquity of witnesses takes priority is unclear, but for the moment I opt for the later words of Bengel.)

[48] Bengel, *Gnomon* (Latin edn.), p. xiii; (English edn.), vol. 1, p. xviii.

determining the most likely original text, and Bengel provided the basis for their swift development. The former process, through Griesbach and then Lachmann, would accomplish the decisive overthrow of the *textus receptus* and the triumph of a text based solely on ancient witnesses. The latter process, through many editions of the New Testament text, would refine and retain both the external and internal criteria in a useful juxtaposition, albeit with a healthy if often frustrating ambiguity in their application.

The disjunction between a textual critic's printed text and the accompanying theoretical rationale continued when Johann Jakob Wettstein[49] worked towards and published his elegant two-volume edition of the Greek New Testament in 1751–2. Specifically, his printed text was mainly the Elzevier text of 1624, a text akin to the editions of Fell, Mill and Bengel, which again stood in opposition to the variant readings recorded by Wettstein as preferable and was contrary to the principles he enunciated. In 1716 he not only met with Bentley but travelled to Paris to collate manuscripts for him; there were further collations and the two scholars exchanged letters, but their relationship cooled in 1720 when Bentley's 'Proposals' appeared, for Wettstein objected to Bentley's intention to discover, from the Latin Vulgate and the most ancient Greek manuscripts, the text of the fourth century.

Already in 1718 Wettstein himself published sample variants, leading to charges that he held Arian/Socinian views. Most prominent, if not central, in the case against Wettstein were textual variants in six passages (1 John 5:7, Acts 20:28, 1 Cor. 10:9, 1 Tim. 3:16, Jude 4 and Heb. 1:3) that he preferred over the 'received text' and that his opponents alleged to be heretical. In all of these passages Wettstein followed Codex Alexandrinus, his favourite manuscript and intended to be the base text for his edition, though later he spoke of creating an independent text. There was even a hint that Wettstein had mutilated this already famous manuscript so that it would favour Socinianism.[50] In defending himself over some fifteen years of bitter controversy, Wettstein, as we would say from our standpoint, 'fought a battle royal for the freedom of textual criticism from dogmatic prejudice, and cleared the ground for future critical enterprise'.[51] But his detractors persisted, resulting during the next two

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[49] On Wettstein see Hulbert-Powell, *John James Wettstein*, pp. 24–35; for copies of Bentley's letters to Wettstein, pp. 176–7. The volume is an extraordinarily detailed report and analysis of Wettstein's life and scholarship. See also Scrivener and Miller, *Plain Introduction*, vol. II, pp. 213–16; Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, pp. 67–9; Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, pp. 73–82; Tregelles, in Horne, *Introduction*, vol. IV, pp. 66–71.

[50] Hulbert-Powell, *John James Wettstein*, p. 52; on the six passages see pp. 56–7, 66, 85.

[51] Ibid., p. 49.

decades in Wettstein's forced departure from Basel and his move to a professorship in Amsterdam in 1733.

In 1730 Wettstein published, anonymously, the 'Prolegomena' to his proposed edition, though that edition would not appear for another two decades. In this interval he altered his positive views towards the oldest New Testament manuscripts. This was due especially to his growing opposition to the view of Bengel, who highly valued the oldest Greek manuscripts and Latin versions, which Wettstein combated by pushing further than anyone else the theory of the Latinisation of the oldest Greek New Testament manuscripts. All of these manuscripts, he affirmed, had been corrupted by interpolation from Latin manuscripts; therefore, the textual critic must move several centuries beyond these Greek manuscripts to more recent ones if a pure text was to be found.

Yet in his 1751–2 edition Wettstein again enunciated nearly all of the critical canons he had published in 1730, before he changed his views on the oldest Greek manuscripts, and the result was curious, for similarities to principles found in Mill, Bentley and Bengel were numerous, especially the dominance granted to ancient witnesses, and yet contradictions were obvious. Wettstein's eighteen canons included the following six internal and five external criteria:

(7)     The reading in clearer or better Greek is not necessarily preferable; more often the contrary.

(8)     Among readings equally suitable to the context, that which employs an unusual expression is preferable.

(9)     The fuller, more ample reading is not preferable to the shorter.

(10)    The reading found in the same words elsewhere is not preferable to one that is not.

(11)    A reading conformable in every respect to the style of the author is preferable.

(12)    The more orthodox reading is not necessarily preferable.

(13)    The Greek reading more in accord with the ancient versions is preferable.

(14–15) Patristic testimony has much weight in attesting the true reading, and silence in the Fathers on readings of importance in the controversies of their times renders such readings suspect.

(17)    The more ancient reading is preferable, other things being equal.

(18)    The reading of the majority of manuscripts, other things being equal, is preferable.[52]

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[52] Selected from nineteen items in chap. 16 of Wettstein's (anonymous) *Prolegomena* of 1730, which appear as eighteen items in the appendix to his 1751–2 edition of the New

Thus, Wettstein's inconsistencies abound when, for his edition, he preferred later, presumably unlatinised, codices to the earlier ones–against his canon 17 that the more ancient reading normally was preferable–and when he could state that any division of readings into groups with more or less weight was useless (canon 6), yet also can affirm that 'codices are to be appraised by weight, not by number'. Nevertheless, his list of canons, whether he followed them or not, represented another step in the evolution of critical methods that in due time would lead to significant agreement on appropriate canons of criticism and, in turn, to the establishment of a fresh, eclectic text of the New Testament.

Finally, Johann Jakob Griesbach[53] inaugurated, if only in theory and once again not in actuality, the final steps towards the dethronement of the perennially persistent *textus receptus*. The first of his three editions (1775–7, 1796–1806 and 1803–7, respectively) evidenced his external criteria, which granted clear preference to the more 'primitive', that is, the older readings. This view arose from his understanding that the early history of the text evinced three groups (following his mentor, Semler), namely, two ancient 'recensions' or families, the Western and Alexandrian (early third century) and one more recent, the Constantinopolitan (late fourth century). Within this scheme Griesbach held that a reading had high claim to originality (1) when supported by all three of these old groups ('Prolegomena', §111, e) or (2) when attested by the Western and Alexandrian against the Constantinopolitan, especially if the reading's 'internal excellence' shone forth (item g). However, (3) a reading supported by the Alexandrian and the Constantinopolitan groups but not by the Western (or by the Western and the Constantinopolitan but not by the Alexandrian) was suspect if faults characteristic of the Alexandrian (or, in the other case, of the Western) 'recension' were apparent; and (4) differing readings among the 'recensions' had to be judged, not according to the greater number of supporting witnesses, but by weighing 'internal criteria of excellence'. But even then

Testament: 'Animadversiones et cautiones ad examen variarum lectionum N. T. necessariae', vol. II, pp. 851–74. See Hulbert-Powell, *John James Wettstein*, pp. 114–21; Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, p. 80. If not otherwise available, Wettstein's 1752 text of 'Animadversiones' can be found in F. Wrangham, *Briani Waltoni . . . in biblia polyglotta prolegomena. . .*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Smith, Deighton [and others], 1828), vol. I, pp. 511–12.

[53] On Griesbach's principles of criticism see his *Novum Testamentum Graece: Textum ad fidem codicum versionum et patrum*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Halle and London: heirs of J.J. Curtius / P. Elmsly, 1796–1806), vol. I, pp. lix–lxxxi = 'Prolegomena', §111, reprinted in later editions. See also Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, pp. 165–7; Scrivener and Miller, *Plain Introduction*, vol. II, pp. 222–6; Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, pp. 83–92; Tregelles, in Horne, *Introduction*, vol. IV, pp. 71–6, 131–2; Vincent, *History of Textual Criticism*, pp. 99–104.

any 'remarkably good reading' (on internal evidence), to be esteemed, had to be attested first as a 'primitive reading of an old recension' (item k).[54] In his last publication (1811, the year before his death) Griesbach, however, abandoned the threefold grouping when further readings became available that rendered the boundary between the Alexandrian and Western groups indefinable.[55]

Obvious enough is the primacy granted by Griesbach to external evidence in determining genuine readings, especially the antiquity of manuscripts. His references to 'internal' considerations take us to his secondary range of criteria (in his second edition), consisting of fifteen carefully delineated guidelines. Naturally, they include numerous points made earlier by Bengel and Wettstein. Griesbach's lengthy first canon,[56] judging from its primary position in his list and its extensive detail, must have been both first in importance and fundamental in nature. It states that 'the shorter reading . . . is to be preferred to the more verbose, for scribes were much more prone to add than to omit'. He carefully qualified the canon, specifying, for example, (1) that it applies only when the reading being considered has some support from 'the ancient and weighty witnesses' (thereby confirming the priority of external criteria over internal), and (2) that a shorter reading's originality was more certain (a) if it was also a 'more difficult, more obscure, ambiguous, elliptical, hebraizing, or solecistic' reading, (b) if the same matter was expressed differently in various manuscripts, (c) if the word order was inconsistent and unstable, (d) if a short reading began a pericope or (e) if the longer reading evidenced a gloss or interpretation, or agreed with the wording of parallel passages, or appeared to have come from a lectionary. He continued, however, that the longer reading was to be preferred to the shorter (unless the latter was supported by many notable witnesses) (1) if the omission from the longer reading (a) could be attributed to homoeoteleuton, (b) would have appeared to scribes as obscure, rough, superfluous, unusual, paradoxical, offensive to pious ears, erroneous or inconsistent with parallels or (c) did not, by its omission, damage the sense or word structure, or (2) if the shorter reading (a) was less in accord with the author's character, style or goal, (b) absolutely made no sense or (c) might be

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[54] Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol. 1, p. lxxx, esp. ¶ g and ¶ k; see Tregelles in Horne, *Introduction*, vol. iv, pp. 71–6.

[55] Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, p. 91.

[56] Citations are extracted or adapted from Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, pp. 166–7, but modified at points to retain conformity with Griesbach's Latin text, which can be found, for all his canons, in the second edition of his Greek New Testament; if unavailable see Henry Alford, *The Greek Testament, with a Critically Revised Text*, 4 vols. (London and Cambridge: Rivingtons/Deighton, Bell, 1871–7; vol. 1, 1874), vol. 1, pp. 81–5.

an intrusion from parallel passages or lectionaries. By such qualifications and elaborations of his first canon, Griesbach anticipated a number of his succeeding canons, thereby illustrating how various criteria overlap and intertwine in actual practice – to say nothing of their increasing complexity.

It is not surprising, then, that several of Griesbach's fourteen other canons[57] made separate points out of principles found in his first canon, though now in relation to the more difficult reading. For example, canons 2 and 3, no longer with reference to a shorter reading, favoured 'the more difficult and more obscure reading' over one 'in which everything is so intelligible and cleared of difficulties that every scribe is easily able to understand it', and over one that 'flows pleasantly and smoothly'. Canon 4 favoured 'the more unusual reading', where 'unusual' includes rare words, rarely used meanings of words and uncommon phrases and constructions, because, said Griesbach, 'scribes seized on the more customary expressions rather than the more exquisite, substituting glosses and interpretations (especially if these are provided in the margin or from parallel passages)'.

New departures appeared in succeeding canons. Canon 5 favoured 'expressions less emphatic [rhetorically], provided that the context and goal of the author do not demand emphasis … for polished scribes, like commentators, love and seek out [rhetorical] emphases'. Canon 7 preferred 'the reading that conveys [at first glance] an apparently false meaning, but which meaning, upon thorough examination, is found to be true'. Canons 6 and 8, phrased negatively, treated as suspect 'the reading, compared with others, that produces a meaning suited to the support of piety (especially monastic piety)', and the reading 'that clearly suits the opinions of the orthodox better than the other readings', for scribes who were monks could not overlook any reading that confirmed Catholic doctrine or might be used against heresy. The remaining canons rejected readings arising from homoeoteleuton and related phenomena (9 and 10), 'readings having the odor of a gloss or an interpretation' (12), 'readings introduced into the text from ancient commentaries or scholia of the Fathers' (13), 'readings appearing originally in lectionaries' (14) and 'readings introduced from the Latin versions into the Greek books' (15). Finally, canon 11, in its own quaint and verbose style, stated a leading principle in our own day: the reading that explains all other readings in a variation unit has priority:

> The reading is preferable, among many in the same place, that lies midway
> between the others, that is, the reading that, as it were, holds together the

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[57] Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol. 1, pp. lxi–lxix.

threads in such a way that, if this reading is admitted as original, it becomes obvious how or, better stated, by what origin in error all the other readings have arisen from it.

Gerhard already in 1711 had this canon as his number xxiv, and it may linger behind Bengel's number 15, point 4.

In spite of this formidable list of finely crafted guidelines, Griesbach's printed text, once again, did not depart from the *textus receptus* to the extent that these critical principles would require. Strict and consistent adherence to his clearly stated principles would have led Griesbach to make a decisive break with the firmly established ecclesiastical text and opened a new era in actual practice, but the time for moving good theory into practice was still a quarter-century away. Yet, significant advances reside in Griesbach's treatment of and division between external and internal evidence. For him, external criteria (primarily the antiquity of manuscripts and the groups to which they belong) clearly took precedence over the internal criteria. The latter's secondary nature was apparent already in the first dependent clause of his first canon, where he indicated that this most basic of the internal criteria – preference for the shorter reading – did not even apply unless that reading was supported by all 'old and weighty witnesses'. The 'weight of internal evidence' also came into play when differing readings occurred in the two oldest groups of manuscripts or in all of his groups. That is, when external evidence was inconclusive, the internal canons became decisive, though normally, in his view, external evidence alone should have been adequate for a confident decision. Bengel understood the interrelationship between external and internal criteria in essentially the same fashion, but this relationship became more explicit in Griesbach–including (1) the differentiation of the two categories, (2) the superiority of the external criteria and (3) the decisive role of the internal criteria *only* when the external criteria were ambiguous or in conflict.

It is self-evident, of course, that Griesbach, like Bengel, relied on a basic rationale of weighing rather than counting witnesses, and this principle became well established with Griesbach, though by no means did it yet become universal. Also, Griesbach's contribution was considerably greater than may appear from the present summary, for when he began to formulate his views, particularly those on the pre-eminent worth of the oldest manuscripts, Wettstein's denigration of all the older manuscripts (based on his Latinisation theories) was dominant and highly influential. Griesbach's re-establishment of the principle put forward by Bengel was, therefore, neither

a natural direction in which to move at the time nor an easy task to accomplish.[58] Indeed, the 'received text' continued to be championed in editions following Griesbach's, such as those of Christian Friedrich Matthaei (1782–8), Andreas Birch (1788) and Johannes Martin Augustinus Scholz (1830–6). Scholz, who combined Griesbach's Alexandrian and Western groups and placed them over against the Constantinopolitan, preferred the latter, though later he reversed his position in favour of the Alexandrian readings.[59] This broad context of Griesbach's work also renders more understandable his failure to abandon the *textus receptus* to a greater extent than he did and his inability to move ahead with an entirely fresh text. Griesbach, therefore, in line with several worthy predecessors, represented the close of an important period rather than the initial figure in the decisive new era to come.[60]

The evolving interrelationship between the external and internal criteria observed in the century from Gerhard to Griesbach – their complementarity in juxtaposition with the incipient polarity between them – would play a significant role in the formation of modern eclectic approaches, as would the concept of manuscript groupings, developed from Bengel to Griesbach and moving to a measured maturity in the late nineteenth century under the rubric of 'text-types'. For the continuation of this narrative, please see the corresponding chapter (chapter 1) in volume IV of this series.

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[58]  See Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, pp. 91–2.
[59]  Scrivener and Miller, *Plain Introduction*, vol. II, pp. 226–31.
[60]  See Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, p. 70 n.34.

# In search of the most perfect text: The early modern printed Polyglot Bibles from Alcalá (1510–1520) to Brian Walton (1654–1658)

ALASTAIR HAMILTON

## Introduction

The Polyglot Bibles published in Europe between 1500 and 1700 offer some of the best expressions of the objectives of late Renaissance humanism. Exquisitely printed, in an increasing number of ancient and Eastern languages, edited by the greatest biblical scholars of the day, they combined the ideals of the bibliophile with those of the philologist.

The production of parts of the Bible in various languages was by no means new. Bilingual texts appear throughout the Middle Ages. They served various purposes. They could assist students of the languages or simply provide the translation into a known language of a liturgy in one no longer spoken. The Coptic monasteries of Egypt held versions of the Bible in their libraries which were in more than two languages and intended for visitors from the different parts of the vast Monophysite world. By the twelfth century, when Coptic was being replaced by Arabic, we find fragments of the New Testament in Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, Arabic and Armenian.[1] The tradition continued well into the fourteenth century, as we see from the polyglot fragments of the New Testament from the Baramus monastery in the Wadi Natrun north-west of Cairo,[2] and the Psalter at the Macarius monastery in the same area, purchased (but never received) in the early seventeenth century by the French

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[1] Cf. Gottfried Schramm, *Anfänge des albanischen Christentums: Die frühe Bekehrung der Bessen und ihre langen Folgen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1994), pp. 233–4. The manuscript is now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan.

[2] Sebastian Brock, 'A Fourteenth-Century Polyglot Psalter', in G. E. Kadish and G. E. Freeman (eds.), *Studies in Philology in Honour of R. J. Williams* (Toronto: Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities by Benben Publications, 1982), pp. 1–15, esp. 2–3.

antiquarian Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc, involved in the preparation of the Paris Polyglot Bible.[3]

Yet another contemporary polyglot manuscript, however, also from the Monophysite world, a psalter now in the Cambridge University Library, in Hebrew, Greek, Syriac and Arabic, was intended for a more scholarly end. The compiler clearly wished to correct the Syriac version on the basis of the Hebrew.[4] He thus seems to have been following a different tradition – one which was known in the West – and which dates back to the early third century when Origen prepared his *Hexapla*, an edition of the Old Testament in six different versions presented in parallel columns: the Hebrew text, the Hebrew text transcribed in Greek characters, and the four Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion and the Septuagint.[5]

In Europe the idea of a polyglot Bible was intimately connected with the need to reassess and improve the Vulgate. That the Old Testament required some sort of revision had already emerged from the commentaries of the French scholar Nicholas of Lyra that appeared between 1322 and 1331. Although he was a competent Hebraist, Nicholas of Lyra was ignorant of Greek, and a more critical approach to the New Testament was delayed until the study of Greek was revived in the late fourteenth century.

An important step was taken by the humanist Giannozzo Manetti, who had learnt both Greek and Hebrew. The Psalter he completed in 1458 and presented to the king of Naples can be regarded as the first Western attempt at a polyglot Bible in the early modern period. It contained Manetti's own translation from the Hebrew and two translations attributed to Jerome, one made directly from the Hebrew and the other from the Greek of the Septuagint. Over sixty years later we have one of the first attempts at polyglot printing, by the Dominican Agostino Giustiniani, Bishop of Nebbio in Corsica. In the hope of ultimately producing the entire Bible, he had the Psalms issued in Genoa in 1516. In parallel columns over two pages he gave the Masoretic Hebrew, a literal Latin translation, the Vulgate, the Greek of the Septuagint, an Arabic

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[3] Arnold van Lantschoot, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices: Codices Coptici Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani, Tomus II pars prior* (Vatican City: In Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1947), pp. 1–4. The manuscript, stolen by pirates and taken to North African Tripoli, was ultimately retrieved by the Knights of Malta and acquired by Cardinal Barberini in Rome. It is now at the Vatican. Cf. Oleg V. Volkoff, *À la recherche de manuscrits en Égypte* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1970), pp. 39–42.

[4] Brock, 'A Fourteenth-Century Polyglot Psalter', pp. 3–15.

[5] Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 86–132.

version, the Aramaic Targum, a Latin translation and, on the far right, scholia. The extensive notes display a remarkable knowledge of the rabbinic commentaries, but they also include, to Psalm 19:4, the first biographical description of Christopher Columbus and an account of his discovery of the New World. The work, however, was unsuccessful, and Giustiniani, deprived of a patron after his protector Cardinal Bandinello Sauli fell into disgrace, abandoned his plan for a larger polyglot.[6]

## The Complutensian Polyglot

The six volumes of the first of the great Polyglot Bibles, generally known as the Complutensian Polyglot after Complutum, the Latin name of Alcalá de Henares, were printed between 1514 and 1517 and published in 1522.[7] The project was launched by Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, long the most powerful man in Spain. Archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain since 1495, created cardinal and appointed inquisitor general in 1507, he acted briefly as regent after the death of the heir to the throne, Philip of Burgundy, in 1506, and again after the death of Ferdinand of Aragon in 1516. Late in the first decade of the sixteenth century – the constitutions were promulgated in 1510 – he founded a university at Alcalá intended on the one hand to promote his efforts to reform the Spanish church and the education of its clergy, and on the other to meet certain humanistic ideals.

The origins of the Complutensian Polyglot are far from clear. The plan would seem to have developed very gradually from Cisneros's desire to emulate Origen and to revise the text of the Vulgate on the basis of Greek and Hebrew sources. By 1502 he was encouraging a group of scholars, Hellenists and *Conversos*, men of Jewish descent, with a knowledge of Hebrew, to investigate the matter,[8] and some of them would collaborate on the Polyglot, but it was only far later, in about 1510, that the cardinal seems to have conceived the Polyglot as we now know it, and later still that he started collecting the relevant material and assembling the final team. Even here we know little about

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[6] See R. Gerald Hobbs, 'Agostino Giustiniani', in Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. II (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 102–3.

[7] For a survey of Polyglot Bibles as a whole see Erroll F. Rhodes, 'Polyglot Bibles', in Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 601–3. See also Adrian Schenker, 'From the First Printed Hebrew, Greek and Latin Bibles to the First Polyglot Bible, the Complutensian Polyglot: 1477–1517', in *HBOT* II, pp. 276–91.

[8] Marcel Bataillon, *Erasme et l'Espagne*, 3 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1991), vol.I, pp. 24–47.

what material was used, who did what, and how the editors and translators proceeded.

The Old Testament was prepared by three *Conversos*, Pablo Coronel, Alfonso de Toledo and Alfonso de Zamora, who was also professor of Hebrew at the University of Alcalá. Another scholar of *Converso* descent, Juan de Vergara, the Cretan Dimitrios Doukas, professor of Greek at the university, and the Old Christian Diego López de Zúñiga, had a hand in the Greek Septuagint. Vergara helped to prepare the interlinear Latin translation of the books of Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes and Job, and Alfonso de Zamora and Pablo de Coronel edited and translated the Aramaic Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch (the only targum to be included). The New Testament was almost certainly edited by Doukas, López de Zúñiga and Elio Antonio de Nebrija, possibly with the assistance of the classicist Hernán Núñez. Nebrija and Núñez were the last to arrive, in 1513 when the Bible was already being printed.

For the Hebrew of the Old Testament the scholars used the standard Masoretic text derived from a number of codices, mainly of Spanish origin, at least four of which survive and were then in the library of Alcalá. Three can be attributed to the twelfth or thirteenth century and one is dated 1482. Where the Targum of Onkelos is concerned, we know less. One manuscript certainly was from the thirteenth century. For the Septuagint we are better informed. At least two codices were lent by the Vatican Library, and returned in 1518. The Venetian Senate lent Cisneros a manuscript which had belonged to the Greek scholar Cardinal Bessarion. Another manuscript, also of the thirteenth or fourteenth century and including the Psalms and Isaiah in Lucian of Antioch's recension, came from the Alcalá library. As for the Greek New Testament, of which the Complutensian Polyglot was the *editio princeps*, the manuscripts all seem to have been lost. Some were lent by the Pope. One, with Acts, came from Rhodes.[9] They do not appear to have been particularly early, and mainly contained the 'Syrian' text. The Vulgate, finally, the best version to appear to date, was based on three manuscripts in the library of Alcalá, all of the Spanish family. One, with the 'Castilian' version, dated from the eighth–ninth centuries, while the other two, with the 'León' version, were slightly later, one attributed to the ninth–tenth centuries and the other to the twelfth–thirteenth.[10]

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[9]  Mariano Revilla Rico, *La políglota de Alcalá:estudio histórico-critico* (Madrid: Imprenta helénica, 1917), pp. 71–142.

[10]  Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 338.

With the Vulgate in the centre, the Old Testament has, on the left, the Greek Septuagint with an interlinear Latin translation, and on the right the Masoretic text of the Hebrew with indications of the Hebrew roots in the margin. Beneath, in the first volume, is the Targum of Onkelos with, on one side, the Aramaic roots, and on the other the Latin translation. The New Testament, in the fifth volume, appeared in the Latin Vulgate version (on the right) and Greek (on the left). The volume ends with notes on Greek grammar and a Greek vocabulary, while the last volume has a critical apparatus including a Hebrew and Aramaic vocabulary and a Hebrew grammar.

The gifted Antonio de Nebrija, who cherished the idea of improving the Vulgate, believed that Cisneros had not gone far enough. Rather than undertaking a true revision based on a comparison with the Greek and Hebrew texts, the cardinal, he believed, had limited the project to a correction of the Latin attributed to Jerome with the help of existing Latin manuscripts. And indeed, the Complutensian Polyglot as it ultimately emerged could seem to be a defence of the Vulgate. The editors went as far as to translate into Greek the Latin 'Johannine comma' (1 John 5:7, 'For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one'), which is lacking in most Greek manuscripts, and to add their translation to the Greek text. The Vulgate version of the Old Testament, moreover, was placed triumphantly at the centre of the page, between the Hebrew and the Greek of the Septuagint, and its position was compared in the preface to that of Christ between the two thieves. It was intended to represent the victory of the Western church over Judaism and oriental Christianity. Nevertheless, by contemporary standards the editors generally displayed considerable philological rigour in their treatment of both the Hebrew and the Greek.[11] They were also aware of the problems their task entailed. They knew that errors had found their way into Latin manuscripts of the Vulgate because of the carelessness of scribes, and they knew that the Greek codices they used were just as liable to be corrupted as the Latin ones.

The Complutensian Polyglot is a splendid publication, opening with Cisneros's coat of arms and a dedication to the Pope, Leo X. It was printed, in an edition of some 600 copies, by Arnao Guillén de Brocar, German trained and of German origin, who would make his name as one of the finest

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[11] Emilia Fernández Tejero, 'El texto hebreo de la Biblia Políglota Complutense', in Natalio Fernández Marcos and Emilia Fernández Tejero, *Biblia y humanismo: Textos, talantes y controversias del siglo XVI español* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1997), pp. 209–18; Natalio Fernández Marcos, 'El texto griego de la Biblia Políglota Complutense', in Fernández Marcos and Fernández Tejero, *Biblia y humanismo*, pp. 219–27.

typographers in Spain.[12] It can be regarded as a monument to Cisneros's own ecclesiastical policy, his readiness to welcome scholars from families of converted Jews, and to approve a critical enquiry into the Bible, but the success of that policy fluctuated with the fortunes of the cardinal himself and met with strong opposition both before and after his death in 1517.[13]

The Bible of Alcalá set a precedent which was to be followed not only in the West, but also in the East. In 1546 the Jewish printer Eliezer ben Gerson Soncino in Istanbul produced a polyglot edition of the Pentateuch. It was printed entirely in Hebrew characters and, besides the original text, it included the Targum of Onkelos and the commentary by Rashi, the Arabic translation made in the tenth century by Saadiya Gaon, and the sixteenth-century Persian translation by Joseph ben Joseph Tavus. Transcribed back into Arabic characters, Saadiya Gaon's Arabic would be included almost a century later in the Paris Polyglot Bible, and Joseph ben Joseph Tavus's Persian in the London Polyglot.

## The Antwerp Polyglot

In the years between the Complutensian Polyglot and its first direct successor published in Antwerp two developments occurred that were to have a deep effect on the future of biblical studies. The first was the publication in 1528 of a literal Latin translation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New by the Tuscan Dominican Sante Pagnini, a good Hebraist who brought out more forcibly than ever before the numerous discrepancies between the Hebrew of the Old Testament and the Vulgate version.[14] The second was the appearance in 1538 of the *Masoret ha-Masoret* by the highly respected Jewish rabbi Elijah Levita, which cast doubt on the reliability of the punctuation and vocalisation of the received, or Masoretic, version of the Old Testament. Both works raised questions which the future editors of Polyglot Bibles would strive to answer.

By 1565 Christophe Plantin, the French printer who had settled in Antwerp and whose skill contributed to making the Brabantine city one of the typographical capitals of Europe, had conceived the idea of reprinting the

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[12] The work is described in Darlow and Moule, vol. 11, pp. 2–6.

[13] Stefania Pastore, *Un'eresia spagnola:spiritualità conversa, alumbradismo e inquisizione (1449–1559)* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2004), pp. 71–104.

[14] Anna Morisi Guerra, 'Santi Pagnini traducteur de la Bible', in Irena Backus and Francis Higman (eds.), *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)* (Geneva: Droz, 1990), pp. 191–8. See also Chapter 8 in this volume.

Complutensian Polyglot with minor corrections.[15] He discussed the plan with two of the more distinguished men of learning of the time, first with the Flemish biblical scholar Andreas Masius, and then with the French orientalist Guillaume Postel. Both had a thorough knowledge of Syriac, of which they were among the earliest practitioners in Europe. Masius and Postel were bold scholars, who had crossed the Church of Rome. Masius had defended the decision by the duke of Cleves to adminster the Eucharist in both kinds; in the late 1550s he settled in Cleves for good, renounced the priesthood and married; and, shortly before his death, he questioned the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in his commentary on the book of Joshua (published posthumously by Plantin in 1574).[16] Postel's messianic persuasions had led to his being imprisoned by the Roman Inquisition in the 1550s and to his reclusion in a lunatic asylum in Paris in 1562.[17] Deeply involved though they were in the new plan, both Postel and Masius remained behind the scenes. They were represented by two of Postel's pupils, the brothers Nicolas and Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie.

Exactly how Plantin had originally conceived the Bible is not entirely clear. In February 1566 he wrote to Masius, saying that he intended to produce a new edition of the Complutensian Bible expanded by the targums.[18] This certainly suggests the purpose of including the Vulgate. But it may well have been Masius's notorious scepticism about the value of the authorised translation that prompted him to change his mind, and, in a letter to the secretary of the king of Spain, Gabriel de Zayas, written in December 1566, he said that he wanted the new Bible to be in four languages, Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, with the 'Latin version' of each one.[19] Some time later, moreover, early in 1568,

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[15] Theodor William Dunkelgrün, 'The Multiplicity of Scripture: The Confluence of Textual Traditions in the Making of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568–1573)', Ph.D.thesis, University of Chicago, 2012, pp. 107–24. See also Adrian Schenker, 'The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London 1568–1658', in *HBOT* 11, pp. 774–84, esp. 775–9.

[16] Max Lossen (ed.), *Briefe van Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden 1538 bis 1573*, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 2 (Leipzig: Dürr, 1886), pp. xvi–xx. See also Theodor Dunkelgrün, 'The Hebrew Library of a Renaissance Humanist: Andreas Masius and the Bibliography to his *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia* (1574), with a Latin Edition and an Annotated English Translation', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 42–3 (2010–11), 197–252. For a discussion of Masius's views on the authorship of the Pentateuch see Noel Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 407–9.

[17] William J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510–1581)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 1–29.

[18] Lossen (ed.), *Briefe von Andreas Masius*, p. 363: 'Quant a la Bible en Hebrieu avec le Targum j'ay pourparle avec aucuns d'imprimer Biblia Complutensia et d'y adjouxter led. Targum.' Cf. Schenker, 'The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London', esp. p. 777.

[19] Max Rooses (ed.), *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, vol. 1 (Antwerp: J.E. Buschmann, 1883), pp. 48–9.

it emerged that his son-in-law, Franciscus Raphelengius from Lille, employed as a proofreader and known for his knowledge of Syriac, had prepared a version of Sante Pagnini's translation of the Old Testament intended, apparently, to replace the Vulgate.

Plantin had to search for a patron for his new edition. The process was laborious as he tried, largely by way of de Zayas, to convince the king of Spain, Philip II. In the end he succeeded, and a part in the negotiations was played by a pupil of Postel, Jean Boulaese, who, like Postel, had vainly hoped to include an Arabic version of the Bible.[20] The man who played the most important part in what became known as the *Biblia Regia* was consequently a Spanish biblical scholar, Benito Arias Montano, dispatched to supervise the entire project by his king, who had the utmost admiration for him.[21] It was mainly owing to Arias Montano that the Bible swelled into a far larger and more elaborate work than the Complutensian Polyglot, but he also seems to have sanctioned the decision to exclude the Vulgate. The result was an indignant letter from Philip II insisting that it be restored to the central place it had held in the Complutensian Polyglot.[22]

For much of the text the Antwerp Polyglot did indeed depend on its Complutensian predecessor: for most of its Hebrew, for the Septuagint, for the Onkelos Targum, for much of the Greek New Testament, and for the Vulgate.[23] The Hebrew was slightly corrected and improved on the basis of the Bomberg Rabbinic Bible of 1524–5 and a medieval manuscript, and the verses were numbered.[24] The Septuagint was emended (but not always improved) from the Aldine edition of 1518–19, and the Greek New Testament from the fourth edition of Erasmus's version. Other targums were added, that of Jonathan to the Prophets and the targum, then attributed to 'Joseph the Blind', to the Hagiographa contained both in the Bomberg Bible and in a manuscript Masius had acquired in Rome.[25] Above all, the Antwerp Polyglot included the Syriac version of the New Testament, printed in Syriac characters beside a literal Latin translation on the left of the two-page spread, and in

[20] The episode is discussed by Robert J. Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 55–9. See also Irena Backus, *Guillaume Postel et Jean Boulaese*, De summopere *(1566) et* Le Miracle de Laon *(1566)*(Geneva: Droz, 1995), pp. xxv–xxix.

[21] Wilkinson, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, pp. 45–69.

[22] B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)* (London and Leiden: Warburg Institute, University of London / Brill, 1972), pp. 48–9, 141–2.

[23] Federico Pérez Castro and Leon Voet, *La Biblia Políglota de Amberes* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1973), pp. 11–53.

[24] Dunkelgrün, 'The Multiplicity of Scripture', pp. 183–218.

[25] Ibid., pp. 364–451.

Hebrew characters below with the word roots identified in the margin. The large critical apparatus in the last two volumes included the Sante Pagnini Latin translation of the Old Testament.

Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie was the main supervisor of the Syriac text, collating the version published by Johann Albrecht Widmanstadt (with the assistance of Postel) in 1555 with a two-volume manuscript purchased by Postel in Istanbul, the first volume, with the Gospels, dating from the twelfth or thirteenth century, and the second, with Acts and the Epistles, from the early sixteenth. Lefèvre de la Boderie also provided the literal Latin translation of the Syriac, and, besides his own Syro-Aramaic grammar and dictionary, he inserted Masius's Syriac grammar and dictionary in the sixth volume. Another young man who took an active part in preparing the text of the Polyglot was Franciscus Raphelengius.[26] He would subsequently be appointed professor of Hebrew at Leiden University and produce the first Arabic–Latin dictionary ever to be published. At the time of the Polyglot he was still living with Plantin in Antwerp. Largely responsible for preparing and revising Sante Pagnini's translation of the Hebrew Old Testament, he also improved and vocalised the Aramaic targums. He compiled, as well, a Greek glossary, and edited Pagnini's Hebrew grammar and dictionary which were part of the critical apparatus in the sixth volume.

Arias Montano undertook the correction of the Complutensian Latin translation of the Targum of Onkelos and the translation of the new targums to the Prophets and the Hagiographa. In the last of the eight volumes he added a number of studies of his own. These included pieces on the hidden meaning of the Scriptures and on various aspects of Jewish antiquarianism, such as the measurements of the Temple and the ancient vestments. Devoted to the text of the Bible, Arias Montano feared that the discovery of the New World might undermine its authority. He thus claimed that the authors of the Old Testament already knew about America and added a map with the biblical names of American localities.[27] In the same spirit of fidelity to the original Hebrew he rejected all criticism of the Masoretic version and maintained, against Elijah Levita and his supporters, that the vocalisation and

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[26] Alastair Hamilton, 'Franciscus Raphelengius: The Hebraist and his Manuscripts', *De Gulden Passer* 68 (1990), 105–17.

[27] Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 23–71; Zur Shalev, 'Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible', *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003), 56–80; Baldomero Macías Rosendo, *La Biblia políglota de Amberes en la correspondencia de Benito Arias Montano (MS. Estoc. A 902)* (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998), pp. xv–lii. See also Darlow and Moule, vol. ii, pp. 9–12.

punctuation were entirely reliable. And even if the Vulgate, printed between the Hebrew and the Greek of the Septuagint, could still be said to retain a position of honour, Arias Montano's misgivings about it emerged clearly both from his publication of Pagnini's translation and the inclusion in the seventh volume of his own literal interlinear Latin translation of the Greek of the New Testament.[28]

The Antwerp Polyglot was printed between 1569 and 1572 in 1,200 copies, some of which were dedicated to the emperor Matthias. The magnificent frontispiece by the Flemish engraver Pieter van der Heyden, illustrating the lion eating with the ox and the wolf lying with the lamb, with the legend 'Pietatis Concordiae' and the reference to Isaiah 11, seems to be a call for serenity and concord made at the beginning of the Eighty Years War between the Dutch and the Spanish which had such a devastating effect on Antwerp. Plantin's house had become an intellectual haven in which confessional disputes could be overlooked, and the indifference to orthodoxy was reflected in the Bible. Despite the support of a number of theologians at the University of Louvain, one of the greatest difficulties in publishing the *Biblia Regia* was to obtain papal approval.

The Council of Trent had closed in 1563. In April 1546, within four months of its opening, it had decreed that any discussion or use of the Scriptures should be based on the Vulgate. Such a decision could be interpreted in a number of ways. It did not in itself rule out the possibility of improving the Vulgate, or of comparing it with texts in other languages, yet, according to the time and the place, to do so could be dangerous. The professors at the University of Salamanca decided that any philological research into the Bible was prohibited, while Louvain continued to sanction enquiry into the original text. The *Biblia Regia*, however, was regarded in many circles as an actual criticism of the Vulgate, and such a view was strengthened by the inclusion of Pagnini's translation of the Old Testament and Arias Montano's of the New. The situation was aggravated by the extensive use of Jewish sources in Arias Montano's critical apparatus, and the sinister presence of Masius as the author of the Syriac grammar and dictionary. Although Arias Montano finally managed to gain the approval of the Pope in August 1572 the success and distribution of the work were hampered by its heterodox associations.

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[28] For a detailed reconstruction of the printing process and a more general discussion of the Antwerp Bible see Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversois* (Antwerp: J. Maes, 1890), pp. 113–48.

## The Paris Polyglot

Like the Complutensian Polyglot the *Biblia Regia* stimulated emulation. By the end of the sixteenth century the advance in biblical studies and the accumulation of Eastern languages studied in Europe had led to various plans to produce a multilingual Bible.[29] The Vatable Bible, in Hebrew, Greek and the Latin of the Vulgate and of Sante Pagnini, came out in Geneva in 1587. In 1596 David Wolder in Hamburg produced a Bible in Greek, Latin and German. The Lutheran theologian Elias Hutter hoped to issue a Bible in a vast number of languages both ancient and modern, adding Slavonic, Italian, French and German to the Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic and Latin, but the resulting publication, in 1599, was highly fragmentary, and the Old Testament went no further than the book of Ruth. He did, however, publish an edition of the New Testament in twelve languages – Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, German, Bohemian, Italian, Spanish, French, English, Danish and Polish. The Hebrew version was his own, the Syriac was taken from Immanuel Tremellius's edition, and the Latin was that of the Vulgate, but the others were all derived from current Protestant Bibles.[30] Giovanni Battista Raimondi, the manager of the Typographia Medicea in Rome which specialised in the printing of Arabic and Syriac, was an active collector of manuscripts and conceived the idea of producing a Bible with texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Ethiopic, Armenian, Slavonic and Coptic, thus pointing towards the unmanageable proportions which the Polyglot Bible was on the way to attaining. Even if Raimondi's own plan came to nothing, his ideas infected two consecutive French ambassadors to Rome, Cardinal Jacques Davy Du Perron and François Savary de Brèves, as well as Brèves' influential brother-in-law, the historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou, one of the architects of the Edict of Nantes.[31]

Inspired both by missionary ideals and by the Gallicanism – the determination to safeguard the integrity of French, as opposed to Roman, Catholicism – that had characterised the religious policy of Henri IV,[32] Savary de Brèves,

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[29] Jacques Le Long, *Discours historique sur les principales éditions des Bibles polyglottes* (Paris: Chez Andre Pralard, 1713), pp. 84–104.

[30] Ibid., pp. 96–7. For a survey see also Darlow and Moule, vol.II pp. 18–20.

[31] Peter N. Miller, 'Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century', in Herbert Jaumann (ed.), *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag in Kommission, 2001), pp. 59–85. See also Schenker, 'The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London', pp. 779–81.

[32] Alain Tallon, *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVIe siècle: essai sur la vision gallicane du monde* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), pp. 132–6.

former ambassador in Istanbul, availed himself of his stay in Rome from 1606 to 1614 to collect Eastern scholars, manuscripts and types, and to set up a printing press.[33] The scholars were two former students of the recently founded Maronite College, Victor Scialac and Gabriel Sionita. With them, the manuscripts and the types, Savary de Brèves returned to Paris, where, in January 1615, he continued to produce parts of the Bible in Latin and Arabic. The arrival of the Maronites revived Du Perron's interest, but the plan, which was originally to reprint the Antwerp Polyglot with the addition of the Syriac Old Testament and an Arabic version of the entire Bible, was cut short by the deaths of de Thou and the cardinal, and by the disgrace of Savary de Brèves in 1618. Although the Assembly of the Clergy authorised a bilingual version of the Septuagint and a polyglot Bible based on the Antwerp one, it took a biblical scholar of genius, the Oratorian Jean Morin, to revive the project and turn it into what it became.

Morin, a convert from Calvinism who had been educated in Leiden, took a leading part in the debate about the reliability of the punctuation and vocalisation of the Hebrew Bible which had been revived in 1624 with the publication of the *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum* by the French Calvinist scholar Louis Cappel. In his quest for a dependable text Morin turned to the Septuagint,[34] and in his preface to the bilingual, Greek and Latin, edition of 1628 he argued that it presented a far more reliable version of the Scriptures than the Hebrew which had been manipulated over the centuries, and consequently than the Vulgate which was based on the Hebrew. His arguments were strengthened by the recent discovery of the Samaritan Hebrew Pentateuch, containing slight divergences from the Masoretic Hebrew which tend to correspond to the Septuagint.[35]

When the Parisian lawyer Guy Michel Le Jay decided to sponsor the Paris Polyglot Morin was one of his principal assistants. He was joined by Philippe d'Aquin, a converted Jew from Carpentras, Geoffroy Hermant from Blois, Jérôme Parent of the Sorbonne, and the Maronites Gabriel Sionita, Joannes Hesronita and, although briefly and at the last moment, Abraham Ecchellensis. Initially Cardinal Richelieu approved of the project and offered to back it, but Le Jay refused the offer. The Bible finally apeared, dedicated to Louis XIV

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[33] Gérald Duverdier, 'Les Impressions orientales en Europe et le Liban', in Al-Kitab Wa Lubnam and Camille Aboussouan (eds.), *Le Livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900: exposition* (Paris: UNESCO; AGECOOP,1982), pp. 157–279, esp. 159–73.

[34] J. C. H. Lebram, 'Ein Streit um die hebräische Bibel und die Septuaginta', in T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 21–63, esp. 31–2, 39–40.

[35] See further discussion on this theme in Chapter 4.

and with an effusive expression of patriotism in Le Jay's foreword, under the auspices of Richelieu's successor Cardinal Mazarin. Yet the editing suffered from the quarrels between the contributors. Gabriel Sionita proved particularly difficult. His slowness – it took him, he said, two hours to complete his corrections of a single page – was interpreted as idleness, and the printer, the royal typographer Antoine Vitré, had him imprisoned in 1640 on the charge of wilful negligence and misappropriation of Savary de Brèves' typographical material. By that time Sionita was also engaged in litigation with Le Jay.[36]

The Paris Polyglot did indeed expand on its predecessors. It added the Samaritan–Hebrew Pentateuch, two manuscripts of which had been discovered in Damascus by the Italian traveller Pietro della Valle in 1616.[37] One was acquired by Peiresc and the other by Morin's fellow Oratorian Achille Harlay de Sancy, and they were passed on to Morin. The Paris Bible also added the Samaritan–Aramaic targum, again discovered by della Valle, which may well be as early as the second century but the manuscript of which was late and highly corrupt. The other additions were the Syriac version of the Old Testament, partly based on a manuscript Ecchellensis had brought from Rome; the completion of the Syriac New Testament with the minor Catholic Epistles taken from Edward Pococke's 1630 edition and Revelation edited by Louis de Dieu in 1627; and an Arabic version of the entire Bible.[38] Much of the Arabic Old Testament was taken from a manuscript copied in 1584–5 and based on the Septuagint, while the Pentateuch was in Saadiya Gaon's translation originally printed in Judaeo-Arabic in Istanbul. The manuscript of the highly apocryphal 5 Maccabees, presented in the Polyglot as 2 Maccabees but in fact a Hellenistic compilation of 2 and 3 Maccabees with excerpts from Josephus, was brought to Paris by Ecchellensis from the Vatican. The Arabic New Testament was based largely on a codex acquired in Aleppo by Richelieu's Capuchin adviser Père Joseph.[39]

Otherwise the Paris Bible depended on the Antwerp Polyglot. Strikingly enough, nearly all the preliminary matter of the *Biblia Regia*, excepting Arias Montano's first preface but including his second one and the various certificates of approval, was republished in the first volume. The Paris Polyglot also drew on the *Biblia Regia* for the Hebrew and the Aramaic targums (both of

[36] Le Long, *Discours historique*, pp. 104–204.
[37] Jean-Pierre Rothschild, 'Autour du Pentateuque samaritain. Voyageurs, enthousiastes et savants', in Jean-Robert Armogathe (ed.), *Le Grand Siècle et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 6 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), pp. 61–74.
[38] John A. Thomson, 'The Origin and Nature of the Chief Printed Arabic Bibles: Part One', *The Bible Translator* 6 (1955), 2–12.
[39] Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, p. 266.

which were slightly edited by Philippe d'Aquin), for the Greek Septuagint, and for the Latin Vulgate. It thus ignored the authorised (and superior) Roman editions of the Septuagint of 1587 and the Vulgate of 1592.

Morin edited the Samaritan Pentateuch, after collating it with various other codices – a process in which he was assisted by Thomas Comber, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, who diligently compared his transcriptions with a manuscript in England. The Syriac was edited, completely vocalised, and translated into Latin, mainly by Gabriel Sionita, and, like the Arabic and the Samaritan, was checked by Jérôme Parent. Hesronita translated the Arabic Pentateuch into Latin. Sionita vocalised the entire Arabic text with the exception of Ruth and 5 Maccabees, and translated into Latin all the books other than the Pentateuch, Ruth and 5 Maccabees, the last two of which were translated by Ecchellensis.

The Paris Polyglot had no critical apparatus, and the impression it gives is that the editors were concerned with the addition of as many languages as possible rather than with the quality of the texts they used. Printed between 1629 and 1645, the ten immense volumes, one of which was in two parts, were remarkable for the beauty of the typography, the initials, the maps, and the elegant plates by Sébastien Bourdon, but this was the least successful of the Polyglot Bibles. The edition would seem to have been large. English booksellers offered to buy 600 copies, but the proposal was refused, a high number of unsold copies were sold as waste paper, and Le Jay was ruined.[40]

## The London Polyglot

The last of the great Polyglot Bibles in the early modern period was published in London in 1658. It was clearly inspired by the Paris Bible, but even if it was less spectacular from a typographical point of view it was far superior from a scholarly one. The man behind it was Brian Walton, a Cambridge-educated scholar who lost his ecclesiastical preferments in 1641 on account of his High Church convictions, and settled first in Oxford and then, after the university town had fallen to the parliamentarian forces in 1646, in London. There, in 1647 he developed his plan. He announced it in 1652, when he could count on the assistance of some of the greatest scholars in England: Abraham Wheelock, professor of Arabic at Cambridge, Edward Pococke, professor of Arabic and Hebrew at Oxford, his pupil Thomas Greaves, and the Cambridge Arabist Thomas Smith who supplied him with manuscripts from the university

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[40] Darlow and Moule, vol. II, pp. 20–2.

library.[41] A large sum of money was raised by subscription, and the printing was ultimately entrusted to Thomas Roycroft with oriental types especially cut for the purpose. By the time printing was underway, in October 1653 when the first of the six volumes was in the press, the original team of scholars had been joined by others. James Ussher, the learned Archbishop of Armagh, and Gilbert Sheldon, future Archbishop of Canterbury, were among the many men consulted, and the more active participants included John Lightfoot, Herbert Thorndike, Edmund Castell, Samuel Clarke and Thomas Hyde. Most of the work was done during the Commonwealth, albeit by Royalists who had lost their livings, and the first copies were dedicated to Cromwell, even if those issued after the Restoration were dedicated to Charles II.

Like the Paris Polyglot the London Bible took a substantial amount of its material from its predecessors.[42] The Hebrew of the Old Testament, the Greek of the New and the Aramaic Targums of Onkelos, Jonathan and the one atttributed to 'Joseph the Blind' were all based on the versions in the *Biblia Regia*, while the Arabic, the Syriac and the Samaritan came from the Paris Bible. At the same time, however, the London Bible was more up to date. The Old Testament Hebrew was compared to that in the 1548–9 edition of the Venice Rabbinic Bible, the Aramaic targums to Buxtorf's Rabbinic Bible published in Basel in 1618–19, and the Greek of the New Testament to Robert Estienne's edition. In contrast to the Paris Bible the text of the Vulgate was that of the Sixto-Clementine edition of 1592 and the text of the Septuagint that of the Roman edition of 1587 (with the variants with respect to the Codex Alexandrinus in London noted below). Sante Pagnini's interlinear translation of the Old Testament was the original version of 1528 rather than the Antwerp revision.

In many ways the London Polyglot was completely new. It added the Ethiopic versions of the Psalms and the Song of Solomon (based on the editions published in Rome and Cologne and collated with a manuscript belonging to Edward Pococke), and the New Testament taken from the Roman edition of 1548 edited by three Ethiopian monks.[43] It also added the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, the differing fragments of the Palestinian (or 'Jerusalem') Targum, the Persian translation of the Pentateuch by Joseph ben Joseph Tavus, and a Persian version of the Gospels taken from a fourteenth-century manuscript owned by Pococke, translated from the Syriac, and containing some

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[41]  G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 202–10.
[42]  Schenker, 'The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London', pp. 781–4.
[43]  Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, pp. 227–30.

interesting variants with respect to the Vulgate. This was ultimately preferred to the later codex chosen by Abraham Wheelock.[44] In the fourth volume the apocryphal book of Tobit was given in two Hebrew versions, that of Paulus Fagius and that of Sebastian Münster.

The Cambridge Hebraist John Lightfoot helped Walton with the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan. He arranged for manuscripts to be used from the Cambridge University library and provided a map of Judaea. Herbert Thorndike was largely responsible for the Syriac. Edmund Castell was the principal assistant in the supervision, responsible for correcting the Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic texts and translating into Latin the Ethiopic version of the Song of Songs. The other Ethiopic texts were translated by the expert in Armenian Dudley Loftus, and revised by Castell. Since the Roman edition of the Ethiopic New Testament was full of imperfections, and the printers of the London Polyglot added others, this was the least satisfactory part of the Bible. Another principal assistant was Samuel Clarke, Edward Pococke's pupil, who worked on the Hebrew text, the targums and the Persian Gospels, as well as helping Castell in his notes on the Ethiopic New Testament. Pococke appears to have been critical of much of the Bible, especially of Sionita's Arabic version and the Latin translation accompanying it. While he played little part in the undertaking other than lending manuscripts in his possession, his pupil Thomas Hyde was more active. He took over from Wheelock the correction of the Arabic, Syriac and Persian texts, and transcribed the Persian translation of the Pentateuch from the Hebrew characters in which it had been printed by Gerson Soncino into standard Persian with a facility that dazzled his patrons.

The critical apparatus in the last volumes includes, besides lists and discussions of the variants in the different versions by direct contributors such as Walton, Pococke, Greaves and Castell, excerpts from the works of the greatest biblical scholars on the continent: Grotius, Franciscus Lucas of Bruges and Flaminio Nobili. It has a discussion of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Ethiopic New Testament by Castell, the notes on the Codex Alexandrinus of the Septuagint by the former royal librarian Patrick Young, Masius's notes on Joshua, an essay on coins, weights and measures by Edward Brerewood, and one on topography by Lightfoot.[45]

If we compare the frontispiece of the London publication, a portrait of Walton by the Parisian engraver Pierre Lombard, with the engravings

[44] Ibid., pp. 277–8.
[45] For a detailed description see Darlow and Moule, vol. 11, pp. 23–8.

decorating the *Biblia Regia* or Bourdon's allegories of kingship in Le Jay's Bible, the sobriety of the English approach is striking. The work opens with a disquisition on oriental languages by Walton and a detailed survey of earlier editions of the Bible, followed by essays on chronology and the structure of Solomon's Temple by Louis Cappel.[46] There is a felicitous sense of freedom of inquiry, and one feels that the editors had the welfare of scholars, more than the approval of princes or ecclesiastical authorities, at heart. Although Walton praised providence for the existence of biblical texts in so many tongues, his Bible was implicitly critical of textual transmission. He himself referred to the Vulgate as the least authentic of texts, and the London Polyglot was accordingly placed on the Roman Catholic index of prohibited books from 1663 to 1900.[47] Walton examined in detail the discussion of the Masoretic text launched by Elijah Levita, and the inclusion of various treatises by Louis Cappel, both in the first and the last volumes, gave prominence to Levita's most influential supporter. Criticism of the Vulgate was strengthened by the presence of Pagnini's translation, and many readers would have associated Masius with the denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

## Conclusion

Each Polyglot Bible, in its own way, was a monument to oriental scholarship. Some of the best orientalists of the day were recruited; previously unknown versions of the Bible were made available; and these versions sometimes contained variants of the greatest interest. Parts of the Bibles continued to be published. Walton's *Prolegomena*, for example, were reprinted in 1673, 1777 and 1827. Yet, although plans to produce further polyglots continued for some years, the London Polyglot was the last of its kind.

What conclusions about the Polyglots can be drawn? It is obviously possible to associate each one with a particular moment in history. The Complutensian Bible can be connected with Cisneros's religious policy, the Antwerp *Biblia Regia* with an alliance of scholars who deliberately rose above the religious and political conflicts of the time, the Paris Polyglot with the Gallicanism of early seventeenth-century France, and the London Bible with an Anglicanism which was far from being victorious when the Bible was actually composed and printed. But the Polyglots were also essentially universal. Not only did they

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[46] Peter N. Miller, 'The "Antiquarianization" of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–57)', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62 (2001), 463–82.

[47] J.M. de Bujanda (ed.), *Index librorum prohibitorum 1600–1966*, Index des livres interdits 11 (Montreal and Geneva: Médiaspaul / Droz, 2002), p. 936.

depend on international collaboration, but, as ever more languages, and indeed maps, were added, they reflected the immensity of the Judaeo-Christian, and sometimes even of the known, world.

Yet the Bibles must also be seen as a single cumulative plan, each one incorporating the material of its predecessor. On the one hand the plan was strangely conservative. Every Bible added the Johannine comma where it was lacking in the original manuscripts. But at the same time the Bibles mark a steady development in biblical criticism and doubt about the received texts. The Antwerp Polyglot exemplified doubts about the Vulgate. Even if Le Jay expended praise on the Vulgate in his preface, thanks to Morin the Paris Polyglot, with its emphasis on the Septuagint, implicitly questioned the reliability of the Hebrew. And the London Polyglot echoed earlier criticisms and added others.

With the new biblical criticism of the late seventeenth century the doubts would prevail. Questions were being raised, such as the authorship and dating of the original text, which could not be answered on the basis of multilingual versions. The future of biblical studies was pointing towards far greater specialisation in particular versions of the Bible, in whatever language they might be. Scholars realised that it was more useful to compare the variants in different recensions and manuscripts of one particular version than to compare versions in different languages. Oriental studies too were heading in a different direction. Although Arabic, and even Persian, continued to be studied at an academic level by prospective members of the clergy, and were consequently connected with the Bible, the more enlightened orientalists realised that their future lay in divorcing them from Hebrew and biblical studies and setting them in their own, frequently Islamic, context.

There were also practical reasons for the end of the Polyglot Bible as it had appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the time the London Polyglot came out, and it seemed that Raimondi's immense plan had finally borne fruit, it was apparent that, if only for the sake of the typographical layout, there was little room for any further language to be added. For whom, moreover, were the Polyglots intended? What we know of the sales, especially of the Antwerp and the Paris Bibles, indicates that they were disappointing. The innumerable references to them by theologians show that scholars read them, but the expense, and the sheer bulk, of the editions suggest that few scholars could actually afford to possess them and that, as objects, they were intended for the libraries of princes and the richer collectors.

So although the desire to improve on the existing Polyglots persisted for some years after Walton's publication, the plan of producing ever larger Bibles, containing ever more languages and requiring ever more generous patronage,

was ultimately abandoned. The true swansong of the polyglot Bible was the plan drawn up by the very scholar who would contribute to creating the climate in which it had no place. The French Oratorian Richard Simon was impressed by the Paris and London Polyglots, but he was also highly critical of them. In his *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* of 1678 he outlined a project for a polyglot Bible of his own. It would, however, be an abbreviated version of the earlier Bibles and be rigorously limited to three languages, the Hebrew of the Old Testament, the Greek of the Septuagint and the New Testament, and the Latin of the Vulgate.[48] His main criticism of the earlier versions was their wastefulness, as much of space and energy as of money. What was the point in repeating the same versions of the same texts? Why, he asked, bother to print the Hebrew Samaritan if the only difference from the Hebrew was the alphabet? The same was true of much of the Aramaic, and when the Aramaic did indeed differ from the original text there was no point in including it. It was a commentary and, as such, was of no use for the sole objective of the Bible, which should be to establish a reliable version of the original. All the variants could easily be indicated in notes. But Simon's project was never carried out. Rather, with ever greater insistence, he put the questions about authorship and textual transmission with which scholars would grapple in the future.

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[48] Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, new edn. (Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1685; repr. Frankfurt 1967), pp. 521–2; Le Long, *Discours historique*, pp. 254–74; Jean Steinmann, *Richard Simon et les origines de l'exégèse biblique* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1960), pp. 175–9.

# PRODUCING AND DISSEMINATING THE BIBLE IN TRANSLATION

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# Publishing in print: Technology and trade

ANDREW PETTEGREE

When Johann Gutenberg successfully concluded his experiments with the new technique of multiple copying, news of the new invention spread with extraordinary rapidity. To posterity it has seemed quite natural that the text with which Gutenberg announced his new invention should be his famous 42-line Bible. Yet this choice was more daring than is sometimes recognised. The first half of the fifteenth century had seen a large increase in book production in many parts of Europe. But this growth in the production of manuscript books had not embraced texts of the Bible. The high point of manuscript production of bibles had been reached and passed in the thirteenth century.[1] The large numbers created in this fertile period seem to have sufficed to meet demand in the succeeding two centuries. If gentry or noble households had acquired any religious texts in the first half of the fifteenth century then these were far more likely to have been books of hours, a class of book reproduced in massive numbers in this period.

Yet Gutenberg chose a Bible, perhaps not fully aware of how challenging a technical task he had undertaken. The task would consume him for over two years, and ruin him financially. Although the Bible was a technical triumph, it effectively ended Gutenberg's active career as a printer. In the years and decades that followed the Bible would continue to be among the most challenging projects that a printer could undertake; and yet many would do so, bringing to the market many hundreds of editions, in literally millions of copies, and in every variety of size, language and textual arrangement.

In consequence the Bible would come, in the 150 years after the invention of print, to occupy a special place both in the transformation of the European book world and in the cultural history of its peoples. It became a prime

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[1] Paul Needham, 'The Changing Shape of the Vulgate Bible in Fifteenth-Century Printing Shops', in Paul Saenger and Kimberley van Kampen (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions* (London: British Library, 1999), pp. 53–70.

motivator in change in the geography of the book industry, yet for workers in the industry it also encapsulated the pitfalls that lay in wait for those who ventured too far, in a business where fortunes were as easily lost as won.

It is possible that Gutenberg's experiments with printing may have begun some years before his arrival in Mainz in 1444.[2] During the previous five years in Strasbourg he had entered into a number of business associations. Documents relating to the legal cases that subsequently arose made several mysterious references to presses and metalworking techniques. Whatever this may indicate Gutenberg certainly came to Mainz with considerable expertise both in metalworking (he was a trained goldsmith) and of raising capital through the sort of joint undertaking that had financed his imaginative scheme selling printer's mirrors for the Aachen pilgrimage of 1440. Both these skills would stand him in good stead for the painful years of discovery that lay ahead.

The invention of printing should more properly be considered the bringing together of several different new discoveries, together with the modified application of a number of working practices already familiar from medieval craft society. The critical core was the invention of the mould for hand casting of individual pieces of type. This was a complex wooden frame, into which a soft metal alloy could be poured, and from which set type could then be released.

The process began with the tracing of the image of a letter onto the head of a rectangular piece of hardened steel.[3] The background, non-printing areas would then be filed away to leave the character exposed: this was the letter punch. This could then be driven with a single hammer blow into a bar of copper, yielding a sunken impression: the matrix. This matrix was then placed in the base of the hand mould; pouring in soft alloy, a compound of lead, tin and antimony, produced a column, ideally about an inch tall, with the letter standing proud and clear. Once the technique had been routinised such characters could be produced at the rate of about four a minute. The emerging body of type would have to be filed to ensure that the types were of identical depth – essential for ensuring an even impression onto the paper.

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[2] Albert Kapr, *Johann Gutenberg: The Man and his Invention*, trans. Douglas Martin (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996).

[3] Kapr, *Gutenberg*; Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

The second major technical component, the press, seems to have required the application of rather less in the way of ingenuity. Just as the creation of the type punch and matrix drew on the established arts of metalwork and coin making, so the press was based on familiar structures: the wine press, or a press for printing textiles from wooden patterns. The printing press consisted of not one but two moving parts: the carriage on which the forme of type would be placed for the paper to be pressed down when it was slid under the press; and the screw, which caused a metal plate to press down on the paper as the press man articulated a lever through ninety degrees. In presses that have come down to us this screw is made of metal: in the Gutenberg era it might conceivably have been made of wood. The pressure required was considerable: the whole frame of the press was therefore often secured to the super-structure of the print room by vertical struts.

With the press and the casting of type, the technological components for printing were in place, and medieval workshop practice offered very many models for the coordination of the diverse tasks required to produce the finished sheet. First the individual pieces of type had to be set in a wooden frame or forme, ready to be printed. This was the job of the compositor, who sat with cases of type setting up a line at a time from a manuscript copy text, placing the type first in a handheld compositor's stick before transferring it, a line at a time, into the forme. The larger-format books would be the simplest task, for here a forme consisted of just two pages of type for each side of paper. When one sheet was complete the forme was affixed to the carriage of the press and printing could begin. This normally required two pressmen. One would fix the paper into its frame to be lowered onto the type, which the second man meanwhile covered in an even coating of ink. The carriage would then be slid under the press and the screw rotated to press the paper down on the inked type: two impressions were required, one for each leaf of the folio sheet.

This was the ideal process, but it would be many years before it became the unvarying routine of the print shop, and there were many technical problems to be solved along the way. To take the ink the paper had first to be damped; after impression the printed sheets had to be allowed to dry, but in such a way that the reverse sheet could be printed without the ink smudging or showing through. The reverse side also had to be printed before the paper had dried out completely. Then there was the problem of the ink itself. The early typographers had to develop a very specific sort of ink, rich and sticky: sufficiently viscous to be easily spread, but giving an even impression, and drying quickly

before the paper had dried through. This was the great triumph of the early Mainz typographers, who contrived a superb black ink, rich and pure, and free of any tendency to stain. Subsequent attempts to cut cost led to a considerable reduction in the quality of printer's ink.

The first products of the Mainz press were shrewdly chosen. Gutenberg's first books were a sequence of the school books that had been in such steady demand in medieval copy shops, and a range of printed broadsheets, indulgences and calendars. These small books and single-sheet items offered the advantage of a very rapid return on money invested: the broadsheets were also technically rudimentary, being printed on one side only. The momentous decision to attempt a Bible was a task of a wholly different order. It may well be that when Gutenberg set up his enterprise it was a missal that was intended as the first major project.[4] The range of types he had made is consistent with such a surmise, and the market for missals was tried and tested. But at some point Gutenberg resolved that it was the book of Scripture that should announce the new art of artificial writing to the world. It should be, in guild terms, the 'masterpiece' of the apprentice craft.

A task of such complexity required a business of far more sophistication than the small workshop required for the rudimentary school books. In many respects the coordination of this venture is Gutenberg's greatest achievement. For the new project he moved to a larger a workshop with four, and later six, presses. The Bible required new fonts of type to be cut, and to imitate the appearance of a manuscript bible Gutenberg proposed to use a far greater range of characters than would later be standard. The 42-line Bible was produced using 290 different type faces, with 47 capitals and 243 lower-case letters and punctuation marks. Examination of the physical copy has established that four, and later six, compositors were simultaneously at work setting up type. Each would have required cases comprising 7,800 letters, or 46,000 individually cast types in all.

With this, printing could begin, once a stock of paper – or vellum for the luxury copies – had first been acquired. This again was a very substantial financial outlay, which Gutenberg could not have contemplated without taking a partner: this was Johann Fust, with whom he subsequently fell out. The surviving copies of the 42-line Bible reveal evidence that the ideal manufacturing process was only gradually discovered, through a process of trial and error. The first leaves have pages of forty or forty-one lines of type, and only from page 11 onwards does forty-two lines become standard (an economy of

[4] Kapr, *Gutenberg*, pp. 153–6.

around 5 per cent in paper and vellum). Gutenberg at first clearly had in mind that the required red page headings should also be inserted mechanically: this called for each sheet to be placed in the press a second time, this time with the appropriate parts of the forme inked in red. This proved too intricate and was soon abandoned: the headings were instead left for hand rubrication once the printed book was complete.

With the technique in its infancy work progressed slowly. If each press were able to make between eight and sixteen impressions an hour, then the printing of the 1,282 pages of an edition of 180 copies would have taken roughly two years. This was a very considerable time for the capital to be tied up, before sales allowed the partners to recoup their investment. The work required the constant injection of new funds. The logistical requirements were beyond anything previously experienced in a world used to books emerging from the copyist one at a time. If thirty-five or forty copies were produced on vellum, this would have required the provision of five thousand calf skins. At least veal would have been plentifully available in Mainz as the 42-line Bible rolled off the press in 1454 and 1455.

The Bible made Gutenberg's reputation, but the partnership with Fust could not survive the strain of the extraordinary financial cost. The two men could not agree on the terms of the repayment of Fust's investment; when Fust won the ensuing legal case Gutenberg was forced to surrender his printing house. Albert Kapr has compiled a theoretical balance sheet that demonstrates that when the Bible sold out the partners would have made a substantial profit.[5] But none of this investment could be recouped until the final page had been printed, and the whole book assembled. This crucial fact dominated the economics of printing large projects such as the Bible. In fact, the hard lessons learned by Gutenberg and his partner would go a long way to shaping the industry that emerged as the new invention was rapidly disseminated around Europe.

Whatever the personal consequences of the collapse of Gutenberg's partnership with Fust, the book itself found an immediate resonance. When Enea Silvio Piccolomini visited Frankfurt in 1454 he viewed proof sheets, but no complete copy was available: the entire print run had already been sold out. Copies of the proof sheets were spirited away to be despatched to the emperor. It is therefore not surprising that Johann Fust, now in possession of the workshop, should have wished to produce further Bible editions. To

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[5] Ibid., pp. 179–84.

achieve this he entered into a new partnership with an accomplished techni-
cian, Peter Schoeffer: two further Bibles were the fruits of their collaboration.
Thanks also to these further editions, news of the new invention spread very
rapidly. When the king of France got wind of it he despatched one of his
leading bookmen, Nicolas Jenson, to divine its secrets from the Germans.
Although Jenson was rebuffed, printing presses were soon established in
nearby Bamberg and Strasbourg: in these places also bibles were among the
first products of the new press.

In all, the three Mainz Bibles initiated a sequence of ninety-four Latin Bibles
published before the end of the fifteenth century: eighty-one in plain text and
thirteen with an accompanying commentary.[6] Over the course of these four
decades the physical shape of the bible evolved quite considerably, as tech-
niques were refined and technical processes improved. Some of the changes
were features common to the general evolution of the printed book in these
years. Printers became more experienced with the arrangement of type on
the page, allowing for the use of a greater variety of different fonts. A sig-
nificant change achieved early was the abandonment of the large Royal folio
size of paper (40 cm) on which the three Mainz Bibles had been printed, for a
more economical Chancery folio (30 cm). This became the standard for most
large-format books from the 1480s onwards.

The title page emerges as a feature of printed books (and bibles) from the
last decade of the fifteenth century. In succeeding generations this would
allow scope for great virtuosity in the design of elaborate title-page woodcuts,
but in the fifteenth century this lay some way in the future. Some significant
design change was more specific to the particular aspects of the Bible text.
Early typographers struggled with how to accommodate the expectations of
readers for a text that would, like its manuscript forebears, be richly deco-
rated with headings titles and paragraph markers. These indispensable aids to
navigation through a long and complex text were customarily added in red.
Following Gutenberg's painful experience attempting mechanical insertion of
these rubricated headings, the first printed bibles all left this decoration to be
added by hand after sale. In this respect the first printed bibles were not ready
for use: they were *halbfertige Güte* – half-finished goods. The first fully finished
bible was that published by Bernhard Richel of Basel in 1475, with a full rep-
ertoire of printed headings inserted through the complex process of double
impression printing. This technical virtuosity would continue to be applied

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[6] Needham, 'Changing Shape'.

in missals throughout the sixteenth century. In the case of bibles, however, it represented only a transitional phase towards the production of bibles with headings and decorated initials all printed in black. This evolution provides a significant example of how the reader could gradually be educated to changing expectations of which might be appropriate for the new medium of print. This change was achieved in the 1480s, the same period in which bibles first began to include chapter headings.

In one rather unexpected way, however, the influence of Gutenberg's prototype proved to be remarkably enduring. Gutenberg seems to have given little thought to his choice of a copy text: he used one of many manuscripts shaped by the Paris Vulgate tradition of the fifteenth century. Yet this unconsidered aspect of the printed book proved remarkably influential. Virtually all of the Latin Bibles subsequently published in the fifteenth century took a printed bible as their model.[7] The earliest editions used a copy of Gutenberg's Bible as their copy text: later fifteenth century editions used either Gutenberg or one of these early imitators. Unwittingly, therefore, Gutenberg played a major role in fixing the text of the Vulgate. This would cast a long shadow over sixteenth-century efforts at revision.

The problems of paper supply, press time and finance were those that most exercised the early bible printers. The Bible was a long text: it inevitably taxed the resources of all but the most robustly capitalised firms. These were problems to some extent common to all large and intellectually challenging printing projects undertaken in the incunabula era, and a major reason why so large a proportion of total production was so quickly concentrated in a small number of large centres of production. Although some 250 places around Europe were represented on the print map of Europe before 1500, over two-thirds of the total output of books would be published in only twelve towns. To some extent bible production also followed this pattern. Of the ninety-one editions that followed the three Mainz prototypes, seventy-nine were published in just six of the largest centres of incunabula book production: Basel, Nuremberg, Strasbourg, Cologne, Venice and Lyons.

Yet the Bible was not just another book. There were issues of design and textual integrity specific to the Bible: issues in which Europe's regulatory authorities would take an increasingly demanding and influential role. The Bible was also marked out from all other books by the sheer extent of demand for the text. The figure of ninety-four editions of the Vulgate text may not

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[7] Ibid.

seem particularly large in the overall context of incunabula book production, but this was only the most visible part of a market for Scripture that encompassed partial editions, editions of the Psalms and New Testaments, individual books of the Old Testament, and vernacular translations.

This buoyant and sustained demand for the biblical text gave the Bible a very particular place in the marketplace. For most other large and expensive books, a printer or publisher had to expect that the recovery of capital expended would be a difficult task. A luxury folio edition of Augustine, or Chrysostom, would have a considerable market, but potential purchasers would be distributed around Europe. A large part of the challenge of publication was bringing the text to its purchasers, and holding stock, often for long periods, until the edition was exhausted. With the Bible, the potential market was so large that the same constraints did not apply. The transnational Latin trade was sufficiently large to sustain several competing editions, fuelled in the sixteenth century by the philological debates raised by humanism. Alongside this each part of the European print world generated its own separate market for the Bible in vernacular languages. The extent of this demand meant that bibles could often be published by printers who would otherwise avoid large and complex texts. The Book was the first large book published by many printers, often in secondary centres of production. It was often the only large book that was issued from such presses. The Bible, particularly through its partial redactions, the Psalms and New Testament, thus built a highly specific role in the European print world. The sheer extent of the market allowed it to some extent to subvert the iron laws of production and distribution that governed the book market in sixteenth-century Europe.

The division of book history into separate eras around 1500, separating the incunabula age from the sixteenth century, has a weary fixity, and is not easily subverted. For the printing history of the Bible it is however much more helpful to consider the period stretching from the 1450s to the 1520s, the date when the publication of Luther's September Testament brought a second revolution in European bible production. But the Reformation did not invent the vernacular Bible tradition. On the contrary, from the 1470s onwards, making available the text of Scripture in Europe's vernacular languages played an increasingly important role in the plans of Europe's printers.

The first translation of the Bible into German, or indeed into any vernacular language, was published barely a decade after Gutenberg's 42-line Bible was issued in Mainz. It was the work of Johann Mentelin of Strasbourg, and it was the first of a sequence of eighteen complete Bibles published in the

German-speaking lands before 1522.[8] Publishing the Bible in German was a no less complex and demanding a task than a Latin Bible, and it is no surprise therefore that all but two of these editions emanate from the largest printing centres in Germany: Strasbourg, Augsburg, Nuremberg or Cologne. Indeed, in some respects these vernacular editions were from a publishing point of view more demanding assignments than the publication of re-editions of the post-Gutenberg Vulgate. The publisher had first to furnish a translation: no straightforward task given that the German spoken in one part of the empire would not necessarily be comprehensible elsewhere. The market for vernacular editions was therefore already far more geographically constrained than was the case for Latin Bibles. The publisher had also to deal with the emerging market expectation that these fine and expensive editions should be embellished with illustrations. The first illustrative sequences were published in German Bibles in an Augsburg edition published with fifty-seven illustrative woodcuts. Henceforth this would become an essential feature of the vernacular German Bible.[9] The provision of these woodcut blocks had a particular place in the economics of book production, since woodcuts have a high initiation cost but relatively small resale value. It says much for the capital resources of the emerging printing houses of Germany that they were able to contemplate such an investment. Once cut, the woodcuts tended to reused from edition to edition, or copied by another artist.[10] This ensured a certain uniformity in the artistic programme of illustrated Bibles, with the most lavish illustrations in the historical books of the Pentateuch.

The first Bible printed in French was published at Lyons in 1479.[11] Lyons, as we have seen, had established itself as the French centre for production of the Latin Vulgate text, but its supremacy in the vernacular field would be swiftly challenged by Paris. In 1488 Anthoine Vérard published his own French Bible, the first of five editions published before 1507. Vérard, an astute and versatile publishing entrepreneur, had by this point established a major firm, issuing a

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[8] Walter Eichenberger and Henning Wendland, *Deutsche Bibeln vor Luther: die Buchkunst der achtzehn deutschen Bibeln zwischen 1466 und 1522* (Hamburg: Wittig, 1977). The editions are helpfully listed in Heimo Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch: Luthers Bibelübersetzung und ihre Tradition* (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1983), p. 85.

[9] Richard Muther, *Die deutsche Bücherillustration der Gothik und Frührenaissance (1460–1530)* (Munich: George Hirth, 1884).

[10] This is demonstrated in some detail by Bart A. Rosier, *The Bible in Print: Netherlandish Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Foleor, 1997).

[11] FB 4205.

wide variety of books in the French language.[12] He had cultivated exceptionally close connections with the French court, first Charles VIII, and then Louis XII. This enabled him to function effectively at several levels in the market, publishing lavish illuminated copies on vellum for court patrons, and more workaday paper copies for a wider market. Vérard's vernacular Bibles were part of a large production of religious books in French, which included a large part of the lucrative market in books of hours. Other major publishers of *Horae* also ventured into the Bible trade, including Jean Tréperel and Michel Le Noir. In all an impressive twenty-five editions of the Bible were published in French during this period.[13]

Vernacular editions of the Bible were in fact a feature of the market in virtually every part of Europe where printing was established in this era. There were at least eleven editions of the Bible in Italian before the end of the fifteenth century. In 1477 a Dutch Bible (in fact comprising only the Old Testament) was published in Delft in the Northern Netherlands.[14] The Severyn-Kamp press established in Prague in 1488, which dealt exclusively in books in Czech, published in this same year a lavish Czech translation of the Bible. A press set up in Kutná Hora, a mining town that was at this point Bohemia's second city, published a further two editions.[15] The only glaring exception to this trend was England, where the pre-Reformation tradition of the Bible rendered the vernacular text toxic. This would pose particular challenges for those desiring to render the Bible text into English later in the century.

This wave of publications of vernacular translations of the Bible in no way diminished interest in the Latin text. On the contrary, new editions of the Latin text derived from Gutenberg continued to be published to the end of the century and beyond. Despite this accidental fixity of the post-Gutenberg canon, the market for Bibles in the scholarly languages was gradually transformed by the scholarly concerns of the new humanist scholarship.

From a purely practical point of view the study of Hebrew was rather easier than Greek.[16] Thanks largely to the presence of Jewish communities in southern Europe, a remarkably robust corpus of Hebrew books was generated in the fifteenth century, despite the obvious technical difficulties connected

[12] Mary Beth Winn, *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian Publisher, 1485–1512: Prologues, Poems and Presentations* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1997).

[13] FB 4205–4234.

[14] C. C. de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1937), pp. 74–6.

[15] Eliska Ryznar and Murlin Croucher, *Books in Czecholsovakia: Past and Present* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), pp. 7–8.

[16] Adrian K. Offenberg, 'Hebrew Printing of the Bible in the xvth Century', in Saenger and van Kampen (eds.), *The Bible as Book*, pp. 71–7.

with the production of type. In 1482 a Bologna press published an edition of the Pentateuch in Hebrew. This was the vocalised *Humash* with Aramaic translation and commentary. This was both a landmark in printing history and an exquisite book: the design and manufacture of the characters was a considerable feat in itself. The enormous success of this book, which survives in almost fifty copies, many of them printed on vellum, stimulated a further wave of publications of the Hebrew texts, many at Soncino, between Milan and Mantua. These books, many of them separate treatises from the Talmud, sometimes made use of decorative woodcut initials, panels and a frame. Altogether there were some 140 books printed in Hebrew characters in the fifteenth century, suggesting a robust demand once the particular technical problem, the addition of vowel points to the unvocalised text, had been solved. Most were published in Italy, though a small group of Iberian texts include a Hebrew Pentateuch published at Faro in Portugal in 1487.

The comparative wealth of printed Hebrew texts of the Old Testament can be contrasted with the relatively late emergence of the Greek text of the New Testament, achieved only with the publication of the landmark *Novum Instrumentum* of Erasmus in 1516.[17] In the first era of print Greek typography lagged behind almost all other languages. The principal stimulus to Erasmus's studies was not a printed book but the discovery of a manuscript of notes on the New Testament compiled by Lorenzo Valla. Erasmus's Greek Testament was, in strictly philological terms, rather more conservative than is sometimes acknowledged. It owes its high reputation with contemporaries and posterity partly to its undoubted success as a publishing venture. Like all of Erasmus's major works this was a success carefully and shrewdly prepared.[18] Having established early in his career a successful and cooperative relationship with the Louvain publisher Thierry Martens, Erasmus was now flirting with the major figures of scholarly typography in the heart of Europe. He arrived at Basel in 1515 at the end of an exceptionally busy year in publishing terms, bearing with him a revised version of the best-selling *Adages* and the text of his Greek New Testament. This was originally intended for Aldus Manutius in Venice, the acknowledged master of scholarly publishing in the ancient languages. But Manutius had died in February, and the Basel publisher Froben pledged to match any offer that Erasmus might receive for his manuscript.

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[17] Alastair Hamilton, 'Humanists and the Bible', in Jill Kraye (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 100–17.

[18] Albert Rabil, 'Desiderius Erasmus', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundation, Forms and Legacy*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), vol. 11, pp. 216–64.

A contract was concluded, and the book, a Greek text with parallel Latin translation, was published in 1516. A new and improved edition followed in 1519, and further editions, with a greatly expanded and emended commentary, in 1522, 1526 and 1535.

The success of the Erasmus New Testament ultimately eclipsed that of a far more ambitious scholarly venture, the famous Polyglot Bible published at Alcalá de Henares in 1522.[19] This was the brainchild of Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, founder of the University of Alcalá, who had assembled there the scholars who were to achieve his ambitious enterprise: texts and translations of the Old and New Testament, in the ancient languages, with Latin translation.

The extraordinary boldness of the scheme was exceeded only by its sheer impractibility as a publishing venture. Alcalá was not a major centre of printing: there was no evidence of the existence of a press before the foundation of the university in 1502. Nor was there much of an export market from Spain to other parts of Europe. The necessary typefaces had to be laboriously imported and mastered by inexperienced pressmen. When published in 1522 the print run of 600 copies far exceeded the evident demand for so expensive a book. Fernand Colon, son of the explorer Christopher Columbus and a fanatical bibliophile, was able to pick up a copy heavily discounted in Alcalá itself, and the edition never sold out. The Complutensian Polyglot is rightly respected as a milestone of typography, but as a commercial printing venture it was wholly disastrous: a colourful aberration in the history of printing in the Iberian Peninsula.

The triumph of Erasmus, and the parallel success of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples with his French translation of the New Testament, draws attention to an important fact. A large part of the market for Scripture in print consisted of demand for editions of partial rather than full texts of the whole Bible. This was true to a far larger extent than is often recognised, and extended not only to New Testaments, but also to a large variety of biblical and quasi-biblical texts. The size and significance of this market is emerging fully only now, with the completion of a comprehensive range of bibliographical projects for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Separate editions of the Psalms were published from an early date in many parts of Europe, in both Latin and vernacular languages. These included a number of full text editions; far more common

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[19] Julián Martín Abad, 'The Printing Press in Alcalá de Henares: The Complutensian Polyglot Bible', in Saenger and van Kampen (eds.), *The Bible as Book*, pp. 101–15. For discussion of the content of the Polyglot see Chapter 6 in this volume.

in this period, however, were editions of the seven penitential psalms. This devotional tradition formed an important part of the Lenten observance: the penitential psalms were published before the end of the fifteenth century in Dutch, French and German, in a bilingual Latin–Italian edition, and in a particularly popular Italian verse version. In France such partial editions included not only the penitential psalms, but complete psalters, separate printings of the Old and New Testaments, and several editions of the book of Esdras. Enterprising printers also published as separate publications the woodblocks of their Bible editions (*Figures de la Bible*).[20] French printers also continued the popular manuscript tradition of the *Bible historiée*, a compilation of texts from the narrative books of Scripture. All told, of more than a hundred editions of Scripture published in France before 1522, only around a quarter consisted of full-text editions of the whole Bible text. In Germany, in addition to some forty Latin and vernacular editions of the full text of the Bible, were published editions of the New Testament, the Psalms, glossed individual books of Scripture, and editions of the penitential psalms. Germany also developed several idiosyncratic local traditions, such as the Gospel Harmony known in German as the *Passions oder lydens Christ auss den vier evangelisten*.[21]

The survival of such texts would not necessarily have pleased humanist scholars in their quest for textual purity. But they do demonstrate that the European print industry had already by this period managed to make available to the reading public scriptural texts in a wide variety of forms, formats and prices appropriate to all pockets. Indeed, some parts of Europe these quasi-biblical texts must have provided the primary access to Scripture, at least in the vernacular. This was certainly true of the Low Countries, where the early Delft Dutch Bible had not been followed by a wave of similar publications. One must also not ignore the importance of the books of hours, which, as Christopher de Hamel reminds us, drew much of their text from the Scriptures and particularly the Psalms. The enormous numbers of printed *Horae* published in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, when mass production finally eclipsed the still vibrant manuscript production, are a salutary reminder that for many Christians this remained their most common exposure to the text of Scripture.[22] This, together with the multiple printings

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[20] FB 4489–94, 4523–6, 5270–2.
[21] *VD 16* 4626–49, 4651–71, 4679–4750, 4753–4881.
[22] Christopher de Hamel, 'Books of Hours: Imaging the Word', in John L. Sharpe and Kimberly van Kampen (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition* (London: British Library, 1998), pp. 137–43.

of the Psalter and penitential psalms, also ensured that this would be by far the best-known part of the scriptural canon.

When Martin Luther embarked upon his translation of Scripture he was conscious of undertaking what he believed would be his greatest contribution to the Reformation movement. He later said that he thought it was the only one of his writings that would (and should) outlive him. It is therefore little surprise that once the first part of this work, the New Testament, was complete, Luther should devote almost an equal amount of care to the matter of its publication.[23] By this point Wittenberg already possessed a very considerable publishing industry. It is itself worthy of comment, since Wittenberg lay along way from the main centre of gravity of German and European print along the Rhine and Danube corridor. Even in the east it was very much in the shadow of Leipzig, an established trade fair and the nodal point for distribution of books in eastern and central Europe. Before 1502 there was no printing in Wittenberg, and for the next decade nothing more than a modest output of school books for the newly founded university.[24] But in the five years after 1517 the controversies stirred by Luther, and his extraordinary gifts as a writer, led to a rapid transformation. Wittenberg grew in these years to be one of the most active centres of print culture in the whole of Europe. Among those attracted to Wittenberg to share the profits of this print explosion were a number of experienced printers from other parts of Germany.

When Luther returned from the Wartburg with the translation of his New Testament he consigned the text to his established publisher, Christian Döring, and his friend Lucas Cranach. They in turn assigned the work to Melchior Lotter, the son of an established Leipzig printer, who had shrewdly despatched his son to Wittenberg to open a second branch of the family business. What was envisaged for the New Testament was an enterprise of some daring: an edition of 3,000 copies in an affordable quarto format. It would be illustrated with woodcuts provided by Cranach's workshop; and it all had to be ready for the September Fair in Leipzig. The finance no doubt came from Döring and Cranach, the latter by this time one of

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[23] Hans Volz, *Martin Luthers deutsche Bibel: Entstehung und Geschichte der Lutherbibel* (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 1978); Jane O. Newman, 'The Word Made Print: Luther's 1522 New Testament in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Representations* 11 (1985), 95–133.

[24] Volz, *Luthers deutsche Bibel*, pp. 94–7; Maria Grossmann, *Humanism in Wittenberg, 1485–1517* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975).

Wittenberg's most successful businessmen. When he branched into publishing Cranach prudently purchased a paper mill; the ready supply of paper may have been a material factor in Lotter undertaking an edition of such unprecedented size.

Lotter had the book ready in time, working with three presses simultaneously. The book was an immediate sensation: he immediately embarked on a reprint, which was ready for sale by December. The publication of these two editions of Luther's New Testament initiated a series of more than 400 editions of Luther's Scripture texts published in Germany during the reformer's own lifetime.[25] Lotter's feat in bringing 6,000 copies to the market in so short a time was remarkable, but no less so was the speed with which the text was taken up and published elsewhere. By 1523 the New Testament had been published in Basel by Adam Petri and Augsburg by Silvan Otmar. Between them they published a further nine editions in this year, including the first in the small octavo format. Luther, meanwhile, had returned to his translation work, and by 1523 had the books of the Pentateuch ready for the press: three Wittenberg editions, three from Augsburg and two from Basel, appeared in this same year.

Luther had many responsibilities which necessarily distracted him from his Bible translation. In consequence it was not until 1534 that the full Bible translation had been accomplished. This may have been intellectually frustrating, but for the Wittenberg print industry it turned out very well. They could maintain a steady stream of new part editions – the historical books from Joshua to Esther in 1524, the Psalms in the same year – and then of revision. These were projects that were ideal for relatively new or undercapitalised printing firms, and purchasers of modest means. These serial publications also fitted neatly into the established market for partial editions of the scriptural canon.[26]

Thus it was that Luther's Bible text was distributed far more widely – both in terms of the printers who published it and the readers who had access to it – than would have been the case had Luther finished his translation of the Old Testament with the speed with which he accomplished the New. One can only think this was accidental; but it was an accident that entirely suited the then state of development of the German book industry.

Through Luther's publications the printing press became once again viable in places that had not sustained a press since the earliest days of incunabula

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[25] Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch*, pp. 116–27.
[26] For further discussion of the Luther Bible see Chapter 9 in this volume.

printing. Zurich offers a classic case study of how the Reformation could have a transforming impact on local book culture.[27] Until this point the print industry in Zurich had been of extremely modest size, and very much under the shadow of the regional leviathan, Basel. This situation was transformed thanks to Luther, and the harmonious cooperation between Huldrych Zwingli, the new People's Priest, and Christoph Froschauer. Froschauer had come to Zurich as apprentice and junior partner to Hans Ruegger, then Zurich's only printer. For the first years Froschauer printed mainly small ephemeral works of local interest. The invitation to print for Leo Jud a substantial volume of Jud's translations of works by Erasmus and Luther was thus a significant departure, which the printer warmly embraced. Froschauer was, from the beginning, at the centre of the circle promoting the Reformation in Zurich. The famous sausage-eating incident, when a group defied the Lenten regulations in Zwingli's presence, took place in Froschauer's workshop. When summoned to explain himself, Froschauer said that his men, working long hours to make ready an edition of Erasmus for the Frankfurt Fair, needed more solid sustenance than could be provided by a diet of vegetables.[28] The context was certainly plausible, even if the challenge to Catholic practice was far more studied.

From this point onwards Froschauer was Zwingli's essential collaborator in the promotion of the Reformation. Inevitably this meant the publication of a vernacular Bible: in the first instance a reprint of Luther's September Testament of 1524. Froschauer then followed the practice of Wittenberg printers in publishing a full Bible in separate sections. The Zurich Bible was essentially a repackaging of Luther's translation, lightly adapted for local dialect, together with new translations of the portions that Luther had not yet translated (the Prophets and Apocrypha). These sections were published between 1524 and 1528; the first edition of a complete Zurich Bible followed in 1529. This was the first of at least ninety-five Zurich Bible editions published by the Froschauer workshop, which included High German editions distributed outside the Swiss Confederation through the Frankfurt Fair.[29] Froschauer had first

[27] Paul Leemann-Van Elck, *Die Offizin Froschauer, Zürichs berühmte Druckerei im 16. Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst anlässlich der Halbjahrtausendfeier ihrer Erfindung* (Zurich and Leipzig: Orell Füssli, 1940); Joachim Staedtke, *Anfänge und erste Blütezeit des Zürcher Buchdrucks* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1965).

[28] Iren L. Snavely, 'Zwingli, Froschauer and the Word of God in Print', *Journal of Religious and Theological Information* 3:2 (2000), 65–87, at pp. 66–7.

[29] Manfred Vischer, *Bibliographie der Zürcher Druckschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich: V. Koerner, 1991).

opened a stall at Frankfurt in 1522, in order to access a wider market, necessary after Zurich's Catholic neighbours banned the sale of his books. Through regular visits to Frankfurt Froschauer also became Zurich's major supplier of books printed elsewhere in Europe.

The production history of the Luther Bible to some extent follows a pattern already familiar from other parts of this analysis. A large part of the output was engrossed by a relatively small number of Germany's largest centres of book production: Basel, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Strasbourg and Wittenberg. These were places well equipped to publish editions of the whole Bible in large formats, now supplied with Lucas Cranach's greatly expanded repertoire of woodcut illustrations. Magdeburg, meanwhile, acted as the entrepôt for the publication of the Bible in Low German, for distribution through the northern part of the empire. But there was still room in this buoyant market for smaller producers. A case in point was the press briefly operated by Nikolaus Widemar in the tiny Saxon village of Grimma between 1522 and 1523. Widemar turned out twelve editions in these two years, but they included two fragmentary editions of Luther's New Testament: the Epistle to the Galatians in 1522, and the Epistle to the Romans in 1523. In this context the Bible texts fit comfortably into an output that otherwise consists entirely of Reformation *Flugschriften*.[30]

The Widemar press was an enterprise so marginal that it could only survive when demand for the literature of the Reformation was at its very peak.[31] Inevitably the presence in the market of opportunity presses of this nature led to some falling off in standards in terms of production quality and textual integrity. This was a subject on which Luther could become much exercised, and he would periodically hold forth about the carelessness and grubbiness of the printers' work.[32] Yet such hyperbole must be understood for what it was. Luther knew the value of the printed word, and continued through all this grumbling to send a steady stream of original writings to the grateful printers.

The tumultuous success of Luther's publications posed a real dilemma for Germans loyal to the Pope. The earliest adversaries were inclined to damn the broad availability of vernacular Scripture along with Luther's other writings. But this was to cut themselves off from a broad stream of Catholic devotional

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[30] *VD 16*, search Druckort: Grimma; Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), p. 314.

[31] After closing down in Grimma, Widemar moved briefly to Eilenburg, another small hamlet in Electoral Saxony, where he published another eight works in 1523 and twenty-five in 1524. Reske, *Buchdrucker*, p. 183.

[32] Newman, 'Word Made Print', p. 102.

practice that had, as we have seen, eagerly embraced vernacular Scripture in the pre-Reformation period. Considerations of this sort (and the manifest failure of attempts to stop the spread of Luther's writings in Catholic territories) soon prompted Hieronymus Emser to produce his own translation of the New Testament, in truth a lightly reworked version of the Luther text. Its printer, Stöckel of Dresden, published it in an edition that closely mimicked the Lotter prototype, in format, appearance and typographical design. The reader could have been forgiven for believing that they had purchased the authentic text, as Stöckel no doubt intended.

The rapid dissemination of Luther's Bible around Germany was greatly facilitated by the lack of political or institutional impediments to the circulation of books. Efforts by the Catholic Duke Georg to ban the sale of Luther's works in Ducal Saxony were bound to fail when the texts could so easily be printed a few miles away, in a different jurisdiction. In other parts of Europe, however, a ban on the printing of heretical texts could be pursued far more effectively. Once the translation of Scripture became associated with the evangelical project, the hostility of church loyalists was assured. Outside Germany they could often enrol the state in efforts to restrict the spread, and local production, of Luther's Bible translation. The market for vernacular Scripture in these cases would therefore be complex. Publishers swiftly identified a keen public interest in new vernacular translations of the Bible. But bringing these books to their readers involved extra costs, unusual logistical difficulties and, often, deadly danger.

All of these conflicting pressures were visible from an early date in the sixteenth-century Low Countries. It might easily have been predicted that Luther's teachings would find an early resonance in the prosperous cities of Flanders and Brabant. These were places similar in social composition to the German imperial cities, where printing had spread the Reformation message so rapidly. The Low Countries were characterised by both a high level of literacy and a sophisticated book culture; the local language of the majority, Dutch, offered no substantial barrier to the translation of Luther's German works. And indeed it proved that Luther's teachings found an eager audience. But these lands were ruled by Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor and heir to the Burgundian inheritance; and he was determined that his hereditary lands would not fall prey to the Lutheran heresy. From an early date, therefore, the emperor developed a range of legislation to forbid the spread of the heretical doctrines. Local preachers who affirmed the German heresies risked exile or

worse: two members of the Antwerp Augustinian house who were burned at the stake in Brussels in 1523 were the first to be executed for the new Lutheran heresies anywhere in Europe.

This brutal handling of dissidence sent an obvious signal, warning local members of the printing industry to exercise caution. Much of the emperor's legislation was directly targeted at the book trade. The edicts specifically forbade the production, sale, possession or reading of Lutheran books. In consequence, though a number of Luther's works were published in Dutch translation, his authorship was seldom acknowledged on the title page: most were presented as works of conventional devotion.

The case of the vernacular Bible was more ambiguous. It was not immediately clear whether vernacular Scripture was encompassed by the ban, if the association with Luther's translation was not overtly advertised. The consequence of this ambiguity was that Dutch printers were able to bring to the market a sequence of new Bible translations, all published more or less openly in Antwerp, the emerging centre of Low Countries book culture.[33]

These new translations were the beginnings of a truly remarkable outpouring of scriptural publications. Proportional to the local population, there were more editions of Scripture published in the sixteenth-century Netherlands than in any other part of Europe. These publications went through several phases. The first wave of Lutheran translations came to an end in the 1540s, when a clampdown on printers involved in the publication of evangelical texts forced a number to flee abroad. But the disruption of supply was not more than temporary. Dutch exiled printers were soon at work in London and Emden, from where they produced a number of new translations.[34] These include the famous Deux-Aes Bible published in Emden, the distinguished forerunner of the Dutch *Statenbijbel*. With the beginnings of the Dutch Revolt, production moved back within the Low Countries – first to Antwerp, then, when Holland became the focal point of the Revolt, to presses in the north. These presses turned out many editions of the Bible, New Testament, but especially of the Psalms.[35] The metrical psalms were, as we shall observe for France also, the quintessential text of the Calvinist movement. The Dutch disposed of two

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[33] A. A. den Hollander, *De nederlandse bijbelvertalingen, 1522–1545* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1997). See also Chapter 10 in this volume.

[34] Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

[35] Paul Valkema Blouw, *Typographia batava 1541–1600: repetorium van boeken gedrukt in Nederland tussen 1541 en 1600: a repetorium of books printed in the Northern Netherlands between 1541 and 1600* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1998).

alternative translations, which were published progressively through the 1550s and 1560s. Published in the first instance in small, partial editions, a few psalms at a time, these were the signature publications of an underground move-ment, distributed as small octavo pamphlets, and printed in safety abroad. These books, scarcely two sheets in length, make a marked contrast to the large-format Bibles that were published when the churches enjoyed the free-dom to meet in public. But they provided the most effective access to Scripture at a time of church-building and persecution.

Through all of this turbulence printers in the Low Countries continued to turn out large numbers of editions of the scriptural text in traditional genres, and in Latin. The publishers of the Low Countries enjoyed an enviable pos-ition in the print network of Europe, at a nodal point in the production and distribution of books intended for export. In consequence they were able to command a disproportionate part of the market in Latin books, including works of Scripture. In the first half of the century this trade was associated with the Louvain printers Thierry Martens and Rutger Reschius; in the second half it formed the profitable bedrock of the production of the famous print-ing house of Christophe Plantin.[36] Anxious to prove his orthodoxy in troubled times, Plantin sought and obtained a contract to provide liturgical books for Spain from King Philip II. Over six years, during which he devoted twelve presses to the task, he despatched to the Peninsula some 47,445 breviaries, mis-sals, books of hours and hymnals.[37]

The only place in northern Europe that could match Antwerp for product-ive capacity was Paris, from an early date the true rival to Venice in the produc-tion of high-quality books. In the first half of the sixteenth century Paris had established an exceptional competence in virtually every branch of the book trade, including the provision of religious books. This continued a tradition as a major centre for the publication of missals and books of hours that reached back into the manuscript era.

In this context it was inevitable that Paris printing houses would gladly embrace the challenge of publishing vernacular editions of Scripture. In the years before the Reformation they had already enjoyed a major success with Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples's new vernacular translation of the New Testament. But the controversies raised by Luther presented a major complication. In Paris the powerful theology faculty of the Sorbonne swiftly condemned Luther,

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[36] *Dirk Martens, 1473–1973: tentoonstelling over het werk, de persoon en het milieu van Dirk Martens, ingericht bij de herdenking van het verschijnen te Aalst in 1473 van het eerste gedrukte boek in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Aalst: Stadsbestuur Aalst, 1973).
[37] Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London: Cassell, 1960).

and banned all Lutheran books. In 1526 this ban was explicitly extended to include all vernacular translations of Scripture.[38]

For the printers of Paris this was a grievous blow. Of all the publishing centres of northern Europe, Paris had printing firms of the size and capital resources to undertake large-format, high-quality Bible editions. They already had the range of types and woodcut illustrations appropriate to folio editions of the Bible. But to publish the Bible text in defiance of the Sorbonne would be to risk damaging other business, and few were prepared to take that risk. The publication of the Bible in French therefore moved elsewhere: first to Antwerp, more discreetly to Lyons, and finally to Geneva.[39]

The establishment of a new publishing industry in Geneva was a significant milestone for the French print industry. It also brought a transformation in the local economy as profound as Luther's impact in Wittenberg. Until this point Geneva had possessed no more than a rudimentary print trade. But when Calvin settled definitively in Geneva in 1541, he drew to the city many other French refugees, and these included several with significant experience of the Paris print trades.

From this date the presses established in Geneva turned out a steadily increasing output of printed works in French, intended for clandestine importation back into the kingdom. This trade proved immensely lucrative and over two decades transformed both the French evangelical movement and the French vernacular book trade. It fed off the immense success that Calvin enjoyed as a preacher and churchman; and Calvin, like Luther before him, also recognised the importance of short, accessible pamphlets, a genre for which he discovered a surprising talent. Editions of the Bible also feature prominently in the output of Geneva's printing houses, as, from the 1550s, did copies of the metrical psalms.

The singing of psalms became, under Calvin's guidance, the distinctive activity of the Calvinist worship tradition. This required a new translation appropriate to be set to music and then memorised for congregational use. This Calvin set in hand; it was finished in 1561, just as the crisis of the French monarchy provided the opportunity to establish congregations back in France itself. The enormous increase in Calvinist congregations during these years inspired one of the most remarkable coordinated publishing enterprises of the

[38] Francis Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne: A Bibliographical Study of Books in French Censured by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520–1551* (Geneva: Droz, 1979).
[39] Bettye Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles: Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French-Language Editions of the Scriptures* (Geneva: Droz, 1983).

whole century. By 1561 churches had been established in hundreds of locations all over France. To meet their needs the church leaders decided on a single edition of 30,000 copies, all with musical notation.[40] The book was parcelled out among Geneva's print fraternity, and also to printers who had taken advantage of the new laxity to establish evangelical printing houses within France: at Orleans, Lyons, Caen, and even in Paris. All had to supply themselves with the intricate and expensive type necessary for the printing of music. Each individual note was picked out on a section of stave, so that the pieces could be set to make a line of music. But such was the financial power of the new movement that the type was procured and the edition achieved. Several thousand more copies followed in 1563 and 1564.[41]

Even with the complications introduced by confessional division the massive size of the French vernacular reading community and the power of the print industry made it inevitable that it would play a major role in Bible publication. This was not so of England, where the print industry was much smaller, and far less able to take on ambitious or controversial projects. The story of struggle for an English vernacular Bible is a familiar one, but the constraints were not only those imposed by official hostility to the project. The underdeveloped state of the English print industry was also a material factor in shaping events. When Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, refused to authorise an English translation of the Bible, this was perceived as a great setback to the project. But it forced Tyndale to look abroad, which brought him into contact with the major centres of printing in Europe. Here he was able to deal with publishers far more suited to the production of large, complex projects than the small, unimaginative and conservative London print industry. Nor was publication on the Continent a major obstacle to bringing these editions of Scripture to their intended readers. English booksellers were used to looking abroad to meet all of their needs for Latin books, and even some books in the vernacular. Large numbers of liturgical books for the English market were already being published in Paris, Rouen and Antwerp.

It was to Antwerp that Tyndale eventually bent his steps.[42] This city became for some years the centre for the production of bibles in the English language. Even when a turn in official policy made it possible to consider publishing bibles in England, this proved far from straightforward, given the then

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[40] G. Berthoud, *Aspects de la propagande religieuse* (Geneva: Droz, 1957).
[41] FB 4903–5011.
[42] For more details see Chapter 13 in this volume.

capacities of the industry. The first officially sponsored edition, in 1539, was commissioned from a printer in Paris. Only when production was interrupted by outraged conservatives in the French capital were the incomplete sheets brought back to London to be finished.

The reign of Edward VI brought a rapid expansion in the productive capacity of the London print industry. Even so, the printers entrusted with the first complete bible resorted, as had their German forebears, to serial part publication. It was only in the second half of the century, during the reign of Elizabeth, that the print industry in London achieved the size and stability to master the full range of Scripture publishing, from folio bibles, through smaller format New Testaments, and separate editions of the metrical psalms. The metrical psalms became one of the most profitable arms of printing, protected by a privilege that confined the right to publish them to favoured printers. The London printing industry remained until the end of the century one of the most contained and closely controlled in Europe.

The rise of the vernacular Bible through northern Europe created a whole new market, and a new reading public, for the text of Scripture. The impact on the whole printing industry was profound. Precisely how significant, in terms of the volume of production, is a calculation that has to this point only been attempted for relatively small parts of the European book market. We have reliable estimates of the volume of bible production in England, and for the production of German bibles for Luther's lifetime (to 1546). But an estimate of the total production of printed texts of Scripture throughout Europe has not until this point been attempted.

There are good reasons why this has been the case. Until very recently there has been no comprehensive survey of print output for many parts of Europe: certainly nothing to match the meticulous detail of the English *Short Title Catalogue*. Even when these searches have now been completed, they often use different criteria of organisation that renders direct comparison difficult. A search of the online version of the German *VD 16* (March 2008) yielded 3,480 hits for the subject heading Biblia (against 2,758 in the print version).[43] But in both cases this total includes many editions of biblical commentaries that in other bibliographies would be ranged under their individual authors. This body of data therefore has to be analysed quite closely in order to establish indicative totals for bible production.

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[43]  *VD 16*, B 2555–B 5312.

In truth, the distinction between a glossed version of the Bible and a biblical commentary is by no means clear cut. What the inclusive categories of the *VD 16* do bring home is the sheer variety of forms in which the scriptural text was brought to the market in the sixteenth century.

This is true of all parts of the sixteenth-century print world. That said, a broad comparison of the overall volume of print does suggest some revealing differences between the different national print traditions. Firstly, it is immediately and strikingly clear that the Catholic ambiguity towards vernacular translation of the Bible had had a profound impact on volumes of production in different parts of the Europe. Italy and Spain were not entirely bereft of vernacular Bible translations, but the overall volume of production was slight compared to northern Europe, or indeed, to their overall share in the European book production. This is particularly striking in the case of Italy, one of the three largest components of the European print industry, but a comparatively insignificant part of the bible trade. And this was a very significant part of the book trade from which to be excluded. The fact that the bulk of Scripture publishing was so squarely focused on northern markets is an important factor in the general shift of the centre of gravity of European book production from south to north and from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic during the sixteenth century.

The second most obvious feature of this overall analysis is the importance in the marketplace of partial editions of the scriptural canon. This is most obvious in the case of the Psalms, which encompassed a huge proportion of the total output in countries that embraced a Calvinist tradition of worship later in the century: France, England and the Low Countries. These were books in small formats, but not necessarily small books. Particularly with the inclusion of musical notation, these could be complex and relatively expensive publishing projects.

Editions of the metrical psalms, however, are only the most cohesive part of a market for partial editions of the Bible that was extremely diverse and varied. In Germany, it bears emphasis that the strategy of publishing partial editions of the Old Testament was not just a necessary response to the gradual availability of Luther's new translation. Such books met a market need, and continued to be published throughout the century. This was a particular feature of the German market, which does not seem to have been replicated elsewhere, but it may also be that such para-scriptural texts as the *Passions oder leidens christi* were published in other languages, and have simply not been recognised for what they were. Nevertheless, it is clear that this particular tradition was especially robust in Germany. That fact is not without a certain

irony, given the importance attached to the pure Gospel, *rein Evangelium*, in the theological agenda of the reformers.

Finally, it is worthy of comment that the Reformation concern for vernacular Scripture did not interrupt the strong parallel tradition of Latin publication, which continued throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. This was a particularly strong feature of Catholic production of the Bible, but not exclusively so. Protestant scholars devoted considerable energy to the publication of new editions of the Latin Bible.[44]

These scholarly enterprises resulted in the publication of some outstandingly elegant and typographically sophisticated books, notable for the harmonious arrangement of type and careful arrangement of the printed page. They created a printed artefact that was both a fine edition of the Bible and a scholarly reference tool. These editions were inevitably expensive, but to judge from the inventories that have survived of private libraries, they achieved a wide dissemination among scholars and theologians.[45] These surviving library lists also demonstrate that the pan-European distribution network of the incunabula age still functioned effectively despite the confessional turbulence of the second half of the sixteenth century.

The publication of luxury scholarly editions of the Bible reached its climax with the nine-volume Polyglot Bible published by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp between 1569 and 1572.[46] The Antwerp Polyglot has a complex intellectual genesis. It was intended partly to seal Plantin's reputation as a publisher of the first rank, partly to provide assurance of his own orthodoxy, partly to enhance Antwerp's position as a capital of northern European scholarship. Before embarking on the work Plantin sought both encouragement and financial support from the king, Philip II. The response was gratifying, and the king went so far as to allow his secretary, Benito Arias Montano, to devote his full energies to the intellectual management of the project.[47] The promised financial support, however, did not materialise, and the sheer expense of the production, spread over two-and-a-half years, taxed the resources of even so prodigious an enterprise as Plantin's shop.

[44] Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). See also Chapter 8 in this volume.

[45] E.S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[46] Léon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam and New York: Van Gendt / Abner Schram, 1969–72).

[47] For the content of this edition see Chapter 6 in this volume.

Even when published Plantin's financial difficulties were not at an end. To bring matters to a conclusion and preserve liquidity, the printer had been forced to pledge a substantial part of the print run at a heavily discounted price. Although it was widely admired, sales on the open market were too slow to ensure profitability. A careful study of Plantin's meticulous financial records suggests that it would have been seven years before the costs of production were recouped: that represented a far slower rate of return that the printer would have envisaged.

The history of the Antwerp Polyglot brings home the fact, already evident from the Complutensian Polyglot or even Gutenberg's Bible, that it was seldom the largest, most ambitious projects that offered the best prospects of profit. They may have been the most alluring challenge for scholars and those bent on testing the capacities of the new art of printing. But the solid bedrock of profit, in what was undoubtedly a profitable part of the book market, was offered by less ambitious ventures: partial editions, reprints of popular para-scriptural texts, functional aids to worship. Although these would not always meet the strictest tests of scholarly accuracy, they would nevertheless play a crucial role in embedding the words of the scriptural canon in the collective consciousness of Europe's rapidly expanding reading public.

# Appendix

## Editions of Scripture printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

*Incunabula*

|  | Whole text | OT | Psalms | NT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Germany** | | | | |
| Latin | 55 | | 6 | |
| German | 14 | | 1 | |
| **France** | | | | |
| Latin | 10 | | 6 | |
| French | 4 | 9 | 13 | 2 |
| **Italy** | | | | |
| Latin | 23 | | 9 | |
| Italian | 11 | | 27 | |
| **Netherlands** | | | | |
| Latin | | | 4 | 1 |
| Dutch | 1 | 1 | | |
| **Spain** | | | | |
| Latin | | | 3 | 4 |
| Spanish | 2 | | | 1 |

*Sixteenth century (6,550)*

|  | Whole text | OT | Psalms | NT | NT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Germany** (2,800) | | | | | |
| Latin | 84 | | 202 | 91 | 100 |
| German | 202 | | 192 | 252 | 150 |
| **France** (2,300) | | | | | |
| Latin | 200 | 48 | 108 | 60 | 120 |
| French | 281 | 56 | 692 | 304 | |
| **Italy** (250) | | | | | |
| Latin | 40 | | 40 | 20 | |
| Italian | 27 | | 43 | 28 | |
| **Netherlands** (730) | | | | | |
| Latin | 56 | 7 | 40 | 52 | 8 |
| Dutch | 167 | 12 | 199 | 187 | |

|  | Whole text | OT | Psalms | NT | NT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **England** (390) | | | | | |
| Latin | 18 | | 12 | 14 | |
| English | 130 | | 130 | 85 | |
| **Spain** (80) | | | | | |
| Latin | 11 | 11 | 12 | 2 | |
| Spanish | 2 | 4 | 4 | 5 | |
| **Totals** | 1,218 | | | 1,672 | 1,100 |

# Latin Bibles in the early modern period

BRUCE GORDON AND EUAN CAMERON

The Latin Bible occupies a paradoxical space in the history of the Bible in the early modern period in Europe. On one hand, all scholars from the sixteenth century onwards were acutely aware that the Latin Bible was a translation; it was not the authentic text, the *fons et origo*, for any of the biblical books. On the other hand, it was certainly not a translation like any other. Latin occupied a unique place in the culture of Europe. Until at least around 1700, while Latin had long since ceased to be the living language of a people, it remained the shared vehicle for scholarly communication across the Latin churches – including those that became reformed – and those regions where the Roman alphabet prevailed. Scholars of only modest education would at least be able to read Latin. Consequently, the faithful of Europe had a stake in the Latin Bible which vastly exceeded the level of interest in Bibles in any one regional vernacular. Latin translations could expect to be used – and to be criticised – on an international scale.

Moreover, though not original, the Latin Bible was an ancient text. More than a thousand years of exegesis, glossing and theology had grown from its words, often quite literally interpreted, as though it were no translation at all. That carapace of interpretation loaded the most commonly received translation, the Latin Vulgate, with some of the authority and responsibility of a sacred text. In the course of the sixteenth century the Roman Catholic Church would canonise this special status of the Vulgate for centuries to come. Consequently, and uniquely of all the translations to be discussed in this section, the Latin Vulgate experienced two kinds of scholarly attention at the same time. On one hand, as an ancient text it called for textual editing: biblical scholars aimed to retrieve it in its most authentic, original form (however that was conceived). In effect, the Vulgate underwent textual criticism and recovery in a way quite analogous to the scriptural texts in their original languages, or indeed to the sources of classical literature where textual criticism had first begun. A 'corrected' Vulgate became an objective of scholarly endeavour in itself.

Yet from another perspective the Vulgate could indeed be regarded as one translation among many. In the early sixteenth century several renowned scholars believed that this translation was so badly corrupted that it should be discarded and superseded, rather than recovered or improved. As will be seen later, among Protestants the Latin Bible acquired a special purpose, not as a liturgical text for worship but as a scholarly tool. The question then was how far to correct the Vulgate, versus replacing it altogether. In the Roman Catholic world, the alternative Latin translations gradually receded before the restored Vulgate for the complete, authoritative Bible. However, Latin translations continued to be made anew for a specialised purpose. When editions of biblical texts in ancient languages were prepared for scholarly use – such as the Antwerp or Paris Polyglots – it became common to prepare a Latin translation of the more exotic texts to be printed alongside the originals, so that the nuances of these various versions could be more easily grasped.[1]

Since the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of Jacques Le Long (1665–1721) it has become conventional to distinguish between Latin Bibles that revised or edited the Vulgate text and those that constituted entirely new translations.[2] While in some cases this distinction is very clear and sharp, in the case of a handful of translations it becomes quite debatable. Creative translators, or their supporters, might try to shield an ambitious new translation from criticism by claiming that it was nothing more than a revision of the Vulgate.[3] Conversely, a critic of a new edition of the Latin Bible might insist that its departures from the Vulgate were so serious that it could only be regarded as an entirely new translation. Nevertheless, with appropriate caution it is helpful to observe the broad lines of this distinction in what follows.

## The Vulgate in Catholic Europe before the revisions of 1590–1592

As was explained in the previous volume, the printed Vulgate Bibles of the incunabular era broadly reproduced the 'scholastic' Vulgate as that had more

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[1] See the discussion in Chapters 1–7 in this volume.

[2] Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*. The first edition appeared in 1709. References are to the 1723 edition. See also F. Kaulen, *Geschichte der Vulgata* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1868), pp. 318–78; Guy Bedouelle, 'L'Humanisme et la Bible', in Guy Bedouelle and Bernard Roussel (eds.), *Le temps des Réformes et la Bible* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), pp. 53–121 at pp. 70–8; Jean-Pierre Delville, 'L'Évolution des vulgates et la composition de nouvelles version latines de la Bible au xvie siècle', in Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (ed.), *Biblia: les Bibles en latin au temps des Réformes* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2008), pp. 71–106.

[3] In regard to Erasmus, see e.g. R. J. Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe: The Prince of Humanists 1501–1536* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), pp. 187–9.

or less established itself (with variants) by the later Middle Ages.[4] From the Mainz Bible of the mid-1450s onwards, these editions of the Vulgate appeared in considerable abundance, in many different formats. While most were folio editions in the first decades of printing, quartos began to appear from the 1470s, and smaller octavo editions by the mid-1490s at least. The large full-dress Bibles sometimes included Nicholas of Lyra's Postils on Scripture or the *Glossa Ordinaria*: additions of this kind grew the Bibles to six or more volumes. Bibles were also issued with concordances, such as the multiple editions issued by Johannes de Gradibus in the pre-Reformation years.[5] Everything about these editions suggests that they were printed for the use of clergy, theologians and canon lawyers, in innocence of or indifference to the textual confusion that now surrounded the Vulgate.[6]

The first concerted attempt to improve the textual state of the Vulgate came from the hands of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, in the edition of the Vulgate that formed part of the Complutensian Polyglot in 1510–22.[7] Jiménez, as others pointed out then and subsequently, edited the Vulgate text with reference to the Hebrew and Greek originals rather than to other Latin exemplars. In effect, he did not distinguish between the Vulgate as a translation of the ancient Bible and the Vulgate as an ancient text with its own integrity. In the seventeenth century Juan de Mariana criticised him for this neglect of other Latin exemplars, though the often acerbic Richard Simon was rather more lenient.[8] However, the greatest and most extensive efforts towards a revised edition of the Vulgate were made in the second quarter

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[4] See Frans van Liere, 'The Bible in Latin, c. 900 to the Council of Trent, 1546', in *NCBH* 2, pp. 93–109.

[5] See e.g. *Biblia cum concordantiis veteris & novi testamenti: nec non et iuris canonici: ac de diversitatibus textuum; canonibusque evangeliorum . . . Accedunt ad hec ex viginti de antiquitatibus [et] iudeor[um] bello Josephi libris exhauste auctoritates: quas utriusque iuris professor dominus Johannes de Gradibus concordantibus congruisque apposuit locis* (Lyons: Koberger, 1518). Multiple editions of this work appeared between 1516 and 1522.

[6] Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, pp. 250–4.

[7] *Biblia Polyglotta*, 6 vols. (Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldo Guillén de Brocar, printed 1514–17, published 1521–2). See discussion in Chapter 6 in this volume.

[8] Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 254; Juan de Mariana, *Tractatvs VII. I. De aduentu B. Jacobi Apostoli in Hispaniam. II. Pro editione vulgata. III. De spectaculis. IV. De monetaè mutatione. V. De die mortis Christi. VI. De annis arabum. VII. De morte & immortalitate* (Coloniae Agrippinae [Cologne]: Antonius Hieratus, 1609), pp. 34–137: see pp. 113–14 for the censure of the Complutensian edition; Richard Simon, *Disquisitiones criticae de variis per diversa loca & tempora Bibliorum editionibus quibus accedunt Castigationes theologi cujusdam Parisiensis ad opusculum Isa. Vossii De Sibyllinis oraculis, et ejusdem responsionem ad objectiones nuperae criticae sacrae* (Londin [London]: Impensis Richardi Chiswel . . ., 1684), p. 215; but cf. also Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, new edn. (Rotterdam: Leers, 1685), book 11, chapter xx, p. 313.

of the sixteenth century by the scholar-publisher Robert Estienne (1503–59). Estienne was a remarkable scholar, a linguist and philologist as well as a publisher and entrepreneur. He would also undergo a protracted conversion to the Reformation, which would see the later editions of his works published at Geneva rather than Paris. In 1528 Estienne issued a Latin Vulgate Bible, which he expressly claimed to have corrected with the most ancient exemplars available to him. In his preface he referred to ancient copies in the libraries of the monasteries of St-Germain-des-Prés and of St-Denis, and to collation with the Complutensian Polyglot.[9] Estienne followed the humanist principle that the older the manuscript, the more likely it was to be freer from scribal corruptions; though of course he could not have known later scholars' theories about the families or stemmata of such copies.

Estienne's Latin Bibles enjoyed a long and complex publishing history. In 1532 Estienne issued a revised edition of his Vulgate Bible.[10] Estienne, as has been remarked, was here quite conservative in his editorial technique. He highlighted the Christological significance of Old Testament passages that had traditionally been read in this sense. Where Erasmus had been sceptical about Vulgate passages (for instance in the Letter of Jude) that foreshadowed the divinity of Christ, Estienne used Erasmus's scholarship but retained the older readings. Occasional hints appeared of Estienne's emerging religious doubts. He printed the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament in their traditional order but indicated, in some cases, that they were apocryphal. He minimised the importance of Jerome's prefaces to the biblical books by printing them in smaller type. The confessional stance of his preface was studiedly vague.[11] Estienne republished his Vulgate in this form in 1534, 1537, 1538, 1540, 1543 and 1544.[12] In 1538–40, however, Estienne issued an even grander Vulgate, in four volumes, based on references to a multiplicity of earlier manuscripts and consultation of the earliest printed Latin Bibles. This edition also contained notes on the tabernacle of Moses and the Temple of Solomon by François Vatable (d. 1547). A presentation copy was offered to François I, which

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[9] *Biblia* (Parisiis [Paris]: Ex Officina Roberti Stephani …, 1528); Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 255. On Estienne's early biblical scholarship see Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer: An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus* (Abingdon: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1986), pp. 72–8.

[10] *Biblia: Breves in eadem annotationes, ex doctiss. interpretationibus, & Hebræorum commentariis, Interpretatio propriorum nominum Hebraicorum …* (Parisiis [Paris]: Ex officina Roberti Stephani).

[11] Bernard Roussel, 'La *Biblia* editée par Robert Estienne a Paris, en 1532', in Gomez-Géraud (ed.), *Biblia*, pp. 107–27.

[12] Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 256.

survives (among others) in the Bibliothèque nationale.[13] In 1545 Estienne issued something of a rogue Bible, which would haunt his reputation in Catholicism long after his conversion. He published an octavo edition with the Vulgate in one column and another, unacknowledged, new Latin translation alongside. The latter translation, marked as 'N', was in fact the Zurich Latin Bible of 1543, chiefly the work of Leo Jud (see pp. 206–7). This edition also incorporated what were represented as François Vatable's annotations on the text and became known as the Vatable Bible, also as the *Nonpareille*.[14] Hostile observers would afterwards claim that the Vatable notes, said to have been taken down from his lectures, were interspersed with Reformed ideas collected by Estienne himself.

Estienne, though the most important publisher of Vulgate Bibles in the first half of the sixteenth century, was by no means alone. In 1541 Jean Benoît (*c.* 1484–1573) published a heavily annotated Vulgate. Benoît claimed to have edited the text with reference both to ancient Latin exemplars and to the Hebrew and Greek texts then available.[15] Richard Simon would later criticise this edition for, in effect, adding sections of entirely new translation under the guise of variant readings. It was chiefly seen as useful in demonstrating where the Vulgate differed from the Hebrew and the Greek. Notwithstanding suspicion in some quarters, Benoît's Vulgate went through several more editions in the middle of the sixteenth century.[16] A more significant revision of the Vulgate appeared in 1542 from the hands of the Cassinese Benedictine abbot Isidoro Chiari (1495–1555). Chiari belonged to that controversial and often troubled movement among Italian ecclesiastics who, especially in the years before the Council of Trent, wished to see moderate reform not only of life and morals but also of doctrine and discipline within the church.[17] In 1541 he

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[13] *Biblia: Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca & Latina Nomina virorum, mulierum, populorum, idolorum, vrbium, fluuiorum, montium, caeterorúmque locorum quae in Bibliis leguntur, restituta, cum latina interpretatione. Locorum descriptio è cosmographis. Index praeterea rerum & sententiarum quae in iisdem Bibliis continentur*, 4 vols. in 1 (Parisiis [Paris]: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi regii, 1538–40); Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, pp. 256–7; Delville, 'L'Évolution des vulgates', p. 77. On Estienne's presentation copies see Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer*, p. 57.

[14] Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, pp. 259–60; Delville, 'L'Évolution des vulgates', p. 78. See n. 74 in this chapter.

[15] *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam quam dicunt Aeditionem* (Paris: S. de Colines for G. du Pré, 1541).

[16] Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 258.

[17] For Isidoro Chiari's context see Barry Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation: The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); Dermot Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

published a revision of the Vulgate New Testament, printed by Peter Schoeffer in Venice.[18] In the following year he issued an entire Bible with his revisions and notes, with the same publisher.[19] Chiari claimed to have so revised the Vulgate against the Hebrew and Greek texts as to produce the definitive edition. In his preface he stated the double purpose of cleansing the text of its innumerable errors (though he declared himself ready to leave unaltered time-honoured but suspect passages) and of clarifying obscure passages through his annotations.[20] Many of his notes were drawn from the edition of Sebastian Münster (1489–1552), on whom more further on. The edition was republished in 1557 and 1564 (on the latter occasion without Chiari's notes).

Chiari's edition belonged to a particular moment in Italian religious history, when it appeared that humanist scholarship and loyal Catholicism could be reconciled with openness to critical inquiry. A generation later his work ran up against the sensitivities of post-Tridentine Catholic conservatives. The *Index* required the excision from his edition of his prologue and prolegomena, and directed that none should treat his text as an edition of the Vulgate per se. The Dominican Melchior Cano denounced Chiari's translation as a reproach against the Vulgate rather than a revision: his changes left the reader with the impression that Jerome got things wrong. Much later, Richard Simon criticised Chiari's knowledge of biblical languages and objected to his preferring Greek readings over the received text. Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721) showed more sympathy for his intentions.[21]

In 1547 there appeared what almost served as the definitive or even 'authorised' edition of the Vulgate before the Roman editions of 1590–2. Published by Gravius at Louvain, this Latin Bible was entitled *The Bible newly purified [by reference] to the most ancient exemplars*, and was edited by Johannes Hentenius or Jan Henten of Louvain (1499–1566).[22] This edition was sponsored and guided

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[18] *Noui Testamenti Vulgata quidem æditio:sed quæ ad vetustissimorum utriusque linguæ exemplarium fidem, nunc demum emendata est diligentissime, ut nova non desideretur, adiectis scholijs, et doctis, et pijs: & quibus opus est locis, ita locupletibus, ut pro comentarijs sufficere possint* (Venetiis [Venice]: Apud Petrum Schoeffer, 1541).

[19] *Vulgata aeditio Veteris ac Noui Testamenti: quorum alterum ad Hebraicam, alterum ad Græcam ueritatem emendatum est diligentissimè, ut noua ædditio non facilè desyderetur, & uetus tamen hic agnoscatur: adiectis ex eruditis scriptoribus scholijs, ita ubi opus est, locupletibus, ut pro commentarijs sint ...* (Venetiis [Venice]: Apud Petrum Schoeffer, 1542).

[20] Preface by Isidoro Chiari, as quoted in Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, pp. 258–9.

[21] Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 259.

[22] *Biblia ad vetustissima exemplaria nunc recens castigata: Hebræa, Chaldæa, Græca & Latina nomina virorum, mulierum, populorum, idolorum, vrbium, fluuiorum, montium, cæterorumque locorum quæ in Biblijs leguntur, restituta, cum Latina interpretatione, ac locorum è cosmographis descriptione ...* [ed. Johannes Hentenius] (Louvain: Bartholomæus Gravius [Barthélemy de Grave], 1547).

by the theological faculty at Louvain. Some have suggested that it may have been intended as an explicit rebuttal of Estienne's 1545 Vatable Bible, which that same faculty had recently censured. In any event, the edition testified simultaneously to the desire of the orthodox to cling to the Vulgate and the recognition of scholars that the text had become corrupt. Henten's preface (destined to be incorporated in many subsequent printings of the Louvain Vulgate) boasted that the editor had consulted not only the best printed texts but also around twenty manuscripts (he would later claim thirty) of which none was younger than 200 years old: some were between four and six centuries old.[23] The Vulgate was to be edited against the Vulgate (and only the Vulgate): but in humanist fashion the oldest copy was believed to offer the best chance of a pure text. The edition was backed by a privilege from the emperor Charles V, which referred to imperial censures against other Bibles, and cited the approval of the Louvain theologians as proof of its orthodoxy. In fact, the basis for Henten's edition was probably the outstandingly good Vulgate which Estienne had issued in 1538–40, though Estienne himself was now unacceptable in the eyes of orthodoxy. This edition would have a long run, at least until the appearance of the Antwerp Polyglot: further printings appeared in 1559, 1563, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1572, 1575 and 1579, with a variety of presses. During the early sessions of the Council of Trent biblical scholarship for the Catholic world was being sponsored and authorised from Louvain rather than Rome. From 1580 onwards a new series of Louvain Vulgate Bibles appeared, based on the Henten version but with further revision and annotations by a team of Louvain theologians led by Franciscus Lucas of Bruges (1562–1641) and once again approved by the faculty of theology. Many of these editions appeared with the Plantin Press at Antwerp.[24]

Talk of quasi-authorised Vulgate Bibles in the pre-1590 period should not mislead. While the editions described above were among the most important and some of the more frequently reprinted, they were not the only ones competing for the market in Catholic Europe. Individual scholars and editors issued other Vulgate Bibles, often with serious aspirations to improve the text by critical methods. Rarely reprinted, such versions included Agostino Steuco's edition of the Vulgate Old Testament, published by Aldus in 1529;[25]

[23] Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 261.

[24] *Biblia sacra: Quid in hac editione à theologis Lovaniensibus praestitum sit, paulo pòst indicator* (Antverpiae [Antwerp]: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1580); Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 263.

[25] *Recognitio Veteris Testamenti ad Hebraicam veritatem, collata etiam editione Septuaginta interprete cum ipsa veritate Hebraica, nostraque translatione, cum expositione Hebræorum ac Græcorum, qui passim toto opere citantur, etc.* [ed. Augustinus Steuchus] (Venetiis

the complete Bible of Rudelius, printed by Quentel at Cologne in 1529; that of Gobelinus Laridius, printed by Cervicornus in 1530; Gryphius's edition of 1550 dedicated to Bishop Jean du Bellay in 1550; or the partial translations in liturgical collections compiled by Gerardus Lorichius and Georg Witzel.[26] In addition, many scholars issued Latin translations of smaller parts of the Bible, notably the Psalter. The Latin Psalters of Felice da Prato or Agostino Giustiniani, not to mention the work of Lefèvre d'Etaples, testify to the vigour of this form of scholarship.[27] Catholic Latin Bibles at this epoch enjoyed relatively lax regulation, especially before the introduction of the Indexes of Prohibited Books. That same relative freedom left space for another family of Latin Bibles, those that departed entirely from the Vulgate and created an entirely new translation.

## New Catholic Latin translations, whole or partial, before 1590

Erasmus of Rotterdam occupies a crucial and controversial place in the history of the Bible in Latin – even though he is far more celebrated as an editor of the New Testament in Greek. Yet his *Novum Instrumentum* of 1516 had a profound impact on the debate over the translation of the Bible into Latin. Erasmus came to biblical studies relatively late, after a decade absorbed in the study of Greek and Latin proverbs on the one hand, and in the editing of the Fathers – especially Jerome – on the other.[28] In 1516 he issued the first edition

[Venice]: Aldus, 1529); on this see also Ronald K. Delph, 'Emending and Defending the Vulgate Old Testament: Agostino Steuco's Quarrel with Erasmus', in Erika Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 297–318.

[26] *Biblia integra, Veteris et Novi Testamenti: non solum ad hebraicam veritatem, verumetiam ad vetustissimorum ... utriusque linguae codicum fidem ... recognita, una cum singulorum capitum argumentis, Eusebii tabulis, & marginalibus annotationibus, iuxta Hebræorum maxime lectionem, plus mille nunc locis locupletata: adest luculentissimus, rerum hic ferme omnium contentarum index, cum præclaro Hebraicarum vocum dictionario* (Coloniae[Cologne]: [Quentell], 1529); *Biblia Ivxta Divi Hieronymi Stridonensis tralationem: post multas hactenus editiones, non modo ad Hebraeo[rum] Græcorum[que] fontem, uerum etiam multorum uetustissimorum codicum Latinorum consensu accuratissime castigata, ea quidem fide & diligentia, ut illa D. Hieronymi editio in hac plane renata uideri possit ...* (Coloniæ[Cologne]: Ex officina Eucharii Cervicorni, 1530) [the name of Gobelinus Laridius, otherwise little known, is supplied in the preface]; *Biblia sacra ad optima quaeque ueteris, ut uocant, tralationis [sic] exemplaria summa diligentia, parique fide castigata...* 2 vols. (Lugduni [Lyons]: Apud Sebastianum Gryphium, 1550); for Lorichius and Witzel see Delville, 'L'Evolution des vulgates', p. 79.

[27] See Chapter 3 in this volume for these ventures in biblical philology.

[28] Erasmus's edition of the *Works* of Jerome first appeared in the same year as his New Testament: *Omnium operum Divi Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis*, 9 vols. (Basel: Froben, 1516).

of his New Testament, with the Greek text in one column and his own revision of the Vulgate in an adjacent column. Erasmus's Latin in the 1516 edition kept much closer to the traditional text than his subsequent versions.[29] No cleric who had been saturated in the language of the Vulgate through the lessons for the liturgy could escape its influence. Nevertheless, in his first edition Erasmus omitted from the First Letter of John the phrase (now 1 John 5:7) subsequently known as the 'Johannine comma' or the 'three heavenly witnesses': 'for there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one'.[30] The clause was not in the manuscripts that Erasmus consulted, and he suspected (almost certainly correctly) that it was a scribal gloss that had slipped into the text.

As his translation developed, Erasmus took a number of steps that marked his Latin New Testament out as a bold and intentionally controversial essay in Latin Bible-writing. In Matthew 4 (:17) Erasmus translated the words 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven has come near', first with the Latin 'poeniteat vos', literally 'may you repent'; and then with 'resipiscite', 'change your mind', so as to stress change of heart – which he believed conveyed the sense of the Greek – rather than the act of sacramental penance.[31] Erasmus replaced the Vulgate 'verbum' ('word') with 'sermo' in the opening sentence of John's Gospel, and this became the received translation in subsequent editions. He could justifiably argue that the original Greek λόγος (logos) conveyed the sense of divine discourse, rather than the idea of a grammatical substantive. Nevertheless, the provocation was obvious. Not everything was changed: in many – even most – places Erasmus kept quite close to the Vulgate word-order. However, where he felt that the Vulgate was inelegant he would not hesitate to choose what he felt was a better word. Erasmus seemed, and perhaps intended to be seen, to be deliberately baiting conservative spirits in biblical theology.

[29] *Novum Instrumentum Omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum [et] emendatum, non solum ad graecam veritatem, verumetiam ad multorum utriusque linguae codicum, eorumque veterum simul [et] emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem [et] interpretationem praecipae, Origenis, Chrysossomi, Cyrilli, Vulgarij, Hieronymi, Cypriani, Ambrosij, Hilarij, Augustini, una cum Annotationibus, quae lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit* (Basel: Froben, 1516); see discussion in Chapter 5 in this volume.

[30] This translation is from the King James Version of 1611, which retained the verse despite its doubtful character.

[31] For Matthew 4:17 the Vulgate has 'exinde coepit Iesus praedicare et dicere paenitentiam agite adpropinquavit enim regnum caelorum'. In 1516 Erasmus rendered this cautiously 'Et ex eo tempore coepit Iesus praedicare, et dicere poeniteat vos. Adpropinquavit enim regnum caelorum'. In 1522 Erasmus translated 'Eo tempore coepit Iesus praedicare, et dicere: Resipiscite, instat enim regnum coelorum.' The second of Martin Luther's theses against indulgences, issued in the year following Erasmus's first edition, states that the Gospel words 'repent . . .' could not be understood to apply to sacramental penance.

A learned and by no means anti-humanist theologian named Maarten van Dorp (*c*.1485–1525) had already reproached Erasmus, before the publication of the *Instrumentum*, for placing grammatical and literary criteria ahead of the needs of doctrine.[32] Erasmus replied in a famous open letter which became part of the ongoing debate over biblical scholarship. He was by this stage convinced not only that the Vulgate as currently received was a seriously corrupt text but also that its authorship was debatable. After years saturated in the writings of Jerome, Erasmus found discrepancies between the Jerome's citations of Scripture and the current Vulgates (Lorenzo Valla, and more recently Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, had already raised this very issue).[33] Rather than the time-honoured and sanctified embodiment of a tradition, Erasmus saw a corrupt, erroneous and possibly misattributed text that no textual editor should sanction. In a masterpiece of satire, he imagined the kind of ecclesiastical decree that would need to have been drafted to authorise such a translation:

> I suppose the Fathers worded their decision like this: 'We approve of this version, though we do not know its author. We will allow no changes even if the most accurate Greek texts have a different reading, or Chrysostom, Basil, Athanasius or Jerome read something different, which may accord better with the meaning of the gospels; although in all other respects we have a high regard for these authorities. Furthermore, we set the seal of our approval on any error or corruption, any addition or omission which may subsequently arise by any means whatsoever through ignorance or presumption of scribes or through their incompetence, drunkenness or negligence. We grant permission to no one to change the text once it is accepted.'[34]

In subsequent editions Erasmus engaged in both self-justification and, to some extent, damage limitation as he realised how great a storm he had conjured up. The New Testament was re-titled as the more traditional *Novum Testamentum* from the 1519 edition onwards.[35] Erasmus offered to reinstate the Johannine comma if a single Greek manuscript was produced that contained it: he restored it when such a manuscript was shown to him, possibly

[32] On Dorp see Cecilia Asso, 'Martin Dorp and Edward Lee', in Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism*, pp. 167–95. See fuller discussion in Chapter 3 in this volume.

[33] See discussion in Bedouelle, 'L'Humanisme et la Bible', pp. 93–4.

[34] Erasmus, *Praise of Folly and Letter to Martin Dorp 1515*, trans. B. Radice with intro. by A. H. T. Levi (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), p. 247. An alternative translation is supplied in J. K. Sowards (ed.), *Controveries*, CWE 71 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 27.

[35] *Novum Testamentum omne: multo qum antehac diligentius ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum, emendatum ac translatum, non solum ad Graecam veritatem, verum etiam ad multorum utriusque linguae codicum, eorumque veterum simul & emendatorum fidem* (Basel: Froben, 1519).

marked-up for that very purpose.[36] In the third edition of 1522 Erasmus added new prefatory material, besides the *Apologia* taken over from the first edition, which justified (a little testily) the scholarly work of correcting text and translation. The 1522 preface, headlined as 'the heads of arguments against certain morose and unlearned people', explained how and why Erasmus had focused on framing the translation into better Latin than before.[37] A further series of prolegomena bore such titles as 'manifest and inexcusable solecisms allowed by the translator', 'obscure places in which interpreters of great reputation have slipped' (to justify the need for Erasmus's annotations), 'a few places where the text is manifestly corrupt, chosen out of innumerable ones, as they were encountered' and 'to placate those who think that nothing can be either superfluous or wanting in the sacred books, we have chosen some passages that are so manifestly corrupt that they cannot be denied'.[38] In Froben's fourth printing of Erasmus's New Testament in 1527, a Vulgate text reappeared: the texts were printed in three parallel columns, the Greek on the left and the Vulgate on the right, with Erasmus's translation in the middle, to allow comparison between the two versions.[39]

Notwithstanding, or possibly because of, the controversy that it aroused, Erasmus's New Testament was a phenomenal publishing success, and not just for Froben. At least fourteen editions appeared at Basel by 1572; many other printings took place in Louvain, Mainz, Cologne, Hagenau, Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Antwerp, Zurich, Lyons, Frankfurt and elsewhere.[40] The expatriate Netherlander Wouter Deelen (Galterus Deloenus) printed a version of Erasmus's Latin New Testament in London in 1540.[41] Nevertheless, Erasmus's

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[36] The controversial passage was restored in the Froben edition of 1522: *Novum Testamentum Omne, tertio iam ac diligentius ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum . . .* ([Basel: Froben], 1522), p. 522; Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 310.

[37] *Novum Testamentum* (1522), sig. B4r: 'Quod in aeditione prima parcius fecimus, veriti, ne tantam novitatem non ferent quidam: nunc hortantibus amicis magnis et eruditis, animumque addentibus, uberius praestitimus, ut totus novi testamenti sermo simplex quidem, sed tamen Latinus esset, exceptis verbis aliquot, et idiomatibus, quae receptiora videban[tur], quam ut mutari possent.'

[38] *Novum Testamentum* (1522), sigs. C5ʳ–D6ʳ.

[39] *En Novum Testamentum: ex Erasmi Roterodami recognitione, iam quartum damus studiose lector, adiecta vulgata translatione, quo protinus ipsis oculis conferre possis, quid conueniat quid dissideat* (Basel: [Froben], 1527).

[40] Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 310.

[41] *Nouum Testamentum Latinum: ad antiquissima Græcorum exemplaria, quàm diligentissimè castigatum: inque Latinam phrasim transfusum, quicquid erat idiotismi uel Græci uel Hebræi. Quin & scripturarum concordantiis, unà cum allusionibus, quàm accuratissimè illustratum. Præterea difficilima [sic] quæque loca, sunt passim aut explanata, aut certè eminus ostensa . . . Estque præfixa præfatio . . . Per B. Galterum Deloenum* ([London]: Excudebat Londini Ioannes Mayler, 1540). See also http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68322, consulted 18 September 2014.

heirs in free, creative translation of the Bible into Latin were all to be found in Protestant rather than Catholic Europe. The even more provocative use made of his Greek and Latin New Testament by the Reformers – beginning with Luther's decision to translate the September Testament on the basis of Erasmus's version – would condemn the enterprise of replacing the Vulgate in the eyes of Catholic orthodoxy, except for a few highly specialised purposes.

The first new Latin translation of the entire Bible came in 1528 from the hand of the Italian Dominican Sanctes Pagninus (Sante Pagnini, 1470–1541), who had been taught Hebrew by the Jewish convert Clemente Abramo.[42] Pagninus moved in the highest ecclesiastical circles around Pope Leo X, having served as prefect in the Vatican Library and later as teacher in the new school of oriental languages. Pagninus was deeply attached to Kabbalism, a mysticism reflected in the theology of the prefatory material to his Bible. He served as papal envoy to Avignon, and while in France took an especial interest in the lingering Waldensian heresy, which he loathed. Indeed, Pagninus understood combat with heresy as central to his labour as a translator of the Bible. The lengthy preface, much of which was given to theological argument, repeatedly denounced 'Lutherans', and the heresiarch Luther himself was twice named. Pagninus was unequivocal that his Bible was both to defend the teaching and authority of the Church and to provide instruction in reading the original sacred languages.

Pagninus's complete Bible, in what was expressly stated to be a new Latin translation, appeared at Lyons with declarations of papal approval in 1528.[43] Pagninus claimed in his preface that he had spent twenty-five years translating the Old Testament directly from the Hebrew, and had completed that task around 1518. He then worked on the New Testament from the Greek and completed that by 1521.[44] He published a Psalter as a preliminary venture in 1521, before papal financial support dried up. Pagninus was careful to

[42] *Biblia: habes in hoc libro prudens lector vtriusq[ue] instrumenti nouam tran[s]latione[m] ædi-tum / à reuerendo sacr[a]e theologiae doctore Sancte Pagnino Luce[n]si concionatore apostolico prædcatorii, ordinis, necnon & librum de interpretamentis Hebraicorum Aram[a]eoru[m] Græcorumq[ue] nominum, sacris in literis contentoru[m], in quo iuxta idioma cuiuscu[m]q[ue] linguæ....* ([Lugduni [Lyons]: Per Antonium du Ry], 1528).

[43] *Biblia: habes in hoc libro prudens lector utriusque instrumenti novam translationem aeditam a reverendo sacrae theologiae doctore Sancte Pagnino lucensi concionatore apostolico praedi-catorii ordinis, necnon et librum de interpretamentis hebraicorum, arameorum, graecorumque nominum, sacris in literis contentorum ...* [edited by Sante Pagnini] (Lugduni [Lyns]: Per Antonium du Ry ...; Impensis Francisci Turchi et Dominici Bertici ... et Jacobi de Giuntis ..., 1528).

[44] Preface quoted in Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, pp. 286–8. On Pagninus's translations see also Paul F. Grendler, 'Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515–1535', in Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism*, pp. 227–76 atpp. 240–7.

be deferential to the Vulgate, and appears to have envisaged his translation primarily as an aid to scholarship, rather than as a Bible that might be used for liturgical or devotional purposes. His translation of the Hebrew followed Hebrew grammar and structure very closely: he boasted of translating 'verbum verbo', word for word, from the original. It was a study aid for biblical scholars who needed some help in working with the Hebrew text: as such it would influence both Sebastian Münster's Bible (see pp. 204–5) and the Antwerp Polyglot. Pagninus's translation of the New Testament from the Greek received a less favourable reception. It appears to have been something of an afterthought, and he certainly did not devote the decades of work to it that he had given to the Hebrew. Despite acerbic comments on the literary style (or lack of it) in this translation, it was repeatedly reprinted and appears to have been quite widely used. Moreover, it continued to have imitators. The Spanish Dominican Tomás Malvenda (*c.*1566–1628) compiled a long biblical commentary, including a translation of the Bible based on the Hebrew texts. The work was ultimately published at Lyons in 1650, supported with an elaborate critical apparatus to explain linguistic points.[45]

Pagninus's preface introduced themes that found place in the later writings of Protestant translators of the Latin Bible. He reminded readers that the Old Testament was to be considered in light of the Trinity, and that Christ's two natures formed the basis for interpretation.[46] A careful imitation of Augustine is found in Pagninus's referencing of all matters of translation to creedal statements, an ancient consensus as a rule of faith – the means by which the Bible should be read. The Dominican was unfailingly deferential to Jerome, presenting him as a model translator and expositor. This was the representation of the Church Father found in Erasmus and repeatedly conjured by Protestants in their in their claims to patristic ancestry. Pagninus sang a familiar refrain: Jerome's astonishing achievement had come to posterity riddled with errors only partially attributable to scribal error. The Church Father's Hebrew was not flawless, though from his great virtue he was prepared to admit weakness and a willingness to retract errors of interpretation caused by ambiguity and haste.

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[45] Tomás Malvenda, O.P., *Commentaria in Sacram Scripturam una cum nova de verbo ad verbum ex heb. translatione variisque lectionibus*, 5 vols. (Lugduni [Lyons]: Claudin Prost, Petri et Claudii Rigaud, Hieronymi de la Gardi, I. Antonii Huguetan, 1650); Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 296.

[46] This reference to a Christological reading of the Old Testament is placed against the dangers of private interpretation. 'Tantum ergo sacrae praestant litere, iis que humano proveniunt ingenio, quantum deus praestat homini, filius dei filio homininis, spiritus dei spiritui hominis.' Diiii$^v$.

Often disparaged for inelegant language with its supposed slavish attachment to the literal Hebrew, its awkward syntax offended both supporters of the Vulgate and literary humanists. Such contempt misleads. Pagninus enjoyed a successful print history and considerable, if quiet, respect among the growing number of linguists. His Bible was reprinted by such distinguished figures as Robert Estienne in Geneva in 1557, and remained alive in the work of scholars, including the notorious heretic Michael Servetus and those assembled by James I in 1611 for a new translation.[47]

A partial translation of the Bible into Latin appeared from 1530 onwards from an unlikely source. The great Dominican theologian Tommaso di Vio 'Cajetanus' issued a formidable series of commentaries on the Bible, which he supported with his own Latin translations of the text. Cajetan was not a great Hebraist, and appears to have relied on others to advise him.[48] His commentary with accompanying translation of the New Testament based on the Greek appeared around the same time.[49] These translations really belong to the history of exegesis rather than that of biblical philology. Especially in Protestant circles, it was common to prepare spontaneous translations of Scripture for the purposes of commenting on a particular book.

## Protestant Latin Bibles of the sixteenth century

For Protestants of the sixteenth century the Bible in Latin embodied that which they believed themselves to be: true Christians with ancient witness

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[47] Servetus revised the Pagninus Bible, adding notes and preface in which he argued for the literal interpretation of the text. It was printed in Lyons in 1542 by Hugues de la Porte.

[48] Tommaso de Vio Cajetan, *Commentarii illustres planeque insignes in Quinque Mosaicos libros* (Parisiis [Paris]: Apud Ioannem Paruum, 1539); *In omnes authenticos Veteris Testamenti historiales libros, commentarii: in Jehosuam, Judices, Ruth, Reges, Paralipomena, Hezram, Nehemiam et Ester* (Parisiis [Paris]: Apud Jacobum Bogardum, 1546); Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, pp. 297–8.

[49] Tommaso de Vio Cajetan, *Evangelia cum commentariis: in quatuor Eua[n]gelia & Acta Apostolorum ad Gr[a]ecorum codicum veritatem castigata, ad sensum quem vocant literalem commentarii* ([Paris]: Apud Iod. Badium Ascensium. & Ioan. Paruum, & Ioannem Roigny, M.D.XXXII [1532]); *Epistolae Pauli et aliorum Apostolorum ad Graecam veritatem castigate et per Reverendissimum Dominu[m] Dominum Thomam de Vio, … iuxta sensum literalem enarratae. Recens in lucem edite* ([Paris]: Apud Jod. Badium Ascensium & Joan. Parvum, & Joannem Roigny, 1532). These commentaries were often reprinted, and were ultimately collected as the five-volume edition of his exegetical works: Tommaso de Vio Cajetan, *Opera omnia quotquot in Sacrae Scripturae expositionem reperiuntur* (Lugduni [Lyons]: Sumptibus Iacobi & Petri Prost., 1639). See Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 311. For discussion of Cajetan's biblical commentaries see Grendler, 'Italian Biblical Humanism', pp. 251–63; Michael O'Connor, 'Exegesis, Doctrine and Reform in the Biblical Commentaries of Cardinal Cajetan (1469–1534)', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1997; and Chapters 3–5 in this volume.

to their theological and ecclesial identity.[50] The *Biblia sacra* was the bedrock of their determination to educate clergy and laity; it was the spring bloom of reform, the lifeblood of vernacular Scripture and, perhaps above all, the confluence of learning and true religion in providential history. Latin was a sacred language, not of equal status with Hebrew and Greek, but the living tongue that conveyed to the sixteenth-century church the revelation of the patriarchs, prophets and apostles; testament that the Spirit continued to communicate to and transform humanity through the greatest achievement of classical culture, its language.[51] This robust discovery and recovery joined hands with veneration for the Vulgate, and its association with Jerome, as the enduring Bible of the Church.[52]

Protestants had two distinct, though by no means exclusive, attitudes towards Latin Bibles. Lutherans, on the whole, worked with the Vulgate, industriously revising its text in a steady stream of editions. A Latin translation appeared in Wittenberg in 1529, but with little resonance, and was quietly forgotten.[53] Among the Reformed the Vulgate retained a place, in part because printers in Zurich, Basel and Geneva found the market for such Bibles extremely lucrative.[54] Commerce, however, was only one aspect. Such was the authority of Jerome's translation that no Protestant translator wilfully, with the notable exception of Sebastian Castellio, departed from its familiar words.

[50] The overview in this section comes from a project on Protestant Latin Bibles funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the United Kingdom for which we are extremely grateful. I am indebted to my collaborator Dr Matthew McLean for his contribution to this brief survey. A full study of the Protestant Latin Bibles is the forthcoming Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean, *The Protestant Jerome: Reformed Humanists and Latin Bibles* (Leiden: Brill, 2015). For general treatments see Josef Eskhult, 'Latin Bible Translations in the Protestant Reformation: Historical Contexts, Philological Justification, and the Impact of Classical Rhetoric on the Conception of Translation Methods', in Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (eds.), *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and their Readers in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 167–85; and Bruce Gordon, 'The Authority of Antiquity: England and the Protestant Latin Bible', in Polly Ha and Patrick Collinson (eds.), *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 1–22.
[51] Peter Stotz, 'Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) and the Sacred Languages', in Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing and Anthony Grafton (eds.), *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (Geneva: Droz, 2008), pp. 113–38.
[52] Among the most important editions of the Vulgate in the sixteenth century were those of Robert and Henri Estienne (1528, 1532, 1540, 1546, 1556–7, 1569). See pp. 189–91.
[53] *Pentatevchus: Liber Iosve; Liber Ivdicvm; Liber Regvm; Novum Testamentvm* (VVitembergae [Wittenberg]: [Nicolaus Schirleitz, 1529]). A full edition of this version is found in *WA DB*, vol.v.
[54] See Urs Leu, 'The Book- and Reading-Culture in Basle and Zurich during the Sixteenth Century', in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 295–319.

Nevertheless, from the Reformed churches sprang a collection of freshly translated Bibles, and for a multitude of reasons.

The Protestant Latin Bibles that followed over the course of the century reflected shifting theological and confessional currents. An initial Erasmian spirit of textual openness gave way to editions intended for the specific needs of established churches, cultivating learning and piety at home as well as serving as ambassadors abroad for doctrinal precision, humanist achievement and prowess in printing. Such sophisticated productions remind that sacred texts were protean in nature: they were statements of doctrine, commodities of considerable value, and objects prized as gifts and tokens of friendship and church unity.

The principal Protestant translations of the sixteenth century were a diverse collection of which the most significant were the *Biblia Hebraica* of Sebastian Münster (Basel, 1534/5),[55] the *Biblia Sacrosancta* (Zurich, 1543)[56], the *Biblia sacra latina* of Sebastian Castellio,[57] Theodore Beza's 1556, though later revised, Latin New Testament (Geneva),[58] and the *Biblia sacra* of Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius (Heidelberg 1580, with significant revisions by Junius in subsequent editions).[59] None were stand-alone monuments of scholarship, as their survival in rare-books rooms and online digital editions now suggest.

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[55] Sebastian Münster, *En tibi lector Hebraica Biblia Latina planeque noua Sebast. Munsteri translatione, post omneis omnium hactenus ubiuis gentium aeditiones euulgata, & quoad fieri potuit, hebraicae ueritati conformata: adiectis insuper è Rabinorum co[m]mentarijs annotationibus haud poenitendis, pulchre & uoces ambiguas & obscuriora quaeq[ue] elucidantibus...* (Basileae [Basel]: Ex officina Bebeliana, impendiis Michaelis Isingrinii et Henrici Petri, 1534[–5]).

[56] *Biblia sacrosancta Testame[n]ti Veteris & Noui: è sacra Hebraeorum lingua Graecorumque fontibus, consultis simul orthodoxis interpretib. religiosissime translata in sermonem Latinum: authores omnemq[ue] totius operis rationem ex subiecta intelliges praefatione* (Tigvri [Zurich]: Excvdebat C. Froschovervs, Anno M. D. XLIII. [1543]).

[57] *Biblia, interprete Sebastiano Castalione: una cum eiusdem annotationibus: totum opus recognouit ipse, & adiecit ex Flauio Iosepho historiae supplementum ab Esdrae temporibus usq[ue] ad Machabaeos, itemq[ue] a Machabaeis usq[ue] ad Christum: accessit quoq[ue] rerum & uerborum tam in ipsis Biblijs, quam annotationibus & historiae supplemento praecipue memorabilium index* (Basileae [Basel]: Per Ioannem Oporinum, 1556).

[58] *Iesu Christi D.N. Nouum Testamentum, siue, Nouum foedus: cuius Graeco textui respondent interpretationes duae: vna, vetus: altera, noua, Theodori Bezae, diligenter ab eo recognita: eiusdem Th. Bezae annotationes, quas itidem hac secunda editione recognouit & accessione non parua locupletauit; indices etiam duo, theologis (praesertim Hebraicae, Graecae & Latinae linguae studiosis) multum profuturi, adiecti sunt: responsio eiusde[m] ad Seb. Castellione[m], in qua multi N. Testamenti & haru[m] in ipsum annotationum loci accuratissime excitiu[n]tur, seorsum excusa prostat* ([Geneva]: Excudebat Henricus Stephanus, illustris Hulrici Fuggeri typographus, 1565).

[59] *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, sive, Libri canonici, priscae Ivdaeorvm ecclesiae a Deo traditi: Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, breuibusq[ue] scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio & Francisco Iunio: accesservnt libri qvi vvlgo dicuntur Apocryphi, Latine redditi & notis quibusdam aucti a Francisco Junio.* (Frankfurt: Wechel, 1579).

They formed links in chains of religious literature that included vernacular translations of Scripture, biblical commentaries, theological treatises, sermons, and works of polemic and devotion. Their place in those chains was of particular importance. Latin was the bridge between the ancient languages and contemporary society, its grammar, syntax and vocabulary uniquely able to capture the import and form of revelation. What these Bibles were not, however, were intended for was worship in churches. The absence of a liturgical role provided translators with latitude in their choice of words, style and interpretation, for the Bibles were primarily for the learning of biblical languages, education of theological students in exegesis and doctrine, and the preparation of sermons.

Protestant Latin bibles lived in the studies of scholars, parish houses of educated ministers, and the libraries and the lecture halls of the growing number of Reformed academies – the provenance of the scholarly prefaces and notes that framed the translations. Münster and Castellio were respectively professors of theology and Greek at Basel University, while in Zurich the Latin Bible was the collective labour of churchmen attached to the Lectorium. Beza, Tremellius and Junius taught in Geneva, Heidelberg and Leiden. Protestant Latin translations belonged to the genre of 'study Bibles' that emerged in the sixteenth century, and as such were not considered rivals for the Vulgate. This principally Reformed interest in new translations was cultivated in dialogue with Lutheran and Catholic scholars; Hebrew scholarship did not stop at confessional boundaries until the late sixteenth century.

Latin translation of Scripture dated to the earliest days of the Reformation in the 1520s. Notable figures such as Huldrych Zwingli and his colleagues worked on translating Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, while the highly regarded Basel churchman Johannes Oecolampadius printed his Isaiah.[60] The 1529 Psalms commentary by Martin Bucer, described as the most influential work on that biblical book of the first half of the sixteenth century, appeared in Strasbourg.[61] The inspiration was Erasmus's astonishing achievement, his *Novum Instrumentum / Testamentum* with its revised editions.[62]

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[60] Peter Opitz, 'The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of John Oecolampadius, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin', in *HBOT* II, pp. 407–51, at pp. 408–13, 422–8.

[61] R. Gerald Hobbs, 'How Firm a Foundation: Martin Bucer's Historical Exegesis of the Psalms', *Church History* 53:4 (1984),477–91 at p. 478.

[62] The literature on Erasmus as biblical scholar is enormous. An excellent recent work is Jan Krans, *Beyond What is Written: Erasmus and Beza as Conjectural Critics of the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), esp. pp. 9–90. Several helpful essays are to be found in Erika Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

It was the labyrinthine world of the Old Testament that witnessed the most remarkable achievements as well as the fiercest exchanges. Knowledge of Hebrew had been brought from Italian lands by men such as Johannes Reuchlin, though the 'community of the competent' scholars formed but a small, select guild.[63] Christian Hebraism, as it came to be known, was rocked by controversy from its earliest days in the venomous accusations levelled against Reuchlin.[64] Recovery of Hebrew could not be disentangled from traditional anti-Semitism, and prominent persons of the early Reformation such as Luther and the Catholic theologian Johannes Eck associated study of the rabbinic tradition with foul 'Judaising'. Scholars who turned to the ancient language of Moses and Isaiah, and indeed to Jewish teachers for instruction, often did so with aggressive denunciations of the benighted Jews as rejected by God and as killers of Christ. A common defensive measure was to present Hebrew scholarship as missionary writings to the Jews.[65]

Pagninus's literal translation proved invaluable to the development of Protestant Latin Bible scholarship, despite what he said about them as heretics. The commentaries of John Calvin from almost three decades later witness to the presence of the Dominican's Bible on his work desk in Geneva. Two faithful contemporary readers were former Franciscans Konrad Pellikan and his student Sebastian Münster. Pellikan's *Commentaria Bibliorum*, a multi-volume work of the 1530s, echoed Pagninus's esteem for Jerome, and its revisions to the Vulgate were frequently taken from the Lyons Latin Bible.[66] The prolific Christian Hebraist Sebastian Münster's *Biblia Hebraica* of 1534/5 engaged directly with Pagninus, and the Dominican's influence is unmistakable. Münster was a talented linguist of an Erasmian disposition: he had no stomach for the theological disputes engulfing (and destroying) Protestantism. His translation of the Old Testament was, he argued, to assist a new generation to

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[63] This description was coined by 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: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 181–201.

[64] See David H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[65] On the complex responses to Jewish–Christian pedagogical relations see Stephen G. Burnett, 'A 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* 91 (2000), 168–190.

[66] [Chuonradus Pellicanus], *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 . . .*, 5 vols. (Zurich: Froschauer, 1532–1535). A sixth volume on the Gospels and Acts appeared in 1540.

learn Hebrew by combining the most advanced knowledge of the language with the teaching of the rabbinic commentators, the authorities in matters of grammar and vocabulary, though not in theology.

The *Biblia Hebraica* first appeared in two folio volumes; a diglot text that placed the Hebrew of Bomberg's first Rabbinic Bible alongside Münster's entirely new Latin translation in parallel columns.[67] Each book of the Bible was prefaced by a Latin introduction, and each chapter followed by Münster's Latin commentary. Working from the Hebrew, referring to the Aramaic and Masoretic texts as needed, and poring over the medieval commentaries of the rabbis, Münster composed his *Biblia Hebraica* in a manner that could scarcely be more different from the familiar language and layout of the Vulgate, yet it was of the greatest service to a community of scholars struggling with the language. First of all, Münster translated literally, as Pagninus had done, substituting word for word as best he was able. Münster was unrepentant. This translation was by design 'religious' not 'Ciceronian', which was appropriate to profane literature and not to Scripture, wherein even the Hebrew word order contained mysteries. The language must conform to the mind and spirit of the Hebrew peoples, even at the cost of retaining awkward-sounding Hebrew idioms. Furthermore, his annotations glossed every chapter with the interpretations of the Jewish medieval exegetes: Münster's approach to teaching was to present rabbinic commentary *in extenso* in order for reader to decide on the best translation.[68]

Visually, the manner in which Münster laid out his text emulated the *Biblia Rabbinica*, with text surrounded by commentary in which competing and alternative interpretations were provided. As for his own work, he presented his translation as his best estimation of the Hebrew based on current knowledge, and he did so in the full expectation that his work would be superseded. This open attitude to Jewish sources brought the opprobrium of both Protestants and Catholics. Münster intended to mediate this learning, asserting the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament that prefigured and prophesied the messiahship of Christ to any who read it correctly.

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[67] Stephen G. Burnett, 'The Strange Career of the *Biblia Rabbinica* among Christian Hebraists, 1517–1620', in Gordon and McLean (eds.), *Shaping the Bible*, pp. 63–84, esp. pp. 74–7. Also David Stern, 'The Rabbinic Bible in its Sixteenth Century Context', in Joseph Hacker and Adam Shear (eds.), *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), pp. 76–108.

[68] Erwin I.J. Rosenthal, 'Sebastian Münster's Knowledge of and Use of Jewish Exegesis', in Erwin I. J. Rosenthal (ed.), *Studia Semitica*, vol. I: *Jewish Themes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 127–45.

The second major Latin Bible translation followed quickly, unsurprisingly given the fervid scholarly cross-pollination and competition between the learned of Zurich and Basel.[69] In his autobiographical *Chronicon* Pellikan commented that while a German Bible had been needed to *teach* 'our Church', its *defence* needed the greater precision and universality of a Bible in Latin.[70] Zurich biblical scholars aspired to a version of the Bible that conferred antiquity and authority upon their preachers, disputants and the theology they championed; their scholarship needed to be manifest, and manifestly superior:it needed to establish a textual lineage which antedated Jerome, which reached back to the *Veritas Hebraica*. This Bible was to be more than a pedagogical tool for learning Hebrew, it was to shape and represent a church.

First published as a folio in 1543, and then in quarto and octavo the following year, the Zurich Bible was intended to travel to the world beyond the theologian's library.[71] Reading the translation, it is immediately and amply clear that its creators worked to a very different philosophy:[72] gone were Münster's Hebrew idioms, the contorted formulations and the cluttered philological notes that untwisted them.[73] This clear, clean monoglot text had many fewer notes, but they were of the greatest import. In a manner reminiscent of the rabbinic literature they zealously gathered, the Zurich scholars designed their Bible with outside margins that contained discussion of Hebrew words, learned commentary on matters such as history and geography, and variant readings from the Vulgate, Pagninus and Münster. The inside margins, in contrast, presented

[69] See Bruce Gordon, 'Remembering Jerome and Forgetting Zwingli: The Zurich Latin Bible of 1543 and the Establishment of Heinrich Bullinger's Church', *Zwingliana* 41 (2014), 1–33. Also Claire Gantet, 'La Religion et ses mots: la Bible latine de Zurich (1543) entre la tradition et l'innovation', *Zwingliana* 23 (1996), 143–67.

[70] Bernhard Riggenbach (ed.), *Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan* (Basel: Bahnmaier, 1877), p. 136.

[71] The Zurich Latin Bible was printed in folio in 1543 and in quarto in 1543/4. The quarto edition does not contain Gwalther's 'Argumenta in Omnia tam veteris quam novi testament capita'. In 1544 an octavo edition followed, though with Bullinger's summation of scripture ('De omnibus sanctae scripturae'), Cholinus's preface to the Apocrypha, and Gwalther's 'Argumenta'. A quarto edition of the 1544 was printed in 1550.

[72] On the emergence of Zurich translation methods see Bruce Gordon, ' "Christo testimonium reddunt omnes scripturae": Theodor Bibliander's Oration on Isaiah (1532) and Commentary on Nahum (1534)', in Gordon and McLean (eds.), *Shaping the Bible*, pp. 107–41.

[73] On the complex relationship between Zurich and Basel regarding the Latin Bible see Matthew McLean, 'Between Basel and Zürich: Humanist Rivalries and the Works of Sebastian Münster', in Walsby and Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant*, pp. 270–94. AlsoMatthew McLean, ' "Praeceptor amicissimus": Konrad Pellikan, and Models of Teacher, Student and the Ideal of Scholarship', in Luca Baschera, Bruce Gordon and Christian Moser (eds.), *Following Zwingli: Applying the Past in Reformation Zurich* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 233–56.

pithy loci for theological instruction and sermon preparation. The paratextual material was carefully referenced to the detailed doctrinal, exegetical and historical arguments of the prefaces written by Heinrich Bullinger.

The Zurich Latin Bible was an exquisite piece of sixteenth-century printing, Froschauer's best work. Bullinger's two prefaces were accompanied by an 'encomium scripturae sanctae', an extensive preface to the books of the Apocrypha by Peter Cholinus, and verse summary of Scripture by Rudolph Gwalther entitled 'argumenta', which followed the 1535 version of Erasmus's New Testament. In every part precise theological decisions had been made, from choice of vocabulary to the order of the canon.[74] In his letter to the reader, Bullinger penned an encomium to Leo Jud as ideal translator of Scripture, explicitly cast in the model of Jerome and eager to claim the Father's authority. The Bible's life in print, however, was relatively modest, reflecting the isolation of the Swiss. Reprinted in quarto and octavo in 1544, Jud's translation appeared unacknowledged in Estienne's Vatable Bible from Paris in 1545.[75] Forty years later, in distant Salamanca, the Zurich Latin text was printed once more without attribution; a translation admired for its pleasing style whose provenance nevertheless remained concealed from Catholic eyes.

The Latin Bibles of Sebastian Castellio and Theodore Beza followed Münster and Zurich, but their circumstances were much changed. Castellio arrived in Basel destitute, having been driven from his position as rector of the Collège de Genève and from the city after a public falling out with his *quondam* admirer John Calvin. In the most wretched of circumstances, Castellio determined to produce a new translation of the entire Bible in Latin by himself, a Herculean undertaking, even for those with sponsors and assistants. The first edition was printed in 1551 in folio and contained the books of the Old and New Testaments and Apocrypha, save 1 and 2 Esdras.[76] An appendix was prepared of 100 pages of annotations, and the work was dedicated to Edward VI, in whose England Castellio hoped perhaps to escape poverty and Calvin's

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[74] For more on this bible see Gordon, 'Remembering Jerome and Forgetting Zwingli', pp. 16–33.

[75] In the Vatable Bible of 1545 the Zurich Latin text appears in parallel columns with Vulgate. It is designated 'N' for 'nova translatio'. Along with the text are notes from Vatable's lectures. The 'Compendium et scopus totius sacrae scripturae...' from the Zurich Bible is reprinted until the revised title 'Summa totius sacrae scripturae'. Christian Moser, *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564): annotierte Bibliographie der gedruckten Werke* (Zürich: TVZ, Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2009), p. 89; Alice Phelena Hubbard, 'The Bible of Vatable', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 66 (1947), 197–209. See above, p. 191.

[76] On Castellio's Latin Bible translations see Hans R. Guggisberg, *Sebastian Castellio 1515–1563: Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age*, ed. and trans. Bruce Gordon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 52–60, 66–9.

malediction. Yet the character of this translation was so striking, so bold, that it hardly seemed an apt tool to secure ease and preferment. Castellio possessed a singular talent as a linguist, and as a Latin stylist: his Bible flouted the canons of modest, literal translation of Scripture. He chose to emulate the styles of the greatest writers of antiquity – the Books of Moses were Ciceronian, the Song of Songs imitated Ovid – and established Christian terms were cast aside for what Castellio deemed their classical equivalents.

Castellio's Bible preface, his 1546 *Moses Latinus*, and 1562 *Defensio* explained his approach, arguing contra his contemporaries for a Bible for Latinate ears.[77] He wrote that the books of the Pentateuch were of literary as well as spiritual importance, and sought to make Moses the stirring orator in Latin that he believed him to be in Hebrew. The language of God, he argued, was not German or French, nor Latin, Greek or Hebrew – these were unimportant human accents, added to the true language of God, which was that of the Spirit. Scripture is dictated by the Spirit and recorded by human hands; it is correctly understood, whatever human tongue it happens to be in, when faith is present and animated by the Spirit. Castellio's attitude to the text and its human provenance was reflected by the inclusion of passages from Josephus as supplemental historical information for the biblical narrative.[78]

Castellio was accused of blasphemy and desecration for his translation; the loudest voices came from Geneva, and Theodore Beza wasthe most articulate and implacable critic. His 1563 *Defensiones et Reprehensiones* gathered and cemented his many previously published criticisms of Castellio's Bible: so harmful was it, that corrections were out of the question – it needed 'wiping clean'. The ill-tempered controversial exchange of 1562 and 1563 was not the first between the two scholars, however. Castellio's Bible translation and the Genevan response to it were conditioned by the bitter tolerance debate of the 1550s occasioned by the burning of Servetus.

Thus, when Beza published his Latin New Testament, bettering that of Castellio was front and centre among his purposes. In his mind his first true edition was published in 1556/7, a pairing of the Vulgate and his own Latin translation.[79] Posterity views his 1565 edition as the first proper Beza New Testament: it contained the Greek text, both Beza's Latin and the Vulgate,

[77] See Irena Backus, 'Moses, Plato and Flavius Josephus: Castellio's Conceptions of Sacred and Profane in his Latin Versions of the Bible', in Gordon and McLean (eds.), *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation*, pp. 143–65.

[78] Ibid., pp. 157–9.

[79] The five major sixteenth-century editions of the New Testament are 1556/7, 1565, 1582, 1588/9 and 1598. See Krans, *Beyond What is Written*, pp. 202–6. The 1556 edition contains Stephanus's Vulgate and Beza's Latin translation, while the 1565 one contains the Vulgate,

and, dominating every page, Beza's prolific and exhaustive and prescriptive annotations upon the text. Beza's primary interest, however, was his Latin text.[80] He intended to better the translations of Erasmus and Castellio; his text would follow not only the proper rules for the translation of Scripture, but the correct interpretation of it. Where Erasmus followed the *Philosophia Christi*, and Castellio trusted to the Spirit, Beza meant to build – brick by brick, word by word – a translation that embodied Calvinist teachings; it was unashamedly partisan. Of the apostles, he translated 'cum uxoribus', marrying those who were chaste in the Vulgate. The major editions were packed with exegesis, textual criticism and notes on the translation, and even the minor octavo editions found space for doctrinal summaries. The fierce exchanges that had followed the *De Haereticis* had convinced Beza that the Church was assailed at home and abroad by many and insidious foes; his Bible was part of a comprehensive defence of the polity and the doctrines of Geneva.

And, strikingly, Beza included the Vulgate. To be sure, the Latin of the Vulgate stood next to that of Beza, implicitly chastised as a foil to show what had been corrected from the Greek, just as the corrections of Erasmus were castigated explicitly in the annotations. Yet Beza also expressed respect for the Vulgate. Although he argued that it was internally corrupt, deviated from the Greek, and was stylistically lacklustre, he still described his working method as one that aimed for fidelity to the Greek, and fidelity to the Vulgate, the received Latin, an approach he considered 'prudent'.

The greatest and most influential of the Protestant Latin translations came from the lecture halls of Heidelberg University, the work of an Italian Jewish convert who had once lived in the household of Cardinal Pole.[81] Immanuel Tremellius was arguably the pre-eminent Hebraist of his age, and such was his command of Semitic languages that his Syriac New Testament of 1569 was followed in 1579 by the publication of the last volume of the Old Testament translation he had worked on with Franciscus Junius, the junior partner.[82] The 'complete' 1579 edition was dedicated to the Elector Frederick III (d. 1576),

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the Greek and Beza's revised Latin translation with annotations. This was reprinted in 1582 and 1598.
[80] Krans, *Beyond What is Written*, p. 204.
[81] See Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Also his ' "Epitome of the Old Testament, Mirror of God's Grace, and Complete Anatomy of Man": Immanuel Tremellius and the Psalms', in Gordon and McLean (eds.), *Shaping the Bible*, pp. 217–35.
[82] Tremellius's 1569 edition was printed by Henri Estienne and contained the Greek and Syriac texts of the New Testament along with Beza's Latin translation. The Syriac was the Peshitta printed with Hebrew characters. Krans, *Beyond What is Written*, p. 208.

who had summoned Tremellius and Junius, and instigated their work.[83] This translation returned the emphasis to the single Latin text: terse summaries preceded each chapter, and modest annotations were placed in the margins, yet it was the two bold columns of Scripture that dominated. Confessional exigencies pressed upon the work of the two scholars in Heidelberg: their Bible was needed to accompany the 1563 Heidelberg Catechism as defining expressions of a Reformed Protestantism beset and despised by Catholic and Lutheran alike.

Part of the wider ongoing reform of higher education in the Palatinate, the Tremellius–Junius Bible embodied the spirit of the aula, rigorous and precise, and provided extensive prefatory letters that instructed the reader in matters theological and philological in densely technical language. Subsequent editions saw Junius expand the introductory sections and annotations enormously, augmenting the largely philological notes of Tremellius with more theological and humanist instruction. If, however, the paratext made considerable demands of the reader, the Latin translation of the Scriptures itself aimed for plainness and simplicity, avoidance of 'barbarisms', for coherence and lucidity and a sensitivity to context. The preface argued that proceeding word for word, as Münster had, would produce a defective rendering of the Hebrew, theologically and stylistically inadequate. And, reading the Tremellius–Junius text alongside the other Latin translations, it is striking that a middle ground has been found between Münster's risk-averse literalism and Castellio's free and fearless attention to style, sense and Spirit above all else. It is a precise yet poetically forceful rendering, greatly admired by such as diverse company as Lancelot Andrewes and John Milton.

The Protestant Latin Bibles occupied a distinctive place in the biblical culture of the Reformation and post-Reformation periods. Never intended as singular, authoritative, ecclesiastical editions in the sense of the Vulgate, they mapped growing competence in Semitic languages, changing scholarly and doctrinal attitudes towards text and interpretation, and the theological preoccupations of the Reformed churches. They were indispensable tools in the pedagogical project of the Protestant churches, yet their authority was in a textual community, in conversation with one another as part of the search for deeper knowledge of the sacred texts. The major Reformed commentators,

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[83] The translation was printed in five folio volumes by Andreas Wechel in Frankfurt between 1575 and 1579. The complete Bible of 1579 was a quarto edition. Subsequent editions appeared in London in 1581 and 1585. Junius reworked the translation and greatly expanded the notes for 1590 (Geneva) and 1593 (London). The Bible was printed in Hanau in 1596 and 1602 before Junius's death.

such as Bullinger and Calvin, felt no obligation to adopt the Latin translations of these Bibles as set authorities in their printed works. Textual analysis reveals that all of these Bibles lay open before them, as did the Vulgate, Pagninus, Erasmus's Greek New Testament and Bomberg's *Biblia Rabbinica*. Protestant scholars and churchmen read comparatively and selectively, referring to particular passages at times, while at others offering their own translations. The Latin Bibles were a source of great pride and prestige, monuments of painstaking scholarship in a language that made them available to learned readers across Europe and later the wider world. They mapped a religious and intellectual culture and were integral to the development of biblical studies in the early modern period.

## The Sixto-Clementine Vulgate of 1590–1592

Biblical scholarship in the Catholic world would undergo a definitive change with the Roman Vulgate editions of 1590–2. It has been traditional to trace the origin of these editions back to the decrees of the Council of Trent. Trent certainly witnessed vigorous discussion about the Bible, and the role of the Vulgate in particular. At the extremes of opinion in the Council were, on one hand, those humanists who wished to encourage biblical scholarship in the original languages and, on the other extreme, those who believed that emphasis on the Vulgate was all that was needed.[84] In the end, as on other topics, potentially endless discussion was circumvented by a decree which stated that 'the said old and Vulgate edition, which, by the lengthened usage of so many years, has been approved of in the Church, be, in public lectures, disputations, sermons and expositions, held as authentic'. Antiquity and long usage, rather than any other reason, made the case for the Vulgate. All other versions were simply passed over in silence.[85] There was much discussion about the possibility of issuing an amended and corrected version of the Vulgate. However, the Council of Trent did not in fact decree this revision: it simply required 'that, henceforth, the sacred Scripture, and especially the said old and Vulgate edition, be printed in the most correct manner possible' (*quam emendatissime imprimatur*) and that such printing be subject to the supervision and censure of the bishops.[86] There was no suggestion that

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[84] Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Ernest Graf, 2 vols. (London: T. Nelson, 1957–61), vol. II, p. 84.

[85] Tanner, *Decrees*, pp. 664–5; Jedin, *Council of Trent*, vol. II, p. 85.

[86] Norman Tanner's translation of this phrase, 'after a thorough revision', seems to strain the Latin with the benefit of hindsight.

the edition of the Bible should be carried out by the Church's central administration, still less that a reigning Pope should supervise it. Allusions would be made to the decree in editions of the Vulgate that did not emanate from the Church's central authority, for example in the preface to the Vulgate published by Nivelles in Paris in 1573 with Benoît's annotations.[87] Insofar as anyone was supervising the Latin Bible in the mid-sixteenth century, it was the Louvain theology faculty.

Hindsight, however, would turn the Council's compromise decree into a founding moment for Vulgate revision. In his preface to the edition of 1590 Sixtus V remarked on the urgent need for an agreed accurate text of the Bible, given the twenty-two years that had elapsed between the closing of the Council of Trent and the beginning of Sixtus's own pontificate.[88] No remedy had been produced for this lack of an agreed text. (Sixtus thus somewhat sweepingly dismissed the recent Louvain editions, on which he would in fact depend heavily).[89] In terms of the text, the 1590 Vulgate based itself, as it had to do, on the Estienne and the Louvain renderings of the Vulgate Bible. There were rumours that the Codex Amiatinus was used, but on the whole the 1590 edition was another scholastic Vulgate. The editorial team, some of whom had been appointed to a biblical commission by Sixtus's predecessor Gregory XIII, included Flaminio de' Nobili (1533–91), Antonio Agelli (1532–1608), Lelio Landi, Bishop of Nardò (d. 1610), Cardinal Antonio Carafa (1538–91), Pietro Morini and Angelo Rocca (1545–1620). This team was no stranger to biblical studies, as some of its members had already edited the Septuagint in 1586.[90] Unfortunately for this edition, the Pope himself took a hand in the editing and overruled his own editorial team in various ways. Many last-minute editorial emendations appeared in the first printed copies, either as corrections in ink or pasted-on pieces of printed paper.

Bizarrely, Sixtus insisted on using a different way of numbering Bible verses from that commonly in use. The verse numbers of the Old Testament dated back to the rabbinic commentators, and were progressively used in more and more Christian Bible commentaries and editions in the course of the sixteenth century.[91] The verse numbers for the New Testament in current use originated

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[87] Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 263.

[88] *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis ad Concilii Tridentini Praescriptum emendata et a Sixto V.P.M. recognita et approbata*, 3 vols. (Rome: Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1590).

[89] Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 265, quoting the preface to the 1590 Bible.

[90] Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη Κατα Τους Ἑβδομηκοντα ... *Vetus Testamentum Iuxta Septuaginta Ex Auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max. Editum* (Romæ [Rome]: Franciscus Zannetti, 1586–7).

[91] See for example Johannes Oecolampadius, *In Hieremiam Prophetam Commentariorum libri tres Ioannis Oecolampadij. Eiusdem In Threnos Hieremiae enarrationes* (Argentinae

with a Protestant Latin Bible: Robert Estienne's New Testament of 1551.[92] This edition had presented the Greek New Testament with, in parallel columns on either side, Erasmus's translation and Estienne's Vulgate. To ease comparison between the different versions the text was broken up into numbered verses (Estienne claimed in his preface to be following the example of the oldest exemplars.) Although Sanctes Pagninus had arranged his New Testament of 1528 in a similar way, his verse system failed to gain acceptance. His verses would anyway have been too long to allow the kind of comparisons that Estienne wished to facilitate. Estienne's numbering became so useful that it came to be adopted across confessional boundaries. Sixtus's resolve to replace it could have caused nothing but chaos and confusion.

Opinion within Rome itself turned against the 1590 revision almost as soon as it was issued. A new editorial commission appointed in 1591 under Cardinal Marco Antonio Colonna (1523–97) made efforts to prevent the Sixtine Vulgate from circulating widely. After the two very brief pontificates of Urban VII and Gregory XIV, Pope Clement VIII ordered the withdrawal of the 1590 edition early in 1592. A new revised Vulgate was hastily prepared and published in the same year, from an editorial team including Francisco de Toledo (1532–96) and Marco Antonio Colonna as well as Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621).[93] Robert Bellarmine reputedly wrote the explanatory preface, which stated that because of various typographical errors in the earlier version it was necessary to prepare this new edition.[94]

The 1592 Vulgate restored the by now conventional Estienne 1551 versifications to the New Testament. It became the definitive version, even though some Catholic scholars have since disputed some of its 'hasty' amendments. Everything possible was done to make the typography and layout of the 1592 edition as close as might be to the 1590 version. The 1592 Bible circulated under the joint names of both Sixtus V and Clement VIII, at least from the 1592 Antwerp and Cologne editions, and somewhat later for the Roman editions. The effect of the 1592 revision was to stabilise the official version of the

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[Strasbourg]: In Officina Matthiae Apiarii, 1533), which divides the chapters according to the verse numbers now commonly used.

[92] Ἄπαντα τὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης: *Novum Iesv Christi D. N. Testamentum. Cum duplici interpretatione, D. Erasmi, et veteris Interpretis: Harmonia item Euangelica et copioso indice* [ed. Robertus Stephanus] ([Genevæ [Geneva]]: Ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1551).

[93] *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis: Sixti Quinti pont. max. jussu recognita atque edita* (Romae [Rome]: Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1592).

[94] Cf. 'Bellarmine, St Robert',' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, available at www.newadvent .org/cathen/02411d.htm, consulted 18 September 2014; see also 'Vulgate', in Geoffrey W. Bromiley (ed.), *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979–88).

Latin Bible for Roman Catholicism for the rest of the early modern period. Recent commentators have remarked that this stasis left the Roman Catholic tradition somewhat isolated in biblical scholarship.[95] Certainly the enforced ascendancy of the corrected Vulgate left Catholic biblical scholars to argue on a narrower front than their reformed counterparts. However, the 1592 edition did not by any means end scholarly debate. Franciscus Lucas of Bruges, one of the Louvain editors, issued in 1603 with Plantin–Moretus a volume entitled *More Important Places of the Roman Correction of the Latin Bible of the Vulgate Edition*. This volume – not always absolutely accurate in its record of the Roman Vulgate – seems to have influenced the Antwerp editions of the Vulgate, which continued to be issued in forms very slightly different from the Roman ones.[96]

Discussion of the Vulgate edition continued in Roman Catholicism. In 1710 the Louvain theologian and Franciscan Hendrik van Bukentop (1653–1716) issued the first edition of his *Light from Light*, a three-part study of the textual problems of the Vulgate Bible.[97] In his third part Bukentop subjected three versions of the Vulgate – the Louvain, the Roman of 1590 and the Roman of 1592 – to exhaustive philological and textual analysis.[98] Bukentop demonstrated that the relationship between the Roman and Louvain Vulgates was quite complex. While there were hundreds of discrepancies between the Sixtine Vulgate of 1590 and the Clementine Vulgate of 1592, the Louvain Vulgates were followed inconsistently by each of the two Roman editions. Within the Old Testament, Sixtus chose the Louvain reading while Clement did not, for the vast majority of the disputed texts in the Pentateuch and the historical books until near the end of Chronicles. In 1 and 2 Ezra the choices made were mixed. In the Psalms Clement tended to follow Louvain more than Sixtus. Sixtus chose the Louvain option in most of the Wisdom books; in Isaiah and most of the prophets the Roman Vulgates chose the Louvain

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[95] Delville, 'L'Évolution des vulgates', p. 80.

[96] Franciscus Lucas, *Romanae Correctionis in Latinis Bibliis Editionis Vulgatae, iussu Sixti V. Pont. Max. recognitis, Loca Insigniora* (Antwerp: Plantin, Apud I. Moretum, 1603); for an example of an Antwerp Vulgate see *Biblia Sacra, Vulgatae editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. iussu recognita atque edita* (Antwerp: Plantin, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1605). This edition included a version of Lucas's *Roman Corrections* separately paginated at the end. See Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 269.

[97] Henricus de Bukentop, אור מאור: *Lux de luce: libri tres, in quorum primo ambiguæ locutiones, in secundo variæ ac dubiæ lectiones quæ in vulgata latina S. Scripturæ editione occurrunt, ex originalium linguarum textibus illustrantur, & ita ad determinatum clarumque sensum; certamque aut verosimiliorum [sic] lectionem reducuntur. In tertio agitur de editione Sixti V. factâ anno 1590, multaque alia tractantur . . .* (Bruxellis [Brussels]: Franciscus Foppens, 1710).

[98] Ibid., pp. 319–83.

readings at random. In the books of Maccabees Sixtus generally chose the Louvain readings. In the New Testament, the Clementine agreed with the Louvain far more often than the Sixtine edition. Almost as interesting as Bukentop's results is the fact that he chose to make this meticulous review in the first place. Clearly the instinct for close textual study was by no means lost in those centuries when the Vulgate dominated Catholic biblical scholarship, even though it was directed in a very narrow channel.

## Scholarly translations in the Polyglot Bibles

It has already been noted that the four great Polyglot Bibles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (the Complutensian, Antwerp, Paris and London) typically included specialised Latin translations of different ancient versions of the text, for the guidance of scholars who could not have been fluent in all the many exotic languages used in these editions. These polyglot Latin translations barely deserve to be called 'Latin Bibles', insofar as they were never intended to stand on their own, or to serve as the text of a Bible for regular study, let alone worship. Nevertheless, some translations, especially Pagninus's, achieved an interesting afterlife through the Polyglots. Pagninus's Latin Old Testament translated verbatim from the Hebrew was incorporated by Benito Arias Montano in the Antwerp Polyglot. Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie provided a Latin translation of the Syriac New Testament.[99] In the light of this multiple translation enterprise, it is interesting that a publisher felt it worthwhile to issue many of these Latin versions on their own. In 1616 Laurentius Beyerlinck (1578–1627) published with Keerbergius of Antwerp a three-volume Bible which presented multiple parallel Latin translations (and only the Latin) from a range of sources. The Old Testament was rendered in the versions of the Vulgate, Pagninus, the Roman translation of the Septuagint, the Latin translation of the Aramaic Targum of the Pentateuch, and the rest of the Hebrew Bible from the Zurich translation (no less). The New Testament was edited in the Vulgate text, Lefèvre de la Boderie's translation of the Syriac, and the translations of Arias Montano and 'the permitted version' of Erasmus.[100] Despite the ascendancy of the Roman Vulgate, publishers continued to find markets for some of the less favoured Latin editions, especially in France where the decrees of Trent were not so readily received

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[99] See Chapter 6 in this volume.
[100] Laurentius Beyerlinck (ed.), *Biblia sacra variarum translationum*, 3 vols. (Antwerp: Ioannes Keerbergius, 1616). For discussion see Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 270. A subsequent edition was published at Venice in 1747.

or enforced. As late as the 1720s a Latin Bible published at Paris featured the Vulgate in the Antoine Vitré version from the mid-seventeenth century, with alongside it Pagninus's translation and the annotations of the Vatable Bible of 1545.[101] A case could be made that, so long as the special status of the Vulgate was acknowledged, the printing of these alternate versions did not infringe the decrees of the Council of Trent.

By the mid-eighteenth century the use of Latin as a language of scholarly reference and exchange would become much rarer in early modern Europe, with the conspicuous exception of the Vatican. Latin remained as the language of the Roman Catholic liturgy until the reforms of the Second Vatican Council: as such it remained the language of the Bible as read in public worship. The Latin Bible was perhaps the single most important translation, by the numbers of people exposed to it, of all the biblical translations of the early modern period. Its tragedy was that most of its hearers were not trained to understand it.

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[101] *Biblia Sacra: cum universis Franc. Vatabli, regii Hebraicae linguae quondam professoris et variorum interpretum, annotationibus. Latina interpretatio duplex est: altera vetus, altera nova. Editio postrema multò quam antehac emendatior & auctior* (Parisiis [Paris]: Sumptibus societatis, 1729). The first edition of this version is attributed to 1721 by Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 273.

# The Luther Bible

EUAN CAMERON

One translation of the Bible towered above the others in sixteenth-century Europe. It was by no means the first vernacular Bible, nor even the first complete vernacular Bible to appear from the Reformation movements. However, the translation of Martin Luther wielded enormous influence throughout the German-speaking world and beyond it. It was overwhelmingly the proto-reformer's own work, even if he was assisted by colleagues in certain key areas. It powerfully embodied Luther's core theological insights, not only through the translation itself, but also in the prefaces and annotations that accompanied it. The text constantly developed, undergoing multiple revisions and enhancements during Luther's lifetime. It was, finally, an outstandingly powerful piece of prose writing by any imaginable standard. The history of the vernacular Bible in the Lutheran traditions is, fundamentally, the story of the Luther Bible.

## German Bibles before the Luther translation

The first Bible known to have been printed in High German was published by Johann Mentel or Mentelin at Strasbourg in 1466. This edition derived from a fourteenth-century translation of the Vulgate in its Spanish recension, rendered into the dialect of the late medieval Nuremberg area. This very wooden and in some respects archaic translation appears to have been intended to help clergy understand their Vulgate better.[1] Around 1475 Günther Zainer, a

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[1]  John L. Flood, 'Martin Luther's Bible Translation in its German and European Context', in Richard Griffiths (ed.), *The Bible in the Renaissance: Essays on Biblical Commentary and Translation in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 45–70 at pp. 46–8; Stephan Füssel, *The Book of Books: The Luther Bible of 1534, a Cultural–Historical Introduction* (Cologne: Taschen, 2003) [published with the Taschen facsimile of the 1534 Luther Bible], pp. 15–16; Theodore Graebner, 'German Versions before 1534', in O.M. Norlie (ed.), *The Translated Bible, 1534–1934: Commemorating the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Translation of the Bible by Martin Luther* (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1934), pp. 73–80.

printer–publisher based in Augsburg, issued a revised edition, which claimed to have eliminated incomprehensible words from the translation, and incorporated a number of technical advances over its predecessor. The enterprise was sufficiently successful for similar translations based on the Vulgate to appear in a total of fourteen editions by 1518, published by a variety of printers in Strasbourg, Ausgburg and Nuremberg.[2] These complete Bibles were often quite lavishly illustrated folio volumes.[3] Additionally, at least four editions of the Bible were published in Low German in Cologne, Lübeck and Halberstadt before 1522. At least three separate printings of the Psalms in German were issued over the same period.

There was therefore no great difficulty in obtaining some sort of German Bible before the Reformation, given the limited literacy and the likely appeal of these translations principally to the clergy. Neither, apparently, was there a shortage of purchasers. It may have been concern over the sheer success of such unregulated ventures that led Archbishop-Elector Berthold von Henneberg of Mainz (1442–1504) to issue edicts in 1485 and 1486 banning unlicensed translations of the Bible and other religious writings. Mainz evidently wished to protect the financial interests of the city's own religious printers. However, the edict also notoriously cited alleged deficiencies of the German language for expressing sublime matters: 'the poverty of our language, its inability to suffice these writers in the least ... will inevitably corrupt the sense of the truth – something that we have reason to fear most in the case of Holy Scripture'.[4] These edicts had very little restraining effect on the publishing industry, especially in Augsburg, where Bible printing continued unabated.

## Luther's biblical translations before the September Testament

For those who identify the principle of 'Scripture alone' as a fundamental pillar of Reformation thought, it may seem paradoxical that Luther embarked on the translation of the full New Testament only after some thought and persuasion by others. However, he had prepared himself for the task, consciously

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[2] On the Zainer Augsburg Bible of *c.* 1475 see Füssel, *Book of Books*, pp. 16–17. Zainer issued, to advertise the novelty of this translation, one of the first known publishers' advertisements. For subsequent pre-Luther bibles see ibid., pp. 17–26.

[3] On illustrated Bibles see Chapter 31 in this volume.

[4] See http://copy.law.cam.ac.uk/cam/tools/request/showRecord.php?id=record_d_ 1485; see also http://copy.law.cam.ac.uk/cam/tools/request/showRecord?id=comm entary_d_1479; http://copy.law.cam.ac.uk/cam/commentary/d_1479/d_1479_com_ 300200813374.html (all accessed 30 June 2014).

or unconsciously, over the years of his Wittenberg teaching and ministry from 1513 onwards. Various occasions called forth spontaneous partial translations of Scripture into German as Luther studied, wrote, lectured and preached. While he delivered his academic lectures mostly in Latin, from his *Table Talk* it emerges that his informal discourse consisted of a flowing mixture of Latin interspersed with phrases in German when he wished to make a particular point of emphasis.[5] In his first publication for the popular religious market, an exposition of the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, Luther chose to use none of the available German translations, but provided a fresh one of his own.[6] In 1519 he delivered a sermon before Duke Barnim of Pomerania, which included a free translation of the Gospel for the day, Matthew 16 (:13–19), possibly based on the Vulgate rather than the Greek.[7] In the same year he published an exposition of the Lord's Prayer in German.[8] In a fragmentary but important way, Luther prepared himself for Bible translation by incorporating spontaneous and often vigorous free translations of key New Testament passages in his pamphlets of 1520–2.[9]

## The September 1522 New Testament and its revisions

By the end of 1520 and the beginning of 1521 the idea of Bible translation was in the air. Luther's correspondent and friend Johannes Lang produced a very literal translation of Matthew's Gospel from Erasmus's Greek in early summer 1521.[10] In November 1521 Luther wrote in the conclusion to his *Christmas Postil* that he wished all Christians to resort to the Bible alone for guidance.[11] In early December 1521 Luther made a brief unannounced visit to Wittenberg from the Wartburg, where it is supposed that Melanchthon and possibly other colleagues encouraged him to translate the New Testament for himself.[12] Luther

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[5]  See reference in Flood, 'Martin Luther's Bible Translation', p. 68 n.51, based on *WA, WA Br*; *WA DB* and *WA TR*: *WA TR*, vol. 11, pp. 639–40, nos. 2758a–b for an example.

[6]  Heinz Bluhm, 'Luther's German Bible', in Peter Newman Brooks (ed.), *Seven-Headed Luther: Essays in Commemoration of a Quincentenary 1483–1983* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 177–94 at p. 179.

[7]  Heinz Bluhm, *Martin Luther: Creative Translator* (St Louis, MO: Concordia, 1965), pp. 37–48; reference to *WA*, vol. 11, pp. 241–9. The translation appears on p. 246.

[8]  Bluhm, 'Luther's German Bible', p. 180 and ref.

[9]  Ibid., pp. 180–2 and refs.

[10]  Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation 1521–32*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), p. 46.

[11]  Ibid., p. 46 n.4, based on Luther's *Christmas Postil* as in *WA*, vol.x / 1, p. 728: 'O das gott wollt, meyn und aller lerer ausslegung untergiengen, unnd eyn iglicher Christenn selbs die blosse schrifft und lautter gottis wortt fur sich nehme!'

[12]  As reported in a letter to Johannes Lang: see Brecht, *Martin Luther*, p. 47 n.6.

famously completed the first draft of his translation of the New Testament in
around eleven weeks at the Wartburg, before he had to return to Wittenberg
to calm the disorders provoked by the 'Wittenberg Movement' of the previ-
ous winter.[13] Once back in Wittenberg he worked on revising his draft with
the help of Melanchthon and Georg Spalatin. The latter was allegedly asked
to borrow jewels from the electoral treasury to ensure that the translations
of the precious stones named in Revelation 21 were correct. The text was sent
for printing in July and appeared shortly before 25 September 1522, printed by
Melchior Lotter and published at the behest of Lucas Cranach and Christian
Döring.[14] The translator was anonymous, though with a Wittenberg imprint
no one can have been in any doubt of his identity. The book amounted to a
folio volume of 222 leaves, and was prepared in haste to meet the deadline of
the Leipzig book fair (to the subsequent fury of Duke Georg of Saxony, in
whose lands Leipzig lay). The first edition is reckoned to have been of some
3,000 to 5,000 copies, and was rapidly sold out by early December.[15]

Luther worked from the Greek of Erasmus's New Testament in the edi-
tion of 1519, which included Erasmus's revised Latin translation.[16] Inevitably,
he will also have had in mind the Latin Vulgate – even where he disagreed
with its readings or the theological implications derived from them – because
of constant exposure to it in monastic and academic life. However, Luther's
translation was clearly independent, not only of earlier German translations,
but even of his own earlier efforts in the same area. Its language and style were
vigorous and energetic; it communicated the dramas of the New Testament

[13] On the Wittenberg Movement of 1521–2 see R.W. Scribner, 'The Reformation as a
Social Movement', in *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*
(London: Hambledon, 1987), pp. 145–74 at pp. 145–9; N. Müller, *Die Wittenberger Bewegung
1521 und 1522* 2nd edn. (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1911), *passim*; also published as articles in *Archiv
für Reformationsgeschichte* 6 (1909), 161–226, 261–325, 385–469; Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther
in Mid-Career, 1521–1530*, trans. E. Theodore Bachmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983),
pp. 24ff., 51ff. The 'Invocavit Sermons' are edited in *WA*, vol. x /iii, pp. 1–64; translated in
*LW*, vol. L1, pp. 69–100.
[14] Brecht, *Martin Luther*, p. 47 and nn.; Flood, 'Martin Luther's Bible Translation', pp. 50–1;
*Das Newe Testament Deutzsch* (Wittenberg: Döring and Cranach, 1522); full bibliographic
description in *WA DB*, vol.11, pp. 201–5. *WA DB*, vol. 11, pp. 201–708 contains a detailed
bibliography of editions of the Luther Bible, cited extensively in this chapter.
[15] Flood, 'Martin Luther's Bible Translation', p. 51 and n.18; L. Franklin Gruber, 'The
September Testament, 1522', in Norlie (ed.), *The Translated Bible*, pp. 81–8 at pp. 83, 86.
[16] *Novum Instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum & emendatum, non
solum ad graecam veritatem, verumetiam ad multorum utriusque linguae codicum, eorumque;
ueterum simul & emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum autorum citationem, emen-
dationem & interpretationem, praecipue, Origenis, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Vulgarij, Hieronymi,
Cypriani, Ambrosij, Hilarij, Augustini, una cu[m] annotationibus …* (Basel: Joannes
Frobenius, 1516); the second edition appeared in 1519, with the more modest and conven-
tional title *Novum Testamentum omne* (Basileae [Basel]: In aedibus Ioannis Frobenii, 1519).

by its dynamic expression as well as theological content. Not surprisingly, Luther's language proved most powerful and effective when rendering the reports of vehement religious debate in the Gospels – especially John's Gospel, Luther's favourite. As will be discussed later, his translation can only be fully understood within the context of his theological journey and the themes that dominated his thought in the early 1520s.[17] The layout was designed for easy reading. The September Testament was laid out in a single column of text, with marginal notes to explain particular words or points.[18] It was also illustrated, though that aspect appears more adventitious than intentional, since the illustrations, based on woodcuts adapted by Lucas Cranach from Albrecht Dürer's 1498 *Apocalypse*, clustered in the book of Revelation, one of the parts of the text least esteemed by Luther.[19]

The German text of the New Testament did not remain static once it had been printed. A new edition appeared in December 1522, where Catholic sensibilities were mildly soothed by the removal of the top two tiers of the crowns on the great whore and the beast of Revelation in Cranach's woodcuts, so that they no longer appeared to be wearing papal tiaras.[20] More important was the appearance of significantly revised versions of the New Testament translation in 1527 and again in 1530.[21] For the remainder of Luther's life, new Wittenberg printings of the German New Testament appeared every year or two. The 1530 New Testament included an index for liturgical Epistles and Gospels, suggesting that the text was now in regular use for congregational worship as well as private reading.[22] On the other hand, several small-format octavo editions were published (in 1535, 1537 and 1539, for example) clearly with the private reader in mind.[23]

## The Old Testament appears in instalments

Once the New Testament was issued, Luther began work on a translation of the Old Testament almost immediately. He had translated the New Testament first, as he recognised that while his Greek might be sufficient

[17] See Chapter 18 in this volume.
[18] Flood, 'Martin Luther's Bible Translation', pp. 53–4.
[19] Ibid., p. 54; Luther's short preface to Revelation from 1522 is translated in *LW*, vol. xxxv, p. 398; see discussion of the woodcut illustrations in Chapter 31 in this volume.
[20] See discussion in Flood, 'Martin Luther's Bible Translation', p. 55.
[21] John Michael Reu, 'The German Bible, 1534', in Norlie (ed.), *The Translated Bible*, pp. 89–105 at pp. 90–1.
[22] *WA DB*, vol.11, pp. 480–2.
[23] Ibid., pp. 562–3, 596–7, 610–11.

for him to work in isolation, he would need the support of Wittenberg col-
leagues to translate Hebrew Scripture.[24] In practice, over the following twelve
years he seems to have relied on a small caucus of friends and colleagues,
most prominently Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), the Wittenberg Hebraist
Matthäus Aurogallus (1490–1543) and Caspar Cruciger (1504–48). Georg Rörer
(1492–1557) acted as secretary to the group. At times these scholars were
assisted by Justus Jonas, Veit Dietrich and Bernhard Ziegler.[25] Partly as a con-
sequence of this collaborative work, we have fuller insight into the evolution
of the Luther Bible than of almost any other early modern version, though
the sheer bulk of the information available has largely deterred close exam-
ination.[26] On 3 November 1522 Luther reported that he would begin with the
Pentateuch and then the historical books, to be followed by the Prophets and
the poetry. In the event the process of translation, interrupted by revisions of
some of the earlier translations, took until 1534. The piecemeal nature of the
project was reflected in the subtitles of the different parts of the published
Old Testament ('the second part', 'the third part'), which were retained in
subsequent printings and even when the whole Bible was published. The first
Wittenberg editions of the Pentateuch appeared in 1523. The 'Second Part
of the Old Testament', comprising Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2
Kings and 1 and 2 Chronicles as well as Ezra–Nehemiah and Esther, appeared
in folio in 1524.[27] Later the same year there emerged the 'Third Part of the
Old Testament' comprising Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Song
of Songs. Then there followed a period of several years during which the
remaining books of Hebrew Scripture appeared more slowly and piecemeal.
Translations of Jonah and Habakkuk were published in 1526.[28] Zachariah and
Isaiah appeared as separate items in 1528.[29] The Wisdom of Solomon was
published in 1529; Daniel appeared with a long introduction in 1530.[30] In 1532
Hans Lufft at Wittenberg published a volume of the Prophets, comprising

[24] See Luther to Amsdorf, 13 Jan. 1522, *WA Br*, vol. 11, pp. 422–3, and as cited in Reu, 'The German Bible', p. 91: 'Interim Biblia transferam, quamquam onus susceperim supra vires. Video nunc, quid sit interpretari, et cur hactenus a nullo sit attentatum, qui profiteretur nomen suum. Vetus vero Testamentum non potero attingere, nisi vobis praesentibus et cooperantibus.'

[25] Eric W. Gritsch, 'Luther as Bible Translator', in Donald K. McKim (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 62–72 at p. 68; *LW*, vol.xxxv, p. 206 and references.

[26] See Bluhm, 'Luther's German Bible', p. 178.

[27] *WA DB*, vol.11, pp. 217–19 (1523 Pentateuch), pp. 272–5 (Second part of the Old Testament).

[28] Ibid., pp. 392–5.

[29] Ibid., pp. 439–40.

[30] Ibid., pp. 455, 484–5.

Isaiah, Amos, Ezekiel, Daniel and Malachi. In 1533 the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach was published as a separate octavo pamphlet, as was the First Book of Maccabees.[31]

Then, in 1534, there appeared from Hans Lufft's presses at Wittenberg the first complete folio edition of the entire Luther Bible. It preserved the intermediate headings for the Pentateuch, the historical books (part 2) and Job, Psalms and the Solomonic books (part 3), followed by the Prophets and then the Apocrypha, then the New Testament. By arranging the books in this order Luther inaugurated the Protestant practice of separating the Apocrypha into a distinct location between the two canonical testaments. This arrangement differed from medieval Catholic practice, where most of the Apocryphal books were interspersed within other books of the Old Testament: Tobit and Judith followed Nehemiah, Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach followed the Song of Songs, and Baruch followed Lamentations, for example.[32]

Revision of the Old Testament texts continued in the same way as the New. Particularly significant was Luther's wholesale revision of the Psalter, which appeared in 1531. The original translation in the third part of the Old Testament had been somewhat cumbersome, and Luther evidently felt the need to rework the translation to make it more idiomatic and powerful. The result was a triumph of free poetic translation. Luther felt sufficiently proud or defensive of the work to issue a separate work defending his translating principles in this edition: his philological principles are discussed below.[33] The complete Bibles underwent modest revisions in the multiple reprinting that occurred between 1535 and 1546.

## Unofficial editions of the Luther Bible

Luther made some effort to ensure that the Wittenberg editions of his biblical translations were marked as the authentic products. Profit was not an issue: Luther made no income whatsoever from the hundreds of thousands of copies of his biblical translations that the German printer–publishers sold.[34] At one point he even ran short of free copies to give to friends. However, he

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[31] Ibid., pp. 528–32. One edition of Maccabees also included the additions to Daniel.

[32] See full description of the complete Bible in ibid., pp. 545–53. A facsimile edition has been published, *Biblia, das ist, Die gantze Heilige Schrifft deudsch / Mart. Luth.*, 2 vols., with a separate introduction by Stephan Füssel (Cologne: Taschen, 2003).

[33] For bibliographic description of the edition see *WA DB*, vol. 11, pp. 502–3; the 1531 Psalter is edited in vol. x / 1, pp. 106–590. For Luther's defence of the translation see edn. in *WA*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 8–17; translated in *LW*, vol. xxxv, pp. 209–23.

[34] *WA*, vol. xxx / 2, p. 640; *LW*, vol. xxxv, p. 193.

## Luther as a biblical translator

Language was, of course, a complex issue at that period. Luther himself remarked that there was no single High German dialect.[40] German, like other languages before vernacular printing, centralised records and a common literature, tended to form a graduated, shaded continuum from one region to another. It shaded off into Low German in the Low Countries, and into the Baltic dialects in the northern coasts. Luther aspired to write in a generalised High German like that of the Saxon Chancery, which he regarded as 'received' German, at least amongst the nobility.[41] In the event, the differences between local dialects do not appear to have acted as any impediment to the reception and understanding of Luther's Bible, as the wide distribution of copies in High German demonstrates.

Much has been written about Luther's characteristics as a translator. An intriguing insight is offered by comparing Luther's remarks about translating with Tyndale's. Luther tended to stress how difficult it was to render Hebrew (especially) into good idiomatic German. He wrote poetically about how the prophets resisted being forced into the language.[42] In contrast, William Tyndale would declaim about how much easier it was to render Hebrew into English than into Latin.[43] What was at issue here were as much cultural politics as linguistic questions. Tyndale wrote for England, where all translations had been proscribed and the only available ones were the two versions of the 'heretical' Lollard Bible: thus he felt the need to argue that such translation was possible at all, and tended to translate fairly literally. He created his own mode of 'Biblical English', which would feed into the family of translations that became the King James Version. Luther wrote against the background of a multiplicity of bad German translations of the Vulgate. He wished to stress how much effort it took to make a good translation that would follow

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[40] *WA TR*, vol. v, p. 512, no. 6146.

[41] Ibid., vol. 11, pp. 639–40, nos. 2758a–b; cf. vol. 1, pp. 524–5, no. 1040, where a similar statement is reported (though only in German this time). See discussions in Flood, 'Martin Luther's Bible Translation', pp. 67–8; Brecht, *Martin Luther*, p. 48; Gritsch, 'Luther as Bible Translator', pp. 70–1.

[42] Flood, 'Martin Luther's Bible Translation', p. 60, based on e.g. *WA Br*, vol.iv, p. 484, Luther to Wenceslaus Linck, 14 June 1528: 'Nos iam in prophetis vernacule donandis sudamus. Deus, quantum et quam molestum opus, Hebraicos scriptores cogere Germanice loqui, qui resistant, quam suam Hebraicitatem relinquere nolunt, et barbariem Germanicam imitari.'

[43] See William Tyndale's comment that 'a thousand parts better may it [Hebrew Scripture] be translated into the English, than into the Latin', in the preface to his *Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528), quoted in David Daniell (ed.), *Tyndale's Old Testament* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. xiv–xv.

vernacular idioms. For Luther it was essential that the German Bible conform to the language of the town square.

Luther's translation technique has been compared against the paradigms of 'formal' and 'dynamic' equivalence. Broadly speaking, did he aim for a word-for-word rendering, or did he rearrange the material to achieve an idiomatic transmission of the overall meaning?[44] Not surprisingly, Luther was less than consistent. On the whole he tended to favour the more dynamic, freer approach. However, in certain places he could be quite literal, and even in some instances surprisingly conservative. For example, in Matthew 3:2 and 4:17 the 1545 edition has John the Baptist and Jesus say 'Thut busse / das Himelreich ist nahe herbey komen', which sounds more like the Vulgate's 'poenitentiam agite', 'do penance' than the Greek 'μετανοεῖτε', 'repent'. This conservatism is all the more striking given that the resonances of 'repent' rather than 'do penance' played an important role in Reformation theology.[45]

In other areas, of course, Luther's translation consciously and deliberately evoked his theological insights and claims. In his *Open Letter on Translating*, addressed to Wenceslaus Linck in 1530, he defended some of the more controversial passages in his New Testament against his critics.[46] He was particularly outraged that Catholics had complained of his translation, only for Hieronymus Emser to issue a 'Catholic' New Testament which was largely plagiarised from Luther's, with only a few key words and phrases changed.[47] One of the more interesting and theologically significant controversies concerned the translation of the angel's greeting to Mary in Luke 1:28. Luther chose to render the angel's address to Mary, κεχαριτωμένη, as 'Gegrüsset seistu holdselige', 'greetings gracious one', rather than the traditional 'full of grace' based on the Vulgate. Luther argued that a German who heard this phrase would think of 'a keg "full of" beer or a purse "full of" money' and

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[44] For different views on this subject see Hans Kasdorf, 'Luther's Bible: A Dynamic Equivalence Translation and Germanizing Force', *Missiology: An International Review* 6:2 (1978), 213–34; Mark S. Krause, 'Martin Luther's Theory of Bible Translation', *Stone-Campbell Journal* 2 (1999), 57–73. See also Willem Jan Kooiman, *Luther and the Bible*, trans. John Schmidt (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1961), and Füssel, *Book of Books*, pp. 34–8.

[45] Cf. Luther's discussion of the challenges of translation in *WA TR*, vol. II, p. 648, no. 2771a; ibid., vol. III, p. 619, no. 3794; ibid., vol. v, p. 212, no. 5521, and other passages cited in Johann M. Reu (ed.), *The Augsburg Confession: A Collection of Sources with an Historical Introduction* (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1930), pp. 267–70. See also D. Otto Albrecht, 'Luthers Arbeitsweise, seine Eigenart als Bibelübersetzer' in the 'Historisch-theologische Einleitung' to *WA DB*, vol. VI, pp. lxx–lxxxix.

[46] The *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* is edited in *WA*, vol. XXX/2, pp. 627–46 and translated in *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 175–201.

[47] *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 183–5.

that the sentence would therefore be unintelligible.[48] Yet that of course was precisely the point: there was a *theological* issue at stake, not just a linguistic one. Luther's theology argued that 'grace' was not a palpable, transmissible quantum poured into a person like beer into a barrel. The word described something about the attitude that God exhibited towards a person – not something in any way intrinsic to their nature.[49]

More famous was Luther's insistence on inserting the word 'allein', 'alone', into his translation of Romans 3:28, where it was not found in the Greek: 'So halten wir es nu / Das der Mensch gerecht werde / on des Gesetzes werck / *alleine* durch den Glauben.' As Luther pointed out, the original was strong enough, in that Paul said that someone was justified by faith 'without the works of the Law': the addition of *allein* merely balanced the sentence and evoked German vernacular idiom. 'We do not have to inquire of the literal Latin, how we are to speak German, as these asses do.'[50] Less celebrated or widely noticed was the fact that Luther, embodying the principles of Paul as he understood them, also added a number of other points of extra emphasis elsewhere in Romans 3, in what became verses 20, 22, 25 and 26. He may have believed so passionately that he understood the mind of Paul that he might not even have considered these to be modifications of the text.[51]

One other aspect of Luther's method deserves mention. While he recognised the traditional canon of the New Testament, Luther reorganised the order of the books towards the end. Whereas traditional versions placed Hebrews and James between Philemon and 1 Peter, Luther relegated Hebrews and James to near the end, after 3 John and just before Jude and Revelation. Moreover, he left these last four books (sometimes called 'Luther's antile-gomena') unnumbered, unlike the rest of the New Testament. He explained the reason as fundamentally a matter of textual criticism. He could not see from the internal evidence of any of these four writings that they were 'apostolic': they came from anonymous writers who were at least at one remove from the apostles of Jesus. There had been concern about whether they belonged in the canon in the past. Hebrews might be a fine epistle, but it did not even present itself as the work of an apostle. James failed to teach 'Christ' sufficiently. Jude was a mere copy of parts of 2 Peter and could not have been

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[48] Ibid., pp. 190–2.
[49] See discussion of this point in Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 150–1 and references.
[50] *LW*, vol. xxxv, pp. 187–9, 195–8.
[51] Bluhm, 'Luther's German Bible', pp. 188–9.

written by the apostle of that name.[52] In 1522 he declared Revelation 'neither apostolic nor prophetic' and found its obscurity and self-importance inconsistent with the manner of the genuine apostles.[53] This reordering of the biblical books persisted in the Lutheran tradition. Some successors of Luther further elaborated and extended his censure of the last four books by naming them 'apocryphal', though this designation was later dropped.[54]

## Luther's prefaces: the translator as biblical critic

Luther's Bible became almost as famous for its prefaces, crafted by the translator with great care, as for the translation itself. The practice of supplying prologues or prefaces to books of the Bible was very ancient. The prologues attributed to Jerome usually appeared in early modern editions of the Vulgate.[55] In his 1522 preface to the New Testament, Luther justified his own prefaces thus:

> It would be right and proper for this book to go forth without any prefaces or extraneous names attached and simply have its own say under its own name. However many unfounded (*wilde*) interpretations and prefaces have scattered the thought of Christians to a point where no one any longer knows what is gospel or law, New Testament or Old. Necessity demands, therefore, that there should be a notice or preface, by which the ordinary man can be rescued from his former delusions, set on the right track, and taught what he is to look for in this book, so that he may not seek laws and commandments where he ought to be seeking the gospel and promises of God.[56]

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[52] *WA DB*, vol. VII, pp. 344–5; *LW*, vol. XXXV, p. 394–5. Some modern exegetes read the relationship between these two texts in the opposite way, suggesting that 2 Peter is derived from Jude.

[53] *WA DB*, vol. VII, p. 404; *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 398–9. Luther supplied a quite different preface for a later edition, as discussed below.

[54] Matthias Flacius Illyricus, in *Pia Et Necessaria Admonitio De Decretis Et Canonibvs Concilii Tridentini: Sub Pio Quarto Rom. Pontifice, Anno &c. 62. & 63. celebrati; Scripta in gratiam piorvm Hominvm, Qvi Emendationem Doctrinae & Caeremoniarum in Ecclesia per Concilia faciendam expectant* (Francoforti [Frankfurt]: Brubacchius, 1563), under the 'first decree', noted that he was not the first to express doubts about Hebrews, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, as well as James and Revelation. In 1596 Jacob Lucius published a Bible at Hamburg which labelled Luther's four as 'Apocrypha'; David Wolder, the pastor of Hamburg's Church of St Peter, published in the same year a triglot Bible which labelled them 'non-canonical'; J. Vogt published a Bible at Goslar in 1614 similar to Lucius's; Gustavus Adolphus of Stockholm in 1618 published a Bible with these books labelled as 'Apocr(yphal) New Testament'. See Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 242–5. The relocating of the four 'antilegomena' at the end of the New Testament persisted in editions of the Luther Bible to the twentieth century.

[55] Brecht, *Martin Luther*, p. 51.

[56] *WA DB*, vol. VI, p. 2; *LW*, vol. XXXV, p. 357.

Right from the start, then, Luther's prefaces embodied – as he clearly thought they should – an exegetical principle which was also a theological principle. Scripture, for Luther, consisted of two essential parts: Law and Gospel. The Law contained the rules and requirements that God made of human beings, concerning not only their behaviour but also their spiritual disposition and responses to God and neighbour. As Luther would argue repeatedly, fully to perform the demands of the law by one's own efforts was impossible; therefore, if the law stood by itself, it could only lead to the condemnation of humanity. However, the Scriptures also contained the promises of the Gospel: these made the offer of forgiveness and release from the demands of the law. While the Old Testament consisted predominantly of Law and the New Testament predominantly of Gospel, there was no absolute division between the two testaments, since elements of Law and Gospel could be found in both. It was vital for the reader therefore to understand the difference between them on principle.[57] As Luther knew, many medieval exegetes had treated the New Testament as a source of laws, even more strict than those of the Old. Thus he argued in his first New Testament preface that it was a mistake to suppose that there were four Gospels and four evangelists. There was in truth one Gospel, though it could be expressed in many ways and by many different writers. Those who wrote about the meaning of the death and resurrection of Christ, as did Peter and Paul, were as much Gospel writers as the four evangelists.[58]

For Luther, then, 'the Gospel', in the abstract, essential sense of the message of justification through free grace for Christ's sake, stood as the fundamental hermeneutic principle, by which and through which all Scripture was to be understood. This principle left Luther justified in his own mind in setting apart, in the 1522 preface to his New Testament, those books that in his view were 'the true and noblest books of the New Testament'. He argued that 'John's Gospel and St. Paul's epistles, especially that to the Romans, and St. Peter's first epistle are the true kernel and marrow of all the books. They ought properly to be the foremost books, and it would be advisable for every Christian to read them first and most, and by daily reading to make them as much his own as his daily bread.'[59] This grading of scriptural texts to praise some above others – and especially to diminish the stature of the 'strawy' epistle of James – would expose Luther to some censure, though that may not

[57] On 'Law and Gospel' see Cameron, *European Reformation*, pp. 143, 152, 164, 167 and references.
[58] *WA DB*, vol. vi, pp. 3–6; *LW*, vol. xxxv, p. 357–61.
[59] *WA DB*, vol. vi, pp. 10–11; *LW*, vol. xxxv, pp. 361–2.

have been the reason for any change of heart. In any event, he removed the passage just quoted from the preface to the 1534 complete Bible, and it was also excised from editions of the New Testament issued after 1537.[60]

The preface to the whole New Testament did not stand alone in Luther's translation. He also supplied prefaces to many of the individual books, and revised several of them for subsequent editions. The most impressive preface, which really amounted to a mini-statement of Luther's entire theology, was his preface to the Epistle to the Romans. Romans, for Luther, was 'truly the purest Gospel'. The preface then made an outstandingly clear and compact statement of Luther's understanding of the spiritual state of the saved person: 'Because the flesh is not yet slain, we are still sinners. But because we believe in Christ and have a beginning of the Spirit, God is so favourable and gracious to us that he will not count the sin against us or judge us because of it. Rather he deals with us according to our faith in Christ, until sin is slain.'[61] Luther went on to draw a contrast between 'grace', which consisted in the good will of God towards us, and the 'gifts', which constituted the indwelling presence of the Spirit within the believer, enabling whatever spiritual good acts people could perform. The gifts were always imperfect and insufficient; but because of grace people were treated as though they had fulfilled the law, which in reality they had not and could not. The faith in which one grasped this grace was a 'living, daring confidence in God's grace' which made people 'glad and bold and happy in dealing with God and with all creatures'; those who had such faith would inevitably do good for others.[62]

No other New Testament preface presented quite so ample a theological essay as the preface on Romans. That on 1 Corinthians, which had been quite brief in 1522, was expanded to include a critique of the division of the Reformed churches into sects in the 1530 and subsequent editions.[63] Most of the remaining epistles were prefaced with relatively succinct synopses of the key points, sometimes related to Luther's prevailing theological emphases, as for instance on Galatians. The prefaces became both more controversial and more interesting when Luther came to the last four books in his personal order, Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation. Hebrews, Luther was quite certain, was not the work of an apostle; it contained some dubious doctrine,

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[60] There may have been no significance to the retention of the controversial passages in the 1534–7 separate editions of the New Testament: they were not overseen by Luther and probably simply repeated what had been found in earlier small-format editions.

[61] The Romans preface is edited in *WA DB*, vol. VII, pp. 2–27; the passage quoted (pp. 8–9) is translated in *LW*, vol. XXXV, p. 370.

[62] *WA DB*, vol. VII, pp. 8–9; *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 369–70.

[63] *WA DB*, vol. VII, pp. 82–7; *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 380–3.

when it claimed that those who sinned after baptism could not be forgiven. However, it was a fine piece of writing. 'Therefore we should not be deterred if wood, straw, or hay are perhaps mixed with them, but accept this fine teaching with all honor; though, to be sure, we cannot put it on the same level with the apostolic epistles.'[64] The notorious reference to James as 'strawy' did not appear in the preface to the epistle itself, but rather in the preface to the whole New Testament. In the preface dedicated to James on its own, Luther criticised the epistle for failing to teach Christ, who was the subject of the Gospel. He observed that the letter was written in disorderly fashion, with quotations from other letters included. Jude was nothing more than a paraphrase of parts of 2 Peter.[65]

Luther evidently changed his mind about Revelation over time. His first preface of 1522 adopted a somewhat perfunctory, dismissive tone. The obscurity of the book reminded Luther of 4 Esdras (the apocryphal text now known as 2 Esdras and sometimes called the 'Ezra apocalypse'). It over-commended itself in a way that genuine apostles did not. Many early Fathers regarded the book as apocryphal.[66] In 1530, however, Luther adopted a quite different tone. In a context where apocalyptic now seemed more congenial and useful, he proposed that the various tribulations and plagues could be understood as predictions of the history of the Church. The first few chapters described the physical, bodily persecutions suffered by the churches of Asia Minor. Chapters 7 and 8 began to discuss the spiritual assaults in the form of heretics: Tatian, Marcion, Origen, Novatus. Luther believed that the fifth and sixth angels in chapters 9–10 represented Arius and Muhammad respectively. Chapters 13–16 foretold the plagues of the 'papal empire and imperial papacy'. The 'unclean spirits like frogs' (16:13) represented the 'sophists', papal theologians such as Faber, Eck and Emser. The fall of Babylon in chapter 18 foretold the sack of Rome by the imperial armies in 1527. Luther concluded with a theological point, that the true Church always existed as a thing to be believed in, rather than something that could be seen in outward purity.[67]

The Old Testament posed a slightly different set of challenges as Luther drew up his prefaces over the twelve years that the books appeared in translation. In 1523 he provided a preface for the whole of the Pentateuch. As one might expect, he interpreted the Mosaic code in line with the major themes of his theology. The codes of law showed how futile it was to try to make

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[64] *WA DB*, vol. VII, pp. 344–5; *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 394–5.
[65] *WA DB*, vol. VII, pp. 384–7; *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 395–8: see note 52 in this chapter.
[66] *WA DB*, vol. VII, p. 404; *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 398–9.
[67] *WA DB*, vol. VII, pp. 406–21; *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 399–411.

people pious through legislation alone. Some of the legal prescriptions were 'to be regarded as foolish and useless'. Moses heaped prohibitions upon prohibitions in order to show people their sin, and therefore make them see their need of God. The law codes were then embodied and reinforced within the prophetic writings. Secondly, Luther insisted that the Old Testament must be read Christologically. Deuteronomy foretold the raising up of a new prophet (18:15–19) in a passage that foreshadowed Christ. The texts describing the Levitical priesthood should be read in relation to Christ, who alone could take away the true sins of humanity, as opposed to the 'artificial' (*gemachten*) sins invented by the Mosaic code.[68]

The remainder of the books of the Old Testament received for the most part relatively brief prefaces which made simple expository points in line with Luther's main themes. He found the Psalms especially helpful, insofar as they provided a different kind of hagiography: not the lives and the deeds of the saints, but their spiritual experiences condensed into poetry.[69] With the prophetic books Luther displayed considerable historical knowledge and insight. Isaiah was, on one hand, the prophet who spoke most fully about the coming of Jesus; but he was also situated in a complex historical context around the time of the Assyrian assault on the northern kingdom. Ezekiel received two prefaces, a shorter one in 1532 and a fuller one in 1541, which insisted on reading the whole prophecy Christologically, against the rabbinic tradition. Luther feared that the traditions of Jewish exegesis had gained too much traction, not only with Nicholas of Lyra but also with modern exegetes such as Sante Pagnini and especially Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) of Basel.[70] The longest of Luther's historical–prophetic prefaces was that accorded to Daniel when the translation was published as a separate pamphlet in 1530. Like other exegetes of his age, Luther used Daniel both as a primer for the theologised history of the ancient Eastern Mediterranean and as a source of prophecies about the present state of the world.[71] He displayed some level of erudition in laying out the story of the Hellenistic monarchies that succeeded Alexander the Great. He noted that the Seleucids and the Ptolemies had failed to conquer each other, though both dynasties had tried. Of the four monarchies foretold in two chapters of Daniel, the Roman Empire was the last, and only Christ at

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[68] *WA DB*, vol. VIII, pp. 10–32; *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 235–51.

[69] *WA DB*, vol. X/1, pp. 98–105; *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 253–7.

[70] *WA DB*, vol. XI/1, pp. 16–25, 392–409; *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 273–8, 282–93.

[71] See fuller discussion of the Reformation reading of Daniel in Chapter 29 in this volume. See also the texts excerpted in Carl L. Beckwith (ed.), *Ezekiel, Daniel*, vol. XII of *Old Testament*, Reformation Commentary on Scripture, series eds. Timothy George and Scott M. Manetsch (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012).

his second coming would overthrow it. The German *Reich* was the heir to the Roman Empire, and therefore even the Turks would not be able to conquer it. On the other hand, the struggles of the Turks against Europe were signs of the approaching end of time. Theologically speaking, the story of the life of Daniel was a 'fine, clear mirror' showing the conflict and victory of faith. Like Melanchthon, Luther read the story as a theological parable as well as prophecy.[72]

While Luther did not feel the same need to critique the books of the Old Testament according to their conformity to 'the Gospel' as in the case of the New Testament, he displayed his critical faculties in a different way. He was sensitive to the fact that each prophet had a distinctive voice and style. Joel was gentler and more persuasive than the others, while Amos was full of denunciations and short on promises. Micah involved much word-play and substitution of one name for another like it.[73] More interesting still, Luther looked critically at the compilation of the prophetic books in their current form, analysing the internal evidence of the texts just as later critics would do. Ecclesiastes 'was certainly not written or set down by King Solomon with his own hand. Instead scholars put together what others had heard from Solomon's lips, as they themselves admit at the end of the book.'[74] Noting the considerable confusion in the way themes were interwoven in the prophecies of Isaiah, Luther speculated that 'whether this was done by those who collected and wrote down the prophecies (as is thought to have happened with the Psalter) or whether Isaiah himself arranged them this way as time, occasion, and persons suggested, I do not know'.[75]

Luther was emphatically no idolater of the biblical text. He showed himself at his boldest in his defence of the translation of the Psalms from 1531, where he openly questioned the validity of the Masoretic vowel pointing in the Hebrew text (echoing medieval Christian sceptics, and anticipating Elijah Levita and Louis Cappel). He insisted that 'we followed the rule that wherever the words could have given or tolerated an improved meaning, there we did not allow ourselves to be forced by the artificial Hebrew (*Gemachte Grammatica*) of the rabbis into accepting a different inferior meaning'.[76] A few pages later, discussing a controversial reading of a passage in Psalm 118, he

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[72] *WA DB*, vol. xi/2, pp. 2–131 contains comparative editions of the three versions of this long preface. *LW*, vol. xxxv, pp. 294–316, translates the 1530 preface. Compare the discussion of Melanchthon's exegesis in Chapter 29 in this volume.

[73] *WA DB*, vol. xi/2, pp. 212–15, 226–9, 270–1; *LW*, vol. xxxv, pp. 318–21, 324–6.

[74] *WA DB*, vol. x/2, p. 104; *LW*, vol. xxxv, p. 263.

[75] *WA DB*, vol. xi/1, pp. 20–3; *LW*, vol. xxxv, p. 277.

[76] *WA*, vol. xxxviii, p. 11; *LW*, vol. xxxv, p. 213.

remarked: 'The original Hebrew (*Ebreische Grammatica*), where they [the rabbinic commentators] have not – without any justification – interpolated their vowel points, actually calls for this sort of interpretation.'[77]

In the case of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, to which Luther assigned a much lower level of authority than the rest of Scripture, he could allow free rein to his critical faculties, and did so in the prefaces published with the complete Bible in 1534. Judith did not fit in with the historical record of the captivity; as it was difficult to assign it to a historical period, Luther speculated that it might be a fictitious, symbolic poetic narrative rather than a record of actual events. Tobit, likewise, was probably a work of imaginative fiction, but written as comedy rather than tragedy; it might even have started as the script of a play. The Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach, though useful for household guidance, was not well fitted together, which suggested that it was an uneasy compilation of miscellaneous texts. Baruch was very slender, and Luther nearly omitted it entirely (as he did with 3 and 4 Esdras). 2 Maccabees overlapped with 1 Maccabees, and appeared to have been pieced together out of many sources; Luther considered rejecting it altogether and leaving only the first book, but chose instead to leave it and let the reader decide.[78]

## Reception of and responses to the Luther Bible

The Luther Bible was a publishing phenomenon. Large numbers of editions both unofficial and official proliferated through the sixteenth century. It is claimed that, between 1522 and Luther's death in 1546, 115 editions of his New Testament were published; the conventional estimate is that there were 253 editions of Luther Bibles or parts of Scripture issued in the same period.[79] From 1534 onwards Luther and his colleagues continued to edit and revise the Bible. Georg Rörer, secretary to the 'biblical college' around Luther, issued revisions based on his notes of conversations with Luther even after the reformer's death. These emendations proved controversial at the time but were eventually accepted. By 1580 thirty-eight editions of the complete Luther Bible were in circulation. Thereafter the text became more or less settled until the revisions of the second half of the twentieth century, apart

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[77] *WA*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 16; *LW*, vol. XXXV, p. 221. On Luther and the Masoretic pointing see also Gritsch, 'Luther as Bible Translator', p. 72 n.3; Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther and the Old Testament*, trans. Eric W. and Ruth C. Gritsch and ed. Victor I. Gruhn (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969).

[78] *WA DB*, vol. XII, pp. 4–7, 108–11, 144–9, 290–1, 314–17, 416–19; *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 337–53.

[79] Graebner, 'German Versions before 1534', p. 80; Reu, 'The German Bible', p. 90.

from a gradual tendency to modernise and standardise the spelling. The original Wittenberg printer of the full Bible, Hans Lufft, continued to dominate the market for some time. Many years later, Karl Hildebrand von Canstein (1667–1719) consolidated and stabilised what became the received text of the Luther translation. Canstein fell under the influence of Philipp Jakob Spener and became a devout Pietist. He founded the 'Cansteinschen Bibelanstalt', which began to supervise the issuing of large numbers of standard Luther Bibles in new editions from 1716 onwards. Within his lifetime it is estimated that at least 100,000 New Testaments and 40,000 complete Bibles had been published; the number rose to approximately 3 million copies of New Testaments and complete Bibles by 1800.[80]

## Non-Lutheran versions and editions of the Luther Bible

Contemporaries and critics paid Luther a backhanded compliment by responding to the success of his translation with rival versions of their own. In 1527 Hieronymus Emser, one of Luther's chief Catholic critics, issued a New Testament translation very heavily based on Luther's text, but with some key passages altered to suit a more conservative theological position. Johannes Dietenberger reissued Emser's New Testament (1529–32), then in 1534 published a complete Bible, incorporating an adapted version of Luther's Old Testament and the Apocrypha from the Zurich Bible. In 1537 Johannes Eck, Luther's antagonist from the early days of the Reformation, published German expositions of the liturgical Gospels in 1530, then in 1537 issued a complete Bible based on the Vulgate and the Emser/Luther translation, though adapted to the dialect of Eck's Bavaria (he worked at Ingolstadt). The Dietenberger translation rather than Eck's established itself as the Catholic translation most favoured in the early modern period, until the version of Caspar Ulenberg appeared in 1630, based on the Vulgate, and to some degree displaced it.[81]

Luther's Saxon dialect remained a challenge to the adoption of his Bible in the extreme south of German-speaking lands. When Adam Petri published

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[80] On Canstein see O. M. Norlie, 'Bible Societies', in Norlie (ed.), *The Translated Bible*, pp. 200–5 at p. 200: for his biography see the entry in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* at www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz7853.html, accessed 25 June 2014.

[81] Paul Edward Kretzmann, 'German Versions since 1534', in Norlie (ed.), *The Translated Bible*, pp. 114–21 at pp. 115–17; Kenneth A. Strand, *Catholic German Bibles of the Reformation Era: The Versions of Emser, Dietenberger, Eck, and Others* (Naples, FL: Ann Arbor Publications, 1982).

a version of Luther's New Testament in 1523, he left the language unaltered but supplied a glossary of unfamiliar terms.[82] As is explained in Chapter 11 in this volume, the Reformed Church in Zurich began by adapting the Luther Bible for its own needs. Its printer–publishers issued versions where the dialect was modified to a greater or lesser extent to suit Swiss tastes. The early Zurich Bibles were for the most part composites, including adapted versions of Luther alongside translations by Leo Jud and the scholars of the Zurich Prophezei. Similarly the Hätzer–Denck translation of the prophetic books from 1527 continued to play a role in composite Bibles for use in non-Lutheran settings. Another area where the Luther Bible was adapted for non-Lutheran use was in the Reformed churches of the 'Second Reformation' in Germany. In 1569 a Luther Bible was published at Heidelberg without Luther's marginal glosses and prefaces, but with the verse-divisions favoured among the reformed after 1551.[83]

## The Luther Bible in languages other than High German

The problems in understanding Luther's German, significant but not overwhelming in Bavaria or the Swiss Confederation, proved much greater in the regions of the eastern Low Countries and the Baltic littoral, where forms of Low German or *Plattdeutsch* were spoken. Melchior Lotter in Wittenberg published a Low German version of Luther's New Testament as early as 1523, and again in 1528.[84] Johann Bugenhagen began to issue adaptations of Luther's Bible for the Baltic regions from 1528/9 onwards. Bugenhagen's adaptation of Luther's translation into the Low German of the Lübeck region appeared as a full Bible in the same year as the High German Bible, 1534.[85] In 1596 David Wolder issued a revision of Luther's Bible in Low German which also

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[82] Flood, 'Martin Luther's Bible Translation', p. 67.

[83] *Biblia, das ist, Die gantze Heilige Schrifft des Alten vnd Newen Testaments durch D. Martinum Lutherum verteutschet: jtzt ordenlich in gewisse versickel abgetheilet: darzu mit nusslichen Concordantzen, Sum[m]arien auch schoenen Figuren vnnd Landtaffeln nach nodturfftgezieret* (Heydelberg [Heidelberg]: Durch Martinum Agricolam und Johannem Mayer, 1569): for German-language Bibles in the Reformed Churches see Chapter 11 in this volume.

[84] *Dat Nyge Testament tho dude / Martin Luther* (Wittemberch [Wittenberg]: Dorch Melchior Lotter den jüngern, 1523); another edition in 1528. The Low German version was also issued by other publishers, e.g. Fuchs and Quentell in Cologne and Ketzer in Hamburg.

[85] Kretzmann, 'German Versions since 1534', pp. 118–19: *De Biblie vth der vthleggunge Doctoris Martini Luthers yn dyth düdesche vlitich vthgesettetmit sundergen vnderrichtingen alte men seen mach* (Lübeck: Ludowich Dietz gedrüket, 1534).

incorporated the verse divisions of post-1551 reformed Bibles.[86] These adaptations show that the propensity for Luther's German translation to homogenise the German language (or even, in some accounts, to create it) should not be exaggerated. The Luther Bible spread not because it was uniquely easy to read, but because of the power, reputation and literary gifts of its translator. Even those who could not read the original language wished to have a form of it.

The spread of the Luther Bible to the Scandinavian and other regions of Europe is documented in other chapters.[87] The Luther Bible reached outside the Teutonic language group when it was translated into Slovene by Primož Trubar and Jurij Dalmatin (the complete Bible appeared in 1584, printed in Wittenberg) and into Croatian by Anton Dalmatin and Stjepan Konzul Istranin.[88] A most interesting flight of biblical fancy appeared in 1599–1602 in the so-called Nuremberg Polyglot, edited by Elias Hutter: this edition contained Luther's German alongside a range of ancient versions and also, in some imprints, a Slovene translation of the Luther Bible by Jurij Dalmatin (*c.* 1549–89). In the seventeenth century versions of the Luther Bible would also appear for the Wendish-speaking peoples of Lusatia, and for Lithuanian-speaking Lutherans. The complete Luther Bible would only appear in Lithuanian, however, as late as 1735.[89]

## Conclusion

One theme which has emerged in the preparation of this volume is the gradual divergence over time between the disciplines of biblical scholarship and systematic theology. By the end of the early modern period the two pursuits could be seen as separate academic specialisations with their own guilds and standards, as they remain to this day in mainstream churches and in divinity school or university education. This separation of skills and endeavours has often led biblical scholars to argue that the texts, critically interpreted, do not

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[86] *Biblia, dat ys, De gantze Hillige SchrifftSassisch. D. Mart. Luth.: Vppet nye mit flyte dörchgesehn vnde vmme mehr richt . . . willen in Versicule vnderscheeden: ock na den Misnischen Exemplaren, so D. Luther fort vor synem dode füluest corrigeret, an veelen örden wedder tho rechte gebracht, vnde gebetert . . .* ed. David Wolder (Gedrücket tho Hamborch [Hamburg]: Dörch Jacobum Lucium den Jüngern, 1596).
[87] See Chapter 10 in this volume.
[88] For more details see Chapter 14 in this volume.
[89] For the Lithuanian and Wendish editions of the Luther Bible (and those in other Eastern European languages) see John Body, 'The Bible in Slavic Languages', in Norlie (ed.), *The Translated Bible*, pp. 167–76.

support the claims of traditional confessional dogma anywhere near as fully as the theologians might wish. In the unique case of the Luther Bible, the leading proponent of the key doctrines of the Reformation movement was also the primary author of its standard vernacular translation and, by extension, its primary biblical critic for the early modern period. Luther remained passionately convinced that the axis of Law and Gospel was *the* way to read Scripture, and translated the text accordingly.

Because Luther fused in his one overpowering personality the dogmatic theologian with the biblical translator, it may be that the Lutheran tradition experienced a less troubled or controversial relationship between Bible and doctrine than some of the Reformed churches. However, over time the same gradual shift towards ascribing perfection and absolute authority to the received text would manifest itself in the Lutheran as in the reformed tradition.[90] Beyond doubt, Luther bequeathed to speakers of High German a translation of exceptional power and clarity, as even his theological rivals and adversaries felt compelled to acknowledge.

[90] An interesting discussion, for its time, of Luther's attitude to the inerrancy and inspiration of scripture is found in [Johann] Michael Reu, *Luther and the Scriptures* (Columbus, OH: Wartburg Press, 1944), esp. pp. 109–32.

# Bibles in the Dutch and Scandinavian vernaculars to *c.* 1750

A. A. DEN HOLLANDER AND OLE PETER GRELL

## Dutch Bibles

A. A. den Hollander

### *The first printed editions (1477–1522)*

The production of Dutch-language Bibles in the second half of the fifteenth century was largely determined by the book culture of the Low Countries in the late Middle Ages. At that time the handwritten book still held the most important place, and the printed book was only gradually developing into a distinct and independent medium. This development is also evident in the earliest selection of Dutch Bibles that were printed. The texts printed first were the most popular Bible texts: texts for which the demand exceeded the supply. Of the thirty-three Dutch editions of the Bible printed before 1500, the majority (twenty-six) are made up of texts from the Epistles and Gospels, which give the Scripture passages to be used for the readings during the liturgical year. Most of the remaining printed editions are Psalters. In both cases these printed editions are popular works that would have been relatively risk-free for the publisher on account of guaranteed sales in an already existing market. These genres continued to be popular in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, comprising 75 percent of the twenty Dutch Bibles printed in total.

   The growing interest in vernacular Bibles is also reflected in the booming production of handwritten Dutch biblical texts in this period, which were not limited only to Psalters and the Epistles and Gospels. The number of hand-written copies produced is naturally significantly lower than the number

See www.bibliasacra.com for detailed information on editions and illustrations of Bibles printed in the Low Countries in the period 1477–1800. For more general works on Bible production in the Low Countries see the bibliography to this volume.

of printed editions. What is striking is that, during this phase, certain existing types of texts, which used biblical material and had been developed in previous centuries, only finally began to flourish in this period. Thus the genre of the Middle Dutch *Life of Jesus*, which dates from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, became unprecedentedly popular in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, the fourteenth-century translation of the New Testament by Johan Scutken also grew gradually in popularity, most significantly among lay brothers and sisters from (semi-) religious communities which were influenced by the *Devotio Moderna*. The vast majority of the manuscripts of this New Testament were produced during the fifteenth century.

This development, which corresponds with an overall increase in production of handwritten books in the second half of the fifteenth century, impacted printed book production through the sixteenth. The highpoint in the handwritten production of the so-called Herne Bible, a history Bible from the second half of the fourteenth century, was reached between 1460 and 1470. In 1477 a follow-up to this translation appeared in print as the Delft Bible. This publication was the first printed version of a Dutch Bible and was, on that count alone, a risky venture. The printer–publishers of the Delft Bible were striving to publish the pure text of the Old Testament. The text comprised a number of Old Testament books from the Herne Bible, as well as some books almost certainly newly translated, but contained no Psalms. This printed publication of the Bible could be used in conjunction with one of the numerous handwritten texts of the Psalters or New Testaments in circulation. In subsequent years the Delft printer–publishers also published a Dutch edition of the Psalter and Epistles and Gospels. The Delft Bible was produced in such a way that, through the combination of all or some of the various sets of printed sheets, the books of the Bible could be bound together as an Old Testament or a History Bible, depending on the tastes of the purchaser. In this way, this production fitted perfectly into the spirit of its time and is a prime example of a Dutch Bible in the transitional phase from handwritten manuscripts to the printed book.

### The first Reformed Bible translations (1522–1548)

Under the influence of humanism, particularly biblical humanism, there appeared at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Europe numerous new translations of the Bible, based on the original Hebrew and Greek. These greatly influenced the production of vernacular Bibles, including Dutch Bibles. With regard to the New Testament, the influence of Erasmus's Latin and Greek editions (1516, 1519 and later) was significant. In

1522 the Amsterdam publisher–printer Doen Pietersoen published a first Dutch translation of the Gospel of Matthew based on Erasmus's *Novum Testamentum* of 1519. Two years later, in 1524, the Delft printer–publisher Cornelis Heynrickszoon Lettersnyder produced a complete Dutch translation of this edition of Erasmus. Approximately a quarter of all Dutch translations of the New Testament produced in this period were directly or indirectly based on Erasmus's text.

By far the greatest influence on Dutch Bible translation in these first few decades was Martin Luther's German translation of the Bible, published from 1522 to 1534. Within a year of its first appearing, the first Dutch translations of Luther's New Testament became available. Antwerp publisher–printer Adriaen van Berghen and his Amsterdam colleague Doen Pietersoen competed fiercely to see who would be the first to publish a complete translation of Luther's text, which was based significantly on Erasmus's 1519 *Novum Testamentum*. By producing the Gospels, the New Testament Epistles, and Acts and Revelation as three separate publications in 1523, it was possible to produce the translations quickly and at low cost. In the next few years new Dutch translations of Luther's work appeared annually, reflecting his gradual translation of the Old Testament. Of all the New Testaments produced in this period, approximately half were linked, directly or indirectly, to Luther's text. Remarkably, other Bible translations appearing in Europe were also almost immediately brought out in Dutch and made available on the market. The centre of Dutch book production in this period was Antwerp, where at least 80 per cent of the Bibles were printed. Printers and publishers in the sixteenth century appeared to be well informed regarding the activities of their colleagues elsewhere, as will be illustrated later. The network of (itinerant) humanist scholars in Europe seems to have played an important role in this spreading of information.

In 1526 the printer–publisher Jacob van Liesvelt of Antwerp was the first to publish a complete Dutch translation of the Bible. This Bible was based on Luther's translation, as far as that had already appeared in print. The book of Job, which Luther had only completed in 1525 but had published immediately as a separate booklet, was already translated and incorporated into the Liesvelt Bible. That a publisher like Liesvelt selected sources for his Bible production both carefully and with knowledge of the international book market is apparent in a number of ways. For instance, the book of Isaiah was a literal translation of the Latin biblical text from Johannes Oecolampadius's commentary on Isaiah from 1525. In Liesvelt's later editions of the Bible, more and more of the Luther translation was

incorporated. Furthermore, the Lutheran character of the Bible also increased: the Liesvelt Bible of 1542 also included some of Luther's marginal comments.

One of the largest printers and publishers of this period was Willem Vorsterman of Antwerp. He was an intelligent businessman who, without taking unnecessary risks, could reach a wide and varied audience with his publications. Besides this, Vorsterman printed Bibles in various languages, including a Danish New Testament, which were intended for foreign markets. His first complete Dutch Bible, a high-quality edition with beautiful woodcut engravings, appeared in 1528; in the years following there were many more publications. The city council had given Vorsterman the publishing rights for the Bible for three years, and he was also granted consent for the edition by the censors, which included Nicolaes Coppijn, dean of St Pieters Church and chancellor of the University of Louvain. That this consent was based on a misapprehension of the character of the text would only emerge later. The title page gave the impression that the text of the Vorsterman Bible was based on the text of the Vulgate, supplemented by marginal variant readings from the Hebrew and/or Greek source texts. It was for this reason that the prologue states that the Complutensian Polyglot was used. The presence on the title page of the coat of arms and cardinal's hat of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez, under whose leadership this famous translation project had been undertaken, was hardly a coincidence. In reality, however, the text of the Vorsterman Bible, like its predecessor from 1526, had a composite character. The text was based primarily on existing Dutch Bible translations, with a significant amount taken from the Liesvelt Bible of 1526. Like the previously mentioned Bible, this text also had a composite nature with direct influence from foreign translations, such as the Worms translation of the Prophets by Hans Denck and Ludwig Hätzer from 1527. For the text of Psalms in the Vorsterman Bible, a late medieval Dutch manuscript of the Psalter, including its marginal notes referring to the Hebrew text, was taken over. The presence of such marginal notes also in other parts of the Vorsterman Bible suggests an even greater dependence on medieval sources.

During this period in the Netherlands there was great interest in new Bible translations, and consequently a large demand. Partially because of better printing techniques, the price of books decreased; moreover, the relatively high degree of literacy and education in the significantly urban Netherlands ensured a sizeable group of potential purchasers. Additionally, manual labourers joined the group of readers and purchasers of the Bibles. Many of the new Bible editions were supplied with forewords, explanatory notes, summaries

and other paratextual aids intended to help the often untrained individual to read and understand the biblical text. On top of this, gatherings were held in private homes in which non-theologians would read (aloud) Bible texts and try to explain them. Even the non-literate could in this way easily come in contact with the new Bible translations and the related theological insights. The influence of oral dissemination of ideas, even in the time of the printing press, is not to be underestimated.

It was especially on account of this oral dissemination that the ecclesiastical and secular authorities raised serious objections to the new Bible translations. The objections were not so much directed towards the fact that Bibles in the vernacular had become available to large sections of society. After all, theologians had already been discussing for centuries whether, and to what degree, the common folk should read the Bible in the vernacular. The general consensus was that while everyone could read some parts of the Bible without assistance, its interpretation ought to be reserved for those who had been trained and/or designated to do so by the church. Because of the threat raised to unity of doctrine, in both the church and the state, the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in the first half of the sixteenth century actively worked against the new Bible translations. The first repressive measures began in 1525 in the form of *Plakarten* and edicts against Bibles, especially editions with Reformed glosses, forewords and summaries above the chapters. The gatherings (conventicles) in which the Bible was read were also prohibited. Bibles were only to be printed after explicit authorisation from one or more of the censors appointed to this end by the authorities. In 1546 the first *Index* of prohibited books appeared, among which were forty-two Dutch Bible editions. In his foreword to the *Index*, the dean of the theological faculty of Louvain strongly emphasised that not only was the manufacture, trade or possession of the listed books prohibited, but also the gatherings in which the Bible was discussed.

Dutch printers and publishers responded to these measures in various ways: some changed their release policy, while others continued to print and/or publish the banned Bibles. Vorsterman adapted the text of his subsequent editions by using other existing Dutch translations that were based more strongly on the Vulgate. The text of the New Testament, for example, was borrowed from the version of the New Testament published by the printer–publisher Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten of Antwerp. This publication had significantly reshaped the Dutch Erasmus translation from 1524 to conform with the Vulgate text, and was available on the market from 1527 onwards. The repressive measures, however, did not have the desired social

impact, partly because economic constraints meant that local governments were not always willing to strictly enforce edicts and *Plakarten*. The policy therefore became gradually stricter in the 1540s, eventually leading to death sentences for a few publishers, including Jacob van Liesvelt. In the 1530s printer–publisher and bookseller Adriaen van Berghen of Antwerp was able to avoid a charge of possession and trafficking of banned books, including Bibles, by claiming that a traveller looking for a coach had left his luggage, including some packages of 'heretical' books, temporarily on his premises. Ten years later and several brushes with the criminal justice system further, Van Berghen, who had by then fled to the northern Netherlands, was once more charged, and was sentenced to death.

### A new Catholic Dutch Bible translation in 1548

The church also responded substantively to the growing demand for Bibles in the vernacular. It was decided in 1546 at the Council of Trent that a new edition of the Latin Vulgate was necessary, as the old text had become corrupted. By November 1547 the Louvain professor and later inquisitor Johannes Hentenius had published a revised version of the Latin Vulgate Bible with the University of Louvain printer Bartholomeus Gravius. The emperor had granted this printer–publisher the privilege of also publishing Dutch and French translations of the Bible, as long as they were approved by two imperial censors, who were specially appointed for this task. With their aid, Gravius was able to convince a regular canon of the Augustinian monastery, Nicolaas van Winghe, to make a new Dutch translation from the Latin Vulgate text. Van Winghe, who was at that time librarian of the monastery, was able to complete this enormous translation in a very short time, and by September 1548 the new Dutch Vulgate edition had been produced. Van Winghe wrote in the foreword that he had followed the Latin source text as faithfully as possible, including style and word order. At the same time, he acknowledged also using existing translations, including the Delft Bible of 1477. In a detailed argument that followed the preface, Van Winghe warns the reader of other banned Bibles, and also against unauthorised interpretation of the Bible. For the publisher, this Bible project was a success. A French edition appeared in 1550 and several reprints followed. One of the most famous printer–publishers of the Louvain Bible was Christoffel Plantijn (Christophe Plantin) of Antwerp. His son-in-law Jan Moerentorf (Moretus) was responsible for the appearance of the revised edition of the Van Winghe Bible in 1599. Several Louvain theologians had corrected the text according to the newest edition of the Latin Vulgate from Sixtus V and Clement VIII, while

trying as much as possible to keep the text of the Van Winghe version intact. The Moerentorf Bible continued to be reprinted until the nineteenth century, remaining the standard text for Roman Catholics.

*Bibles for a diverging Protestantism (1548–1637)*

On account of the increasingly repressive measures taken against new believers, which had begun in the 1540s, many fled from the Low Countries, especially from Brabant and Flanders. A significant number went to cities in England, particularly London, to the Rhine region and to the city of Emden in East Friesland. There they formed thriving refugee communities, and began the organisation of early Protestantism. Protestant book production moved too; by the middle of the sixteenth century hardly any Protestant books were being produced in Antwerp. Emden became the new focal point for the (Reformed) Protestant book culture, and it was there that many of the new editions of the Bible were printed. With the progressive development and differentiation of the various Protestant religious movements, Bible production also grew and diversified, as we shall see. The Liesvelt Bible was particularly popular among the exiles, so its new editions were therefore the first off the presses. It continued to appear for a long time; nevertheless, other Bible translations also appeared on the market, which were often, at least initially, more or less reworkings of the Liesvelt Bible.

In 1554 the Anabaptist printer–publisher Mattheus Jacobszoon produced an edition of the New Testament in Lübeck, a reworking of Liesvelt's text. In a reprinting of the New Testament in 1558 verse numbering was added, following the example of the Utenhove New Testament printed in 1556 by the Emden printer–publisher Gilles van der Erven. More reprints quickly followed, especially editions printed under the name of Nicolaes Biestkens of Diest. The person responsible for the first Biestkens Testament of 1562 was most likely Claes Biestkens, the owner of a printing press in Groessen in the enclave of Kleve and hence beyond the sphere of influence of ecclesiastical authorities. After Biestkens stopped his printing operations in Groessen that year, his equipment was almost certainly taken over by an Emden printer, possibly Willem Geylliaert, who chose to continue to use the name Biestkens for these Bible editions.

Claes Biestkens also published a complete Bible in 1560. This Biestkens Bible was the first complete Dutch translation with numbered verses. The text was based on a Bible published in 1558 by Emden printer–publishers Steven Mierdmans and his business partner Jan Geylliaert (father of the previously mentioned Willem). This earlier Emden Bible had offered a mostly new

Dutch translation of the German Luther Bible, which had been produced in Magdeburg four years earlier by Michael Lotter, although the Liesvelt Bible also influenced the text. Two years earlier, in 1556, Mierdmans and Geylliaert had produced another Bible translation which was based partially on the Zurich Bible, and partly as an adaptation of the Liesvelt Bible on the Swiss Bible. Perhaps because of the literally translated character of the text, the strong deviation from the customary Liesvelt Bible, and even possibly on account of economic interests, this Bible was never reprinted. This 1556 Bible edition by Mierdmans and Geylliaert is generally considered to be the first Reformed (*gereformeerde*) Bible. The edition introduced a thematic index to the Bible text, which would become the basis for subsequent Reformed, and other Protestant Bibles.

For his 1560 edition, for example, Biestkens not only used the text from the Dutch Bible of 1558 by Mierdmans and Geylliaert; he also took over the thematic index. He did enlarge the index, expanding the topics important to his Anabaptist readership, such as 'baptism' and 'the swearing of oaths', by adding more biblical references. This Biestkens Bible, which was used mainly by Lutherans and Mennonites, continued to be printed for more than a century and a half. In many cases the title pages of these editions indicate that they have been printed 'according to the oldest and most correct copy of Niclaes Biestkens'. The last Biestkens Bible was printed in 1721 in Amsterdam by Kornelis van der Sys.

Several of the early Protestant Bibles, such as the Liesvelt Bible, remained extremely popular amongst Protestants and, because of their reputation, sometimes functioned as shibboleths. This is partially evident from the large number of editions that were printed. In the sixteenth century, and even more in the seventeenth, the Bible was a commonplace and familiar element in everyday life, as is clearly illustrated by the regular occurrence of biblical motifs and biblical citations on public buildings or on façades of shops and private homes. The Bible also appeared regularly on signs. In some cases a particular image of the Bible was chosen with the purpose of attracting a certain audience to a shop, often a book shop. The Liesvelt Bible was probably used in the sixteenth century, continuing into the seventeenth, on signs as a means to attract Reformed Protestants inside. Once it was introduced, the signs simply remained in use. Amsterdam's Warmoesstraat was in the seventeenth century an extremely chic shopping street. It had three grand hotels, which, according to the signage on their façades, were named the First, the Second and the Third Liesvelt Bible. In other places an image of the Bible could also be found on signs. On the façade of the Amsterdam bookseller William Jansz Buys,

alias Ghysen (1582), and that of the Hoorn bookseller Zacharias Cornelisz (1620–36), signage featuring the Liesvelt Bible could be found. Various other Bibles were also to be found on signs, including the Delft Bible, the Luther Bible, the Biestkens Bible and, most certainly, the *Statenvertaling*, of which more will be said below. When in 1642 the Amsterdam publisher and bookseller Denys van der Schuere brought out a new edition of the 1560 Biestkens Bible for the Mennonites, with whom it was particularly popular, he hoped to attract this group by featuring it on his sign.

The earliest Bibles specifically designed for the Calvinist movement within Reformed Protestantism, in contrast, proved to have little success. Like the unsuccessful 1556 Bible by Mierdmans and Geylliaert, the first Dutch New Testaments translated from the Greek by Jan Utenhove also in 1556, for example, never caught on. Utenhove, with assistance from Emden pastor Godfried van Wingen, used as his basis an edition of the Greek text by Robert Estienne (Stephanus), which was published in Paris in 1550. In addition, Bible translations from several different languages were used, although no existing Dutch translations. From Stephanus's second edition, published in Geneva the following year, Utenhove took over the division of the text into numbered verses, claiming that this would be more convenient for the readers: they would be better able to understand complicated sentences, feel more at home with the Bible, and more quickly be able to memorise the text. In this way, this edition produced by the Emden printer–publisher Gilles van der Erven was the first Dutch Bible with numbered verses. Utenhove tried to stay as close as possible to the source language, Greek, and had regularly resorted to the German translations in order to bring more variety into his translation. The result was a rather artificial mixed language, which was in general not well received.

The necessary in-depth revision of this translation first took place three years later under Johannes Dyrkinus. For the revision, Dyrkinus made use of the French Bible that had been finished in Geneva in 1551 by 'la Vénérable Compagnie', the Company of Pastors headed by Calvin. This revised New Testament was produced in 1559 (1560) by Gilles van der Erven in Emden. The publication of this excellent translation only really became a success in 1561–2 when van der Erven produced it as a complete Bible, combining this New Testament with Godfried van Wingen's revised version of the Old Testament from the Liesvelt Bible. Van Wingen had revised the text of the Old Testament on the basis of the Zurich Bible and the Luther Bible. This Bible from van der Erven became known as the *Deux Aes* Bible, named after a marginal comment on Nehemiah 3:5 ('The poor must bear their cross, the rich giveth nothing.

Two aces have nothing, six fives give nothing, four threes help freely'[1]), which was based on a marginal comment in the Luther Bible. A high number of (corrected) reprintings of the *Deux Aes* Bible appeared, with modifications primarily being made in the marginal comments. Moreover, starting in 1625, there appeared editions where the New Testament was replaced by the translation of Herman Faukelius. Until the establishment of the State Bible translation in 1637, the *Deux Aes* Bible remained, especially after the establishment of provisions on religion in the Union of Utrecht in 1579, the privileged and authorised version of the Bible to be used in church and at home. That does not imply that this Bible was received positively by everyone; the influence of the somewhat free character of the Luther translation raised difficulties. A desire to make their own Dutch translation from the original biblical languages was already brought up at the national synod of Emden in 1571.

### The Statenvertaling *(Dutch Authorized Version) and afterwards (1637–1750)*

It was not until the National Synod of Dordrecht (1618–19) that the official decision was made to translate the Bible into Dutch from the original languages of Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek. A team of translators was therefore sought, along with revisers out of all of the provinces, in order to ensure the national character of this translation. Primarily because of (church) political and financial difficulties, the translators could only begin working in 1626. They worked in the university city of Leiden, where the necessary resources for their translation were easily accessible. After more than ten years, 'by order of their High Mightinesses the Lords of the States General of the United Provinces (Netherlands) and according to the decision of the National Synod held in Dordrecht in the years of our Lord 1618 and 1619', the new translation was published in 1637 and was later known simply as the *Statenvertaling*. The translation came into being through the combined efforts of church and state. Until the separation of church and state in 1796, the government was obliged to provide for all the material needs of the church, which included financing the translation and publication of the new Bible. The substantive assessment and supervision of the translation was in the hands of the church, namely the provincial ecclesiastical synods, with that of South Holland taking a leading role. The *Statenvertaling* was intended to be the Bible of the Reformed Church, which was the only church at that time publicly recognised by the government. Almost immediately after its appearance the new Bible was introduced

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[1] The original Dutch text is 'de armen moeten het cruyce draghen, de rijcke en geven niets. Deux aes en heeft niet, Six cinque en geeft niet. Quater dry, die helpen vry.'

in all the churches and schools, as well as for use at home. Both church and state saw in this first 'national' Dutch Bible a means to promote (religious) unity, as well as to stimulate further the growing national self-consciousness in the young Republic. Within a short time other Protestant groups, such as the Remonstrants and the Mennonites, also started using the *Statenvertaling*.

In their work of translating, in accordance with the guidelines that were adopted at the Synod of Dordrecht, the translators sometimes based their work on existing popular Dutch translations, especially the *Deux Aes* translation), and they also consulted foreign translations (e.g. the Geneva Bible, the Zurich Bible and the King James Bible), as well as commentaries, including those of the rabbis. The translators were also explicitly mandated to be faithful in following the original Hebrew and Greek texts, and the translation was to be in common, clear language, with a minimum of loanwords. The translation turned out to be more faithful to the original texts than to the target language, containing a number of Hebraisms and Graecisms in the text, which decreased its readability. Alternative translations and explanatory comments were incorporated into the margins of the text, placed in a different font as had been requested, so that simple believers could fruitfully study Scripture on their own.

After the translators had presented their Bible translation to the State-General in 1637, they received a patent to publish the Bible for a period of fifteen years. The translators sold their patent to the mayors of Leiden, who in turn resold it to the widow and heirs of Hillebrant Jacobsz.van Wouw of Den Haag. These publishers thus had the exclusive right to publish this new Bible for fifteen years. Furthermore, the printer Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn received for the same period the right to print the *Statenvertaling*. Almost immediately, however, unofficial reprints appeared, generally in a different format than the official edition and with shortened marginal comments on the text. These reprints appeared in Gouda, as well as periodically in Amsterdam, where the city governments had authorised this practice because of its significant economic impact, despite its illegality. The widow van Wouw tried to make an agreement with the Amsterdam publishers and printers with regard to the publishing and printing of the *Statenvertaling*, but they rejected her proposals and simply continued (re)printing the Bibles.

Shortly after the appearance of the first editions of the *Statenvertaling*, discussions were held at various synods over the errors within the text. In 1651 the State General decreed, at the request of the church, strict regulations regarding the correction, publication and control of the translation. In 1655 the widow of Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn received an officially approved list of

misprints and corrections of the current version of the *Statenvertaling*, which could no longer be printed so as to prevent new errors. Two years later the widow published a revised text of the *Statenvertaling*, in which the full list of improvements with regard to printing errors had been processed. This edition from 1657 has become the standard text for all editions of the *Statenvertaling* up to the present day, and is thus the most important edition of this Bible.

Notwithstanding the fact that the *Statenvertaling* dominated Bible production from 1637 onwards, several other Bible translations also appeared on the market. The two earliest initiatives in the seventeenth century originate in the southern Netherlands and came from Catholics. In fact, these editions, both New Testaments, were no new translations, but rather reworkings meant to update the existing Moerentorf Bible. In the first New Testament, by the Jesuit Frans de Coster in 1624, the reworking mainly consisted of adding anti-Reformational annotations to the Bible text. Despite its popularity among certain theologians, this New Testament did not appeal to a wide public and was never reprinted. The second initiative was a New Testament by Henricus van den Leemputte in 1622. In this edition the language of the text of the Moerentorf Bible was slightly modernised. This New Testament was reprinted several times, and popular in the southern as well as in the northern Netherlands, possibly also due to fact that many of the editions had beautiful illustrations by the woodcutters Christoffel I and II van Sichem.

Due to the growing number of German immigrants in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, there arose a need for a new Dutch translation of the Lutheran Bible to replace the Biestkens Bible that had been used up until then. In 1644 the Lutheran Synod appointed to this end nine translators, under the direction of the Amsterdam pastor Adolf Visscher. The Bible was completed by 1648. The end result was not a new translation from the original languages but instead a thorough revision of the Biestkens Bible according to the High German text of the Luther Bible.

Several other new Bibles appeared elsewhere in Protestant circles, albeit only new translations of the New Testament. In 1680 Amsterdam booksellers Hendrik and Dirk Boom made available a translation of the New Testament by the Remonstrant pastor Christiaen Hartsoeker. The translation was based on the Greek text in the 1658 edition of Curcellaeus by the Amsterdam publisher Elzevier. The translation sometimes followed the text of the *Statenvertaling* but in other places it deliberately did not. The translation was poorly received, and there was no second printing. In 1694 a new translation of the New Testament was produced by Jan Riewertsz, City Printer and bookseller of Amsterdam. The edition was

published posthumously, ten years after the death of its translator, Reynier Rooleeuw. Rooleeuw was a doctor by profession, but he also wrote devotional works. His translation, of which the basis is unclear, remained long in use by the liberal group the Rijnsburger Collegiants, to which Rooleeuw had also belonged. In 1698, in reaction to the two aforementioned translations, Riewertsz produced a translation of the New Testament by Carel Catz, preacher for the Amsterdam Mennonites. The translation had a significantly eclectic character, and was heavily influenced by Catz's personal theological beliefs. It did not become popular, and was never reprinted.

For the Catholic population of the Republic the standard Bible remained the Moerentorf Bible. Nonetheless, new translation initiatives also arose amongst this group, no doubt related to the promotion of the self-identity of this religious minority. Bishop Van Neercassel from Gorinchem was a fervent advocate of Bible reading by the laity and thus commissioned his secretary, the Rotterdam priest Andreas van der Schuur, to make a new Bible translation. While Van der Schuur was busy translating, several other new Catholic translations appeared, including a New Testament (Emmerik, 1696) and a complete Bible (Utrecht, 1717) by Aegidius de Witte. After the death of Van Neercassel in 1686 the Catholics in the Republic were divided regarding the rights of national clergy to make appointments in relation to Rome, which led to the breaking off of the 'Roman Catholics of the Old Episcopal Cleresy', nowadays known as the Old Catholic Church. By the time of his death in 1719 Van der Schuur had largely completed his translation. The Delft scholar and bookseller Van Rhyn completed the final partsof the translation, and the work finally appeared in 1732 and became the official Bible of the Old Catholic Church.

The *Statenvertaling* has remained in use longer than any other Dutch translation in the Netherlands (and elsewhere). In the course of the nineteenth century the call for a new Bible translation grew louder and louder. However, it would not be until 1951 that a new 'national' Bible translation would be introduced. Furthermore, the *Statenvertaling* remains to this day in use among various Dutch Calvinist denominations, whether or not in a revised version. The *Statenvertaling*, through centuries of (privileged) presence, has undeniably had an unparalleled impact on religion and culture in the Netherlands.

## Bibles in Scandinavian Vernaculars

Ole Peter Grell

## Denmark and Norway

During the late Middle Ages monks in Danish and Norwegian monasteries translated at least parts of the Bible into the vernacular. From what has been preserved in manuscript the focus seems to have been on the books of the Old Testament. The translators all used the Vulgate. In many cases, rather than a complete translation of the texts, what is provided is an abridged version, paraphrasing the Vulgate text. These manuscripts do not appear to have been intended for a wider audience and they were never printed.

As early as 1524 a Danish New Testament was published. This octavo edition, known as Christian II's New Testament, was translated by three people including the former mayor of the city of Malmø, Hans Mikkelsen, who had accompanied the deposed King Christian II into exile in 1523. It was in the main a translation of Luther's recently published New Testament in German and incorporated all the prefaces to the different sections written by Luther, whom the exiled king had befriended during his stay in Wittenberg. It was printed by the printer Melchior Lotter in Wittenberg, and not in Leipzig as stated on the front page. Lotter used the types he had assembled for the octavo edition of Luther's New Testament, including the woodcuts produced by Georg Lemberger. The title page was copied from that of Luther's German Old Testament from 1523, which later inspired the title page for the Swedish Reformation (Vasa) Bible of 1541. Apart from the thirteen woodcuts designed by Lemberger another two were included by Lucas Cranach the Elder, a portrait of Christian II and an image of the king's coat of arms.

The New Testament also included a forceful letter from Hans Mikkelsen addressed to the Danish readers and placed between the Acts of the Apostles and Paul's Epistle to the Romans. In it Mikkelsen encouraged his readers to join the Evangelical movement in Denmark and Norway. He announced his and Christian II's conversion to the Evangelical faith. He attacked the Catholic bishops in Denmark, who had been prominent in the ousting of the king, and encouraged the common people to join their rightful king in the true faith and help bring him back to the throne. The first Danish New Testament thus clearly served a religious and evangelical as well as political purpose. Having been printed abroad by the deposed king, it had to be smuggled into Denmark. Linguistically Christian II's New Testament proved a disappointment, and its impact on vernacular Danish was marginal.

For more general works on Bible production in Scandinavia see the bibliography to this volume.

Only five years later, in 1529, another and much improved Danish translation of the New Testament was published. This time it was the work of one man, the humanist scholar and former canon of the chapter in Lund, Christiern Pedersen, who some years before had joined King Christian II's court in exile in the Netherlands. Pedersen had been in Denmark when Christian's 1524 edition of the New Testament arrived in the country, and had seen how well it had sold. Having already published books of his own, Pedersen clearly saw the potential for another, improved Danish translation of the New Testament. He was able to contract the well-known Antwerp printer Willem Vorsterman, whose workshop printed a considerable amount of Protestant literature and texts in several European languages during the 1520s and 1530s. This proved a truly popular edition. In his preface Pedersen dedicated his translation to 'the praise and honour of God and for the use of the common man'. Compared to the 1524 edition, Pedersen's 1529 edition of the New Testament was a more modest undertaking with fewer and much smaller woodcuts. The translation, however, not only proved important for the future development of vernacular Danish, but it also proved a bestseller, and a second edition was published only two years later.

If the first Danish translation of the New Testament appeared quickly, the translation and publication of the whole Bible proved surprisingly slow. Considering that the Lutheran Church Order of 1536 had emphasised that all ministers ought to possess a copy of the Bible, the fact that it took another fourteen years for it to be published is baffling. Perhaps the work was hampered by the fact that Luther continued to publish new and improved editions of the Bible in German until his death in 1546, but the fact that the translation had to be published as a prestigious, princely Bible in a luxuriously illustrated folio format did not make it any easier. There were no printers in Denmark who could cope with a project of this size. The well-known Lübeck printer Ludwig Dietz, who had printed Luther's Bible in Low German in 1534, was eventually recruited for the job while the parish churches were ordered to pay 2 thalers each towards the cost of the high-quality paper imported for the purpose from Holland. The result was a typographically impressive volume of no less than 1,104 pages, which included the many woodcuts already used by Dietz in his Low German edition of the Bible, apart from the portrait of the king and the insignia of the realm which were created specially for this publication by Jacob Brinck. Three thousand copies were printed and sold at the considerable price of 5 thalers per copy – the equivalent to the cost of an ox – and each parish church was obliged to buy at least one copy. Considering that the churches had already subsidised the enterprise by paying for the paper

it is no wonder that this proved a profitable enterprise for Christian III, who ended up with a profit of no less than 10,000 thalers.

The initial translation had been made by Christiern Pedersen. It was then edited by the three professors of theology at the University of Copenhagen, Bishop Peder Palladius, Niels Hemmingsen and Johannes Machabæus (the Scots former Dominican John Macalpine, d. 1557), plus a couple of learned ministers. In linguistic terms the translation proved a great success, and the influence of this work on the development of vernacular Danish proved paramount in decades to come, not least because it came to define the spoken and written Danish used in the churches.

King Christian III had wanted the translation to be as close to Luther's German translation as possible, and undoubtedly the translation is hugely influenced by Luther's translation of 1545, but other translations, especially the Low German of 1534, played an important part too, as did previous translations of parts of the Bible into Danish, especially those of Christiern Pedersen and Hans Tausen. It is noteworthy that there is no reference to Luther on the front page. Significantly, the preface was written by the dominant figure of the Danish Reformation church, Peder Palladius, and not by Luther. Similarly, rather unexpectedly the portrait of Christian III is not on the frontpage, but tucked away a couple of pages into the Bible, as is the royal coat of arms. As princely Bibles go this is a self-consciously modest example.

By the mid-1570s, during the reign of Frederik II, Christian III's Bible had sold out. Considering that by no means all churches had obtained a copy, an enterprising Copenhagen printer, Lorentz Benedicht, obtained a royal licence in 1577 to publish a new and unchanged edition of Christian III's Bible. However, it took another twelve years before this new Bible was printed, and then not by Benedicht, who had died, but by the printer Mads Vingaard. It had been debated among learned theologians whether or not changes were needed in the new edition to bring it closer to the original texts in Hebrew and Greek. However, when Frederik II's Bible appeared in 1589, it reprinted the text of Christian III's Bible with minor changes. It also incorporated Luther's prefaces to many of the different books of the Bible, his marginalia, and Veit Dietrich's summaries. These changes were facilitated by printing the text in two columns. In terms of typography and illustrations this was a somewhat inferior edition to its predecessor. The Dutch engraver Hendrick Goltzius produced a portrait of Frederik II for the new Bible, while the titlepage, which had been bought from the Frankfurt printer Feyerabend, was modified to include the royal coat of arms. Clearly, Frederik II felt able to do what his father had refrained from, announcing loudly and clearly to God and Man

that this was his Bible, a princely Bible. Similarly, Luther and with him Veit Dietrich were mentioned on the frontpage of this edition, published a year after Frederik II's death.

Both Christian III and Frederik II's Bibles were prestigious and expensive folio editions. They were aimed at the institutional market, and a few very wealthy individuals. Their cost would have been beyond what most learned and interested individuals could afford. By the beginning of the seventeenth century some printers came to realise that there was a market for a basic, affordable edition of the Bible in Danish. In 1603 two of them were authorised by the king to reprint an octavo edition of Frederik II's Bible. However, the realisation that this Bible was in need of revision caused Christian IV to commission the prominent professor of theology at the University of Copenhagen, Hans Poulsen Resen, to produce a revised edition. Subsequently Resen single-handedly produced what amounted to a total retranslation of the Bible based on the original texts in Hebrew and Greek, while consulting the translations of both Luther and Beza. Together with the printers, who had been authorised to publish the octavo edition, Resen was able to publish his unillustrated retranslation in 1607 in an affordable edition. As a scholarly enterprise it proved a success, and became a must for all ministers and theologians; however, it lacked popular appeal, written, as it was, in complicated and cumbersome language.

It is noteworthy that Resen's Bible was eventually rejected as the basis for Christian IV's Bible, published in 1633. Instead, this Bible returned to the text of Frederik II's Bible. This created a situation whereby a cheap, scholarly version of the Bible became the preferred option of ministers and theologians, while the new expensive Royal Bible, with its mistranslations, but far superior vernacular language, remained the public face of the Lutheran Church. From the popular perspective one was too difficult to read and the other too expensive to buy.

Resen's Bible of 1607, however, proved durable, and was revised by Archbishop Hans Svane and republished in 1647. Despite its linguistic shortcomings Resen's translation was a scholarly masterpiece, and continued to influence subsequent Danish editions and translations of the Bible until the early nineteenth century.

When plans were drawn up for a new edition of the Bible in 1629 a university committee recommended to Christian IV that it should be based on the Bibles published by his father and grandfather, Christian III and Frederik II, because they were considered closer to Luther's translations and more comprehensible for the common people. Rather than a quarto edition, as recommended by the

committee, Christian IV's Bible of 1633 became yet another folio edition. It eventually based itself exclusively on the text for Frederik II's Bible, and reused most of the illustrations from this edition, adding only a new frontispiece and portrait of the king executed by the court artist, Simon de Pas. Costing no less than 7 thalers, it represents the pinnacle of princely Bibles published in Denmark. It was printed in 2,000 copies, and the king made sure that that he was financially covered by ordering the parish churches in Denmark and Norway to collect money for the purpose before publication. As it had for his grandfather, this enterprise proved a great earner for Christian IV. Rather than repaying the individual parishes after the Bible had been successfully sold, Christian IV, like his grandfather, found other uses for this dividend.

A truly popular and affordable Bible in the vernacular had to wait for the reign of Christian's son and successor, Frederik III, who in 1670 published the King's Domestic and Travel Bible in a quarto edition, followed a few years later by an octavo edition.

## Iceland

When returning from his consecration abroad in 1523, the last Catholic bishop in Iceland brought back a small printing press and a printer cum priest. His successor, the post-Reformation bishop Gudbrandur Thorláksson, educated at the University of Copenhagen, made use of both this printing press and the original printer's son, Jón Jónsson, upon his promotion to the bishopric of Hólar. First he translated his teacher, Niels Hemmingsen's work, *Life's Road*, publishing it in 1575. By then Gudbrandur must have begun work on the translation of the Bible into Icelandic. By 1578 he stated that he was spending all his income on the printing of the Bible. The following year he received a royal privilege granting him the exclusive right to print Bibles in Iceland, simultaneously ordering every parish church to contribute 1 thaler towards the cost of the printing. A few days later another royal letter followed, ordering all parish churches to buy at least one copy of the new Bible. Eventually, one year after the publication of the Icelandic Bible in 1584, King Frederik II donated 200 thalers towards the cost of the printing. The Icelandic Bible proved an expensive book, costing somewhere between 8 and 12 thalers, equivalent to the cost of two or three cows. Not surprisingly some of the poorer parishes struggled to afford the one copy they were obliged to buy, and in many cases Gudbrandur donated copies to these poorer communities.

The Bible was printed as a folio volume of 1,242 pages which, apart from the title page, included 29 woodcuts illustrating the text. The woodcuts for the Old Testament were clearly taken from German Bibles, while those relating to the

New Testament were inspired by the Danish Reformation Bible (Christian III's Bible) of 1550. Many of the Gudbrand Bibles were bound abroad, in Hamburg and Copenhagen, especially since skilled bookbinders were in short supply in Iceland.

The translation was to a large extent Gudbrandur's own, but he received considerable help from a number of others. The original Hebrew and Greek texts were not used for the translation, but only Luther's translations, the Danish, Christian III's Bible and the Vulgate. It turned out to be a fine example of a princely Bible and, like so many of these works, it proved significant for the development of the vernacular, in this case Icelandic.

Two of Gudbrandur's successors in the bishopric of Hólar also published Icelandic Bibles: both turned out to be elegantly produced folio Bibles – the Thorlák Bible of 1644 and the Steinn Bible of 1728, even if they fell somewhat short of the original Gudbrand Bible.

Thorlákur Skúlason, the man behind the Thorlák Bible, was a grandson of Gudbrandur. Thorlákur's interest in reprinting the Icelandic Bible two genera-tions after its first publication clearly materialised at an auspicious moment, and was closely connected with events in Denmark. The king, Christian IV, had just had a new luxurious, illustrated, folio Bible published for use in Denmark and Norway in 1633, and was clearly amenable to a similar project in that part of his realm, Iceland, where a Nordic version was needed. In April 1635 Christian IV publicly ordered all parish churches in Iceland to pay towards the publication of the new Icelandic Bible. The new Bible, which was pub-lished in 1644, was more or less identical with the original Gudbrand Bible of 1584 apart from some correction bringing it closer to the Lutheran Bible and the Danish Bible of 1607, a translation in octavo by the then professor of the-ology in Copenhagen, Hans Poulsen Resen, who had returned to the original Hebrew and Greek texts for his translation. As a consequence the language of the Thorlák Bible is much more influenced by Danish than its predecessor. For the first time the text was divided into verses, and it was initially printed in around 500 copies, later to be reprinted twice, in 1747 and 1813.

The third Icelandic Bible was printed in 1728, like its predecessors in the print shop at Hólar. Once more the enterprise was promoted by the resident bishop, in this case Steinn Jónson. According to a royal letter issued by Frederik IV in February 1723 there was a shortage of Bibles in Icelandic, and in order to rem-edy this Steinn Jónson had been allowed to reprint the Bible in an affordable edition. However, the letter stated that the bishop was obliged to revise the Icelandic text to make it correspond with the recent Danish Bibles published by the Mission College in Copenhagen. Founded in 1714, the Mission College

printed more than 15,000 Bibles and New Testaments between 1715 and 1721, having received a royal privilege. This was done in order to make the Bible available in an affordable form and to spread the gospel among non-Christians in the colonies and on the periphery of the realm such as the Lapps in northern Norway and the Eskimos in Greenland.

Accordingly, the Steinn Bible was printed in slightly smaller format than its predecessors and without any illustrations and ornamentations. This time it was split into five parts, rather than three, and more often than not bound in two volumes. Of the three Icelandic Bibles printed in this period it was linguistically closest to Danish. The print run of between 1,000 and 1,500 copies would also have helped it to become the most affordable Icelandic Bible so far. Not surprisingly it proved the first Icelandic Bible to have some popular impact, being bought by a number of households.

### Sweden

By the last decades of the fifteenth century parts of the Bible had been translated into Swedish. The monks and monasteries involved in this work appear to have focused on the Old Testament, translating the Books of Moses and those of Esther and Ruth, while limiting their interest in the New Testament to the Acts of the Apostles and the book of Revelation. None of these translations, which all drew on the Vulgate, were, however, printed.

The appearance of the first translation of the New Testament into Swedish, published in 1526, was closely linked to the recent accession to the Swedish throne of Gustav Vasa and his ambition to reform the Swedish church. In June 1525 the seven cathedral chapters and four monastic orders had received a circular letter from the elected archbishop, Johannes Magnus. They were informed that the king had ordered the New Testament to be translated into Swedish immediately; each chapter and monastery was to take responsibility for the translation of a section and meet in Uppsala on 10 September. The letter stated that in an age that was characterised by debate about the church and the Bible, pious and educated people needed a translation so that they could judge for themselves. Likewise, it was stated that priests, who were generally badly educated, urgently needed access to a translation of the New Testament in order to be able to preach the word of God. At the same time Gustav Vasa ordered the elected archbishop to go to Germany to find a printer who could undertake the printing of the New Testament. In Lübeck Johannes Magnus recruited one of the period's most prominent German printers, Jörgen Richolff the younger, who was eventually to serve the Swedish Reformation well.

The translation took longer to finish than expected, and was eventually published during the summer of 1526. It was a collective effort, supervised and edited by two of the prominent figures of the Swedish Reformation, the royal secretary, Laurentius Andreae, and his collaborator Olaus Petri. On the eve of its publication Andreae recommended the Swedish translation to the Norwegian archbishop Olav Engelbriktsson for use in Norway. According to him it was superior to the recent Danish translation of 1524, because it had avoided any controversial interpretations so as not to offend. The fact that the Swedish translation was closer to that of Erasmus than Luther and had drawn on other Low German translations both pre- and post-Reformation, not to mention consulted the Vulgate and for that matter the recent translation into Danish of the New Testament, would appear to confirm Laurentius's view and made it more acceptable to Catholics at least.

On 15 August 1526 the first Swedish translation of the New Testament left the press. It was published as a small folio with a few illustrations and was clearly aimed at the clergy, making it possible for them to read the relevant texts in Swedish during the service. Around 2,000 copies were printed, and each parish was expected to buy one for 3 marks. It was not cheap, roughly the price of an ox in Sweden at this time. It is noteworthy that the titlepage of this translation – 'Jesus. Thet Nyia Testamentit på Swensko'– is typographically identical to a New Testament edition from Strasbourg in 1523, and that the full page woodcut, showing Mary and John next to the crucified Christ, is taken from the so-called *Missale Upsaliense* from 1513.

The preface to the Swedish New Testament stated the ambition to translate the Old Testament into Swedish as soon as possible. Accordingly, some of the books of the Old Testament were translated and printed individually in the period leading up to the first full translation of the Bible into Swedish in 1541.

Once more the translation was a collective effort, but driven forward and edited by a few, in this case Olaus Petri and his brother Laurentius. As opposed to the New Testament of 1526, the Swedish Reformation Bible, as it is known, was basically a retranslation of Luther's Bible of 1534 with certain corrections taken from the 1539 edition. Once more the Lübeck printer Jörgen Richolff returned to Sweden to undertake the printing. The Swedish Reformation Bible he printed turned out to be a sumptuous princely Bible. Produced as a large folio of nearly 800 pages including a considerable number of woodcuts, all imported from Germany, created by some of the leading artists of the day, among them Lucas Cranach the Elder and Georg Lemberger, this was a Bible intended to be a prominent part of the fabric of the Swedish churches, reminding their congregations of their God and their king.

This translation also proved extremely important for the development of vernacular Swedish. Unlike the translation of the New Testament, the Swedish Reformation Bible, with its Germanic-influenced language, came to shape the linguistic development of Swedish for centuries through its impact on the daily life of the local communities who constantly listened to it, attending the weekly services in their parish churches. In fact, the Swedish Reformation Bible, or Gustav Vasa Bible as it is also known, came to form the foundation for all future Swedish translations of the Bible until the translation of 1917 finally introduced a radically different version.

Despite the major efforts involved in the production of the Vasa Bible, some Swedish Protestants remained dissatisfied with the translation. In 1550 a revised translation of the New Testament was published, with many of the changes first introduced in Luther's last Bible edition of 1546. This time it was published in a quarto edition which made it affordable for most educated people, providing them with the first chance to read the Bible at home for and with their families. Similarly, a number of books from the Old Testament were retranslated and published in the decades after 1541, many of them in even cheaper octavo editions.

A new translation of the New Testament was published privately by the Stockholm printer Anund Olofsson in 1605. This quarto edition still to a considerable extent depended on Luther's translations, but also introduced a number of corrections aimed at bringing it closer to the original Greek and Latin texts. This edition, for the first time, divided the text into verses.

After further discussion about whether or not a new translation was needed, the so-called Gustavus Adolphus Bible was published in 1618. Eventually it was decided not to proceed with a new translation and to use the text from the Vasa Bible. However, new illustrations were added and the text was split into verses. Typographically the pages were divided into six columns, which made it much easier for the reader to find the relevant sections. The printer, Olof Olofsson Helsing, produced a typographical de luxe edition, one of the finest examples of a princely Bible of this period, with a print run of around 3,500 copies. Many of the illustrations were used in later Bible editions in Sweden, such as the Christina Bible of 1646 and illustrated Bibles from the early eighteenth century. Both the Christina Bible and the Karl X Gustav Bible of 1655 followed the Gustavus Adolphus Bible in format, text and layout, but the illustrations in the Christina Bible proved superior because of the better paper used. The Karl Gustav Bible, however, had no illustrations, but even so it remained very much a princely Bible aimed at institutions such as schools and churches rather than individuals.

In the seventeenth century the so-called domestic Bibles began to emerge. They were cheaper editions, printed in a smaller format such as quarto, and were aimed at private households. The first to appear was a pirated edition of the Gustavus Adolphus Bible published in a two-volume edition in Lübeck by Samuel Jauch in 1622, confirming the dependence of the early Swedish Bibles on the printing expertise available in this north German, Hanseatic city. This edition was followed by another two small-format Bibles in Swedish published with royal approval and printed in Leiden in the Netherlands. Later such editions were published in Sweden such as the two quarto editions by the two Henrik Keysers, father and son, from 1658 and 1674 respectively. Later a couple of octavo editions were also published, one in 1674 and two in 1688, one printed in Amsterdam and the other in Stockholm.

The debate about the need for a new translation continued throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. For those who wanted a revised and retranslated Swedish Bible, Karl XII's Bible of 1703 proved a disappointment. Typographically it turned out to be a sumptuous work, but in terms of the text it did little more than reproduce the Vasa Bible even if it did succeed in modernising the vernacular language used, and to correct mistakes while adding new commentaries to the text. Its large folio format and superb typography undoubtedly made it the most impressive of the early modern princely Bibles or church Bibles published in Sweden.

### Finland

Meanwhile, Finland, which was part of the kingdom of Sweden, had received its first translation of the New Testament into Finnish in 1548. Unlike the Swedish translations this was due to the efforts of one man alone, the Finnish reformer Michael Agricola, who had started his translation while a student in Wittenberg in 1536–9. While serving as a schoolmaster in Åbo in Finland he finished his translation and raised capital for its publication: his translation, *Se Wsi Testamenti*, was published with illustrations. In his introduction Agricola informs us that he used the Greek text of the New Testament published by Erasmus, not to mention both Latin, Swedish and German translations, especially Luther's Bible from 1539 and his revised translation of the New Testament. Agricola's declared aim was to translate the whole Bible. He managed to translate some of the books of the Old Testament, but his early death in 1557 prevented him from finishing this project. The importance of Agricola's translation for the development of written Finnish in particular cannot be overstated. His linguistic influence is so much more remarkable when it is borne in mind that his mother tongue is likely to have been Swedish.

Agricola's ambition to have the whole Bible translated into Finnish was not realised until the seventeenth century, when the momentum created by the publication of the Gustavus Adolphus Bible in 1618 caused the project to be revived. In 1642 the first full Bible in Finnish was printed in Stockholm by Henrik Keyser. Of the 1,200 copies printed, 800 were sent to Finland. It was a magnificent luxury edition, far too expensive for most Protestant households and clearly aimed at parish churches. It was not until 1685 that another edition was published. This was a far more modest enterprise, using a smaller format and cheaper print. As such, its 2,200 copies were aimed at educated, relatively well-off Christian households.

# German Bibles outside the Lutheran movement

BRUCE GORDON

Martin Luther's translation of the Bible cast a long shadow over rival attempts in the early modern period to produce German-language versions of Scripture. Widely admired for its accuracy and elegance, Luther's Bible wielded an authority unmatched by any other translation in the years from the Reformation to the revolutionary age of the late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, significant efforts were made, particularly by members of the Reformed churches, who laboured tirelessly to produce scholarly and usable Bibles that would meet theological and pastoral needs. In truth, however, the German Bibles that emerged from Zurich, Heidelberg and Herborn, for all their fidelity to the ancient languages and humanist techniques, reached only relatively small and disparate audiences, and failed to capture the imagination of broader Protestantism. The fragile and fractious world of the German-speaking Reformed churches was not congenial to the emergence of one Bible to match Luther and his heirs. The Reformed churches in the Empire were dwarfed by a Lutheran majority and gravely endangered by the Thirty Years War, in which they lost their stronghold in Heidelberg and numerous libraries. The Swiss, in turn, remained as divided as ever, unable to agree on an authoritative Bible. In the Protestant lands of the eastern part of the Confederation, as well as in the major churches of Basel and Berne, Luther's translation was preferred by many to the so-called Zurich Bible. This tendency was also strong within the Empire, where the Calvinist churches remained inclined to Luther's translation until the end of the sixteenth century: the one major attempt to produce a Reformed German translation proved a failure.

## Zurich

During the early 1520s Luther's Bible translations flowed from the presses of Adam Petri and Thomas Wolff in the Swiss city of Basel, the intellectual

and commercial heart of the Confederation.[1] In the brief period between September 1522 and 1524, Petri and Wolff accounted for ten editions of Luther's New Testament.[2] The three volumes of the Wittenberg Old Testament were reprinted by Petri in Basel, though the language was adapted for an Upper Rhine audience and Konrad Pellikan added a considerable number of philological and theological glosses, particularly for the Pentateuch.[3] In Zurich the two disputations of 1523 focused on the vexed matter of biblical interpretation, and radical thought, which coalesced around Konrad Grebel and others, took root among small yet vociferous groups of Bible readers.[4] By 1525 Huldrych Zwingli found himself in a desperate struggle over biblical interpretation on at least two fronts: with the Anabaptists on the question of infant baptism, and with Luther over Christ's words 'this is my body'.[5] No argument or position was tenable that could not be proved in Scripture, and the protracted and acrimonious battle over how texts were to be read, translated and propagated was under way.

Printing Luther's Bible translations in the Swiss Confederation presented a considerable linguistic challenge for Petri and Wolff in Basel and later Froschauer in Zurich. The Wittenberg reformer's language was not easily understood by the Swiss and their German neighbours of the Upper Rhine region. Some years later, when Luther's erstwhile friend and later nemesis, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, preached in Zurich many complained that they could not understand his Saxon dialect. A folio edition of Luther's September (New) Testament was prepared for the press of Christoph Froschauer in Zurich by the end of the summer of 1524, a reworking of the 1522 Basel edition of Adam Petri.[6] The 1524 Zurich New Testament was not only emended to suit the Swiss faithful, but its language reflected a revision of Luther's work with the aid of Erasmus's Greek edition. Further, the influence

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[1] Adolf Fluri, 'Luthers Uebersetzung des Neuen Testaments und ihre Nachdrucke in Basel und Zürich 1522–1531', *Schweizerisches Evangelisches Schulblatt* 57 (1922), 273–6, 282–5, 292–4, 301–2, 313–16, 324–6, 331–4, 339–41.

[2] Traudel Himmighöfer, *Die Zürcher Bibel bis zum Tode Zwinglis (1531)* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1995), pp. 63–4.

[3] Ibid., p. 76.

[4] Extremely helpful is C. Arnold Snyder, 'Swiss Anabaptism: The Beginnings', in John D. Roth and James Stayer (eds.), *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 45–82.

[5] See Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[6] Paul Leemann-Van Elck, *Die Offizin Froschauer, Zürichs berühmte Druckerei im 16. Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst anlässlich der Halbjahrtausendfeier ihrer Erfindung* (Zurich and Leipzig: Orell Füssli Verlage, 1940), p. 55.

of Erasmus's *Annotations* was clearly evident, as were the theological glosses of Huldrych Zwingli, who prepared the text.[7] Beginning in the winter of 1525, just before the Reformation was officially adopted in the city, a three-volume Old Testament was printed in Zurich based on the Basel Luther edition, though again with significant philological and theological revision.[8] The first volume contained the Pentateuch, the second Joshua to Esther and the third Job to the Song of Songs. The 1525 Old Testament was remarkable for its inclusion of woodcuts on the title pages, a striking reminder that the repudiation of images in churches did not extend to illustrations in Bibles.[9] God the Father, for example, was represented nine times. The 1525 Old Testament was a curious hybrid reflecting the haste with which it was prepared: in some books extensive alterations to language are evident, while in others one finds virtually none. Likewise, Luther's glosses were reproduced in certain places whilst omitted in others.

Between 1527 and 1529 the Zurich Prophezei began to take shape, marking the emergence of a distinctive method of biblical translation.[10] It was not an institution, but rather best understood as a gathering of scholars in the Grossmünster church for worship and meticulous study of the Bible. As such it was an expression of biblical interpretation in the southern Rhineland and Swiss lands during the 1520s, whereby humanists skilled in languages and textual criticism believed that collectively under the guidance of the Holy Spirit a lucid and faithful exegesis could be attained in the service of the pastoral labours of the church.[11] In Zurich the leading scholars and ministers of the city gathered on mornings during the week to work through the Hebrew, Greek (Septuagint) and Latin (Vulgate) versions of the Old Testament. The new enthusiasm for Hebrew dominated the work of the Zurichers. In a practice intentionally reminiscent of Jewish tradition, following the reading of the ancient languages a vernacular translation was prepared by Leo Jud in the form of a sermon for the laity and non-Latinate clergy.

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[7] Himmighöfer, *Die Zürcher Bibel*, pp. 155f.

[8] Ibid., pp. 185–212.

[9] *Das Alt Testament dütsch: der ursprünglichen ebreischen waarheyt nach uff das allertrüwlichest verdütschet.* (Zurich: Christophorum Froschouer, 1525).

[10] The literature on the Prophezei is rich, but notably helpful are Peter Opitz, 'The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of John Oecolampadius, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin', in *HBOT* II, pp. 407–51, esp. pp. 420–2; Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 232–9; and Himmighöfer, *Die Zürcher Bibel*, pp. 213–35.

[11] See R. Gerald Hobbs, 'Pluriformity of Early Reformation Scriptural Interpretation', in *HBOT* II, pp. 452–511, esp. pp. 452–87.

Between 1525 and 1530 three octavo and five quarto editions of the New Testament appeared from the Froschauer press with clearly discernible characteristics: the growing influence of Zwingli's theology on the language of the text and its accompanying notes and prefaces, and an attempt to present a translation that would make the Zurich Bibles marketable in the south-western German cities.[12] Commercial, humanist and pastoral interests all shaped the nascent biblical world in which church leaders sought to balance regional and local interests, a tension evident in shifts towards and away from the use of the vocalisation of Zurich dialect in preparing Bibles.

Following the success of the New Testaments, the three-volume Old Testament appeared once more in 1527.[13] The force behind this edition remained Christoph Froschauer and his typesetters; the printer provided an extensive letter to the Christian reader outlining the structure and logic of his Bible, with little attention to theological matters.[14] In the same year a translation of the Old Testament Prophets by the so-called Worms Prophets Ludwig Hätzer and Hans Denck unsettled both Zwingli and Luther and stirred them to renewed effort. In Zurich the Prophezei had been concentrating on the Pentateuch, but in 1527 it turned its attention to the prophetic books, which were printed in 1529 in folio, quarto and octavo.[15] In his preface Zwingli roundly attacked Hätzer and Denck, without naming them, denouncing the perils of spiritualising translation. The same year saw the appearance of Leo Jud's translation of the Apocrypha, likewise in folio, quarto and octavo, a considerable publishing success with reprints in several German cities.[16]

The first complete German Bible from the Swiss Confederation was the Zurich octavo edition produced by Froschauer in two editions in 1530 with a preface by the printer, who once more concentrated on matters of printing rather than theology.[17] Froschauer revisited his intention of a Bible for a broader German-speaking readership; thinking northward into the Empire where Zurich dialect would be too strange for the ears of evangelical sympathisers, he worked with the city's biblical scholars for a more accessible

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[12] Himmighöfer, *Die Zürcher Bibel*, p. 278.

[13] *Das Neuw Testamet grüdtlich vnd recht verteütscht: Zuo Zürich: Getruckt … bey Christoffel Froschouwer* (Zurich: Froschauer, [1527]).

[14] Himmighöfer, *Die Zürcher Bibel*, pp. 283–4.

[15] *Das Vierde teyl des alten Testaments: alle Propheten, vss Ebraischer spraach, mitt guotten trüwenn vnnd hohem flyss, durch die Predicanten zuo Zürich, in Tütsch vertolmätschet* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1529).

[16] *Diss sind die Bücher, die bey den alten under Biblische Gschrifft nit gezelt sind, auch bey den Ebreern nit gefunden / neüwlich widerumb durch Leo Jud verteütschet …* (Zurich: Froschauer, [1529]).

[17] Himmighöfer, *Die Zürcher Bibel*, pp. 363–4.

vernacular. Such efforts formed part of Zurich's effort to exert influence in the torrid religious urban cultures of the south-western Empire. Froschauer drew attention to his choices of an octavo format and the omission of woodcuts to make his Bible affordable and 'popular'.

The first folio edition of the Bible appeared in 1531, the year of Zwingli's death.[18] Its continued dependence on Luther was evident: large parts of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings were taken from the Wittenberg Bible, although the vocabulary was drastically altered for the Swiss. The Prophets and the apocryphal books were reproduced from the 1529 Bible, while the poetic books (Job, Psalms etc.) had been prepared by the Zurich scholars between 1529 and 1530. The Bible contained a long and detailed preface, again anonymously written by Zwingli, which ranged across such issues as the order of the canon, the need for vernacular translations and the methods of translation. The theological tone was set in the extensive chapter summaries, glosses, indices and concordance: approximately 1,800 glosses and almost 15,000 parallel texts were provided to guide the reader. The print itself was Froschauer's finest work, with elegantly clear type enhanced by decorated letters and two title pages. Most striking, however, were the 198 woodcuts, of which 140 were new, by Hans Holbein the Younger.

Immediately after Zwingli's death work continued on the Bible by Leo Jud, Konrad Pellikan and Theodor Bibliander, with the latter two providing the intellectual leadership. With the 1534 octavo Bible, revision was apparent as the number of parallel texts proliferated and the chapter summaries extended.[19] Although he did not work on Bible translation directly, Heinrich Bullinger's influence was unmistakable. As chief minister of the church he held himself responsible for the Bible in the life and worship of the church, and his disposition shaped its theological direction. He gave expression to his thought in 1538 with his *De Scripturae Sanctae authoritate*, dedicated to Henry VIII of England.[20] The Zurich Bibles reflected the pressing issues of the day: the Eucharistic

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[18] *Die gantze Bibel der ursprünglichen Ebraischen und Griechischen waarheyt nach auffs aller treüwlichest verteütschet* (Zurich: Christoffel Froschouer, 1531). The literature on the 1531 Bible is rich, including Himmighöfer, *Die Zürcher Bibel* and Hans Rudolf Lavater, 'Die Froschauer-Bibel', inChristoph Sigrist (ed.), *Die Zürcher Bibel von 1531: Enstehung, Verbreitung and Wirkung* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2011), pp. 64–141.

[19] J. J. Mezger, *Geschichte der Deutschen Bibelübersetzungen in der schweizerisch-reformierten Kirche von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Basel: Bahnmaier Verlag, 1876), pp. 110–11.

[20] *De Scripturae Sanctae authoritate, certitudine, firmitate et absoluta perfection: de[que] episcoporum, qui uerbi Dei Ministri sunt, institutione & functione, contra superstitionis tyrannidisq[ue] Romanae antistes, ad sereniss. Angliae Regem Heinrychum VIII./Heinrychi Bullingeri; libri duo. Tiguri: in officinal Froschouiana, mense Martio, anno 1538* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1538).

debate with the Lutherans and the ongoing struggle against the Anabaptists. The 1534 Bible also afforded the opportunity to correct serious errors in the 1531 edition, particularly those in the concordances and indices.

The 1536 two-volume Bible is notable for several reasons.[21] It retained the Zwingli preface and Froschauer's 1534 letter to the reader in which he attested to the collaborative efforts of scholars and the print shop. Although closely connected to the Zurich reformers he possessed no Latin, leaving him entirely dependent on the guidance of Jud, Pellikan, Bibliander and others. Nevertheless, his contribution to biblical culture was enormous. Not only did he tirelessly labour to produce new editions, but with his networks across the Empire was a diligent advocate and salesman. Without Froschauer the Zurich Bible in its many forms would have been impossible. His commitment involved considerable financial risk, particularly as he maintained large store-houses in both Zurich and Frankfurt. His letter to the reader reflected both piety and business acumen; he exhorted lay people to find in the Bible the way of Christ while assuring them that their investment was prudent, as his was the best version on offer. Also notable in the 1536 Bible was the ordering of the canon. Previously, the Luther Bible had been followed, but from 1536 the Zurich church put the Apocrypha after Esther, and Hebrews after the Pauline epistles.

The extensive work of Bible translation in Zurich was carried out during the 1530s as part of a constant flow of biblical commentaries, editions and books of edification. Bullinger published commentaries on Hebrews and various Pauline letters, while Bibliander and Pellikan worked on the Old Testament, with their own interpretations, orations and Hebrew grammars.[22] Pellikan's multi-volume exposition of the Old Testament, based on his lightly revised Vulgate, stressed its pastoral application, and his detailed theological notes, drawn in part from the lectures of Theodore Bibliander, merit closer attention.[23] His commentary sold well in Zurich and abroad, and went through many editions. Leo Jud prepared vernacular works of devotion

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[21] Ibid., pp. 113–16.

[22] On Bibliander see Bruce Gordon, '"Christo testimonium reddunt omnes scripturae": Theodor Bibliander's Oration on Isaiah (1532) and Commentary on Nahum (1534)', inBruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (eds.), *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and their Readers in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 107–41. On Pellikan the standard work remains Christoph Zürcher, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich: 1526–1525* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 1975).

[23] *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*, 5 vols. (Zurich: Froschauer, 1532–5); A sixth volume on the Gospels and Acts appeared in 1540.

and translated writings of Augustine, Rabanus, Erasmus and Thomas à Kempis.[24] Such endeavours spoke to the desire to cultivate Christian living and a Reformed identity within the spiritual tradition of the historical church. The themes highlighted in the prefaces, chapter summaries and glosses of the Bibles related precisely to the religious literature produced in Zurich. Froschauer remained the driving force as he produced virtually all of this work, and not infrequently the beginning parts of a commentary or Bible were printed before the text was completed by the authors. A weary Bullinger complained to Vadianus in 1539 of being 'pressed by the press'.[25]

In the late 1530s a Polish Jewish convert to Christianity named Michael Adam arrived in Zurich, and the principal Hebraists in the city, Pellikan and Bibliander, were quick to seize the opportunity.[26] Pellikan put him up in his house, and in return Adam assisted in a complete revision of the German Bible from Hebrew. The speed of the work was truly amazing, as the new Bible appeared in 1539/40. Froschauer wrote another long preface trumpeting the achievements made possible by this enhanced expertise. Whole sentences, he enthused, had been revised in light of the Hebrew, but where a passage possessed multiple possible renderings the method of the translators was to keep to the simplest and most natural – a strategy they repeatedly advocated in their German and Latin prefaces. During his time in Zurich Adam produced a Yiddish translation of the Josippon, an extraordinary achievement of sixteenth-century printing.[27] Illustrated with woodcuts, it found an audience among Jews across Europe, and its appearance spoke to the range of intellectual interests in Reformation Zurich. The relationship of Adam with

[24] On Jud's translation work see Christine Christ-von Wedel, 'Das Buch der Bücher popularisieren: Der Bibelübersetzer Leo Jud und sein biblisches Erbauungsbuch "Vom lyden Christi" (1534)', *Zwingliana* 38 (2011), 35–52. On his work in editing and translating patristic and medieval sources, Christian Moser, 'Ratramnus von Corbie als "testis veritatis" in der Zürcher Reformation: zu Heinrich Bullinger und Leo Juds Ausgabe des "Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini" (1532)', in Martin H. Graf and Christian Moser (eds.), *Strenarum lanx. Beiträge zur Philologie und Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit: Festgabe für Peter Stotz zum 40-jährigen Jubiläum des Mittellateinischen Seminars der Universität Zürich* (Zug: Achius, 2003), pp. 235–309.

[25] 'Plura nunc non possum. Die präß presset mich.' Heinrich Bullinger to Joachim Vadian, 21 January 1539, in Emil Arbenz and Hermann Wartmann (eds.), *Die vadianische Briefsammlung der Stadtbibliothek St. Gallen*, 7 vols. (St Gallen: Huber, Fehr, 1890–1913), vol. v, part 2, p. 535, letter no. 1035.

[26] Adam converted to Christianity shortly before 1538. Pellikan provided him with accommodation in return for help with his translation of the Talmud. Zürcher, *Konrad Pellikans*, pp. 169–74.

[27] It appeared in 1546. See Israel Zinberg, *A History of Jewish Literature: Old Yiddish Literature from its Origins to the Haskalah Period*, trans. Bernard Martin, vol. VII (Cincinnati and New York: Hebrew Union College Press/Ktav Publishing House, 1975), p. 230.

his hosts ultimately proved troubled as questions arose concerning the true nature of his beliefs, a suspicion fuelled by Pellikan's enduring and virulent anti-Semitism.

Heinrich Bullinger's hand was visible in the 1540 Bible.[28] Zwingli's preface was replaced by a German translation of one Bullinger had written for Sebastian Münster's Latin Old Testament of 1539.[29] The preface pursued an aggressive assault on classical philosophy, arguing that although there was profit in studying the ancient writers true wisdom was found in the Bible alone. The choleric tone may have been in response to the taste for classical philosophy and literature thriving in Basel, represented by Juan Luis Vives' extraordinary *De Aristotelis operibus censura* printed by Oporinus with the financial support of Simon Grynaeus.[30]

Over the next decade new editions of the Zurich Bible appeared regularly, and almost all reprints declared themselves significant revisions, though in most cases the changes were hardly evident to the eye. A good example is the 1542 Bible, which contained some alteration to the translation of the Old Testament, most significantly in Job, a book that taxed the skills of the scholars. Their difficulties in translating were reflected by the presence in the notes of numerous alternative readings. Although developments in translation became less dramatic, such revision of the Bible proceeded apace and was regarded as central to the scholarly, ecclesiastical and even commercial life of Zurich.

The market for Bibles remained buoyant. In 1544 Bullinger wrote to a colleague in Berne that he would gladly send him a German Bible, but there were none to be found in the bookshops of Zurich.[31] The only one with colour pictures he could find was going to cost a fortune to send. Production failed to keep pace with demand. The printing presses in Zurich continued to bring forth numerous editions, but a change in atmosphere heralded an end to the fecund era that distinguished the early Reformation. From the end of the

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[28] *Die gantze Bibel, das ist, Alle Bücher allts vnnd neüws Testaments: den vrsprünglichen Spraachen nach, auffs aller treüwlichest verteütschet: darzu sind yetz und kommen ein schön vnd volkom[m]en Register oder Zeyger über die gantzen Bibel: die Jarzal vnd Rächnung der Zeyten von Adamen biss an Christum, mit sampt gwüssen Concordantzen, Argumenten, Zalen vnd Figuren* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1540).

[29] Bruce Gordon, ' "Our Philosophy": Heinrich Bullinger's Preface to the 1539 Latin Bible', in Christian Moser and Peter Opitz (eds.), *Bewegung und Beharrung: Aspekte des reformierten Protestantismus, 1520–1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 283–94.

[30] Enrique González González, 'Juan Luis Vives: Works and Days', in Charles Fantazzi (ed.), *A Companion to Juan Luis Vives* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 15–64, at p. 63.

[31] 'Libentissime misissem tibi Biblia Germanica, sed non potui in tota urbe apud ullum bibliopolam ulla invenire colligata.' Bullinger to Eberhard von Rümlang, 28 November 1544, in Fritz Büsser [et al.] (eds.), *Heinrich Bullinger Werke* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag 1972–), Abteilung 2: Briefwechsel, Bd. 14, Briefe des Jahres 1544 (2011), pp. 559–61.

1540s the decline in new editions of the German Bible in Zurich is striking. For almost twenty-five years following the introduction of the Reformation in Zurich Bible translation had remained at the heart of the reformers' work. Certainly the Zurich Bible continued to be printed in large numbers, but less time was given to the labour of translation. Several factors suggest an explanation. The generation active in the 1520s and 1530s (Jud, Pellikan and Bibliander) passed away without being replaced by scholars of similar distinction and industry. In the opening decades of the Reformation Zurich possessed an almost unrivalled sodality of scholars conversant in ancient biblical languages, dedicated to translation and commentary, and who possessed a rich collection of Judaica.[32] By mid-century theological debate and incessant, largely anti-Lutheran, polemic busied the presses of the city. In terms of theology, the most significant moment was the appearance of Bullinger's *Decades*.[33] Zurich's internal reform, the wider European Reformation, the ongoing struggle with Lutheranism, the harbouring of refugees and advising of nascent reform groups from Hungary to England consumed its energy. Notably, with the death of Christoph Froschauer in 1564, a major figure associated with that flourishing biblical culture departed the scene. The scale of production in Zurich in the sixteenth century, nevertheless, was remarkable. It has been estimated that between 1524 and 1585 approximately 200,000 Bibles were produced, and that for a city of about 7,000 inhabitants.

Interest in translation did not vanish, though clearly the emphasis shifted to theological interpretation. A New Testament appeared in 1574 with expanded chapter summaries, departing from the traditional Zurich fondness of conciseness in favour of extended instruction.[34] For John 1 the previous 'Concerning the divine nature of the eternal Word of God. Concerning the witness of John the Baptist. Concerning the calling of Andrew, Peter, and Nathaniel' became, in 1574, 'Concerning the true, eternal divinity of Jesus Christ, and that he had taken on true humanity. Also what witness is offered by John the Baptist. And then how Jesus first called Andrew and Peter, and then Nathaniel.' In more than a hundred places vestiges of the Luther translation were replaced with renderings presented as more faithful to the original languages.[35] Further revision was found in 1589 when the preface of a new edition credited the German

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[32] The authoritative work is Stephen G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1600): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012). On the Zurich scholars and their libraries see pp. 140–5.

[33] Above all, see Peter Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe: eine Studie zu den 'Dekaden'* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004).

[34] Mezger, *Geschichte*, pp. 148–51.

[35] Ibid., p. 150.

Calvinist David Pareus as a principal source of interpretative material.[36] Indeed, summaries were frequently taken from Pareus, as were the brief entries entitled 'Doctrine', which appeared at the end of chapters. For example, at the end of Genesis 1 the reader encountered the economical 'God's wisdom, might, and goodness are demonstrated in the works of the world'. Or Genesis 2: 'The prohibition of marriage is the work of the Devil'. The 1589 New Testament bore witness to the theological and exegetical relations between the Swiss and German Reformed churches, and over the following decades further textual and theological refinements are to be found in the editions produced by those printers, such as Wolf, who took over from the Froschauer family.

## Beyond Zurich

It may surprise that despite the influence and power of Zurich, its Bible was never officially adopted by the other Reformed areas of the Swiss Confederation.[37] Even in the eastern lands of St Gall, Toggenberg and Appenzell, where Zurich theology and practices, to say nothing of political influence, had their strongest hold, the Luther Bible was read, heard and recited in worship. This is not to say that the Zurich Bible was without presence, but choice of Bible lay with local preference. The evidence is, it must be admitted, patchy. Examination of liturgies, sermons, theological works and correspondence reveals a tendency towards use of both the Luther and Zurich Bibles. Such openness to different translations was, in part, owing to theological training of the ministers, many of whom as young men travelled from the eastern part of the Confederation to Wittenberg, Zurich and Basel for their education, gaining exposure to various forms of Scripture.

In the major cities of the Swiss Reformation, Basel and Berne, the situation was similarly eclectic. A major printing centre with a long association with Luther, Basel, despite the theological battles, used his Bible in its churches, though it was never officially adopted. The only German translation of the complete Bible to emerge from Basel was the work of the scholar–printer Niklaus Brylinger in 1552.[38] Brylinger's edition of the Vulgate from 1544 was extremely influential in the Protestant world. It has been mistakenly thought

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[36] *Biblia, das ist, Alle Bücher Alts und Neüws* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1589).
[37] The matter is usefully covered in Mezger, *Geschichte*, pp. 161–81.
[38] *Bibell: Das ist alle Bücher Allts und Neüws Testaments auss hebreischer und griechischer ihren ursprünglichen Sprachen mit allem Fleiss und auffs aller treüwlichest verteütschet. Auch eyn schön unnd vollkommen Register oder Zeyger über die gantzen Bibel mit sampt gwüssen Concordantzen Argumenten unnd viel hüpschen Figuren* (Basel: Niclaus Bryllinger, 1552).

that the Brylinger Bible was simply a reworking of Luther, but this was not the case. Its provenance lay with the Froschauer folio Bible of 1545 and followed the Zurich ordering of the canon. Indeed, most of the Basel New Testaments of the sixteenth century retained a close link with the Froschauer Bible. Nevertheless, sermon evidence indicates the preference of many leading churchmen for the Luther Bible.[39] This was only enhanced by the close association of many leading Basel figures with Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Bucer.

In Berne there was likewise no official Bible until the 1560s, and usage reflected the sharp divide between Zwinglian and Lutheran (or Bucerian) sympathies that plagued the city until the late 1540s.[40] The ruling magistrates had little appetite for more controversy, so individual preferences were tolerated. A formal decision had to wait till 1684, when Berne uniquely adopted the German Piscator Bible.

## The Anabaptists

Perhaps the most enduring influence of the Zurich Bible was among the diverse radical groups that emerged in the sixteenth century.[41] Despite the rancorous split between the Anabaptists and Zwingli in the 1520s the Zurich Bible, particularly the New Testament, remained greatly prized and used well into the eighteenth century.[42] The first printing of the Froschauer Bible outside the Swiss Confederation was the Prague Bible of 1570, which followed the 1533 Zurich Bible. The Prague Bible seems to have been the link with the Hutterites, who were active missionaries in central Europe from the 1560s, and surviving library copies reveal their ownership. Such enthusiasm for the Zurich Bible, however, was not limited to the Hutterites; for the Swiss Brethren and the circle around Pilger Marbeck were devoted readers. The first Anabaptist Bible New Testament was produced in 1579 in Basel from the print shop of Brylinger, who died of the plague before its appearance. Although few copies have survived it is known that this Bible was reprinted through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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[39] I am grateful to Professor Amy Nelson Burnett of the University of Nebraska for this information.
[40] Amy Nelson Burnett, 'The Myth of the Swiss Lutherans: Martin Bucer and the Eucharistic Controversy in Bern', *Zwingliana* 19 (2005), 45–70.
[41] Adolf Fluri, 'Froschauer Bibles and Testaments', *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*.1953, available at www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/F7664.html.
[42] See Urs Leu, 'Die Froschauer-Bibeln und ihre Verbreitung in Europa und Nordamerika', in Sigrist (ed.), *Die Zürcher Bibel*, pp. 26–63.

The radicals had no taste for either of the later Reformed Bibles, namely the Herborn Piscator or the new Zurich edition of the seventeenth century. In Basel the *Das gantz Neuw Testament grundtlich vnnd wol verteutschet . . . Gedruckt zu Basel durch Leonhart Ostein 1588* was based on the 1533 version and reprinted in 1647 and 1687. The Basel printer Jacob Genath produced *Das gantze neüwe Testament unseres Herren und Heylands JesuChristi* in 1702 and 1729. Many Anabaptists continued to preferthe 1536 Froschauer folio Bible on account of its omission of the polemical glosses of the 1531 edition; it was reissued in 1744 by the Strasbourg printer Simon Kürssner.[43]

## The post-Reformation Zurich Bible

The Zurich Bible remained largely unaltered in the second half of the sixteenth century, though, as noted, it is possible to detect in successive editions the changing theological culture in the city that marked its place in the international network of Reformed orthodoxy. The 1589 Bible edited by Johannes Wolf offered summaries and 'doctrine' sections of the Old Testament: these emphasised heavily Christological and covenantal readings in which the Son of God was discussed. Moreover, they did so with reference to numerous biblical passages, where previous summaries and glosses made no mention of such a reading.[44] A more significant development lay in the production of the Bible itself. Through much of the sixteenth century from the time of Zwingli the translation and printing of Bibles had been under the supervision of the theological faculty. Certain printers, notably Froschauer, had been granted permission to produce the volumes. By the end of the century the situation began to change as the magistrates took control, with the consequence that the Bible became a state publication.[45]

It was almost a hundred years after the Zwingli Bible that a fundamentally new version was produced in Zurich. In 1629 Johann Jakob Breitinger (1575–1645) was commissioned by the state to begin work on a new Bible. The grounds for this radical change were criticisms of the old Bibles from

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[43] *Die gantze Bibel: das ist alle Bücher allts vnnd neuws Testaments den vrsprünglichen Spraachen nach auffs aller treüwlichest verteüschet. Darzu sind yetzund kom[m]en ein schön vnd volkom[m] en Register od[er] Zeyger über die gantzen Bibel. Die Jarzal vnnd Rächnung der Zeyten von Adamen biss an Christu mit sampt gwüssen Concordantzen, Argumenten, Zalen vn[nd] Figuren* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1536). On the Strasbourg reprint see Fluri, 'Froschauer Bibles'.
[44] Mezger, *Geschichte*, pp. 51–154.
[45] Hans Rudolf Lavater, 'Die Zürcher Bibel von 1524 bis Heute', in Urs Joerg and David Marc Hoffmann (eds.), *Die Bibel in der Schweiz: Ursprung und Geschichte* (Basel: Schwabe & Co. AG, 1997), pp. 199–218 at pp. 207–8.

the pulpits.[46] Many ministers felt that the Reformation translations no longer read in the appropriate language. Where early translations sought to express the Word of God in ways that captured the speech of men and women in the street and market, the more professionally educated ministers of the seventeenth century believed the Bible should form the basis of a written, more standardised Swiss German, distinct from dialect. Breitinger's revision was a reworked New Testament combined with the 1596/7 Old Testament and included for the last time the Holbein images used for the Zurich Bible of 1531. The print run of approximately 3,000 Bibles was underwritten by the state to the tune of 11,000 gulden.[47]

Breitinger's Bible of 1629 was the first stage of a complete revision of the Zurich Bible that culminated in 1659/60 with the creation of a commission to oversee a new translation.[48] Aspirations were great as Zurich hoped for a Bible for the whole Reformed church, but Berne, Basel and Schaffhausen demurred, the latter two preferring Luther translations. Berne turned north to Herborn and the Piscator Bible, and once more visions of Reformed unity dissipated.[49] The Zurich church persevered and solicited the views of its clergy. The prevalent attitude favoured confessional unity, enhancing demands for more standardised language. During the years 1665–7 the Collegium Biblicum, a group of leading scholars, undertook the translation, while ten assistants were charged with the parallel texts, summaries and indices. The Collegium met four mornings a week, and after communal prayer set about its translation work. Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts were closely consulted alongside German, French, Italian and English translations. Considerable effort was given to style and syntax as Swiss idioms gave way to High German.[50] The Bible, which, ironically, in many ways approached the Luther Bible with its High German, became the standard orthography in Zurich schools. The 1665 New Testament owed much to the work of Breitinger and had fewer changes, while the 1667 Old Testament was more fundamentally revised.[51] The new Bible, which replaced the work of Zwingli and his colleagues, was the last major achievement of the Zurich scholars. Like the other Zurich Bibles of the seventeenth century it retained the Apocrypha. For the next hundred years the

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[46] Ibid., pp. 208–9.
[47] On the 1629 Bible see Mezger, *Geschichte*, pp. 22–227.
[48] Ibid., p. 230.
[49] Harold and Nelly Michaelsen, 'Bern und seine Piscatorbibel', in Joerg and Hoffman (eds.), *Die Bibel in der Schweiz*, pp. 223–32.
[50] Ibid.
[51] *Biblia, das ist alle Bücher der Heiligen Schrift auss den Grundsprachen treulich und wol verteutschet . . .* (Zurich: Bodmer, 1667).

Zurich Bible would continue to be corrected and printed, but no need was to seen to change the text fundamentally; the quarto edition printed simultaneously in Zurich by Gessner and Heidegger remained the established Bible until well into the nineteenth century. In 1755/6 4,000 copies of a private translation in two volumes by Johann Casper Ulrich, minister in the Fraumünster, were printed in Zurich and remained a treasured possession of Pietist households until modern times.[52]

## German Reformed Bibles

As the Calvinist churches emerged within the Empire during the second half of the sixteenth century it was only natural that their Bible would be Luther's, the pre-eminent German translation. Theologically and educationally, the major centres of influence for the German Reformed were Geneva, the Low Countries and France. Few looked to Zurich and its Bible; Swiss influence was peripheral. Confessional conflict between the Reformed and Lutherans had little to do with choice of Bible, but rather its interpretation and use. Most German Reformed scholars had little argument with Luther's revered translation. His notes, however, were an entirely different matter, and Reformed church leaders made a concerted effort to uncouple Luther's translation of the Bible from his interpretative glosses and their objectionable doctrine. The church in Heidelberg was the first to produce one of these 'Reformed Luther Bibles' in 1568 without the notes, but with versification, which, as its preface stated, was to enable scholars to compare texts more easily and assist the faithful in locating biblical passages. Who prepared this Bible remains the object of speculation. It has been suggested that it was the noted antitrinitarian Johannes Sylvanus, who was executed in 1572 in Heidelberg.[53]

Following the death of Frederick III of the Palatinate in 1576 and the succession of his Lutheran son, Ludwig VI, the Reformed professors were driven from Heidelberg to Neustadt an der Haardt west of the Rhine near Kaiserslautern. Rejecting Frederick's wish that the Palatinate remain Reformed, Ludwig removed from the university those sympathetic to the views of his father. His

[52] *Biblia, Das ist: Die ganze Heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments: aus den Grundsprachen treulich wol verteutschet; aufs neue und mit Fleiss übersehen: Mit dienstlichen Vorreden, begreiflichen Abtheilungen der Capitel, vielen Auslegungen und Nuzanwendungen, auch genauer Anmerkung der Parallelstellen, und nothwendigen Concordanzen* (Zurich: Orell and Comp., 1755/6).
[53] On Sylvanus see Christopher J. Burchill, *The Heidelberg Antitrinitarians: Johann Sylvan, Adam Neuser, Matthias Vehe, Jacob Suter, Johann Hasler*, vol. XI (Baden-Baden: Bibliotheca dissidentium, 1989), pp. 16–86.

brother Casimir, in contrast, did remain Reformed and created a refuge in his small part of the inheritance, the principality of Pfalz Lautern. It was here that he founded the Collegium Casimirianum, a scholarly academy and gymnasium.[54] Casimir had managed to attract many of the leading biblical scholars of German Reformed Protestantism: Zacharias Ursinus (1534–83), Francisus Junius (1545–1602), Hieronymus Zanchius (1516–90), Daniel Tossanus (1541–1602) and Johannes Piscator (1552–1622). A central role fell to the Heidelberg printer Matthäus Harnisch, who accompanied the scholars to Neustadt.[55]

After Ludwig's death in 1583 Reformed theology was reintroduced in the Palatinate, bringing the scholars back to Heidelberg. The university became a centre of Reformed teaching and attracted students from across Europe, notably France, the Netherlands, the Swiss Confederation and Eastern Europe. It has been calculated that after 1583 over a third of the student body was foreign. From the circle of scholars attracted to the university by Casimir emerged a new 'Luther Bible' in 1587/8, most probably printed by Harnisch. It became known as the 'Neustadter Bibel', and although it was Luther's language, it was moulded theologically through its glosses and notes by David Pareus (1548–1626), the leading light of Reformed biblical scholars and a major attraction of the university.[56]

The Bible won approval abroad and, as noted above, proved influential in post-Bullinger Zurich. Pareus's intent was not polemical but irenic, reflecting his deep concern to reconcile the Reformed and Lutheran churches, a purpose reflected in his retention of Luther's prefaces to most of the books of the Old and New Testaments. Nevertheless, there were significant alterations and additions. For the historical books he translated into German the prefaces from Immanuel Tremellius's 1580 Latin Bible, while others came from his own hand.[57] Pareus's fingerprints were also to be found in his short chapter summaries and instruction, named 'Lehren' and usually presented before the text, and in glosses in the margins. He appropriated the historical chronology of the Geneva Latin Bible of 1583. For the beginning of the Bible he penned

[54] See J. Leyser, *Die Neustadter Hochschule (Collegium Casimirianum): eine Festgabe zur fünften Säcularfeier der Ruperto-Carola* (Neustadt an der Hardt: A.H. Gottschick-Witter, 1886).

[55] Josef Benzing, 'Harnisch, Matthäus', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. VII (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953–1966), p. 692.

[56] See Traudel Himmighöfer, *Die Neustadter Bibel von 1587/88, die erste reformierte Bibelausgabe Deutschlands*, Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte 12 (Speyer: Evangelischer Presseverlag Pfalz, 1986), pp. 55–131.

[57] Heinrich Schlosser, *Die Piscatorbibel: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Bibelübersetzung* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1908), p. 7.

'The Purpose and Content of the Whole of Holy Scripture' in which he cited
Augustine, Luther, Melanchthon and others on the value of the Old and New
Testaments and the complicated issues attendant upon their translation.

The Neustadt Bible was an effort to bring Lutheran biblical scholarship into
the Reformed world, and was a bold attempt at that, but Pareus immediately felt
the venomous anger of both confessions. Yet his work represented a conciliatory
tone found among some leaders of the Reformed church, which was expressed
in 1581 by Zacharius Ursinus in response to the *Formula of Concord* (1577).[58] The
Lutherans were outraged that the words of the Wittenberg reformer had been
hijacked by the hated 'Calvinists', who, in their eyes, distorted Luther's teaching
to their own ends. Some Reformed, in turn, did not share Pareus's irenicism,
and were distinctly uneasy that the biblical basis of their confession should rest
upon the notes and interpretations of Martin Luther, whom they nevertheless
honoured as a prophet of reform. A particularly vociferous opponent of the 1588
Bible was the Lutheran Jakob Andreae (1528–90), who, together with Martin
Chemnitz, had edited the 1580 *Book of Concord*. Andreae became the target of
many Reformed polemics in defence of their Bible.[59]

## Herborn

In 1584 Johann the Elder, brother of William of Orange and Count of Nassau,
founded a Reformed academy (Academia Nassauensis) at Herborn, first in
the town castle and later in the former Rathaus.[60] A Bible was produced in
Herborn in 1595, the work of the printer Christoph Corvinus (Rab), a native
of Zurich whose father had worked in Frankfurt.[61] The principal source of

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[58] Zacharias Ursinus, *Christliche Erinnerung vom Concordibuch so neulich durch etliche Theologen gestelt und im Namen etlicher Augspurgischer Confession verwandten Stände publicirt Neustatt an der Hardt in der fürstlichen Pfaltz* (Neustadt an der Hardt: Harnisch, 1581).

[59] Pareus's robust defence against Andreae: *Rettung der zur Newstatt an der Hardt durch Matthaeum Harnisch Anno lxxxvii getruckten Teutschen Bibel wider Jacobi Andreae ... Lesterungen ...* (Neustadt: Harnisch, 1589).

[60] J. H. Steubing, *Geschichte der hohen Schule Herborn* (Hadamar: Verlagsprodukte der Neuen Gelehrtenbuchhandlung, 1823); J. Wienecke (ed.), *Von der Hohen Schule zum Theologischen Seminar Herborn: 1584–1984: Festschrift zur 400-Jahrfeier* (Herborn: Stadt Herborn, 1984); and Gerhard Menk, *Die Hohe Schule Herborn in ihrer Frühzeit (1584–1660): ein Beitrag zum Hochschulwesen des deutschen Kalvinismus im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation* (Wiesbaden: Historische Kommission für Nassau, 1981). Also Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning and its German Ramifications, 1543–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 29–34.

[61] *Biblia, das ist, Die gantze heilige Schrift Teutsch: Doct. Martin Luther: mit den Summarien, Versiculn, Concordantzen, Chronologi: auch verschiedenen Registern der historien vnd Hauptlehren: endlich dem Gesangbuch vnd Catechismo verbessert vnd geziert* (Herborn: Christoff Raben, 1595).

this edition was the 1591 Harnisch edition of the Neustadt Bible that included the Lobwasser Psalms and the Heidelberg Catechism. Corvinus, who was forced from Frankfurt by Lutheran magistrates hostile to the Reformed, was a learned man who had studied in Zurich, Heidelberg, Wittenberg and Vienna.[62] In his preface to the 1595 Bible he commented on the need of Reformed Germans for a portable Bible after the model of a Geneva edition, which provided chapter summaries, the catechism and a songbook necessary for the devotions and praise of the travelling faithful. Corvinus further reflected on the technical and linguistic difficulties of producing a German text in such a small format. Reference was made to the influence of the 1560 Frankfurt Luther Bible in the preparation of Corvinus's volume, as well as to two Latin translations, that of the Dominican Pagninus, produced in Lyons in 1528, and the Tremellius/Junius version printed in Heidelberg in 1580.[63]

Like Pareus, Corvinus fell foul of the Lutherans, for whom his Bible was yet another desecration. The professors of the academy replied that they had not altered the text, but had merely replaced the notes with Reformed interpretations, and further argued that although they could have based their translation on Tremellius's Latin Bible they had intentionally chosen Luther. His notes, however, were unusable on account of their repeated reference to 'fanatics', whom they rightly identified as themselves. Their tradition, they continued, had a slightly different attitude towards the historical books of the Old Testament and did not follow Luther's ordering, a position that originated with earlier Zurich translations. They affirmed the lesser status of the Apocrypha, though its educational and historical value was acknowledged. The Herborn Luther Bible had a long printing history, first in octavo in 1598, 1601, 1608, 1612, 1617, 1621 and 1635, and later in quarto in 1609, 1615, 1622, 1654 and 1666. The last printing, after sixteen editions, was the New Testament in 1755.[64]

Other Reformed versions of the Luther Bible appeared towards the end of the sixteenth century. The learned Landgraf Moritz of Hessen-Kassel had been educated in the tradition of Martin Bucer and Philipp Melanchthon.

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[62] Steubing, *Herborn*, pp. 240–7; Harry Gerber, 'Corvin, Christoph', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. III (1957), p. 370, available at www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz8779 .html#ndbcontent; Heinrich Graffmann, 'Christoph Corvin und sein Werk', in *1050 Jahre Herborn: Vorträge zur Geschichte Herborns 1964* (Herborn: Geschichtsverein Herborn, 1965), pp. 68–75.

[63] On Tremellius's New Testament see Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 125–43.

[64] Schlosser, *Die Piscatorbibel*, p. 17.

An enthusiastic scholar who had apparently mastered eight languages, Moritz was an adherent of the Reformed faith and after his succession in 1593 introduced reforms that included a new German Bible. He commissioned Gregorius Schönfeld for a Bible once more drawn from Luther's translation and Reformed theological glosses. The volume was printed in 1601 and became known as the Kassel Bible. Evidence of its theological orientation is to be found in the 'Register der Hauptlehren', where, for example, under the rubric 'Abendmahl' is an explicit repudiation of ubiquity.[65]

Away from the Palatinate Reformed scholars persevered in their efforts to appropriate the Luther Bible. Notable was Amandus Polanus, a native of Polansdorf, who had studied in Breslau and Geneva before coming to Basel as professor of Old Testament. In Geneva he came under the influence of Theodore Beza, who guided Polanus away from his Lutheranism. A gifted linguist, Polanus based his Bible on a wide range of sources, making use of the Greek texts of Stephanus (Paris, 1550), Plantin (1572) and Beza's New Testament (1587) as well as German translations from Wittenberg and Zurich.[66] His knowledge of Czech enabled access to the Bohemian Bible (Kralice, 1579–93), though it was the Luther translation that formed the foundation of his translation of the New Testament. Nevertheless, he permitted himself considerable freedom, much to the irritation of the German Lutherans, who roundly denounced Polanus, as they had other Reformed adaptions. The threat, however, proved modest, as the Bible was a publishing failure, and Polanus's efforts, it seems, languished in obscurity, little regarded.

## The Piscator Bible

The place of the Luther Bible in German Reformed theology, worship and daily life was considerable. In part, as we have seen, this reflected the desire of some of the Reformed churchmen for accommodation between the confessional parties. Many others, however, did not share this irenic spirit and were uncomfortable with reliance on Luther during the polemical maelstrom. Repeated calls for a new, Reformed translation of the Bible could be heard. In this respect the most significant figure of the age was Johannes Piscator.[67]

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[65] On the Kassel Bible see ibid., pp. 17–18.

[66] *Das gantz Newe Testament unsers Herren Jesu Christi durch Amandum Polanum von Polansdorff unnd auf Pergament geschribenen alten griechischen Exemplaren collationiert und mit allen trewen ubersehen . . .* (Basel: n.p., 1603); Schlosser, *Die Piscatorbibel*, pp. 18–21.

[67] See F. L. Bos, *Johann Piscator: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der reformierten Theologie Theologie* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1932).

Piscator had come to Herborn in 1584, and soon became rector of the academy, where his work as pedagogue and biblical commentator established him as a leading figure in Reformed higher education. It was his translation of the Bible, which appeared in 1604, that established his reputation, though his subsequent biblical commentaries became essential Reformed fare.[68] There is some evidence that work was begun almost ten years earlier in 1595 when Count Johann had sought a German version that was 'comprehensible, elegant, and simple'. At first it was thought that yet another version of Luther's Bible would suffice, but during a period in Siegen on account of the plague in Herborn, Piscator and others prepared a test version of a new translation of Scripture. The count had the text sent to the scholars David Pareus and Daniel Tossanus, amongst others, for assessment, and the response was positive. Piscator was encouraged to proceed. As with so many of the translations, and despite claims on the title page, Piscator's Bible was not crafted from engagement with the ancient languages alone. Recent translations played a crucial role, as they would with the King James Bible prepared a few years later. He worked closely with the Luther and Zurich German Bibles, as well as the Genevan French and a Spanish translation.[69]

Much of the credit for the Bible must go to Count Johann, who interested himself in the project from the start. He enquired of Corvinus whether he would be able to undertake such an enterprise; the printer was required to prepare an estimate of the costs, which he did in 1596. Corvinus responded that as he possessed only one suitable printing press and insufficient paper the task might prove too much. Further, other commitments prevented him from taking up the job until autumn 1596. The count undertook to cover the printing costs, and used his agents in Frankfurt to secure both funding and the necessary paper. Printing bibles was an expensive business, requiring considerable investment in manpower and resources, and Corvin's hesitation in the face of this gargantuan task was not unreasonable. The list of sixteenth-century printers sunk into financial ruin by ill-judged enterprises and commercial failure is long.

While the consensus among the Reformed favoured a new Bible, the question of the Luther translation was not easily resolved, suggesting the depth of attachment. There were still some who felt that the Luther's German could not be surpassed and that a more prudent use of resources was further

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[68] Johann Piscator, *Biblia: Das ist: Alle bûcher der H. Schrift 1604–1606 das alten und newen Testaments [...]* (Herborn: Christoff Raben, 1604).
[69] Bos, *Johann Piscator*, pp. 46–7.

correction and emendation. By 1597, however, Count Johann and Piscator reached an agreement that a new translation would be undertaken. To realise this project, Piscator was relieved of most of his teaching duties at Herborn and provided with a study in the count's castle at Siegen where he had at his disposal an impressive collection of scholarly material. While Piscator struggled to produce translations of Genesis and Isaiah his host grew impatient to see the fruits of his investment.

In fact, it was a collaborative effort, as a good number of the biblical books were translated by other Nassau ministers under Piscator's supervision, and by 1600 a manuscript was ready. Its sheer size tested Corvin to the limit as the three volumes were printed during 1602–4.[70] A second edition, in which Piscator was able to make some alterations, similarly took another couple of years to appear (1604–6). The initial reception was enthusiastic. One friend emoted, 'Exi, sancte Liber; Liber inviolabiliis exi, Liber ab invidia, fraudibus atque metu', while letters of congratulation arrived from across Reformed Europe.[71]

Size, however, proved an Achilles heel: the 1607 quarto edition arrived in three volumes with 3,700 pages of translation and 5,400 pages of supplemental material. Its many volumes and weight made the Piscator Bible unusable for worship, and although it was recommended in a number of the small Reformed states it was never officially adopted, as the translator had passionately, and no doubt desperately, hoped. Nevertheless, the Bible did have a life. It was printed four times between 1604 and 1654 in Herborn / Nassau and thirty-four times in Berne as the official Bible of the state. In 1711 / 12 it appeared in a Biblia Pentapla in Wandsbeck near Hamburg alongside Luther's 1545 translation and three other vernacular versions.[72] In the Reformed Netherlands it was resisted by the church as unwanted competition for other Bibles, but its influence on Dutch translations was unmistakable.[73]

It was not merely the burdensome size of the Pisacator Bible that troubled many leading Reformed scholars and ministers; its literal translation stirred

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[70] *Biblia, Das ist: Alle bücher der H. Schrift des alten und neuen Testaments: Aus Hebreischer und Griechischer spraach in welchen sie anfangs von den Propheten und Aposteln geschrieben, jetzund aufs neu vertheutscht: . . . Durch Johann Piscator, Professor der H. Schrift zu Herborn, mit raht und hülf Christliebender gelehrter manner, derselben dolmetschungen und erklärungen verfertiget. Gedruckt zu Herborn in der Graffschaft Nassau Katzenelbogen durch Christoff Raben. 1602 (1603,1604)* (Herborn: Christoff Raben, 1602–4).

[71] Bos, *Johann Piscator*, p. 48.

[72] James Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 57–8.

[73] Bos, *Johann Piscator*, p. 49.

critics. As anticipated, the Lutherans attacked savagely; less expected was the response from Reformed churchmen in France, who took exception to many of Piscator's theological notes. Piscator's relations with Beza and Geneva were at best strained and at worst hostile.[74] Following the publication of the Bible Piscator poured forth a stream of tracts defending what he regarded as the fundamental tenets of the Reformed faith. His efforts proved vain, as the extraordinary scholarly and financial resources that went into the first German Reformed Bible were poorly repaid. Examination of library catalogues confirms the sheer dominance of the Luther Bible in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the middle of the seventeenth century another German translation appeared that would prove far more influential, though in limited circles, than Piscator's. This was the Berleburger Bible of 1726–42 produced by the Strasbourg theologian Johann Friedrich Haug (1680–1753).[75] This extraordinary volume was a new translation combined with extensive commentary. The Bible drew together various streams of radical Pietism, including the Philadelphia movement, and explicitly rejected the translations and commentaries of both the Lutheran and Reformed churches. The purpose was to provide a text through which the inner working of the spirit in the soul would be enabled. With its commentaries the Berleburger Bible presented a wide range of Pietist thought and was used extensively through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though it was roundly attacked by many within orthodox Lutheranism, whom radical Pietists portrayed as an ossified body empty of the Spirit. The Bible was also cited by the philosopher Pierre Bayle in his notorious 1697 *Dictionnaire historique et critique*.[76]

Apart from Zurich, efforts to produce German Bibles among the non-Lutherans were sporadic and limited, though not for lack of industry. In part this can be explained by the instability of Reformed Protestant churches in the early modern period. The production of Bibles required the collaboration of scholars, printers, and rulers, and only rarely did favourable constellations appear. The chances for one Bible for all the German-speaking Reformed churches were poor. The Swiss were isolated, their vernacular too foreign and within the Empire the situation was ever precarious. In the end the hold

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[74] On the difficulties with the French and Genevan Reformed see ibid., pp. 110–28.
[75] See the extensive treatment of the Berleburger Bible in Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible*, pp. 73–86.
[76] A searchable version of the 1740 edition is found at http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaire-de-bayle, consulted 18 September 2014.

of Luther's translation on the German people proves the most compelling explanation. Although his work could be, and was, uncoupled from unwanted theological tenets, the beauty of its language was never matched, its iconic status beyond reach, and its enduring allure for Reformed biblical culture irresistible.

# Bibles in French from 1520 to 1750

BERNARD CHÉDOZEAU

## Introduction

In France, the period from the 1520s to 1750 saw the appearance of Protestant Bibles, in French, with or without notes, and often published in very difficult circumstances. It was also what has been called the 'Golden Age of the Catholic Bible', with the publication of many works inspired by Port-Royal and circles close to it.[1]

## The Protestants[2]

It was around the Bible that the Protestant identity was, to a large extent, forged, in France as elsewhere. Many factors – the new demands and perspectives introduced by the Renaissance and humanism, the emergence of printing, the rise of the bourgeoisie, the politico-religious battles and the questioning of the role of the clergy – combined to explain the rapid appearance of Bibles in French which, while they cannot yet be called 'Protestant', nevertheless represented a break with the medieval past. The concern of the authors was now to establish the text and to translate it into the vernacular for the laity, sometimes with the addition of explanatory notes. The successive editions of the Protestant Bibles, some more open to the contemporary

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[1] The text of Sacy's Bible is accessible in the new edition produced by Philippe Sellier (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1990), Collection 'Bouquins'. For the Catholic Bible see Bernard Chédozeau, *La Bible et la liturgie en français* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990): Pastor Frédéric Delforge, *La Bible en France et dans la francophonie, histoire, traduction, diffusion* (Paris and Villiers-le-Bel: Publisud/Société biblique française, 1991). For the biblical works of Port-Royal see Bernard Chédozeau, *Port-Royal et la Bible* (Paris: Nolin, 2007); Bernard Chédozeau, *Le Nouveau Testament autour de Port-Royal: traductions, commentaires et études (1697–fin du XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012).

[2] The information on the Protestant Bibles that follows is taken from Delforge, *La Bible en France*.

world, others more traditional, attest to the changing mentalities and perspectives of their translators.

Three periods can be distinguished: from the 1520s to the end of the sixteenth century; Protestant Bibles from 1598 to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685); and from the Revocation to around 1750.

### From the 1520s to the end of the sixteenth century

In 1523 there appeared, as a preliminary to a complete edition of the Bible, the *Nouveau Testament* of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples; the translation was based on the Vulgate, but with some corrections from the Greek.[3] After that, the next important stage was the publication in Antwerp, on 10 December 1530, of the same author's *The Holy Bible in French, translated according the to pure and complete translation by St Jerome . . .*, with extensive commentaries; it was republished in 1534.[4] Lefèvre d'Étaples emphasised the prime role that the Bible, 'rule of life and rule of salvation', should play in the Christian life; 1534 was also the year of publication of Luther's complete Bible in German, followed, in 1536, by the first edition of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.

In 1535, in Neuchâtel, Pierre Robert, known as Olivétan, published the first Reformed French Bible, still in bastarda Gothic type.[5] In a significant development, the Old Testament was no longer translated from the Latin Vulgate, but from the Hebrew and Aramaic, and the New Testament was translated from the Greek. However, the readership of this translation remained small.[6] Another major step was taken in 1540 with the Geneva Bible, the 'Bible de l'Epée', which was a revised and modernised edition of the Bible of Olivétan (for example, Gothic characters were abandoned).[7] It was corrected by Calvin,

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[3] This would not be forgotten by the Catholic opponents of translations when, in 1667, Port-Royal published the Mons New Testament 'with the differences from the Greek'.

[4] *La Saincte Bible en Francoys, translatee selon la pure et entiere traduction de Sainct Hierome: conferee et entierement reuisitee selon les plus anciens et plus correctz exemplaires: ou sus vng chascun chapitre est mis brief argume[n]t . . .* trans. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Antwerp: Martin Lempereur [=Martin de Keyser], 1530); reprinted by de Keyser at Antwerp in 1534.

[5] *La Bible: qui est toute la Saincte Escriture, en laquelle sont contenus le Vieil Testament et le Nouveau, translatez en francoys. Le Vieil de lebrieu: & le Nouveau du grec. Aussi deux amples tables . . .* trans. Pierre Robert Olivétan [and others] (Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle dict Pirot Picard, 1535).

[6] In a way that is hard to reconstruct, this Bible appears to have been funded by encounters between Olivétan and his friends with the Waldensian communities of the Alps, and became known as the 'Vaudois' or Serrières Bible. See Euan Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 253–5.

[7] *La Bible en laquelle sont contenus tous les livres canoniques, de la saincte escriture, tant du vieil que du nouueau Testament: & pareillement les Apocryphes: le tout translaté en langue françoise, auec diligente collation: non seullement aux anciens & fideles exemplaires, mais aussi à l'original & signamment des canoniques* [with notes by Nicolas Malingre] (Geneva: J. Gerard, 1540).

who, in 1546, published *La Bible, qui est toute la saincte Escriture . . .*, adding a long preface on the necessity and the meaning of reading the Bible.[8]

It was in 1553 that the French Bible was divided into numbered verses, in the French Bible produced by Robert Estienne, following Estienne's similar division of the New Testament in his 1551 Latin edition.[9] In 1555 Sebastian Castellio published a new and original French translation of the Bible in Basel, in 'a common and simple language', that of the uneducated. This brave but sometimes inadequate translation sparked a major controversy in Geneva.[10]

After Robert Estienne published his *La Bible* in 1560, a team of 'pastors and teachers of the Church of Geneva' published, in 1588, a remarkable new translation addressed to 'all true lovers of the truth of God contained in the holy books of the Ancient and New Covenant' (Calvin).[11] It is remarkable for the high quality of the revision of the text and also of the printing, for the communal nature of the enterprise, for the effort put into its distribution and, lastly, for the presence as an appendix of liturgical songs and texts. At the turn of the century a synod authorised some printers in La Rochelle to publish the Geneva Bible of 1588 in France; this led to disputes regarding the pertinence of reading Revelation in those troubled times. During the conflicts in France in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the French Protestants used this last work in particular, and found in Geneva the support they needed.

### Protestant Bibles from 1598 to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685)

The serious unrest and conflicts of the seventeenth century were unfavourable to the publication of new Protestant Bibles in France. The 1588 Bible, reissued in Geneva and Amsterdam, was still that most widely used, and it was reprinted unchanged but with differences of presentation. Thus Bibles were published in La Rochelle in 1606 and 1616 with the 'psalms of David

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[8] *La Bible, qui est toute la saincte Escriture, en laquelle sont contenuz, le Vieil Testament & le Nouveau, translatez en francois, & reveuz le Vieil selon l'ebrieu, & le Nouveau selon le grec...*, ed. Jean Calvin (Geneva: Jehan Girard, 1546). See also e.g. *Le Nouueau Testament, c'est à dire, La nouuelle Alliance de nostre Seigneur & seul Sauueur Iesus Christ, translaté de grec en francois, reueu par M. Iehan Caluin* ([Geneva]: [Jean Gérard], 1546).

[9] *La Bible, qui est toute la saincte Escripture contenant le Vieil et Nouveau Testament, ou Alliance* ([Geneva]: L'Olivier de Robert Estienne, 1553).

[10] *La Bible nouuellement translatée auec la suite de l'histoire depuis le tems d'Esdras iusqu'aux Maccabées: e depuis les Maccabées iusqu'a Christ: item auec des annotacions sur les passages difficiles*, trans. Sébastien Castellion (Basel: Iehan Heruage, 1555). For the controversies raised by Castellio at Geneva see Chapter 8 in this volume.

[11] *La Bible, qui est toute la saincte Escriture du Vieil & du Nouveau Testament: autrement l'anciene & la nouvelle alliance. Le tout reveu & conferé sur les textes hebrieux & grecs par les pasteurs & professeurs de l'Eglise de Geneve* (Geneva: [Jérémie Des Planches], 1588).

rendered into French verse by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze' and also various prayers. Editions were published in Saumur (1614, 1619), Sedan (1633) and elsewhere. Jean Diodati made some corrections to the 1588 Bible in his edition of the Bible, which came out in 1644.[12]

In the years preceding the Revocation, several new editions appeared, including the Bible of Samuel des Marets (1669).[13] This work includes extensive notes in the margins or at the foot of the page, which was a new practice among French Protestants (and required at the same period by the Catholic authorities for the Port-Royal Bible 'with long explications').

Two ventures are noteworthy. The pastors Jean Claude (who was embroiled in the debate with Port-Royal over the Eucharist, the Real Presence and transubstantiation – 1664–74) and Pierre Allix embarked on a revision of the Geneva Bible; and they and Richard Simon contemplated an interconfessional translation (1676). The Revocation put a stop to these projects. A major contribution to Protestant reading of the Bible was the *critica sacra*, that is, the textual criticism applied to the Bible by the humanist reformers on the basis of the Hebrew and the Greek. The most remarkable of these authors were Joseph Justus Scaliger in the sixteenth century and, in the seventeenth, Samuel Bochart (*Sacred Geography*, 1646, which was used by the Port-Royalists)[14] and Louis Cappel, whose *Critica sacra* (1650) was the founding text for the critical and historical textual reading of the Bible.[15]

### From the Revocation to 1750

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, that is, when publication of the Port-Royal Bible 'with the long explications' was finally completed, and when editions 'with short notes' were proliferating, the Protestants, in difficult circumstances, produced some new translations accompanied by explanatory

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[12] *La Sainte Bible: Interpretee par Jean Diodati* (Geneva: Pierre Chouet, 1644).

[13] *La Sainte Bible, qui contient le Vieux et le Nouveau Testament: edition nouvelle, faite sur la version de Genève, reveuë et corrigée, enrichie, outre les anciennes notes, de toutes celles de la Bible flamande, de la plus-part de celles de M. Diodati, et de beaucoup d'autres, de plusieurs cartes curieuses, et de tables fort amples, pour le soulagement de ceux qui lisent l'Escriture sainte*, ed. Samuel des Marets, Henri des Marets [et al.] (Amsterdam: Louys and Daniel Elzevier, 1669).

[14] Samuel Bochart, *Geographiae sacrae pars prior [-altera.] Phaleg seu De dispersione gentium et terrarum diuisione facta in ædificatione turris Babel.: Cum tabula chorographica, & duplici indice, I. Locorum scripturæ. 2. Rerum & verborum*, 2 vols. (Cadomi [Caen] and Rouen: Petrus Cardonellus / Jean Berthelin, 1646–51).

[15] Louis Cappel, *Critica sacra sive, de variis quae in Sacris Veteris Testamenti libris occurrunt lectionibus libri sex* (Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1650). Louis Cappel should not be confused with his son Jean, who had become a Catholic, and who obtained the necessary licence to print.

notes, if not commentaries. The Arminian (or Remonstrant) Jean Le Clerc brought out an important translation of the New Testament, where the title declared that it was 'translated from the original Greek. With comments where the text is explained, and where the translation is justified' (1703).[16] This annotated translation was the first to be produced by an author 'whose doctrines did not derive from Calvinist orthodoxy', who had read Spinoza and Richard Simon and who may have been influenced by some of the methods of the Port-Royal Bible. It received only a very guarded welcome.

It was at the request of the synod of the Walloon churches that the pastor David Martin, in 1696, published a New Testament 'explained by short and clear notes',[17] and in 1707 a complete Bible, which was frequently reprinted.[18] Unlike Le Clerc, David Martin respected 'the dogmatic traditions of Calvinism' while being open to textual criticism: the text is 'explained by theological and critical notes on the ordinary version of the Reformed Churches'. The reference to '[text-] critical notes' immediately distinguished this translation from Catholic translations of the same period, which, with few exceptions, ignored textual criticism.[19]

<div style="text-align:center">*</div>

In the first half of the eighteenth century, in spite of volumes of the New Testament and the Bible arriving from abroad, it was the Geneva Bible that was most used by French Protestants. Isaac de Beausobre and Jacques Lenfant published in 1718, in Amsterdam, a New Testament 'with literal notes to clarify the text';[20] its orthodoxy was disputed. The work claimed to offer a new

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[16] *Le Nouveau Testament de Notre Seigneur, Jesus-Christ: traduit sur l'original Grec; avec des remarques, ou l'on explique le Texte, & ou l'on rend raison de la Version*, trans. Jean Le Clerc (Amsterdam: Jean Louis De Lorme, 1703).

[17] *Le Nouveau Testament, de Nôtre Seigneur Jesus-Christ: expliqué par des notes courtes & claires sur la version ordinaire des Eglises Réformées*, ed. David Martin (Utrecht: Francois Halma [and] Guillaume van de Water . . ., 1696).

[18] *La Sainte Bible, qui contient le Vieux et le Nouveau Testament, expliquez par des notes de théologie & de critique sur la version ordinaire des églises réformées, revûe sur les originaux, & retouchée dans le langage: avec des préfaces particulieres sur chacun des livres de l'Ecriture sainte, et deux préfaces générales sur l'Ancien & sur le Nouveau Testament*, ed. David Martin (Amsterdam: Henry Desbordes, Pierre Mortier, Pierre Brunel . . ., 1707).

[19] Delforge also mentions the tiny Bibles called '*de chignon*'.

[20] *Le Nouveau Testament de Notre Seigneur Jesus-Christ: traduit en francois sur l'original grec; avec des notes literales, pour éclaircir le texte*, ed. Isaac de Beausobre and Jacques Lenfant (Amsterdam: Pierre Humbert, 1718). The expression 'literal notes' did not have the same meaning for Protestants as for Catholics. For the latter, especially in Sacy's prefaces for the Port-Royal Bible, the main purpose for establishing the literal meaning was to facilitate the reading of the spiritual meanings.

translation from the Greek; like the great contemporary Catholic Bibles it was completed by numerous appendices (General preface, Synopsis of Evangelical history, Synopsis of the history of the Apostles). Various revisions followed up to about 1750: of the New Testament (1726) by the pastors and teachers of Geneva;[21] in 1736 of David Martin's Bible, at Basel;[22] in 1745–6, at Bienne and Yverdon, another revision of the same Bible by Samuel Scholl (without notes).[23] In 1741 the *Holy Bible* of Charles Le Cène appeared in Amsterdam, published by his son.[24] What is remarkable in this case is the author's explanation of the purpose of the new translation: 'How are we to lead the atheists and the libertines to recognise and adore the Majesty of God when we leave in the texts of his books *not infrequent contradictions*, which can shake the faith even of right-minded people?'[25] This work appeared 'to be damaging to the authority of the Holy Scriptures', was judged to be suspect, and was published only several decades later, when it encountered the same objections. The unease of Charles Le Cène, in his *Projet d'une nouvelle version de la Bible* of 1696 and in his translation, was typical of the theologians who were alert to the critical questioning to which the Enlightenment would respond;[26] among the Catholics, it was shared by those who favoured critical readings, such as Richard Simon and Jean de Launoy. These authors met with hostility on the part of the supporters of the traditional heritage.

Jean-Frédéric Ostervald brought out in Neuchâtel, in 1744, *The Holy Bible . . . with summaries and reflections on the chapters of Holy Scripture . . .*, which had been many years in preparation.[27] Ostervald set out to provide a translation

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[21] *Le Nouveau Testament . . . Traduction nouvelle, revûë & approuvée par les Pasteurs & les Professeurs de l'Église & de l'Académie de Genève* (Geneva: Fabri and Barrillot, 1726).

[22] La Sainte Bible, qui contient le Vieux et le Nouveau Testament: revûë sur les originaux & retouchée dans le langage; avec de petites notes par feu David Martin (Basle: Jean Rodolphe Im-Hoff, 1736).

[23] *La Sainte Bible du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament, suivant la version ordinaire des Eglises réformées . . .*, ed. Samuel Scholl (Bienne and Iverdon: Jean-Christofle Heilmann and Jean Jaques Neubrand, 1745–6).

[24] *La Sainte Bible, Contenant Les Livres De L'Ancien Et Du Nouveau Testament: contenant les livres de l'ancien & du nouveau Testament*, ed. Charles Le Cène (Amsterdam: Michael Charles Le Cene, 1741).

[25] My emphasis; quoted in Delforge, *La Bible en France*, p. 181.

[26] Charles Le Cène, *Projet d'une nouvelle version francoise de la Bible: Dans lequel on justifie . . . que les versions precedentes ne representent pas bien en plusieurs passages le sens de l'original, & qu'il est fort necessaire de donner une meilleure version . . .* (Rotterdam: Chez Pierre van der Slaart, 1696). English translations were published in 1701, 1702, 1727 and subsequently.

[27] *La Sainte Bible, qui contient le Vieux et le Nouveau Testament, avec les argumens et les réflexions sur les chapitres de l'Ecriture Sainte et des notes par J.F. Ostervald* (Neuchâtel: Abraham Boyve, 1744).

in a more modern and colloquial French, with scholarly notes. In spite of its mediocre quality this Bible was very well received, and it was reprinted up until 1899. In 1750 a new period began.

<div align="center">⋆</div>

From 1520 until about 1750 a long succession of translations of the Bible was published in France.

- The crucial point is that these translations were intended for the laity, sometimes for 'simple folk'.
- The quality of the language improved over time, though sometimes with archaistic survivals.
- The translations, which began to be divided into chapters and verses, were no longer based on the Vulgate but on the Hebrew and the Greek.
- With a few exceptions, they were in the Calvinist tradition.
- It was increasingly common for them to be enriched by 'explications', in notes and sometimes in commentaries. These explications, sometimes called 'literal', took account of textual criticism and the contribution of scholarship (chronologies and geographies). They differed from Catholic explications in two main ways: they were not based on Tradition, on 'the Fathers and the ecclesiastical authors', to quote the titles of the works of Port-Royal at the same period, and they did not serve as an aid to 'spiritual explication', which was fundamental for Catholics.

The Bible of the Protestants was thus a long series of works which repeated and corrected each other. Bible reading constituted the strongest link between the various forms of Protestantism, even if it was understood differently by Protestants who were heirs to tradition, by the 'enlightened' or liberal Protestants more concerned to take account of critical textual research, historical change and the aspirations born of the Enlightenment and by, lastly, the more missionary Pietists.[28]

## The Catholics

The situation was very different on the Catholic side, insofar as the Church had inherited long-standing reservations and condemnations regarding the reading of the Bible by all of the faithful. A first Bible, the so-called Louvain Bible, was published in 1550 with the title *La saincte Bible, nouvellement translatée*

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[28] Delforge, *La Bible en France*, p. 188.

*de latin en français, selon l'édition latine dernièrement imprimée à Louvain*,[29] but it became widely known in a version that appeared in 1578: the *Holy Bible … translated from Latin into French, with summaries …* corrected by the theologians of Louvain.[30] René Benoist had meanwhile brought out an edition in Paris in 1565. It was published in an improved version by Pierre de Besse in 1608;[31] and in 1611 another edition of the Bible based on the Louvain edition of the Vulgate was published in Rouen.[32] Mention should also be made of the revised editions of Jean-Claude Deville, canon of the church of Saint-Paul of Lyons (1613–14), and of Pierre Frizon, canon and penitentiary of Reims (1620–1).

In spite of its archaisms and the censures of the Sorbonne, and in spite of the lack of notes and explications (whether isagogic notes or spiritual commentaries), it was the translation of René Benoist, condemned by the Sorbonne, that was most widespread in France until the beginning of the eighteenth century, that is, until the completion of publication of the Bible of 'the Messieurs of Port-Royal' – 1693 for the Old Testament, year of publication of the *Cantique*, and 1708 for the New Testament.

## The Regula IV of the Roman Index

The reservations regarding the reading of the Bible by the laity had a long history:

> We forbid that the laity should be permitted to have books of the Old or the New Testament, unless someone should wish, from devotion, to possess a Psalter or a Breviary for the divine office, or the Hours of the blessed Virgin.

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[29] *La Saincte Bible nouuellement translatée de Latin en Francois selon l'edition Latine, dernierement imprimée à Louvain: reueuë, corrigée, & approuuée par gens sçauants, à ce deputez: a chascun chapitre sont adiouxtez les sommaires, contenants la matiere du dict chapitre, les concordances, & aucunes apostilles aux marges* (Louvain: Par Bartholomy de Grave, Antoine Marie Bergagne, & Iehan de Waen, 1550).

[30] *La Saincte Bible, Contenant Le Vieil Et Nouueau Testament: traduicte de Latin en François; Auec les Argumens sur chacun liure, declarans sommairement tout ce que y est contenu* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1578); there were numerous reprints of the Louvain French Bible, e.g. *La Sainte Bible contenant le Vieil & le Nouueau Testament, traduicte de latin en françois, & approuuee par les theologiens de Louuain* (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1586).

[31] *La Bible*, ed. René Benoist (Paris, Nicolas Chesneau, 1565). See Chapter 8 in this volume for Benoît's editions of the Latin Vulgate. *La Saincte Bible; contenant le Vieil & Nouueau Testament: en latin selon l'edition vulgaire, & en francois de la traduction des docteurs catholiques de l'université de Louvain. Avec les figures & argumens sur chacun livre & chapitre, declarans sommairement tout ce qui y est contenu. Le tout reveu & fidelement corrigé suyvant l'edition imprimée à Rome par le commandement de N.S.P. le pape Sixte V...*, ed. Pierre de Besse (Paris: Rolin Thierry, Nicolas Du Fossé and Pierre Chevalier, 1608).

[32] *La Sainte Bible: Qui est toute la S. Escriture, contenant le Vieil & le Nouveau Testament. Traduite en francois, du latin des théologiens de Louvain* (Rouen: Romain de Beauvais,1611).

But we most strictly forbid them from having even the above books in the vernacular.

(Council of Toulouse, 1229, canon 14)[33]

We have decreed that no one should possess the books of the Old or the New Testament in the vernacular, and if anyone possesses them, let him deliver them, within eight days from the promulgation of this decree, to the local bishop, so that they may be burned; in default of which, whether he be priest or layman, he will be held to be suspect of heresy until he is cleansed of all suspicion.

(Council of Tarragona, 1234, canon 2)[34]

In 1525 and 1526 the faculty of theology in Paris and Parlement repeated these condemnations.

After the Council of Trent, the Roman congregations adopted a restrictive position in the fourth of the *Regulae Indicis librorum prohibitorum*:

Since experience teaches that, if the reading of the Bible in the vernacular is permitted everywhere indiscriminately, more harm than advantage results because of the boldness of men, it is necessary in this matter to submit to the judgement of the bishop or the inquisitor, so that with the advice of the priest or the confessor, they may allow the reading of Holy Scripture in the vernacular in a translation made by Catholic authors, to persons they know will be able to derive from such reading not harm but some increase of faith and piety. This permission must be obtained in writing.

And he who is presumptuous enough to read or to have the Bible in his home without this permission cannot be absolved of his sins until he has first placed it in the hands of the ordinary.

As for the bookshops which have sold to someone who does not have this permission or who have supplied in some other fashion Bibles composed in the vernacular, the bishop will see that they lose the cost of these Bibles and will convert it into pious works, and they will also suffer further penalties by decree of the bishop, according to the gravity of the sin they have committed in this regard.

As for the regulars, they may read or buy the Bible only after obtaining the permission of their superiors.[35]

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[33] See S. R. Maitland, *Facts and Documents illustrative of the history, doctrine and rites, of the ancient Albigenses & Waldenses* (London: Rivington,1832), pp. 192–94.

[34] On this and the previous prohibition (and others) see Philip Schaff in www.ccel.org/s/schaff/encyc/encyc02/htm/iv.v.lxi.htm, accessed 19 March 2015.

[35] For the original of the *Regula Quarta* see *Index librorum prohibitorum: cum regulis confectis per patres a Tridentina synodo delectos, auctoritate sanctiss. D. N. Pii IIII, Pont. Max. comprobatus* (Rome: Paulus Manutius, 1564), pp. 15–16. Many other editions appeared at the same time.

There were three major applications of the Regula IV in the Catholic world:

- In the Iberian countries and their empires, the *Reglas* of the Spanish *Index* prohibited the laity *con todo rigor* from reading the Bible in translation, and even that of the Epistles and the Gospels on Sundays and feast days. These countries did not have a translation of the Bible until the eve of the French Revolution. This policy had its supporters in France.
- In France alone, in the period 1620–30, there was an interpretation of the Regula IV that was more liberal but that was actually only the application of the Roman text: the priest could *authorise* the reading of the Bible to the 'capax' layman (that is, reading the Bible in the Christian and then Catholic Tradition). This is what might be called the 'French Roman Catholic' tendency.
- Lastly, after 1650, the real change came with Port-Royal: the reading of the Bible was not only a right but a duty which was incumbent on all the faithful, the Word being compared to the Eucharist; the suppression of Regula IV, regarded simply as a discipline, was expressly demanded. The Oratorian Pasquier Quesnel made such reading an obligation for all of the faithful, even for women.

Thus in France, in the space of a few decades, there was a major change. It did not come about without opposition and sometime serious conflicts, which are explained by these differences of analysis.

### *How to get round Regula IV? The 'French Roman Catholic' tendency*

No new Catholic translation of the Bible was published in the first half of the seventeenth century. However, there were translations of the New Testament which, without expressly challenging Regula IV, either got round it by the use of various arguments or, in the case of the Oratory, by observing it to the bare minimum.

François Véron was primarily a controversialist who affirmed the right of Catholics to read the Scriptures so that they could respond to the questions of the Protestants based on the Bible (1646–7). In 1649 Michel de Marolles did not claim that the faithful had the right to read the Scriptures, but affirmed it in practice, with reference to the testimony of the unanimous Tradition. He was responsible for a major innovation, which was taken further by Père Denys Amelote and, of course, Sacy, that is, the use of the original Greek compared with the Latin of the Vulgate. In 1668 the *Interpreted Translation of the New Testament* by Antoine Godeau was a response to the needs, not of the battle

against the Protestants, like that of François Véron, but of the battle against the Casuists, an unforeseen development.[36]

A more subtle position was that adopted in 1666–70, concurrently with the first works of Port-Royal, by the Oratorian Denys Amelote, that is, the French Roman Catholic position: the 'capax' laity authorised by the clergy could read the Scriptures. Père Amelote did not favour the indiscriminate reading of the Bible. Certainly, like the Messieurs of Port-Royal, he likened the reading of the Scriptures to the reception of the Eucharist, but he went much less far than Sacy; he even, in a way, diverged from him in that he used this similarity to formulate reservations regarding the reading of the Bible: 'the French have been content for more than thirteen hundred years . . . to receive it through the medium of its interpreters', that is, the priests; and, 'although [the Church] may never have totally forbidden translations of [the Holy Scriptures] or reading them in the vernacular', nevertheless, 'it demands wisdom and faith to read them, just as it requires discretion and purity for the Eucharist'. The position of Père Amelote constitutes an excellent example of the choices then generally acceptable in Catholic circles. It would come to prevail during the course of the eighteenth century in the different attitude adopted towards, on the one hand, the New Testament and the Psalms, which were frequently translated, and, on the other, the Old Testament; in the latter case reservations persisted, as also in the case of the liturgy, which remained the province of the clergy.

The translators could not avoid the question of whether to use the Greek, a choice which was made difficult by the Tridentine assertion that the Latin Vulgate was the *sola authentica*. They often felt it necessary to give the Greek variants in a note (in the margin, at the foot of the page or even in the text itself); by the end of the century, however, the general consensus was that only the Vulgate should be used. Thus the prefaces to the translations of the New Testament before 1667 essentially boil down to two points: a justification of the reading of the Bible by the laity and a technical definition of the principles of translation. Port-Royal returned to these debates, but approached them in a far more fruitful way. The Old Testament still awaited translation.

*The publication of the Bible by Port-Royal (seventeenth–eighteenth centuries)*[37]

It is by reference to the huge enterprise of Port-Royal, which extended from 1650 (and perhaps earlier) to around 1750, that publication of the Bible in

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[36] Antoine Godeau (ed.), *Version expliquée du Nouveau Testament . . . Par messire Antoine Godeau, Euesque et Seigneur de Vence. Lat. & Fr.*, 2 vols. (Paris: F. Muguet, 1668).

[37] See Chédozeau, *Port-Royal et la Bible* and Chédozeau, *Le Nouveau Testament autour de Port-Royal*.

French is defined. Generally speaking, the Port-Royal project concerned the Word and the Body: the Messieurs both translated the Bible and provided a solid foundation for the Catholic Eucharist;[38] they also published numerous works to assist the reading of the Bible, both at the scholarly level (notably works of history and geography taken up by the Protestants) and at the spiritual level (in remarkable prefaces and in the 'long explications' of the Port-Royal Bible). We will deal here only with the translations and prefaces.

### The translations of Port-Royal (1650–1750)

In all these publications the editors were subject to ever-present constraints:

- As we have seen, was it, for the laity, forbidden, a right, a duty or an obligation to read the Bible?
- The authors needed to obtain the approval of the bishops (or their theologians), or of doctors in theology, and also a royal privilege.
- The translation: had they the right to translate? And according to the Latin of the Vulgate (declared *sola authentica* by the conciliar fathers) and / or according to the Hebrew and the Greek? At what level of language?
- Explanations must be given: the Messieurs did this on the basis of the 'holy fathers and ecclesiastical authors' – this is one reason why Port-Royal published many editions of the Fathers, including St John Chrysostom. The explanations must not be a product of the imagination or of scholarship. They must be based on devotion and faith, as attested by the approvals.

In the case of all these publications, and especially that of the New Testament known as Mons (1667), each of these questions would pose problems and give rise to disputes.

### First period (1650–75): the Psalms, the Biblia Sacra and the Mons New Testament

Jean Duvergier de Hauranne (known as Saint-Cyran), together with Cornelius Jansenius, became interested in the scriptural texts and in the readings given of them by the Fathers at a very early date. During their years of study at Bayonne the two men abandoned scholasticism in favour of reading the Scriptures in the light of the Fathers. Respectful observers of the dictates of the Council of Trent, they were thus originators of the Port-Royalist school of Bible reading by recourse to 'the Holy Fathers and the Ecclesiastical writers',

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[38] In the long and the short *Perpétuité de la foi de l'Eglise catholique touchant l'Eucharistie* (1664–74).

a phrase that was to appear in the title of every book of the Port-Royal Bible (1672–1708). The Messieurs seem initially (1650–75) to have intended to publish a translation not of the whole Bible, but only of the principal texts of the Catholic devotion of the age, the Psalms and the New Testament (and also *The Imitation of Christ*). It was only at a later stage that they turned their attention to the Old Testament.

### Translations of the Psalms (1650–eighteenth century)

After 1650 Port-Royal published the Psalms in various forms. It was in works which then had a wide readership that they provided a first translation of most of the Psalms: *The Office of the Church in Latin and French . . . [with] prayers from Holy Scripture and the Fathers . . .* (1650)[39] and *The Office of the Holy Sacrament, with three hundred and twelve new readings from the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers of the first twelve centuries* (1659).[40] The concern to refer to the Holy Fathers is already apparent, as the titles indicate. In 1665 they published a new translation of the Psalter based on the Vulgate, followed, the year after, by another new translation based on the Hebrew and the Vulgate.[41] Even though they were explained according to the Holy Fathers, these texts ran into serious trouble because of the use of the Hebrew, which was penalised by the lack of approbation.

Another element – very Tridentine and dear to the Messieurs – was the spiritual explications. In 1674 an edition of the Psalter with notes from St Augustine (in Latin) was published, and also a French Psalter with notes from Augustine and other Fathers (the notes this time in French).[42] In 1689 there appeared, in the Bible of Port-Royal with 'the long explications', but this time according to the Vulgate alone, a French Psalter 'with commentary drawn from the Fathers

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[39] *L'Office de l'Eglise en latin & en françois: contenant l'office de la Vierge pour toute l'année, l'office des dimanches & des festes, les sept pseaumes de la penitence, les oraisons de l'Eglise pour les dimanches & les grandes festes: plusiers prieres tirées de l'Escriture sainte & des S.S. peres, & les hymnes traduittes en vers: avec une instruction pour les fidelles: dedié au roy* (Paris: la Veuve Iean Camusat, et P. Le Petit, 1650).

[40] *L'Office du S. Sacrement pour le jour de la feste et toute l'octave, avec trois cent douze nouvelles leçons tirées des Saints Pères . . . pour tous les jeudis de l'année, en latin et en francois*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1659–61).

[41] *Pseaumes de David. Traduction nouvelle selon l'hebreu*, trans. Antoine Le Maistre (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, 1665); *Pseaumes de David: Traduction nouvelle selon la Vulgate*, trans. Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, 1665); *Pseaumes de David: Traduction nouvelle selon l'hebreu, & la Vulgate*, trans. Antoine Lemaistre and Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, 1666).

[42] *Le Psautier traduit en francois, avec des nottes courtes, tirées de S. Augustin*, trans. Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy (Paris: Élie Josset, 1674); edition with notes in French published at Paris by Guillaume I Desprez, É. Josset, A. Pralard et L. Roulland, in the same year.

and ecclesiastical authors';[43] in parallel and, as twenty years earlier, in a translation according to the Hebrew, there appeared the first edition of the Psalms arranged for the days of the week, which can reasonably be attributed to N. Le Tourneux and which, under the short title of *Psaumes distribués*, was very frequently republished in the eighteenth century.[44] In 1691, lastly, also under the aegis of Port-Royal, Louis Ellies Du Pin published his annotated Psalter in Latin and French.[45]

Other translations described as 'Jansenist' appeared in the eighteenth century, the most famous being that of Duguet and d'Asfeld. These various translations remain little known, but we may note the interest of the Messieurs in the Psalms, their concern to provide translations based on the Vulgate and/or the Hebrew and the desire to complete them by explanations drawn from Tradition.

### The Biblia sacra (1662)

At this same period, in 1662, Claude Lancelot brought out a folio edition of the Vulgate Bible 'with chronological and historical notes, and a sacred chronology and geography'.[46] This work was very well received – it is one of the principal sources for the *Discours sur l'Histoire universelle* of Bossuet. It included, in addition to the Latin text of the Vulgate, important chronological, historical and geographical texts, most notably the long, rich 'sacred chronology and geography', which profoundly influenced the French historiography of the Classical period. This edition was frequently republished in different formats.

### The Mons New Testament (1667) and the works derived from it

In 1667 there appeared a major work of exceptional quality, *The New Testament ... translated into French according to the Vulgate edition, with the differences from the Greek [indicated]*.[47] The language of the translation is perfect,

[43] *Les Pseaumes de David traduits en francois. Avec une explication tirée des saints Peres, & des auteurs ecclésiastiques*, trans. Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy, 3 vols. (Paris: Chez Guillaume Desprez, 1689).

[44] *Les Pseaumes de David traduits en francois selon l'hebreu: distribuez pour tous les jours de la semaine, avec des hymnes, oraisons & autres prieres de l'Eglise ...* [trans. Antoine Lemaistre and Nicolas Le Tourneux] and ed. Jacques-Emmanuel Ariste (Paris: Élie Josset, 1689).

[45] *Le Livre des Pseaumes avec de courtes notes pour faciliter l'intelligence du texte: Par Mre Louïs Ellies Du Pin...* (Paris: André Pralard, 1691).

[46] *Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti V. & Clementis VIII. pont. max. autoritate recognita. Editio nova, notis chronologicis et historicis illustrata. Una cum sacra chronologia atque geographia*, ed. Claude Lancelot (Paris: Antonius Vitré, 1662).

[47] *Le Nouveau Testament De Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ: Selon l'edition Vulgate, avec les differences du Grec* (Mons: Gaspard Migeot, 1667).

and the difficult choices that were made (what level of language to adopt for the Word of God?) helped to form the French language; in addition to which, the preface is of deep spirituality. This work, called the New Testament 'of Mons' because it was nominally published in that town, ran to many editions (more than 100,000 copies were sold between 1667 and 1685). The Mons New Testament, principally because it gave the 'differences from the Greek', obtained neither privilege nor approbations in France, acquiring them only in Flanders. Its publication and its many editions raised a number of questions and provoked a long and fierce debate: a whole volume of the *Oeuvres complètes* of Arnauld is devoted to it. Like the Psalms, the Port-Royal New Testament had a huge national readership, and the conflicts it gave rise to had their echoes even among the Port-Royalists themselves. Both in its spirituality and on the subject of the problems of the translation, its preface is of the highest quality.

After this, the Messieurs published complementary works, of unequal importance but significant. The first was entitled *The Words of the Incarnate Word ... gathered by M.L.H.D.L.* [Messire Louis Henri de Loménie], priest of the Congregation of the Oratory;[48] it was the distant progenitor of the famous *Moral Reflections* of Quesnel. The second was the *New Arrangement of Holy Scripture, set in a perpetual order for reading it whole each year conveniently and profitably...*; it is usually dated to 1669 and it, too, may be attributed to Louis Henri de Loménie de Brienne and, for the technical side, to Claude Lancelot.[49] The *New Arrangement* was frequently reprinted in the Bibles of the eighteenth century. A third work was the *History of the Old and New Testament ... with edifying explications drawn from the Fathers....* Dedicated to the Dauphin by le Sieur de Royaumont, Prior of Sombreval, this became known as the 'Bible de Royaumont', or 'Les Figures de la Bible'.[50] Intended for the Dauphin, and reissued for a more popular audience, for whom it was for a long time the first book to read, it was as successful as its predecessors. It should not be confused with a fourth work, the *History of the Old Testament drawn from Holy Scripture* of Arnauld d'Andilly (1675).[51] With the appearance of the scholarly *Biblia sacra*,

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[48] *Les Paroles de la Parole incarnée Jésus-Christ Nostre-Seigneur, tirées du Nouveau Testament ...* (Paris: Charles Savreux, 1668).

[49] *Nouvelle Disposition De L'Ecriture Sainte: Mise Dans Un Ordre Perpetuel, Pour la lire toute entiere chaque année commodement & avec fruit* (Paris: Savreux, 1669; 2nd edn 1670).

[50] *L'Histoire du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament avec des explications édifiantes, tirées des saints Peres pour regler les moeurs dans toutes sortes de conditions ...* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1680). English editions by S. Sprint and others, London 1697, 1699 and 1700.

[51] Robert Arnauld d'Andilly, *Histoire de l'Ancien Testament: tirée de l'Ecriture sainte* (Paris: Pierre le Petit, 1675).

the various editions of the Psalms and the New Testament (and an excellent translation of the *Imitation of Christ*), the period 1662 to 1675 that saw the publication of the great texts that were to sustain French Catholic spirituality for a long time to come.

### Second stage: the Old and New Testament of the Bible of Port-Royal (1672–1708)

Until 1672 only translations of the Catholic New Testament were published. However, between then and 1708, Port-Royal first published every book of the Old Testament (1672–93) and then, between 1696 and 1708, those of the New Testament again, all with the 'long explications' – thirty-two thick octavo volumes. The whole venture is known as the 'Sacy Bible' after one of its chief editors, Louis-Isaac Lemaistre, sieur de Sacy (1613–84); it is more accurate and preferable to speak of the Port-Royal Bible.[52] The method adopted for this version and the commentaries was both Tridentine and new. It is well defined by its title: [book of the Bible], *translated into French with an commentary drawn from the Holy Fathers and other ecclesiastical authors*, sometimes with the variant … *with an explanation of the literal and spiritual senses drawn from …*[53] Each book was preceded by a 'preface' or an '*avertissement*'. As desired by the Council of Trent, every verse of each chapter is followed by commentaries taken from the Fathers, the 'long explications', different from the 'short notes' of later editions.

### Publication of the books of the Old Testament

The first volumes were influenced by two successive perspectives. The first was isagogic. Sacy began by publishing sapiental books, a prophetic book and a historical book, which he accompanied with prefaces teaching how to read each of these works:

• 1672: *Les Proverbes de Salomon traduits en français, avec une explication tirée des Saints Pères et des auteurs ecclésiastiques*.
• 1673: *L'Ecclésiaste de Salomon, traduit … et le Livre de Sagesse, traduit …* (both books in one volume).

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[52] Publication, staggered between 1672 and 1708, was completed long after the death of the project's initiator, who died in 1684.
[53] For examples of such titles see *L'Ecclesiastique: traduit en françois, avec une explication tirée des saints Peres & des auteurs ecclesiastiques* (Paris: Guillaume Desprez, 1688); *Les Nombres traduits en françois: avec l'explication du sens litteral & du sens spirituel tirée des Saints Peres, & des auteurs ecclesiastiques* (Brussels: Eugene Henry Fricx, 1700).

- 1673: *Isaïe traduit....*
- 1674: *Les deux premiers livres des Rois, traduits ...*

Between 1674 and 1679 Sacy interrupted publication of the Bible for unexplained reasons. Then, from another perspective, and after another work of prophecy, beginning in 1682 Sacy published the five books of the Pentateuch (he died in 1684 and it was his friends who published *L'Ecclésiastique* and *Les Nombres*):

- 1679: *Les douze petits Prophètes, traduits....*
- 1682: *La Genèse, traduite....*
- 1683: *L'Exode et le Lévitique, traduits....*

Sacy died on 4 January 1684.

- 1684: *L'Ecclésiastique traduit....*
- 1685: *Les Nombres, traduits ..., suivi du Deutéronome, traduit ...*

France now had in translation the sapiental books and the Pentateuch, with explications and prefaces explaining how they should be read. The other books followed, but in no discernible order:

- 1686: *Les deux derniers livres des Rois, traduits....*
- 1687: *Josué, les Juges et Ruth, traduits....*
- 1687: *Job, traduit....*
- 1688: *Tobie, Judith et Esther, traduits....*
- 1690: *Jérémie, traduit ..., et Baruch, traduit....*
- 1691: *Daniel, traduit ..., et Les Macchabées, traduits....*
- 1692: *Ezéchiel, traduit....*
- 1693: *Les Paralipomènes*[Chronicles]*, traduits ..., et Esdras et Néhémias, traduits....*
- 1693: *Cantique des cantiques, traduit ...* (not to be confused with other editions with very similar titles).

The translation of the whole collection can be attributed to Sacy himself. The prefaces, all important though of varying quality, and the 'long explications' are the work of many authors, including du Fossé. This publication, based on the Vulgate, had the necessary privileges and approbations. These were works unimaginable elsewhere in the Catholic world.

### The prefaces

The books are remarkable at three levels: the quality of the translation; the rigour of the commentaries, always based on the Holy Fathers; and the

theology of the prefaces, which deserves a brief comment. In long and solid prefaces (during publication), according to the nature of the book – historical, sapiental or prophetic – and in conformity with St Paul, according to whom these texts had been written for Christians more than for the Jews, Sacy and his successors taught how to understand the literal meaning as a foundation for the spiritual meanings that were alone of concern to Christians. To the morality of the Jews was added the Augustinian spiritual reading of the Christians; to the prophetic vision of the Jews was added the announcement of Jesus Christ, the Church and times to come; and the history of the Jews was transformed into a 'sacred history' which led to Jesus Christ. Thus it was a complete Catholic theology and anthropology that was taught by Sacy and the other authors of the prefaces.

### Publication of the books of the New Testament (1696–1708)

Although it was much less original, we should not forget the contribution made by the publication between 1696 and 1708 of the books of the New Testament accompanied by the same 'long explications' – thirty-two thick octavo volumes in all. *Le saint Evangile de Jésus-Christ selon saint Matthieu traduit en français avec une explication tirée des saints Pères et des auteurs ecclésiastiques* came out in 1696. The second part of *Matthieu* appeared the same year, *Marc*, *Luc* and *Jean* in 1697, *Actes* in 1700, the *Apocalypse* in 1702, the *Epîtres catholiques* in 1703 and the epistles of St Paul in 1708. However, with the exception of that to the epistles of St Paul, these prefaces were not of as high a theological quality as those for the Old Testament.

### Up to the mid-eighteenth century

The Port-Royal Bible was often reissued, sometimes amended, in all the formats, usually without the huge 'long explications'. This was the case, for example, with the Bible of L.-E. Rondet, which contained the dissertations of the abbé of Vence (1748) and which was republished with the name of Bible d'Avignon.[54] However, these editions were very far from being as original or of such high quality as their predecessors. After 1696 it was mostly translations of the New Testament that were published. In 1692, after many years of separate publications, Pasquier Quesnel produced *The New Testament in French, with moral reflections on each verse to make reading it more useful and meditation*

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[54] *La Sainte Bible en latin et en françois: avec des notes littérales, critique et historiques, des préfaces et des dissertations tirées du Commentaire de D. Augustin Calmet, de M. l'abbé de Vence…*, ed. Laurent Etienne Rondet, 14 vols. (Paris: G. Martin [et al.], 1748–50).

easier.[55] This work was fiercely attacked, and led to the bull *Unigenitus* (1713) and the politico-religious conflicts which continued throughout the eighteenth century.

Breaking the long silence of the Society of Jesus, the Jesuit Fathers Bouhours, Besnier and Le Tellier produced, between 1697 and 1703, *Le Nouveau Testament de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ traduit en français selon la Vulgate*, which was published without notes;[56] in 1711 Father Jacques-Philippe Lallemont produced a new revised edition with the Latin of the Vulgate. The Jesuits had at last emerged from their silence in this sphere.

In 1702 Charles Huré, one of the commentators of the Port-Royal Bible, published an edition of the New Testament with notes explaining the 'literal sense': this was for the benefit of 'simple people'.[57] Mention may also be made the interpreted edition of the New Testament published in 1712 by Jean Martianay, OSB, of the Congregation of St Maur; the New Testament of Mathieu de Barneville, Oratorian (1719), offered to all in conditions which prefigured the future Bible societies; and lastly, in 1729 the very literalist New Testament edited by Mesenguy.[58]

Together with the *Réflexions morales* of Quesnel, the most important work by far was, in 1702, the French New Testament 'with literal and critical observations on the principal difficulties', also known as the New Testament of Trévoux, edited by Père Richard Simon. After those of Port-Royal and the Jesuits, Richard Simon's work, due to its highly innovative critical and philological method, constitutes the third crucial stage of this phase in the publication of Catholic translations of the New Testament.[59]

[55] *Le Nouveau Testament en françois: avec des Reflexions morales sur chaque verset, pour en rendre la lecture & la meditations plus facile à s'y appliquer : augmenté de plus de la moitié dans les Evangiles en cette derniere edition*, ed. Pasquier Quesnel, 8 vols. (Paris: André Pralard . . ., 1692–3).

[56] *Le Nouveau Testament de Nostre Seigneur Jesus-Christ, traduit en françois selon la Vulgate*, ed. Dominique Bouhours, Michel Le Tellier and Pierre Besnier, 2 vols. (Paris: Louis Josse, 1697–1703).

[57] *Le Nouveau Testament de Nostre Seigneur Jesus-Christ: traduit en francois selon la Vulgate; avec des notes où l'on explique le sens littéral . . . Par M. Charles Huré. . .*, 4 vols. (Paris: Jean de Nully, 1702).

[58] *Le Nouveau Testament de Nôtre Seigneur Jesus-Christ, traduit en françois selon la Vulgate. Avec des explications litterales, tirées uniquement des pures sources de l'Ecriture. Par Dom Jean Martianay. . .*, 3 vols. (Paris: Élie Josset; Guillaume Cavelier, 1712); *Le Nouveau Testament de notre-Seigneur Jesus-Christ: nouvellement traduit en françois selon la Vulgate*, trans. abbé Mathieu de Barneville [actually Matthew Barnewall from Dublin] (Paris: Philippe-Nicolas Lottin, 1719); *Le Nouveau Testament de Notre Seigneur Jesus-Christ: traduit en francois, avec des notes litterales pour en faciliter l'intelligence*, trans. François-Philippe Mésenguy (Paris: Philippe-Nicolas Lottin and Jean Desaint, 1729).

[59] *Le Nouveau Testament de nôtre Seigneur Jesus-Christ: traduit sur l'ancienne édition latine. Avec des remarques literales & critiques sur les principales difficultez*, trans. Richard Simon (Trévoux: E. Ganeau, 1702). I can here only mention the many Catholic commentaries on the New Testament published in French between 1650 and *c*. 1730.

*Conclusion*

For the Bible in France, the period 1520–1750 was a great age, for the Catholic Bible more than for the Protestant Bible. France did not succeed in producing a Protestant translation comparable to those of King James or Luther. However, in the case of the Catholic texts, many clergy managed to free themselves from the restrictive measures of Rome and, at the end of the century, Port-Royal and those close to it, with a few Oratorians, produced the magnificent Bible with 'long explications' which, if not accessible to all of the faithful, provided preachers with a comprehensive survey of biblical readings for their sermons. It cannot be said that French Catholics lacked translations of the Scriptures. However, the opposition within the French Church prevented this Bible from being generally accepted, and it was only in 1757, with the brief of Benedict XIV, that the relative freedom that Port-Royal had been able to acquire was extended to the universal church – at least until the Revolution.

# English Bibles from *c.* 1520 to *c.* 1750

DAVID NORTON

## Tyndale

Modern translation of the Bible into English begins with and is pre-eminently shaped by William Tyndale, a gifted scholar, linguist and writer of English. His claim that he 'had no man to counterfeit [imitate], neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or suchlike thing in the Scripture beforetime'[1] is not a denial that there were earlier English translations but a statement that the Wyclif Bible did not offer a model for translation from the original languages or for the use of the everyday English of the early sixteenth century. He created that model, translating the New Testament from Erasmus's Greek, and the Old Testament as far as the end of Chronicles, together with Jonah, from the Hebrew. Miles Coverdale revised and completed Tyndale's work. Thereafter a series of Bibles revised Tyndale and Coverdale's work until it became the King James Bible (KJB) or Authorised Version of 1611. In turn that became the prime model for later translations. Without Tyndale, the English Bible would have been a different and, very likely, a lesser thing.

Tyndale responded to 'a learned man' who had declared that 'we were better be without God's law than the Pope's', 'I defy the Pope and all his laws… if God spare my life ere many years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou dost.'[2] Scripture, not the Catholic Church, gave God's word to man. Though he had hoped to find support from

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[1] 'To the Reader', from *The NeweTestamente*, [trans. William Tyndale] ([no place or publisher given], 1526), sigs. Tt iᵛ–iiᵛ. One may read this edition in facsimile as *The New Testament: A Facsimile of the 1526 edition, translated by William Tyndale*, intro. by David Daniell (London and Peabody, MA: British Library/Hendrickson Publishers, 2008). All quotations are modernised.

[2] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillousdayes: touching matters of the Church . . .* (London: John Daye, 1563; STC (2nd edn.), 11222a), p. 514. See also online edition at www.johnfoxe.org/, accessed 20 March 2015.

the Church, there was none to be had. Indeed, there was no place for such heretical work in England. He went to Belgium and Germany, and translated in peril, at last being martyred in Belgium.

His desire to write for the ploughboy determined the kind of language he should use: it had to be everyday English, not literary or ecclesiastical (registers that were hardly available at that time except through imitation of Latin). It was a major problem to know how to translate: should he be literal or should he paraphrase? Should he trust the text to speak for itself or should he use annotation to explain the meaning? His solutions depended first on the novel and dangerous step of trusting the reader – novel because this was something the Church refused to do, dangerous because it opened the way to unbridled individuality of interpretation and therefore to the destruction of religious consensus. There was a particular condition to his trust of the reader, that the reader should know God in his heart: truth should come from God speaking to the individual, both internally through baptism and through the Bible.

This faith in the reader was tempered by acknowledgement of difficulties. On the one hand, he stressed close attention to the words themselves and to the 'process, order and meaning' of the text, that is, the large context of the whole Bible and the local context of the passage. On the other, he recognised the need for annotation, and, insofar as he had time, did annotate his work. But the task of creating vernacular commentary that reflected the new belief in the literal sense of the Scripture was beyond what could be undertaken by one man who had the whole Bible to translate, and no certainty of living to finish the work. Tyndale knew that his text had to be as nearly as possible self-sufficient; he knew also that it was a first, imperfect effort to create the English Bible. So, with a realistic sense of what readers might understand, both through their own limitations and the difficulties of his language, he wrote at the end of his 1526 New Testament of how it might be improved, in the process describing his practice as a translator:

> In time to come . . . we will give it his full shape: and put out if ought be added superfluously: and add to if ought be overseen through negligence: and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper English, and with a table to expound the words which are not commonly used, and show how the scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people: and to help with a declaration where one tongue taketh not another. And will endeavour ourselves as it were to seethe it better, and to make it more apt for the weak stomachs.
>
> ('To the Reader', sig. Tt ii$^v$.)

This suggests that he was most concerned with literal accuracy to the originals. The desire to get rid of superfluities and to make good any oversights, points suggest that his primary concern was for literal accuracy to the originals. 'More proper English' means English that precisely fits the original. The need for a 'table' and a 'declaration' show an awareness of how he sometimes forced his English beyond 'common understanding', and how he preferred literalness: the 'declaration' was to be a more idiomatic translation where he had followed the expression of his originals at the expense of clarity.

Printing of Tyndale's first New Testament by Peter Quentell in Cologne (usually dated 1525) was aborted when another of Quentell's clients reported the work to authorities. One copy of the Prologue and Matthew 1–22 survives in the British Library. The whole New Testament was then printed at Worms in 1526 by Peter Schöffer; three copies survive, of which one, discovered in the Stuttgart Landesbibliothek in 1996, is complete. Tyndale's 1534 revision, printed in Antwerp by Martin de Keyser under the pseudonym of Hans Lufft of Marlborow, survives in larger numbers, including a copy owned by Anne Boleyn. He made a few more revisions in a 1535 edition.[3]

The translation is from the Greek text given in Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum* (edition unknown), and shows some influence of Luther's translation, especially in the prologues and the notes in the 1525 and 1534 editions. It is more literal than paraphrastic, and is remarkable for its general dependence on native English vocabulary and avoidance of Latinate words – words which would not only have been difficult for the ploughboy, but would also have sounded Roman Catholic in echoing the Vulgate.

The revisions between the editions are not substantial. Sometimes they improve the English, for instance the change from 'in the beginning was that word, and that word was with God and God was that word' (John 1:1; 1526), a rendering that stresses the Greek article, to the reading preserved in the KJB, 'in the beginning was the word, and the word was with God: and the word was God' (1534). More, who thought Tyndale was often over-literal, had suggested this, declaring it to be 'in English better and more clear'.[4] But the revisions generally went the other way. At Matthew 1:19, Tyndale changed 'then her husband Joseph, being a perfect man, and loth to defame her...' (1525, 1526) to 'then Joseph her husband being a perfect man and loth to make an example of her ...'. 'Joseph her husband' reproduces the Greek word order

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[3] *Oxford DNB*, article 'Tyndale, William (c. 1494–1536)'; Herbert, no. 15, pp. 7–8.
[4] Thomas More, *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, in *The Complete Works of St Thomas More*, 15 vols. in 20 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963–97), vol. VIII, p. 237.

but is less natural English. 'Loth to defame her' is defensible, but 'loth to make an example of her' is literal: the Greek verb is 'to make a paradigm'.

Though fidelity to God's word in Greek (and elsewhere in Hebrew) over-rode considerations of good English, Tyndale could hardly avoid writing good English. This was not just because he wrote well but because so much in the originals turned naturally into English, as he observed:

> The Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one; so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English, word for word.[5]

Consequently, his New Testament created many of the KJB's most famous phrases. 'And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it' (Matt. 7:27; KJB) is a triumph of nearly-literal translation and of English, especially in the final cadence, so aptly creating the meaning in the rhythm. It is exactly Tyndale except for the beginning: 'and abundance of rain descended'. 'Abundance' is an example of Tyndale amplifying the Greek unnecessarily (the whole sentence creates a violent storm), but the overall quality of the verse is in equal measure the creation of the writer of the Greek and of Tyndale, who has taken the Greek words but put them into English order, placing subjects before verbs, and moving 'great' from the end to the beginning of the final phrase.

The Pentateuch was published in 1530 by Lufft, and Tyndale continued trans-lating the Old Testament. The Matthew Bible of 1537 gives his work through to the end of Chronicles. He also published Jonah separately (probably 1531, de Keyser). He shows considerable sensitivity to the Hebrew, sometimes finding imaginative colloquial equivalents for it. Here another part of his practice as a translator is particularly evident: where the original is obscure, he makes it make sense.[6]

Tyndale's original editions were all pocket-sized books, presenting in a sin-gle column a well-paragraphed text divided into chapters. This makes the structure of the writing apparent ('the process and order'), but gives no assis-tance beyond chapter numbers and, after 1534, letters identifying parts of each

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[5] William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, ed. David Daniell (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 19.
[6] See, e.g., David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 2.

chapter, to help the reader find particular passages. The marginal material varies. The 1525 New Testament has substantial explanatory notes, but, perhaps because the notes were lost and time prevented redoing them, the 1526 edition is unannotated. The 1534 revision has brief summaries of the content, cross-references, a few comments and twenty-four explanations of language. There are few annotations to the Pentateuch. Nine explain the English and four the Hebrew. There is some commentary, which has a theological and anti-Catholic tone.

## Coverdale's 1535 Bible

On 4 October 1535 de Keyser finished the first printing of a complete English Bible,[7] sometimes known as the 'bug' or 'treacle' Bible after two readings, 'thou shalt not need to be afraid for any bugs by night' (Ps. 91:5) and 'there is no more treacle at Galaad' (Jer. 8:22). It was the work of Miles Coverdale, accomplished at quite extraordinary speed. He revised Tyndale's published work, including Jonah, and added to it the remaining 60 per cent of the Bible, Joshua to the end of the Apocrypha. Though he used the same kind of English as Tyndale, thus ensuring that it would be the language of the English Bible for centuries, Coverdale also took the English Bible on a false track. With insufficient knowledge of Greek and Hebrew to work directly from them, he made a translation of translations, using five 'sundry translations, not only in Latin, but also of the Douche interpreters' (prologue). These were probably Luther, the Zurich Bible, Pagninus, the Vulgate and Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum*.[8] He followed whichever he was using as literally as Tyndale had followed the Hebrew and Greek. Unable to judge how close Tyndale was to the originals, Coverdale corrected his language and understanding by the German or the Latin, turning the work from something like a crib for the original languages into a crib for these translations. The Pentateuch is closest to Zurich, with frequent use of Luther, Pagninus and the Vulgate. Thereafter

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7 *Biblia the Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe*, [ed. Miles Coverdale] ([No place or publisher given], 1535; STC (2nd edn.), 2063). For the identification of de Keyser as the printer see Guido Latré, 'The 1535 Coverdale Bible and its Antwerp Origins', in Orlaith O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Bible as Book: The Reformation* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2000), pp. 89–102 at p. 98.

8 There is general agreement about the first four. Tyndale is often given as the fifth, but this strains Coverdale's statement. B.F. Westcott suggests Rudelius's Latin version (Westcott, p. 163). In view of some instances where Erasmus appears to be Coverdale's source, I follow *CHB* 3, p. 148.

the Old Testament is largely from Zurich, which is, in these parts, significantly different from Luther. The Apocrypha is relatively free, and the New Testament mostly follows Luther.[9]

Coverdale linked his variety of sources with the inescapable fact that his work was producing a variety of English versions and with the practice established by Tyndale of inconsistent rendering of words, phrases and parallel passages, and argued that variety was both an aid to understanding and a way of avoiding tendentiousness:

> Be not thou offended therefore, good reader, though one call a scribe that another calleth a lawyer … For if thou be not deceived by men's traditions, thou shalt find no more diversity between these terms than between four pence and a groat. And this manner have I used in my translation, calling it in some place penance that in another place I call repentance, and that not only because the interpreters have done so before me, but that the adversaries of the truth may see how that we abhor not this word penance, as they untruly report of us.[10]

The argument highlights an important tension in biblical translation: should the words be definitive or, as Coverdale argues, no more than indicative? Are words truth or ways to the truth? Tyndale and Coverdale both sought truth through literal accuracy without thinking of their words as definitive. In particular they turned their backs on the artificiality of using only one English word for a word in the original language. Coverdale took the freedom further; Lewis observes that he 'was probably the one whose choice of a rendering came nearest to being determined by taste … This gave him a kind of freedom. Unable to judge between rival interpretations, he may often have been guided, half consciously, to select and combine by taste. Fortunately, his taste was admirable.'[11]

Tyndale's translations looked like ordinary, personal books. Coverdale's Bible, by contrast, is well-printed two-column folio that looks like a church bible and was suitable for installation in parish churches. Yet this is essentially a Bible for the studious reader, whom Coverdale exhorts, 'let not the book of this law depart out of thy mouth, but exercise thyself therein both day and night, and be ever reading in it as long as thou livest: that thou mayest

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[9] Westcott, p. 164.

[10] 'Myles Coverdale unto the Christen Reader', prologue to the 1535 Bible, prefatory matter, sigs. + iv[v]–vii[r].

[11] C. S. Lewis, 'The Literary Impact of the Authorised Version', in *They Asked for a Paper: Papers and Addresses* (London: G. Bles, 1962), pp. 26–50 at pp. 34–5; available online at www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/kjv_lewis.pdf, accessed 20 March 2015.

learn to fear the Lord thy God, and not to turn aside from the command-
ment, neither to the right hand nor the left'.[12] Aids are given for the reading,
notably summaries by chapters at the beginning of most of the books, some
explanatory (but not doctrinal or controversial) annotations, and extensive
cross-references. Elsewhere Coverdale calls these references a concordance,
enabling his reader to 'easily perceive wherefore every scripture is alleged,
how sweetly and well-favouredly God's word hangeth together, and how
clearly one place expoundeth another'.[13]

Coverdale followed Luther's 1534 Bible in placing the Apocrypha between
the Testaments (Baruch, though, follows Lamentations). The title page
describes the contents as 'the books and treatises which among the Fathers of
old are not reckoned to be of like authority with the other books of the Bible,
neither are they found in the canon of the Hebrew'.

## Towards the Great Bible

Tyndale had offered to return to England and cease writing if Henry VIII
would permit the publication of 'a bare text of the scriptures' translated
by whomever the king chose;[14] his dying prayer was 'Lord open the king
of England's eyes'.[15] Probably in 1527, Henry followed the spirit of the 1408
Constitution banning vernacular translation:[16] he 'determined the said corrupt
and untrue translations to be burnt, with further sharp correction and punish-
ment against the keepers and readers of the same' because they were poisoned
with Luther's heresies. Nevertheless, again echoing the Constitution, he hinted
to his subjects that 'good men and well learned may be parcase [perhaps] the
bolder' to produce a faithful translation 'substantially viewed and corrected
by sufficient authority to put in your hands, to your inward solace and ghostly
[spiritual] comfort'.[17] During the next ten years this hint took flesh. In 1534 a
convocation presided over by Archbishop Cranmer petitioned the king for a

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[12] *The New Testament of oure Sauyour Jesu Christ faythfully translated & lately correcte, wyth a true concordance in the margent, & many necessary annotations declaryngesondryharde places conteyned in the text*, ed. Miles Coverdale ([No place or publisher given], 1538; STC (2nd edn.), 2836.5), prologue.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Letter from Stephen Vaughan to Henry VIII, in A.W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1911), p. 170.

[15] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of Matters most Speciall and Memorable, happenyng in the Church with an uniuersall history of the same* (London: John Daye, 1583; STC (2nd edn.), 11225), p. 1079.

[16] Pollard, *Records*, pp. 79–81.

[17] *A Copy of the Letters, wherin... our soverayne lorde kyng Henry the eight ... made answere-unto a certayne letter of Martyn Luther ... and also the copy of the foresaid Luthers letter*

translation 'into the vulgar tongue, by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the king, and to be delivered to the people according to their learning'.[18] An attempt at this time to produce a New Testament made by the bishops failed, and then a new petition was made in 1536.[19] Probably in 1538, Thomas Cromwell, the vicegerent, ordered the clergy to 'provide... one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume, in English' in their churches, adding 'that ye shall discourage no man privily or apertly [publicly] from the reading or hearing of the same Bible, but shall expressly provoke, steer, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God'.[20]

If the bishops would not make a suitable Bible, what existed must be used to satisfy the growing desire to have an English Bible in churches. Coverdale's 1535 Bible, on its title page, positioned itself in relation to this desire and pictured the king as fulfilling it. It was neither opposed nor approved, and began to obtain favour: in 1537 a quarto edition appeared 'set forth with the King's most gracious license'. In the same year the Matthew Bible appeared and, perhaps because it was not so obviously made from Continental translations, was enthusiastically received by Cranmer as 'better than any other translation heretofore made'.[21] Cromwell presented it to the king, who approved and authorised its sale.

The Matthew Bible, so called because it purported to be 'truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew', was a pseudonymous compilation by Tyndale's friend John Rogers, who filled out Tyndale's published and unpublished work with Coverdale's work, and added the Prayer of Manasses, prologues and annotations, often taken from the French Protestant Bibles of Lefèvre d'Étaples and Olivétan.[22] The initials WT, printed in flourished capitals at the end of the Old Testament, did nothing to hide how much this was the heretic's work. Besides, with a print run of 1,500, it could not satisfy the needs of nearly 9,000 parishes.[23] Another Bible was needed, and Coverdale, the workhorse par excellence, was enlisted to provide what became the Great Bible.

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(London: Rycharde Pynson, [1527]; STC (2nd edn.), 13086), , sigs. A6ʳ, A8ᵛ. The latter passage does not make complete sense.
[18] As given in Westcott, p. 56.
[19] Ibid., p. 63.
[20] David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hibern ae*, 4 vols. (London: R. Gosling, F. Gyles, T. Woodward, C. Davis [and others], 1737), vol. III, p. 815; for the date see Pollard, *Records*, p. 262n.
[21] As given in Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 196.
[22] Westcott, pp. 71n., 170n.
[23] David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 199.

Meanwhile, other translations were appearing but are given little credit in histories of the English Bible because they had slight influence on the line of versions that became the KJB. Tyndale's sometime assistant, George Joye, translated the Psalms from Martin Bucer's Latin (1530; revised following Zwingli's Latin, 1534), Isaiah (1531), Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (1534 or 1535), Jeremiah, including Lamentations, and Moses' song, Exodus 15 (1534), and, incurring Tyndale's wrath, a revision of Tyndale's New Testament (1534). Richard Taverner, a protegé of Cromwell, skilled in Greek but not Hebrew, and with a talent for simple, clear English, revised the Matthew Bible (1539). This seems to have had some popularity, since some later editions of the Matthew Bible used it through to 1551. The 1549 edition of Taverner's Apocrypha introduced a rarity in English Bibles, 3 Maccabees.[24]

Coverdale, 'always willing and ready to do my best as well in one translation as in another',[25] revised his New Testament so that it could be used as a nearly-literal crib to the Vulgate, which was printed in a parallel column (1538). In keeping with his more literal approach, he adopted the practice of enclosing clarificatory additions to the text in square brackets. Besides helping the unlearned to understand the Vulgate, this translation was intended to show that the English translators were not its enemies, for the Holy Ghost is 'the author of his scripture as well in the Hebrew, Greek, French, Dutch, and in English, as in Latin'. A particular translation for a particular purpose, this did not influence later translations. In passing, it is worth noting that Tyndale's New Testament was printed earlier in 1538 in a diglot edition, using Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum* rather than the Vulgate; three further editions followed, 1548–50.

## The Great Bible

The Great Bible was the culmination of the first phase of the English Reformation Bible. Printed in seven folio editions between April 1539 and December 1541, it satisfied the need for church bibles 'of the largest volume' and established the form of the text that the succeeding official revisions, the Bishops' Bible and the KJB, would be based on. The title stresses the translation's scholarly credentials: it is 'truly translated after the verity of the Hebrew and Greek texts, by diligent study of divers excellent learned men, expert in

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[24] Bassandyne's Geneva Bible (1579) has a title for this book at the end of the Apocrypha, but no text follows.
[25] Dedication to Henry VIII in Nicolson's second edition (1538; Herbert, no. 38, pp. 21–2); so too the next quotation.

the foresaid tongues'. This was replaced in the second edition[26] (April 1540) by a reference to the new prologue by Cranmer (this and the later editions are often called Cranmer's Bible), and the declaration, 'this is the Bible appointed to the use of the churches'. The sixth edition elaborated emphatically: 'the Bible in English of the largest and greatest volume, authorised and appointed by the commandment of our most redoubted prince and sovereign lord, King Henry the VIII', the first instance of 'authorised' being used on a title page.

In spite of the first title page, this is primarily Coverdale's work, revising not his own 1535 text but the Matthew Bible, that is, a version that, from Genesis to 2 Chronicles and for all of the New Testament, had the Hebrew and Greek as its basis. He now used Münster's Latin Old Testament translation and commentary, the Complutensian Polyglot and Erasmus as his principal aids to revision, giving the work sounder scholarly foundations, though not as sound as the title page suggests. Initially the Prophets and the Apocrypha were lightly revised; further revision was carried out for the second edition.[27]

The Great Bible's most significant contribution lay in its rendering of the poetic books (Tyndale translated very little of the poetry). Coverdale had often been good in his first Bible, but here his special talents come to the fore: there are often marked improvements in rhythm and musicality, setting a pattern for later versions.[28] The Psalter, much revised from his first version, was particularly important because it became the Prayer Book Psalter, and so the predominant English form of the Psalter for Anglicans until replaced in the 1960s.

Cranmer's prologue is representative of the time in its simultaneous advocacy of vernacular translation and fear of misuse by 'idle babblers and talkers of the scripture'. Rather than such dangerous freedom, the doubting reader should go to his clergyman: true understanding belonged to the Church, not to the individual. Now, the Great Bible was to have been annotated, but time prevented this: only the annotation marks remained until the fourth edition (November 1540), and they stand as notices of difficulty and warnings against private interpretation. Nowhere is the newborn English Reformation's ambiguous attitude to the vernacular Bible more strongly expressed than in Cranmer's declaration, 'I forbid not to read, but I forbid to reason.'

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[26] Herbert treats Petyt and Redman's April 1540 printing as a reprint, though noting some correction and revision: no. 52, pp. 28–9.

[27] See Westcott, pp. 181 ff.

[28] So C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 218. Gerald Hammond, who cites Lewis, gives a more qualified judgement: *The Making of the English Bible* (Manchester: Carcanet New Press, 1982), pp. 84–5.

With the death of Cromwell conservative forces gained some ascendancy, complaining of errors in the Great Bible and of Cranmer's preface, fearing what the annotations might be, trying to get rid of anything to do with heretics such as Tyndale, and looking to have a Latinised version based on the Vulgate. A review by the bishops failed, but there was an almost complete halt to English bible printing until the accession of Edward VI in 1547. As a result the Great Bible hardly became a book for private ownership by other than the wealthy. Two octavo New Testaments appeared (1540, 1546), and an octavo edition of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus (1540). Availability improved under Edward VI. There was a 1547 injunction that every church should have a bible, and about forty editions of the various versions were published.[29] The New Testament was issued in a range of formats as small as sexto-decimo, but complete bibles were not available in less than quarto format. Most people would have had to rely on the copies in churches if they wanted to explore the whole Bible.

## The Geneva Bible

With the accession of Mary (1553), printing stopped except for a new version of the New Testament published in 1557 in Geneva. This, the work of William Whittingham,[30] was the beginning of the most successful Bible for the next century, the Geneva Bible. The 1557 title page claims both scholarship and utility, hallmarks of Geneva translations in English as in other languages. The translation (based on Tyndale and the Great Bible) is 'conferred diligently with the Greek, and best approved translations', and is accompanied by 'arguments as well before the chapters as for every Book and Epistle, also diversities of readings, and most profitable annotations of all hard places: whereunto is added a copious Table'. The readers, pictured as 'simple lambs, which partly are already in the fold of Christ, and so willingly hear their Shepherd's voice, and partly wandering astray by ignorance', are given as much aid as possible to understanding. The text of this neat little octavo is given in a single column in clear, modern-looking roman type, with doctrinal annotations (a few in Revelation are anti-Catholic), cross-references, alternate translations and variant readings in both margins. Italics rather than square brackets are used for words with no equivalent in the Greek. Verse numbers, indispensable for

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[29] Herbert, p. 60.
[30] This is the standard assumption. The book is anonymous, apparently the work of one man; the manuscript life of Whittingham does not say that he translated the New Testament (Daniell, *Bible in English*, p. 279).

easy searching of the text, appear for the first time, though the familiar letter divisions are also present. All these, plus the arguments and the index of 'common places and principal points contained in the New Testament', 'may serve in stead of a Commentary to the reader' ('To the Reader'). At the end is 'a perfect supputation [reckoning] of the years and time from Adam unto Christ'. From the beginning of the world until 1557 'are just 5,531 [years], six months, and the said odd ten days'. At once scholarly and easy to read, this Testament gave the private reader both text and understanding.

The pattern for Geneva Bibles was set, but not the text: this version was never reprinted.[31] An octavo Psalter dedicated to Elizabeth I gave a foretaste of the standard Geneva text and annotations, and the full Bible appeared soon afterwards (1560).[32] The Geneva Bible, sometimes called the Breeches Bible,[33] was the result of 'two years and more day and night occupied therein' ('To the Reader') by perhaps eleven men, probably including Coverdale and led by Whittingham.[34] It was in effect the first committee translation into English, but nothing is known of how the work was conducted, not even whether it was divided out or subject to collective discussion.

With good reason, Geneva became the most popular translation for at least eighty years, going through at least 140 complete or partial editions up to 1644. It gave the people what they wanted: a relatively cheap, exceptionally well-presented Bible, with every possible aid to understanding except a concordance. The reader could feel he understood everything and that he was being placed in the position of a scholar. Everything that had been in the 1557 Testament (except the old-fashioned letters for chapter sections) was there. Twenty-six woodcuts (and five maps) that are best thought of as explanatory diagrams rather than illustrations were added to make clear passages 'so dark that by no description they could be made easy to the simple reader'('To the Reader'). The Bible concludes with a table 'of the proper names which are chiefly found in the Old Testament', explaining their meanings, and, expanded

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[31] The 1560 Geneva New Testament follows, with occasional minor variations, the text and annotations of the 1560 Bible.

[32] The date on the Psalter's title page is 1559; the dedicatory epistle is dated 10 February 1559, so it may have appeared in 1560.

[33] From 'made themselves breeches', Gen. 3:7. 'Breeches' had previously appeared in the Wyclif versions.

[34] Lloyd E. Berry, 'Introduction', in *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2007), pp. 1–24 atp. 8, available at www.hendrickson.com/pdf/intros/9781598562125-intro.pdf for info.

from the 1557 New Testament, a second table 'of the principal things that are contained in the Bible'.

The introduction of verse division,[35] so necessary to make this a study Bible, changed the nature of the text. Each verse now looked like a paragraph and became the primary unit of Scripture. Paragraphing remained, but visually much diminished, marked with a paraph (¶), and much less frequent. Where Tyndale (1525) had fifty-three paragraphs in Matthew 1–7, Geneva has eighteen (the KJB has twenty-seven). Tyndale had stressed the importance of context, but the change to verses set like paragraphs atomises the text. The use of an initial capital letter even when the verse continues a sentence exaggerates the effect. In the prose parts the loss of continuity and structure is considerable, but this presentation generally works well for poetry, where the verses so often correspond to the units of parallelism.[36]

One of the great achievements of the Geneva Bible was that it restored Tyndale's dependence on the Greek and the Hebrew: this was especially important in the poetic and prophetic books, which had not previously been translated from the Hebrew. Not only were some (at least) of the translators good linguists, but they were living in a centre of biblical scholarship, translation and printing activity in which Calvin, Beza and Robert Estienne were leading figures. They had, among other things, for the New Testament, Estienne's 1550 Greek (in essence what was later called the *textus receptus*) and Beza's annotated Latin translation (1556); for the Old Testament, Pagninus as revised by Estienne, Münster and Jud, and also Olivétan's French Bible which was being revised at Geneva. They also had access to Jewish scholarship, notably using David Kimchi.[37] These sources did not always lead them right,[38] but the result was a considerable advance in scholarship, well capable of winning scholarly approval to go with the popular approval. The translators' claim of greater knowledge and light than their predecessors is justified ('To the Reader').

The Geneva Bible gave its readers increased access to the literal meaning of the originals, often by keeping the propriety of the words and preserving the Hebrew phrases even though these literalisms might seem 'somewhat hard

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[35] From this time onward verse divisions became normal for English Bibles, except for the first edition of the Bishops' Bible (1568) and some octavo Bishops' Bible New Testaments, e.g. 1570 and 1573 (Herbert, nos. 123, 124, 134, pp. 69–70, 77).

[36] See Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, pp. 112 ff.

[37] Berry, 'Introduction', pp. 7, 10–11; Westcott, pp. 212 ff.

[38] Westcott notes instances of Beza causing mistakes, but concludes that 'on the whole [Beza's] version is far superior to those which had been made before, and so consequently the Genevan revisions which follow it' (p. 229).

in their ears that are not well practised and also delight in the sweet sounding phrases of the Holy Scripture' ('To the Reader'). Fidelity, not pleasure, was the translators' aim. If the text was difficult, they could explain it in the margin. This relationship between text and margin also worked the other way, though the translators do not make the point: the text often paraphrases, leaving the literal version in the margin.[39] Either way, the reader could feel he had both the words and the meaning.

While the Geneva Old Testament remained largely unchanged, the New Testament was revised twice. Laurence Tomson's *The New Testament. . . translated out of Greek by Theod. Beza* (1576), a light revision of Geneva following Beza's 1565 Latin version, is notable as a text for following Beza's treatment of the Greek article, typically using 'that', as in 'I am Alpha and Omega, that first and that last' (Rev. 1:11). It included Beza's summaries and notes, annotations by Joachim Camerarius from Pierre L'Oiseleur's edition of Beza, and further notes by Tomson himself. These are more Calvinist than the original Geneva notes, and so substantial that they often take up most of the page. After a dozen editions, Tomson's text and notes were incorporated in a complete Geneva Bible in 1587; it became the normal form of the Geneva New Testament for roman-type quartos printed by the main English printers of Geneva Bibles, Christopher Barker and, from 1599, his son Robert; black-letter quartos typically gave the older form.[40] Whether the Barkers printed it because they had a monopoly interest in it or because it was popular, or simply because it was in some way convenient, is unknown. Robert Barker's last printing of this New Testament was in 1615; only two editions were published by other printers, both for Scotland.[41]

The 1560 Geneva Bible had substantial annotations to Revelation, but Tomson had left this one book almost unannotated. The gap in Geneva–Tomson Bibles and Testaments was filled in 1599 (a nominal rather than a reliable date for editions of the Geneva Bible)[42] by the inclusion of Franciscus Junius's annotations, which had first appeared in English translation in 1592. Thus the Geneva Bible circulated in two textual forms, Geneva and Geneva–Tomson, and, with Geneva–Tomson–Junius, three annotated forms. Though the anti-Catholic content of some of Junius's notes has made them notorious, a sympathetic reading judges them 'as rich and full as anything in any Geneva Bible', and 'probably the most influential commentary

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[39] See Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, pp. 95 ff.
[40] Herbert, no. 194, p. 101.
[41] Ibid., no. 267, p. 120, no. 278, p. 123.
[42] See ibid., no. 247, p. 115, no. 473, p. 166.

on Revelation ever in English'.[43] The popularity of the notes as a whole (or a general demand for annotation) was such that, after the Geneva text had ceased to be printed, at least nine Continental editions of the KJB (1642–1715) included the Geneva–Tomson–Junius notes, even where they related to readings not found in the KJB.

The 1560 epistle to the reader addressed 'the brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, etc.',[44] and the Geneva Bible gained a special place in Scotland. A licence to print it there had been granted in 1568, but none appeared until Bassandyne and Arbuthnot's folio of 1579.[45] By order of the General Assembly each parish subscribed the purchase price in advance, and a 1579 Act of the Scots Parliament ordered that each man rich enough should have a bible in his household.[46] Scotland was effectively a kingdom of the Geneva Bible. In spite of his later comments, the Geneva Bible had the approval of James VI (as he then was): his arms are on the title page, surrounded by 'God save the king', and the dedicatory preface notes that the publication was ordained by his authority.

The preface is written 'in our common Scottish language', but the rest of the Bible is Geneva unaltered: English, not Scots, was to be the language of the Bible in Scotland.[47] In 1610 Andro Hart issued a folio Geneva–Tomson–Junius without special Scottish content. Again this had official support.[48] In due course the KJB usurped its place; the first Scottish KJB New Testaments appeared in 1628, and the first complete KJB in 1633.

## The Bishops' Bible

In 1559 Elizabeth repeated the 1547 injunction that 'one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English' be set up in every church.[49] Folio editions of the Great Bible in 1561, 1562 and 1566 helped satisfy this, but awareness of that version's scholarly limitations, especially in the light of

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[43] Daniell, *Bible in English*, p. 369.

[44] Wales is omitted. Desire for a Bible in Welsh dates from Henry VIII's reign; Elizabeth instructed the Welsh bishops to prepare one in 1563; a complete Welsh Bible was published in 1588 (*CHB* 3, pp. 170–1).

[45] This was not the first Scottish Bible. Murdoch Nisbet's manuscript translation of the later Wyclif New Testament into Scots was made some time before 1539.

[46] Herbert, no. 158, pp. 88–9.

[47] See Graham Tulloch, *A History of the Scots Bible* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), p. 18.

[48] Herbert, no. 302, pp. 128–9.

[49] Henry Gee and W.H. Hardy (eds.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1896), p. 421.

Geneva, made revision desirable. Concern about the notes made Geneva seem unsuitable as an alternative, so, looking for a generally acceptable Bible, Archbishop Matthew Parker led the making of the Bishops' Bible (so called because most of the translators were bishops).[50] This was a collective rather than a committee translation, each translator doing a particular part. It probably took just over three years. The translators were to follow the Great Bible except 'where it varieth manifestly from the Hebrew or Greek original', and to use Pagninus and Münster as their chief aids. Bitter or controversial notes were forbidden. Dull or unedifying places such as most of Leviticus[51] were to be marked so 'that the reader may eschew them in his public reading' (thereby having more time for the more edifying parts). 'All such words as soundeth in the Old Translation [Great Bible] to any offence of lightness or obscenity [were to] be expressed with more convenient terms and phrases.'[52] In practice, each translator did his allotted part or parts independently, and there is little sign of close respect for these principles or of editorial control by Parker (there is, for instance, no obvious euphemising of the text). The standards of the work are uneven. The Old Testament is generally poor work, especially in its original revisions rather than those taken from Geneva, or from a source not previously used, Sebastian Castellio's classical Latin version of 1551, whereas the New Testament 'shows considerable vigour and freshness'.[53]

The most notoriously poor part is the Psalter, where the translator idiosyncratically reversed the standard usage of 'Lord' and 'God', and padded the version to death ('God is my shepherd, therefore I can lack nothing: he will cause me to repose myself in pasture full of grass, and he will lead me unto calm waters', 23:1). Parker was aware of this particular weakness: in the second folio edition he had 'the translation used in common prayer' printed in this Bible's standard black-letter type, with the original Bishops' Bible version, 'the translation after the Hebrews', given in parallel in roman type, visually signifying

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[50] For identification of the dozen or so bishops and several other clergy see Pollard, *Records*, pp. 30–1.

[51] Only 9:22–10:20, 19:13–37 and 24:10–26:46 escape this stigmatisation. This feature only appears in the folios and was dropped in 1584.

[52] Pollard, *Records*, pp. 297–8.

[53] Westcott, p. 231. The sharpest condemnation of the Old Testament is Hammond's: it is 'for the most part either a lazy and ill-informed collation of what had gone before, or, in its original parts, the work of third-rate scholars and second-rate writers' (*Making of the English Bible*, p. 143). No one has offered a judgement on the Apocrypha, which shows significant revision.

its inferiority. Thereafter, except for the 1585 folio, the Bishops' Bible gave only the Great Bible Psalter.

Parker also shows a more general diffidence about the work, for instance observing in the preface that it is not 'so absolute a translation as that hereafter might follow no other that might see that which as yet was not understood'. Though this echoes Tyndale and Coverdale, it contrasts with the confidence of Geneva, and leaves the way open for the KJB. In the meantime, the Old Testament was somewhat revised for the first quarto edition (1569), and, with more care and scholarship, the New Testament for the 1572 folio. Later editions followed 1569 for the Old Testament, the Great Bible for the Psalms, and 1572 for the New Testament. It was this combination, not the original Bishops' Bible, that the King James translators used as their base text.

In appearance, the original Bishops' Bible was the grandest yet (appearances varied substantially between editions; the later editions are generally less well made). The title page itself, dominated by an engraving of Elizabeth, simply proclaims, 'the Holy Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New'. Not till 1584, following renewed efforts by Archbishop Whitgift to have the Bible in all churches, did 'authorised to be read in Churches' appear; in 1585 this became 'authorised and appointed...'. There is substantial prefatory material, some of it ecclesiastical, such as a table of proper lessons for Morning and Evening Prayer, some of it for the ordinary reader, such as 'the sum of the whole Scripture'. A chronology computes 1568 to be 5,503 years and six months after the creation (a calculation at variance with Geneva's 'perfect supputation'). Finally there is a stodgy preface by Parker and Cranmer's prologue.

The text itself is in black letter, with chapter headings and summaries running across the two columns, and each verse beginning on a new line. One of the curiosities of the Bishops' Bible graphically reveals how the use of verse division led to a decline in awareness of the structure of the text: it is unparagraphed. This is true even in editions where, rather than starting each verse on a new line, the text is given in continuous form, with verse numbers within the lines. In these what looks like paragraph formatting appears where a verse ends near the end of a line; the following verse is indented, even where the sentence runs on. This is a visual break that has nothing to do with the structure of the text. Division letters are also used (but are incomplete in smaller editions, beginning with the 1569 quarto; they disappear in 1588). There are brief, often one-word, summaries at the top of each page, but these cease after 2 Chronicles. The margin has substantial annotations which Westcott describes as 'shorter and more epigrammatic' than the Geneva notes, and as dealing 'more frequently with the interpretation than with the application

of the text'.[54] Embellishment is provided by ornately bordered illustrations. Occasionally there are 'figures' or diagrams in the Geneva fashion, so Exodus 27 has both an artist's very inaccurate but rather fine impression of the tabernacle and, less inaccurately, a version of Geneva's figure from the end of Numbers 1.

The Bishops' Bible replaced the Great Bible in churches, but not the Geneva Bible in the people's hearts. Yet it was by no means a publishing failure. There were sixteen complete editions to 1602, including nine folios, and at least twenty-seven New Testaments, of which a dozen come after the last complete edition, and seven after the publication of the KJB.

## Rheims–Douai

The Roman Catholic exiles in France created the Rheims New Testament (1582) and the Douai Old Testament (two volumes, 1609, 1610), together known as the Rheims–Douai Bible. It was primarily the work of Gregory Martin, a skilled linguist (Greek and Hebrew included), theologian and controversialist. The New Testament title page gives a strong sense of what is offered and why: the version is

> translated faithfully into English out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greek and other editions in divers languages: with arguments of books and chapters, annotations, and other necessary helps for the better understanding of the text, and specially for the discovery of the corruptions of divers late translations, and for clearing the controversies of religion of these days.

Where the Protestant Bibles had been incidentally controversial in their prefaces and in annotations, this is, as these last words show, a controversial Bible, designed to give the true Catholic reading and understanding of the text, and to show at every point where the Protestant translations and interpretations are wrong.

Like the Protestant translations, Rheims is based on the language of the Tyndale tradition, so is often very similar to its two main English models, the Great Bible and Geneva. It also introduces some new linguistic elements, in part because it is a translation from the Latin of the Vulgate. Here is Apocalypse (Revelation) 22:16–17 in the words of Rheims:

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[54] Westcott, p. 243.

> I Jesus have sent mine Angel, to testify to you these things in the Churches. I am the root and stock of David, the bright and morning star. And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And he that heareth, let him say, Come. And he that thirsteth, let him come: and he that will, let him take the water of life gratis.

Most of this is sharp, rhythmic and colloquial, arguably better than Tyndale or the KJB. But the final word comes as a shock. Suddenly the Latin original is not translated but transcribed. 'Gratis' is one of fifty-six words listed at the end that are 'not familiar to the vulgar reader, which might not conveniently be uttered otherwise'; it is 'a usual word to signify, for nothing, freely, for Godamercy, without desert'; we might say, a free gift from God's grace, unearned by man, for the 'gratis/grace' connection is the reason Tyndale's 'free' or Geneva's 'freely' is deemed inadequate.

Latinisms are a principal aspect of Rheims–Douai language. Sometimes they appear comical, obscure failures, as in another transcription from the Latin, 'he exinanited himself' (Phil. 2:7) – though the clumsiness of the Protestant translators' 'made himself of no reputation' shows the difficulty of finding good English here. Sometimes such words have, as Martin hoped, become absorbed into standard English, but none of Rheims's neologisms found their way into the KJB. Instead, the KJB sometimes followed Rheims translations where the words already had a certain currency.

There is more to Rheims than Latinisms.[55] It is also notable for its greater attention to the Greek article, and to conjunctions and tenses, than found in the previous translations, and, as is to be expected in a translation from Latin, its greater use of participial sentences. Yet it is commoner for historians to quote its failures because of literalism and transcription, such as 'beneficence and communication do not forget: for with such hosts God is promerited' (Heb. 13:16; 'beneficientiae autem et communionis nolite oblivisci talibus enim hostiis promeretur Deus'). The Catholics often pushed the Protestant tendency to increased literalness too far, but their version made it more difficult for subsequent translations to paraphrase without appearing unscholarly.

Rheims (and, except in the Psalms, the Douai Old Testament after it) is well presented. Three features are notable. It gives the text in paragraph form, removing the verse numbers to the margin and marking the verse divisions with a †; this is the best combination of readability and reference system so far achieved. Quotations from the Old Testament are given in italic, and the longer annotations are printed at the ends of chapters.

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[55] Hammond's discussion of Rheims–Douai is particularly helpful.

The translation itself is only half the interest of the Rheims New Testament. It is a Counter-Reformation attack on heresy and a central part of the time's most detailed English discussion of principles of translation. Rheims argued that the Vulgate should be the base text, not the Greek or the Hebrew, because it was older, made from Greek and Hebrew texts that were less corrupt than the present texts, and was the authorised Roman Catholic version: where Greek and Latin differed, the Latin was to be preferred. No Protestant was convinced, but the effect was to highlight the importance of detailed textual work: truth depended on having the best possible originals. No text must be strained to a partisan interpretation. The translation should be as literal as reasonably possible: ambiguity should be preserved rather than resolved into a single clear sense (Tyndale's usual practice), for fear of 'missing or restraining the sense of the holy Ghost to our fantasy' ('To the Reader'); unintelligibility itself was acceptable if that was what close translation (or transcription) led to. The language and the true meaning of the text could be learnt from the annotations, which, preaching the truth within the text, were more important than the text itself ('our faith and religion cometh not to us properly or principally by reading of Scriptures, but (as the Apostle saith) by hearing of the preachers lawfully sent' ('To the Reader', citing Rom. 10:17)).

Such arguments could not be ignored. Several replies appeared, including one by a future translator of the KJB, Thomas Bilson. Most significant was William Fulke's handsome folio, *The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar Latin by the Papists of the traitorous Seminary at Rheims* (1589).[56] It gave the Rheims Testament in full, with every argument and annotation confuted, and with the Bishops' Bible text in a parallel column. At the end is 'a table directing the readers to all the controversies handled in this work'. Regarded by Protestants as a standard work, and four times reprinted, this was the form of Rheims that the KJB translators knew.[57] It was also the work that gave them the strongest incentive to bring the full extent of their scholarship to the KJB.

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[56] *The text of the Nevv Testament of Iesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar Latine by the papists of the traiterousseminarie at Rhemes. With arguments of bookes, chapters, and annotations, pretending to discouer the corruptions of diuers translations, and to cleare the controuersies of these dayes. VVhereunto is added the translation out of the original Greeke, commonly vsed in the Church of England, with a confutation of all such arguments, glosses, and annotations, as conteine manifest impietie, of heresie, treason and slander, against the catholike Church of God, and the true teachers thereof, or the translations vsed in the Church of England . . . By William Fulke, Doctor in Diuinitie* (London: Deputies of Christopher Barker, 1589; STC (2nd edn.), 2888).

[57] Pollard, *Records*, p. 23.

Rheims itself was only reprinted four times: 1600, 1621 (a pocket edition), 1633 and 1738. This last is notable for indicating places where the KJB has followed Rheims (which it sometimes did in spite of Fulke's arguments)[58] or responded to it, and also where the KJB 'still remain[s] corrupt'.[59]

The Douai Old Testament may have been translated first, and had certainly been completed by the time Rheims was published, but remained unpublished for 'lack of good means to publish the whole in such sort as a work of so great charge and importance requireth' ('To the Reader'). The delay allowed time for revision in light of the Clementine Vulgate (1592). Its eventual appearance was too late to influence the KJB, so none of its readings made their way into the mainstream of the English Bible. It was almost equally unsuccessful as a publication, running only to a second edition in 1635.

## Later Catholic versions

Until the mid-eighteenth century English Catholics, if they wanted a Bible in their own language, mostly had to make do with Protestant Bibles. An Irish priest, Cornelius Nary, made a version of the New Testament from the Vulgate (1719). The title claimed that it was 'for the better understanding of the literal sense', but, for the first time in an English version, the preface emphasised revision of language. Nary complained of Rheims that it 'is so old, the words in many places so obsolete, the orthography so bad, and the translation so very literal, that in a number of places it is unintelligible, and all over so grating to the ears of such as are accustomed to speak, in a manner, another language, that most people will not be at the pains of reading [it]' (preface). Often Nary's version reads more like the KJB than Rheims, as if it was a revision of the Protestant Bible in the light of Rheims and the Vulgate. His endeavour 'to make this New Testament speak the English tongue now used' (preface) suggests that the KJB's English had become, for the most part, current English.

Robert Witham's *Annotations on the New Testament of Jesus Christ* (1730) made similar complaints about the language of Rheims, and also aimed for literal rendering of the Latin.[60] It followed Rheims more obviously than Nary had

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[58] Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, pp. 152–3.

[59] Herbert, no. 1041, p. 260.

[60] Robert Witham, *Annotations on the New Testament of Jesus Christ: in which I. The literal sense is explained according to the expositions of the ancient fathers. II. The false interpretations, both of the ancient and modern writers, which are contrary to the received doctrine of the Catholic-Church, are briefly examined and disproved. III. With an account of the chief differences betwixt the text of the ancient Latin-version, and the Greek in the printed editions, and mss.* ([Douai]: [n.p.], 1730).

done, but the improvements of the language often involved words or phrases from the KJB. As the title suggests, it was accompanied by extensive annotations (Nary had only annotated Matthew substantially); rather than controversial, they expounded the literal sense. Neither version was successful.

What became the standard Roman Catholic Bible, Bishop Richard Challoner's revision of Rheims–Douai, appeared in 1749 (New Testament) and 1750 (Old Testament).[61] It described itself as 'translated out of the Latin Vulgate; diligently compared with the original Greek... Newly revised, and corrected according to the Clementine edition of the Scriptures. With annotations, for clearing up modern controversies in religion, and other difficulties of Holy Writ' (preface). Though still called the Douay or Douay Rheims Version, and retaining the original approbations, it leaves few verses unrevised. The revisions are similar to Witham's, whose work Challoner had approved, and mostly deal with vocabulary and word order rather than sense. Words such as 'gratis' and 'exinanite' are replaced by 'freely' and 'emptied'. Most of the changes adopt words or phrasing from the KJB. The result is more comprehensible while still being a different translation.

Where Witham had supplied one of the more interesting addresses to the reader, Challoner gives no account of his work. He also removed the original notes, leaving just a scattering of explanatory footnotes. Not only is the text simplified, it is made primary, as in standard KJBs.

## Minor Protestant versions

A few other versions of individual books were made in the latter part of the sixteenth century. About 1551 Sir John Cheke began a translation of the Gospels that remained unpublished until 1843. It is notable for its dislike of foreign words, especially Latinisms, and its attempt to reform spelling. 'Cubit' became 'half yard mete', 'lunatic' 'moond', and 'blasphemy' 'il wordes'.[62] Not everyone thought Tyndale's English simple and native enough. The contrast between this and Rheims indicates the linguistic tightrope the translators had to walk.[63]

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[61] Challoner and others later made light revisions, but this version remains essentially that of 1749–50.

[62] J.R. Dore lists Cheke's changes of vocabulary in Matthew and gives a sample chapter: see J.R. Dore, *Old Bibles: An Account of the Early Versions of the English Bible*, 2nd edn. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1888), pp. 80–6.

[63] See David Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, 2 vols. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 104–7.

The most cantankerous translator of the period was Hugh Broughton. Though perhaps 'the most proficient Hebraist of his day',[64] he was too dogmatic, cantankerous and obscure in his writing to be anything but his own and others' worst enemy. It was his unfailing belief that, rightly understood, everything in the Bible fitted together perfectly, and that the presence of a single error in understanding the chronology of the Bible would destroy all its divinity. He found errors throughout the English Bibles and was a strong advocate of the kind of revision he modelled in *Daniel his Chaldee Visions and his Hebrew* of 1596. [65] 'The exact propriety of his words' means literal translation. His version is based on Geneva. The following shows how independent he could be, and also that the KJB translators paid attention to him: 'and lo, an other Beast, the second, was like a Bear: which erected one government, and had three ribs in his mouth betwixt his teeth: and thus they said unto it: Arise, and eat much flesh' (7:5). 'Erected one government' appears incongruous and heavy-handed in the midst of an allegorical physical description. The Aramaic here is generally translated, 'stood upon the one side' (Geneva), or 'raised up itself on one side' (KJB). Broughton explains that the Aramaic word 'is a government still: and never (as I find) for a side'. The KJB took note of this in the margin: 'Or, it raised up one dominion'.

Broughton wanted to give much more than the text. Especially in the latter part, his version is drowned in annotations, some of which become essays. This is also how he wanted the full revision to be. He set out his views in *An Epistle* of 1597.[66] He argued that 'the holy text must be honoured as found, holy, pure', and the translation must neither, as at present, 'flow with lies nor have one at all'. Everyone should join in the work 'to show what in this pains may be better done than yet we have in England' (p. 1). Identical passages must be translated identically, and variant passages with the differences clearly marked (p. 47). Care must be taken to distinguish plain from figurative language (p. 22) lest the translator bring the figurative 'unto foolish and ridiculous senses' (p. 1). Everything is in support of his hobby horse, the perfect consistency of the Bible, especially in matters of chronology and genealogy. The overall effect is like that of Rheims, to keep subsequent translators acutely aware of

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[64]  *Oxford DNB*, article 'Broughton, Hugh (1549–1612)'.

[65]  Hugh Broughton, *Daniel his Chaldie visions and his Ebrevv: both translated after the original: and expounded both, by reduction of heathen most famous stories vnto the exact proprietie of his wordes (which is the surest certaintie what he must meane:) and by ioyning all the Bible, and learned tongues to the frame of his worke* (London: Field and Simson, 1596).

[66]  Hugh Broughton, *An Epistle to the learned nobilitie of England Touching translating the Bible from the original, with ancient warrant for euerieworde, vnto the full satisfaction of any that be of hart* (Middelburgh: Richard Schilders, 1597; STC (2nd edn.), 3862).

the responsibilities and difficulties of translating, and to frighten them away from anything but the most literal translation.

Two other independent versions need noting, though they came shortly after the KJB. Henry Ainsworth, a Cambridge separatist scholar who settled in Amsterdam (where he knew Broughton), produced annotated translations of the Psalms in both prose and verse (1612; the Plymouth Pilgrims took these to America),[67] the Pentateuch (1616–19) and, in verse, the Song of Solomon (1622). These were highly literal, and notable for using hyphens in places where a single Hebrew word is represented by more than one English word. The prose version of Psalm 23 begins: 'Jehovah feedeth me, I shall not lack. In folds of budding-grass, he maketh me lie-down: he easily-leadeth me, by the waters of rests.' The annotations are characteristically more than twice as long as the translation. They concentrate on the literal meaning of the Hebrew in the light of other ancient texts, notably the Septuagint and the Aramaic, and on cognate passages from the Bible. The result is more useful than readable. Ambrose Ussher, by contrast, attempted a more stylish version than the KJB. It had frequent idiosyncratic readings, but was left incomplete and unpublished.[68]

## The King James Bible

By the end of Elizabeth's reign the inconsistency of the people having one Bible, Geneva, and the church another, the Bishops' Bible, was an obvious problem, possibly to be solved by settling on one or the other. The basis for another solution had been created by Broughton's campaign for a new translation and the growing awareness of faults in both versions: in the words of a late Elizabethan draft Act of Parliament, 'one settled vulgar translated from the original'[69] might be created.

The right political moment occurred in 1604. The new king, James I, called a conference at Hampton Court to deal with religious differences. In the middle of it, apparently without forewarning or sound argument, the Puritan leader John Reynolds suggested a new translation. He cited three errors in the Great Bible:[70] this might have been a ploy to get official acceptance of the Geneva

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[67] *CHB* 3, p. 363.
[68] See Norton, *Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 215–16.
[69] Pollard, *Records*, p. 329.
[70] William Barlow, *The Summe and Substance of the Conference which, it pleased his excellent Maiestie to haue with the lords, bishops, and other of his clergie, (at vvhich the most of the lordes of the councell were present) in his Maiesties priuy-chamber, at Hampton Court. Ianuary 14. 1603* (London: John Windet [and T. Creede] for Mathew Law, 1604; STC (2nd edn.),

Bible, which had the suggested readings (but so did the Bishops' Bible in two places). James, who had been only thirteen when he approved the Geneva Bible in Scotland, reacted unexpectedly. He had yet to 'see a Bible well translated in English' and thought Geneva 'worst of all'. He cited 'some notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits, as for example Exod. 1:19, where the marginal note alloweth *disobedience to Kings*'. But the idea of a new translation appealed to him: echoing the draft Act's 'one settled vulgar', he wished for

> one uniform translation… to be done by the best learned in both the Universities [Oxford and Cambridge], after them to be reviewed by the Bishops and the chief learned of the Church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council, and lastly to be ratified by his royal authority; and so this whole Church to be bound unto it, and none other.

Moreover, following his dislike of the Geneva annotations, it should be unannotated.

From this moment came the culmination of the work begun by Tyndale, the King James Bible. The translators took to heart the idea of making a settled or uniform translation: unlike all the previous translators, they write in the preface 'to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against, that hath been our endeavour, that our mark'. They were given fourteen rules (a fifteenth was added later).[71] Though the Geneva Bible would have been the best text to revise, the king's opposition to this and the intention to produce an official revision made the church's existing official version the base text, the Bishops' Bible (in its 1602 form), was 'to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit'. It was, therefore, to be a conservative revision, not, in James's word to the conference, an 'innovation'. Other translations from Tyndale to Geneva were 'to be used where they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible'. Traditional forms of names and 'old ecclesiastical words' such as 'church' rather than 'congregation' were to be kept. Notes could only be used for explaining words in the original which needed some paraphrasing, and for cross-references.

The initial work was to be done by six companies, two each at Westminster, Cambridge and Oxford. Each member of a company was to translate each

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1456.5), p. 45. The objections are described as 'trivial and old, and already, in print, often answered' (ibid. p. 46). What follows is from pp. 46–7.

[71] These are often reproduced: see, e.g., David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 7–8.

chapter or chapters; the results would be compared and a version agreed. Finished books would be sent to the other companies for review ('His Majesty is very careful for this point'); reasoned comments on doubts and differences would be returned, and unresolved questions would be considered at a general meeting 'of the chief persons of each company'.

Some matters of practice seem to have been settled later, including placing alternative readings in the margin, distinguishing with italic those words necessary for English but with no exact equivalent in the originals, and new chapter headings. New arguments were to be prepared for every book, but the KJB does not have these.[72] Other issues such as consistency of rendering of identical phrases or passages are not mentioned, and it may be that different practices existed between different groups of translators. In the end the preface makes a virtue of inconsistency of vocabulary.

The rules appear to have been partially followed. Some forty-seven translators were selected (sometimes as a result of lobbying), and others co-opted as need arose. It seems probable that some of the companies subdivided their work, perhaps even, in the case of the Cambridge Apocrypha company, assigning individual books to individual members.[73] Three pieces of evidence survive from the translation process: a manuscript draft of the Epistles which represents initial company work and leaves plenty of room for revisions; notes made by one of the translators, John Bois, of the general meeting's discussions of the Epistles and Revelation; and, most important of all, a 1602 Bishops' Bible with the translators' possibly final revisions of most of the Old Testament, and earlier revisions of parts of the Gospels.[74] With variations between companies, the work seems to have gone like this. The companies produced drafts between 1604 and 1608, sometimes going over their work twice. MS 98 and 1602 Bishops' Bible New Testament annotations represent this stage. Between half and five-sixths of the final readings distinctive to the KJB were created. Following pressure from James in 1608 the companies sent their work to the

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[72] Samuel Ward's account to the Synod of Dort (Pollard, *Records*, p. 339).

[73] Norton, *Textual History*, pp. 11, 6–7.

[74] The manuscript of the Epistles, Lambeth Palace MS 98, is transcribed in Ward S. Allen, *Translating the New Testament Epistles 1604–1611: A Manuscript from King James's Westminster Company* (Ann Arbor: Published for Vanderbilt University Press by University Microfilms International, 1977). Bois's notes are reproduced and translated in Allen's *Translating for King James* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969), and discussed at length by Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, ch. 8. The New Testament annotations to the Bishops' Bible are transcribed in Ward S. Allen and Edward C. Jacobs, *The Coming of the King James Gospels: A Collation of the Translators' Work-in-Progress* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1995). The Old Testament annotations are discussed in Norton, *Textual History*, pp. 20–5 and *passim*.

general meeting in the form of annotations to the Bishops' Bible text. The general meeting had working copies made of at least some of the work, represented by the 1602 Bishops' Bible Old Testament annotations, and worked over these in 1609 and 1610. Miles Smith and Thomas Bilson, collaborating with the printer, produced the text printed in 1611.[75]

The Bishops' Bible and Bois's notes give a strong sense of just how intensely the translators considered the text. Many pages of the Bishops' Bible Old Testament are so covered in changes that no room is left for any more. Had the translators been working from Geneva much less work would have been apparent, for a great many of the changes come from Geneva. Bois's notes record nearly 500 discussions of points in the text of the Epistles and Revelation; they show members of the general meeting acting as scholars, concentrating on teasing out the exact meaning of the Greek.[76] This is true to the translators' interests and priorities, but cannot be a complete picture of the work since decisions about the translation are rarely mentioned, and a large number of KJB readings that needed to be settled following the work recorded in MS 98 are unaccounted for. Missing from the evidence is anything that explicitly shows the translators revising for English style or rhythm. The commonly repeated view that this was part of – or even primarily – what they did, acting as conscious artists comparable to Shakespeare, rests on perceptions of the qualities of the KJB's language.[77] Close observation suggests that, if they were conscious of a duty to be stylish, they put this a distant second to creating an English Bible that was as accurate – often, as literally accurate – as could be. Above all, they worked to be true to the original, and what looks like stylish translation is often a triumph of literalism.

The title, enclosed in a fine engraving by the Flemish artist Cornelis Boel, includes these words: 'newly translated out of the original tongues: and with the former translations diligently compared and revised, by his Majesty's special commandment. Appointed to be read in Churches.' 'Appointed' rather than 'authorised', as in some Great and Bishops' Bibles, has caused much argument. It may reflect the 1585 phrase 'authorised and appointed', or it may refect the absence of actual royal authorisation for the publication: there is no record of such authorisation, and the work is dedicated to James not because

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[75] See Norton, *Textual History*, pp. 27–8; the evidence is examined and alternative views noted in the previous pages.
[76] See Norton, *Bible as Literature*, vol. I, pp. 154–8.
[77] The most powerful expression of this view is in George Saintsbury, *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (London: Macmillan, 1912), pp. 142 ff.; see also Norton, *Bible as Literature*, vol. II, pp. 323–6.

he had approved it but because he was 'the principal mover and author of the work'. Nevertheless, both royal and ecclesiastical authority are strongly invoked. Though 'authorised' was used to describe the KJB as early as 1620,[78] it was not used as an identifier of the translation until recent times.

Besides its reference to James's role in initiating, encouraging and hastening the work, the Epistle Dedicatory sums up the translators' purpose, to create 'one more exact translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue'. Following the Epistle is a justification of the work by Miles Smith, 'The Translators to the Reader' that, in spite of its interest and quality, is not commonly printed because of its length.

A Calendar, Almanac and similar material precede the table of contents. Then come thirty-four pages of 'the genealogies of Holy Scripture', tracing, with considerable beauty, the line from God through Adam and Eve to Jesus. Finally there is an elaborate map of the Holy Land, accompanied by a gazetteer. The genealogies and the map were the work of the historian John Speed, urged on and helped by Broughton. Speed had a ten-year patent, twice renewed, to include these in all editions of the KJB; they all but disappeared by 1641.[79]

The first edition settled standard English Bible presentation of the text through to the twentieth century. It followed Geneva's use of verses presented as little paragraphs, with paragraph divisions marked by paraphs following the verse numbers, making it an excellent study but a mediocre reading text. The structure of the writing is difficult to perceive, and was clearly not a priority for the translators. Working over the unparagraphed Bishops' Bible text, they had to paragraph the entire Bible but did not finish the job. There are six paragraph marks in the Apocrypha, one in the Psalms, and none following Acts 20. Most editions leave this situation unchanged. Words without direct equivalents in the original are marked by smaller roman type, making them visually insignificant set within the assertive, old-fashioned black-letter type. In modern editions these words appear in italic, confusingly now appearing to be emphasised.

The margins have 8,422 notes, alternative translations beginning with 'Or', literal renderings beginning with 'Heb.' or 'Gr.', and occasional pieces

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[78] Norton, *Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 214n. Pollard deals with the question of authorisation: *Records*, pp. 58–60. The omission of 'appointed to be read in Churches' from the New Testament title page suggests that the phrase was not as important as we now think.

[79] *Oxford DNB*, article 'Speed, John (1551/2–1629)'. Herbert notes their presence in a 1648 Bible (Herbert, no. 608, p. 196).

of information about things such as currency. On the one hand, these show a real care for the precision of the text; on the other, this is a relatively small number, little more than six to a chapter, leaving the main burden of precision to the text itself. In keeping with James's objections to Geneva, there is almost no doctrinal or controversial content. A further 494 were added by later editors, giving 9,916 notes in most standard texts. There are also 8,990 cross-references. Chapters begin with summaries, now usually omitted; except in the Apocrypha, there are running headings that sometimes have doctrinal content (the dates often found in KJBs were introduced in 1701; they are based on James Ussher's *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (1650–4)).[80]

The first edition had a small number of printer's errors and readings that later editors saw fit to change.[81] Corrections and changes began as soon as the second edition, also 1611. Best known is the change from 'he went' (literally following the Hebrew) to 'she went' (in keeping with the context) in Ruth 3:15, giving rise to the nicknames 'He Bible' and 'She Bible' for the first and second editions. Variant readings gradually accumulated, particularly through the careful work of the first two Cambridge editions, 1629 and 1638, and the two most significant eighteenth-century editions, Cambridge, 1762, and Oxford, 1769. This last became the standard form of the text. For better and worse, it is not the text the translators decided on: printer's errors are corrected, and new readings are introduced. Nearly all the changes are minor. The changes of spelling and punctuation depend on the sometimes quirky standards of the eighteenth-century editors.

The KJB was quickly made available in cheaper formats, quarto and octavo editions appearing in 1612, and, in duodecimo, a New Testament in 1611 and the complete Bible in 1617. Printing remained a monopoly of the King's Printer (Robert Barker and his successors) until 1629, when Cambridge first exercised its right to print the Bible. Oxford began printing the KJB in 1675. The King's (or Queen's) Printer, Cambridge University Press (now holder of the title of Queen's Printer) and Oxford University Press are the official guardians of the text. Outside England, the first Scottish edition of the New Testament appeared in 1619,[82] and the complete Bible in 1633. An Irish edition first appeared in 1714. Though there may have been earlier printings, the first

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[80] James Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti … a prima mundi origine deducti: una cum rerum asiaticarum et aegyptiacarum chronico, a temporis historici principio usque ad Maccabaicorum initia producto*, 2 vols. (London: J. Flesher, 1650–4).

[81] For printer's errors and editorial changes see Norton, *Textual History*, appendices 1 and 8.

[82] Herbert, no. 373, p. 150, though Herbert notes that the 1628 New Testament 'appears to be the first edition of the NT printed in Scotland' (ibid., no. 420, p. 157).

extant American edition is Robert Aitken's, 1777.[83] Continental editions, often from Amsterdam, began to appear in 1625.

Whereas we now think of 1611 as a defining moment in the history of the English Bible, it hardly appeared so at the time. Apart from Broughton, who castigated it for errors in chronology and genealogy,[84] and Henry Ainsworth, who referred to it as 'our late well amended translation',[85] the KJB occasioned scarcely a remark in its early years. Geneva remained the Bible of the people and, in spite of the official status of the Bishops' Bible and the KJB, for the clergy when they needed an English version. Miles Smith in the preface to the KJB either cites Geneva or makes his own version, sometimes coinciding with the KJB. Archbishop William Laud, who became the leading figure in banning the printing of Geneva, nevertheless used it in his sermons until the late 1620s.[86]

Geneva continued to be printed by the King's Printer until 1619, and in Amsterdam and Edinburgh until 1644, and very occasionally thereafter. Its demise and the consequent triumph of the KJB as the 'one settled vulgar' had more to do with its merits than those of the KJB. Not only was Geneva the people's familiar version, it also contained an invaluable key to understanding in its annotations, and was also often better printed and cheaper. Laud included some of these points in his explanation for suppressing the Geneva Bible:

> by the numerous coming over of [Geneva] Bibles... from Amsterdam, there was a great and a just fear conceived that by little and little printing would quite be carried out of the kingdom. For the books which came thence were better print, better bound, better paper, and for all the charges of bringing, sold better cheap.[87]

There was also continued disapproval of the Geneva notes: Laud noted 'that now of late these notes were more commonly used to ill purposes than formerly, and that that was the cause why the High Commission was more careful and strict against them than before'.[88] Other, unstated motives for

[83] See Herbert, pp. 272–3.
[84] Hugh Broughton, *A Censure of the Late Translation for our Churches* ([Middleburg: R. Schilders, 1611?]).
[85] Preface to Psalms, 1612.
[86] Norton, *Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 225–6.
[87] William Laud, *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D., sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. William Scott and James Bliss, 7 vols. in 9 (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1847–60), vol. IV, p. 263. For similar views from the Bible importer Michael Sparke and opposing ones from the church historian Thomas Fuller see Norton, *Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 212–13.
[88] Laud, *Works*, vol. IV, p. 262.

the suppression of Geneva may have been its strong association with Laud's Puritan opponents and the desire for uniformity. There is no evidence that the relative merit of the two versions was a factor. The KJB achieved a printing monopoly in England for commercial and political reasons. Ownership of a bible came more and more to mean ownership of the KJB: thereby it gradually achieved a unique hold on the English consciousness.

This view of the reasons for the KJB's success goes against the pervasive myth that 'it was a happy consequence of this acknowledged excellence [of the KJB] that the other versions fell immediately into disrepute'.[89] While claims were made as early as 1631 that the KJB 'is undoubtedly the most correct translation extant',[90] there were moves to have it revised. In 1645 'a review and survey of the translation of the Bible' was advocated by Broughton's editor, John Lightfoot, 'so that the three nations... might come to understand the proper and genuine reading of the Scripture by an exact, vigorous, and lively translation'.[91] Two attempts at revision, possibly connected, were made in Commonwealth times. In 1652 or 1653 a group of revisers was appointed, led by the Baptist Henry Jessey. They nearly completed their work but, for reasons unknown, no commissioners were appointed examine and approve it, and it disappeared without trace.[92] In January 1657 a subcommittee was set up 'to consider of the translations and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions therein to the committee'. There were frequent meetings, leading oriental scholars were consulted, 'and divers excellent and learned observations of some mistakes in the translations of the Bible in English; which yet was agreed to be the best of any translation in the world; great pains were taken in it, but it became fruitless by the Parliament's dissolution'.[93] The KJB was seen as admirable but improvable as an accurate translation (there is no sign that it was considered from a literary point of view), but the political will to revise it now slept for two centuries. There was one last attack on its

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[89] Joseph White, *A Revisal of the English Translation of the Old Testament Recommended: A sermon preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, on Sunday, Nov. 15. 1778* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1779), p. 9. For similar views see Norton, *Bible as Literature*, vol. ii, pp. 42, 104–5, 171, 177–8.

[90] Daniel Featley, 'An Advertisement to the Christian Reader', in Clement Cotton, *A Complete Concordance of the Bible of the last translation by helpe whereof any passage of Holy Scripture may bee readily turned unto* (London: T. Downs and R. Young, 1631), sigs. A3r–A5v, at sig. A5v.

[91] John Lightfoot, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons at Margaret's, Westminster, upon the 26th day of August, 1645* (London: R.C. for Andrew Crook, 1645), p. 30.

[92] Norton, *Bible as Literature*, vol. i, pp. 219–24.

[93] Both quotations from BulstrodeWhitlocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs, or, An historical account of what passed from the beginning of the reign of King Charles the First, to King Charles the Second his happy restoration* (London: Nathaniel Ponder, 1682), p. 645.

accuracy published in 1659, Robert Gell's *An Essay toward the Amendment of the Last English Translation of the Bible.* [94]

## Paraphrases, annotations, commentaries and new translations

The KJB's greatest shortcoming was its lack of explanatory annotations: 'the people complained that they could not see into the sense of the Scripture so well as they formerly did by the Geneva Bibles because their spectacles of annotations were not fitted to the understanding of the new text, nor any others supplied in their stead'.[95] 'Spectacles' were provided in various over-lapping forms, of which paraphrase, usually of the New Testament, was the most popular. The first to be published was *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* (1653) by Henry Hammond, a pioneering English biblical critic.[96] He first tried making a translation of his own, but, following advice, used the KJB text, not commending it but referring to it simply as 'the known translation of our Bibles' and as 'our vulgar text', adding some marginal variants of his own. He had two sorts of readers in mind, 'the most ignorant reader, for whom it appeared expedient, whensoever any part of the text seemed capable of clearer words than those wherein the Translation had expressed them, so often to fix a perspicuous paraphrase', and 'those who have some understanding of the original languages of the Bible', for whom he supplied annotations to the Greek, usually dealing 'with the one primary and literal sense of each place'.

The KJB text is given in the middle of the page, with any part that is paraphrased enclosed in square brackets so that the 'ignorant reader' could jump to the paraphrase in the right margin, thus reading a coherent, amplified text. For the further help of the learned reader, notes in the left margin also paraphrase, but use the Greek words at key points, and there are extensive notes at

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[94] Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-translation of the Bible, or, A proof, by many instances, that the last translation of the Bible into English may be improved the first part on the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses* (London: R. Norton for Andrew Crook, 1659).

[95] John Downame, *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament: wherein the text is explained, doubts resolved, Scriptures parallelled and various readings observed* (London: John Legatt and John Raworth, 1645), preface. See also Thomas Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain from the birth of Jesus Christ until the year m.dc.xlviii* (London: John Williams, 1655), book 10, p. 58.

[96] Henry Hammond, *A Paraphrase, and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament: briefly explaining all the difficult places thereof* (London: J. Flesher for Richard Royston . . ., 1653).

the ends of chapters. Basic explanation thus runs into 1,000 pages of popular and influential scholarship.

The prolific Presbyterian Richard Baxter liked Hammond's way of working but differed 'in so much of the matter', and found 'his style to be too lax', 'his criticisms not useful to vulgar', and the whole work 'too big and costly' (preface). His *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (1685) was 'by plainness and brevity fitted to the use of religious families in their daily reading of the Scriptures', and aimed at the development 'of family religion, and the Christian education of youth' (title, preface).[97] Printed in two columns, it gave a slightly modified version of the KJB text, with a paraphrase or notes in smaller type printed between the verses.

Samuel Clarke (1675–1729) paraphrased the Gospels (1701, 1702), the title declaring the work 'very useful for families'; to this Thomas Pyle added a paraphrase on the rest of the New Testament except for Revelation (Pyle also paraphrased the Pentateuch). They gave the KJB text in parallel with the paraphrase, and added some notes. Daniel Whitby titled his work *A Paraphrase and Commentary* but referred to it simply as a commentary.[98] His method was to insert additions into the KJB text, marking them with parentheses and italics, and to follow each chapter with very extensive annotations rather in Hammond's manner; he too omitted Revelation. John Guyse's *Practical Expositor* followed Clark and Pyle's presentation, sometimes reordering the biblical text, and adding footnotes and what he calls 'recollections' at the end of each chapter; these were to 'sum up in a pathetic and practical strain the principal things contained in the chapter' (preface).[99]

The most interesting paraphrase from this time was the work of the evangelical dissenter and educator Philip Doddridge, *The Family Expositor*.[100] Like Baxter, his design 'was chiefly to promote family religion'. To this he added an aesthetic note (also found in Guyse) characteristic of the nascent literary

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[97] Richard Baxter, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament with Notes, doctrinal and practical, by plainess and brevity fitted to the use of religious families, in their daily reading of the Scriptures : and of the younger and poorer sort of scholars and ministers, who want fuller helps: with an advertisement of difficulties in the Revelations* (London: B. Simmons and Tho. Simmons, 1685).

[98] Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*, 2 vols. (London: Bowyer, Awnsham and John Churchill, 1703). The *Paraphrase on the Epistles* had appeared in 1700.

[99] John Guyse, *The Practical Expositor, or, an Exposition of the New Testament in the form of a Paraphrase: For the use of the family and the closet*, 3 vols. (London: Oswald, 1739–52).

[100] Philip Doddridge, *The Family Expositor: or, a Paraphrase and Version of the New Testament. With critical notes; and a Practical Improvement of each Section. . . . Containing the Former Part*

awareness of the Bible, describing himself as 'endeavouring, in as plain and popular manner as I could, to display [the Sacred Oracles'] beauty, their spirit and their use' so as 'to render the reading of the New Testament more pleasant and improving' (preface). He gave the KJB in a column beside the paraphrase, and arranged the Gospels in the form of a harmony. A significant novelty of the work was that (as Hammond had thought of doing) he wove the paraphrase itself round a new translation, for he 'thought it might be some additional improvement to this work, and some entertainment to the more accurate reader, to give the text in a new version, which I have accordingly done from the original with all the care I could'. In his view very, very little of the sense of the KJB needed changing, but the 'beauties of expression' might be more accurately revealed (he adds that there is a greater need for such work in the Old Testament, since it 'has suffered much more in our translation'). The weaving was more ingenious than Whitby's in that he made the words of his translation, distinguished by italic, fit smoothly into the paraphrase.

The translation itself was 'extracted' from the paraphrase, and, lightly revised, published in 1765. The original is somewhat more wordy and explicit than the KJB, but the real, lamentable change of tone comes when it is seen as part of the paraphrase:

> *Now Joseph her husband being a righteous man*, perceiving there was something very extraordinary in the case, *and being by no means willing to expose her unto public infamy* by any severe prosecution, nevertheless was so confounded with the concurrence of the strange circumstances that attended this affair, as that in order to secure the honour of his own character, and to behave with all the tenderness that might be to a person that he loved, he *purposed* in himself *to have divorced her* as *privately* as the law of Moses would have allowed, i.e. only in the presence of two witnesses, and without assigning any particular cause.

Doddridge added notes of a similar sort to Hammond's but less extensive, and, like Guyse's 'recollections', he added an evangelical 'improvement' made up of 'pressing exhortations and devout meditations' at the end of each section.

Providing an amplified, explanatory way of reading the Bible, these works maintained their popularity for some time, but their time was passing. The desire for commentary that had been satisfied by the Geneva Bible and then thwarted by the success of the KJB remained. A group of at least seven ministers, probably led by John Downame (Downham), published the first complete English commentary in 1645, *Annotations upon all the Books of the Old*

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*of The History of our Lord Jesus Christ, As recorded by the Four Evangelists, Disposed in the Order of an Harmony*, 6 vols. (London: John Wilson and Richard Hett, 1739–756).

*and New Testament*.[101] The preface includes a history of English Bibles, and gives an account of how the work came about. It describes the KJB as 'the reformed and revised edition of the Bible', giving a clearer and more correct sense than its predecessors, but notes the people's desire for the 'spectacles' of Geneva quoted above. London stationers and printers petitioned the House of Commons 'for license to print the Geneva notes upon the Bible, or that some notes might be fitted to the new translation: which was accordingly granted'. The authors of *Annotations* were appointed to the task of supplying new marginal annotations following the example of Geneva, but the work grew beyond the scale of Geneva and the scope of the margin, so it was agreed that they should be published separately as a commentary.[102] *Annotations* therefore stands as a kind of official companion to the KJB: the fact that the authors were 'appointed' is noted on the title page. Geneva now had successors as a translation and as a commentary.

One of the works recommended by the Parliamentarians to Downame and his colleagues was the annotated Dutch Bible of 1637. Eventually, following encouragement from Parliament, Theodore Haak translated this as *The Dutch Annotations upon the Whole Bible*.[103] The translation of the text was necessary because the annotations and references fitted only with the Dutch 'reading, pointing, versing, etc.' (preface).[104] The annotations are inserted 'where they fall in naturally, betwixt the text, by crotchets [] in a different character, all along, by way of paraphrase'. Sometimes the text reads as the KJB, but one is constantly struck by differences, as in

> Gen. 1:6: *And God said; Let there be an expansion* [The Heb. word here used cometh from a root that signifieth to *spread forth*, or *stretch abroad*, and by it there is to be understood here, all the space that is comprehended between the nethermost and uppermost waters] *in the midst of the waters; and let that divide* [Heb. *be making division*, or, *partition*] *betwixt waters and waters*. [which are explained in the next verse.][105]

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[101] Downame, *Annotations*.

[102] For this latter part of the story and some detail of how they worked, see the extended preface to the third edition (1657).

[103] Theodore Haak, *The Dutch Annotations upon the Whole Bible, or, All the holy canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testament together with and according to their own translation of all the text, as both the one and the other were ordered and appointed by the Synod of Dort, 1618 and published by authority, 1637, now faithfully communicated to the use of Great Britain, in English* (London: Henry Hills, John Rothwell, Joshua Kirton, and Richard Tomlins, 1657).

[104] Talbot W. Chambers, 'The States' Bible of Holland', *Reformed Quarterly Review* 27 (July 1880), 382–99 lists and discusses some of the principal differences.

[105] Haak, *Dutch Annotations*, on Genesis 1:6, sig. B1ᵛ.

Such presentation makes the text impossible to read by itself. The preface's reference to the 'way of a paraphrase' refers to the presentation rather than to the nature of the material. Though translation, paraphrase and annotation are here conflated, this is really a commentary. Parliament gave Haak a fourteen-year licence for the work and set a thousand-pound penalty for anybody else attempting to print it, but there was only the one edition.

The other main English commentaries from this period were John Mayer's *Commentary* (Catholic Epistles, 1627; New Testament, 1631; complete Bible, 1653), Francis Roberts's *Clavis Bibliorum: The Key of the Bible* (1649), a translation of Giovanni Diodati's *Pious and Learned Annotations* (1651), John Trapp's *Annotations* in five volumes (1662), Matthew Poole's *Annotations* (1683) and Matthew Henry's *Exposition* (1708), none of which tackled the Apocrypha.[106] At last the KJB and commentary were united in what were generally known as Family Bibles, beginning with S. Smith's *The Complete History of the Old and New Testament: or, a Family Bible* (1735), but generally belonging to the time following the period of this chapter.[107]

There was one other new translation in this period besides Haak's and Doddridge's: Daniel Mace's New Testament (1729), published together with a text of the Greek revised 'in the direction of sound scholarship'.[108] The translation itself is a minor curiosity. Though often following the KJB, it brings in both touches of grandiose vocabulary and an element of chatty paraphrase.

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[106] John Mayer, *A Commentary upon the whole Old Testament, added to that of the same author upon the whole New Testament published many years before, to make a compleat work upon the whole Bible* (London: Robert Ibbitson and Thomas Roycroft, 1653), and numerous earlier partial editions; Francis Roberts, *Clavis Bibliorum the key of the Bible, unlocking the richest treasury of the Holy Scriptures : whereby the order, names, times, penmen, occasion, scope and principal parts, containing the subject-matter of the books of Old and New Testament are familiarly and briefly opened, for the help of the weakest capacity in the understanding of the whole Bible* (London: T.R. and E.M. for George Calvert, 1649); Giovanni Diodati, *Pious and learned annotations upon the Holy Bible plainly expounding the most difficult places thereof* (London: James Flesher for Nicholas Fussell, 1651); John Trapp, *Annotations upon the Old and New Testament*, 5 vols. (London: Robert White for Nevill Simmons 1662); Matthew Poole, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible: wherein the sacred text is inserted, and various readings annex'd, together with the parallel scriptures : the more difficult terms in each verse are explained, seeming contradictions reconciled, questions and doubts resolved, and the whole text opened*, 2 vols. (London: John Richardson, for Parkhurst, Newman, Robinson, Ailmer, Cockeril, and Alsop, 1683–5); Matthew Henry, *An exposition of all the Books of the Old and New Testament : wherein each chapter is summ'd up in it's contents, the sacred text inserted at large in distinct paragraphs, each paragraph reduced to it's proper heads, the sense given, and largely illustrated with practical remarks and observations*, 6 vols. (London: Parkhurst, Robinson, Lawrence, 1708–12).

[107] Samuel Smith, *The History of the Old and New Testament, or, a family Bible: with critical and explanatory annotations, extracted from the writings of the most celebrated authors, ancient and modern*, 2 vols. (London: W. Rayner, 1735–7).

[108] *CHB* 3, p. 364.

Among the innovations was the use of inverted commas for quotations and some speeches, and a general omission of capital letters from the beginning of sentences.

Mace's translation was the first hint of the flurry of new versions in the second half of the century, some of which began to take shape in the 1730s. But the general absence of new translation in the century or so following the Restoration shows how thoroughly English-speaking Protestants had at last accepted the KJB. They ceased to question its accuracy and began to love its words, but their consciousness of this love did not become vocal until the 1760s, when the new translations, mostly of the New Testament, began to appear.

## Concordances

English concordances were of two sorts besides the cross-references that Coverdale referred to as a concordance (see p. 311 in this chapter). Some listed subjects and names and gave references to where they could be found. The first of these was *A Brief and Compendious Table, in a manner of a Concordance, opening the way to the principal histories of the whole Bible* (1550), a translation from the German of the concordance printed with some editions of the Zurich Bible.[109] R. F. Herrey[110] compiled *Two Right Profitable and Fruitful Concordances*.[111] First published in 1580, these were based on the Geneva Bible but included references to other versions in the first table; they were popular enough to be included in some early editions of the KJB, beginning in 1613. The first table is of names and words like 'kab' taken directly from the original languages, with their meanings and references, while the second contained 'all such other principal words and matters, as concern the sense and meaning of the Scriptures, or direct unto any necessary and good instruction'. It

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[109] *A brief and compendiouse table, in a maner of a concordaunceopenyng the waye to the principall histories of the whole Bible, and the moste co[m]mon articles grounded and comprehended in the newe Testament and olde, in maner as amply as doeth the great concordau[n]ce of the Bible. Gathered and set furth by Henry Bollynger, Leo Iude, ConradePellicane, and by the other ministers of the church of Tygurie. And nowe first imprinted in Englyshe* (London: S. Mierdman for Gwalter Lynne, 1550; STC (2nd edn.), 17117).

[110] Identified with the Norfolk Brownist Robert Harrison (Herbert, no. 165, p. 92).

[111] 'R.F.H.' [= Robert F. Herrey, possibly Robert Harrison], *Tvvo right profitable and fruitfull concordances or large and ample tables alphabeticall. The first containing the interpretation of the Hebrue, Caldean, Greeke, and Latine wordes and names scateringly dispersed throughout the whole Bible: and the second comprehending all such principal vvordes and matters, as concerne the sense and meaning of the Scriptures* (London: Christopher Barker, 1580; STC (2nd edn.), 13228b).

lists 'proper and usual English words... conducing to the finding out of the most fittest sentences and best common places tending to the proving or verifying of any article and doctrine' (preface). Herrey's purpose and limitations show in his complete entry for 'kindness', which appears sixty-one times in Geneva: 'Christians ought to put on kindness, etc. Col. 3:12, 13, 14'. His words are a paraphrase of part of 3:12 ('put on bowels of mercies, kindness'). Such looseness of reference helped make these tables usable with the KJB. William Knight's *A Concordance Axiomatical* (1610), intended for ministers, was of the same kind and also based on Geneva.[112] In due course such works developed into Bible dictionaries, beginning with Thomas Wilson's popular *Christian Dictionary* of 1612 (expanded in later editions).[113]

What we now think of as concordances, listings of the words of the Bible with quotations and references, began with *The Concordance of the New Testament* (1535), sometimes, improbably, attributed to Coverdale, sometimes to the printer Thomas Gybson.[114] It is very incomplete, but notable for giving quotations that are long enough to make sense, and for its aim to 'serve for all translations in the English tongue' (preface). The readings often correspond with Tyndale's.

Much more ambitious was John Merbecke's *A Concordance* (1550).[115] In the preface Merbecke tells the touching and heroic story of how he, no scholar but a court musician, hearing of how useful a Latin concordance was for finding a text if one could remember but a single word of it, set out to make an English concordance to 'the most allowed translation' (though which he means by this is unclear: his quotations and references are often inaccurate, corresponding variously with Coverdale, Matthew and the Great Bible). Merbecke covers selectively both Testaments and the Apocrypha, dividing each word into separate entries according to the different words used in the Vulgate. Imperfect and soon obsolete, this was nevertheless a remarkable work.

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[112] William Knight, *A Concordance Axiomaticall containing a Survey of Theologicall Propositions: with their reasons and uses in holie Scripture. Taken at first by attent reading, and after digested into an alphabeticall order for the benefit of the church, especially for such as labour in the Word and doctrine* (London: John Bill, 1610; STC (2nd edn.), 15049).

[113] Thomas Wilson, *A Christian Dictionarie Opening the Signification of the Chiefe Words dispersed generally through Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, tending to increase Christian knowledge* (London: William Jaggard, 1612; STC (2nd edn.), 25786).

[114] *The concordance of the new Testament, most necessary to be had in the handes of all soche as delyte in the communycacion of any place contayned in ye New Testament* ([London?]: Imprynted by Thomas Gybson, 1535; STC (2nd edn.), 3046).

[115] John Merbecke, *A Concordance: that is to saie, a Worke wherein by the Ordre of the letters of the A.B.C. ye maie redely finde any worde conteigned in the whole Bible, so often as it is there expressed or mencioned* ([London]: Richardus Grafton, 1550; STC (2nd edn.), 17300).

Three-quarters of a century passed before another concordance of this sort appeared, Clement Cotton's *The Christian's Concordance* (1622).[116] Very clearly presented, with headwords centred in the columns, and brief quotations, this would have been a very considerable aid to searching the New Testament. It followed the Geneva Bible rather than the KJB, 'our latter translation', 'because the phrase thereof was of the two the more familiar unto me' (preface). But Cotton was aware that some would want to use it with the KJB, and observes 'that for the most part, the translators [of the KJB] have not departed from the phrase thereof [Geneva], unless in such particular passages where they saw there was need of their more especial and better help'. In short, he takes the KJB as a revision of Geneva. In an attempt to accommodate readers of the KJB he adds a thirteen-page, four-column 'table to the New Testament, containing such material words as in the new translation differs [*sic*] from the old either in sense or sound'. Here KJB words are listed with references but not quotations. This is the earliest example of collation of two English translations. In 1627 Cotton added a concordance to the Old Testament using the KJB ('the translation allowed by his late Majesty of Great Britain'), and a complete, revised version appeared in 1631.

Cotton's work became the basis of Samuel Newman's *Large and Complete Concordance to the Bible in English, According to the Last Translation* (1643), which corrected and extended quotations so that their sense was complete, and added a concordance to the Apocrypha.[117] Cotton's work was, inevitably, large and expensive, Newman's even more so. A selective concordance was needed, and supplied, at Cotton's request, by John Downame: *A Brief Concordance to the Bible of the Last Translation* (1630). It was, as the title page states, 'allowed by Authority to be printed, and bound with the Bible in all volumes'.[118]

With further improvements, Newman's revision of Cotton was the standard work until superseded by Alexander Cruden's still more comprehensive

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[116] Clement Cotton, *The Christians Concordance: containing the most materiall words in the New Testament. By the helpe whereof he may (onely by calling to mind some one such word in a sentence) readily attaine to any passage therein, seruing his present use* (London: Richard Field for Nathanael Newbery, 1622; STC (2nd edn.), 5842).

[117] Samuel Newman, *A Large and Complete Concordance to the Bible in English according to the last translation: first collected by Clement Cotton, and now much enlarged and amended for the good both of schollars and others* (London: Thomas Downes and James Young, 1643). This has a particular claim to fame as the first substantial work of biblical scholarship done in America (though published in England); a much-arrested dissenter, Newman emigrated there in 1638.

[118] John Downame, *A Briefe Concordance to the Bible of the last translation: Serving for the more easie finding out of the most usefull places therein contained* (London: Humphrey Lownes and Robert Young, 1630; STC (2nd edn.), 7126).

*Complete Concordance* (1738), a work still in print.[119] Cruden added sometimes extensive dictionary entries for what he calls 'the principal words' (preface). He divided the words up according to their grammatical forms and some of their commoner constructions, so 'cry' as a noun is followed by 'great cry', 'hear cry', 'not hear cry' and 'cries', then eleven different forms and constructions of the verb. Uniquely, he included marginal readings, marked with a †. Proper names are given separately, preceded by a table in which their meaning is given. Finally, there is a concordance to the Apocrypha.

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[119]  Alexander Cruden, *A complete concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in two parts* … (London: D. Midwinter, A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch [et al.], 1738).

# Bibles in Central and Eastern European vernaculars to *c.* 1750

### GRAEME MURDOCK

The early modern religious history of Central and Eastern Europe is notable for its diversity of churches and faiths. The region included both Latin and Orthodox Churches, and also a growing number of confessional rivals who emerged from movements of reform including Hussites, Bohemian Brethren, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Calvinists, Anti-Trinitarians and Greek Catholics. Although monarchs and rulers mostly remained faithful to either the Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox Churches, reformers found support among magnates and nobles, and in towns. In the Polish–Lithuanian commonwealth, in the lands of the Bohemian Crown and in the territories of the Hungarian kingdom this noble backing for movements of religious reform was largely successful in ensuring protection from any heresy prosecutions. Agreements between monarchs and their estates then offered legal rights to Protestant churches from the latter half of the sixteenth century. However, from the early decades of the seventeenth century both the Habsburgs and the kings of Poland were able to undermine these agreements and to erode the legal rights of non-Catholics. Many Protestant nobles across the region converted back to the Catholic Church, leaving non-Catholic clergy and congregations increasingly vulnerable and isolated. The revival of Catholicism across Central Europe during the seventeenth century included efforts by courts and the clergy hierarchy to reverse Protestant gains, but also extended to gaining ground among Orthodox communities by supporting the development of Greek Catholic churches.[1]

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[1] Graeme Murdock, 'Eastern Europe', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 190–210; Andrew Pettegree and Karin Maag, 'The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe', in Karin Maag (ed.), *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press/Ashgate, 1997), pp. 1–18; Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta and Graeme Murdock, 'Religious Reform, Printed Books and Confessional Identity', in Maria Crăciun et al. (eds.), *Confessional Identity in East–Central Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 1–30.

The production of Bibles in the vernacular languages of Central and Eastern Europe during this period reflected this changing political and religious landscape, and was related to the rise and fall of Protestantism among different linguistic communities. Bibles were first printed during the late fifteenth century by those who believed that it would broaden and deepen understanding of Christian religion. The production of vernacular Bibles from the mid-sixteenth century was particularly linked to attempts to advance different reform movements. Clerics worked to provide vernacular versions of the Scriptures for their own linguistic communities, and Bibles were also produced in mission efforts to advance reform among neighbouring vernacular communities. The production and reception of vernacular Bibles was also shaped by the small number of centres of book production and by low levels of literacy. Bibles were published with the support of monarchs and princes, but also in more localised initiatives thanks to the support of magnates and nobles. Translators of the Bible faced significant problems in completing their work, not least because of the limited state of development of many vernacular languages, and Bibles both reflected and assisted the emergence of standard vernaculars. Texts were printed both within the region and in the Empire. The eastward flow of vernacular Bibles to Central Europe was particularly important for German-speaking communities, and German-language Bibles produced in the Empire were in use from the Baltic to the Carpathians. This chapter will cover the publication of vernacular Bibles across Central and Eastern Europe, beginning first with the lands of the Bohemian Crown and then turning to the Polish–Lithuanian commonwealth. The publication of Bibles in the lands of the Hungarian kingdom will then be considered in more depth to highlight some of the key features in the translation and publication of Bibles across the region.

## Bohemia

The lands of the Bohemian Crown witnessed the first challenge to the authority of the Roman Church in Central Europe, and the earliest production of vernacular Bibles. In the fifteenth century Jan Hus and his followers called for the gospel to be preached clearly to everyone, and pressed for circulation of the Bible in Czech. There were already existing fourteenth-century texts which had been translated into Czech using the Vulgate. Hussite translations of the Bible revised these earlier texts. A New Testament was printed in 1475, followed by an edition of the whole Bible translated from the Vulgate as early as 1488; another richly decorated Bible was produced at Kutná Hora

in 1489. By the early sixteenth century the Hussite tradition still dominated religion in Bohemia and Moravia through the Utraquist Church and Unity of Brethren. New waves of reform quickly spread from Saxony in the 1520s, and Lutheran ideas and translations of the Bible made a particular impact on German-speaking communities in the Czech lands. However, it was the earlier domestic tradition of vernacular Bibles that provided the basis for a 1549 Czech Bible (with the New Testament translated from Greek) published in Prague by the Utraquist Jiří Melantrich of Aventinum working with a Catholic printer, Bartoloměj Netolický. The impact of Melantrich's work can be seen in five later editions of this Bible printed within thirty years. Bohemian Brethren clergy also worked to translate the Bible out of its original languages in Czech. A New Testament, translated by superintendent Jan Blahoslav, was published in 1564. Long efforts from 1579 to translate the Old Testament were finally completed in 1593 in the six-volume Kralice Bible. This translation was then produced in a single volume in 1596 and again in 1613. This flowering of Czech Protestant religious print was crushed in the early seventeenth century after the triumph of Habsburg military forces in Bohemia, and in 1627 all non-Catholic religions were declared illegal. The revival of Catholic fortunes was not at first marked by any effort to produce a new translation of the Bible into Czech. Jesuit scholars only published a Czech New Testament in 1677, and finally completed the so-called St Wenceslas Bible in 1715. Their translation was based on the Vulgate, but also used Protestant translations including the Kralice Bible.[2]

## Poland–Lithuania

Reform movements in the Polish–Lithuanian commonwealth also led directly to efforts to publish vernacular Bibles. During the mid-sixteenth century successive waves of Lutheran, Reformed and Anti-Trinitarian reform gained

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[2] The Biblia Slavica series provides reproductions of many early Bible translations for this region. See for example, Hans Rothe (ed.), *Kralitzer Bible: Kralická Bible*, Biblia Slavica, Series 1, 6 vols. (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1995); Frederick Heymann, 'The Hussite-Utraquist Church in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 52 (1961), 1–26; Jaroslav Pánek, 'The Question of Tolerance in Bohemia and Moravia in the Age of the Reformation', in Ole Peter Grell and Robert Scribner (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 262–81; Winfried Eberhard, 'Bohemia, Moravia and Austria', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Early Reformation in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 23–48; František Kavka, 'Bohemia', in Robert Scribner, Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds.), *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 131–54.

ground among nobles and in towns. Lutheran ideas made swiftest progress in the German-speaking towns along the Baltic coast and in Royal Prussia. From the 1550s the Reformed cause gained support among Polish speakers, only to be disrupted by divisions over the doctrine of the Trinity.[3] Each of these churches attempted to provide Polish speakers with translations of the Bible. The Lutheran ministers at Königsberg (Kaliningrad) in Ducal Prussia, Stanisław Muzynowski and Jan Seklucjan, were responsible for editions of the Gospels and New Testament Epistles before a complete Polish translation of the New Testament was published in 1553. In 1562 a complete Bible translation in Polish was printed at Brest (Brześć) thanks to the support of the Reformed Lithuanian chancellor, Mikołaj Radziwiłł. Radziwiłł sponsored a group of Reformed scholars at Pińczów to collaborate on a Polish text using the Bible's original languages as well as Latin translations. Anti-Trinitarian scholars were concerned that use of Latin texts had rendered the Brest Bible unreliable, and devoted themselves to work on more accurate translations from original languages. Szymon Budny completed a new Bible translation published at Nieśwież (Nesvizh/Niasvizh) in 1572. Further editions of the New Testament were prepared by Budny in 1574, and by Marcin Czechowicz at Raków in 1577. An edition of Budny's New Testament was later printed in 1589, and another New Testament was printed at Raków in 1606.[4]

During the late sixteenth century the degree of noble support for Protestant churches in Poland was reflected by the legal protection that was granted by the Crown. However, the Crown and Catholic hierarchy sponsored efforts to recover noble religious loyalties, and non-Catholics found their legal rights undermined and then withdrawn by the state. One early Catholic convert was Mikołaj Radziwiłł's son, who in 1568 burned copies of the Brest Bible. There were also early Polish translations of the Bible completed for the Catholic community. A translation of the New Testament was published in 1556, and in 1561 a vernacular Bible was translated out of the Vulgate. This 1561 Leopolita

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[3] Janusz Tazbir, *A State without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Kościuszko Foundation and Twayne Publishers, 1973); Janusz Tazbir, 'Poland', in Scribner et al. (eds.), *The Reformation in National Context*, pp. 168–80. E. Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism: Socinianism and its Antecedents*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1945–52).

[4] David A. Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation: Chapters in the History of the Controversies (1551–1632)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Antanas Musteikis, *The Reformation in Lithuania: Religious Fluctuations in the Sixteenth Century* (Boulder and New York: East European Monographs/Columbia University Press,1988); M. Kosman, 'Programme of the Reformation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and How it was Carried Through (*c.*1550–*c.* 1650)', *Acta Poloniae Historica* 35 (1977), 21–50.

Bible was printed by Mikołaj Szarffenberg, with the preface attempting both to justify and to regulate lay reading of the vernacular Scriptures. Revised editions of this Bible were printed in 1575 and again in 1577. Also working from the Vulgate, the Jesuit Jakub Wujek produced an improved translation of the New Testament in 1593, and an Old Testament translated by Wujek was included within a complete Bible published in 1599.[5] Partly in response to this Wujek Bible, Polish Trinitarian Protestants began to work on a further Bible translation. This work was principally undertaken by Daniel Mikołajewski, superintendent of the Reformed church in Greater Poland. A New Testament in Polish appeared in 1606, and then a complete Bible was printed at Danzig (Gdansk) in 1632.

Turning to other vernacular languages of this region, a manuscript translation of the Bible in Lithuanian was completed in 1591 by a former student of Wittenberg, Jonas Bretkūnas, while he served as minister to the Lithuanian-speaking community at Königsberg. Printed Bible translations in Lithuanian were only available in the early eighteenth century, with Lutherans responsible for the printing of a New Testament in 1701. In 1727 the polyglot Lutheran theologian Johann Jacob Quandt produced a German–Lithuanian New Testament at Königsberg, and an Old Testament was later completed by a team of Lutheran scholars in 1735. Further to the north, Lutheran reform had also spread to Estonian speakers. Although an Estonian catechism was published as early as the 1530s, New Testaments were only published in Estonian in 1686, in 1715, and again in 1727, and a complete Bible was printed in 1739.[6]

## Hungary

Humanists and early reformers in the lands of the Hungarian kingdom were also committed to produce vernacular Bible translations. A translation of the letters of St Paul by Benedek Komjáti was printed at Cracow in 1553 and was he first published work in Hungarian. The Gospels were published in 1536 by Gábor Pesti, who declared that it was Christ's will that everyone should be able to read the Bible in their own language. A 1541 New Testament, printed on presses provided by the magnate Tamás Nádasdy, was translated from a mixture of Greek and Latin sources by János Sylvester in order 'to build up the Christian faith of the Hungarian people'.[7] From the middle decades

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[5] Jerzy Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 84–164.

[6] Musteikis, *The Reformation in Lithuania*.

[7] Benedek Komjáti, *Epistolae Pauli lingua Hungarica donatae* (Cracow: [Hieronimus Vietor], 1533); Gábor Pesti, *Novum Testamentum seu quattuor evangeliorum volumina lingua*

of the sixteenth century Lutheran, Reformed and Anti-Trinitarian preachers gained broad support, particularly in the towns of northern and eastern Hungary and in Transylvania, as well as on the lands of many magnates and nobles. Some of the earliest centres of support for Lutheran reform were German-speaking towns, and these communities remained largely reliant on importing German-language texts from the Empire.[8]

In 1551 and 1552 Gáspár Heltai, then the Lutheran minister at Kolozsvár (Cluj) in Transylvania, published Hungarian translations of portions of the Old Testament. Heltai suggested that the work was necessary because 'many pious people wished to be able to read the Holy Bible in the Hungarian language'.[9] Lutherans were also responsible for Bible translations in both Slovene and Croatian. From exile in the Empire, Primus Truber (Primož Trubar) made determined efforts to spread reform through vernacular catechisms and Bible translations. Trubar commented on the importance of this work in 1550 that 'a religious person's first concern and habit is to love God's Word, to listen to it and to read it gladly, to regard this Word alone as true and to believe it'.[10] Trubar and a group of Slovene- and Croatian-speaking reformers received support from Hans Ungnad von Sonnegg to establish a printing press near Tübingen which was capable of producing texts using Latin, Cyrillic and Glagolitic letters. This project to translate the Scriptures received assistance from Johannes Brenz, and financial support from Christoph of Württemberg, other sympathetic princes, and from a number of towns including Strasbourg and Nuremberg. The press produced the first partial publication of the Gospels in Slovene by Trubar in 1557 and in 1560, and a Psalter in 1566. A translation of Luther's Bible into Croatian using the Glagolitic script was also published at Tübingen in 1562–3 by Anton Dalmatin and Stjepan Konzul Istranin.

*Hungarica donata* (Vienna: n. p., 1536); János Sylvester, *Új Testamentum* (Újsziget: Benedek Abádi, 1541).

8 Katalin Péter, 'Hungary', in Scribner et al. (eds.), *The Reformation in National Context*, pp. 155–67; David Daniel, 'Calvinism in Hungary: The Theological and Ecclesiastical Transition to the Reformed Faith', in Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke and Gillian Lewis (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe 1540–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 201–30; Róbert Dán and Antal Pirnát (eds.), *Antitrinitarianism in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1982); Robert Evans, 'Calvinism in East Central Europe: Hungary and her Neighbours', in Menna Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism, 1541–1715* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 167–97.

9 Gáspár Heltai, *A Bibliannac elsö része* (Kolozsvár: Heltai & Hoffgreff, 1551); Gáspár Heltai, *A Bibliannac negyedic része* (Kolozsvár: Heltai & Hoffgreff, 1552).

10 Primož Trubar, *Abecedarium vnd der klein Catechismus in der Windischen Sprach/Ane Buquice, is tih se ty mladi inu preprosti Slouenci mogo lahku vkratkim zhasu brati nauuzhiti* (Sybenburgen [Tübingen]: Jernei Skuryaniz [Ulrich Morhart], 1550); also ed. Mirko Rupel (Ljubljana: NUK, 1970).

The number of copies of these texts which reached Slovene speakers in Carniola, and Croatian speakers along the Dalmatian coast and to the east, seems to have been rather small. However, a further Bible translation in Slovene by Sebastijan Krelj was printed in 1578 at Laibach (Ljubljana), and Trubar's New Testament was printed again in 1582 at Tübingen. With support from Protestant nobles, another translation of the Bible into Slovene from its original languages was published in 1584 by Jurij Dalmatin at Wittenberg.[11]

In Transylvania there were intense debates during the 1560s between rival Lutheran, Reformed and Anti-Trinitarian clergy. Attention was given to production of Hungarian Bibles by Reformed ministers in particular. In 1565 Gáspár Heltai published the historical books of the Old Testament in Hungarian, and in 1567 a leading Reformed minister, Péter Méliusz Juhász, produced a translation of the New Testament.[12] A further Hungarian translation of the New Testament from Greek sources was published at Debrecen in 1586. This work was mostly undertaken by Reformed minister Tamás Félegyházi, although the text was completed by György Gönczi on Félegyházi's death. This New Testament was accompanied by marginal notes to assist readers to interpret difficult and controversial passages.[13] A complete Hungarian Bible translation was finally published at Vizsoly in northern Hungary in 1590 under the direction of the Reformed minister at Gönc, Gáspár Károlyi. Károlyi, who had studied at Wittenberg University, addressed the nobles, ministers and God-fearing communities of Hungary and Transylvania in his foreword. He suggested that he had worked for three years on the translation, although it seems rather unlikely that he could possibly have produced his text in such a short time. Károlyi certainly used earlier Hungarian translations of parts of the Old Testament. His foreword acknowledged that alongside Hebrew texts he had used the Septuagint, Vulgate and recent Latin Bible translations by Sebastian Münster and Immanuel Tremellius.[14]

[11] Krista Zach, 'Protestant Vernacular Catechisms and Religious Reform in Sixteenth-Century East–Central Europe', in Crăciun et al. (eds.), *Confessional Identity in East–Central Europe*, pp. 49–63; Regina Pörtner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria, 1580–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 54–5; Oskar Sakrausky (ed.), *Primus Trubar: Deutsche Vorreden zum slowenischen und kroatischen Reformationswerk* (Vienna: Evangelischer Presseverband, 1989); Boris Paternu, 'Protestantism and the Emergence of Slovene Literature', *Slovene Studies* 6:1–2 (1984), 73–91.

[12] Gáspár Heltai, *A Biblianac második része* (Kolozsvár: Gáspár Heltai, 1565); Péter Méliusz Juhász, *Ujszövetség* (Nagyvárad: Raphael Hoffhalter and Mihály Török, 1567).

[13] Tamás Félegyházi, *Az mi Uronc Iesus Christusnac Uy Testamentomaavvagi frigie* (Debrecen: Rodolphus Hofhalter, 1586).

[14] *Szent Biblia az az: Istennec o es wj testamentumanac prophétác es apostoloc által meg iratott szent könyvei*, trans. Gáspár Károlyi (Vizsoly: Mantskovit Balint, 1590); K. Péter, 'A bibliaolvasás mindenkinek szóló programja magyarországon a 16. században', *Századok* 119 (1985), 1,006–28.

Károlyi's foreword also set out his motivation for providing the Reformed Church with a vernacular Bible. He argued that God 'desires that the books of the Old and New Testaments should be available in the languages of every nation', and that vernacular Bibles were essential for the development of true religion in Hungary. Károlyi complained that there had hitherto been insufficient care to provide a vernacular Hungarian Bible. He laid some of the responsibility for this on the clergy, but reserved greater blame on the 'sins of princes'. Károlyi hoped that his work would allow 'ministers to read the Holy Scriptures for their communities to hear'. Reformed synods issued demands that parish ministers must possess a vernacular copy of the Bible. However, Károlyi suggested that ordinary people should not only rely on hearing the Hungarian words of the Bible during church services, but also 'read the Holy Scriptures when they are at home'. Despite such optimism, it seems very unlikely that Károlyi was able to initiate a domestic Bible-reading culture in Hungary. This was not least since there were only around 700 copies of the Vizsoly Bible, produced in two expensive and large folio volumes. Catechisms remained a much more widely available and viable means of introducing vernacular words about religion into the heads of many ordinary parishioners, especially in the countryside.[15]

Despite the limited circulation of the original edition of Károlyi's Bible, it became the standard translation used by Hungarian-speaking Protestants until recent times. This was partly as a result of the further, revised editions of the 1590 text produced during the seventeenth century. In 1608 Albert Szenczi Molnár was responsible for the publication of a revised edition of Károlyi's Bible at Hanau, which was dedicated to Maurice of Hesse. Molnár commented that the size and cost of the original Vizsoly edition had limited its practical use, and so he had produced a smaller Bible which 'ministers could take up into pulpits with them'. Molnár's text also revised some of the Hungarian usage adopted by Károlyi, and separated out all the books of the Apocrypha from the rest of the text. In 1612 Molnár received financial backing to produce a further edition of Károlyi's Bible at Oppenheim. This edition also included Molnár's translation of the Psalter set in verses as well as a translation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Molnár explained in his foreword that this new edition was needed because all the 1,500 Bibles that had been printed in

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[15] Károlyi, *Szent Biblia*; István Szilágyi, 'Az erdélyi anyaszentegyház közzsinatainak végzései kivonatban', *Magyar protestáns egyházi és iskolai figyelmező*, ed. Imre Révész 3 (Debrecen: Város, 1872), 1–9.

1608 had already been sold. This 1612 Bible further revised some of Károlyi's Hungarian language usage, and Molnár left out all marginal notes and shortened explanatory summaries provided at the head of chapters.[16]

A fourth edition of Károlyi's Bible was published at Amsterdam in 1645 thanks to the efforts of Hungarian students studying at Dutch universities. This text followed the 1612 edition by including Molnár's Psalter and translation of the Heidelberg Catechism. A further edition of Károlyi's New Testament was also published at Amsterdam in 1646. A vital role was therefore played by Western Reformed patronage and printing centres to sustain circulation of Bibles in Hungarian. Bibles were, however, also published in Hungary. An edition of a New Testament which followed Molnár's 1612 text was published at Lőcse (Levoča) in 1644. In 1661 a further edition of Károlyi's Bible was published at Nagyvárad (Oradea), thanks to Transylvanian princely and noble patronage, with newly added marginal explanations of difficult passages. The production of this Bible came at a critical moment in the fortunes of the Transylvanian principality, and production of the text had to be switched to Kolozsvár when Nagyvárad fell to Ottoman forces and 4,000 copies of this Bible were destroyed.[17]

Habsburg and Catholic pressure against Hungarian Protestants increased from the middle decades of the seventeenth century, and there was ever greater reliance on importing vernacular Bibles from the West. Two further editions of Károlyi's Bible were published at Amsterdam and Leiden in 1685. The first was printed by Miklós Tótfalusi Kis, while the second 1685 edition was based on the scholarship of György Komáromi Csipkés. Four thousand copies of this Bible were later printed and sent to Hungary in 1719, but never reached their destination. They were seized in transit in Poland, examined for any offence to the Catholic Church, and the whole consignment was destroyed. There was a series of other Hungarian editions of the Bible printed abroad during the eighteenth century, particularly in the Netherlands and at Basel. For example, exiled Reformed clergymen István Szatmárnémeti and Ferenc

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[16] *Szent Biblia az az: Istennec O es Uy Testamentomanac Prophetac es Apastaloc által megiratott szent könyvei*, ed. Albert Szenczi Molnár (Hanau: Levinus Hultzius, 1608); *Szent Biblia az az: Istennec O es Uy Testamentomanac foglaltatott egész szent Irás*, ed. Albert Szenczi Molnár (Oppenheim: Hulszius, 1612); Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600–1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[17] *Szent Biblia*, ed. Gáspár Károlyi (Amsterdam: Iansónius, 1645); *A mi Urunk Iesus Christus Uj Testamentoma* (Amsterdam: Iansónius, 1646); *Az mi Urunk Jesus Christusnak Uy Testamentoma* (Lőcse: [Lörintz Brever], 1644); *Szent Biblia*, ed. Gáspár Károlyi (Várad: Ábrahám Szenci Kertész, 1661).

Török worked at Basel in 1750 and 1751 to have 5,000 Bibles printed and sent back to Hungary. Despite such initiatives, the impact of repressive Habsburg rule ensured the limited circulation of vernacular Bibles among Reformed and other Protestant congregations.[18]

## Catholic and Orthodox Bibles in translation

There was also an initiative to translate the Bible into Hungarian as part of efforts to advance the Catholic cause. A new Jesuit college was founded at Nagyszombat (Trnava) in 1625 thanks to the support of Archbishop Péter Pázmány. In 1626 a Bible translation using the Vulgate was published in Vienna by the rector of the Nagyszombat College, György Káldi. Káldi received financial support to print this Bible from Pázmány, from the Habsburg court, and, more surprisingly, from Gábor Bethlen. Despite accepting this patronage from the Reformed prince of Transylvania, Káldi warned his readers against relying on the 'Calvinist Bibles' of Károlyi and Molnár. Káldi's edition was also distinctive from its Protestant rivals in featuring images of Moses, David, the Evangelists, Hungarian saints and Ignatius Loyola, and it became the standard version of the Bible used among Hungarian Catholics.[19]

A further significant element of vernacular Bible production in this region involved Orthodox communities. Orthodox churches relied on Old Slavonic translations of the Bible attributed to Cyril and Methodius and their disciples using Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts. Translation of missing sections of the Bible at Novgorod meant that a complete Bible was available in Old Slavonic before the end of the fifteenth century. Partly as a response to religious changes and challenges from the West, there was more attention given to producing Bibles in the second half of the sixteenth century. A complete Old Slavonic Bible was first printed in Cyrillic in 1581. Under the patronage of Prince Constantine Ostrozskii, a group of Orthodox clergy worked to translate the text from the Septuagint and also used Old Slavonic translations of books of the Bible first published by Francysk Skaryna at Prague in 1517 and 1519. Complete Bible texts were later published in Old Slavonic at Moscow in 1663, and again in 1751 under instructions from Empress Elizabeth.

Bibles and catechisms were rendered into the vernaculars of other Orthodox communities principally thanks to mission efforts by both Protestants and

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[18] *Magyar Biblia*, ed. György Komáromi Csipkés (Leiden: n.p., 1719); István Révész (ed.), *A magyar református egyház története* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1949), pp. 164, 235; Mihály Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn, 1521–1978*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1977–9).
[19] *Szent Biblia*, ed. György Káldi (Vienna: Máté Formika, 1626).

Catholics. In 1638 a New Testament was published in modern Greek either at Leiden or Geneva translated by the monk Maximos of Gallipoli. A further modern Greek New Testament was produced under Catholic auspices at Venice in 1708. German-speaking Lutherans in Transylvania supported the printing of Bible translations in Romanian as part of their efforts to bring reform to the local Orthodox community. Johannes Honter, the leading Lutheran reformer in Transylvania, expressed his confidence in the transforming power of the words of Scripture by commenting that the false faith of Antichrist would have ruined the Church but for God spreading 'the writing of his Holy word across the world'.[20] Thanks to this spirit of mission, in the early 1550s a dual translation of the Gospels into Romanian and Old Slavonic was published at Hermannstadt (Sibiu). The work of Bible translation was then taken forward in the 1560s at Lutheran presses by an Orthodox priest known as Diacon Coresi. Coresi completed a translation of the Gospels in 1561, arguing that people must 'understand the Lord's Word: but how can they understand it, if they have to learn about it in a foreign language which nobody understands'. Coresi was also involved in translating a number of other Bible texts including a 1570 Romanian edition of the Psalms printed at Kronstadt (Braşov).[21]

The Hungarian Reformed Church in Transylvania also sponsored Romanian translations of the Bible in the latter decades of the sixteenth century as part of an effort to promote the cause of reform. In 1582 the Romanian Reformed superintendent, Mihály Tordasi, translated the texts of Genesis and Exodus, which was published at Szászváros (Orăştie) with support from local Reformed nobles. The Reformed prince of Transylvania, György I Rákóczi, later backed the development of a press capable of printing using Cyrillic letters. A Romanian translation of the New Testament was produced in 1648, 'translated with great care from Greek and Old Slavonic sources into the Romanian language thanks to the encouragement, orders, and expenditure of György Rákóczi'. The foreword to this text was addressed to Rákóczi by the Romanian metropolitan of Transylvania, Simion Ştefan. Ştefan completed the work of translation begun by a Wallachian monk called Silvestru, who received payment from the Transylvanian prince for his efforts in August 1644. Ştefan's linguistic achievement in rendering the text into Romanian was a

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[20] Johannes Honter, *Reformatio Ecclesiae Coronensis Ac Totivs Barcensis Provinciae* (Wittenberg: Klug, 1543).

[21] *Četvoroblagověstie* (Hermannstadt: Philip Moldavenin, 1551–3); Diacon Coresi, *Tetraevanghelul* (Kronstadt: Coresi, 1561); Diacon Coresi, *Psaltirea* (Kronstadt: Coresi, 1570); *Četvoroblagověstie* (Kronstadt: Coresi, 1577); Krista Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche und rumänisches Volksbewusstsein im 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Otto Harrassowitz, 1977); Zach, 'Protestant Vernacular Catechisms', p. 58.

considerable one, since he not only used Greek, Latin and Old Slavonic texts, but also a Lutheran German edition of the Bible and the Hungarian Reformed edition of Gáspár Károlyi. Ştefan also completed a translation of the Psalms which was published in 1651 and dedicated to Prince György II Rákóczi. This concerted effort to publish Romanian translations of the Bible may have been completed in 1681 by a now lost translation of the Old Testament. However, a complete Bible in Romanian using Cyrillic script was translated from the Septuagint by a team of scholars in 1688, and published at Bucharest thanks to the patronage of the Orthodox prince of Wallachia, Şerban Cantacuzino.[22]

## Assessment

A similar pattern emerged in the publication of vernacular translations of the Bible across Central and Eastern Europe during the early modern period. Movements of religious reform led to efforts by clergy from different churches to publish vernacular Bibles, with support from sympathetic nobles and from co-religionists to the west. Catholic recovery across the region during the seventeenth century was not matched with the same degree of commitment that Protestants had shown to produce vernacular Bible translations. The largest number of vernacular editions of the Bible was produced for the lands of the Hungarian kingdom, which reflected the greater degree of religious freedom enjoyed by Protestants there as well as the determined support offered by Western Reformed churches to their co-religionists. A great deal of significance and power was consistently ascribed by all translators of the Bible to the vernacular words of their texts. Accuracy was highly prized, and the reliability of translations was hotly contested by confessional rivals. Translators seemed certain that their work responded to an acute popular demand and need to learn more about Christian religion. Reading the vernacular text of the Bible was thought to be a critical aid in efforts to promote true doctrine, piety and morality, and to combat false beliefs and religious practices. However, attempts to use vernacular Bibles to advance the cause of reform made only a very limited impact among Slovenians, Croatians and Romanians. Even so, belief in the transforming power of vernacular Bibles remained strong. Exiled Moravian Protestant leaders advocated that Hungarian Reformed nobles should pay for the translation of the Bible into

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[22] Mihály Tordasi, *Palia* (Orăştie: Şerban, 1582); *Biblia: Noul Testament*, ed. Simion Ştefan (Bălgrad [Alba Iulia]: n.p., 1648); *Biblia: Vechiul Testament. Psaltirea*, ed. Simion Ştefan (Bălgrad [Alba Iulia]: n.p., 1651).

Turkish, expecting that once the Ottomans had access to the Bible they would soon join forces with Protestants against the Habsburgs.[23] The ambitious claims made about the impact of vernacular Bibles were not in fact realised in any of the region's churches. Access to the Bible remained restricted for most people to listening to ministers read texts in public services, and was there was only a limited development of a domestic Bible-reading culture. Catechisms remained a much more widespread means of transmitting vernacular words about religion during this period across Central and Eastern Europe. Greater popular use of vernacular Bibles only slowly emerged in the wake of the development of more centres of book production, with improving access among ordinary people to basic education, and with the concession of greater religious freedoms to non-Catholics.

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[23] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, p. 287.

# Bibles in Italian and Spanish

EMIDIO CAMPI AND MARIANO DELGADO

## Bibles in Italian to *c.* 1792

Emidio Campi

'In Italy Holy Scripture is so forgotten that it is very rare to find a Bible'; so Luther wrote in 1539 in one of his *Tischreden*.[1] This pithy statement is clearly an eloquent denunciation of the Church of Rome, which, in the judgement of the reformer, was guilty of preventing the diffusion and knowledge of Scripture. And if we consider the two centuries after the Council of Trent, when translations of the Bible were seized and burned, it is very difficult to argue with Luther's angry accusation. Nonetheless, a more measured analysis of Italian translations of the Bible of the early modern period will allow us to reassess this judgement, while filling some gaps in the historical record. The Bible in Italy was indeed little read, and the attitude of the Church was definitely oriented towards repression, but translations were anything but scarce; in fact, they constituted a phenomenon no less notable than in other European countries. However, what was unusual in Italian with respect to other languages was the fact that the majority of the actual work of translation fell not upon the established Church, but instead on the diaspora of Italian Protestant exiles who were dispersed throughout Europe.

### Medieval translations into the vernacular, and fifteenth-century editions

The first attempts to translate the Bible into the different vernaculars of the Italian peninsula pre-date Dante. It seems likely that the Poor Lombards or the Italian Waldensians had a considerable role in this, but the subject is still awaiting an exhaustive study. What is certain is that such vernacularising activity did take place in the Italian Middle Ages, taking the form of versions

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[1] 'In Italia scriptura sancta ita neglecta est, ut rarissime biblia ibi reperiantur': *WA TR*, vol. IV, p. 306.

that did not claim absolute fidelity to the source text. These tended to be accompanied by exegetical or lexical glosses in which the translator – who was usually anonymous – summarised or amplified the biblical text, sometimes even reorganising it into new chapters or adding new titles. Indeed, the textual history of Dante's *Convivio*, which is datable to the earliest years of the fourteenth century, offers a convincing proof of the widespread practice of vernacularisation. The first vernacular versions of the Bible, which resulted from the collation of earlier partial translations of certain passages or individual books of the Bible, were all transmitted in manuscript; it would be necessary to wait until the second half of the fifteenth century for the first print editions of the text.[2]

The *editio princeps* of the Italian vernacular Bible was published on 1 August 1471 in Venice, prepared by the Camaldolese monk Nicolò Malermi (Malherbi, or Malerbi) (*c.* 1420–81), entitled *Biblia vulgarizata*.[3] This was a revision of the medieval Bible with a twofold intention: first, to bring it closer to the text of the Vulgate; and second, to eliminate Tuscan linguistic features and make it more Venetian in language. Another print edition of the Bible was published in Venice on 10 October in the same year, whose editor's name is unfortunately not known: the *Biblia in lingua vulgare* (1471).[4] These two Bibles had very different receptions. The Jenson (as it came to be known after the name of the printer) was full of typographical errors and had a very unwieldy format; it did not find much favour with the public, and its 1471 print was the first and last edition. After more than four hundred years of obscurity, the senator Carlo Negroni edited it for reprint in the nineteenth century in ten volumes, which were published at public expense and in a run of only 300 copies.[5] The reception of the Malermi Bible was quite different, with no less than eleven

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[2] For thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian vernacularisations of the Bible, as well as the history of the Bible in Italy in the early modern period, see Edoardo Barbieri's monumental work *La Bibbia italiana del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento: storia e bibliografia ragionata delle edizioni in lingua italiana dal 1471 al 1600*, 2 vols. (Milan: Editrice Bibliografica, 1992); Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo: la censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura (1471–1605)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997). The Waldensians' interest in vernacular Bible translation would continue and intensify with their support for the Reformation: in 1532 they commissioned Pierre Robert Olivétan (*c.* 1506–38) to print at their expense a French-language Bible for the Synod of Chanforan, *La Bible qui est toute la Saincte Escripture* [...] (Neuchâtel: P. de Wingle dict Pirot Picard, 1535) (see Chapter 12 in this volume).

[3] *Biblia vulgarizata per me don Nicolo di Malherbi* (Venecia [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira [Wendelin of Speyer], 1471).

[4] *Biblia in lingua vulgare tradutta* (Vinegia [Venice]: Nico. Jensono [Nicolas Jenson], 1471).

[5] *La Bibbia Volgare, secondo la rara edizione del 1° di Ottobre MCCCCLXXI* (Bologna: Regia Tipografia, 1882–7).

editions from 1471 to the end of the fifteenth century, and sixteen more in the sixteenth century.[6]

## From the Brucioli Bible to the Geneva Bible

In addition to the previously mentioned reprints and revisions of the Malermi Bible, many other new translations appeared in the first half of the sixteenth century. These were for the most part versions of selections of Scripture, often anonymous, so that it is often difficult to establish their authors. The most indefatigable translator of all was the Florentine scholar Antonio Brucioli (*c.* 1495–1566), who lived as an exile in Venice from 1529 for political reasons. In 1530 he published a translation of the New Testament,[7] in the following year the Psalms,[8] and in 1532 the whole Bible.[9] He finally completed his translation work with a monumental commentary on the entire Holy Scriptures.[10] The importance of Brucioli's commentary for the religious history of Italy in the early modern period consists in two facts. First, this was the first time that such an exegetical tool was available in the vernacular. Moreover, extensive parts of the translation show the influence of – or were even translations of – similar writings by the reformers beyond the Alps. The presence of the same iconographical apparatus confirms the close dependency of Brucioli's Bible on those Bibles that were circulating in Northern Europe in Protestant circles. It is therefore understandable that a study of Brucioli and his works would be of great interest for the history of the Reformation in Italy.[11] Despite his claim to have translated from the original Hebrew and Greek, Brucioli based his translation (more than he was prepared to admit) on the new Latin version

[6] See Edoardo Barbieri, 'La fortuna della "Biblia vulgarizzata" di Nicolò Malerbi', *Aevum* 63 (1989), 440–89.

[7] *Il Nuovo Testamento di Christo Giesu Signore, et Salvator nostro, di Greco nuovamente tradotto in lingua Toscana per Antonio Brucioli* (Venetia [Venice]: Lucantonio Giunti, 1530).

[8] *Psalmi di David nuovamente dalla Ebraica verità tradotti in lingua per Antonio Brucioli* (Vinegia [Venice]: Luc' Antonio Giunta [*sic*], 1531)

[9] *La Biblia quale contiene i sacri libri del Vecchio Testamento tradotti nuovamente de la hebraica verità in lingua toscana per Antonio Brucioli. Co' divini libri del Nuovo Testamento di Christo Giesu . . . Tradotti di Greco in lingua Toscana pel medesimo . . .* (Venetia [Venice]: Lucantonio Giunti, 1532).

[10] *Commento di Antonio Brucioli in tutti i sacrosanti libri del Vecchio, & Nuovo Testamento, dalla hebraica verita, & fonte greco per esso tradotti in lingua toscana . . .*, 7 vols. (Venetia [Venice], Alessandro Brucioli, & i frategli, 1542–7)

[11] On Antonio Brucioli and his work as a translator of the Bible see first of all the still essential essay by Giorgio Spini, *Tra Rinascimento e Riforma: Antonio Brucioli* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1940), and the critical notes by Aldo Landi in *Antonio Brucioli, Dialogi* (Naples and Chicago: Prismi/Newberry Library, 1982), pp. 553–88; see also Tommaso Bozza, 'Bibbia calvinista e il caso Brucioli', *Il Bibliotecario* 9 (1986), 43–65; and Milka Ventura Avanzinelli, 'Il "luterano" Brucioli e il suo commento al libro della Genesi', *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 159 (July 1986), 19–33.

of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament by the Dominican Sante Pagnini, printed at Lyons in 1527–8, and used Erasmus's 1516 Latin text for the New Testament.[12] Whether he was faithful to the original texts or not, it is none-theless certain that Brucioli's Bible was hugely influential, as is demonstrated by the numerous reprints up to 1559, the year in which it was placed on the *Index librorum prohibitorum* by Pope Paul IV. Nor should we forget another par-ticular success of Brucioli's work: his version was the one used and beloved by the Italians in exile *religionis causa* for three-quarters of a century.

The popularity of new vernacular translations, especially those of the New Testament, is shown by a thick octavo volume published in 1536. This transla-tion was made by the Dominican Fra Zaccaria of the convent of San Marco in Florence, and was entitled *Il Nuovo Testamento tradotto in lingua toscana*.[13] It is an interesting document for many reasons, not so much for its literary value as for the difficulties it presents for the study of Italian translations of the Bible in the sixteenth century. In fact, two years later a new translation of the Bible was published – or so the author affirmed on the title page – edited by Sante Marmochino, a Florentine, who belonged to the Order of Preachers of the Roman province.[14] In reality, Marmochino merely reproduced in discordant harmony the text of Brucioli's rendering of the Old Testament alongside his co-religionist Fra Zaccaria's translation of the New Testament, making only modest corrections to both in order to bring them closer to the Vulgate. Sante Marmochino's Bible reappeared in Venice in 1545 in a second revised edition, but there are no details of any further editions from that point onwards.

The version of the New Testament made by Massimo Teofilo, a Florentine Benedictine of Protestant sympathies, is work of a very different quality.[15] His translation, *Il Nuovo ed Eterno Testamento di Giesu Christo*, corresponds closely

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[12] See Silvana Seidel Menchi, *Erasmo in Italia, 1520–1580* (Turin: Boringhieri, 1987), pp. 89, 379–81; Andrea Del Col, 'Appunti per un'indagine sulle traduzioni in volgare della Bibbia nel Cinquecento italiano', in *Libri, idee e sentimenti religiosi nel Cinquecento italiano* (Modena: Panini, 1987), pp. 165–88.

[13] *Il Nuovo Testamento tradotto in lingua toscana, nuovamente corretto dal R. Padre fra' Zaccaria da Firenze dell'ordine de' Predicatori* . . . (Vinegia [Venice]: Lucantonio Giunti, 1536).

[14] *La Bibia tradotta in lingua Toscana, di lingua Hebrea, quanto al testamento vecchio, et di lingua Greca qua[n]to al nuovo, oltra le precedenti stampe, di nuovo riveduta, corretta, et emendata da molti errori, et mutati alquanti vocaboli non rettamente tradotti, et limati con diligentia secondo il commune parlar consueto a tempi nostri, seguendo la propria verita* . . . (Vinegia [Venice]: heirs of Luc' Antonio Giunti 1546 (but dated June 1545 in the colophon).

[15] *Il Nuovo ed Eterno Testamento di Giesu Christo: Nuovamente da l'original fonte Greca, con ogni diligenza in Toscano tradotto*, trans. Massimo Teofilo (Lione [Lyons], [publisher not stated but possibly J. Frellon], 1551). See Marcella Morviducci, 'Un erasmiano italiano: il fiorentino Massimo Teofilo', *Benedictina* 23 (1976), 89–104; Andrea Del Col, 'Il Nuovo Testamento tradotto da Massimo Teofilo e altre opere stampate a Lione nei 1551', *Critica Storica* 15 (1978), 642–75.

with the claims of the title page, and represents a notable linguistic contribution, which would be very influential on subsequent translations. Besides the *editio princeps* – dedicated to 'L'Illustrissimo Signore, il Sign. Francesco de' Medici, Principe Eccellentissimo di Firenze' – there is evidence of a 1556 reissue at Lyons.[16]

Other important additions to the sixteenth-century translations of the New Testament were the anonymous Venice 1545 edition, *Prima Parte del Novo Testamento ...*,[17] and another anonymous translation, published in Geneva in 1555: *Del Nuovo Testamento di Jesu Christo....*[18] The Waldensian pastor and martyr Gian Luigi Pascale – who was condemned to be burned at the stake in Rome in September 1560 – edited a bilingual Italian and French edition of this last translation.[19]

Although a systematic comparison still remains to be made between the anonymous Geneva translation, Brucioli's translation and that of Massimo Teofilo, it seems likely that the Geneva version follows the text of the Florentine ex-Benedictine, rather than that of Brucioli. In any case, the principal importance of this translation lies in the fact that it would become the basis for the Geneva Bible of 1562 published by Francesco Durone. The text of the latter is reproduced in the *Il Nuovo Testamento* (1576)[20] and *Il Nuovo*

[16] *Il Nuovo ed eterno Testamento di Giesu Christo*, trans. Massimo Teofilo (Lione [Lyons]: Giovanni di Tornes, e Guillemo Gazeio, 1556).

[17] *Prima Parte del Novo Testamento, ne la qual si contengono i quattro evangelisti, cioè Mattheo, Marco, Luca et Giovanni. Seconda Parte del Nuovo Testamento, ne la quale si contengono gli Atti over Fatti de gli Apostoli. L'epistole di S. Paulo. L'epistola di S. Jacomo. Le due di S. Pietro. Le tre di S. Giovani, et uno di S. Juda. L'apocalipse over Revelatione di S. Giovanne* (Vinetia [Venice]: al segno della Speranza, 1545).

[18] *Del Nuovo Testamento di Jesu Christo Nostro Signore. Nuova e fedel traduttione dal testo Greco in lingua volgare italiana. Diligentemente conferita con molte traduttioni, e Volgari e Latine, et insieme pura e semplicemente tessuta con quella maggior chiarezza e facilita di parlare, ch' era possibile, fuggendo sempre (quanto però la qualità di tale Scrittura, e la natura de le cose che vi si contengono, poteva comportare) ogni durezza et oscurità, e sopra tutto ogni vana et indegna affettatione d' importuni e mal convenienti Toscanismi* ([Geneva]: G. Crispino, 1555).

[19] *Del Nuovo Testamento di Jesu Christo nostro Signore. Nuova e Fedel traduttione dal testo Greco in lingua volgare italiana ... stampata di nuovo in compagnia d' un'altra buona traduttione in lingua Francese, et amendue partite per versetti* ([Geneva]: Per Giovan Luigi Paschale, 1555) It should be noted that the anonymous version of the New Testament, published in Geneva in 1555 and reproduced in the bilingual edition, was until now incorrectly attributed to Gian Luigi Pascale, who was actually only its editor, as can be deduced from the preface.

[20] *Il Nuovo Testamento di Giesu Christo Nostro Signore*, ([Ginevra = Geneva]: Giov. Battista Pineroli, 1576). On G. B. Pineroli, or Pinerolio, a bookseller–printer from Pinerolo who took refuge in Geneva for religious reasons, see Enea Balmas, 'Un libraire italien editeur de Calvin', in Luc Monnier, E. Balmas et al. (eds.), *Genève et l'Italie, études publ. à l'occasion du 50e anniversaire de la Société genevoise d'études italiennes* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), pp. 79–112 at pp. 86–7.

*Testamento ... Nuovamente riveduto e ricorretto* (1596), as has been recently shown.[21]

The previously mentioned 1562 Geneva Bible, sometimes called the Duronian Bible, merits further discussion. This thick quarto volume contains an anonymous translation, which has been recently attributed on sound evidence to the Lucchese doctor Filippo Rustici (d. 1586), an exile in Geneva from 1555.[22] Anyone who has the patience to compare the Geneva Bible closely with the preceding translations would find a considerable number of correspondences. The sources that have been securely established to date are the Latin rendering by Sante Pagnini and that of François Vatable,[23] as well as Brucioli's Italian version for the Old Testament and the anonymous Geneva 1555 edition for the New. The characteristic feature of this edition is the way in which it combines Italian exegesis and theological culture with the editorial practice of Geneva.[24] The Geneva Bible cannot be counted among the greatest Italian-language renderings, and nor did it aspire to that; however, the work remains notable in its decorous dignity, not only for the great resonance it found among the Italian exiles of the sixteenth century, but also because – like few other translations – it gives a sense of the vast current of thought that still hoped to see the dawning of a religious renewal of the 'Princes and Republics of Italy'.[25]

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[21] *Il Nuovo Testamento ... Nuovamente riveduto e ricorretto secondo la verità del testo Greco, e di molte et utili annotationi illustrato* (Ginevra [Geneva]: heirs of Eustache Vignon, 1596). See Bozza, 'Bibbia calvinista', pp. 52 ff.

[22] *La Bibia, che si chiama il vecchio Testamento, nuovamente tradutto in lingua volgare secondo la verita del testo Hebreo, con molte et utili annotationi e figure e carte per più ampia dichiaratione di molti luoghi, edificii e supputationi. Quanto al nuovo Testamento è stato riveduto e ricorretto secondo la verità del testo Greco, e di molte et utili annotazioni illustrato, con una semplice di chiaratione sopra l'Apocalisse* ([Ginevra = Geneva]: Francesco Durone, 1562). On Rustici see Arturo Pascal, *Da Lucca a Ginevra: Studi sull'emigrazione religiosa lucchese nel secolo XVI* (Pinerolo: Unitipografica Pinerolese, n. d.), pp. 193–7; for the attribution of the translation to Rustici see Del Col, 'Appunti per un'indagine', p. 166.

[23] This is the so-called Vatable Bible, which reproduced a Latin version of the Scriptures, made in Zurich in 1543 (the 'tigurina'), with philological notes by François Vatable, professor of Hebrew at the College de France. See discussion in Chapter 8 of this volume.

[24] Bozza, 'Bibbia calvinista', is right to reassess the significance of the Duronian Bible, suggesting that its stylistic and literary importance is more modest than previously asserted. However, I believe that he overstates its dependence on the French Geneva Bible, and separates it from previous versions, not all of which he has examined (such as Massimo Teofilo's New Testament).

[25] The volume opens with a long and impassioned dedication: 'To the Princes and Republics of Italy, who must read the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular' (Ai Principi e Republiche d'Italia, che si debben legger le Sante Scritture, in lingua volgare), which proposes, amongst other things, that the Princes of Italy should promote a legitimate religious council 'where they may freely treat with each other and resolve those things that are controversial nowadays with regard to the Christian religion and the true reform of the

## The reception of the Diodati Bible

The history of the Italian translations of the Bible in the seventeenth century could very well be subtitled 'the reception of the Diodatine', so much does the work of Giovanni Diodati (1576–1649) stand out as a model for both his competence as translator of and commentator on the Bible. Diodati was a descendant of a Lucchese family that had emigrated to Geneva for religious reasons in the second half of the sixteenth century, and he succeeded Théodore de Bèze as professor of Hebrew and Scripture at the Geneva Academy; his background meant that he was particularly well suited to the translation of biblical texts from a young age. A philologist of rare expertise, his aim was to prepare a clear and faithful version of the Bible which could be used for the diffusion of evangelical ideas in Italy. The translation was already ready by 1603, but several years would pass before it was published.[26] It finally came out in 1607.[27] The apocryphal books are placed between Old and New Testaments in this edition, with very brief explanatory notes in the margin, whilst every book and chapter is introduced by a short prefatory summary. Preceding the apocryphal books is a brief explanation of the place they hold in the Protestant churches.

The next year, encouraged by its reception, Diodati published a new edition of the New Testament.[28] This was not, however, a reprint of the text of the 1607 edition, but instead a completely revised version which corrected the errors of the preceding edition and attempted to render the text more fluent. Immediately after his 1608 edition of the New Testament Diodati began to translate the Psalms into Italian verse, a task that would occupy him for many

church according to the pure truth of the word of God' (dove si trattino liberamente e risolvinsi le cose che son hoggi in controversia intorno a la religion Christiana e vera riforma de la Chiesa secondo la pura verità de la parola di Dio).

[26] Diodati presented it to the Compagnie des Pasteurs on 18 November 1603, as is attested in Gabriella Cahier and Matteo Campagnolo (eds.), *Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Geneve*, vol. VIII (1600–3) (Geneva: Droz, 1986), p. 273. For an evaluation of Diodati's work as a translator, as well as his importance to the Reformed theology of the seventeenth century, see William A. McComish, *The Epigones: A Study of the Theology of the Genevan Academy at the time of the Synod of Dort, With Special Reference to Giovanni Diodati* (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1989), and especially those contributions that precede the critical edition of *La sacra Bibbia, tradotta in lingua italiana e commentate da Giovanni Diodati*, ed. Michele Ranchetti and Milka Ventura Avanzinelli (Milan: Mondadori, 1999).

[27] *La Bibbia. Cioè i libri del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento. Nuovamente traslatati in lingua italiana da Giovanni Diodati di nation Lucchese* ([Geneva]:[no publisher given, but some copies attr. to Jean de Tournes], 1607).

[28] *Il Nuovo Testamento del Signor nostro Jesu Christo, tradotto da Giovanni Diodati* ([no place or publisher given], 1608).

years. This was finally published in two editions in 1631 by the editor Pierre Aubert.[29]

Although it had received glowing reviews, Diodati was aware of the shortcomings and limitations of his translation of the Bible, and, despite his advanced age, began another new version. This second edition came out in 1641, from the press of Pierre Chouet.[30] This was a handsome edition *in folio* which, compared with its predecessor, had much amplified and more complete notes, with the apocryphal books moved to the end of the New Testament. The language and style were also notably improved, while the physical format itself demonstrates how the aims of this edition were different from the previous one. The 1607 edition, in a more manageable 4° size, was destined for a broader public, while this one presented itself instead more as an edition for scholars, suitable for worship or for use as a family Bible. It was this second edition that was reprinted in many editions by the British and Foreign Bible Society[31] from 1819 onwards, and which was widely adopted by Italian Protestantism up until the 1950s, when it was replaced by Giovanni Luzzi's 'Revised' edition.[32]

Diodati did not make a poetic translation of the Psalms for literary reasons, but rather with the intention that they would be sung in the Italian Protestant churches. Once the translation was finished, he therefore sought a musician who would compose the music for him, but unfortunately did not live to see the fruits of this work. It would be one of his sons who, having moved to Holland, would edit and publish the volume posthumously.[33] A second, separate, edition of the New Testament was published the year after, again in Haarlem.[34]

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[29] *I Sacri Salmi messi in rime italiane da Giovanni Diodati* (Ginevra [Geneva]: Pierre Aubert, 1631).

[30] *La Sacra Bibbia, tradotta in lingua Italiana, e commentata da Giovanni Diodati, di nation Lucchese. Seconda Editione, migliorata, ed accresciuta. Con l'aggiunta de' Sacri Salmi, messi in rime per lo medesimo* (Geneva: Pierre Chouet, 1641).

[31] The activity of the British and Foreign Bible Society has been studied in depth by Giorgio Spini, 'Un episodio ignorato del Risorgimento:le Società bibliche e l'Italia', *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 97 (1955), 24–55; Giorgio Spini, 'Le Società Bibliche e l'Italia del Risorgimento', *Protestantesimo* 26 (1971), 1–21; Giorgio Spini, 'Il contrabbando britannico delle Bibbie a Livorno nel Risorgimento', in *Atti dei convegno 'Gli inglesi a Livorno e all'isola d'Elba. Sec. xv–xx' (Livorno and Portoferraio, 27–29 settembre 1979)* (Livorno: n.p., 1980), pp. 133–40.

[32] See Hans-Peter Dür-Gademann, *Giovanni Luzzi: traduttore della Bibbia e teologo ecumenico* (Turin: Claudiana, 1996).

[33] *I Sacri Salmi di David messi in rime volgari italiane da Giovanni Diodati, di nation Lucchese, et composti in musica da A. G.* (Haarlem: Jacob Albertz, 1664).

[34] *Il Nuovo Testamento del Signor nostro Jesu Christo. Tradotto in Lingua Italiana da Giovanni Diodati, di nation Lucchese* (Haarlem: Jacob Albertz, 1665).

Besides the numerous reprints of Diodati's entire Bible or portions of it, which unfortunately cannot be discussed here, there is also evidence of some original revisions or 'mendings'. The first of these was the one edited by the 'Sprachmeister', Matthias von Erberg of Nuremberg.[35] The 'scholar of sacred writings' – as he liked to style himself – sealed his literary reputation with a second edition published in Cologne and Nuremberg in 1712, which was followed by a reprint the following year. In this edition every book of the Bible was preceded by a short introduction, and almost every chapter was followed by a small invocation (the 'ardentissimo sospiro' (the most ardent sigh)). The editor's love for Scripture and his profound admiration for Diodati's text were not, however, sufficient to overcome the confusion caused by these revisions, which are indiscriminate and chaotic, as well as full of linguistic errors. A slightly more rigorous revised version was that of Johann David Müller, a catechist from Leipzig.[36] This was followed some years later by the edition prepared by Georg Conrad Walther.[37]

It comes as something of a relief to move from these eighteenth-century revisions of the Diodatine Bible to those of the nineteenth century. In these latter editions an equal passion for the biblical text was accompanied by a greater critical awareness, which led to the production of recognisably literary works. This is the case, for example, for the revised edition of the 1641 Diodati text, prepared by the bookseller and publisher Giambattista Rolandi, an emigrant to London.[38] Another, similar revised edition, was edited by

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[35] *La Sacro-Santa Biblia in lingua Italiana, cioè il vecchio e nuovo Testamento nella purità della Lingua volgare, moderna e corretta, corrispondente per tutto al Testo fondamentale vero …* (Nuremberg: published by the author, 1711). For more information on this singular 'scholar of sacred writings', who died in prison in 1720, see Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, Johann Christoph Adelung [et al., eds.], *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, 11 vols. (repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1960–), vol. 11 of *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen*, ed. Johann Christoph Adelung (Leipzig: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1787; repr. Darmstadt: WBG, 1960), col. 909.

[36] *La Sacra Bibbia … tradotta in lingua italiana da Giovanni Diodati …, riveduta di nuovo sopra gli originali e corretta con ogni maggior accuratezza da Giovanni David Müller* (Leipzig: Jakob Born, 1744). On Johann David Müller see *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, vol. v of *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen*, ed. Heinrich Wilhelm Rotermund (Bremen: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1816; repr. Darmstadt: WBG, 1961), cols. 85–6.

[37] *La Sacra Bibbia … tradotta in lingua italiana da Giovanni Diodati, riveduta per Giorgio Corrado Walther* (Dresden and Leipzig: Georg Conrad Walther, 1757). Georg Conrad Walther (1710–78) was the founder of the eponymous publishing house Walther'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, which quickly became prominent within the German bookselling market with its publication of French Enlightenment texts, especially those of Voltaire.

[38] *La Sacra Bibbia, tradotta da Giovanni Diodati. Edizione Londinese riveduta da Giambattista Rolandi. Correlata di un indice Generale formante un Compendio dell'Antico Testamento: e di utili Tavole Cronologiche* (London: R. Priestley, J. F. Dove, 1819).

Count Piero Guicciardini in collaboration with the English Bible scholar George I. Walker.[39]

## Protestants, Jansenists and Monsignor Martini

The influence of the Diodatine Bible, which extended throughout the seventeenth century, was still very far from waning in the eighteenth century, as is attested by the multitude of revised editions and reprints in this period. But at the same time we should not forget how many of the sixteenth-century versions survived and endured into the eighteenth century. Thus, even if the Duronian Geneva Bible, especially the 1596 edition of the New Testament, had faded from view, its echoes remained in two revisions which appeared at Chur in 1709[40] and at Zurich in 1710.[41] To these can also be added *Il Nuovo confederamento* (The New Confederation), published in Erlangen in 1711–12.[42] This edition is notable more for its accompanying commentary – which cuts through the theological controversies of the period with the razor of Reformed orthodoxy – than for the originality of the revised text.

Meanwhile, a new attitude towards vernacular translations of Scripture was also permeating the Catholic Church, which was still rigidly infused with Tridentine principles. From the moment that the decree of the Index of 13 June 1757 allowed the printing and reading of the Bible in translation, Benedict XIV had rendered practically fictional the traditional antithesis between

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[39] *La Sacra Bibbia . . . Versione secondo la traduzione di Giovanni Diodati, diligentemente e partitamente riveduta ed emendata, sugli originali ebraico e greco. Con riferenze . . .* (London: SPCK/ Bagster and Sons, 1855). A *de luxe* bound copy of this revised edition is held in the Fondo Guicciardini of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (FG 1-6-5). The nineteenth-century catalogue records that Count Guicciardini meant to present it to Victor Emmanuel II of Savoy, king of Sardinia from 1849 and the first king of Italy from 1861 onwards, when he visited London in 1855. However, the minister Massimo Taparelli d'Azeglio prevented Guicciardini from making this gift.

[40] *Il Nuovo Testamento di Giesu Christo Nostro Signore. Nuovamente riveduto e ricorretto secondo la verità del testo Greco et illustrato di molte et utili annotationi* (Chur: Gioann Giacomo Smid, Gio. Lucio Patrona, and Gio. Battista Friz, 1709).

[41] *Il Nuovo Testamento di Giesu Christo Nostro Signore e Salvatore nuovamente revisto e con ogni diligenza corretto, accresciuto de' Sommarii* (Zurich: David Gessner, 1710).

[42] *Il Nuovo Confederamento di Giesu il Messia Salvator nostro, divolgarizzato fedelmente di Greco, e reso intelligibile infino al Volgo. Contiene la Storia della Chiesa, e de' SS. Scrittori. Annotazioni peregrine pe' Cambiamenti e Passi più inviluppati. Refutate le Tradizioni Romane, et altri molti Errori perniziosi sbanditi. Aggiunta breve Catecchesi pe' gli indotti e i veri comandamenti di Dio in fine annessi. Da Matteo Berlando della Lega . . . et da Jacopo Filippo Ravizza . . .*, 2 vols. (Erlangen: Daniel Michael Schmatz, 1711–12). The edition tells us that Matteo B. della Lega belonged to the Franciscan order, and then converted to Protestantism (vol. 1, pp. 28–9), an eloquent testimony to the existence of an Italian Protestant diaspora at the dawn of the eighteenth century. The preface, by the Genevan theologian Benedetto Calandrini (1639–1720), who originated from Lucca, is also notable.

the Vulgate and the Bible in translation, provided that such editions were 'approved by the Apostolic See, or edited with annotations taken from the Holy Fathers of the Church or from learned Catholic men'.[43] The revision of the celebrated Malermi Bible by Alvise Guerra (1712–95), professor of theology at Padua, emerged from this new climate, and 1773 saw the publication, for the first time in Italy since 1567 (at least officially), of the *Sacra Bibbia volgarizzata da Niccolo Malermi, approvata dalla Sacra Congregazione dell'Inquisizione l'anno 1567*.[44]

At the same time, publication began of the Italian version of the French Bible, the so-called Port-Royal Bible, the *Sacra Scrittura giusta la Vulgata latina, e volgare*, in forty-six volumes.[45] An undeniable monument of Jansenist exegesis and theology, this had been published in France between 1696 and 1702, edited by Antoine Lemaistre (1608–58) and Louis-Isaac Lemaistre, sieur de Sacy (1613–84), best known simply by his seigneurial title of Sacy.[46] The Lemaistre brothers' Bible was imbued with the severe and intransigent religious stance of the *messieurs de Port-Royal*, and was intended to critique Catholics in France and beyond. The importance of this Italian edition lies not so much in its rendering of the biblical text, based as it was on the Vulgate instead of the originals, and written in a highly 'Frenchified' Italian, as in its use of the commentary and notes of the Port-Royal Bible, with its many references to the Church Fathers and to venerable antiquity. It is very easy to detect the Jansenist tendencies of those who devised and undertook the editorial work of both the first and second editions, the latter of which appeared in twenty-five volumes.[47] It is worth remembering that Sacy's French Bible enjoyed a certain standing in learned eighteenth-century culture, and, in addition to the previously mentioned editions, we also know of a Neapolitan edition and a second Venetian edition.[48] Another edition can be added to these: an Italian version

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[43] 'Ab apostolica sede approbatae, aut editae cum annotationibus desumptis ex sanctis Ecclesiae Patribus vel ex doctis catholicisque viris'. See the Decree of the S. Congregazione dell'Indice of 13 June 1757, in Pietro Gasparri and Jusztinián Serédi (eds.), *Codicis Iuris Canonici Fontes*, 9 vols. (Romae [Rome]: typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1929–39), vol. VII (1935), p. 724.

[44] *Sacra Bibbia volgarizzata da Niccolo Malermi, approvata dalla Sacra Congregazione dell'Inquisizione l'anno 1567. Ridotta allo Stile Moderno, e arricchita di Note. Edizione XXIX veneziana* (Venice: heir of Niccolo Pezzana, 1773).

[45] *Sacra Scrittura giusta la Vulgata latina, e volgare colla spiegazione del senso litterale, e del senso spirituale tratta dai Santi Padri e dagli autori ecclesiastici …*, 46 vols. (Venice, by Lorenzo Baseggio, bookseller, 1773–9).

[46] *L'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament, avec des notes pour l'intelligence des endroits les plus difficiles* (Paris: n.p., 1696–1702). See Chapter 12 in this volume for more details.

[47] *Sacra Scrittura, giusta la Volgata in latino e italiano, colle spiegazioni letterali e spirituali tratte da' Santi Padri e dagli autori ecclesiastici …*, 25 vols. (Genova [Genoa]: Olzati, 1787–92).

[48] Neapolitan edition: Naples: Gaetano Castellano, 1772–86; second Venetian edition: Venice: Lorenzo Baseggio, 1775–81.

of the New Testament translation made by the French Jansenist Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719),[49] which was published through the intervention of the bishop of Pistoia and Prato, Scipione de Ricci (1741–1809), who was famous for the Jansenist reforms that he promoted in his diocese.[50] Finally, the Italian version of the French Jansenist theologian François Philippe Mésenguy's translation of the New Testament[51] is the work of another cleric, the Benedictine prior of the Congregation of Cassino, Giovanni Calepio (1732–1810).[52]

Without a doubt, all these editions can be seen to indicate broad trends, but do not completely define Italian knowledge of the Bible in the second half of the eighteenth century. The main stimulus for this came from Antonio Martini (1720–1809).[53] A native of Prato, he settled in Piedmont, where he taught at the ecclesiastical college of the Superga near Turin. It was here that the philo-Jansenist cardinal Delle Lanze asked him to prepare a version of the Bible in modern Italian, which was published in multiple separate volumes between 1775 and 1781.[54] This undertaking was extremely successful (in 1778 obtaining the official approval of Pope Pius VI), and the work was immediately republished in Naples, Venice and Rome. Having become himself Archbishop of Florence, Martini went on to edit a new Florentine edition of his translation in 1782–92, which became the standard text for all subsequent reprintings, since it was recognised as the best version from a linguistic point of view.[55] As the title states, the translation was based on the Vulgate rather than the original texts, and thus philologically it was not particularly impressive. The edition included extremely long introductions to the Bible itself and to each of its books, as well as copious footnotes which expressed the reforming Catholic currents of the times (especially Jansenism), all filtered

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[49] See Chapter 12 in this volume.

[50] *Il Nuovo Testamento con delle riflessioni morali sopra ciascun versetto per renderne la lettura più utile e la meditazione più facile* (Pistoia: for Atto Bracali, episcopal printer, 1786–90).

[51] *Il Nuovo Testamento del Nostro Signor Gesù Cristo colle annotazioni letterali del signor Mazenguì per agevolarne l'intelligenza* (Bergamo: at the Locatelli print shop, 1791). On the French originals of these Bibles see Chapter 12 in this volume.

[52] See Pietro Stella's entry on 'Giovanni Girolamo Calepio', in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XVI (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1973), pp. 670–2.

[53] On Antonio Martini and his work as a translator see Pietro Stella, 'Produzione libraria religiosa e versioni della Bibbia in Italia tra età dei lumi e crisi modernista', in Mario Rosa (ed.), *Cattolicesimo e lumi nel Settecento italiano* (Rome: Herder, 1981), pp. 99–125, at pp. 107–22.

[54] *Vecchio e Nuovo Testamento secondo la Volgata tradotto in lingua volgare con annotazioni* (Torino [Turin]: Stamperia Reale, 1775–81).

[55] *Vecchio Testamento secondo la Volgata tradotto in lingua italiana*, ed. Antonio Martini, 17 vols. (Florence: Stamperia arcivescovile, 1782–7); *Nuovo Testamento del Signor Nostro Gesù Cristo secondo la Volgata, tradotto in lingua italiana e con annotazioni …*, ed. Antonio Martini, 6 vols. (Florence: Stamperia arcivescovile, 1788–92).

with extreme theological caution.[56] As a result of this, this version adopted an absolutely orthodox stance, not least because of its papal authorisation. This work had eight complete editions in the eighteenth century, in the nineteenth more than forty, and it enjoyed a wide readership right up until the last decades of the twentieth; as a result, it has played a not-inconsiderable role in Italian Catholic culture.

### 'The bread of adversity?'

In the wake of Luther's previously quoted *Tischrede*,[57] Matthias von Erberg, a man attuned to the religious affairs of the Italian peninsula (if not particularly familiar with its language or with Italian history), stated, in the introduction to his rather unfortunate revision of the Diodatine Bible, that 'if the languages in common use throughout the whole of Europe were invited to the wedding banquet of their husband, they would be able to praise the delicious treatments and pleasing exquisiteness of every line; only Italian, with such an abundance of the preceding qualities, could lament that it had only '"the bread of adversity and the water of affliction" (Isaiah 30:20) for the great scarcity of the word of God printed in translation'.[58] This statement expresses an idea that was widespread in learned Protestant Europe, and which would return again and again in the following centuries. There is an implicit praise of Protestantism in it, with its focus on Scripture, its indefatigable zeal for exegetical–philological studies, and the importance accorded to vernacular Bible translation as a means for the people to access the word of God without the mediation of the clergy or church teachings. Equally present is an accusation against Catholicism which – especially in Italy – had never had an equivalent religious renewal, due to the fact that the Church was opposed to biblical study and had prevented the circulation and knowledge of Scripture. Even if we agree with Matthias von Erberg on the fact that Italy, for well-known political and religious reasons, did indeed suffer from 'the great scarcity of the word of God', we must immediately notice that this denominational polemic makes no distinction between the diffusion and the translation of the Bible in the vernacular. This distinction is in fact fundamental for anyone who seeks

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[56] Cesare Bissoli, 'La Bibbia nella chiesa e tra i cristiani', in Rinaldo Fabris (ed.), *La Bibbia nell'epoca moderna e contemporanea* (Bologna: Dehoniane, 1992), pp. 147–83, at p. 179.

[57] See n. 1 in this chapter.

[58] 'Se le lingue usitate per tutta l'Europa, ammesse al convitto [*sic*!] nuziale del loro sposo, si possono vantare dei trattamenti deliziosissimi, ed isquisitezza aggradita per ogni verso, la sola Italiana (in tanta abbondanza delle precedenti) potrebbe lamentarsi di non haver'altro che *panem arctum et aquam brevem*, Isa. Cap. 30, v. 20 per la grandissima scarsezza della parola di Dio, stampata in lingua volgare.'

to fully understand the turbulent history of the Bible in Italy in the early modern period. It is undeniable that the meticulous application of the Tridentine decrees to the biblical text and its vernacular translations meant that the Bible was consigned to the margins of Italian religious and cultural life, and fell into a long decline from which it has only recently begun to recover. However, the diffusion and knowledge of the Bible is one thing, while its translation is quite another, and this latter activity was, in fact, no less notable a phenomenon in Italy than in other European countries. The Italian language, with due respect to Matthias von Erberg, is not a language within which the translation of the Bible has been neglected. Even though no Italian version of the Bible was able to circulate – at least officially – within the peninsula from 1567 to 1773, the idea of a Christianity founded in a biblically inspired faith remained strong, and led to the production of many translations of the highest literary and spiritual value. An unequalled contribution, and one quite out of proportion to their number, was made by the diaspora of Italian Protestants which extended across Europe, and in particular by those who had found refuge in Switzerland between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Their faith in the power of the Scriptures, which was the mainstay and great hope of this *ecclesia peregrinorum*, meant that the Italian language was in fact able to participate fully in the great European project of vernacular Bible translation.

## Bibles in Spanish (1450–1750)

Mariano Delgado

### Forerunners

The Bible had already been translated into Spanish during the High Middle Ages, by both Christians and Jews. The so-called Biblia Alfonsina, which King Alfonso X included in his *General e grand estoria* around 1280, stands out among the Christian translations that were based on the Vulgate, but also partially on the Hebrew. This Bible is in many cases more of a paraphrase in the style of medieval chronicles than a translation. The Jewish translations come from the Hebrew or Aramaic, are naturally limited to the Old Testament or the so-called Hebrew Bible, and follow the principle of literal translation. The oldest partial translations, designated as pre-Alfonsine, influenced the Biblia Alfonsina, but the most valuable are post-Alfonsine. Scholars refer to four different versions which have been partially lost or are only preserved in fragments. The most valuable of these is the 'Bible (of the Duke) of Alba' from around 1430.

In early modern times work on the Bible also increased in the Spanish world. 'Catholic' Spain rejected translations of the Bible into the vernacular – in particular after the Index of 1559 – because it considered them to be a gateway to heresy. It did, however, promote the Polyglot Bible editions which could only be used by scholars, for example the Complutensian Bible, printed in Alcalá de Henares in 1514–17 under the patronage of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, and the Antwerp Bible, also called the *Biblia Regia*, published by Benito Arias Montano between 1569 and 1573 in Antwerp under the auspices of King Philip II.[59] Bible translations into Spanish between 1450 and 1750 were the work of expelled Jews and Spanish exiles sympathetic to the Reformation. One is concerned here with Spanish Bibles produced abroad. These will now be described in chronological order.

The Spanish humanist and Reformer Juan de Valdés (b. *c*. 1510 in Cuenca, Spain, d. August 1541 in Naples) holds the honour of having been the first to translate into Spanish parts of the New Testament, specifically St Matthew's Gospel (first edition Madrid, 1880) and some of the epistles of St Paul (the Epistle to the Romans and the First Epistle to the Corinthians). These were translated from the Greek original, as edited by Erasmus, albeit by way of paraphrase. Valdés also produced a linguistically elegant translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew (first edition Bonn, 1880). Much more important, however, are the translations of the New Testament, the Hebrew Bible, the Psalms, or the entire Bible that were published in early modern times.

### Francisco de Enzinas (Dryander)

Before Francisco de Enzinas (also Encinas, b. *c*. 1520 in Burgos, d. 30 December 1552 in Strasbourg) published his translation of the New Testament,[60] Spain was the only country during the time of the Reformation that had no printed translation of the Bible in the vernacular. Enzinas (also called Dryander, the Hellenised form of his name) came to his relatives in the Netherlands at an early age and enrolled at the University of Louvain in 1539. He became acquainted with the German Reformation through his compatriot Francisco de San Roman; as a result of this encounter he continued his studies in Wittenberg in the autumn of 1541. Philipp Melanchthon took him into his home and fired him with enthusiasm for the work of translating the New Testament from Greek into Spanish (on the basis of the Greek text edited

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[59] On the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglot Bibles see Chapter 6 in this volume.

[60] *El Nuevo Testamento de nuestro Redemptor y Salvador Jesu Christo, traduzido de Griego en lengua Castellana por Francisco de Enzinas* (Antwerp: En casa de Esteuan Mierdmanno [=Steven Mierdman], 1543), 352 fols.

by Erasmus). In the winter of 1542/3 he travelled to the Netherlands to have the translation published. On 25 November 1543 he personally presented a copy of his translation of the New Testament, which had been published in Antwerp, to Charles V. This resulted in his arrest on 13 December at the instigation of the Dominican friar Petrus de Soto, the Emperor's confessor. Soto explicitly cited the chapter 'De aliis tribus causis iisque externis, unde haereses oriuntur' from the work *Adversus omnes haereses* (Paris, 1534) by the Franciscan friar Alfonso de Castro. Here Castro had praised the Catholic kings for their prohibition of Bible translations into Spanish, deeming these to be a 'source of heresy'. Soto thus considered Enzinas's translation to be a threat to the faith. It had not helped at all that after the printing Enzinas had changed the original title (*El Nuevo Testamento, o la nueva alianza de nuestro Redemptor y solo Salvador, Jesucristo*) and replaced it in all the copies with a new title page (as cited above) because terms such as 'alianza' (alliance) and 'solo Salvador' (sole Saviour) sounded Protestant. Offered the chance to escape imprisonment, Enzinas fled to Antwerp on 1 February 1545, and from there to Wittenberg. He arrived at Melanchthon's home in March; at the latter's request he recorded his 'Historia propriae incarcerationis atque liberationis'. He went to Strasbourg in June, where he lived in Martin Bucer's household. He then visited Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich, Joachim Vadian in St Gallen and Ambrosius Blarer von Giersberg in Constance. He matriculated in Basel and had his report on the murder of Juan Diaz and his treatise against the Council of Trent published. In 1548 he moved to England, where Archbishop Thomas Cranmer arranged a professorship in Greek for him at the University of Cambridge, but he returned to Germany in the autumn of 1549.

The dedication to Charles V, which Enzinas placed at the beginning of his translation as a kind of prologue, can be viewed as one of the most astute apologias for the translation of the Bible into Spanish as well as a clever deception of Catholics. Three reasons are put forward for the translation. First, with reference to the advice of Gamaliel (Acts 5:38–9) Enzinas emphasises that no power in this world can prevent the spread of the Holy Scriptures. Second, he appeals to Spain's glory: in all other nations the Bible has already been translated into the vernacular, and people think the Spanish are superstitious because they have not done this; if the Spanish pride themselves on being the first in all other areas, then one cannot understand why they are the last in the most important matter. Finally, up to now neither the Emperor nor the Pope has explicitly forbidden Bible translations although they have passed very many laws on other topics; and if someone thinks that Bible translations pose a threat of heresy, then one should bear in mind that heresies do not arise

through Bible translations, but because these translations are interpreted by many against the teaching of the church which is 'the pillar and solid foundation of the truth'.

Scholars confirm that the author had an expansive knowledge of Greek, but also that he depended too much on Erasmus's text. On the one hand, Enzinas did not change the Gospel style, but on the other he occasionally exaggerated his faithfulness to the literal meaning of the words. The language is elegant and melodious, as is appropriate for the Spanish of the sixteenth century, even if it is not free of Gallicisms.

Enzinas also translated four books of the Old Testament based on the Latin version prepared by his friend Sebastian Castellio, who had given Enzinas the text before its publication in the Bible of 1551. Enzinas had his translations published individually in Strasbourg in 1550 (at the printing house of Augustinus Frisius) although they give Lyons as the place of publication and name Sebastian Grypho as the printer. In his translations of the book of Job and of the entire Psalter he follows the Latin copy of the text rather faithfully. In his translation of the book of Proverbs he goes beyond Castellio's text by adding paraphrasing and fitting in parts from other books. In his translation of Ecclesiasticus (the Wisdom of Jesus Sirach), Enzinas omits all the passages that Castellio had marked with 'L.' (i.e. only to be found in the Vulgate) and makes a new division of the chapters while maintaining the classical Latinisation of Hebrew names which Castellio had introduced. Unfortunately, Enzinas's project of providing a complete translation of the Bible remained unfinished.

### The Ferrara Hebrew Bible

The Sephardic Jews Yom Tob Atías (Jerónimo de Vargas) and Abraham Usque (Duarte Pinel) were responsible for the 1553 Hebrew Bible printed at Ferrara.[61] It was printed in Ferrara because the fourth Duke of Ferrara, Ercole II (1508–59), continued the liberal policies of his predecessor Alfonso I (1476–1534) towards the Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal. He was also to extend this act of tolerance to the Protestants, under the influence of his wife Renée, the daughter of Louis XII of France. As it was printed in a limited edition as well as in three different versions and formats (a large format on special blue paper, a large format on normal paper, and a small format), and because corrections of misprints as well as typographical and lexical

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[61] *Biblia en lengua Española traduzida palabra por palabra de la verdad Hebraica por muy excelentes letrados, vista y examinada por el officio dela Inquisición* ([Ferrara:] [Duarte Pinel [alias Abraham Usqae] for Jeronimo de Vergas [alias Tob Athias], 1553 (5313 according to the Jewish calendar).

variations can be found in them, it used to be thought that there was one version for Christians and another one for Jews. It is more accurate to assume that this is a work in progress – that while one version was in the press, a corrected and revised version was under way. One version was dedicated to the Duke of Ferrara by Jerónimo de Vargas and Duarte Pinel, another to the former Marrana and most influential Jewess of her time, Doña Gracia Nasi (Gracia Mendes or Beatriz de Luna), by Yom Tob and Abraham Usque. It was claimed that the Inquisition had examined the publication only so that the Bible could be better circulated among Catholics. An important variant in the different editions can be found in Isaiah 7:14. In some copies one reads 'moça', 'young woman'; in others 'virgen', 'virgin' in the Catholic sense; and again in others 'alma', the transliteration of the Hebrew word.

The Ferrara Bible does not represent a new translation from Hebrew or Aramaic, but rather a revision and continuation of the Spanish translations that had been circulating among Sephardic Jews since the thirteenth century. Between 1391 and 1492 many of these were burned during bouts of animosity towards the Jews. Chronicles report, for example, that after the expulsion of the Jews twenty Bibles were burned in Salamanca on just one day, 25 September 1492. All the same – and not least because of the loss of many medieval codices as well as owing to the complexity of the Jewish tradition – scholars are not in a position to reconstruct precisely a genealogy showing the relationship between the different medieval translations and the Ferrara Bible. One assumes that the original ancestor of the Sephardic Bible of the sixteenth century is to be found in the manuscript E3 (or Ms. 1-j-3) from the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century which is preserved in the Escorial and represents a literal translation of the Masoretic text. Like the Ferrara Bible, the division of the chapters of the Pentateuch follows the Hebrew ordering in *parasiyot* or weekly pericopes. In addition, in both texts the names of persons and places are generally left in Hebrew and words such as *Adonai* and *Dio* are used for 'Lord', instead of *Señor*. The Spanish used here is also called 'Ladino', the Spanish of the Sephardim. It is typical of the way the Jews, after the Babylonian exile, created new languages of communication for the Jewish Diaspora by adapting the surrounding languages to Hebrew and then translating the Hebrew Bible into these languages: Jewish-Aramaic, Jewish-Greek, Jewish-Arabic, Jewish-Persian, Jewish-German (Yiddish), Jewish-Spanish (Ladino) or Jewish-Italian. The adaptation to Hebrew comes about through the all-too-literal translation of biblical texts into these languages which results in neologisms and, for the most part, the preservation of the Hebrew syntax. This translation technique

had been used and perfected in Jewish communities since antiquity; it is called 'servile' or 'literal' translation since the structure of one language is more or less 'transferred' into the other.

The translation of the Bible is justified in the prologue to the reader. The work was undertaken not least because Spanish was the most widespread and esteemed language in Europe, and a good translation in Spanish was lacking. The publishers were aware that this Spanish might strike some readers as 'barbaric and strange' since it is quite different from the sophisticated classical Spanish of the sixteenth century. This is, however, the unavoidable price the translator pays for following the Hebrew as closely as possible by translating word for word 'from the Hebrew truth' and by preserving the style.

The Ferrara Bible is the first complete version of the Old Testament in Ladino, and was meant above all for Sephardic Jews who had abandoned their Marrano or *Converso* existence in the sixteenth century and were once again avowed Jews in Italy or Amsterdam. (The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire or in oriental areas were more likely shaped by the 1540 or 1547 translation of the Psalms and the Pentateuch in Constantinople.) The Ferrara Bible was diligently used until 1762, attaining 'canonical status' for the *Conversos* during this time. There were at least six complete reprints (1611, 1630, 1646, 1661, 1726 and 1762), nine partial editions of the Pentateuch with the texts of the Prophets (1627, 1643, 1655, 1691, 1697, 1705, 1718, 1724 and 1733) and four editions of the Psalms (1628, 1650, 1723 and 1733). These new editions show widespread admiration for the Ferrara Bible; however, since lexical archaisms were corrected here and there, some measure of critical thinking was embodied in these reprintings. Some of the authors of these corrections had to admit that the translation by the Spanish Protestants Casiodoro de Reina (or Reyna) of 1569 and Cipriano (or Cypriano) de Valera (1602) met with greater approval among some sophisticated Sephardim because these translators did not proceed so literally and used a more refined Spanish. In point of fact, classical Spanish was more familiar to many *Conversos* than the Hebrew-adapted language of the Ferrara Bible. For Rabbi Yosef Franco Serrano from Amsterdam the greatest drawback of the Ferrara Bible was that while it was printed for the re-Judaisation of the *Conversos*, its archaic language was often an obstacle for them. Among the partial editions of the Pentateuch with the texts of the Prophets, those by the rabbi and printer Menasseh ben Israel from 1627 and 1655 in Amsterdam should be highlighted. Whereas the first of these editions hardly deviates from the Ferrara Bible, the second one includes some morphological and lexical adaptations. This text remained authoritative for the further editions of the Pentateuch in Ladino. In the 1705 edition 'Dios' instead of 'El

Dio' was used for the first time. Those responsible for the Ferrara Bible had not noticed that the Spanish plural is 'Dioses' and not 'Dios'.

In his admonition to the reader, Reina characterises the Ferrara Bible in 1569 as 'a work that (according to the judgement of everyone who knows something about it) deserves the greatest esteem among the available translations', but at the same time he reproaches it for translating some passages that are particularly important to Christians, such as Isaiah 9:6, with 'rabbinical malice'.

### Juan Pérez de Pineda

An 'anonymous' translation, printed in Geneva by Jean Crespin in 1556, listed Venice as the place of publication in order to enable a better circulation in Spain.[62] It came from the pen of the Spanish Calvinist Juan Pérez de Pineda (b. *c.* 1480/90 in Montilla, Spain, d. 1567 in Geneva). Beginning in 1556 while still in Geneva, where he was highly esteemed by Calvin and de Bèze and worked as a minister of the Spanish Reformed congregation, Pérez de Pineda furnished different Spanish translations of parts of the Bible and theological treatises. Later he was a preacher in Blois and private chaplain of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, who had retired to the castle of Montargis after the death of her husband and was supporting the Calvinist–Huguenot movement in France from there. Inspired by Juan de Valdés and Francisco de Enzinas, he actually wanted to translate the entire Bible into Spanish, but was only able to finish the translation of the Psalms and the New Testament. His friend and a kindred spirit, Juan (Juanillo) Hernández, was arrested by the Inquisition when he brought these translations to Seville, and in 1560 he was burned at the stake in an auto-da-fé in Seville. Pérez himself was burned in effigy. He left his entire fortune with the directive to use it for the printing of a Bible in Spanish. With his translations he tried to contribute to the spreading of Reformed thinking in Spain. Because of the inquisitional countermeasures, however, his works probably got to Spain only to a limited degree. But they were circulated in the circles of Spanish exiles.

Scholars believe that Pérez de Pineda did not produce a new translation from the Greek, but merely stylistically revised that of Francisco de Enzinas. The executed changes were done above all on the basis of the French translation of the New Testament which was widespread in Geneva. (Robert

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[62] *El Testamento Nuevo de Nuestro Señor y Salvador Jesu Christo, Nueva y fielmente traduzido der original Griego en romance Castellano* (Venice [= Geneva]: at the printing house of Iuan Philadelpho [= Crespin], 1556), 12 + 746 + 4 fols.

Estienne published *Le Nouveau Testament* in Geneva in 1552 with the Latin text of Erasmus and the French translation by Olivétan;[63] in 1554 Conrad Badius published a similar version in Geneva.) Nevertheless, the stylistic revision was so thorough that this version was regarded by many as the best of all the Spanish translations of the New Testament in the early modern age. In the epistle that Pérez de Pineda placed at the beginning of his edition he explains the two reasons that prompted him to produce the translation into Spanish. The first is that the gospel is not bound to any particular nation, people or language, but has a universal character. Since the authors of the New Testament did not make use of Hebrew, but of Greek, the lingua franca of their time, one should do the same and translate the gospel into the vernacular. The second reason is his desire to render a valuable service to his country, Spain, which prides itself on being the most pure and flawless of all Christian nations in matters of faith without tolerating the heresies that are being spread against the Christian faith in other places. In contrast to the Inquisition which, to protect this purity of faith, distrusted the translations of the Bible in the vernacular, Pérez de Pineda argues that these very translations are necessary so that the masses can understand and profess the true faith and everyone can thus achieve salvation as willed by God in His mercy. Here he elegantly brushes the arguments of the Inquisition against the grain, and promotes the translation of Holy Scripture into Spanish as something pleasing in the sight of God and 'necessary for salvation'.

In 1557 Pérez de Pineda published his translation of the Psalms under his own name, but still with Venice as the fictitious place of publication.[64] Menéndez Pelayo considered this translation – slightly exaggeratedly – to be the best in the Spanish language: 'It is written in a pure, correct, clear, very fresh and beautiful language' as is appropriate for the school of the humanist Juan de Valdés – without Hebraisations or exotic expressions and word for word rather than in the style of a paraphrase. In his introductory explanation concerning the rewards and benefits of the Psalms, Pérez de Pineda, writing very poetically while at the same time endeavouring to deceive Catholic readers in Spain, describes the Psalms as 'very strong anchors so that we remain in the unity of faith and the Spirit of God and are not separated from the

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[63] *Le Nouueau Testament: C'est a dire, La Nouuelle alliance de nostre Seigneur Iesvs Christ, Tant en Latin, qu'en Fra[n]cois; les deux translations traduictes du Grec, respondantes l'vne a l'autre, verset, notez par nombres* ([Geneva]: De l'imprimerie de Robert Estienne, 1552).

[64] *Los Psalmos de David con sus sumarios en que se declara con brevedad lo contenido en cada Psalmos agora nueva y fielmente traduzidos en romançe Castellano por el doctor Ian Peörez, comforme a la verdad dela lengua sancta* (En Venecia [=Geneva]: En casa de Pedro Daniel [=Jean Crespin], 1557).

unity with His church by the many sects and fallacies lying along the way'. Many psalms are like guideposts which lead us to God, others stimulate us to implore him for help or help us to curb our concupiscence, while some in turn are like steel that injures the flint of our hearts and allows the spark of the love of God to fly. Others are like the ointment of a very gentle fragrance to protect us from corruption and vices, and finally there are those like shepherd's crooks with which we can pick ourselves up and hold onto the hope of eternal life. The Psalter is thus like 'a very pleasant garden and an earthly paradise'.

### Casiodoro de Reina's translation

The 'Biblia de Oso' ('Bible of the Bear') so called because of the bear motif on the title page, represents the first edition of the complete Bible in a Spanish translation.[65] The translator, Casiodoro de Reina (b. *c*. 1520 in Montemolín, Spain, d. 15 March 1594 in Frankfurt am Main, Germany), also known as Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, was a Spanish Protestant descended from the Moriscos of Granada. Before his escape to Geneva in 1557 he lived as a monk in the Hieronymite monastery of San Isidro del Campo in Seville, where he dedicated himself early on to the study of the Bible. Since he was regarded as the spiritual head of the crypto-Protestants in Seville, he was condemned by the Inquisition and burnt in effigy at an auto-da-fé on 26 April 1562. Via Geneva he went first to Frankfurt am Main, where he became a member of the French Reformed congregation. Thereafter he had to move his place of residence between London, Antwerp, Bergerac, Château de Montargis, Basel, Strasbourg and once again Frankfurt for a variety of reasons – theological disagreements with other Protestants, the intrigues of Philip II of Spain who had offered a huge reward for his capture, financial difficulties, Spanish politics in Flanders, and the printing of his translation of the Bible. In the course of his life Reina changed his theological positions within Protestantism (Calvinism and Lutheranism) many times.[66] Above all, he is particularly important as the first translator of the entire Bible from the original languages into Spanish. The edition first appearing in Basel in

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[65] *La Biblia, que es, los sacros libros del Viejo y Nuevo Testamento* ([Basel]: [Samuel Apiarius for Thomas Guarinus], 1569).

[66] On Reina's entanglement in theological controversy see Carlos Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck bis 1600: ein Querschnitt durch die spanische Geistesgeschichte aus der Sicht einer europäischen Buchdruckerstadt*, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 151 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1985), pp. 353–73; Rady Roldan-Figueroa, 'Antonio del Corro and Paul as the Apostle of the Gospel of universal redemption', in R. Ward Holder (ed.), *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 389–425 at pp. 391–400.

1569, whose printing was enabled not least by the money bequeathed by Pérez de Pineda, went through many reprints and revisions (the first in 1602 by Cipriano Valera), and is still used today among Spanish-speaking Protestants. Although Reina does not appear by name in the Basel edition other than in the 'praefatio hispanici interpraetis' which he signs 'C. R.', there is no doubt that he translated the Bible and prepared it for publication. Following the *praefatio* there is an 'admonition … to the reader and the entire church' in which he accounts for the meaning, method and purpose of his translation.

First he gives four reasons justifying the translation of the Bible into Spanish. The Holy Scriptures are 'the authentic and legitimate instrument' for promoting 'the striving of humans for glory and salvation'. The pretext that such a translation violates the 'reverence' owed to Scripture is founded in forms of superstition and idolatry which distance themselves from the true God. Forbidding the translation would be nothing short of an insult to the light and the truth that the divine word attests. Finally, everyone is enjoined to study the word of God, as numerous witnesses from both Testaments verify. It has been noted that this apologia for Bible translation is not as effective in a literary sense as that by Enzinas or by the publisher of the Ferrara Bible.

Afterwards Reina very cleverly refers to rules III and IV of the Council of Trent which he had printed verbatim on the reverso of the first page. Whereas the council emphasises in rule IV that bishops and inquisitors may give written permission to read the Bible in the vernacular in exceptional cases when they are certain that the readers derive more benefit than harm for their faith and piety, provided that the translation was done by 'Catholic authors', Reina sees a wide-open door here for Bible translations.[67]

Regarding his method of translation he alleges that he did not follow the Latin version – the Vulgate – because it is full of errors. Nevertheless, he did consult it, and other versions, in numerous places as a variant. Reina translated instead from the original languages of Hebrew and Greek as far as possible. He says he used the Ferrara Bible in particular – although it contains big mistakes, on the one hand because 'the animosity towards Christ' shines through in some passages and on the other because the Jews themselves had forgotten the Hebrew language. Reina explains at length – on three of the fourteen pages of the 'admonition' – why he chose this or that word, such as Jehovah as the term for God. He also accounts for the notes in the margins which serve to

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[67] For the original of the *Regula Quarta* see *Index librorum prohibitorum: cum regulis confectis per patres a Tridentina synodo delectos, auctoritate sanctiss. D. N. Pii IIII, Pont. Max. comprobatus* (Rome: Paulus Manutius, 1564), pp. 15–16, and see the discussion in Chapter 12 of this volume.

explain 'words, figures of style and linguistic forms', but also other things. He also briefly explains why he placed a summary at the beginning of each chapter. Finally, he employs the rhetorical trope of humility by writing that there are more qualified translators in the Spanish nation and that this translation, being the first, may possibly be incomplete and in need of improvement; but then he stresses with self-confidence that heretofore no Spaniard 'has accomplished anything better'. In conclusion he cleverly interprets the rules of Trent once again to his advantage: he reads into them the double recommendation to produce both a better Vulgate version for theological studies and a translation in the vernacular for the common people from which one should print as many editions and reprints as necessary.

Scholars believe that Reina used the following sources: the version of Sante Pagnini and the Ferrara Bible, the Zurich Latin Bible as well as the version by Castellio, at least in part, from which the name Jehovah, among other things, was taken. Since he wanted to smuggle his translation into Spain, it goes without saying that he kept quiet about these 'heretical' sources in the 'admonition' quoted above, but also about his use of the Spanish translations by Juan de Valdés, Francisco de Enzinas and Juan Pérez de Pineda, since all of these were already on the Index in Rome and Spain. Although neither the translator nor the place of publication were mentioned in the 1569 edition, the Inquisition learned in January of 1571 that Basel had been the place of publication and ordered the confiscation of all the copies that could be found. Hereupon the title page of many copies was exchanged for the title page of the famous dictionary by Ambrogio Calepino. The Inquisition sniffed this out straight away, so it cannot be said precisely just how many of the 1,400 copies that were intended for importation to Spain through Antwerp actually evaded its net. Wide distribution and a sustained impact are, however, assumed since it has been claimed that the Bible of Reina had greater significance for Spain than the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. Scholars have credited Reina with a profound knowledge of the original biblical languages. His method of translation is close to the methodology used today, since it does not aim at a word-for-word rendering, but a reconstruction that gives the general sense of ideological context.

### Cipriano de Valera

Since Reina was a Lutheran, not a Calvinist, neither the marginal notes nor the order of the books of his Bible correspond to the Reformed canon. This annoyed the strict Calvinist Cipriano de Valera terribly, and partly because of this he started work on a revision of this Basel edition of the Bible in 1582.

Like Reina, Valera (b. 1532 in Frenegal de la Sierra, Spain, d. 1602 in London) was at first a monk in the Hieronymite monastery of San Isidro del Campo in Seville. After his escape in 1557 he first went to Basel and then in 1558 to England, where he held professorships at both Cambridge and Oxford. 'His' Bible was not printed in Amsterdam until 1602, not least because Valera wanted to wait until Reina had died (1594). In the long prologue, which contains interesting comments about the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, he devotes scarcely four lines to the real translator, while his own name appears on the title page in large letters.[68] Critics have observed that Valera's work only consisted in deleting or adding some marginal notes in accordance with the Genevan Calvinist editions of the Bible, in shortening the summaries of the individual chapters, and in adapting the order of the books to the Reformed canon. Recent research has emphasised that his linguistic corrections were not always an improvement and that his linguistic style was not among the best. (For example, Valera makes use of numerous Gallicisms.)

Valera had a translation of the New Testament published in London by Richard Field in 1596 following the same method, albeit this time without mentioning his own name.[69] (A revised edition by Sebastián de la Enzina was issued in 1708 at Amsterdam.) While most scholars see this as a minor revision of the New Testament from the 1569 Basel Bible, B. Forster Stockwell maintains that it is more likely a revision of the 1556 version by Juan Pérez de Pineda.

## Conclusion

Protestant exiles and expelled Jews published the first Spanish translations of the Bible between 1450 and 1750. Their contribution to the spreading of the Bible – accomplished in adverse circumstances – cannot be regarded too highly. The prologues or admonitions addressed to the readers give us information about their translating techniques and interests. The language of Spanish Jews was decisively formed by the Ferrara Bible, and that of Spanish Protestants by Reina's 1569 Basel edition of the Bible, which underwent new revisions again and again (most recently in 1995) after the first revision by Valera in 1602. All the same, Enzinas was the better stylist linguistically

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[68] *La Biblia ... Segunda Edicion, revista y conferida con los textos Hebreos y Griegos y con diversas translaciones, por Cypriano de Valera* (Amsterdam: En casa de Lorenço Iacobi, 1602).
[69] *El Testamento nuevo de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo ...* (London: En Casa de Ricardo del Campo [=Richard Field], 1596; STC (2nd edn.), 2959).

speaking. Thus Carlos Gilly's assumption is not completely unfounded: 'If the Bible of the Burgalese had been produced, then it would certainly count as the classic text of the Spanish language, and that more deservedly so than the Bible of Casiodoro de Reyna.'[70]

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[70]  Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck*, p. 350.

PART III

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# PROCESSING THE BIBLE: COMMENTARY, CATECHESIS, LITURGY

# Authority

### G. R. EVANS

'Author' and 'authority' share the same Latin root. To the educated medieval mind of the West, *auctor* and *auctoritas* were inseparable when it came to reliance on a text.[1] The degree of 'authority' the text carried depended on the respect in which the 'author' was held. By the end of the Middle Ages to say that God was the 'author' of the Bible was automatically to claim a supreme 'authority' for the text. But it was increasingly realised that this was by no means a straightforward claim.

First, what authority determines which texts are 'Scripture' and make up the Bible? Can the Bible testify to its own authoritativeness, or is that the church's job? This became an extremely contentious issue in itself from the fifteenth century. The formation of the 'canon' was a slow process. Jerome was still debating the matter in the late fourth century, and a few loose ends remained a thousand years later. The books of the Bible are listed by the Council of Florence (1438–45),[2] and again by the Council of Trent (1545–63).[3] This became an important issue once more in the sixteenth century; for although Protestants did not dispute the divine authorship of the Old Testament they did continue to resist the inclusion of a number of books they regarded as apocryphal, but which the church had declared to be authoritative as parts of the Bible.

A more radical question which had exercised the early church had reappeared in the medieval controversies involving dualists such as the Albigensians. Some of these latter-day 'Gnostics' or 'Manichees' claimed that the Old Testament was not the work of God but of a second Power, responsible for the creation of matter and the entry of evil into the world. This possibility was still a sufficiently live issue for the Council of Florence and the Council of Trent to

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[1] A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984) gives useful background to about 1400.
[2] Tanner, *Decrees*, vol. I, p. 572 (Bull of Union with the Coptic Church, Session 11, 4 February 1442).
[3] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 663–4 (Session 4 of 8 April 1546).

pronounce upon this too, both declaring the Old Testament to be of divine authorship just like the New. The Council of Florence asserts that 'one and the same God is the author of the Old and the New Testament', expressly anathematising the view of the Manichees that one Principle is the author of the Old Testament and the other of the New.[4] The Council of Trent, Session 4 (April 1546), repeated this insistence that God is the author of both Old and New Testaments.

In the eyes of the sixteenth-century reformers, these councils which presumed to give their approval of these books and deem them canonical, through such 'official' channels could add nothing to their authority or bolster it in any way. They combatively took the view that God's authority as author of the Bible cannot be established by a merely human authority, such as they deemed the institutional church to possess. Some simply regarded the Bible as a datum, a monolith given by God readymade, complete and unalterable. Other views were more nuanced, as a range of potential qualifications of its claim to absolute authority were borne in upon commentators. The way to clear up controversy, Martin Chemnitz suggested, is to trace the way in which the Bible came into existence. God instituted the written text as a method of preserving the purity of doctrine, and Chemnitz believed that it was possible to track historically how this had happened.[5] The Anglican Daniel Whitby (1637/8–1726)[6] warmed to the assurance that the earliest Christians, who had met the apostles and seen original copies of the Scriptures, were confident that they had divine authority. That is in itself a testimony, he suggests.[7] And it allows a special authority to 'earliness', which chimed with the sixteenth-century call to return 'to the sources' (*ad fontes*), without necessarily implying that modern 'heirs' of the apostles had authority to testify in their collective capacity as the senior figures in the contemporary church.

The shift from 'no salvation outside the church'[8] to 'no salvation without Scripture' is part of this debate. The question 'Does the Bible contain

[4] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 572.
[5] Martin Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Fred Kramer, 4 vols. (St Louis, MO: Concordia, 1971–86), vol. 1, p. 52.
[6] A close friend of Gilbert Burnet, he had been influenced by Calvinists while at university (Oxford), but turned vigorously against their ideas later and became an Arminian.
[7] Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*, 2 vols. (London: W. Bowyer, for Awnsham and John Churchill, 1703), vol. 11, pp. i–xv.
[8] See e.g. Constitution 1 of the Fourth Lateran Council, in Tanner, *Decrees*, vol. 1, p. 230: 'there is indeed one universal church of the faithful, outside of which nobody at all is saved'.

everything necessary to salvation?' was on the agenda at the Council of Florence.[9] For the sixteenth century this resolved itself into a conflict between the Roman Catholic Church, which thought something more was needed, and Protestants, who claimed that 'Scripture alone' was authoritative. 'No faithful Christian can be forced beyond the Sacred Scripture, which is alone the divine law, unless new and approved revelation is added,' Luther says, deliberately linking his assertion with fifteenth-century authority when he adds that 'this principle was lately asserted by Gerson in many places'.[10] Article 6 of the 39 Articles of the Church of England asserts that the Bible contains everything necessary to salvation; the question had not ceased to be put in that form. 'It is not necessary for salvation to believe that the Roman Church is superior to all others ... I know that Gregory Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, Epiphanius, Cyprian, and numerous other Greek [sic] bishops are among the redeemed, even though they did not believe this article,' insisted Luther.[11] Zwingli puts it another way: 'Where I have not now correctly understood the Scriptures I shall allow myself to be taught better, but only from the Scriptures.' [12] Zwingli's 67 Conclusions, v, says that 'all who consider other teachings equal to or higher than the Gospel err, and do not know what the Gospel is'.[13]

The Council of Trent dealt with this topic in its fourth session. The decree concerning the canonical Scriptures links together as 'traditions' 'as well those appertaining to faith as to morals' which were either 'dictated' by Christ's own word of mouth of by the Holy Spirit, or were 'preserved in the Catholic Church by a continuous succession'.[14] Does Scripture contain all that is necessary to salvation? No, said Diogo de Paiva de Andrade (1528–75) at the Council of Trent. He maintained that Christ's intention was solely to provide a kind of *aide-memoire*, a brief summary of key points, and that he meant the whole story to be written on the church's innermost heart and not the pages of a book. His evidence is that Christ's teaching was oral and that (as he alleges) there was a wish on God's part to distinguish it clearly from the Old Testament

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[9] Note, for example, how the council expended much time in clarifying post-scriptural determinations about doctrine for the benefit of the delegates of the Coptic Church: ibid., vol. 1, pp. 578ff.

[10] *Disputatio i. Eccii et M. Lutheri Lipsiae habita*, 1519, in *WA*, vol.11, p. 279, and as trans. in Hans J. Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation in its Own Words* (London: SCM Press, 1964), p. 67.

[11] Ibid.

[12] *Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, pp. 458–61, as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 132.

[13] *Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, pp. 458–61, as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 133.

[14] Tanner, *Decrees*, vol. 11, pp. 663–4 (Session 4 of 8 April 1546).

era when things were written on tablets of stone. Andrade claims (according to Chemnitz) that the settled view of the church is the ultimate authority because there are preserved the echoes of many things the apostles said which were not written down in the canon of Scripture. This makes the authority of the church, its customs and traditions, equal with that of the text of the Bible, and even superior, because fuller and more detailed.[15]

Once the question and its answers had been posed in these terms it had to be taken into account in any discussion of the authority of Scripture in which Roman Catholic positions were in issue. In the seventeenth century Charles Marie de Veil, in *A letter to the honourable Robert Boyle to prove that the Scripture alone is the Rule of Faith etc.*, was prompted by the author's having seen an anonymous publication, which he has reason to believe is the work of 'Father Simon', and in which the author asserts that nothing can be certain in religion unless tradition is added to Scripture in deciding disputed points of faith.[16]

Secondly, even if the content is agreed, which version of the text is authoritative? The period from the fifteenth century saw the first serious challenge for a millennium to the supremacy of the Vulgate as the authoritative text of the Bible for study and preaching. By the late Middle Ages in the West it had, for practical purposes, been lost sight of that Jerome's Vulgate text was a translation into Latin. The gulf that opened up in the late Roman Empire between the Latin West and the Greek East had created a language divide which only a handful of scholars appear to have crossed. The loss of direct contact with the text of Scripture in the Greek and Hebrew had been almost complete in the Christian West for much of the medieval period.

A few individuals, such as Peter Abelard, Andrew of St Victor and Herbert of Bosham in the twelfth century, discussed individual Hebrew words with Jews so as to clarify the meaning of the Old Testament text, but this does not seem to have led them into the systematic study of the Hebrew language. Only a handful of Latin scholars seem to have had a competence in Greek. 'The knowledge of Greek was lost,' maintained Melanchthon in the next

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[15] Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent*, vol. I, pp. 44–5. For further discussion of the origins of the Tridentine Decree on Scripture and Tradition see Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Ernest Graf, 2 vols. (London: T. Nelson, 1961), vol. II, pp. 62–82. For the continuing controversy see e.g. Diogo de Paiva de Andrade, *Defensio Tridentinae fidei Catholicae, et integerrimae: Quinque libris comprehensa: adversvs Haereticorum detestabiles calumnias, & praesertim Martini Kemnitii Germani* (Ingolstadii [Ingolstadt]: Apud Davidem Sartorium, 1580).

[16] Charles Marie de Veil, *A letter to the honourable Robert Boyle to prove that the Scripture alone is the Rule of Faith etc.* (London: Thomas Malthus, 1683). For Richard Simon see Chapter 29 in this volume.

generation.[17] Melanchthon gives a historically rather insecure account which puts the 'blame' on medieval scholarship. Greek was forgotten because of the machinations of such figures as 'Thomas, Scotus, Durandus', who preferred 'a crippled Aristotle' and their own 'bold way of commentating and philosophizing'. They held sway, he says, for three hundred years. 'Until that time philosophy had been altogether Greek, and only Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine had excelled in Latin. Greek had been in the West virtually the language of religion.'[18] He set about putting that right, by teaching Greek in the university and planning to edit 'sacred writings' in Greek as well as Hebrew and Latin, with commentaries.[19] 'Only if we have clearly understood the language will we clearly understand the content.'[20]

The problem was that the Bible was studied in the Middle Ages in the Vulgate version with great respect for its authority, in a manner which suggested that the academic world had lost sight of Jerome's own insistence that he did not consider his translation to be inspired.[21] The finest points of grammar and wording were analysed as though God had dictated to the human authors of Scripture in Latin. It was treated like any other text as a subject for *lectio*, that is, for reading aloud, lemma by lemma, with students, so as to raise with them point by point the various and sometimes contradictory opinions of predominantly Latin patristic and other 'authorities' upon the exact interpretation of Jerome's Latin words. From this process arose certain more knotty points of controversy which were dealt with in formal disputations, so that a bridge was created from 'Bible study' to what would now be described as 'systematic theology'. This sort of thing was still going on at Wittenberg in Luther's university in the 1530s, and still with reference to the Vulgate. So Bible study in the sixteenth-century universities had to make an enormous transition from these norms of the late medieval period, for the move to the study of the Bible in the 'original' languages required not only a mastery of those languages but also the abandonment of this vast apparatus for the study of the Latin Vulgate.

[17] Philipp Melanchthon, *De corrigendis adulescentiae studiis*, *CR*, vol. xi, pp. 15ff., as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, pp. 58–9.

[18] Melanchthon, *De corrigendis adulescentiae studiis*, *CR*, vol. xi, pp. 15ff., as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 59.

[19] Letter of 24 September 1518, *CR*, vol. i, p. 48.

[20] Melanchthon, *De corrigendis adulescentiae studiis*, *CR*, vol. xi, pp. 15ff., as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 60.

[21] See Jerome's prefaces, e.g. to the New Testament addressed to Pope Damasus, where Jerome clearly describes his work as one of human scholarship and adjudication between corrupt exemplars.

The founding of the Complutensian University in 1498 at Alcalá near Madrid in Spain by the Archbishop of Toledo had created a new kind of university which encouraged the study of the three languages in which the title was written over the head of Jesus as he hung on the Cross: Latin, Greek and Hebrew (John 19:20).[22] This made people think hard about the relative authoritativeness of versions of the Bible in these three languages. In the seventeenth century Robert Boyle (1627–91) recollected the gradation suggested by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, who suggested that Hebrew readers drink at the source, Greek readers in the stream, Latin readers in the marshes. We 'may not ill apply that notable saying of *Mirandula: Hebraei bibunt fontes, Graeci rivos, Latini paludes.*'[23] Scholars began to call for a return to the study of Greek and Hebrew. 'Led by the Holy Spirit, but accompanied by humanist studies, one should proceed to theology … but since the Bible is written in part in Hebrew and in part in Greek – as Latinists we drink from the stream of both – we must learn these languages, unless we want to be "silent persons",' says Melanchthon.[24]

Hebrew was frequently referred to by Robert Boyle, among seventeenth century authors, as the 'Holy Tongue'.[25] The study of Hebrew depended a good deal for its development as a branch of Christian scholarship on the work of Johannes Reuchlin (1454/5–1522) and Pico della Mirandola in the fifteenth century. Reuchlin was a German humanist who studied in Paris and other French centres as well as Germany and Basel, becoming a professor at Tübingen in 1481. In Tübingen Reuchlin was teaching Greek when, from 1485, he became interested in learning Hebrew. He hit upon the idea of publishing a Hebrew grammar to assist others who wanted to learn the language, and produced his ground-breaking *De Rudimentis Hebraicis* in 1506. Zwingli also studied Hebrew so as to be able to read the Old Testament in that language.[26]

[22] Benoît Pellistrandi, 'The University of Alcalá de Henares from 1568–1618: Students and Graduates', *History of Universities* 9 (1990), 119–65. For more on the revival of languages see Chapters 1 and 2 in this volume.

[23] Robert Boyle, *Some considerations touching the style of the H[oly] Scriptures extracted from several parts of a discourse (concerning divers particulars belonging to the Bible) written divers years since to a friend* (London: H. Herringman, 1661); as ed. in [Robert Boyle], *The Works of Robert Boyle*, ed. Michael Hunter and Edward B. Davis, 14 vols. (London and Brookfield, VT: Pickering & Chatto, 1999–2000) (henceforth Boyle, *Works*), vol. 11, pp. 381–488, at p. 450.

[24] Melanchthon, *De corrigendis adulescentiae studiis*, *CR*, vol. XI, pp. 15ff., as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 59.

[25] Boyle, *Works*, vol. 11, p. 396. For the following paragraph see also Chapter 1 in this volume.

[26] Heinrich Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, vol. 1, p. 30, as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 120.

Tübingen (founded in 1477) was one of the newer German universities in which an old and a new syllabus and mode of study already coexisted.

The Regius chair in Hebrew in Oxford was founded in 1540.[27] The Visitors of 1535 removed the requirement for theology students to study Peter Lombard's *Sentences* in favour of study of the Scriptures.[28] A number of (admittedly rather undistinguished) Oxford Hebrew scholars are known from the sixteenth century.[29] Edward Pococke, the first Laudian Professor of Arabic (appointed 1636) and one of the foremost orientalists of the age, helped to raise the academic standard following his joint appointment as Regius Professor of Hebrew in 1648. The study of Hebrew began to be conducted in the context of the study of Arabic and even of other languages.[30] The Oxford chair established by Archbishop Laud in 1640 required the professor to explain the similarities of Arabic, Syriac and Hebrew.[31] By this date, private individuals were conducting their own researches in the interests of reading the Old Testament in Hebrew with improved accuracy. Boyle wrote letters to his friend John Mallet which speak (November 1651) of his spending time with a 'very learned Amsterdam Jew' recently arrived in London so as to perfect his Hebrew (the 'Holy Tongue') and ensure that he accurately understood the 'Tenents and Rites' of the modern Jews.[32] Comments began to be made about the gulf between a 'Western' and an 'Eastern' way of seeing questions of the use of language in the text of Scripture.

The renewed study of the Greek text of the New Testament and the Septuagint followed a different path.[33] In the fifteenth century Lorenzo Valla made a critical comparison between the Vulgate and the Greek New Testament (of which he completed a first version in 1442). Valla set about his task by comparing manuscripts, at least four Latin and four Greek, though in discussing one passage he mentions five. He did not aspire to create a complete new text in either language, nor does he seem to have been willing to be

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[27] S. L. Greenslade, 'The Faculty of Theology', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol.III: *The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 295–334, at pp. 313–14.

[28] Jennifer Loach, 'Reformation Controversies', in ibid., pp. 363–96 at p. 365.

[29] G. L. Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).

[30] D. Patterson, 'Hebrew Studies', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol.V: *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 535–50 at p.538.

[31] P. J. Marshall, 'Oriental Studies', in ibid., pp. 551–63 at p. 552.

[32] Michael Hunter, *Robert Boyle, 1627–1691, Scrupulosity and Science* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 53–5.

[33] See Chapter 2 in this volume.

so bold with the Bible as he was prepared to be with the classics, proposing conjectural emendations. This *Collatio* was subsequently discussed and edited by Erasmus (1505). Many of his own notes are grammatical, bearing on differences between the norms of Latin and Greek. Some touch on refinements of the choices a translator has to make. On Matthew 24, for example, he remarks, 'I would have translated it…', explaining his reasons as a grammarian.[34] He shows an awareness, too, of the way words in one language rarely translate exactly into their counterpart words in another, discussing the interchangeability of *ekstasis* and *excedere* (sive enim mente excedimus) in 2 Corinthians 5:13.[35] Erasmus accompanied his new Greek New Testament with a fresh Latin translation and annotations. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples published another new Latin translation of the Pauline Epistles (1512), some brief commentaries on the Gospels (1522) and on the Catholic Epistles (1527) from the Greek, and also a French translation of the New Testament (1523).[36]

The work of the fifteenth century, then, had made it impossible for scholars who had dipped into the texts in their original languages to look on the Vulgate as authoritative in quite the same way. But as these scholars got to work on the task of rediscovering a text which would be more authoritative because it was 'original', they found that it was not going to be easy. Elio Antonio de Nebrija wrote that in the case of the New Testament the Greek should be used in determining which of variant Latin readings was correct. In the case of the Old Testament the Hebrew should be regarded as the source of both the Greek and the Latin versions.[37] Jerome had long ago suggested that under certain conditions Latin manuscripts would be better than Greek and Greek better than Hebrew when it came to restoring the text: *Et emendatiora sunt exemplaria Latina quam Graeca, Graeca quam Hebraea. Verum haec contra invidos*.[38] The situation had deteriorated since his day, and it is not at all certain that the cry *ad fontes!* was not leading sixteenth-century scholars back to less

[34] Desiderius Erasmus, *In Novum Testamentum annotationes*, 4th edn. (Basel: Froben, 1527), p.58.
[35] Ibid., p.256.
[36] See Chapter 12 in this volume.
[37] See Elio Antonio de Nebrija, 'Apologia', in *Aelii Antonij Nebrissensis … Apologia earum rerum quae illi obijciuntur; eiusdem Antonij Nebriss. In quinquaginta sacrae scripturae locos non vulgariter enarratos, tertia quinquagena; eiusdem Antonij De digitorum computatione* (Granada: Sancho de Nebrija, 1535), fol. iiiiʳ, quoting Augustine. For the publishing history of Nebrija's highly controversial *Apologia* see Felipe González Vega, '*Ex grammatico rhetor*: The Biblical Adventures and Rhetorical Maturity of Antonio de Nebrija between the *Apologia* and the *Tertia Quinquagena*', in Barry Taylor and Alejandro Coroleu (eds.), *Humanism and Christian Letters in Early Modern Iberia (1480–1630)* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 9–36 at p. 13 n. 8.
[38] *MPL*, vol. xxviii, col. 152.

authoritative Greek versions, which were all the Byzantine manuscripts then available to them.

The Latin remained hard to budge as the language in which all scholars felt most comfortable and which remained appropriate for liturgical use. In the face of embarrassing lists of errors now discovered in the Vulgate, the Roman Catholic Church maintained that it was inconceivable that the Holy Spirit could have allowed this version to be used so trustfully for so long if it was not fundamentally reliable. Trent defended the Vulgate 'which, by the lengthened use of so many ages, has been approved of in the Church'. It 'should be kept as the authentic text in public readings, debates, sermons and explanations'.[39]

It seemed to some that one of the most promising ways forward in settling the question which was the authoritative text was to print parallel texts in several languages, so as to provide Greek and Hebrew for comparison in the same convenient volume. The Complutensian Polyglot edition of the New Testament, begun in 1502, was completed in 1514, but not licensed for distribution until 1520, by which time Erasmus's Greek New Testament of 1516 had already been available for some time. By the seventeenth century the array of ancient languages considered requisite for the study of the Bible included a still wider range. Biblical languages were now taken to include Chaldaic, Syriac and Arabic. In England, Brian Walton (1600–61) acquired a knowledge of the ancient biblical languages, and hit on the idea of producing a polyglot Bible, to add to those produced not only at Alcalá, but also in Antwerp and Paris between 1500 and 1650, a version which could claim to be both more up to date in its scholarship and less expensive, so that it might be more widely available.[40] Archbishop James Ussher gave his support, and it proved possible to bring in many distinguished scholars at Oxford and Cambridge. The work was printed between 1653 and 1657 in six volumes.[41] The English polyglot Bible received hostile reviews from both 'sides'. It was put on the Roman *Index librorum prohibitorum* at Rome. It was attacked by the Oxford scholar John Owen in *Of the Divine Original of Scripture* and other writings published in 1659.[42] Walton answered him at once with *The Considerator Considered* (1659). Despite the critics, the polyglot projects threw even more wide open the question which text of the Bible was 'authoritative', which actual words could

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[39] Tanner, *Decrees*, vol. II, p. 664. For editions of the Latin Bible see Chapter 8 in this volume.
[40] See Chapter 6 in this volume for more details on the polyglot Bibles.
[41] Gerard Reedy, *The Bible and Reason: Anglicans and Scripture in Late Seventeenth Century England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), p. 5.
[42] *The Works of John Owen*, ed. W.H. Goold, 24 vols. (London: Johnstone & Hunter, 1850–5), vol. XVI, p.347.

be relied on. The early printed Bible continued to appear in two styles into the seventeenth century. The first contained the Vulgate surrounded by the *Glossa ordinaria* and Nicholas of Lyra with other later standard 'authoritative' commentaries. The second contained the text in the original languages, with perhaps a new Latin version.[43]

## The authority of human authors

The next question on which there was revolutionary thinking concerned the authoritativeness of the contribution of human authors in writing down, transmitting and discussing the Bible. The era was past when it was natural to provide reassurance on this point by depicting the beak of the dove that represented the Holy Spirit murmuring in the ear of the evangelist in question, in an illumination at the head of each Gospel. Yet the Word of God needed human minds and hands and pen and ink as intermediaries before it could be read in its present form. Was its authoritativeness diminished in any way by the human capacity for making mistakes? How far had the humans who wrote or spoke at God's dictation (such as the prophets) influenced the choice of words, even the sentiments, and where did authority lie in the resulting co-authored version?

The Middle Ages had had its own debate on the human authors of Scripture, including such matters as the reliance to be placed on the utterances of prophets on days when God was not moving their tongues; and the difficulty of knowing which is the literal sense when it seems to have been the intention of the author to tell a story or use an image and the 'figurative' sense becomes the 'literal' sense.[44]

The sixteenth-century debates in which 'Scripture alone' was pitched against 'Bible and Church' tended to place less emphasis on these old debates, because the Protestants wanted the Bible to be thought of as a single rock of uniform divine authoritativeness. The question revived in the seventeenth century, and grew more subtle. Exactly how did God control the human authors of his Scriptures? Daniel Whitby distinguished between prophets,

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[43] See for instance: *Biblia latina cum Glossa ordinaria: Facsimile reprint of the Editio Princeps (Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81)*, intro. Karlfried Froehlich and Margaret T. Gibson, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992); *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa ordinaria*, 7 vols. (Venice: apud Magnam Societatem, 1603); also the facsimile edition of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, *Biblia políglota complutense*, 6 vols. (Valencia: España Fundación Bíblica Española, 1987).

[44] G. R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

who experienced 'an immediate Suggestion and Representation in their Fancy and Imaginations of the things which they delivered as from the Mouth, and in the Name, of God', and the Holy Writers who were inspired by the Holy Spirit in such a way as to leave them 'to the use of their own Words, and to the exercise of their Reasons'.[45]

There was a growing 'literary' sensitivity to the fact that the Bible is a collection of writings in different genres. As Robert Boyle explains in his *Style of the Scriptures*, published in 1661,[46] 'We must not look upon the Bible as an Oration of God to men or as a Body of Lawes, like our English Statute-Book, wherein it is the Legislator that all the way speaks to the people.' There are many 'composures' where the Holy Spirit 'both excited and assisted/ them in penning the Scripture' yet many others are 'introduced speaking' besides the 'Author [God] and the Pen-men', such as soldiers, shepherds and women 'from whom witty or eloquent things are not (especially when they speak *extempore*) to be expected' so Scripture should not be blamed for a want of eloquence on their account.[47] The manifest imperfections of the text, in point of style and content and inconsistency, also had to be explained afresh in terms which would be meaningful to early modern readers. That the style of Scripture was, for the most part *sermo humilis*, the crudest and plainest of the three styles taught in classical rhetoric, had been something of a commonplace since Augustine wrote his *De doctrina Christiana*.[48] A similar kind of criticism began to be heard again in the seventeenth century, though Augustine's book seems not to have been much read. The new criticism came from stylistic purists with a modern education, who respected classical models. According to Boyle, many complain 'that the reading of the Bible untaught them the purity of the Roman Language, and corrupted their Ciceronian style'.[49] Robert Boyle's starting-point is the recognition that 'diverse witty men who freely acknowledge the Authority of the Scripture take exceptions at its Style'.[50]

> Some of them are pleased to say that Book is too obscure, others, that 'tis immethodical, others, that it is contradictory to it self, others, that the neighbouring parts of it are incoherent, others, that 'tis unadorned, others, that it

[45] Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary*, vol.11, pp. i–xv.
[46] Boyle, *Works*, vol. 11, pp. 381–488.
[47] Ibid., p. 399.
[48] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana; De vera religione*, ed. Klaus-D Daur and Josef Martin, Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962) and *Augustine De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
[49] Boyle, *Works*, vol. 11, p. 447.
[50] Ibid., p. 393.

is flat and unaffecting, others, that it abounds with things that are either trivial or impertinent, and also with useless Repetitions.[51]

The defence mounted in the seventeenth century is much the same as that of the patristic and medieval periods. It is right, and a benevolent dispensation of God, that readers should have to make an effort to understand the obscurer passages. The scientist-philosopher Robert Boyle again observed, 'The Omniscient Author of the Scripture foreseeing' that many members of the church would be illiterate ensured that the Bible would be 'written in such a plain and familiar way as may befit such Readers'.[52] The Calvinistically inclined puritan Richard Baxter wrote:

> If we could only prove that the holy Ghost was given to the Penmen of holy Scripture, as an infallible guide to them in the matter, and not to enable them to any excellency above others in the method and words, but therein to leave them to their natural and acquired abilities this would be no diminution of the credit of their testimony, or of the Christian Faith.[53]

Baxter notes the difference between God's close control in the actual composition and the comparative insecurity of the process of transmission, when he comments that 'though the Apostles were directed by the Holy Ghost in speaking and writing the Doctrine of Christ, so that we know they performed their part without errors, yet the delivering down of this speech and writings to us, is a humane work, to be performed by the Assistance of ordinary providence'.[54]

The identity of the authors of particular books was also being re-examined in this renewed interest in the role of human authorship. Baruch de Spinoza (1632–77) explored in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, written in Latin, whether the first twelve books of the Old Testament were all written by the same 'historian' and who he was. Everyone agreed that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. But it was pointed out that the death of Moses is recorded and the history was protracted beyond the lifetime of Moses. It was also possible to show, with close reference to the text, that the book of Joshua was not written by Joshua. Spinoza 'easily' draws the inference (*facile colligemus*) that all these early books were written by a single author, whom he identified as Ezra.[55]

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[51]  Ibid., p. 394.
[52]  Ibid., pp. 401–2.
[53]  Richard Baxter, *The arrogancy of reason against divine revelations* (London: Printed by T.N. for Tho. Underhil, 1655), p. 58.
[54]  Ibid., p.53.
[55]  Benedictus de Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicæ pace posse concedi . . .* (Hamburgi [Hamburg]: apud Henricum Künrath (*sic*), 1670), chapter VIII at pp. 103–14,

## The authoritativeness of the apparatus of study

The boundary between Scripture and not-Scripture, divine authorship and human authorship, became blurred over the centuries by a growing literature of dissemination and analysis – translation into new languages, paraphrase and commentary, and the making of corrections. This last became necessary because scribes sometimes introduced mistakes, resulting in errors of transmission. God did not apparently guard against the diminution of the authority of his Word by preventing such errors creeping in. The revisions and change of style of visual presentation of the earlier medieval centuries had introduced a good many variants into the Vulgate text. The 'clean-up' and standardisation of the text achieved in thirteenth-century Paris did a good deal to re-establish an authoritative version.[56]

These questions of maintaining the reliability of the text by ensuring that mistakes of transcription do not contaminate it began, like so much else, to look broader and more nuanced in the early modern period. Lorenzo Valla (*c*.1406–57) pointed out that there was a great deal of variation in the copies of the New Testament he had seen. It was a thousand years since Jerome's day and it was scarcely surprising if the stream that flowed from his fountain had become muddy.[57] The Lutheran Martin Chemnitz (1522–86) reflected on the way in which mistakes get into the text, in his *Examination* of the Council of Trent (*Examen Concilii Tridentini* (1565–73)).[58] He discusses the fourth session of the Council of Trent and what it had to say about Scripture. The devil has been cunning over the centuries in adulterating the purity of the Word of God. God himself, on the other hand, has been careful to restore that purity, for he knows well how easily oral traditions become distorted. For that reason, he made provision for a special period of revelation in which an utterly trustworthy written text was created, and from that time onwards oral tradition takes second place and must be checked against this authoritative version. It is no longer appropriate to seek new and special revelations every time a

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and see pp. 112–13 for the identification of the compiler as Ezra. See Chapter 29 in this volume.

[56] Laura Light, 'Versions et révisions du texte biblique', in P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 55–93. See also Frans van Liere, 'The Bible in Latin, *c.* 900 to the Council of Trent, 1546', in *NCBH* 2, pp. 93–109.

[57] See Valla's prefaces, as ed. in Lorenzo Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, ed. Alessandro Perosa (Florence: Sansoni, 1970), pp.3–10; passages cited on pp. 6, 9.

[58] Chemnitz was influential in consolidating the ideas of the Lutheran community into a system. See E.F. Klug, *From Luther to Chemnitz on Scripture and the Word* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), pp. 115–248.

point becomes the subject of dispute.[59] 'I can by no means grant any slips of Memory in the Compilers of these Sacred Books of the New Testament,' says Daniel Whitby.[60] But the transmitters are another matter. With reluctance, and with all due care in ascertaining that this is really the case, it may have to be admitted that they may, occasionally, have made mistakes. Richard Hurd wrote to Cox Macro (1683–1767) in March 1744, 'You are certainly right in rejecting all corrections of the Sacred Text, without either a very great Necessity or some good Warrant from MSS or old Copyes.'[61]

The Protestant instinct was to treat the Scriptures as 'given'. It was as hard for Protestants to admit that God could have allowed errors and imperfections to appear there, as for the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Trent to accept the implications of the mistakes that had been found to litter the Vulgate. But there were undeniably awkward questions. In the sixteenth century Elijah Levita, a Jewish scholar, had asserted that the points and accents in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament were not 'original'. This controversy was revived in 1624 with the publication of a work in support of Levita by a Calvinist scholar, Louis Cappel. Cappel did not stop there. By the middle of the century he was raising questions about the respective authority of the Hebrew (which he regarded as inferior) and Septuagint versions of the Old Testament, and being confrontational on the subject of variant readings.[62] This was, in its way, independent scholarship, which did not allow itself to be impeded by the author's personal confessional position. So successful was Cappel in this respect that the Roman Catholic authorities became eager to publish the work of this Calvinist. Other critics piled in behind. Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) includes an assault on the belief that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch.[63]

## Paraphrase

If it cannot be certain that the text of the Bible is exactly the length it should be, there is room for the question whether a paraphrase, and expansion or an abbreviation, may not be as much authoritative Scripture as the original

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[59] Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent*, vol. 1, pp. 48ff.

[60] Whitby, *A paraphrase and commentary*, vol. 11, pp. i–xv.

[61] Sarah Brewer (ed.), *The Early Letters of Bishop Richard Hurd (1739–62)*, Church of England Record Society 3 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), p. 132.

[62] R. A. Muller, 'The Debate over the Vowel Points and the Crisis in Orthodox Hermeneutics', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10 (1980), 53–72. See further discussion of Cappel in Chapters 1, 4 and 6 in this volume.

[63] For more on this aspect of Hobbes see Chapter 28 in this volume.

text. The Gospel 'harmony' (*diatessaron*) was an exegetical exercise which was attempted at intervals over the centuries in an effort to reconcile the apparently discordant accounts in the four Gospels; Augustine and Calvin alike thought this a useful exercise. A mid-fourteenth-century set of Gospel narratives translated from Anglo-Norman prose into English survives in a mixed genre which seems to conflate the genre of the Gospel 'harmony' with elements from Bonaventure's 'Meditations on the Passion of Christ' (*Meditationes passionis Christi*).[64] Was this to be regarded as 'the Bible'? Did its author expect it to be read on that understanding? Other medieval examples survive of experimental adaptations of Scripture, expanding or contracting it with more or less freedom, often for popular consumption. These are in essence paraphrases and they presume, even if tacitly, that it is legitimate to modify Scripture in this way. Erasmus proposes a rationale for this kind of thing. 'The straunge maner of phrase and often tymes the troublous spekynge of dyvers croked figures and tropes be of so great diffyculte that often tymes we our selfe also muste labour right sore before we can perceive them.' He proposes that some educated men extract the essentials and put them into a form plain enough for general comprehension.[65]

Erasmus's own attempts at paraphrase began with the Pauline Epistles, which he published serially, in Louvain in 1517 (Romans), in 1519 (Corinthians and Galatians), then the remainder after he moved to Basel in 1521.[66] He then began work on paraphrases of the Gospels and Acts, which appeared between 1522 and 1524. The *Paraphrases* sold well and were widely appreciated. The young English king Edward VI, no doubt prompted by Thomas Cranmer or another of those who were steering his religious education, included an instruction in his Injunctions of 1547 that copies should be placed in all parish churches in a position where those who wished to read them could easily do so. An English translation was speedily prepared, organised by Nicholas Udall.

One of the rationales for the assertion that the input of the church was essential to the authoritativeness of Scripture was the suggestion that the Bible was a mere summary or digest of Jesus' complete teaching. This was particularly topical in the sixteenth century *sola scriptura* debates. In the dispute between Richard Crick and a visiting 'Papist' held at Dedham in the 1570s, Crick asserted that 'there were excellent and famous things done by Christ and given out in doctrine by him and yet he saw not good to burden the

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[64] Magdalene College, Cambridge, MS Pepys 2498. See Ralph Hanna, *London Literature, 1300–1380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 155.

[65] Erasmus, Prefatory Letter, *Enchiridion*, in *CWE*, vol. LXVI, p. 11.

[66] Erasmus, *Paraphrases*, ed. Robert D. Sider, in *CWE*, vol. XLIII.

Church with them, and therefore your Church doth ill to burden the Church of God with less famous things'.[67] Edward Stillingfleet responds to Simon and Spinoza, in a previously unedited fragment, 'The Question is not, whether the Books of Moses were written by himself or by others according to his Appointment or Direction. It is not, whether the Writings of Moses were preserved free from all literal mistakes'... the question is whether Moses is complete or abridged, 'for then the Certainty of our faith doth not depend on the Authority of Moses or the Prophets, but on the Credibility of those Persons, who have taken upon them to give out these Abridgements instead of their original writings.'[68]

Richard Baxter too wrote biblical paraphrases. James Ussher published his *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (1650–4). These seem to have been used by his close friend Henry Hammond in the preparation of his *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the new Testament, briefly explaining all the difficult places thereof* (1653).[69] Hammond himself compared manuscripts of the New Testament, a relatively novel proceeding for English scholarship, seeking to illuminate difficult passages by his method. He then began work on the Old Testament. It can be difficult to assign a genre to some experiments in this area. During the Interregnum in England John Dale of Magdalen College, Oxford published (1652) what looks more like a summary, *The Analysis of all the Epistles of the New Testament Wherein the chief things of every particular Chapter are reduced to heads, for helpe of the Memory; and many hard places explained, for the helpe of the Understanding*. In 1659 Sir Norton Knatchbull published his *Animadversiones in Libros Novi Testamenti*.[70]

John Locke's last endeavour at the end of his life was to create a set of *Paraphrases and Notes on the Epistles of St Paul*. His plan was to publish the series in instalments, at three-monthly intervals. Galatians had got as far as its proof stage in the late summer of 1704, but none of the parts appeared before his death, though several (Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans and Ephesians) were sufficiently far advanced to be published by his executors between 1705 and 1707. Such exercises could prompt challenge and give rise to commentary in their own right. A controversial piece entitled *Some passages in Dr Whitby's Paraphrase and Annotations upon the New Testament* quoted extracts from

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[67] Patrick Collinson, John Craig and Brett Usher (eds.), *Conferences and Combination Lectures in the Elizabethan Church: Dedham and Bury St Edmunds, 1582–90*, Church of England Record Society 10 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 100.
[68] Reedy, *The Bible and Reason*, pp. 146–7.
[69] See discussion in Chapter 13 in this volume.
[70] John W. Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), p. 98.

Whitby's paraphrases, and on the opposite page set out arguments against the positions taken in those extracts.[71]

Cox Macro had suggested that Hurd should make a paraphrase of Job. Hurd protests in reply in a letter of March 1744 that he is 'wholly ignorant of the language in which they are wrote'.[72] Richard Hurd had been shown some of Macro's writings, including 'a Paraphrase of his upon the Revelations, connected all along with, and explan'd from, History'.[73] Macro's Paraphrases on the Epistles also greatly impressed Hurd. He wrote to him in February 1744, 'You must not wonder if I too am turn'd [an] Interpreter, and, with the rashness of a young Adventurer, have been a little out of my depth.'[74]

Charles Marie de Veil, again in *A letter to the honourable Robert Boyle to prove that the Scripture alone is the Rule of Faith etc.*, addresses the question whether 'the Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation'. He says that Simon has three proofs to offer. The first is that there have been 'great changes in the original text of Scripture'.[75] He argues from patristic citations that from the beginning orthodox apologists have referred to the Bible for their proofs. 'All that is not formally read in Scripture or is not drawn from thence by an evident Conclusion, is subject to errour, and by consequence cannot be the rule of our belief.'[76] He too mentions the abridgement theory. He says that Simon argues that 'there has been in all times in the Churches an abridgement of Religion independently of Scripture'.[77] The Apostles' Creed would be an example, though Veil says this is not independent of Scripture.[78]

## Commentaries

That takes us to the question of the authority of human authors who contributed to its 'presentation' to the faithful by expounding it in commentaries. Rabbinical exegesis had achieved something of a settled state as early as the period between the second and sixth centuries,[79] but Christian exegesis of the Old as well as the New Testament was to take much longer to arrive at agreed

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[71] *Some passages in Dr Whitby's Paraphrase and Annotations upon the New Testament, Contrary to Scripture and the Receiv'd doctrine of the Church of England* (London: John Nutt, 1706).

[72] Brewer (ed.), *Early Letters*, p. 132.

[73] Ibid., pp. 70–1.

[74] Ibid., p. 130.

[75] De Veil, *A letter to the honourable Robert Boyle*, p. 3.

[76] Ibid., p. 9.

[77] Ibid., p. 12.

[78] Ibid., p. 13.

[79] Riché and Lobrichon (eds.), *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, pp. 233 ff.

positions. The exegetical sermons of the bishops of the early church might urge a moral upon the congregation; but by the medieval period scholars lecturing on the biblical text saw it more as a *sic et non* exercise, listing opposite opinions alongside the text phrase by phrase and point by point.

What constituted 'authoritative' exegesis or commentary if, as was generally accepted, God had imposed an end-point, a terminus upon the special period when he was willing to dictate to human authors? What could claim authority after the apostolic period, if even the most elevated of Christian authorities was merely human and could in no circumstances equal or outrank the Scriptures in authority? For Protestants this was on the face of it an easy question to answer. Scripture consisted of the canonical books, without the Apocrypha, and there the matter ended. Nothing else could have a comparable authority. The Roman Catholic Church thought the explanatory work of approved commentators had an authority complementary and even equal to that of the Scripture itself. The Council of Trent, Session 4 (April 1546) took it to be the church's function to pass judgement on the meaning of Scripture. No exegesis that ran 'in opposition to that which has been and is held by holy mother Church ... or ... contrary to the unanimous consent of the fathers' was acceptable. There must be no private enterprise here.[80]

The Protestants did not dispense with the Fathers as authoritative corroborative evidence. It was just a question of understanding correctly the nature of the authority that evidence possessed. The sixteenth century saw the Fathers as a special category of human authors, and it is perhaps only about this time that the notion of a 'Father' fully took shape. This was as true in the Protestant as in the 'Catholic' camp. The reformers' disapproval of the theologians of the medieval centuries was not matched by an equal disapproval of the Fathers. Luther, arguing against his regular antagonist Johannes Eck in July 1519, objects, not that early Christian authors cannot be relied on, but that Eck is relying on them in the wrong way. Eck 'says that he retained the divine Law, because he followed the opinions of the Fathers regarding Matthew 16, "Thou art Peter"'. Luther has looked up what Ambrose and Augustine said and has found that neither is consistent on this point.[81] Eck argues against Luther in response.

> I said earlier that Peter was by divine Law the prince of the apostles according to Matthew 16, and cited Jerome, Bernard, Leo and Cyprian, concerning

[80] Tanner, *Decrees*, vol. II, pp. 663–4.
[81] *Disputatio I, Eccii et M. Lutheri Lipsiae habita*, 1519, in *WA*, vol. II, p. 282, as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 70.

whom he did not respond. None the less, he himself writes in his booklet that St Cyprian was of the opinion that the Church was founded upon the rock; he dared to add that St Cyprian was here in error.[82]

In fact, Luther frequently relies upon patristic authority on subjects connected with the study of the Bible. 'St Augustine observed earlier as a special rule: I have learned to honour thus only those books which are called canonical; the others, however great their doctrine and piety, I read considering them to be true…only when they can persuade me by means of canonical writings or probable opinion.'[83]

There was, however, a general sense, which can be found in Catholic as well as Protestant apologists, that the authoritativeness of commentary progressively tailed off as writings became more recent. Eck against Luther accuses, 'the reverend Father…mixes the holy Greeks with the schismatics and heretics, in order to protect the faithlessness of the latter with the pretence of the holiness of the former, enfolding 1,400 years'.[84] In fact, some reformers were instrumental in building a new enthusiasm for the Fathers. Zwingli, according to Bullinger, industriously read the old teachers and other books, especially commentaries on the Bible. 'When I visited him in 1534 I saw him with a large book, in which he had industriously recorded the opinions and thoughts of the Fathers, all properly arranged. He studied Greek, read Aristotle, Plato, Thucydides and especially Homer. Latin authors he read not less: Horace, Sallust, and Seneca.'[85] In some Protestant quarters there was a positive enthusiasm for the Greek Fathers, who had a certain novelty, since much of their work had only recently come into general use in the West.

'Official' interpreters licensed by the church are, however, quite another matter to Protestant eyes. 'All the dry glossaries, concordances, discordances and the like, which have been manufactured without number, are only hindrances for the spirit,' complained Melanchthon.[86] The Anabaptist Thomas Müntzer portrayed the scholars of an earlier age as thieves, 'stealing' words from the Bible as Jeremiah describes (Jeremiah 23[:16–21]), in a way that

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[82] *Disputatio I, Eccii et M. Lutheri Lipsiae habita*, 1519, in *WA*, vol. II, pp. 279ff., as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 71.

[83] *Disputatio I, Eccii et M. Lutheri Lipsiae habita*, 1519, in *WA*, vol. II, pp. 279ff., as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 67.

[84] *Disputatio I, Eccii et M. Lutheri Lipsiae habita*, 1519, in *WA*, vol. II, pp. 279ff., as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 69.

[85] Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, vol I, p. 30, as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 120.

[86] Melanchthon, *De corrigendis adulescentiae studiis*, *CR*, vol. XI, pp. 15ff., as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 60.

resembles taking the bread from one's neighbour's mouth. After the death of the first generation of followers of the apostles, he argued, the pure and virgin church became a harlot. 'Scholars always want to "sit on top" and they have led her and the Scriptures into prostitution. Now is the time to change all that. God's chosen will learn to prophesy faithfully and the truth will appear.'[87] (Reformers who said this kind of thing were sometimes asked why God should have allowed this to happen. Müntzer has his answer ready. God wanted the wrong-headedness of human beings to become so obvious that no one could deny it.)

The Protestants who argued thus were impugning a long and well-established tradition, and an immense apparatus of scholarship. From the twelfth century there had been a *Glossa ordinaria*, a standard gloss and commentary, compiled from the opinions of respected authorities; this had been added to in the thirteenth century by Hugh of St Cher[88] and by Nicholas of Lyra (*c.*1270–1349),[89] and the resulting multiple concentric rectangles of approved commentary appeared in manuscripts surrounding a modest square of biblical text. The visual impact of the mass of commentary alone lent it a settled and 'approved' air. It would not have been easy for anyone simply to set this aside, come freshly to the Latin text and try to read it without all this assistance. The abandonment of the results of so many centuries of scholarly endeavour is of huge significance. John Colet gave experimental lectures on Paul's Epistles between 1497 and 1504, but the system of instruction then seems to have reverted to the old medieval style of formal *lectio* with extracts from the comments of the Fathers. But meanwhile Luther's commentaries on a number of biblical books, and those of Melanchthon and Oecolampadius, were on sale in Oxford bookshops.

The boldness of modern critics who thought for themselves was held by some in the seventeenth century to have gone too far, when they 'impiously presume to quarrel as well with [God's] Revelations as his providence, and expresse no more reverence to what he hath dictate than to what he doth'. Robert Boyle lists the complaints which are 'by Atheists and Antiscripturists alleged to overthrow the Truth and Authority of the Scripture', its obscurity, lack of method, contradictoriness, incoherence, lack of adornment, flatness,

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[87] Otto H. Brandt, *Thomas Münzer, sein leben und seine schriften* (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1933), pp. 59–62.

[88] On Hugh see J.-P. Torrell, *Théorie de la prophétie et philosophie de la connaissance aux environs de 1230: la contribution d'Hugues de Saint-Cher (Ms. Douai 434, Question 481)*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense40 (Leuven, 1977).

[89] P. D. W. Krey and Lesley Smith (eds.), *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

triviality and impertinence, and its repetitiousness.[90] Boyle asserts that 'there may be drawn from diverse things in the Scripture itself (without excluding the style) considerable Arguments of it's having been written or approved by men peculiarly assisted by the Spirit of God'.[91] In his view, the Bible is 'avowedly the best Expositor of it self' so you need to know your cross-references.[92] The bulk of commentary material was, however, derived from sources other than the Bible itself. It was all very much alive. Boyle suggested in letters to John Mallet that the Bible is being 'more illustrated' in the last ten years 'then it was formerly in as many ages'.[93]

## Translations

What of the authoritativeness of translations? Latin had once been the vernacular, and Jerome's intention in making his Vulgate translation was to ensure that a reliable text was available to the common reader. It was the vernacular translation of its day. But in the West, by the period we are concerned with, Latin had long become the learned language, the clerical language. The first stirrings of serious questioning about that are to be seen in the later Middle Ages. About 1401 in Oxford, Richard Ullerston was not the only one to ask what is the difference between Jerome's rendering of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and translation from Latin into 'other, inferior, languages'. He says that this has become quite a burning question in the university and is being discussed in lectures.[94] With the rise of an articulate bourgeoisie and the gradual emergence of the European vernaculars as languages capable of sophistication of expression, there was growing pressure for vernacular versions of the Bible. Chaucer chose to write *The Canterbury Tales* in English at about the time when English was taking over from Norman French as the language of government. A raft of 'popular' preachers of greater or lesser theological 'respectability' appeared, preaching sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, sometimes in a macaronic mixture of the two. In this changing

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[90] Boyle, *Works*, vol. 11, p. 394.
[91] Ibid., pp. 401–3.
[92] Ibid., p. 410.
[93] Hunter, *Robert Boyle*, pp. 53–5.
[94] Ullerston's tract is in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 4133, and summarised in Anne Hudson, 'The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401', in *Lollards and their Books* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), pp. 67–84 at pp. 71–4. Kantik Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 45 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 101 gives this passage.

world, the Wyclif Bible came into existence, and with it emerged house groups which met for private Bible study.[95]

All this sat uncomfortably with the drive of the later fifteenth century and after, to return to the *fontes*. The Vulgate was caught in the middle, between the need for a Bible that ordinary people could read for themselves, but which would, if it was to serve that purpose, have to move still further from the indisputable authoritative 'original' in the Greek and Hebrew, and the scholarly desire to establish that surely most authoritative text of all, the one the human authors of Scripture first wrote down.

One argument was that the world had changed, and with it the need for an authoritative version of Scripture for present times. The Wyclif Bible[96] begins with a prologue listing the books that have been translated (the canon) and discussing the theories of interpretation since Augustine. The literal sense is presented as the 'foundement' (chapter XIV, p.53). Some ask why the Bible is now being translated into English since this was not done by the great doctors of the church. But they were not English and they did not know any Englishmen, though they did not rest until they had the Bible in their own mother tongue (chapter XV, p.59). The progress of English vernacular translation is matched by more or less parallel stories elsewhere, particularly in what was to become Protestant Europe.

By the sixteenth century concern had partly shifted to the difficulty of ensuring faithfulness to the text in the original languages when a vernacular rendering was made. Tyndale says of his Preface to the New Testament (1526),[97] 'I have looked over [it] again...with all diligence, and compared it unto the Greek, and have weeded out of it many faults...If ought seem changed, or not altogether agreeing with the Greek, let the finder of the fault consider the Hebrew phrase or manner of speech left in the Greek words.' He was distressed to learn that George Joye was similarly engaged in making corrections, though he says that he restrained himself from entering into a dispute with him as to which should do it or whether they might not collaborate until someone brought him a copy of Joye's work 'and showed me so many places, in such wise altered that I was astonied and wondered not a little what fury had driven him to make such a change, and call it a diligent correction ... if

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[95] On these house groups see Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 228–77.

[96] J. Forshall and F. Madden (eds.), *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments: with the apocryphal books, in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1850).

[97] As edited in Gerald Bray (ed.), *Documents of the English Reformation* (Minneapolis and Cambridge: Fortress Press / J. Clark, 1994), p. 18.

that change … be a diligent correction, then must my translation be faulty in those places, and St. Jerome's'.[98] Miles Coverdale (1487/8–1569) prepared his English translation on the Continent in 1535, using the Vulgate, Luther's version and portions of Tyndale's version. A revision of the New Testament appeared in 1538 relying more closely on the Vulgate, and in collaboration with Grafton he published the Great Bible in 1539. The King James Version of the Bible in English was prepared between 1604 and 1611, and the project drew in almost all the theologians of Oxford and Cambridge. Committees were formed to which individual books were allocated. There was an overarching revision committee, led by Andrew Downes of Cambridge.[99] The creation of the King James Version brought to an end for practical purposes this evolution of an English version, but it did not in itself explain what made this translation and not another the 'authoritative' one, except the formal approval of the king.[100]

Which is the authoritative text of Scripture? Is it only the Greek and Hebrew original versions? Are approved translations such as the Latin Vulgate or the King James Version included? Jerome was himself sure he was not inspired in that way when he made his Latin version. Thomas More was suspicious of translation because it could so easily result in the choice of the wrong word. It became apparent that there were many considerations to take into account. At Matthew 1:19 the Vulgate reads: 'Joseph autem, vir eius, cum esset iustus, et nollet eam traducere, voluit occulte dimittere eam.' What exactly does this mean? That Joseph did not wish to take Mary as his wife? That Joseph did not wish to embarrass Mary publicly? (*paradeigimatisai*). Upon the answer, said the sixteenth century, depends the way the translator is to render the passage.[101] Boyle adds the thought that translation may render the text less elegant than it is in the original and the point that 'not appearing Eloquent to European judges' is not the only consideration, for 'the Eastern Eloquence differs widely from the Western'.[102] It is against this background that seventeenth-century concerns must be set. One must not rate a Hebrew text by a translation that 'misseth the Propriety both of the Hebrew Speech and of the Latin'.[103]

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[98] Ibid., p. 28.
[99] Victor Morgan and Christopher Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 442–3.
[100] See Chapter 13 in this volume.
[101] Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 83–9.
[102] Boyle, *Works*, vol. II, p. 448.
[103] Ibid., p. 449.

## Private and lay reading of the Scriptures

Yet, once vernacular translations were so commonplace in the Protestant world as to have become the main route by which most people knew the text, it became as easy to lose sight of the fact that the reader had before him a mere translation as it had once been to forget that God had not originally dictated the Bible in the Latin of Jerome's Vulgate. As Isaac Watts pointed out, it was also only too easy for the ordinary reader to regard as Scripture items conventionally printed and bound with the Bible. 'It is for the same reason that the bulk of the common people are so superstitiously fond of the Psalms translated by Hopkins and Sternhold, and think them sacred and divine, because they have been now for more than a hundred years bound up in the same covers with our Bibles.'[104] 'Cavillers' tend to judge of the Bible 'by the Translations wherein alone they read it'. 'Now scarce any but a Linguist will imagine how much a Book may lose of its elegancy by being read in another tongue than that it was written in, especially if the Languages from which and into which the Version is made be so very differing as are those of the Eastern and these Western parts of the world.' He points out that very reverence for the text has encouraged a scrupulous word-for-word translation 'that for fear of not keeping close enough to the sense, they usually care not how much they lost of the Eloquence of the passages they translate'. Instead of translating into phrases they keep to words. In ordinary translating 'the Interpreters are wont to take the liberty to recede from the Author's words, and also substitute other Phrases instead of his, that they may express his meaning without injuring his Reputation'.[105]

Protestants providing vernacular versions did so in the expectation that they would have a readership far beyond the clergy. So important did they consider Scripture to salvation that they contended that the Holy Spirit could be relied upon to guide the amateur aright. They developed a theology of 'private' interpretation to meet the difficulty that vernacular translation and consequent popular reading and general discussion raised the question whether the Bible could be 'trusted' to steer its readers safely when they did not have sufficient education to apply the traditional scholarly apparatus of interpretation. Tyndale's preface to the revised edition of his New Testament (1534)[106]

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[104] Isaac Watts, *Logic; or, the right use of reason in the inquiry after truth with a variety of rules to guard against error, in the affairs of religion and human life, as well as in the sciences* (London: printed for John Cuthell, 1792 [1724]), pp. 175–6.
[105] Boyle, *Works*, vol. II, p. 395.
[106] *The Newe Testament dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Wyllyam Tindale, and fynesshed in the yere of our Lorde God A.M.D. & xxxiiij. in the moneth of Nouember*

acknowledges that Scripture can be hard to understand. 'I thought it my duty (most dear reader) to warn thee before, and to show thee the right way in, and to give thee the true key to open [the Scripture] withal, and to arm thee against false prophets and malicious hypocrites, whose perpetual study is to leaven the Scripture with glosses.' Later he added: 'If it were lawful...to every man to play boo peep with the translations that are before him, and to put out the words of the text at his pleasure, and to put in everywhere his meaning or what he thought the meaning were; that were the next way to stablish all heresies and to destroy the ground wherewith we should improve them.'[107] My clarification is your deceitful gloss. Tyndale explains in his *Preface to the Pentateuch* of 1530, 'I had perceived by experience how that it was impossible to establish the laypeople in any truth, except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order and meaning of the text.'[108] 'Vernacular' reading and 'private' reading are thus inseparable.

The Council of Trent not only resolved to keep to the Vulgate, in preference both to the return to the original languages and the making of an authoritative set of vernacular translations; it also sought to ban private or unauthorised interpretations. In Session 4 (April 1546) it agreed a decree on the 'use of the sacred books', saying that 'no one, relying on his personal judgment' shall dare to interpret Scripture for himself, 'twisting the sacred text to his individual meaning in opposition to that which has been and is held by holy mother Church'.[109] Accordingly, the Council censored the indiscriminate printing of copies of the Bible with commentaries, sometimes anonymous, and sometimes without the imprint of the publisher being identifiable, and the keeping of such books for sale in bookshops.[110]

Gilbert Burnet (1690–1726) disputed whether any institutional ecclesiastical structure could have the right to tell Christians what to do. The 'sole Priesthood and Mediatorship' of Christ was enough. Authority could not properly be vested in fallible men.[111] This provided him with a basis on which to

(Anwerp [*sic*]: Marten Emperowr, M.D.xxxiiij [1534]; STC (2nd edn.), 2826), sigs. * 1ᵛ–** 8ʳ, as edited in Bray (ed.), *Documents*, p. 19.

[107] Ibid., p. 29.
[108] Ibid., p. 33.
[109] Tanner, *Decrees*, vol. 11, p. 664.
[110] Ibid., pp. 664–5.
[111] Gilbert Burnet, *A full examination of several important points relating to church-authority, the Christian priesthood, etc. ... in answer to the notions and principles contained in Mr. Law's Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Bangor* (London: W. Wilkins for T. Childe, 1718), pp. 137, 293.

build up his arguments for private judgement. But even its strongest defenders could see the problems. Richard Baxter in his last work, *The Poor Husbandmans Advocate to Rich Racking Landlords*, includes a lament that the poor work such long hours that 'they cannot have time to read a chapter in the bible or to pray with their families' and 'cannot read, nor cannot have their children taught to reade. Such an education is as effectual as a Popish Canon, to keep the vulgar from reading the holy Scriptures. Alas what is a Bible to such any more than bare paper (unless they hear another read it?)'. Such people are easily stirred up to 'mischievous designs' and sedition. Illiteracy leads to public disorder.[112]

The arrival of the educated lay theologian alongside the cleric is one of the most important transformations of the early modern scene. When it came to Bible reading, the late Middle Ages made a sharp distinction between the professionals and the lay amateurs. From the seventeenth century the lay amateur was becoming the self-made professional. When Isaac Newton got into serious trouble in 1675 about fulfilling Trinity College's requirement that the Lucasian Professor must be ordained, Isaac Barrow, then Master of the college, arranged for a royal mandate to exempt the Lucasian Professor then and for the future from any such requirement. Robert Boyle belongs to this extensive class of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century figures who wrote upon both science and theology. He was a layman and conscious of the fact. He suggested that his 'being a secular' might 'the better qualify' him and also make his writings more acceptable to readers who 'have a particular pique at the clergy, and look with prejudice upon whatever is taught by men, whose interest is advantaged by having what they teach believed'.[113] The general thrust of the century was towards making the Bible accessible to ordinary readers and trusting that a reasonable person would be able to make sense of it, and the right sense of it. Secular philosophers and the new scientists felt free to discuss the Bible.[114]

It became an important question whether the old objection (lay people are uneducated and therefore liable to go astray if they are allowed to read the Bible for themselves) would still hold if the lay readers were in fact as highly educated as these examples. Robert Boyle was conscious, as he could not help being, that if he encouraged lay people to study Scripture there was a danger that they would go astray in their interpretations, but he evidently did not

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[112]  Richard Baxter, *The Reverend Richard Baxter's Last Treatise*, ed. F. J. Powicke (Manchester and London: Manchester University Press/Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1926), p.23.

[113]  Robert Boyle, *Reason and Religion*, in Robert Boyle, *Works*, 2nd edn., ed. Thomas Birch, introd. Douglas McKie, 6 vols. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965–6; repr. [London: J. and F. Rivington, etc., 1772]), vol. IV, p. 153.

[114]  Reedy, *The Bible and Reason*, p. 5.

think this applied to him. Spinoza, however, said, 'I would not charge the sectaries with impiety for adapting the sayings of Scripture to their own opinions, for as they were originally adapted to the understanding of ordinary people, so it is permissible now for each individual to adapt them to his own opinions, if he finds by so doing that, in matters requiring justice and charity, he can obey God with a greater unity of mind and heart.'[115]

## The ultimate authority question: is something wrong with the Bible?

Centuries of liturgical tradition brought the Bible before the worshipping congregation in short portions, so that the Bible as a whole was not necessarily 'heard' by the people even if they faithfully went to church every time there was a service and were fortunate enough to have a parish priest who would conscientiously explain to them in homilies the texts they had heard. The idea that the Bible should be made available to ordinary people in select extracts nevertheless persisted, with the portions read aloud in church rather than put into their hands in its entirety so that they could read it for themselves.[116] Boyle urged that the Bible should be studied as a whole. Otherwise readers would be tempted to collect a pile of pebbles, quotations they could throw at their adversaries rather than using them to build a coherent doctrinal position for themselves.[117] That was exactly what generations of commentators and controversialists had in fact done. But taking it as a whole made people think new and disturbing thoughts. Is the Bible a unity, or can it be treated selectively? Are parts of it authoritative and some not? This possibility was canvassed increasingly by worried scientists from the sixteenth century: they were prepared to accept that it was authoritative in matters of moral teaching and matters of faith, while rejecting it as a source of scientific knowledge. Robert Boyle went so far as to say, ''Tis not that I think all the Books that Constitute the Bible, of equal Necessity or equal Usefulnesse, because they are of equal Extraction.'[118]

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[115] Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, chapter xiv, p. 159, quoted in *Spinoza on Freedom of Thought: Selections from Tractatus Theologico-Politicus and Tractatus Politicus*, ed. and trans. T.E. Jessop (Montreal: M. Casalini, 1962), p.25.

[116] Owen Chadwick, *The Early Reformation on the Continent* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 14.

[117] Boyle, *Works*, vol. 11, pp. 381–488.

[118] Ibid., p. 424. Also in Robert Boyle, *Some Considerations touching the Style of the H. Scriptures Extracted from several parts of a Discourse concerning divers Particulars Belonging to the Bible* (London: Henry Herringman, 1668), p. 86).

Johannes Agricola claimed (in a debate that was by no means new) that the Ten Commandments and the law of the Old Testament in general did not apply in the new dispensation of Christ. Melanchthon thought there existed matters of indifference which could change without affecting a basic fidelity to the gospel. But the great challenge came from those who began to ask whether the account of the creation of the world in Genesis could possibly be true. This was prompted partly by early modern thinkers interested in the new 'scientific' approach to the study of the world. The Bible is manifestly deficient as a scientific textbook. Does that undermine its claims to be the work of the God, who created the natural world? The followers of Copernicus (1473–1543) argued that it had never been God's intention, as he dictated Scripture, to include instruction in science. Galileo (1564–1642) agreed. The Council of Trent's Session 4 was cited by those hostile to this position.[119] The Jesuit Giovanni Battista Riccioli tried to distinguish the question whether the Bible contains teaching on physics and astronomy from whether those remarks on the subject which the Scriptures do contain are really about the faith and not about science. Patrick Delany (1685/6–1768) argued that 'All the laws of God are in joined by the same authority'.[120]

The late medieval world tended to the view that the Bible's organisation is itself divinely appointed. Its order and structure were discussed on that assumption. In particular, God was taken to have designed it to have an Old Testament and a New Testament,[121] whose relationship formed a pattern. Adam pointed forward to Christ, and many similar 'pairs' were to be found. Here the argument from design which was emerging as a proof of divine authorship of the universe offered itself helpfully. Among the proofs of divine authorship advanced for consideration in the early modern period was 'God's design in the contrivance of Scripture'.[122] This was consciously linked with contemporary enthusiasm for 'design' as an indication that God created the world. Robert Boyle noted complaints he received about 'the seemingly Disjoyned Method of that Book'. He responded with the argument that 'The Book of Grace doth but therein resemble the Book of Nature; wherein the Stars ... are not more Nicely nor Methodically plac'd than the Passages of

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[119] Alfredo Dinis, 'Giovanni Battista Riccili and the Science of his Time', in M. Feingold (ed.), *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), pp. 195–224 at pp. 211ff.

[120] [Patrick Delany], *Fifteen sermons upon social duties: By the Author of the Life of David* (London: J. Rivington, 1744), p. 3.

[121] Christopher Ocker, *Biblical Poetics before Humanism and Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 26–7.

[122] Boyle, *Works*, vol. 11, p. 401.

Scripture … That it became not the Majesty of God to suffer himself to be fettere'd to Humane Laws of Method.'[123] Yet the assumption of the minuteness of divine attention to the detailed planning of the Bible led to difficulties and embarrassments.[124]

## What assurance of the Bible's authority?

What kind of certainty or assurance can we have about the authority of the Bible? The way that the questions were posed changed in the course of the centuries with which this volume is concerned. A medieval formal argument in syllogistic form began with the framing of propositions. The conclusion of the syllogism depended for its truth, if not for its validity, on the degree of reliance that could be placed on the propositions or premises. Here there was a well-recognised distinction between truths that were self-evident or derived from self-evident truths, and therefore could be regarded as 'necessary', and other statements that were merely 'probable'. When a proposition consisted of, or relied upon, a quotation from an 'authority' its degree of reliability would depend on the authority in question. A statement by Cicero was less reliably true than a statement by Augustine, and Augustine stood lower in this hierarchy of truths than the Bible. In this way the Bible could be used in the process of proving, and scriptural authority continued to be used for 'proving' into the sixteenth century, whether in formal syllogisms or more informally. Zwingli wrote, 'I will give you an account of my Zurich preaching … After the Gospel according to Matthew I continue with the Acts of the Apostles, to show to the Church in Zurich how and through whom the Gospel had been planted and propagated.'[125]

Much was at stake in the establishment of the truth of Scripture. In one of the debates between Johannes Eck and Luther we read, 'If the Bible can lie… If one lie is admitted to the Sacred Scripture, the whole will become suspect.'[126] The Bible's consistency was regarded as an important indicator of its truth. But the medieval consciousness of the Bible's contradictions was very well developed, and with it the trained logician's awareness that

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[123] Ibid., p. 412.
[124] The very layout and design of the page could be affected. See Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory, 1500–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005).
[125] *Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, p. 285f., as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 119.
[126] *Disputatio I. Eccii et M. Lutheri Lipsiae habita*, 1519, in *WA*, vol. 11, pp. 279ff., as trans. in Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Reformation*, p. 70.

two contradictory statements cannot both be true. Much exegetical effort had gone into showing that if one or other of the apparently contradictory texts was read figuratively – or perhaps both – or an equivocal use of a term noted, the seeming contradiction would vanish. The skills needed to identify and explain such instances depended heavily on the kind of training in logic that was provided in the arts course in medieval universities. For example, Peter the Chanter's *De Tropis Loquendi*, of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, made use of aspects of the theory of fallacies to help the reader see how particular words were being used in the contexts where contradictions seemed to be presenting themselves. Early modern consciousness of the presence of apparent contradictions was no less acute. Indeed, critics were ready to point them out. But the proposed solutions tend to be less technical and altogether vaguer. According to Richard Baxter, critics say 'there are contradictions in the Scripture, and great weaknesses in stile and method; how then can we believe they were sealed by God?' His answer is that this means 'they do but half understand them'.[127] Robert Boyle reflects that 'one thing would not be unworthy our Objectors considering; That the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures, and consequently their not being Contradictory to themselves, hath … been immemorially Believ'd by the Learned'st Men in the World'.[128]

The old use of figurative interpretations to get round the apparent contradictoriness of Scripture was put under strain, though Calvin and others in the sixteenth century were surprisingly willing to continue to use such devices. But once again, fashions were changing with the greater sophistication of the early modern world. Few books of similar length in the world have 'greater Plenty of Figurative Expressions' than the Bible, and here it is important to distinguish 'the Embellishment of our Conceptions' and 'the Congruity of them to our Designe and Method'.[129]

The whole question of evidences became the subject of debate from the seventeenth century. Reason alone would not furnish all the propositions needed at the level of 'necessary truths'. Robert Boyle is clear in his *Of the High Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God* (1684–5) that revelations in Scripture 'have clearly taught us divers things concerning their adorable Authour, which the mere light of nature either would not have shown us at all, or would have but very dimly discovered to us'.[130]

[127] Baxter, *The arrogancy of reason*, p. 57.
[128] Boyle, *Works*, vol. 11, pp. 428–9.
[129] Ibid., pp. 456–7.
[130] Robert Boyle, *Of the High Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God* (1st Latin edn. 1684; English trans. 1685), as edited in Boyle, *Works*, vol. x, pp. 157–201, at p. 162.

But what of 'inner conviction', 'innate ideas', individual experience, internal reference tested on the inner eye of the mind? These were matters of intense philosophical debate which take us beyond the scope of this chapter. It is, however, a satisfactory place to stop. For the very fact that these questions could be raised in connection with the problem of the authoritativeness of Scripture shows how far the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had travelled from the comparatively shallow waters of the first frank sixteenth-century opposition between *sola scriptura* and Bible-with-Church.

# Theories of interpretation: The quadriga and its successors

DEEANA COPELAND KLEPPER

## Introduction

Early modern biblical interpretation was fundamentally shaped by the intertwined movements of humanism and Reformation, and common understanding of ancient and medieval Christian biblical interpretation has been shaped by those movements as well. According to the resulting narrative, biblical interpretation in the sixteenth century broke emphatically with medieval traditions, abandoning the fancy of allegory and the scholastic 'fourfold sense of Scripture' for a more rational and even 'scientific' emphasis on the plain sense of the text. Certainly many early modern interpreters claimed such a break, and often disparaged medieval exegetical traditions. But early modern biblical exegesis owed a great deal to the medieval tradition that preceded it. Humanists and Reformation thinkers may have viewed themselves as transcending a moribund scholastic tradition, but they nevertheless used medieval scholarship as a starting point for their own reading of the Bible. The most distinctive aspects of early modern exegesis – an emphasis on the literal sense of Scripture and a careful attention to original biblical languages – had a basis in medieval Bible scholarship. A particularly important resource for early modern scholars was Nicholas of Lyra (*c.* 1270–1349), whose *Postilla litteralis super bibliam* emphasised the literal sense of Scripture and the importance of the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic tradition in discerning it.[1] Although later exegetes approached the Bible with a different sensibility,

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[1] Early printed editions of Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla litteralis* are widely available, but there is no critical edition. A helpful introduction to Lyra's commentary may be found in Philip Krey and Lesley Smith (eds.), *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

I owe thanks to Melissa Vise for sharing with me her thoughtful assessment of the state of scholarship on early modern biblical hermeneutics, and to Jennifer Wright Knust and Deborah Goodwin for helpful perspective.

their very concept of literal reading was part of the legacy of ancient and medieval biblical scholarship.

Early modern Christian exegetes were heirs to a complicated hermeneutical tradition developed over the course of centuries and ostensibly based on a fourfold division of meaning. The fourfold sense of Scripture, a product of the early church, was based in the first instance on a twofold division between the literal (sometimes also called historical) sense and the spiritual sense, as expressed, for example, in Paul's second letter to the Corinthians and in the writing of the Greek exegete Origen (*c.* 184–254). Early on, exegetes began to draw additional distinctions within the spiritual sense, constructing threefold or fourfold hermeneutical schemes. Origen elaborated a threefold understanding of Scripture, distinguishing between literal, allegorical and moral senses, and Gregory the Great (*c.* 540–604) famously followed this model.[2] John Cassian (*c.* 360–435) divided the spiritual sense into three subcategories – the allegorical, the moral and the anagogical – and he is generally credited with the first clear articulation of what was to become the dominant Christian hermeneutic.

While the idea of multivocality in the text was central to all medieval exegesis, an overwhelming preference for spirit over letter marked Christian reading of Scripture from late antiquity until the twelfth century, when a changing intellectual culture and renewed interest in classical grammar, rhetoric and history in burgeoning schools gave rise to new interest in the literal–historical sense.[3] This new turn to the letter did not spell the demise of spiritual exegesis; rather, from the twelfth century onward both literal and spiritual commentary were taught in the schools and valued as necessary components of Bible study. During this period the fourfold sense of Scripture took on a more prescriptive role than had ever been the case, with a real effort to exploit all of the

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[2] On Origen's hermeneutics see Richard P.C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture*, with an introduction by Joseph W. Trigg (Richmond, VA: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002) and Henri de Lubac, *Histoire et esprit: l'intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène* (Paris: Aubier, 1950), translated into English as *History and Spirit: The Understanding of Scripture according to Origen* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2007). For an introduction to Gregory the Great's exegesis see Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988); R. A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Mark DelCogliano (ed. and trans.), *Gregory the Great on the Song of Songs*, Cistercian Studies Series 244 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2012).

[3] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983); Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1959–64), translated into English as *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

senses. But ironically, just as literal exegesis achieved its widest acceptance in the thirteenth century, new theories of authorship and poetics contributed to new, more integrated and expansive approaches to the literal sense, and much material that once would have been considered part of the spiritual sense was brought within the sphere of the literal. Although the notion that Scripture contained four senses was still dominant, in practice the literal sense now included both 'literal–historical' and 'literal–prophetic' material. By the early fifteenth century the stakes involved in biblical interpretation appeared higher, as the followers of dissenters John Wyclif (1320–84) and Jan Hus (1369–1415) raised new concerns and questions about interpretative authority in the church. Fifteenth-century reformers such as Jean Gerson (1363–1429) found yet new ways to incorporate theology and tradition into the literal sense of Scripture.[4] The infusion of so much theological material into the literal sense during the later Middle Ages may have given humanists and Reformation scholars the perception that their return to the foundational letter represented a dramatic break with the fourfold interpretive scheme they came to call, often derisively, the *quadriga*, and in some respects it was.[5] But the exegesis of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was nevertheless built upon the work of earlier generations of Bible scholars, and most aspects of early modern Bible study were anticipated in some way during the Middle Ages.

## Foundations of a multivocal text in the Pauline Epistles and Church Fathers

The New Testament itself encouraged a multivocal reading of sacred text, particularly through the example and teaching of the Pauline Epistles. Paul's letter to the Galatians modelled an allegorical reading of Genesis 16–21, while his second letter to the Corinthians explicitly set letter against spirit, help-ing to lay the groundwork for a distinctively Christian approach to reading Scripture.[6] Early Christian exegetes from Origen to Gregory of Nyssa (*c.*

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[4] Heiko Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation: The Shape of Late Medieval Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 284–92; Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform (1250–1550): An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 69–72.

[5] The application of the term *quadriga* to the fourfold sense is a sixteenth-century devel-opment, so I avoid the term in my discussion of ancient and medieval exegesis. Kenneth Hagen attributes its first use to Luther: 'Biblical Interpretation in the Middle Ages and Reformation', *Lutheran Studies Quarterly* 41 (2000), 6–43 and 'A Ride on the *Quadriga* with Luther', *Luther-Bulletin* 13 (2004), 5–24.

[6] 2 Corinthians 3:6, 'for the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life', was often quoted. The let-ters to Galatians and Corinthians are cited here as examples of Paul's distinction between

334–*c.* 395) and Augustine of Hippo (354–430) developed their biblical hermeneutics amidst a Graeco-Roman literary tradition, and they justified their use of pagan allegorical reading techniques by reference to Paul's letters.[7]

In the letter to the Galatians, Paul spoke to a Gentile community that had apparently attached itself to many of the ceremonial precepts of Jewish law. Paul's letter responds to this circumstance, using an allegorical reading of Genesis to contrast the 'New Law' available to the Gentiles with the 'Old Law' given at Sinai:

> For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave woman and the other by a free woman. One, the child of the slave, was born according to the flesh; the other, the child of the free woman, was born through the promise. Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One woman, in fact, is Hagar, from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery. Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia and corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the other woman corresponds to the Jerusalem above; she is free, and she is our mother…Now you, my friends, are children of the promise, like Isaac. But just as at that time the child who was born according to the flesh persecuted the child who was born according to the Spirit, so it is now also. But what does the scripture say? 'Drive out the slave and her child; for the child of the slave will not share the inheritance with the child of the free woman.' So then, friends, we are children, not of the slave, but of the free woman.[8]

This passage was very important in shaping the direction of later Christian biblical interpretation; Paul's use of allegory here encouraged other allegorical readings of Jewish Scripture. In his homilies on Genesis, Origen elaborated upon Paul's allegory to encourage his readers to a spiritual reading of Scripture rather than a literal one. For Origen, Hagar thirsting in the desert was a symbol of the Jews (*Synagoga*), unable to drink the water of Scripture that was right in front of them: 'For now the Jews lie around the well itself, but

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letter and spirit; the theme appears often in Paul's writing. On Paul's rhetorical engagement with Jewish Scripture see Margaret Mary Mitchell, *Paul, the Corinthians, and the Birth of Christian Hermeneutics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Christopher D. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (New York: T. & T. Clark, 2004); and Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

[7] As Margaret Mitchell put it, 'The route to early Christian defense of non-literal reading (by whatever name), it seems, goes straight through the *corpus Paulinum*' (Mitchell, *Paul, the Corinthians*, p. 2).

[8] Galatians 4:22–31 (NRSV). Paul's thought on the continued relevance of Jewish law is complex, and this passage should not be read in isolation. See Caroline E. Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); and John G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

their eyes are closed and they cannot drink from the well of the Law and the prophets.' One day, Origen explained, the 'veil of the letter' – a direct allusion to Paul's words in 2 Corinthians 3 – would be removed by God's intervention, and *Synagoga* would be able to see the 'living water' that was Christ. Origen amplified and transformed Paul's allegorical reading of Genesis, highlighting the necessity of figurative exegesis of Scripture.[9] Not only did Origen name the Jews as blind to the true (spiritual) meaning of the text, he warned that Christians, too, needed to be on guard: 'But let us also beware, for frequently we also lie around the well "of living water", that is around the divine Scriptures and err in them. We hold the books and we read them, but we do not touch upon the spiritual sense. And, therefore, there is need for tears and incessant prayer that the Lord may open our eyes.'[10] Although controversy later came to surround some of Origen's theological positions, he played a crucial role in the development of a Christian approach to reading the Bible.[11]

Most immediately relevant for medieval and early modern Christian interpretation in the Latin-speaking world was the work of Augustine and Jerome (*c.* 345–420), the two most revered and widely cited contributors to subsequent Latin exegesis.[12] Augustine developed a distinctively Christian theory of signification that upheld the value of the letter (or literal sense) while emphasising the spiritual or figurative truths that could be derived from it. The letter (word) in divine Scripture signified a specific thing or concept, but those things often signified something else in turn, and that further signification was the most precious.[13] A corollary to Augustine's elevation of spiritual or figurative meanings was a dismissive attitude towards the literal sense taken on its own terms.

[9] Origen, *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus*, trans. Ronald E. Heine (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1982), p. 134.

[10] Ibid., pp. 134–5.

[11] On the critique of Origen and the Origenist controversy see Elizabeth Ann Clark, *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

[12] On Jerome's biblical scholarship see Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) and Matthew Aaron Kraus, 'Jerome's Translation of the Book of Exodus *iuxta Hebraeos* in Relation to Classical, Christian, and Jewish Traditions of Interpretation', Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1996. On Augustine's hermeneutics see Henri Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 145 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1958); Isabelle Bochet, *'Le Firmament de l'Écriture': L'hermeneutique augustinienne*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 172 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2004); and Alban Massie, *Peuple prophétique et nation témoin: le peuple juif dans le 'Contra Faustum Manichaeum' de saint Augustin*, Collection des études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 191 (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 2011).

[13] R. A. Markus, 'Saint Augustine on Signs', *Phronesis* 2 (1957), 60–83.

For when something meant figuratively is interpreted as if it were meant literally, it is understood in a carnal way. No 'death of the soul' is more aptly given that name than the situation in which the intelligence, which is what raises the soul above the level of animals, is subjected to the flesh by following the letter... It is, then, a miserable kind of spiritual slavery to interpret signs as things, and to be incapable of raising the mind's eye above the physical creation so as to absorb the eternal light.[14]

Like Origen he associated literal reading with the Jews, whom he depicted as mired in the world of flesh. There was much at stake in Augustine's developing hermeneutics, and polemical engagement (particularly with pagans and with other Christians) drove his evolving thought on biblical interpretation.[15] That context was soon forgotten, but his interpretative strategies held sway in Latin Christendom well into the late medieval period. At many points in his vast corpus, Augustine expressed interest in the historical sense of the letter, but his engagement with the spiritual senses of Scripture had the greatest impact on subsequent tradition.[16]

Augustine's contemporary Jerome famously devoted his life to engagement with the letter in translation and interpretation, and his work on the literal sense – one that valued the original languages of Scripture, even as he brought them into Latin translation – was considered the last word for centuries. Later generations of Christian exegetes were inclined to produce spiritual exegesis rather than literal, but they could do this in part because they accepted Jerome's literal–historical interpretation as authoritative and regularly referenced it in their work. Not until the twelfth century did scholars begin to push back against the established literal interpretations of Jerome.[17] Jerome incorporated a great deal of spiritual interpretation into his commentaries, but his long-standing reputation was built upon his original philological and historical work.

[14] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana* III.5. Translation from Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, trans. R.P.H. Green (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 72.

[15] In addition to his principal discussion of hermeneutics in *De doctrina Christiana* see also, for example, his *De Genesi ad litteram*, *Contra Faustum*, and *De civitate Dei*. On the place of polemic in Augustine's approach to Scripture see Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New York: Doubleday Religion, 2008).

[16] For an elegant, concise treatment of Augustine's hermeneutics in the context of his life and career see Paula Fredriksen, 'The Confessions as Autobiography', in Mark Vessey (ed.), *A Companion to Augustine* (Chichester, and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 87–98 and, in the same volume, Michael Cameron, 'Augustine and Scripture', pp. 200–14.

[17] On this willingness to engage Jerome see Michael Signer, 'St Jerome and Andrew of St Victor: Some Observations', *Studia Patristica* 18 (1982), 333–7 and the introduction to Andrew of St Victor, Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Andreae de Sancto Victore opera: Expositio super duodecim prophetas*, ed. Franciscus A. van Liere and Marcus A. Zier, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 53G (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), p. xxi.

Augustine and Jerome were the pillars upon which Latin biblical exegesis was constructed, but other Church Fathers were widely read and often cited. John Cassian provided an important early articulation of the fourfold sense of Scripture, and his illustration of it through the example of 'Jerusalem' was often repeated, especially later in the Middle Ages: according to the literal–historical sense 'Jerusalem' is a specific city of the Jews; according to the allegorical sense it is the Church of Christ; according to the tropological sense it is the soul of a human being, earning both praise and reproach from God; and according to the anagogical sense it is the heavenly city of God.[18] By the thirteenth century this framework would be widely engaged. But the fourfold sense was by no means universally employed in early medieval exegesis. Gregory the Great followed Origen and Augustine, among others, in teaching a threefold division of scriptural senses.[19] Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, arguably the most important model for biblical commentary in the Latin West for centuries, was framed around three layers of meaning in Scripture: 'the historical foundations', 'the spiritual understanding of allegory', and finally 'the loveliness of morality', or 'speculative understanding'.[20] Medieval readers appreciated Gregory for the way in which his exegesis encompassed spiritual truths embedded in historical narrative, but also for his emphasis on the practical, moral implications of those spiritual truths. Gregory was renowned as a preacher, and his approach to Scripture was marked by a distinctive combination of action and contemplation.[21] His successful integration of monastic and pastoral ideals in exegesis made him a model for future generations. The history of Christian engagement with the Bible during the early Middle Ages is rich, but new approaches to Scripture had primarily to do with the uses of the Bible, the presentation and dissemination of the text, and modes of studying. Formal hermeneutics did not stray far from Gregory for a very long time, and the primacy of spiritual interpretation as modelled by Gregory was unrivalled.[22] Even the great exegetical achievement of the eleventh-century

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[18] John Cassian's discussion of the fourfold sense of Scripture and his exegesis of Jerusalem as an example is found in his *Conferences* XIV.viii.1–4. Available in English translation in John Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Boniface Ramsey (New York: Newman Press, 1997), p. 510.

[19] De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, vol. 1, pp. 150–9. De Lubac suggests that the seeds of classic fourfold interpretation may be found even in threefold schemes. G. R. Evans likewise notes that Gregory identifies three distinct spiritual meanings: *The Thought of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 91–2.

[20] De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, vol. 1, p. 132.

[21] On Gregory see DelCogliano (ed.), *Gregory the Great*; Straw, *Gregory the Great*; and Evans, *The Thought of Gregory the Great*.

[22] On changes in broader biblical culture during the early Middle Ages see *NCHB* 2; Robert E. McNally, *The Bible in the Early Middle Ages* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1959); G. R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge

schools, the *Glossa ordinaria*, was innovative primarily in terms of technique and presentation rather than hermeneutics.[23]

## The rise of literal–historical exegesis in the schools in the twelfth century

Innovations at the northern French school of St Victor in the twelfth century brought new attention to the foundational letter upon which spiritual interpretations were built. Because allegorical and moral interpretations of Scripture had enjoyed such dominance for so many centuries, the sudden development of interest in the literal–historical sense is striking.[24] In the same time and place, Jewish exegetes such as Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes (Rashi; d. 1105), Rabbi Joseph Kara (1050–1130), and Rashi's grandsons, Rabbi Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam; 1080–1160) and Rabbi Jacob ben Meir Tam (Rabbenu Tam; *c.* 1100–71), began to emphasize the *peshat*, or plain sense of Scripture, and it seems clear that the two movements were in some way connected.[25] Both hermeneutical movements emphasised contextual reading and narrative structure rather than a strictly philological or literal interpretation as later exegetes might have understood the terms. Rashi, credited with launching the turn to *peshat*, incorporated a great deal of midrashic material in his so-called literal exegesis, and Hugh of St Victor (*c.* 1096–1141), the single most important figure in developing a programme of literal–historical exegesis in the Latin Christian world, modelled his hermeneutics upon Augustine and Gregory the Great.[26]

University Press, 1984); and several of the essays in Susan Boynton and Diane Reilly (eds.), *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), esp. chaps. 2–4.

[23] On the *Glossa ordinaria* – its development in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and its dissemination and use throughout the Middle Ages – see Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[24] The foundational work on the rise of literal exegesis in the twelfth-century schools is Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*. See also the helpful assessment of the field at the end of the twentieth century in Robert E. Lerner (ed.), with Elisabeth Müller-Luckner, *Neue Richtungen in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Bibelexegese*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs Kolloquien 32 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1996).

[25] On Rashi's turn to *peshat* see Benjamin J. Gelles, *Peshat and Derash in the Exegesis of Rashi*, Études sur le Judaïsme médiéval 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) and Sarah Kamin, *Rashi: peshuṭo shel Miḳra u-midrasho shel Miḳra / Rashi's Exegetical Categorization in Respect to the Distinction between Peshat and Derash* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1986). On the interaction between Jewish and Christian Bible scholars during this period see Aryeh Graboïs, 'The Hebraica Veritas and Jewish–Christian Intellectual Relations in the Twelfth Century', *Speculum* 50 (1975), 613–34 and Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les Juifs au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Cerf, 1990).

[26] On the relationship between Christian and Jewish exegesis of the twelfth century see Michael Signer, 'Peshat, Sensus Litteralis, and Sequential Narrative: Jewish Exegesis

Hugh sought not to deviate from the theologically driven exegesis of Gregory, but to integrate the new study of liberal arts with traditional reading of Scripture.[27] Hugh adopted Gregory's threefold scheme as history, allegory and tropology, but he put much more weight on the foundation of history than had been done in the past. Hugh, responding to the dramatic intellectual changes of the twelfth century, was, in a sense, creating a 'science' of scriptural reading based on the assumption that, as a divinely authored, mystical text, the Bible required a different reading technique than did human-authored texts, as studied in the liberal arts. He took a traditional threefold hermeneutic and articulated a new, holistic approach to knowledge suitable for the new schools. History, allegory and tropology were not just three different interpretative approaches, but 'dependent and complementary "disciplines" (*disciplinae*) that are to be pursued by the student in order or *seriatim*'.[28] The culmination of this ordered reading for Hugh was transformation of the individual through moral teaching, but this could only be arrived at by careful engagement first with the letter. Working with Augustine's doctrine of biblical signification, Hugh understood the letter to establish historical meaning through verbal signification, which in turn could point to the things from which the spiritual senses could be discerned. It was important to read the historical sense accurately if the reader was to derive the correct allegorical and tropological readings to which history pointed. The literal sense opened the door to theological truths contained within the allegorical or tropological senses.

Hugh's exegetical innovations took on new life in the next generation, with students such as Richard of St Victor (d. 1173) building on his insights into the holistic, mystical nature of Scripture, and, more important still, students such as Andrew of St Victor (*c.* 1110–75) vigorously pursuing the literal sense. Andrew was so devoted to explicating the literal sense of the text that he left spiritual interpretation almost entirely to others. Scholars such as Andrew and his contemporary Herbert of Bosham (*c.* 1120–*c.* 1174) transformed Christian Bible study with their emphasis on the literal sense, turning extensively to Jewish tradition as an important resource.[29] While neither Hugh nor Andrew

and the School of St. Victor in the Twelfth Century', in B. Walfish (ed.), *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume* (Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1993), pp. 203–16 and Michael Signer, 'Rabbi and Magister: Overlapping Intellectual Models of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', *Jewish History* 22:1/2, Elka Klein Memorial Volume (2008), 115–37.

27  Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 83–106; Franklin T. Harkins, *Reading and the Work of Restoration: History and Scripture in the Theology of Hugh of St Victor* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009).

28  Harkins, *Reading and the Work of Restoration*, p. 139.

29  On Andrew of St Victor see especially Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 112–85 and the excellent introductions to the editions of Andrew's commentary in Andrew

had personal facility with Hebrew (they turned to Jewish scholars for help with the text), they represented the first wave of the most significant Hebraist movement in the Christian world since Jerome. Over the course of the twelfth century increasing numbers of Christians mastered Hebrew and became convinced that not only Hebrew Scripture, but also Jewish interpretation could and should be used to discern the literal–historical sense of the text.[30] Like ancient Christians, twelfth-century exegetes associated Jews with history, literality and the flesh, but now this had a positive valuation, at least for Christians who combined proximity to the Old Testament with New Testament theology.

## Expansion of the literal sense in the later Middle Ages

Hugh of St Victor's theology of Scripture and the resulting turn towards literal exegesis quickly spread beyond the community of St Victor, and by the end of the thirteenth century instruction in the literal sense of Scripture had become *de rigueur*. The Dominican order decreed in 1308/9 that every province provide training for friars in literal exegesis, and the most widely copied biblical commentary of the fourteenth century was the literal interpretation of the Franciscan Hebraist and exegete Nicholas of Lyra, who insisted on the centrality of literal exegesis within a fourfold interpretative scheme, leaning heavily on Rashi and other Jewish rabbis to illuminate it.[31]

of St Victor, Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Andreae de Sancto Victore opera: Expositio in Ezechielem*, ed. Michael Alan Signer, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 53E (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991) and Andrew of St Victor, *Andreae de Sancto Victore opera: Expositio super duodecim prophetas*, ed. van Liere and Zier. On Herbert of Bosham see Deborah Goodwin, *'Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew': Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

[30] Key literature on this phase of Christian Hebraism in Bible study includes Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*; Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963); Raphael Loewe, 'Christian Hebraism', in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. VIII (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), pp. 510–51; Graboïs, 'The Hebraica Veritas'; Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 'The Knowledge and Practice of Hebrew Grammar among Christian Scholars in Pre-Expulsion England: The Evidence of "Bilingual" Hebrew–Latin Manuscripts', in Nicholas de Lange (ed.), *Hebrew Scholarship and the Medieval World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 107–28; Goodwin, *'Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew'*; and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, Anne Grondeux and Philippe Bobichon, *Dictionnaire Hébreu–latin–français de la Bible Hébraïque de l'Abbaye de Ramsey (xiiie S.)*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, Lexica Latina Medii Aevi 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

[31] Deeana Copeland Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 18.

The study of the Bible during this period was transformed by the development of universities and scholastic culture on the one hand and the needs of the new mendicant orders on the other. The university at Paris rose to prominence as the centre of biblical and theological study. New approaches to biblical study developed there rapidly spread across Europe through a network of provincial schools established by the Franciscan and Dominican orders.[32] Notable thirteenth-century initiatives, such as correction of the Latin Vulgate text and study of Hebrew and Greek, grew out of the Victorine approach to Scripture. As with so many things, university culture helped to standardise methodologies, and from the thirteenth century Cassian's fourfold sense of Scripture came to dominate in Christian hermeneutics. An instructive poem circulated widely: *Littera gesta docet; quid credas allegoria; quid agas tropologia; quid speres anagogia* (the letter teaches events; allegory what you should believe; tropology what you should do; anagogy what you should hope for).[33] But at the same time that the fourfold sense achieved its most complete success, the actual structure of that framework was undergoing much change. Allegorical interpretation meant different things to different people, and the literal sense was even more malleable.

Just as the introduction of liberal arts study into the schools contributed to Hugh of St Victor's development of a new hermeneutical scheme in the twelfth century, the introduction of the Aristotelian corpus into the schools in the thirteenth contributed to the next wave of innovation. University theologians sought to apply Aristotelian theory on causality to the analysis of biblical text, and this required sustained attention to questions of authorship and authorial intention. Thomas Aquinas, whom we might consider representative of thirteenth-century scholastic trends, carefully articulated the distinction between human and divine layers of biblical authorship. A proper reading of the fourfold sense of Scripture required careful attention to this distinction. The meaning of Scripture was understood to be communicated by both verbal and natural signification. But since God alone was credited with the ability

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[32] See Smalley, *The Study of the Bible* and Gilbert Dahan, *L'Exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval: xiie–xive siècle*, Patrimoines Christianisme (Paris: Cerf, 1999). On the relationship between Paris and Dominican provincial schools see M. Michèle Mulchahey, *'First the Bow is Bent in Study – ': Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1998).

[33] This poem seems to have originated with a Dominican friar, Augustine of Dacia (d. 1282), around 1260; Nicholas of Lyra employed it repeatedly in his fourteenth-century commentaries, with the last line reading instead *quo tendas anagogia* (anagogy is where you should aim). See de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, vol.1, pp. 1–2.

to create things, God alone could use things as signifiers; human beings were only able to use words as signifiers. The literal sense was to be derived from the human author's use of verbal signification, while from God's use of things as natural signifiers, the spiritual senses (allegorical, moral, anagogical) were to be derived. Since the human author may have intended to communicate any range of meanings via words, the literal sense so defined might include theological truth and prophecy, metaphor and parable, as well as straightforward reporting of events.[34] Prologues to biblical commentaries proliferated, and attention to questions of authorship and authorial intent promised a careful distinction between literal and spiritual layers of meaning.

In spite of this, we find a pronounced gap between the hermeneutical claims of Bible commentary prologues and the actual exegesis found in late medieval commentaries. Although the prologues carefully sort out layers of human and divine authorship with clear ramifications for delineating literal and spiritual senses, in practice these commentators seem to have had a difficult time maintaining the distinction between literal and spiritual. They embraced the notion of a fourfold sense of Scripture and the primacy of the letter as a foundation for spiritual interpretation, but their literal exegesis incorporated much that would seem to be spiritual.[35] This was, in part, due to the expansiveness of the literal sense according to Aquinas's scheme described above. But equally important were new ideas about language and meaning derived from the study of logic and classical poetics, which led to an approach to the text in which biblical narrative – the letter – was intertwined with philosophical and theological material.[36] Where Victorine hermeneutics had been built upon the premise that divine text required a completely unique mode of reading, by the end of the fourteenth century scholars were increasingly reading Scripture in much the same way as other literature. Christian exegetes were paying more attention to the historical letter than ever before, but the literal sense was

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[34] A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984), esp. pp. 36–72, and 'Quadruplex Sensus and Multiplex Modus: Scriptural Sense and Mode in Medieval Scholastic Exegesis', in Jon Whitman (ed.), *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 231–56. See also Christopher Ocker, *Biblical Poetics before Humanism and Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 123–142 and Yves Delègue, *Les Machines du sens: fragments d'une sémiologie médiévale* (Paris: Editions de Cendres, 1987).

[35] For a thorough discussion of new modes of reading Scripture in the later Middle Ages see Ocker, *Biblical Poetics*. On the development of new theories of biblical rhetoric see G.R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Road to Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[36] Ocker, *Biblical Poetics*, p. 216.

coming to look more like spiritual interpretation. Paradoxically, the muddying of the literal sense that would be criticised by later humanist and Reformation scholars was based at least in part on a new approach to the analysis of biblical text that bore the seeds of later biblical criticism.[37]

The most well-known example of medieval exegesis based on a fourfold sense of Scripture is probably Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla litteralis super bibliam*, composed between 1322 and 1331. Nicholas, like his contemporaries, included theological material in his commentary, but he did so in a very limited way, and he adhered more closely to the Victorine understanding of literal exegesis than did most of his contemporaries.[38] The commentary highlighted the literal–historical sense of Scripture, emphasising the importance of the *Hebraica veritas* and the usefulness of rabbinic commentary in Christian biblical interpretation. Nicholas was particularly dependent upon Rashi, whose engagement with the plain sense of Jewish Scripture served Nicholas's approach to the letter well. Like literal exegetes of an earlier generation, Nicholas avoided recourse to Christological interpretations in the literal sense whenever possible. On Isaiah 66:9, 'Shall I who give generation to others be barren? Says the Lord your God,' for example, Nicholas wrote, 'some Catholic doctors read the letter as a reference to the eternal generation of the Son by the Father … but such an interpretation appears to be more mystical than literal'.[39]

Where Bonaventure or Thomas Aquinas routinely embedded Christological or soteriological layers of meaning within the literal sense of Old Testament text, Nicholas of Lyra's predilection for Jewish interpretation led him towards a much more restrictive literal–historical reading.[40] When he found a straightforward interpretation of the letter nonsensical or completely irreconcilable with an essential point of Christian theology, he resolved the conflict by turning to a univocal parabolic reading (often in line with a Jewish understanding of the *peshat* as parabolic in a particular case, as in the Song of Songs, for example) or to what he called the 'double literal' sense.[41] The double literal sense allowed for two temporally distinct but equally valid literal

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[37] This observation is derived from Ocker, *Biblical Poetics*.
[38] Nicholas also wrote a brief moral commentary, but it was not nearly as widely disseminated as the *Postilla litteralis*. See Klepper, *Insight of Unbelievers*, pp. 117, 131.
[39] Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers*, p. 34.
[40] On Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure's understanding of verbal signification and the parabolic literal sense see Ocker, *Biblical Poetics*, pp. 21, 38–43.
[41] See Terry Gross-Diaz, 'What's A Good Soldier to Do? Nicholas of Lyra on the Psalms', in Krey and Smith (eds.), *Nicholas of Lyra*, pp. 111–28; Ocker, *Biblical Poetics*, pp. 142–9; and Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers*, pp. 32–7.

readings, so that the literal sense of the text might refer at once to David, and also literally (rather than allegorically) to Jesus of Nazareth.[42] This created a distinction between literal–historical and literal–prophetic readings of the letter, although there were only a limited number of situations in which Nicholas was willing to accept a literal–prophetic meaning.

The popularity of Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla* over such a long period of time is noteworthy, as by the time the magisterial work appeared, its approach to the literal sense had been largely replaced.[43] By the fourteenth century the Jewish interpretation upon which Nicholas leaned so heavily was being treated with increasing suspicion, and the Victorine reading of the literal sense had given way to fully theological readings of the letter. No doubt because of this disjunction, we find that while Nicholas's exegesis was revered, widely circulated and often cited, his approach to the fourfold sense was not much emulated.[44] Much as Jerome had been the last word on the literal sense from antiquity until the high Middle Ages, Nicholas – called 'the plain and useful doctor' – became the last word on the literal–historical sense from the fourteenth century onward. His commentary became a necessary tool in the practice of a different sort of exegesis.[45]

While Nicholas's literal commentary was, by the middle of the fourteenth century, ubiquitous (or perhaps because it was ubiquitous), there was also some explicit reaction against it. One teacher of Scripture in the Dominican convent of Florence, George of Siena (d. 1398), composed a treatise designed, at least in part, to correct Nicholas's use of the literal sense. The text, *116 Prophecies on the Advent of Christ*, adapted Nicholas's own words on biblical prophecy to create an entirely different effect, allowing George to demonstrate for his students what he saw as the proper use of the literal sense within a fourfold scheme.[46] George insisted that the Old Testament literally meant what Christians said it meant; it was not enough for Christian truth to lie in

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[42] Philip Krey, 'The Apocalypse Commentary of 1329: Problems in Church History', in Krey and Smith (eds.), *Nicholas of Lyra*, pp. 267–88 at p. 285.

[43] The commentary remained so into early modernity, in both Protestant and Catholic circles. The near-universal appreciation for Nicholas's work may serve as a reminder that whatever theological differences separated Catholics from Protestants with respect to the revealed word, their methods of discerning the meaning of the word were rooted in the same medieval tradition.

[44] Klaus Reinhardt, 'Das Werk des Nikolaus von Lyra im mittelalterlichen Spanien', *Traditio* 43 (1987), 321–58; Philip Krey, 'Many Readers but Few Followers: The Fate of Nicholas of Lyra's "Apocalypse Commentary" in the Hands of his Late-Medieval Admirers', *Church History* 64 (1995), 185–201; Ocker, *Biblical Poetics*; and Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*.

[45] Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers*.

[46] Deeana Copeland Klepper, 'Literal Versus Carnal: George of Siena's Christian Reading of Jewish Exegesis', in David Stern and Natalie B. Dorhrmann (eds.),

the spiritual or allegorical sense. The problem with Jewish tradition, as George saw it, was not an inability to read past the letter, the literal sense, to get to the spirit (which was the complaint of Origen and Augustine); it was that the Jews failed to see the myriad of meanings even within the literal sense itself. For George and many other Christian exegetes, the association of a Christian literal sense with rabbinic interpretation was troubling. While twelfth-century Christian exegetes eagerly met with neighbouring Jews to get insight into the literal sense of the Old Testament, and Nicholas of Lyra turned regularly to Rashi's text, this generation of literal exegetes rejected the notion that the literal sense was 'what the Jews say'. As George of Siena understood it, Jewish exegesis of the letter was not properly literal at all; it was merely carnal: 'The Jews understand and explain the sayings of the prophets and all of scripture carnally but we Catholics draw back to the spirit… and therefore in all of the prophecies which may be understood literally about Christ, they see in those same passages only a carnal sense.'[47] The literal sense of Scripture required theological understanding as well as philological and historical understanding. The carnal could coexist with or precede the true literal sense, but stopping there would distort the literal sense of the text.[48] As the treatise makes clear, George had no patience for Christians who 'Judaised' in their reading of Scripture by restricting themselves to a literal–historical reading, or in a double literal sense that seemed to marginalise Christological prophecy.

George represents the ambivalence many late medieval scholars felt towards Nicholas of Lyra's commentary. It had rapidly become indispensable, an essential tool in monasteries as well as in schools and universities, but there was also concern that it seemed too closely connected to rabbinic interpretation and too removed from Christian theology. A Jewish convert to Christianity, Bishop Paul of Burgos (*c*. 1351–1435), annotated a copy of Lyra's *Postilla* for his son's use, marking out all of the places where Paul believed that Nicholas had gone wrong. Paul frequently introduced Thomas Aquinas as a foil to Lyra, demonstrating a preference for his theologically rich reading

*Jewish Biblical Interpretation and Cultural Exchange: Comparative Exegesis in Context* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), pp. 196–213.

[47] Ibid., p. 206.

[48] This dismissive attitude towards Jewish exegesis stands in marked contrast to the attitude of twelfth-century literal exegetes such as Andrew of St Victor or Herbert of Bosham, for whom Jewish exegesis provided an almost direct connection to the Old Testament itself. See Beryl Smalley, Hebrew Scholarship among Christians in XIIIth Century England as Illustrated by Some Hebrew Latin Psalters, *Lectiones in Veteri Testamento et in rebus judaicis* vol. 6 (London: Shapiro, Valentine, 1939), pp. 1–18.

of the literal sense. Eventually Paul's notes were collected and circulated as *Additiones* to Lyra's *Postilla*; many print versions of Nicholas's *Postilla* appeared with Paul's 'corrections'.[49]

Some time later the *Postilla* found an even harsher critic in Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (*c.* 1455–1536), who assailed Lyra's understanding of the literal sense, particularly his extensive use of rabbinic teaching and his framing of the double literal sense.[50] Where Nicholas used the double literal in order to preserve the value of the literal–historical sense in specific passages where a Christian interpretation was unavoidably prophetic, Lefèvre emphasised the role of prophecy throughout the entire Old Testament, reading consistently through the lens of the New Testament and highlighting the role of the Holy Spirit in a literal–spiritual approach to the letter. Lefèvre expanded the Thomistic understanding of a theologically inflected letter with a literal–spiritual hermeneutic that insisted on the primacy of the spiritual, to the point that there was almost no value left in the pure historical sense of the letter. In the continued popularity of Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla litteralis*, we see the value that scholars placed on the literal–historical sense into the late Middle Ages, while in the sometimes passionate reaction against Nicholas's hermeneutical strategies, we see commitment to spiritual readings of the letter and an effort to transform the literal sense to accommodate the spiritual.[51]

Nuance in the literal sense of Scripture was further developed in response to the ecclesiastical and theological turmoil of the early fifteenth century. The Thomistic position on the literal sense (i.e. that attention to its position as foundational for other layers of interpretation would somehow ensure theological clarity) seemed insufficient in the climate of crisis evident at the Council of Constance (1414–18).[52] The problem of schism and the challenge

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49 For a listing of print editions of the *Additiones* with Lyra's *Postilla* see E. A. Gosselin, 'A Listing of the Printed Editions of Nicholas of Lyra', *Traditio* 26 (1970), 399–426. For a helpful discussion of Paul of Burgos (also known as Solomon Halevi or Pablo de Santa María) in context see Ryan Szpiech, 'Scrutinizing History: Polemic and Exegesis in Pablo de Santa María's *Siete Edades del Mundo*', *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010), 96–142.

50 Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples was also known by his Latin name, Jacobus Faber Stapulensis. For a helpful introduction to Lefèvre's hermeneutics, including a translation of his introductions to Psalms and the Pauline Epistles, see Oberman, *Forerunners*, pp. 279–96.

51 Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, pp. 69–71 presents Lyra and Lefèvre as representative of two poles of late medieval exegesis.

52 'Sensus a sanctis patribus traditus': Mark S. Burrows, 'Jean Gerson on the "Traditioned Sense" of Scripture as an Argument for an Ecclesial Hermeneutic', in Mark S. Burrows and Paul Rorem (eds.), *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective: Studies in Honor of Karlfried Froehlich on his Sixtieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), pp. 152–72 and *Jean Gerson and* De consolatione theologiae *(1418): The Consolation of a Biblical and*

of the Hussite movement elicited a hermeneutical response from the great reformer Jean Gerson. If the literal sense of Scripture was to lead the way to right practice, Christians needed to know how to read it properly. Gerson understood Scripture to have its own logic and grammar requiring distinctive modes of interpretation. When confronted with difficulty in drawing *res* out of *verbum*, Gerson turned to what he called the 'sense handed down from the holy fathers'.[53] Gerson's *On the Necessity of Communion for the Laity in Both Kinds* (1417) answered the Utraquists with ten rules for conducting biblical exegesis properly. Rather than simply challenging their theological positions or even offering a competing interpretation of key biblical passages, Gerson offered an approach to the text that would help ascertain the plain sense of the text through the use of tradition. 'Sacred scripture in its authentic reception and interpretation is ultimately resolved by the authority, reception, and approbation of the universal church, and above all by the early church which received [these Scriptures] and its understanding [of them] directly from Christ through the revelation by the Holy Spirit at the day of Pentecost and at many others.'[54] According to Gerson the literal sense of Scripture was 'revealed by Christ and the apostles' and text and meaning (*verbum* and *sensus*) were 'given together in one revelation to the early Church'.[55] For Gerson there could be no *scriptura sola*. To understand the literal sense of Scripture, one needed to incorporate the insight of the Fathers and those closest to revelation. An important element of Gerson's response to heterodoxy and heresy was to elaborate a hermeneutical structure in which church theology and tradition were vital components of the literal sense of the text.

## Responses to the fourfold sense in humanism and Reformation

When pioneer printers Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz were struggling to create a market in Italy for large-run editions of classic works, they decided to throw their remaining resources behind Nicholas of Lyra's fourteenth-century commentary on the Bible.[56] Nicholas's *Postilla* was the

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*Reforming Theology for a Disordered Age* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), pp. 229–34. See also Helmut Feld, *Die Anfänge der modernen biblischen Hermeneutik in der spätmittelalterlichen Theologie* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977).

[53] Burrows, 'The "Traditioned Sense" of Scripture', pp. 156–9.

[54] As translated by Burrows in *Jean Gerson and De consolatione theologiae*, p. 230.

[55] Burrows, 'The "Traditioned Sense" of Scripture', p. 163.

[56] Edwin Hall, *Sweynheym and Pannartz and the Origins of Printing in Italy: German Technology and Italian Humanism in Renaissance Rome* (McMinnville, OR: Phillip J. Pirages, 1991).

first Bible commentary to appear in print, published in Rome in 1471–2 as the *Postillae perpetuae in universa Biblia*. Sweynheym and Pannartz were facing financial ruin as they approached the fifth and final volume of the work, and appealed to Pope Nicholas V for assistance. While there is no evidence that the Pope intervened, the team found financial support somewhere and went on to publish eleven more editions.[57] Of the fifty works that Sweynheym and Pannartz produced during their principal years of production, only two were medieval texts: Thomas Aquinas's *Catena Aurea* on the four Gospels and Nicholas of Lyra's complete *Postilla litteralis*.[58] Lyra's attention to philology, use of Hebrew text and straightforward reading of the literal–historical sense of the text made him a favourite among humanist authors as well as the Reformation scholars who came on their heels, and many editions of the *Postilla litteralis* were printed between the late fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Claims of a radical break with tradition were customary for Reformation scholars, but in practice they demonstrated much continuity with late medieval hermeneutical thought and practice. The reformers largely rejected the spiritual senses of Scripture in favour of the literal sense, but like some of the late medieval exegetes we have seen, they had a fairly expansive notion of what fitted there. The late medieval development of multivocality within the literal sense proved important for sixteenth-century exegetes. Early in his career, Martin Luther (1483–1546) engaged in spiritual interpretation and the sort of literal–spiritual hermeneutics encouraged by Jacques Lefèvre, but he later rejected those early works. In a Table Talk from 1540 he said that he had once engaged 'with allegories, tropologies, and analogies[59] [*sic*] and produced vain art'. He turned away from what he saw as an improper manipulation of Scripture in favor of the literal–historical and literal–prophetic model found in Nicholas of Lyra's work. Discussing his change of heart, he told his listeners, 'Now I have let them go, and this is my best and last[60] art, to translate scripture in its plain sense. The literal sense does it – in it there is life, comfort, strength, teaching, and skill. The other is foolishness, however much it shines.'[61] Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) took up Luther's commitment to the literal sense, combining it with a humanist's conviction in the importance of Hebrew, Greek and Latin in the

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[57] Ibid., pp. 15, 96–101.
[58] Ibid., pp. 15–17.
[59] By context, this clearly should read 'anagogies' rather than 'analogies', and some early sources include that correct form: *WA TR*, vol. v, p. 46, no. 5285.
[60] Some reports read 'first' instead of 'last' here.
[61] Ibid.

study of sacred text. He insisted on the primacy of the letter, but his exegesis in fact is filled with theological and moral material, incorporating the work of patristic and medieval exegetes. In spite of a formal rejection of the fourfold sense, his literal interpretation allowed room for a great deal of non-philological, non-historical material.[62]

John Calvin (1509–64) famously railed against Origen, 'who,' he wrote, 'by hunting everywhere for allegories, corrupts the whole of Scripture'.[63] Calvin's commentary on 2 Corinthians 3:6 ('the letter kills but the spirit gives life') consists of a diatribe against the entire Christian allegorical tradition, which he says obscures rather than illuminates the meaning of the text. Paul's words were distorted by Origen and those who followed him, Calvin complains, so 'many of the ancients without any restraint played all sorts of games with the sacred word of God as if they were tossing a ball to and fro'.[64] In spite of this critique, Calvin made use of patristic and medieval predecessors as well as contemporary exegetes.[65] Furthermore, his own interpretation of the letter included not only literal–historical material, but also literal–prophetic, allegorical, tropological and anagogical material – all understood as part the literal sense.[66]

Reform-minded scholars in England, influenced by Continental reformers and by their own Wycliffite tradition, were also critical of the fourfold sense of Scripture. William Tyndale (c. 1494–1536), author of the first English Bible to be translated with the systematic use of Hebrew and Greek texts, associated the fourfold sense of Scripture explicitly with papal tyranny and the error of the Roman Church. God spoke to humanity by means of biblical text, and the imposition of the fourfold sense of Scripture interfered with the reception of that message. The

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[62] See Timothy Wengert, *Philip Melancthon's Annotationes in Johannem in Relation to its Predecessors and Contemporaries* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1987), pp. 95–140.

[63] John Calvin, Commentary on Genesis 21:12, cited in David Puckett, *John Calvin's Exegesis of the Old Testament* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001).

[64] John Calvin, *2 Corinthians and Timothy, Titus and Philemon*, ed. Thomas Allan Smail and David W. Torrance (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), p. 43.

[65] According to Richard A. Muller, Calvin 'not only studied the exegetical works of contemporaries like Bucer, Bullinger, and Occolampadius; he also read carefully in the commentaries of fathers like Ambrose, Augustine, and Chrysostom, and quite possibly of medieval exegetes like Nicolas of Lyra and Denis the Carthusian. Calvin's exegetical conclusions are not universally or even usually original – they rise out of a venerable catholic tradition and, in their typically nonpolemical mood, seldom indicate indebtedness directly or explicitly'. Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 116.

[66] David Steinmetz, 'Calvin as Interpreter of the Bible', in Donald K. McKim (ed.), *Calvin and the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 282–91 and *Calvin in Context*, 2nd edn. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 268–75. See also Randall Zachman's treatment of Calvin's understanding of Scripture in 'John Calvin', in Justin S. Holcomb (ed.), *Christian Theologies of Scripture: A Comparative Introduction* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2006), pp. 114–33, esp. pp. 126–30.

plain literal sense was the only real meaningful sense of Scripture. However, his literal sense, which he calls 'the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth', is filled with all sorts of non-historical material. In a long discussion of the nature of this literal sense, Tyndale explains that 'Scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories, as all other speeches do; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth, is ever the literal sense'.[67] Allegory and metaphor placed into the text by its human author were acceptable to Tyndale, allegorical conclusions devised by exegetes were not. There is obvious continuity with ideas of the parabolic literal sense in Lyra or Aquinas, but Tyndale framed it in the context of a rejection of the fourfold sense rather than an embrace of it.

This rejection of the fourfold sense by so many sixteenth-century exegetes was met by a defence of it within certain Catholic circles. A Jewish convert to Christianity, Sixtus Senensis (1520–69), followed fairly closely in Nicholas of Lyra's footsteps, embracing the fourfold sense in principle while focusing attention primarily on the literal sense, incorporating a version of Lyra's double literal where necessary. Sixtus wrote a poem celebrating masters of the various senses in his *Bibliotheca sancta*:

> Under the guidance of Jerome you will learn history derived from Greek and Latin sources; Origen and Ambrose will lay open allegories and anagogy; Chrysostom and Gregory will set forth the senses that are apt to form morals; Aurelius[68] sheds light on doubtful areas and places that are submerged in deep darkness; but the beginner should not reject the short, appropriate exposition that comes from Lyra.[69]

Sixteenth-century exegetes were able to abandon the fourfold sense of Scripture in favour of a 'purely' literal sense to whatever degree they did, largely because the innovations of the thirteenth century had provided a model for incorporating figurative language and prophecy within the literal sense. Calvin's determined effort to focus on the literal sense was made possible by the occasional invocation of what he called the typological sense within it, just as Nicholas of Lyra's definition of the literal sense was made possible by the

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[67] Evans, *The Road to Reformation*, p. 48; for a recent thorough treatment of Tyndale, including discussion of his theology, hermeneutics and translation work, see Arne Dembek, *William Tyndale (1491–1536): Reformatorische Theologie als kontextuelle Schriftauslegung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010).

[68] Aurelius refers to Augustine.

[69] Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca Sancta, Ex Praecipuis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Authoribus Collecta*, 2nd edn. (Coloniæ [Cologne]: apud Maternum Cholinum, 1576), pp. 155–7. Here as translated in de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, vol. i, pp. 3–4. The poem, along with two pages of charts describing how Scripture ought to be approached, may be found in the 1593 edition online on pages 187–9: http://books.google.com/books?id=kVhEAAAAcAAJ&dq=inauthor%3A%22Sixtus%20Senensis%22&pg=PA187#v=onepage&q&f=false.

occasional invocation of the double literal. Tyndale distinguished between figures intentionally placed in the literal sense by human authors (as part of the *modus loquendi*) and the arbitrary imposition of figures through allegory (i.e. the spiritual senses in a fourfold scheme).[70] When reformers rejected medieval hermeneutics, they were generally rejecting one possibility within medieval hermeneutics, while embracing another. The Reformation brought the notion of *scriptura sola* to a wide audience, and often came with an implicit or explicit critique of medieval interpretation and its four senses of Scripture. But critics and non-critics alike built their own hermeneutical schemes and expansive understanding of the literal sense of Scripture upon a medieval foundation.

[70]  Evans, *The Road to Reformation*, pp. 48–50.

# The importance of the Bible for early Lutheran theology

KENNETH G. APPOLD

The Lutheran Reformation had a profound impact on how the Bible is used in Christian discourse. In fact, that influence was so compelling that, for many, 'Reformation' and 'Bible' are inextricably linked. If there were a single image that best represents the Reformation, then it would probably be the Bible.[1] At times, though, that association is so strong that it obliterates historical nuance and even leads to distorted assumptions about the Reformation as a whole. Statements such as 'Luther rescued the Bible from papal tyranny', 'the Reformation gave the Bible back to the people' or 'the Catholic church banned Bible-reading' are among the more popular of the (typically Protestant) generalisations which, at the very least, need heavy qualification. (Catholic polemicists circulate their own distortions of the Reformation, of course, but those are less pertinent to this particular issue.) In order to appreciate the Lutheran Reformation's impact on the role of the Bible in Christian theology, one therefore needs to step back from traditional confessional narratives and take a closer look at the historical evidence.

Prior to the Reformation, religious interest in the Bible was remarkably strong. The late medieval age saw an enormously rich devotional life, which in turn led to the formation of countless religious communities – both for laypeople and clergy. Many of these communities showed an interest in reading the Bible and came together in devotional Bible studies. Perhaps more important than the interest itself, however, is the fact that it was often met. Especially in the German-speaking lands, Bibles were not at all rare before Luther's translation appeared, and laypeople's access to the Bible was not prohibited as a general rule.[2] Publication statistics show that, within the Holy Roman Empire

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[1] A similar point has been made with respect to Luther himself by Albrecht Beutel, 'Theologie als Schriftauslegung', in Albrecht Beutel (ed.), *Lutherhandbuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 444–9, esp. p. 444. Paintings, sculptures and similar depictions of Luther (and other reformers) frequently show him holding a Bible.

[2] There were certainly many cases during the Middle Ages where the production and ownership of vernacular Bibles were indeed censored. This typically occurred whenever a

between 1450 and 1519, printers produced sixty-five Latin editions of the Bible and no fewer than twenty-two editions in some form of vernacular German.[3] According to some estimates there were more than 20,000 copies of vernacular Bibles in Germany prior to the Reformation.[4] In Italy, too, there were numerous vernacular Bibles during the late 1400s. France, for reasons that go beyond the scope of this chapter, had far fewer vernacular Bibles before the Reformation, though Latin Bibles were as common there as elsewhere.[5]

Taking the case of Germany, one could argue that 20,000 vernacular Bibles (along with perhaps three times that number in Latin) is hardly enough to satisfy the needs of an entire population. In addition, it should be remembered that the vast majority of Europeans who lived before, during and immediately after the Reformation were illiterate. They would not have known whether the Bible they were holding was written in Latin, German or French because they could not read. How did the common people have access to the Bible?

Here, too, the situation was not as bleak as it may seem at first glance. While most people, particularly those in rural areas, were unable to read Bibles, they had other means of encountering the Bible's contents. These included pictorial representations, such as the illustrated Bibles often called *Biblia pauperum*, or 'Bibles of the Poor', as well as paintings and sculptured reliefs in churches. More directly, though, people who were unable to read a Bible themselves heard it read in church. More than a few studies of rural German communities in the second half of the fifteenth century reveal demands that the priest not only preach regularly, but also read the assigned Scripture lessons in the vernacular.[6] The demand for biblically based preaching, furthermore, has a counterpart in the prolific production of postils: books of sermons that corresponded to the pericopes of a given Sunday or holy day and were meant to aid

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'non-standard' version threatened the status of the official Vulgate. Needless to say, the Reformation heightened such concerns and made censorship more common. Similar disputes over the 'correct' translation later emerged in Protestantism – and continue to the present day.

[3] Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch. Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit: Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1998), vol. 1, p. 461. See also Chapter 9 in this volume.

[4] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 515. For an appreciation of Neddermeyer's statistics, as well as further literature on the topic, see Andrew Gow, 'Challenging the Protestant Paradigm: Bible Reading in Lay and Urban Contexts of the Later Middle Ages', in Thomas J. Heffernan and Thomas E. Burman (eds.), *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 161–91, esp. pp. 179ff.

[5] Neddermeyer, *Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, vol. 1, p. 461.

[6] See John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 10–24.

preachers; many probably read them verbatim rather than writing their own sermons.[7] Analyses of such postils – which are particularly revealing documents of what was preached – roundly contradict the notion that the decades before the Reformation were an 'unbiblical age'.

In that respect, Martin Luther's own emphasis on Scripture, as well as his translation of the Bible, were less revolutionary than they may appear in isolation. Luther did not 'rediscover the Bible' as much as accelerate a process already underway. In an era that saw a significant increase in vernacular Bibles (caused not simply by a rise in pious demand, but more significantly by the technological breakthrough of the printing press), Luther produced one more vernacular Bible – albeit one that went on to eclipse every previous version in linguistic power, theological vision, and in distribution. In an era that sought good preaching and developed a taste for postils, Luther emphasised preaching and wrote his own postils. Here, too, he did these things in such a way that every previous effort seemed instantly forgotten: once Luther's Bible and Luther's sermons became available, demand for their predecessors vanished overnight. It was not the *fact* that Luther emphasised Scripture, therefore, but the particular *quality* of his biblicism that made his contribution so significant. More important than Luther's help in making the Bible available to more people was his distinctive approach to it, his particular way of reading and understanding – and teaching – the Bible. One might summarise this by saying: it was his *theology* that made the difference.

Martin Luther's education in Erfurt and Wittenberg was influenced in part by the larger cultural movement known as biblical humanism. The movement's hallmark was a renewed dedication to *texts*, cultivating both a first-hand immersion in the contents of classical texts such as the Bible and an avid interest in developing critically reliable editions of those texts – notably in Greek and Hebrew editions of the Bible which promised to get closer to the 'original' than the officially sanctioned Latin Vulgate translation.[8] Luther's education, shaped further by his experience as an Augustinian monk, therefore profited from an intensive focus on the Bible both as a source of personal spiritual insight and as an object of critical study. By all accounts, Luther made the most of those opportunities.

After finishing his doctorate in theology in 1512 at the newly founded University of Wittenberg, Luther took a professorship at that institution, a teaching position dedicated to *lectura in biblia* – reading the Bible. The

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[7] Ibid.
[8] These developments are dealt with in greater detail elsewhere in this volume.

designation itself was unremarkable. Similar positions existed at most universities of the day, and *lectura in biblia* was largely synonymous with theology; Luther was a theology professor.[9] If the job description remained traditional, though, Luther soon filled it in a remarkable and increasingly innovate fashion. 'Theology', as it was mostly taught – and as Luther himself had learned it, focused on the exposition of scholastic commentaries, in particular those based on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (*c*. 1100–60). Luther would later dismiss such methods as a kind of second-hand theology, but only after developing his own, more direct approach to the primary biblical text. His first lectures, covering the Psalms, already convey an impression of Luther's exegetical style. They are conspicuous for their close attention to the text, their independence from scholastic commentaries and, perhaps most importantly, for their powerful devotional attitude. Here and elsewhere, Luther's reading of the Bible leads the listener into an entirely new thought-world, a world dominated by an encounter with God. The unique power of Luther's vision derives from that first-hand experience of the Bible as a 'living voice' that speaks of God in such a way that it cuts straight to the heart of the reader. Broadly speaking, one may describe Luther's way of reading as 'existential', or as existentially relevant.

The best-known, if frequently misunderstood, example of how Luther's way of reading the Bible impacted his theology revolves around his so-called Reformation breakthrough – the point at which his theological vision, and in particular his understanding of justification, coalesced. Unfortunately, such a breakthrough is very hard to date precisely, and historians have argued extensively over when, exactly, and under what circumstances it took place. Luther himself describes it late in his career, in the 1545 preface to the first edition of his Latin works, which provides something of an autobiography of the reformer.[10] Both his own comments and the weight of circumstantial evidence make it likely that the breakthrough took place not at one particular moment, but in stages, fuelled by 'many years of diligent Bible study',[11] and several years of lecturing at the university. By his own account, Luther's faith life hinged on his understanding of a passage in Romans 1:17: 'For in [the gospel] the righteousness of God is revealed.'[12] Initially, Luther understood righteousness as

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[9] See Ulrich Köpf, 'Martin Luthers theologischer Lehrstuhl', in Irene Dingel and Günther Wartenberg (eds.), *Die Theologische Fakultät Wittenberg 1502 bis 1602. Beiträge zur 500: Wiederkehr des Gründungsjahres der Leucorea* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2002), pp. 71–86. Also cited in Beutel, 'Theologie als Schriftauslegung', p. 444.

[10] *WA*, vol. LIV, pp. 179–87; English translation in *LW*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 327–38.

[11] *WA*, vol. LIV, p, 184.

[12] For Luther's account see ibid., pp. 185f.

a divine activity: God himself is righteous and acts righteously by punishing unrighteous sinners. This, Luther says, is the traditional view which he had been taught to believe, and it tormented his conscience since he knew he could not measure up to the divine standard set by the law. A turning point came when Luther, 'after meditating day and night upon the connections of these words', read them in light of the rest of the passage: 'For in it the right-eousness of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, "The one who is righteous will live by faith."' Luther now saw righteousness as something 'passive', bestowed by God upon those who believe, not because of their own actions, but solely by grace. That insight became the linchpin of Luther's doctrine of justification, and the guiding principle of his theology as a whole.

In that light – and irrespective of how precise Luther's 1545 recollections about his breakthrough may have been – one can recognise how profoundly the Bible influenced Luther's theology. The central insight of his theological vision remained that of justification *sola fide*, and it was an insight born out of diligent and deeply existential wrestling with the Bible and its language. Because that insight most probably came after the 1517 indulgence controversy, there would probably have been some sort of Reformation initiative even without it, but this was the distinctive subject matter that gave the Lutheran Reformation much of its intellectual power and long-term persuasiveness.

Luther's doctrine of justification, while derived from Scripture, in turn also informs the way he subsequently read Scripture. Luther read the Bible theologically. In other words, he organised the material thematically, arranging it to form a largely coherent narrative of salvation. So powerful was Luther's conviction of the truth he had experienced firsthand, and which he saw corroborated by further biblical texts, that it substantially shaped his understanding of Scripture as a whole. This is particularly evident in his introduction to the newly translated New Testament (1522), where he provides hermeneutical guidelines 'by which the ordinary man can be rescued from his former delusions, set on the right track, and taught what he is to look for in this book, so that he may not seek laws and commandments where he ought to be seeking the gospel and promises of God'.[13] Luther's own Bible reading has taught him to distinguish theologically between 'Law' and 'Gospel', and he now passes that distinction on to the reader as a kind of 'key', or organising principle for understanding Scripture properly. His other prefaces, including that to the Old Testament and those to individual books of the Bible, provide a similar service. Their themes are consistent. The reader is taught to look especially for

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[13]  *LW*, vol. xxxv, p. 357. Cf. *WADB*, vol. vi, p. 2.

commands and promises, distinguishing between law and gospel, and learning to embrace the message of that gospel. In this way, according to Luther, the reader encounters Christ himself in the Bible's centre.[14]

Based on such statements, Luther's critics have often accused him of reading the Bible tendentiously – of knowing in advance what he wants to find, or of reading theology *into* the text instead of drawing it *out*.[15] Such accusations overlook a basic feature of Luther's theological exegesis: the hermeneutical principles he applies to Scripture are themselves biblical in origin. As he himself points out, he had to 'learn' to distinguish between law and gospel, and did so by reading and studying Paul. His interpretative framework emerged over time (even the law–gospel distinction appears to have occurred to him after his initial 'breakthrough' on passive justification, revealing sequential stages of his thought development[16]) and marks a long-term maturation of his readings and of the spirituality that moved them. In that regard, Luther creates a classic 'hermeneutical circle', assembling parts to create a whole and using the whole to illumine the parts – continually, moving 'deeper and deeper' into the text.[17] Luther's prefaces offer his readers a shortcut that he himself did not take.

At the heart of Luther's biblical theology, then, lies a circular process of continual reading. There is no simple, one-directional route from Scripture to theological truth-claims or, for that matter, from theological presuppositions to the biblical text. His theology and his readings of Scripture develop in tandem and continue to inform each other. It is therefore not surprising that many of Luther's most profound theological insights occur within his biblical commentaries – particularly while doing exegesis on the Psalms and the New Testament Epistles. Tellingly, he does not produce a comprehensive work of dogmatic theology, a 'summa theologiae' or even a 'theological system'. For Luther, theology is organically linked to Bible reading and rarely

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[14] Subsequent Protestant theology has made much of the notion of a 'middle of Scripture' (*die Mitte der Schrift*) in Luther's approach to reading the Bible. Though Luther himself rarely uses such terminology, he very clearly sees all of Scripture working together to communicate a central truth – that of Christ's salvific power. Cf. *WA DB*, vol. VII, p. 39. For a more detailed account of Luther's performative understanding of the Gospel see 'A Brief Instruction on What to Look for and Expect in the Gospels (1521)', in *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 117–24; *WA*, vol. X[1,1], pp. 8–18.

[15] To this day, non-Lutheran biblical scholars like to joke that Luther performs 'eisegesis' rather than 'exegesis'.

[16] Cf. *WA TR*, vol. V, no. 5518.

[17] Ibid., vol. 1, no. 352: 'I did not learn my theology all at once, but had to delve deeper and deeper.' The full quotation goes on to describe the role of existential temptation (*Anfechtung*) in Luther's hermeneutical development. Luther feels his readings of Scripture are mature because he has had the devil as a sparring partner, driving him on in his quest to hear the word of God and testing the results on his own spiritual life.

occurs detached from that activity. This makes it hard to speak in simple terms of how the Bible influenced Luther's theology. The relationship between the two is too intimate to distinguish cleanly.

The legacy of Luther's approach to the Bible and theology was profound. Several points stand out. They are anchored by Luther's deeply personal and existential attitude to reading and reflecting on Scripture. The same spiritual energies that drove him towards his 'Reformation breakthrough' remained with him for the rest of his life, even if torment now began to yield to joy. Luther always read the Bible in a profoundly personal way. He also taught his students to do the same, counselling them to apply a threefold rule of prayer, meditation and spiritual temptation (*oratio*, *meditatio*, *tentatio*) to their studies of Scripture. That rule became an important part of subsequent Lutheran theological education. Luther's existential approach to the Bible also contributed to an enduring thematic focus on soteriology, and on the dynamics of justification in particular. Justification, with its attendant distinction between law and gospel, its emphases on grace and faith, and its Christocentric hermeneutics, would remain the central organising principle of Lutheran theology and form the 'middle' of Lutheran readings of Scripture for centuries.

Because it was theological in the manner described, Luther's way of reading the Bible was never 'literal' in the modern sense of the term.[18] Luther's theological insights do not leap 'word for word' from the page. They are the result of interpretative moves. Nor does he treat every part of the Bible with equal esteem. He famously characterised James as an 'epistle of straw' in his preface to the New Testament, 'for it has nothing of the nature of the Gospel about it'.[19] At other times Luther announced his priorities more pointedly: 'But if adversaries use Scripture against Christ, I press Christ against Scripture.'[20] It is the Christ whom Luther encountered in his own study of Scripture who stands at the Bible's centre and directs hermeneutical traffic, halting the superfluous or contradictory, and advancing all that promotes grace and justification. It is the Christ of the gospel who organises the Bible's theology. That soteriological Christocentrism continued to serve as early Lutheranism's dominant hermeneutical principle long after Luther's death. Even as they were developing notions of Scripture's 'divine inspiration' and 'verbal inerrancy', Lutheran

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[18] Luther's understanding of the *sensus literalis* and its relation to the classical 'fourfold sense of Scripture' is complicated, and needs a more extensive treatment than is possible here. For our purposes, it is sufficient to note that Luther's apparent preference for a 'literal' reading of Scripture was subordinate to the theological commitments that more powerfully guided his hermeneutics.

[19] *LW*, vol. xxxv, p. 362; *WA DB*, vol. vi, p. 10.

[20] *WA*, vol. xxxix$^I$, p. 47.

theologians insisted that the Word of God was not found 'word for word' in the Bible. It needed to be extracted by theological interpretation.

Finally, Luther's distinctive approach to the Bible led to a fundamental redefinition of theology itself. Following Luther, theology would be 'practical'. It would no longer focus on summarising or describing divine truth (even if, as was often the case in scholastic theologies, such truth was biblically supported). It would now seek to *apply* those truths directly to spiritual life. The new type of Lutheran theology was based on a 'performative' understanding of the Bible; through the biblical Word, God was said to 'speak' to the reader or hearer, and to do so in a way that effected change.[21] Theology's task lay in facilitating that process. If reading the Bible had led Luther to his own 'Reformation breakthrough', then Lutheran theology should allow other readers of Scripture to experience the same.

The most immediate example of such a new approach to theology came at the hands of Luther's own contemporary and colleague, Philipp Melanchthon. Melanchthon wrote the first textbook of Lutheran theology, the *Loci communes* of 1521.[22] It was revolutionary not only through its material contents, but also in its underlying method. Significantly, Melanchthon's work emerged from his study of the Bible. He had begun to lecture on Paul's Epistle to the Romans in 1519, and sought to create a kind of summary of the work, 'indicating as cogently as possible to my private students the issues at stake in Paul's theology'.[23] To do so, he availed himself of an Aristotelian rhetorical device known as a *topos* in Greek, or *locus* in Latin. In Melanchthon's adaptation, a *locus* refers to a topical centre, or 'main point' of a text.[24] Collecting the *loci* of Paul's Epistle therefore amounts to creating a list of the main points that the text makes. Clearly, deciding which of Paul's many points are the 'main'

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[21] For an example of Luther's performative understanding of Scripture, one may turn to his introduction to the 'Wartburg Postil', among other places: 'When you open the book containing the gospels and read or hear how Christ comes here or there, or how someone is brought to him, you should therein perceive the sermon or the gospel through which he is coming to you, or you are being brought to him. For the preaching of the gospel is nothing else than Christ coming to us, or we being brought to him': *LW*, vol.xxxv, p. 121. Cf. *WA*, vol.x[1,1], pp. 13f. Passages such as this have caused some scholars to speak of a *pro nobis*, or *pro me* character of Luther's reading of the gospel.

[22] Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci communes rerum theologicarum seu hypotyposes theologicae* (Wittenberg: n.p., 1521), *VD16* M 3585. An English translation is available in Wilhelm Pauck (ed.), *Melanchthon and Bucer* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969).

[23] Pauck (ed.), *Melanchthon and Bucer*, p. 18. Melanchthon's lectures also yielded a less famous, more technical commentary on Romans guided by a closer verse-by-verse exegesis. For an English translation see P. Melanchthon, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. Fred Kramer (St Louis: Concordia, 2010).

[24] Older English translations of the *Loci communes* use the term 'commonplaces'.

or central ones is a work of interpretation. Melanchthon's approach to the *loci* therefore introduces a kind of hermeneutical method. This, Melanchthon suggests, is how one should read the Bible.

As interesting as Melanchthon's method is his decision to view the results as a theological textbook: 'In this book the principal topics of Christian teaching are pointed out.'[25] This would have surprised any reader familiar with the history of previous Christian thought. For one thing, theological textbooks tended to be much larger than the Wittenberg professor's slim volume. Scholastic theologians typically sought to provide comprehensive summaries of theological issues – such as Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* – or commentaries on the theological 'questions' of Peter Lombard. Melanchthon makes no attempt to be comprehensive in that sense, but he does claim to be complete: these are the principal topics of Christian teaching. This is all one 'needs' to know.

Melanchthon's reduction of theological topics follows a deliberate pattern. It is a structure that, he will argue, emanates from Paul's text. The apostle is not interested in amassing answers to every theological question his readers may have; he simply wants to teach them to know Christ. And to know Christ, Melanchthon points out, is to know not only descriptive information about him, but more fundamentally, 'why he put on flesh and was nailed to the cross' and how that 'benefits' humankind; that kind of knowledge is salvific.[26] Much like Luther, Melanchthon emphasises a kind of *practical* knowledge based on the performative quality of 'the Gospel': 'This, then, is Christian knowledge: to know what the law demands, where you may seek power for doing the law and grace to cover sin, how you may strengthen a quaking spirit against the devil, the flesh, and the world, and how you may console an afflicted conscience.'[27] Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, which present chapters on the Law, Gospel, Sin, Grace, Justification and Faith, Hope, Love, Repentance and the Sacraments, seek to impart that kind of knowledge.

Implicit in Melanchthon's turn to a 'practical' conception of theology is his assumption that the Bible itself has a 'practical' goal, and that properly understanding the Bible requires a particular form of knowledge: 'Christ was given us as a remedy and, to use the language of Scripture, a saving remedy. It is therefore proper that we know Christ in another way than that which the Scholastics have set forth.'[28] Seeking speculative knowledge about topics

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[25] Pauck (ed.), *Melanchthon and Bucer*, pp. 18f.
[26] Ibid., p. 22.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.

such as 'the mysteries of the Trinity, the mode of incarnation, or active and passive creation'[29] misses what Paul aims to impart. Such knowledge, while perhaps interesting, is not performative in an evangelical sense: it does not impart an *effective* (i.e. salvific) knowledge of Christ. Even the desire to identify 'virtues and vices', or to read Paul's Epistle as a handbook for moral behavior (an approach also evident in contemporary debates over human sexuality) is 'more philosophical than Christian'.[30] A more appropriate reading enables an applied, efficacious knowledge of Christ. Put more simply: this kind of knowledge *does something* to the knower. It 'commends Christ to you, strengthens the conscience, and arouses the mind against Satan'.[31]

Melanchthon's *Loci communes* demonstrate three ways in which the Bible revolutionised early Lutheran theology. First, this textbook of dogmatic theology comes as the direct product of biblical exegesis. Melanchthon had begun by reading Romans and continued by drawing up what he understood to be the text's main points. The result is an account of the 'fundamental doctrines of the faith'. Second, the work's underlying method proceeds from a particular understanding of how the Bible's language works. Both Melanchthon and Luther read the Bible as a 'living voice', bringing forth performative utterances that cause specific effects. The *Loci* seek to do justice to that character of the Bible by identifying those topics that are mostly likely to convey the effect of salvation. Finally, both the selection of Romans as foundational for Christian dogmatics and the specification of the Bible's intended effects as salvific 'Gospel' are the consequence of a hermeneutical process that highlighted *sola fide* justification in a way that, while not entirely unprecedented, was radical in its time. In that sense, one may say that the Reformers 'rediscovered' – or even 'liberated' – a key component of the biblical message, and that this discovery revolutionised both the methods and contents of their theology.

While both Luther and Melanchthon attributed a 'practical' character to their new style of biblically based theology, neither developed a very technical understanding of that term. Luther generally contented himself with rather simple statements, such as: 'True theology is practical, and its foundation is Christ, whose death is apprehended by faith ... Speculative theology belongs with the devil in hell.'[32] These underscore his basic insight that theology needs to be 'Scriptural' rather than based on human reason, but remain

[29]  Ibid.
[30]  Ibid.
[31]  Ibid.
[32]  *WA TR*, vol. 1, no. 153. As an example of such 'speculative theology', Luther cites Zwingli's thoughts on the nature of the Eucharist.

unsatisfying since it is clear that, for Luther, 'Scriptural' theology can only mean a theology centred on justification – and he leaves unexamined the role of reason in making that hermeneutical selection. Melanchthon had sufficient philosophical training to address such issues more fully, but appears to have lost interest in pursuing them. The subsequent development of his own *Loci* – whose later editions came to be called *Loci theologici* – moved further and further from their puristic beginnings, were less readily identifiable as works of exegesis, and lost their methodological focus on soteriology to an ever-expanding desire for more comprehensiveness. Their doctrinal positions, at least, remained largely consistent.

Subsequent generations of Lutheran theologians, however, did develop a distinctive and more technical notion of theology as a practical science.[33] They took up the first-generation Reformers' insights and commitments, and buttressed them with more sophisticated philosophical equipment. Key to this development was the reception of new works of Aristotelian logic, particularly the *Opera logica* of the Italian philosopher Giacomo Zabarella (1533–89).[34] Zabarella distinguished between two kinds of science: contemplative and operative disciplines. The first deals with knowledge of necessary things and pursues knowledge for its own sake. The second deals with knowledge of contingent things and applies that knowledge to specific ends. It may be called 'practical'. Lutheran – and some Reformed – theologians readily saw their own work aligned with Zabarella's second category. Theology, in their view, resembled medical science: it sought to restore humans to health – in this case spiritual health. Fortunately, Zabarella also supplied a methodology for such sciences. For practical disciplines he proposed an *ordo resolutivus*, which later came to be known as the 'analytical method' and was adopted by a good number of Lutheran theologians. Zabarella's method lent itself wonderfully to the Reformers' performative understanding of biblical language. If the Gospel *does* something to those who receive it, much like medicine effects a change in a patient, then a science dedicated to mediating (or proclaiming) that gospel needs to proceed appropriately. According to Zabarella's method, practical sciences begin by identifying their *goal*, specifying the *subject* to whom the goal

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[33] For a fuller treatment of these developments, and more extensive bibliography, see Kenneth G. Appold, *Abraham Calov's Doctrine of Vocatio in its Systematic Context* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1998), pp. 16–29.

[34] The work collects several earlier treatises, most notably two short books *De natura logicae*, and was published in Venice in 1578 and in Cologne in 1597, the latter edition making it more widely available to scholars in Germany. A modern reproduction of the 1597 edition is G. Zabarella, *Opera logica*, ed. Wilhelm Risse (Hildesheim: Olms, 1966).

applies, and then analysing the *means and principles* by which the subject is to be brought to that goal.

While Zabarella did not apply his analytical method to the discipline of theology, many seventeenth-century Lutherans did.[35] In their hands, theology's goal lay in reconciliation with God. Its subject was the human being, estranged by God through sin. The means and principles for bringing about reconciliation of the sinner with God followed clearly from the Lutheran doctrine of justification: they were grounded in Christ's salvific work, communicated by the word and sacraments, and applied to the sinner by the Holy Spirit in faith. Looking at the tables of contents of many important theological textbooks of the period – such as those by Georg Calixt (1586–1656), Abraham Calov (1612–86), Johann Friedrich König (1619–64) and Johann Andreas Quenstedt (1617–88) – one finds in all a similar structure. After a prolegomena, they begin with a discussion of God and enjoyment of God (*fruitio Dei*), followed by an anthropology (the human subject, including an account of sin) and an analysis of the principles and means of salvation (Christology, word and sacrament, pneumatology).[36] Their aim is pedagogical: they view theology as a means of training theologians to 'lead people to salvation'.[37]

One may legitimately ask how seventeenth-century Lutheranism's theological method reflects influence of the Bible. That influence, admittedly, is indirect. But it is also fundamental to their project. The decision to define theology as a practical science and to adapt Zabarella's method stems from the same underlying understanding of what is at stake in the Bible that had motivated Melanchthon's early *Loci communes*. It emerges from an appreciation of the Bible's performative 'living voice', and from a commitment to the Reformers' soteriological hermeneutics. It also set the tone for Lutheran theological education for more than a century, affecting the curriculum, the pedagogical vision and the material content of its courses. Given the vastly increased importance of theological education in the post-Reformation era, that is very significant.

[35] The first significant theologian to employ Zabarella's analytical method was not Lutheran but Reformed: Bartholomaeus Keckermann (1571–1609). See Appold, *Calov's Doctrine*, and Kenneth G. Appold, *Orthodoxie als Konsensbildung: Das theologische Disputationswesen an der Universität Wittenberg zwischen 1570 und 1710* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2004), pp. 70–2.
[36] Not all Lutheran theologians adopted this method; the most famous of those who did not was Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), whose *Loci theologici* (1610/25) nonetheless enjoyed great influence.
[37] See for example Abraham Calov, *Systema locorum theologicorum*, 12 vols. (Wittenberg: Hartmann, 1655–77), vol. 1, p. 1. For a discussion of how seventeenth-century Lutherans defined theology and shifted the Reformers' understanding of theology as a 'practical' science see Appold, *Calov's Doctrine*, pp. 46–66.

The Bible had a more direct influence on post-Reformation Lutheran theology as well. It supplied much of the content. Typically, at least half the professors of a Lutheran theology faculty were occupied with lectures on the Bible. In the case of Wittenberg, that meant two out of four *ordinarii* (ordinary professors). In addition, 'extraordinary professors' frequently taught Bible, as did members of the philosophy faculty, since this is where early modern universities located language study, and where students learned Greek and Hebrew (and often Aramaic, Syriac and others). Those instructors left a prolific published record of their works, and biblical commentaries account for a considerable percentage of academic publication in the period. Academic disputations also dealt with most books of the Bible, normally proceeding sequentially through an individual work, though sometimes focusing on one verse or pericope in isolation. According to the study guides of the time, exegesis was seen as the foundation of theological learning.[38]

The remaining sub-disciplines of Lutheran theology – normally systematics and controversial theology – also drew their contents from Scripture. On the one hand, that was only natural, since most of the systematicians and controversialists had also been exegetes at one time, and responsibilities at faculties frequently shifted between these subdisciplines; any professor would be capable of teaching any of the classic subjects. On the other hand, it was also the result of a conscious commitment to biblically based theology, and all of the era's works of Lutheran systematics feature copious references to Scripture either within the text or in the margins. Not surprisingly, justification – drawn from continued readings of Pauline epistles, as well as from other parts of the Bible – remained at the centre of the theological enterprise. Other topics became prominent as well, however, and a survey of the period's theological publications reveals remarkable breadth. One especially interesting example of biblical influence comes from the pen of Wittenberg theologian Wolfgang Franz (1564–1628). Franz, who had previously studied the natural sciences, compiled a detailed 'description' of all the animals found in the Bible (including those not found in nature – such as dragons, unicorns, etc.), and published it as a kind of handbook of sacred zoology in 1612.[39] The book was astonishingly popular, and saw numerous reprintings well into the eighteenth century.

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[38] For an in-depth account of theological education at Lutheran universities in this period see Marcel Nieden, *Die Erfindung des Theologen: Wittenberger Anweisungen zum Theologiestudium im Zeitalter von Reformation und Konfessionalisierung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

[39] Wolfgang Franz, *Historia animalium sacra* (Wittenberg: Schurer & Gormann, 1612).

Controversial theology, otherwise known as polemics, was generally seen as the most advanced theological subject. Even in retrospect, this makes good sense. Defending the faith and engaging in theological debate with confessional opponents required a firm command of the discipline's full range, including Scripture, the history of doctrine, and the teachings of both one's own and the other's church. Describing the Bible's influence on such debates is somewhat more problematic than with other forms of Lutheran discourse since Scripture's role was itself a subject of controversy. Lutherans advanced a *sola scriptura* principle, contending that Scripture counted as ultimate[40] norm and authority in dogmatic matters. Roman Catholics argued that Tradition – the historical teachings and interpretations of the church – was also normative. That debate was so deeply entrenched that the two sides spent far more time and effort on this meta-issue than they ever did over differences in actual exegesis.

Polemical pressure played a large role in the development of another well-known 'meta-doctrine' in early Lutheranism: that of Scripture's divine inspiration. If Scripture was to function as doctrine's rule and norm, then its reliability had to be unassailable – particularly if it had no external support from an institutionalised teaching authority. That need to shore up the Bible's authority becomes further evident as additional attributes such as infallibility, inerrancy and perspicuity were coupled with increasingly detailed assertions of divine authorship. It is perhaps too easy, in retrospect, to dismiss such doctrines, particularly when they were pushed to absurd lengths – as when some theologians claimed even the Hebrew vowel signs to have been divinely inspired.[41] To appreciate the doctrine of divine inspiration one needs to keep in mind the soteriological concentration of Lutheran hermeneutics. Early Lutherans fully expected to encounter Christ's saving grace in the Bible. But they did not expect to find it there word for word; in fact, they rejected that

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[40] The word *sola* implies an exclusivity – Scripture as *only* norm and rule – that Lutherans did not follow in practice, since they also made regular use of other dogmatic norms, such as the ancient creeds, the Augsburg Confession and, after 1580, the Formula of Concord. When challenged on this, Lutheran theologians argued that Scripture always remained the primary authority, and that the others were derived and secondary. Still, the issue remained murky. Some Lutherans were sufficiently insecure about the authority of the creeds that they spent considerable energies to 'demonstrate' that the doctrine of the Trinity was already spelled out in both Testaments of the Bible. At the other extreme, a few Lutheran theologians began to assert that not only the Bible, but even the Augsburg Confession was divinely inspired.

[41] For an engaging account of this controversy see Johann Anselm Steiger, 'The Development of the Reformation Legacy: Hermeneutics and Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture in the Age of Orthodoxy', in *HBOT* II, pp. 691–757, esp. pp. 747ff.

notion explicitly.[42] Continuing the Reformers' efforts to highlight *was Christum treibet* ('what drives Christ' – Luther), or to identify Scripture's theological *loci* (Melanchthon), post-Reformation Lutherans felt that the Word of God needs to be extracted and interpreted from the many words of the Bible. It was the Bible's capacity to communicate that Word that demanded some notion of divine inspiration, particularly when one keeps in mind the Word's performative dimension. If one believed – as these Lutherans invariably did – that Scripture is *efficacious* in communicating Christ's saving grace, then it would be difficult to claim that Scripture *lacked* inspiration. Because they read the Bible theologically, early Lutherans were not inclined to the kind of unreflective biblicism to which modern-day proponents of verbal inspiration often succumb.

The Bible has often been likened to a strange and foreign land. One seldom has the impression, however, that early Lutheran theologians experienced it that way. On the contrary, their way of using Scripture frequently suggests an astonishing level of intimacy, a sense of being-at-home in the text. Their controversialist theology, for example, makes liberal use of Bible references – yet direct quotes are relatively rare. More common are paraphrases of a scriptural argument, or brief allusions embedded in the author's text. To a reader less familiar with Scripture, many of these references would pass unnoticed if they were not identified in the margins. Such paraphrasing reveals not only early Lutherans' facility with Scripture, but also a comfort with the text that allows a degree of freedom when they quote it to make a theological point.

Such practices can be irritating to modern readers. Those who don't share the same theological or discursive presuppositions find the biblical references supplied in margins bewildering or inapposite. Some observers have criticised what they take to be 'proof-texting', a sort of hollow assemblage of superficially supporting passages, generally taken out of context. It is true that early Lutheran authors, whether quoting verbatim or paraphrasing, rarely bothered to include a passage's surrounding context; on the other hand, their and their readers' level of familiarity with Scripture rendered such steps often superfluous. Context was understood (or at least taken for granted).

Early Lutherans' intimacy with the Bible came as the result of intensive reading, undergirded by the high importance Scripture held as *principium cognoscendi* for theology. Some of that intimacy, however, also stems from a lack of conflict with extra-biblical sources of knowledge. Only slowly did the new scientific paradigms of Galileo, Kepler and Copernicus, new insights on

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[42] For example, see Calov, *Systema locorum*, vol.I, p. 804.

human anatomy and a dawning sense of history begin to impact Lutheran biblical theology during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And because Lutheran theologians had long distinguished between a Book of Nature and a Book of Scripture – ascribing a different revelatory function to each – they were not immediately troubled by the threat of a paradigm shift in the former.[43] Their soteriological commitments were on a different page. Only as new world views began to erode the biblical world that they had so long taken for granted did Lutherans begin to acquire a kind of 'critical distance' from Scripture. For much of the seventeenth century, though, the Bible seemed much closer at hand.

That familiarity with Scripture is particularly visible in Lutheran Bible commentaries during the early part of the seventeenth century. The task of a commentary lies in 'explaining' the text, and in making clear that which is obscure. Tellingly, early Lutherans did not see much point in explaining the Bible's social background or its historical context. Either they assumed that the Bible's cultural world was so similar to their own that it simply did not require elucidation, or they were less interested in these matters. Early Lutheran theologians did, however, see a need for explaining the theological principles that the Bible contained.

Friedrich Balduin's commentaries on Paul's Epistles exemplify such an approach.[44] Balduin (1575–1627) taught at Wittenberg and is known primarily for his innovative work on casuistic ethics; he taught more than that, however, and these commentaries are also based on his instruction at the university.[45] Dividing the Epistles up into thematically distinct units or pericopes, he begins with a citation of the Greek and Latin texts (based on Erasmus's critical edition). Balduin then adds four layers of commentary. The first is an 'Analysis and Explication', which is essentially a theological reflection comparable in form to Melanchthon's *loci* and containing occasional references to earlier interpreters such as Augustine. Then follows a 'Paraphrase', which typically progresses to a further level of abstraction and provides a more concise theological summary. The third layer focuses on controversial 'Questions' raised by the text itself, its relation (and apparent contradiction) to other passages in the Bible, or by the interpretations of other scholars. Like

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[43] This, of course, is not to say that they ignored those challenges. For an account of these matters see Charlotte Methuen, 'On the Threshold of a New Age: Expanding Horizons as the Broader Context of Scriptural Interpretation', in *HBOT* 11, pp. 665–90.

[44] Friedrich Balduin, *Commentarius in omnes epistolas Pauli cum indicibus prioribus et novi generalis auctario* (Frankfurt am Main: Balthasar Mevius, Caspar Rotelius, 1654).

[45] Balduin was professor of theology at Wittenberg between 1605 and his death in 1627. The work's prefaces are dated from 1611 to 1622.

the authors of medieval *quaestio*-exercises, Balduin provides answers to these issues. Finally, Balduin closes each section with 'Aphorisms': theological theses drawn from the analysed passage. Throughout the commentary, Balduin shows little interest in historical background or even (which is less typical for his day) in philological fine points of the texts. His primary aim lies in providing a practical–theological understanding of Scripture. Like most Lutheran theologians of this period, his exegesis follows the established Christocentric and soteriological patterns of theological hermeneutics, and in seeking to make Scripture useful for the homiletic and ethical needs of the church.[46] In Balduin's view, this is the approach most appropriate to form and intent of Paul's Epistles, which, much like Melanchthon, he sees as a 'doctrinae Christianae compendium'.[47] Reflecting on his own methods, Balduin observes that the Bible 'requires an accurate and industrious interpreter', implying that its doctrines are not always immediately apparent. Fortunately, he continues, the 'Holy Spirit rules' over the interpreter's work and guides it towards the desired outcome.[48]

Theologians such as Balduin, who was active during the first three decades of the 1600s, showed a remarkable intimacy with the biblical world, underscored by their belief that the Holy Spirit accompanied and guided their reading. With considerable confidence, they applied Scripture's maxims directly to their own situation as a living and present voice. They show no apparent consciousness of the vast historical and cultural gap that separated them from the biblical past. In his sermons on Joshua, for example, Balduin draws lessons from the behaviour of Old Testament rulers and aims these directly at the princes of his own day – as though they were contemporaries living in a neighbouring state.[49]

Such immediacy became harder to maintain as the seventeenth century progressed, however. The older world view, crafted from a combination of biblical narratives and teachings, and Aristotelian physics and metaphysics, began to face pressure from several directions. The most obvious of these came from the natural sciences, particularly from astronomy, revolutionised by figures such as Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo. Medicine, too, experienced a transformation as human anatomy moved to centre stage of that

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[46] Regrettably, there has been no comprehensive study of Balduin's commentaries as yet.
[47] Balduin, *Commentarius in omnes epistolas Pauli*, a4ʳ.
[48] From Balduin's introduction to the commentary on Romans: ibid.
[49] Friedrich Balduin, *Josua, das ist/ Gründliche Erklärung der Geist= und Lehrreichen Historien des Buchs Josua, von der Kinder Israel Einzug und Theilung in dem gelobten Lande Chanaan/ in LXIIX. Predigten der Gemeine Gottes zu Wittenberg vorgetragen* (Wittenberg: Seelfisch & Helwich, 1621).

curriculum. Universities built special 'anatomical theatres' to support this empirical approach to medicine and allow students – and other interested parties – to observe the autopsies. If theology had seen its analogue in medicine, the fact that medicine was changing so radically surely influenced more than a few perceptive theologians. They came to value 'personal experience' as well, becoming more sceptical towards 'dry dogmatics'.

Finally, study of the Bible itself was changing. In Wittenberg these changes become particularly noticeable in the 1620s and 1630s, as interest in the 'oriental' languages blossomed. A new philology professor named Martin Trost was called to the faculty in 1628/9 on the strength of his recently published Syriac edition of the New Testament.[50] He quickly expanded the language programme to include Syriac, Aramaic, Coptic and Arabic. His position was renamed from professor of Hebrew to professor of Orientalistics. The transition involved more than simply adding a few languages; along with language study came a heightened interest in the cultures that produced those languages.[51] The programme came to resemble something like 'Near Eastern Studies'. Significantly, since it was lodged in the philosophy (liberal arts) department, it was the training ground of everyone who later moved on to study the more advanced discipline of theology. The late seventeenth-century theologian Johann Andreas Quenstedt, for example, wrote an influential study of historical burial practices while a philosophy student in Wittenberg, developing an understanding of ritual that he later applied to discussions of the Christian sacraments.[52] The past was moving further away, aided by a growing fascination with chronicles and history writing and a resultant historical consciousness. Lutheran theologians were beginning to see the Bible as a foreign land.

[50] Martin Trost, *Novum Domini nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum Syriace. Cum versione Latina. Ex diversis editionibus diligentißime recensitum, accesserunt in fine notationes variant islectionis, ex quinque impressis editionibus diligenter collectae* (Köthen: [Fürstliche Druckerei], 1621).

[51] Recent scholarship has focused mainly on early Lutheranism's interest in rabbinic literature; in fact, those interests were much broader and included Arabic, Syriac and Coptic sources as well. This is evident from seventeenth-century library catalogues and programmes, among other places. See for example Andreas Sennert, *Bibliotheca orientalis, sive Idea pleni systematis lingvarum orientalium, maxime Ebraeae matris, Chaldaeae, Syrae, Arabicaeque, filiarum utpote trium primigenarum nobilissima rumque nec non Rabbinismi* (Wittenberg: n.p., 1656). For background see Appold, *Orthodoxie als Konsensbildung*, pp. 102f.

[52] Johann Andreas Quenstedt, *Sepultura veterum, sive tractatus de antiquis ritibus sepulcralibus graecorum, romanorum, judaeorum et christianorum...* (Wittenberg: Mevius, Schumacher and Oelschlegel, 1660). For an assessment of Quenstedt's work in these areas see Appold, *Orthodoxie als Konsensbildung*, pp. 115–21. Quenstedt is best known for his monumental textbook of dogmatic theology, though the *Sepultura veterum*, which also saw several editions, may well have had a longer-term influence.

Abraham Calov's *Biblia illustrata*, first published in 1672,[53] is a work of monumental breadth, considerable profundity and great historical interest.[54] It was as though Calov, with one Herculean effort, sought to wrest the Bible back on to familiar turf. Heinches his way through every book of the Bible, Old Testament and New, giving philological explications, navigating through a seemingly endless thicket of allied and opposing readings of each verse, and providing theological interpretations wherever appropriate. Calov's hermeneutics are very much guided by his theological commitments, and by a conviction that all of Scripture forms a cohesive whole.[55] Not surprisingly, his hermeneutical approach centres on the Bible's soteriological applicability. In that regard, it is quintessentially Lutheran.

Calov had other agendas as well. More than a work of biblical commentary, the *Biblia illustrata* also plants a flag in the field of cultural and ecclesial politics. Calov has specific opponents in mind, against whom he seeks to make a mark. Most important among these was the Dutch humanist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), best known for his works on legal theory, but who also wrote annotations to the Old and New Testaments late in his career.[56] They were published in the 1640s, about a decade before Calov began his work on the *Biblia illustrata*. Grotius's commentaries were widely read. Because his hermeneutical approach had little in common with that of mainstream Lutherans, and his irenical commitment sought to diminish rather than highlight differences between the confessions, his exegesis yielded much to which Calov could object. Regrettably, Grotius died before Calov responded with his own commentary, and so a genuine dialogue between the two never took place. The fact that Calov also commends Grotius when he agrees with him (which is more often than one might suppose) suggests that such a dialogue may have been interesting. In some ways, however, the two great thinkers simply spoke different languages. Among the features that make Grotius's *Annotations*

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[53] Abraham Calov, *Biblia veteris et novi testamenti illustrata*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Wustius, 1672–6). Much of the *Biblia illustrata* had been published in the form of academic disputations during the 1650s.

[54] Calov also composed a similar work for laypeople, commenting on Luther's German Bible in German. Known as the 'Calov Bible', it enjoyed considerable popularity and was the personal study-Bible of Johann Sebastian Bach.

[55] See Volker Jung, *Das Ganze der Heiligen Schrift: Hermeneutik und Schriftauslegung bei Abraham Calov* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1999).

[56] Hugo Grotius, *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1644); *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* 3 vols. [published as separate parts] (Amsterdam and Paris: Blaeu, Pepingué, and Maucroy, 1641–50); the works were published in many subsequent editions. For an up-to-date account of Grotius's theological and exegetical significance see Florian Mühlegger, *Hugo Grotius: ein christlicher Humanist in politischer Verantwortung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007).

interesting is his apparent abandonment of a genuinely confessional exegetical standpoint. This is customarily attributed to his irenical agenda, but it may well be the product of a mind seeking new access to Scripture, an access free of dogmatic assumptions and 'outside' the hermeneutical circles cultivated by confessional theologians. That made him a difficult and potentially threatening conversation partner for Calov. It was another sign that an established world view was slipping away. Grotius had opened a door to the future. Calov recognised the threat and used his commentary to meet it.

Next to its staggering range of exegesis and commentary, Calov's *Biblia illustrata* contains another noteworthy feature. Its introduction to the Old Testament is augmented by an extensive 'chronicle' of the Bible: an attempt to arrange every event sequentially and to assign it a precise date. Since few 'external' sources – such as those provided by modern archaeology – were available to Calov, he bases his timeline on the chronologies provided by the Bible itself. According to those calculations, he sets the date of creation at 4000 BC. Though Calov claims that such a chronology 'needs to be observed sedulously',[57] it is difficult to see how, precisely, doing so would affect his theology. The chronology allows Calov to divide the Old Testament age into seven 'epochs', each of which allows a slightly different aspect of divine proclamation to become visible, but all of which contribute to a kind of 'proto-Evangelion' whose focus is Christ.[58] Calov could easily make that point – and illustrate it richly – without saying that the world was created in 4000 BC. His efforts may better be understood as part of the larger cultural move to apply historical tools and methods to the Bible. In an age of emerging historical consciousness, Calov uses what tools he has – and these happen to be within the biblical text – to gain 'historical' access to Scripture. Only in retrospect and in light of more recently available extra-biblical historical sources does Calov's move appear defensive. In his own time these chronicles were marks of a progressive spirit. One suspects, however, that the growing interest in historical information about the Bible which Calov exemplifies may itself contain a defensive moment: much as a cartographer maps a foreign land to make it better known, these chroniclers sought to chart the growingly unfamiliar Bible – paradoxically counteracting a process of alienation that their own methods had initiated.

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[57] Abraham Calov, *Biblia Testam: Veteris illustrata* (Frankfurt am Main: B. C. Wustius, 1672), p. 55.
[58] Ibid., p. 55.

If Abraham Calov and his contemporaries at Lutheran university facul-
ties represent one way of addressing the challenges of a changing intellec-
tual culture, there would soon be another. This, though very different in
approach, was every bit their equal in influence. It, too, was Lutheran, and
it was known as Pietism. To appreciate the emergence of Lutheran Pietism
during the final quarter of the seventeenth century, it is helpful to identify one
further dimension of the Bible's significance for early Lutheran theology. In
addition to the material influences described so far, the Bible also had a formal
impact on Lutheran theology, and this caused profound institutional changes.
Since the Bible was the source, norm and rule of Lutheran doctrine, those
who were best prepared to read it had a proportionately greater influence
on the articulation of doctrine. Very quickly, one group emerged at the apex
of that development: professional, academic theologians. In the absence of
a clearly defined ecclesial teaching authority, university theology professors
filled the role of Lutheranism's doctrinal voice.[59] Their authority increased
as biblical exegesis became more complicated and required more educational
prerequisites – a process sketched briefly above. That progression was nat-
ural and unsurprising. The Lutheran Reformation, after all, had its origins in
academic study of the Bible, began in a university context with a university
disputation, and made academic reform one of its primary agenda points. In
large part, those reforms were aimed at improving the education of future
pastors – and they were highly successful. Lutheranism would always have a
strong academic component and a deep commitment to scholarship. Those
features allowed it to produce a body of clergy with an unprecedented level
of education. When coupled with the rising bureaucratisation and centralisa-
tion of early modern German states, however, these features also facilitated
a particular institutional brand of church that, by placing a premium on its
academic elites, threatened to lose touch with its lay congregants. One could
argue that at least some of this contradicted the Reformation's own original
intent. Pastors such as Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) did argue just that –
and initiated a large-scale movement of correction. They sought to bring the
Bible 'back' to the people.

[59] In practice, the difference between ecclesial and academic authorities was not great,
since most Lutheran theology professors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries
simultaneously held high church offices, or left their academic posts to assume those
offices. Bishops, superintendents, consistorial assessors and court chaplains were almost
all taken from the ranks of leading university professors. In that regard, it would be mis-
leading to posit a conflict or rivalry between Lutheran church and academy during the
early modern period.

There were three principal means by which Lutheran Pietists popularised access to Scripture. The first of these originated in Spener's Frankfurt parish at the request of laypeople desiring opportunities for devotional reading and edification beyond those provided by regular worship services. With Spener's support these grew into Bible-study groups, commonly called *collegia pietatis*, and would soon spread to other cities, becoming a hallmark of the Pietist movement. Though clergy were often involved in these Bible studies, they were primarily gatherings of laypeople and in many cases included women (who at this time were barred from higher education and therefore from the formal study of theology). Second, Pietists focused considerable energies into the mass printing of affordable bibles. The most famous of these initiatives came about under the auspices of August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), founder of the seminal diaconal institute Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle, and Karl Hildebrand von Canstein (1667–1719). The Canstein Bible Society was the first of its kind, and managed to mass-produce bibles at remarkably affordable prices for the time. Bible-printing went hand-in-hand with a third component of the Pietist agenda: mission and evangelisation. Apart from notable accomplishments within their own countries, Pietists launched Lutheranism's first successful international missions, beginning with those to Tamil Nadu in India in 1706. Bibles began to be translated into many new languages. All three of these factors contributed towards a considerable widening of Bible readership. Even relatively uneducated laypeople began to make the Bible their own. In that regard, Pietism challenged the institutionalised authority of academic Lutheranism and at least partly weakened the role of advanced biblical scholarship in church discourse. Lutheran scholarship continued, of course, but after 1700 it increasingly found itself confronted by the watchful eyes of non-academic parishioners quick to correct those with whom they disagreed – or whom they simply failed to understand.

It is important to remember that mainstream Lutheran Pietists such as Spener and Francke were not 'anti-academic'. Many were highly educated theologians and held university posts. Some of Francke's most important contributions came in the field of pedagogy, for example. Nor were they interested in repudiating the commitments of earlier Lutheran theology. If anything, they sought to reclaim and revive some of that earlier initiative. Above all, it was theology's *practical* character – always understood by Lutherans as a soteriological application of the Bible's message – that they worked to accentuate. There were, however, some changes. Mostly, these were shifts in emphasis rather than fundamental changes in doctrine. Pietists tended, for example, to find particular value in conversion experiences, and were alert to biblical

accounts of illumination and rebirth. Attention to the Bible's prophetic writings in some cases yielded different eschatologies. Passages conducive to moral edification achieved special resonance as well. Luther's theological conviction that all believers should be viewed as spiritual 'priests' was taken up by Spener and rearticulated as a 'universal priesthood' – now understood as a summons to laypeople towards greater involvement in the work of the church. More controversial were views, held by Francke among others, that the Bible's 'true' meaning was only accessible to the spiritually reborn. Even here, however, the basic orientation of Lutheran theology remains intact: for Francke as much as for Luther, the hermeneutical centre of Scripture leads to an encounter with Christ.

From its outset, Lutheranism was a movement guided by theology. That theology was influenced to an enormous degree by the Bible. Its primary insights were born directly out of an intensive study of the Bible. It is also true, however, that Lutheran theology influenced Lutheran Bible reading. One may refer to this bi-directional relationship as a hermeneutical circle – understanding of particulars leads to greater comprehension of the whole, which in turn illumines the parts. Materially, this process yielded Lutheranism's commitment to the *loci salutares* – those points that communicate the message of salvation – and to its Christocentric reading of Scripture. In addition, early Lutherans' particular way of reading the Bible, especially their understanding of Scripture's performative dimension, led to a fundamental reassessment of the very definition of theology. Biblically based theology could, in the light of these commitments, only be defined as 'practical'. It was a discipline organised to a specific purpose: using the Bible to articulate the message of salvation – 'so that Christ comes to us and we are brought to him'.[60] Theologically, this produced a coherent system, and yet it also contained a moment of instability. Because the *loci salutares* had to be 'interpreted' and drawn out of Scripture by expert minds, Lutheranism always placed a premium on biblical scholarship. There could be no guarantee, however, that further scholarship would always replicate previously held positions. In that regard, the Bible was – and remains – a source of considerable dynamism for Lutheran theology.

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[60] See *LW*, vol. xxxv, p. 121; *WA*, vol. x[1,1], pp. 13f.

# The Bible in Reformed thought, 1520–1750

BRUCE GORDON

The Bible in Reformed Protestantism was treated both theologically and textually, and the focus of attention was on the literal, historical–grammatical reading of the text. Interpretation, translation and editing focused on the received canonical text and its various meanings, with particular attention to the problems presented by the relationship between individual parts of the Bible and the whole. Beginning with the circle of Reformed biblical scholars in Basel, Zurich and Strasbourg the tradition that emerged along the Upper Rhine was deeply indebted to the critical methods of Erasmus, with an emphasis on languages and the rhetorical sense. Jewish sources, including the Bomberg Bible, formed a major part of Reformed thinking in both the Reformation and post-Reformation periods, not only on account of the vowel points but through the questions of interpretation posed by the Hebrew tradition. Methodologies of reading occupied the Reformed writers, with Martin Bucer, Heinrich Bullinger and Wolfgang Musculus, among others, producing works on correct approaches to Scripture and the necessity of ancient languages. Interpretation, however, was not an end in itself, and a distinct part of the Reformed approach was continued emphasis on the role assumed by exegesis in serving the practical, devotional life of the church. A significant question in this regard was the respective roles of the Spirit and the human authors, and among the Reformed a range of responses was to be found. This would shift towards a strong doctrine of verbal inspiration in the seventeenth century as the Reformed Orthodox sought to respond to the philosophical positions of Spinoza and the more radical implications of textual criticism. Likewise in the theological readings of Scripture important differences can be detected concerning such questions as the Christological reading of the Old Testament; the Zurich scholars, for instance, found typologies for Christ throughout the text, while Calvin, as has been recently argued, was more

reticent.[1] The Reformed emphasis was on the reading of the whole text, and this was reflected in the fecund culture of biblical commentary on all the books of the Bible.

The Reformed scholars were deeply rooted in the study of Hebrew and Greek, and a major part of the intellectual project of the Reformation was the establishment of reliable editions of the original languages. It was understood that some distance remained between the original autographs and that which had come down to posterity, but this did not dent the enthusiastic belief that it was possible to come to the Word through rigorous manuscript work, the comparison of texts and translation. A major work in this respect was Beza's *Annotationes*. During the Reformed Orthodoxy great advances were made in the attempt to interpret the Bible in light of the Jewish tradition, and notable in this respect was Johannes van den Driesche (Drusius). The Orthodoxy was by no means a repudiation of the humanist, rhetorical tradition that took shape in the sixteenth century, though there was a shift towards a more rigorous understanding of the literal. Rather, it witnessed an intensification of attention to the original languages and the tropological reading of Scripture. This could lead to sharp divisions, such as in the work of Hugo Grotius (1583–1645). The relationship between theology and exegesis continued to trouble the Reformed writers of the seventeenth century, evidenced, for example, in the covenantal theology of Johannes Cocceius (1603–69) and his later opponent Herman Witsius (1636–1708). A significant response to this conundrum was the production of commentaries on the whole expanse of the Bible, such as with notable figures such as Daniel Tossanus (1541–1602) and the theologians of the Synod of Dort, Antonius Walaeus (1575–1639) and Francis Gomarus (1563–1644). The investigation of non-Christian literature and grammatical and syntactical forms and their ways of elucidating dark passages of the Bible remained a central part of Reformed scholarship in the eighteenth century. Such scholarly pursuits were wed to the devotional reading of the Bible, as was evident in the work of the Reformed writers of the Dutch Second Reformation. This found expression in the English-speaking world in Matthew Henry and John Gill. This long tradition of engagement with the Bible takes us back to the essential issues that emerged among the reformers in the 1520s.

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[1]  See G. Sujin Pak, *The Judaizing Calvin: Sixteenth-Century Debates over the Messianic Psalms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

## Oecolampadius

In the six years following Zurich's adoption of the Reformation in 1525 two figures dominated Reformed biblical scholarship in the Swiss Confederation, Johannes Oecolampadius and Huldrych Zwingli.[2] Oecolampadius rose to notoriety with his lectures on Isaiah, which appeared in print in 1525 and were immediately recognised as a major work of biblical interpretation.[3] Contemporary and future reformers (Luther, Zwingli and Calvin) were drawn to the Isaiah lectures even when out of sympathy with some of their principal arguments.[4] A sign of the commentary's significance was its reprinting in Geneva during the early 1550s, with a preface by Heinrich Bullinger, which formed part of robust defence of the orthodoxy of the Basel church against the imprecations of Michael Servetus.[5]

Oecolampadius's approach to the Old Testament was marked by great respect for the Hebrew language, to which he wished to remain as close as possible. It alone, in his eyes, was authoritative, and he was unwilling to introduce radical changes such as Latinised names, preferring to retain the Hebrew in order that the reader might engage with the root words.[6] He rigorously tested his work against the Septuagint and drew extensively from Nicholas of Lyra, Jerome, the Church Fathers and rabbinic writings. His purpose with the translation and commentary was to enable Isaiah to speak directly to a contemporary audience.

Two principles underpinned this exegetical project, and they signal the Reformed understanding of the Bible. First, Christ is the goal or *scopus* of all Scripture; and secondly, everything recorded in the Old Testament is for the instruction of the faithful. The Bible not only deepens Christians' knowledge of God but serves to mould lives into godliness. In his biblical interpretation Oecolampadius developed the allegorical meaning of Scripture in terms of the mystical sense of the Bible, enabling him to make use of the Jewish rabbinic literature while at the same time holding to a Christological understanding

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[2] See A. Moser, 'Die Anfänge der Freundschaft zwischen Zwingli und Oekolampad', *Zwingliana* 10 (1958), 614–20.

[3] Peter Opitz, 'The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of John Oecolampadius, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin', in *HBOT* 11, pp. 407–51, at p. 409.

[4] On Oecolampadius's influence on Calvin see E. A. de Boer, *John Calvin on the Visions of Ezekiel* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 83; also A. Demura, 'Two Commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans: Calvin and Oecolampadius', in W.H. Neuser (ed.), *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex: Calvin as Protector of the Purer Religion* (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997), pp. 123–37.

[5] See Uwe Plath, *Calvin und Basel in den Jahren 1552–1556* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1974).

[6] Opitz, 'The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work', p. 409.

of the Old Testament. Fully aware of the seemingly dangerous path he was treading, Oecolampadius insisted that allegorical readings were of use when one seeks to avoid arbitrariness and the critique of the Jews. Allegorical readings must rest on the firm foundation of literal understanding.[7] Historical events, as read in the Bible, possess an allegorical meaning in that they direct the reader's eyes to the figurative presence of Christ and his mystical body, the church. Oecolampadius was fascinated by the historical contexts of events and persons in the Isaiah commentary and read significant persons and events as types of Christ and his kingdom.

For Oecolampadius Scripture includes the 'anagogical–eschatological, but also a tropological moral sense'.[8] Wherever the pure Word of God is present, there and there alone is the church. It is the role of the church to distinguish between God's Word and human tradition. As for other reformers, Oecolampadius saw his sixteenth-century church, and its plight, as linked to the ancient congregations addressed by Isaiah. The prophets' warning against idolatry and false worship remain valid for a contemporary audience because Jerusalem points typologically to the church of Christ.[9] Oecolampadius's dedication of the published lectures to the magistrates of Basel reflected both his desire to pressure them into reform and his belief that the Bible speaks directly to contemporary society.

## Zwingli

Like Oecolampadius, Huldrych Zwingli believed that the Bible was God's Word and argued vigorously against those, mostly Catholics, who appealed to councils, popes, church fathers and any other form of authority.[10] Nevertheless, he made extensive use of conciliar, patristic and medieval material in his debates with Catholics, coming to articulate the principle that doctors of the church may be consulted when their writings clearly conform to the gospel. When Paul cites a pagan writer, Zwingli wrote, it is not because he presents him as an authority in and of himself. Rather, it is because the Holy Spirit at times speaks through non-Christians, revealing where jewels

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[7] Ibid., p. 410.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] See Peter Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 50–79. See also H. Graf Reventlow, 'Nach der Bibel die Kirche gestalten: Huldrych Zwingli', in H. Graf Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung*, 4 vols. (Munich: Beck, 1990–2001), vol.III: *Renaissance, Reformation, Humanismus* (1997), pp. 97–118. English translation as *History of Biblical Interpretation*, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

can be found among the muck.[11] All truth is from God, and God can choose to speak through any person, Christian or pagan.

The Bible is God's Word 'because it was spoken by God and because he speaks through it'.[12] The Spirit dictates the Word of God, providing Scripture with a harmonious unity. In a divine act of accommodation God revealed Godself in the language of the people. Zwingli certainly noted the differences and inconsistencies in the Gospels; however, faith, he insisted, does not depend on these matters.[13] Variations appear real to the human eye, but the Spirit does not contradict itself. Indeed, Scripture is the Word of God and that reality is the foundation of its authority. As Peter Stephens has written, 'They [the Scriptures] are not merely a word spoken in the past, for the Spirit breathes through them.'[14] Zwingli does not allow that the Bible is merely an ancient repository of divine commands; as for Oecolampadius, the Bible is alive in the church and forms the basis for resolving all matters of faith. To this end Zwingli determined that the leading churchmen should understand Greek, Hebrew and Latin in order that the Bible might be correctly read and comprehended. He writes, 'but we, to whom God himself has spoken through his Son and through the Holy Spirit, are to seek these things not from those who were puffed up with human wisdom'.[15]

As the founder of the first Reformed church, Zwingli was acutely aware of the problems caused by conflicting and contradictory interpretations of the Bible. On this point his thinking seems to have evolved during the 1520s. He regarded Scripture as 'master, teacher and guide', foundation for all decisions concerning faith. When humans come to Scripture to validate their teaching, the proper order, Zwingli wrote, was reversed and the Bible is turned into the pupil guided by fleshly needs and expectations. In reply, he argued that Scripture, or the Spirit speaking in Scripture, would judge itself.[16] In his engagements with Anabaptist and Catholic opponents Zwingli understood that quoting of Scripture was not sufficient to carry the day; his opponents were perfectly able to identify and cite crucial biblical passages. Zwingli's response was the formulation of his central teaching on scriptural interpretation: the presence of the Spirit in the understanding and use of Scripture. Through a series of disputations with Catholics, Anabaptists and Lutherans,

[11] Stephens, *Huldrych Zwingli*, p. 54.
[12] Ibid.,p. 55.
[13] Ibid.,p. 56.
[14] Ibid.,p. 57.
[15] Quoted in ibid.
[16] Ibid., p. 58.

Zwingli developed guidelines for the interpretation of the Bible. These principles arose from his humanism and Reformed understanding of the Bible.[17]

In debate with Catholics and Anabaptists Zwingli held firmly to his conviction that Scripture interprets itself through the Spirit. He admitted of no division between Scripture and Spirit, as it is inconceivable to have one without the other, for they are inwardly consistent. He was moved to remark that 'the sacred Scripture is an immense and unfathomable sea' in which men and women drown without the Spirit.[18] God speaks to humanity through the Word, but in different modes, such as command, prohibition and promise.[19] These ways of speaking are to be differentiated, but that does not deny that every word of the Bible is Gospel.

Alongside the other members of the Upper Rhine school of biblical interpretation, Zwingli resolutely affirmed the Christological connection between the two Testaments.[20] The Old Testament looks forward prophetically to Christ's work of atonement, while the New Testament teaches the saving work of Christ's sacrifice, offering light that enables Christians to understand the figures of Israel. To reject the Old Testament is to reject God, for it is there that divine power, wisdom, goodness and righteousness are revealed.[21] Zwingli turned to the Old Testament for guidance in matters left unclear by the New Testament, such as, famously, the analogy of circumcision for infant baptism.

The centre of Bible scholarship in Zurich was the Prophezei, which began its work in June 1525 and was replicated, to various extents, in other Reformed churches. The concept of prophecy as biblical interpretation was taken from 1 Corinthians 14.[22] The Prophezei was not a formal institution, but a gathering of scholars, meeting five days a week, which began its work interpreting the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, focusing on the Old Testament. The scholars started with Genesis and proceeded through the books of the Old Testament. First read was the Latin Vulgate, reflecting the continuing Reformed esteem for the ancient Bible of the church, followed by the Hebrew with interpretative

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[17] Ibid., p. 59.
[18] Ibid., p. 61.
[19] Opitz, 'The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work', p. 416.
[20] A very helpful account of this school is R. Gerald Hobbs, 'Pluriformity of Early Reformation Scriptural Interpretation', in *HBOT* II, pp. 452–511, esp. pp. 452–87.
[21] Opitz, 'The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work', p. 417.
[22] On the Prophezei see Traudel Himmighöfer, *Die Zürcher Bibel bis zum Tode Zwinglis (1531): Darstellung and Bibliographie* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1995), esp. pp. 213–35; also Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), esp. pp. 232–9.

commentary. Zwingli was responsible for the Septuagint, for which he had an especial fondness. Then the text was translated into Latin and discrepancies with the Vulgate were noted. The language of the exercise was Latin, and the final stage was the translation of the fruits of scholarship into the vernacular as a basis of a sermon to the people. In his 1525 work *Von dem Predigtamt* Zwingli distinguished two essential roles of the prophet: first, he must resist evil and sow what is good; and secondly, he must engage in the public exposition of Scripture.[23] As an interpreter of the Bible Zwingli sought both to provide an exegesis that enabled readers to understand the text more fully and to remove himself as the mediating figure. In translating the biblical books into German and Latin he emphasised lucidity and elegance over more literal renderings of the original languages. As Peter Opitz has commented, 'the goal of exegetical or translational work on a Biblical book is not an *Enarratio*, but the *Zürcher Bibel*'.[24]

Zwingli had a clear understanding of exegesis. First, the establishment of the literal sense precedes the explication of the text for the contemporary audience. Finally, allegorical exegesis enabled the interpreter to throw light on difficult passages and reveal how they point to Christ. Zwingli, as mentioned, was deeply wedded to the Septuagint, and not infrequently ruminated that it should be preferred to the Masoretic text, which he regarded with suspicion. In his exegetical work Zwingli constantly made the connection between the historical reality of the biblical text and its application in the community of the church – the essence of the prophetic act.

## Bullinger

In sermon 3 of the first *Decade*, Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's successor in Zurich from 1531, turned to consider the interpretation of the Bible, and whether its 'dark places' prevent understanding.[25] This was the central question consuming Reformed churchmen during the middle decades of the sixteenth century, and the matter had been cast in sharper relief by the deliberations of the Council of Trent. Some, Bullinger continued, believe that

[23] Opitz, 'The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work', p. 421.
[24] Ibid., p. 423.
[25] A crucial work for understanding Bullinger's views of the Bible is *De scripturae sanctae authoritate deque episcoporum institution eetfunctione*, written in 1538 for Henry VIII of England. There is now a critical edition of the work, *De scripturae sanctaea uthoritate deque episcoporum institution eetfunctione (1538)*, ed. EmidioCampi (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2010). On his treatment of the Bible in the *Decades* see Peter Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe: Eine Studie zu den 'Dekaden'* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004).

the plain Word of God requires no explanation. The church maintains that Scripture should be interpreted by appointed ministers. Bullinger was not persuaded that to the godly nothing in the Bible is dark, and that it is the will of God that the faithful comprehend Scripture, which should be continually expounded. In Bullinger's words from the *Second Helvetic Confession* (1566), the Word of God provides the universal church of Christ with 'all things being fully expounded which belong to a saving faith, and also to the framing of a life acceptable to God'.[26] This emphasis on saving knowledge and godly living arose from the first generation of writers that included Oecolampadius, Zwingli and Martin Bucer and remained a major chord in Reformed biblical culture.

That God intended the Bible to be understood even by 'idiots' was, for Bullinger, amply demonstrated by the plainness of the language of Scripture. Even the prophets and Apostles, who discerned the greatest mysteries of God, did not adopt strange forms of speech and possessed an 'easy phrase of writing'.[27] All forms of writing in the Bible, such as proverbs, similitudes and parables, serve to throw light on the meaning of the text. There is, according to Bullinger, some degree of darkness on account of figurative language and unfamiliar expressions, but these are overcome by vigorous study, faith and the use of skilful interpreters. Citing 2 Peter 3:16, he accepted that some things resist comprehension, but principally for the ignorant and unstable. His conclusion was as much brusque as optimistic: the reading of the Bible is obscure to the unlearned, unskilful, unexercised and corrupt, but straightforward for the zealous and godly.

The Bible is the Word of God, a point beyond debate, yet requires holy exposition, which, in turn reveals the gospel. Bullinger pointed to the example of Moses, with whom God was in contact and through whom the words of the law were expounded to the church.[28] Moses gave posterity Deuteronomy as his commentary on God's commandments. The prophets, in turn, assumed Moses' words and applied the law to the times, places and people of their age, leaving behind sermons as plain expositions of God's law. Bullinger referred to Nehemiah chapter 8 (vv. 2–8) concerning Ezra, who represented the right acting and diligent clergy – Ezra read from the book of Moses before the congregation. After quoting the passage, Bullinger told his readers to mark that

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[26] Quoted in Richard Muller, *Post Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, vol. II: *Holy Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1993), p. 73.

[27] Heinrich Bullinger, *The Decades by Henry Bullinger*, vol.I, trans. 'H. I.' and ed. Thomas Harding, Parker Society Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1852), p. 71.

[28] Ibid., p. 72.

lawful and holy ministers of the church not only read the Word of God, they expound it.

To confirm his point that Scripture must be rightly interpreted, Bullinger referred to the appearance of Christ in the Temple (Luke 16–21) when the Son of God declared that the prophecy found in Isaiah had been fulfilled. The apostles, following the example of Christ, expounded the Word of God when they went forth after the resurrection. In Acts 2:25–31 Peter interpreted the sixteenth Psalm, while Paul was the supreme example of one who constantly interpreted Scripture for the benefit of other Christians. The Bible must be interpreted according to place, time, state and person – its essential applications.

How should the Bible be interpreted? Bullinger warned against private and erroneous readings, reminding his readers that even the prophets of the Old Testament were admonished. There were rules, and these would find expression repeatedly in early modern Reformed teaching on Scripture. First, the exposition of Scripture must conform with faith (analogy of faith) as seen in Romans 12:6. For Bullinger this analogy consisted in the Apostles' Creed and the confessions of the ancient Fathers. He argued against inconsistency between the church's teaching and seemingly contradictory statements in the Bible. When Christ said that 'The Father is greater than I', or 'this is my body', Bullinger referred the reader to Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* where it was stated that the rule of charity must prevail in the interpretation of Scripture. Whosoever does not reference each point to the great commandment does not understand Scripture fully.[29]

Following Oecolampadius and Bucer, Bullinger argued for the importance of context in reading the Bible, for unless one can determine the modes of speaking discerning choices will not be made, running the risk of error. His example was Paul, who determined through observation of the circumstances of the time that Abraham was not justified by either circumcision or the law. The analogy of faith required the comparison of passages like and unlike to interpret the darker by what is more manifest. Bullinger returned to the passage 'The Father is greater than I' to draw a comparison with John 14:28, 'My Father and I are all one', as evidence of how the Bible confirms a doctrine. The biblical justification for this method comes from 2 Peter 1:19, 'You will do well to be attentive to this as to a lamp shining in a dark place, until the day dawns and the morning star rises in your hearts.'

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[29] Ibid., p. 77.

One question that consumed Bullinger, as it did also his colleague John Calvin, concerned true exposition and how it was safeguarded against error. The most effectual rule was for the Bible to be read with a heart that loves God and lives without pride. Such a disposition was not corrupted by heresies and continually prayed to God for the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit, by which Scripture was revealed and inspired. The mind of the interpreter must be set on fire by zeal for the promotion of virtue and the suppression of wickedness. Neither the devil nor human wisdom should be summoned to deflect the reader from God's Word. Interpreters do well even if, taking a metaphor from Proverbs, they do not hit the nail on the head with regard to the dark passages. The rules enumerated by Bullinger were to ensure that the exposition of the Bible was in agreement with the articles of faith of the ancient faith, of which, as the head of the Zurich church, he understood himself to defend in the tradition of the early church bishops.

## Bucer, Calvin, Beza and Vermigli

Strasbourg, along with Zurich and Basel, was an important centre of the Upper Rhine school that gave birth to Reformed biblical scholarship, and most prominent among the first generation of these scholars was Martin Bucer, native of Sélestat. Deeply influenced by his encounter as a young man with Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum*, Bucer dedicated himself to the learning of ancient languages, and emerged as one of the leading Christian Hebraists of his day.[30] He wrote extensively on the Bible, with his most important commentaries those on the Gospels, Romans and the Psalms. Although often harshly criticised for prolixity, including by his admirer John Calvin, Bucer shared with his Reformed contemporaries the view that Scripture should be interpreted as simply as possible. The primary task of the interpreter was to discern the *scopus* of the Word of God. The *scopus* of the Gospels was 'to explain the birth, life and teaching of Christ that believing in him we may have eternal life.'[31] Bucer attributed a key role to dialectic, and the influence of Agricola was notable. Also of signal importance were Erasmus's *Paraphrases*, which influenced Bucer's highly practical attitude towards Scripture, with its emphasis on the Bible's role in shaping Christian conduct.

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[30] On Bucer's use of Jewish literature and his understanding of the biblical text see Hobbs, 'Pluriformity', esp. pp. 455–81.

[31] Pierre Scherding and François Wendel, 'Un Traité d'exégèse pratique de Bucer', *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 26 (1946), 32–75, at p. 58.

Like many of the later Reformed biblical scholars of the sixteenth century, Bucer attacked allegory, though he freely admitted that the authors of Scripture could and did speak figuratively. God speaks through many types, which could be persons, events or actions. Abraham, for instance, is a type of Christ.[32] In common with Calvin, Bullinger and later writers, Bucer emphasised the necessity of reading the Bible through the analogy of faith. Allegory could be avoided if one understood the various genres of Scripture, such as law, prophecy and history. Along with Oecolampadius and Zwingli, Bucer had a high opinion of the Old Testament and placed great value on the rabbinic writings, with which he was impressively familiar for a Protestant scholar of his age. He sought to combine humanist principles of exegesis with the medieval Jewish commentators.

The importance of Bucer's work is evident in Calvin's dedicatory preface to his first commentary, written in Strasbourg in 1539. Bucer's influence on the Frenchman during his stay in the city is discernible in Calvin's teaching, translation and commentary work on the Bible, and in the preface to his commentary on the Psalms Calvin lavished praise on his mentor. But he was not without critical distance, and in his Romans dedication to Simon Grynaeus Calvin turned away from both the *loci communes* method of Philipp Melanchthon and the overly wordy interpretation of Bucer.

Calvin's understanding of Scripture has occasioned considerable debate among the Reformed since the nineteenth century, in particular on account of his high view of inspiration. His key biblical text was 2 Timothy 3:16. 'In order to assert its [Scripture's] authority', Calvin wrote,

> Paul teaches that it is God breathed; for if that is so, it is beyond all question that people should receive it with reverence. This is the principle that distinguishes our religion from all others, that we know that God has spoken to us, and that we are certain that the prophets did not just speak for their own time, but as instruments of the Holy Spirit they only uttered only what they had been told to say from heaven. Anyone who wants to benefit from the Scriptures must first of all accept this as a settled principle, that the Law and the Prophets are not teachings handed down at the whim of men, but are dictated through the Holy Spirit.[33]

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[32] An extremely helpful article is David Wright, 'Martin Bucer', in Donald McKim (ed.), *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2007), pp. 247–54.

[33] John Calvin, *1 & 2 Timothy and Titus*, ed. Alister McGrath and J. I. Packer (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1998), p. 155.

The Bible is authoritative because of its origin in God, and the role of the Holy Spirit extends to the selection of material and the choice of wording.[34] This is not to say that the personalities of the writers are not of great import, but for Calvin right interpretation lies in a balance that preserves the inspiration of the Holy Spirit while granting integrity to the minds of the human authors. The two elements are not easily distinguished.

With Bullinger and Bucer, Calvin emphasised the substantial unity of the Old and New Testaments: their message is one, though they differ in form and a natural superiority belongs to the latter. To understand the Bible, Calvin argued, one must possess requisite lexical and grammatical skills, which provide access to all possible readings of the text. This, however, is not alone sufficient. The context of any one passage can be grasped alone through familiarity with the whole text, a position that would become an enduring aspect of Reformed biblical culture. A reader must understand the literary forms and historical context, as Calvin pointed out in the preface to his commentary on the prophet Micah. Context is an essential guide to the typological interpretation of Scripture; Christological readings of Old Testament passages cannot be sustained when not warranted by context.

Nevertheless, the *scopus* of the Bible is Christ. The Old Testament must be read through the New Testament with the illumination of the Spirit, while at the same time full integrity is granted to the historical and linguistic dimensions of the text. Like Bucer, Calvin repudiated allegory, but this interpretative form found its place in his reading of the Bible.[35] Typology was true prophecy and promises of the future kingdom could be read not literally but through allegory. Nevertheless, allegory was to be avoided if possible, and Calvin was loath to accept that Scripture possessed layers of meaning. The import of a text can be determined by an interpreter properly trained in the arts of exegesis. Metaphor and simile belong to the biblical text, which reveals doctrine and edifies the community of believers. Allegory would confuse the meaning of Scripture and is, consequently, denied. From his mentor Bucer Calvin learned that meaning should be simple and straightforward, and that one should not depart from the literal sense even in support of doctrine.[36]

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[34] See the helpful article by D. L. Puckett, 'John Calvin (1509–1564)', in McKim (ed.), *Dictionary*, pp. 287–94.

[35] R. Ward Holder, *John Calvin and the Grounding of Interpretation: Calvin's First Commentaries* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 129–32.

[36] On the literal sense see Richard Muller and John Thompson, 'The Significance of Precritical Exegesis: Retrospect and Prospect', in Richard Muller and John Thompson (eds.), *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), pp. 335–45. See also the discussion of Calvin's understanding of the literal in relation

Calvin's work in Geneva in his translations, commentaries and sermons was complemented by the labours of his colleague Theodore Beza, who provided an annotated Latin translation of the Greek New Testament that used Erasmus's critical methods.[37] In 1565 Henri Estienne published Beza's edition of the Greek New Testament, including the Vulgate and the *Annotationes*. A later edition of 1582 included the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, a body of material from the fourth and fifth centuries. Beza's views of Scripture were largely in accord with those of Calvin, emphasising a high view of authorship and a grammatical, philological and historical interpretative approach. Every passage of the Bible must be interpreted contextually, though it was crucial to determine the underlying harmony among the canonical texts. Like Bucer, Bullinger and Calvin, Beza asserted unequivocally that biblical exegesis was primarily to serve the life of the church. Distinctive in Beza, however, was a more pronounced tendency towards doctrinal formulation and polemic in his writings on the Bible. This occurred most notably in his fierce assault on the work of Sebastian Castellio, whom he accused of privileging Ciceronian style over linguistic accuracy in his translation of Scripture.[38] Beza's *Annotationes* also gave expression to his clear Christological reading of the Old Testament, and in this his work proved formative for the Reformed tradition.

Other major Reformed interpreters of Scripture in the sixteenth century have fared less well in retaining the attention of posterity, but their place should not go unmarked. Wolfgang Musculus, reformer in Augsburg and later in Bern, produced influential commentaries on Matthew (1544) and John (1545, 1547) that were much admired by Calvin, who commended them warmly.[39] Musculus emphasised the role of the original biblical languages, and in his interpretation of the Bible was influenced by Martin Bucer. In particular he emphasised the moral reading of Scripture and the plain sense of the Bible. In common with the other Reformed he wrote against allegory, though he could speak of the language of images and 'mystical reading'. He was among the leading biblical interpreters of the age, though his massive tomes now go

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to late medieval authors in Christopher Ocker, *Biblical Poetics before Humanism and Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[37] See Jan Krans, *Beyond What is Written: Erasmus and Beza as Conjectural Critics of the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), esp. pp. 195–332. On the importance of Beza's *Annotationes* for his political thought see Scott M. Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace in France, 1572–1598* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 160–2.

[38] Hans R. Guggisberg, *Sebastian Castellio, 1515–1563: Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age*, ed, and trans. Bruce Gordon (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2003), esp. pp. 49–72.

[39] See Craig Steven Farmer, *The Gospel of John in the Sixteenth Century: The Johannine Exegesis of Wolfgang Musculus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

largely unregarded. His influence in England owed much to the translation of his *Loci communes* (1563, 1578).

More attention has been paid recently to the Italian refugee Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562), who taught in Strasbourg, England and Zurich and was regarded as one of the greatest scholars of Hebrew of his time.[40] Having studied in Padua, he combined an extraordinary training in the humanist arts with a profound understanding of Aristotelian philosophy. Vermigli sought the 'true' and 'natural' sense of Scripture, by which he meant the historical–grammatical interpretation, from which he drew theological conclusions. In common with other Reformed biblical scholars, Vermigli devoted great attention to the patristic tradition of exegesis, though he would not allow the Fathers an independent authority. Alongside the Church Fathers he read the rabbinic literature, in particular the *peshat* tradition, and worked with Aristotelian causal categories to read the Bible – as did Bullinger and Calvin. Along with his contemporary, the Jewish convert Immanuel Tremellius, Vermigli was the most accomplished and subtle of the Reformed Hebraists. In common with Philipp Melanchthon he made use of the *loci communes* method. Vermigli's profound influence on the Reformed tradition owed much to his mixture of scholasticism, Augustinianism and humanism.

Also notable among the Reformed for his mastery of the scholastic tradition was Girolamo Zanchi (1516–90), who followed in Vermigli's tradition of Thomism when he taught Old Testament in Strasbourg, Heidelberg and Neustadt. Although Zanchi is often regarded as more of a scholastic theologian, biblical exegesis lay at the heart of his scholarly endeavours on behalf of the church, as his collected works revealed when they were posthumously printed in 1605.[41] Zanchi stood in the Reformed tradition with his unequivocally Christological reading of the Old Testament and extensive use of typology, attributing significant prophetic roles to persons and events. Like Vermigli he looked to the grammatical and historical sense of Scripture and argued that difficult passages were to be interpreted through the analogies of faith and Scripture, with the larger context of the biblical books shedding light on difficult passages. Zanchi was distinguished by the explicit way in which

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[40] See the essay collection Emidio Campi (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2002). On Martyr's biblical work see Torrance Kirby, Emidio Campi and Frank A. James III (eds.), *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[41] *Opervm theologicorvm D. Hieronymi Zanchii* ([Geneva]: Excudebat Stephanus Gamonetus, 1605). See also the essential work, now edited with a very full introduction: *Girolamo Zanchi, De religione Christiana fides/Confession of Christian Religion*, ed. Luca Baschera and Christian Moser, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

he drew on medieval writers, notably Thomas and the exegete Nicholas of Lyra, as well as patristic, Jewish and Reformation figures. He too favoured the *Loci* method that interpreted Scripture verse by verse, yet as his compendious *De religione Christiana fides* reveals, despite his polemical tone, Zanchi shared with Beza, Vermigli and others the persuasion that biblical interpretation was primarily to serve the cultivation of piety.

In comparison to the Continent, England produced few notable writers on the Bible, but for the Reformed tradition attention should be paid to the Puritan William Perkins (1558–1602), who was the first major English Protestant theologian. In 1592 Perkins produced his *Prophetica, sive de sacra et unica ratione concionandi tractatus*, which was translated as the *Arte of Prophecying* and was deeply influential on Puritan culture. In particular Perkins demonstrated the importance of rhetoric and dialectic in the art of preaching.[42] The interpretation of the Bible, he argued, was the source of all truth for the preacher and congregation, and he drew heavily on Ramist methods for the classification and arrangement of elements of discourse. In discussing the interpretation of Scripture Perkins emphasised classic elements of Reformed thought: the analogy of faith (the Ten Commandments and Apostles' Creed), context and Scripture's interpretation of itself. The key to biblical interpretation was the elucidation of doctrine and to this end the rules of syllogism had to be used at times to aid understanding. Perkins followed the Ramist approach that said that doctrines were to be rightly 'collected' and then applied, for Scripture is useful and is to be applied in the cultivation of Christian living.[43]

The 1587 / 8 vernacular Bible, which would come to be known as the Neustadt Bible, was the first Reformed Scripture to appear in German-speaking lands outside the Swiss Confederation. In his *Letter to the reader*, the editor, David Pareus (1548–1622), who taught at the Collegium Sapientiae in Heidelberg, wrote that his Bible owed much to what had come before.[44] Not everything in his edition that deviated from Luther's work, he remarked, represented the labour of his own hands. Pareus was referring to his approach by which readings were taken from earlier Heidelberg and Neustadt Bibles, including the 1579 Luther Bible for which he had prepared prefaces, summaries and

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[42] W.B. Patterson, 'William Perkins the *Arte of Prophecying*: A Literary Manifesto', in Peter Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (eds.), *The Church and Literature* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), pp. 170–84, esp. pp. 171–5.

[43] Donald K. McKim, 'The Function of Ramism in William Perkins Theology', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 4 (1985), 503–17.

[44] For a helpful treatment of Pareus's interpretation of Revelation see Irena Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse: Geneva, Zurich and Wittenberg* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 34–5.

marginal notes. Pareus's general preface, the prefaces to the individual books and the chapter summaries were closely connected with his attack on the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity. In the general prefaces he commented on the value of his Neustadt edition, in particular the benefit of a new German translation. His reasoning was pastoral: the laity should read and be comforted by the Scripture and be obligated by the glory of God and love of neighbour to propagate the Word of God.[45]

Pareus dedicated his German-language Bible to the Elector Palatine Johann Casimir (1543–92), and in the preface referred to the great honour that God in these last days had permitted his Word to be proclaimed from the pulpit. It was a wonder, he added, that the Bible, the Word of God, the writings of the holy prophets and apostles, had been made available in the mother tongue. No longer dependent on the clergy, the laity could now read and study Holy Writ for themselves. This precious gift, a 'Seelenschatz', had been entrusted to humanity by God, though the devil was not idle, striving continually to deprive Christians of the rich fruits of the Bible.

Pareus named as Epicureans those who did not fear God, for fear is a sign of faith. The scoffers love their earthly lives and think nothing of their souls, beguiled by the devil. Another group is the 'verbal Christians', who love the things of the flesh better than those of the Spirit and offer a profound inconsistency between their actions and the faith they confess.[46] The most dangerous assault by the devil on Christianity is through the papists. Decrees of the popes, emphasised by the Jesuits, have declared it wrong for the laity to read the Bible or for vernacular translations to be printed. Pareus raised familiar Protestant objections: the papists insist that Scripture is not complete, but must be illuminated by conciliar decretals and traditions. Further, they suggest that the laity must rely on the interpretations of the clergy, and translations are dangerous because they only darken matters of faith.

To contrast with these failings, Pareus posited five theses concerning the nature of the Bible. First, it should be read by the laity, and to support this position he referred the reader to Jerome, who named the Testaments the two breasts of the church. Secondly, the Bible should be translated into the mother tongue just as the Israelites spoke Hebrew and the early Christians Greek. Thirdly, Scripture is complete and requires no further elaboration by decrees and the like. All that is necessary to salvation is contained therein. In

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[45] On the preface and dedication see Traudel Himmighöfer, *Die Neustadter Bibel von 1587/88, die erste reformierte Bibelausgabe Deutschlands*, Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte 12 (Speyer: Evangelischer Presseverlag Pfalz, 1986), pp. 55–66.

[46] Ibid., p. 56.

neither law nor gospel is anything missing. Fourthly, to the children of God the Bible is clear, not obscure and difficult. The Holy Ghost is a Spirit of light, not darkness. Augustine remarked, Pareus continued, that there is nothing in the Bible so dark that cannot be illuminated by another passage. Fifthly, a good translation will not obfuscate the Bible.

Pareus's preface was not short on polemic, most of which was directed against the Jesuits, whom he regarded as the most dangerous threat to the Reformation. Despite theological differences with the Lutherans, Pareus pointed to places where unity could be found. Lutherans and Reformed agreed that Christ is the content and *scopus* of Holy Scripture, that no person authorises Scripture because it authenticates itself, and that there is no authority in the church outside Scripture, for it contains all that is necessary to salvation. Pareus stood shoulder to shoulder with the Lutherans on the principle of *scriptura sacra sui ipsius interpres*. There was, however, distinctly Reformed language in his treatment of growth in the knowledge of Christ. Pareus referred to Calvin's conception of the Bible as the 'school of the Holy Spirit', arguing that every doctrine must be tested by Holy Scripture to establish its rectitude and purity or detect its provenance from false prophets.[47]

The decisive criterion, that the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit sealed on the faithful that the Bible is the Word of God, was shared by the Lutherans and Reformed. For Calvinist biblical scholars and theologians, however, it was more closely associated with the doctrine of predestination. All hear the Bible read aloud, but only the elect experience the inner witness. In the preface to his Bible Pareus moved in this theological direction. Nevertheless, he regarded his task as the preparation of a Bible for the whole people, not only for the learned but also for the pupils in the school and the common handworkers, all of whom should be able to comprehend Scripture.

In the Palatinate Reformed thought took shape around the theological faculty in Heidelberg and the academy in Herborn. In the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563 the answer to question ninety-eight concerning the toleration of images in the church stated that Scripture 'is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: 2 Tim.3:17 That the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.'[48] Perhaps the most significant biblical scholar among the Palatinate Reformed was Johannes Piscator (1546–1625),

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[47] Ibid., p. 59.
[48] Lyle D. Bierma, *An Introduction to the Heidelberg Catechism: Sources, History and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005).

who taught in Heidelberg before his long career in Herborn, translated the Bible into German and prepared Latin commentaries on the books of the Old and New Testaments.[49] This extraordinary endeavour was undertaken between 1589 and 1616, and his commentary on the New Testament appeared in four editions in quarto and folio in 1613 and 1621. Piscator was hesitant about the work, claiming that he had to be persuaded to persevere by friends and colleagues. At the same time he admitted a calling to fulfil the task.[50] All those who are able should devote themselves to the interpretation of the Bible, he argued. It is not enough to rely on the work of the Church Fathers, for much remains to be explained. This was particularly true of the patristic commentaries on the Old Testament, though in the preface to his commentary on Genesis Piscator named Origen, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine and Ambrose as pre-eminent. This sanguine assessment faded, however, and by his last commentary Piscator was far more critical, drawing the reader's attention to errors among the greatest Fathers. Piscator regarded it his divine commission to interpret the Bible, and exegesis as crucial. This flowed from the sublimity of Scripture. People are obligated to study the Bible not only because God is the author – which indeed God is – but also on account of its content, which is true and certain. The Bible instructs humans in the service of God as well as in the great fortune of men and women.[51] It teaches of the history of the church from the beginning of the world until its end, with all the witnesses of error, tests, consolations and godly trials.

Other fruits of the Bible for the reader and interpreter include holy delight, holy desire, true understanding, conversion of the heart and sacred rest. The greatest motive, according to Piscator, was the divine command to read the Word of God, and he emphasised the practical benefits. In this respect his treatment of the biblical books reflected contemporary concerns. The letters to the Corinthians were the means of correcting errors within the church, while the Gospel of John was the appropriate place to take on the rising wave

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[49] On Piscator's Bible see Gerhard Menk, *Die Hohe Schule Herborn in ihrer Frühzeit (1584–1660): ein Beitrag zum Hochschulwesens des deutschen Kalvinisumus im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation* (Wiesbaden: Historischen Kommission für Nassau, 1981), pp. 272–4; more recently Ulrich Bister (ed.), *Die reformierte Herborner Bibel des Johann Piscator: Geschichte und Wirkung* (Hammerbrücke: Concepcion Seidel, 2001); most recently Mark W. Elliot, 'Looking Backwards: The Protestant Latin Bible in the Eyes of Johannes Piscator and Abraham Calov', in Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (eds.), *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and their Readers in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 291–302.

[50] Frans Lukas Bos, *Johann Piscator: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der reformierten Theologie* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1932), pp. 53–4.

[51] Ibid., p. 55.

of Socinianism. The books of Samuel formed a type of mirror for princes in which both virtue and vice is reflected, and in his commentary on the books of Kings he developed a theory of Christian warfare.[52]

Piscator did not concern himself greatly with the question of canonicity. As far as he was concerned, God, in particular the Holy Spirit, is the author of the biblical books. The 'secondary authors' were simply subordinates. With respect to the Letter to the Hebrews he opted for Paul as author, in which he did not follow Calvin. Similarly, the Epistle of James was by James, and the Gospel of Matthew was written in Greek, as it was the original language of the New Testament. Further, questions of places and time interested him little. What mattered above all was the divine unity and authority of the Bible.[53] This lack of regard for the human side of the Bible marked a shift in emphasis away from the Geneva work of Calvin and Beza.

With respect to interpretation, Piscator affirmed the Protestant principle of *scriptura scripturae interpres*. He was concerned with the disposition with which one approached the Bible. A Christian should accept the teaching of Scripture as true, particularly when it appeared at odds with human reason. In order to avoid distorting Scripture in order to affirm one's position, one should beseech God to reveal true meaning as it pertains to salvation.[54] Other rules pertaining to the interpretation of Scripture included knowledge of the text and of Hebrew and Greek, consideration of circumstances, including unity, purpose and rhetorical forms, comparison with other passages (the *analogia fidei*) and consultation with experienced and wise men. Piscator's position was not original, falling as it did in the tradition of Reformed thought, but his arguments reflected a deep concern to establish the basis for certainty.

In his *Theses Theologicae Leydenses* the French-born Heidelberg professor Franciscus Junius (1545–1602), who with Immanuel Tremellius had produced the most influential Protestant Latin Bible, once more rehearsed the Reformed case for the singular importance of Holy Scripture.[55] He sought to demonstrate that the causes of the Bible are divine, and that Holy Writ's purpose is the glory of God and aid for the elect in conformity with God. The authority of Scripture is perfect and in no way dependent for authentication on the church or councils. Junius picked up on a recurring question among

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[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., p. 56.
[54] Ibid., p. 57.
[55] Henk van den Belt, *The Authority of Scripture in Reformed Theology: Truth and Trust* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 136. See also Tobias Sarx, *Franciscus Junius d. Ä. (1545–1602): ein reformierter Theologe im Spannungsfeld zwischen späthumanistischer Irenik und reformierter Konfessionalisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

Reformed writers: how does Scripture authenticate itself and how can its verity be asserted against those who do not accept its claims? The Bible was the very certain rule of faith and life and the canon cannot be in question; on these grounds Junius argued that the deuterocanonical books were not alone sufficient.[56]

In his disposition Junius provided arguments for the authority of Scripture. The majesty of the Bible is evident from the arrangement of events and harmony of its several parts. The church bears witness to unity through the proclamation that God alone is the author. On this there is a consensus of the faithful through the ages, though they might differ on other things. Junius wrote that 'beyond contradiction, however, is the testimonium of the Holy Spirit, who works faith in the hearts of believers, that the Holy Scripture has flowed from God its author'.[57]

On the authority of Scripture Junius argued that it was beyond all doubt that Scripture was the means by which God communicates with humanity. The authority of Scripture is a matter of logical necessity. Junius presupposed that the self-convincing nature of Scripture and the canon as a rule of faith was essential. The authority of the church was not, however, to be disregarded, but it remained subject to the witness of the Spirit, even in determining the canon itself.[58]

It was at the great Reformed academies that biblical exegesis and pedagogy emerged across northern Europe in the later part of the sixteenth century, such as those institutions where Junius instructed. It is in this context that one encounters Bartholomaeus Keckermann (1571–1608), who taught Hebrew and theology at Heidelberg and Danzig.[59] Deeply influenced by Francisco Suárez, Keckermann's enduring influence on the Reformed tradition lay in his reception and interpretation of Aristotle, in which he took up the work of Vermigli. On the basis of the Bible and Aristotle Keckermann defended Copernicus against the advocates of geocentrism. Such was the influence of this reading of Scripture that Lawrence Eichstadt (d.1660), professor in Gdansk, continued to teach Keckermann's cosmological arguments. At Herborn Johann Heinrich Alsted, in his pursuit of universal knowledge, put forward a robust defence of biblical knowledge, arguing in his *Triumphus Bibliorum* and his *Compendium theologicum* (1624) that the Bible along with right reason, experience and

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[56] Van den Belt, *The Authority of Scripture*, p. 136.
[57] Quoted in ibid., p. 137.
[58] Ibid., p. 142.
[59] See Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted, 1588–1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

conscience was the foundation of all knowledge and could not be contra-dicted by philosophical principle.[60]

This Reformed understanding of biblical authority articulated by Junius and his fellow writers was profoundly challenged by the philosophy of René Descartes, and considerable effort was exerted to counter this threat. The doctrinal importance of the certainty of Scripture was captured in the seventh article of the first point of doctrine in the Canons of the Synod of Dort, which concerned election and cited Ephesians 1:

> as Scripture says, God chose us in Christ, before the foundation of the world, so that we should be holy and blameless before him with love; he predestined us whom he adopted as his children through Jesus Christ, in himself, accord-ing to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of his glorious grace, by which he freely made us pleasing to himself in his beloved.[61]

At stake were the philosophical foundation of theology and the authority of the Bible. A towering figure was the Dutchman Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), who had been a delegate at the Synod of Dort and was professor of theology at Utrecht.[62] Voetius was a fervent opponent of the Cocceians, Socinians and Catholics, and his argument against Descartes held that the Frenchman had replaced scriptural authority with human subjectivity. In his *Syllabus Problematum Thelogicorum* (1643), a compendium of Reformed dogmatics, Voetius wrote of Scripture as the *principium* of faith against sceptics. The authority of Scripture, as the *principium* of faith, can only be known through the cooperation of Word and Spirit.[63] Scripture is infallible, and Voetius argued for a doctrine of inspiration close to dictation: one should not attribute too much to the human mind, a position akin to that of Piscator. The *principium* of faith is both external and internal, the former being the Word of God and the latter the illumination of the Spirit. Human reason plays an important role as the means by which the conclusions of faith are drawn from the infal-lible Scriptures, but it depended on illumination. Scripture is the source of faith and the Spirit is the cause of faith. The objective certainty of Scripture arises from its inspiration while its subjective certainty depends on illumin-ation of the Spirit. Assent to its authority draws from sanctification. Voetius moved beyond other writers of the early Reformed orthodoxy in his position

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[60] Ibid., pp. 138–40.
[61] Gerald Lewis Bray (ed.), *Documents of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: James Clark & Co, 1994), p. 458.
[62] See Aza Goudriaan, *Reformed Orthodoxy and Philosophy, 1625–1750: Gisbertus Voetius, Petrus Van Mastricht, and Anthonius Driessen* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
[63] Van den Belt, *The Authority of Scripture*, p. 166.

on inspiration, unwilling to attribute error in any way to human authors, whom he regarded as instruments of the divine will. Such a position had its roots in the attack on the position of theology from philosophy and as well as the disputes within the Reformed Church over, for example, the vowel points of the Masoretic text.

## Reformed Orthodoxy

In the seventeenth century the high Orthodox Reformed position on the Bible was articulated in the *Formula Consensus Helvetica* (1675), which was signed by the Swiss Reformed churches in the face of considerable opposition from, among others, the Elector of Brandenburg, who urged the Confederates to put aside the document in order to foster union. The opening canons of the *Formula* affirmed the verbal inspiration of the biblical text, both Old and New Testaments.[64] With respect to their teaching on the nature of the Bible, Orthodox churchmen believed they held positions inherited from the sixteenth-century reformers. Crucial to this view of Scripture was the position taken by Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–98) that held to the unity of the revealed and written Word of God. What the prophets and apostles had once preached was delivered in written form by God's will. There was no fundamental difference between the Word of revelation and the written Word.[65] The prophets were divinely inspired. This position went to the heart of the *Consensus*'s teaching on the Bible that it was the verbally inspired Word of God. What the biblical authors have written was infallible. It was a very strong theory of inspiration that insisted that even the consonants, vocalisations and points of the Hebrew were divinely appointed. This uncompromising position brought opposition from Protestants in France, from men such as Moïse Amyraut, Louis Cappel and the Catholic Richard Simon. Against such opposition the Reformed Orthodox retreated further into a doctrine of divine inspiration. They saw themselves as standing in the tradition of the reformers of the sixteenth century who held to the highest authority of Scripture, an authority not derived from the church.[66]

François Turrettini (1623–87) became involved in the Amyrauldian controversy after his studies in Geneva, Leiden, Paris and Saumur, and summarised the debate in his expansive treatment of Reformed dogmatics, *Institutio*

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[64] Max Geiger, *Die Basler Kirche und Theologie im Zeitalter der Hochorthodoxie* (Zollikon: Evangelischer Verlag, 1952), p. 284.
[65] Ibid., p. 288.
[66] Ibid., p. 287.

*theologiae elencticae.*[67] He was influenced by Voetius and wrote of the Bible in terms of *principium externum* and the Spirit as the *principium internum*. He debated with the Socinians on the role of reason in theology, arguing not that reason was not unimportant, but that it could not be the foundation for doctrines of faith. Turretini held to the classic Reformed position that Scripture must be authentic because it originates from God. But the question remained, how could it be known with certainty by the faithful? For Turrentini such certainty was proved by the *notae* placed on Scripture by God; eternal notes that included the Bible's antiquity, the sincerity of its authors and the consensus of all Christians.[68] The more important internal marks included the harmony of the Testaments and the salvation of sinners, and confirmed faith. Scripture must be believed on account of itself and not the authority of the church, and believers are brought to confirmation through the work of the Spirit as efficient cause.

As for the text of the Bible, Turrettini believed that the Old and New Testaments had been preserved in their purity with their original texts obtainable through the collation of manuscripts. God in his providence had ensured their accurate transmission: variants were resolved through Christian scholarship. Turrettini was concerned with the issue of Hebrew vowel points, the provenance of which exercised Reformed Orthodox writers. Against the Roman assertion of the Vulgate he argued for the divine origin of vowel points, which expressed the meaning of the text – a position reflected in the *Formula Consensus Helvetica*. This position led to Turrettini's attack on Louis Cappel, who, he held, challenged the authority of Scripture. Textual criticism, he feared, would undermine the foundation of theology.

Turrettini's position approached that of John Owen (1616–83), who declared the threat of Socinianism, even in the writings of Hugo Grotius. In his *The Reason of Faith* (1677) Owen argued that it was the Holy Spirit that persuaded Christians of the truth of Scripture, though the external proofs such as the antiquity of the Bible, its unity and the testimony of the church provide confirmation. In the interpretation of the Bible Owen emphasised the place of personal piety, training in the languages and study of history and geography, as well as recourse to the exegetical tradition of the church. He looked to the Reformed emphasis on the analogy of faith, and in his massive *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (1668–84) supplied an erudite account of typology in

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[67] François Turrettini, *Institutio theologiae elencticae*, 2 vols. (Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2010).

[68] Van den Belt, *The Authority of Scripture*, p. 155.

which he argued that while Christ must be found, the original context and meaning of the Old Testament must also be preserved. He supported the *Formula Consensus Helvetica*, and his contribution to the Reformed tradition lay in his linking of pneumatology, Christology and practical divinity.

In the Reformed Orthodox formulations of the seventeenth century no distinction was made between the revealed Word of God and the Bible. The prophets of the old covenant and the apostles of the new did not write from their own will or blind circumstances; they were under the influence of divine inspiration. It pleased God, the theologians wrote, to make the language of the biblical authors speak to his own, in order that they might guide, lead and address not human but godly things. For many Reformed Orthodox writers the key word was '*infallibiliter*'. Everything in the Bible is inspired by God, a position not troubled by acceptance that Scripture was written by different people in different times and places. This growing insistence on a particular form of inspiration brought the Reformed repeatedly to the question of authority. The Orthodox drew their answer from sixteenth-century writings, including the *Second Helvetic Confession* (1566), holding that the canonical writings of the holy prophets and apostles are the one, true Word of God with their authority from themselves, not from humanity.[69]

Significant opposition to the High Orthodox position of inspiration came in the form of the text-critical work of Louis Cappel (1585–1658), of the French Reformed school of Saumur, who argued for the late origin of Hebrew vowel points. This position brought into question the authority of the text in the original languages and the idea that the text itself is the guarantor of certain theological knowledge.[70] Cappel held that the original text of the Old Testament as written by Moses and Ezra had not survived. The *Ur*-text of the Old Testament existed instead in *variae lectiones*.[71] There could not be, therefore, an infallible Old Testament text to which the church had access.[72] In Catholic circles Cappel's work was taken as a serious attack on the Protestant insistence on the error-free nature of Scripture. A more serious attack came in 1678 with the *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* by Richard Simon (1638–1712), who presented a brilliant literary, historical and philological assessment of the Old Testament.[73] Among his many positions, he held that there was more than

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[69] Geiger, *Die Basler Kirche*, p. 291.

[70] Muller, *Holy Scripture*, pp. 115–16.

[71] Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch–kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, 2nd edn. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen Verlag, 1969), pp. 47–50.

[72] Geiger, *Die Basler Kirche*, p. 292.

[73] See William McKane, *Selected Christian Hebraists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 111–50.

one author of the Pentateuch and that not everything attributed to Moses was written by him. Yet despite the force with which he wrote, most of Simon's arguments were already known in the seventeenth century.

How did the High Orthodox writers respond to this attack? For the most part they stressed ever more emphatically their doctrine of divine inspiration. Their view was that if Cappel, Simon and Spinoza were correct the foundation of the faith would vanish. Nevertheless, within late Reformed Orthodoxy dissonant voices were to be heard, such as the Basel professor Johann Rudolf Wettstein, who expressed doubts concerning the doctrine of inspiration. Unquestionably, however, the most controversial figure was the philosopher Baruch Spinoza, who launched a frontal assault on Orthodox teaching on the Bible, most notably in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, published in 1670 in Amsterdam. Spinoza made various attacks on the Orthodox in which he criticised their adherence to a literal faith and identification of the written word with the true Word of God, by which they failed to distinguish between the Word of God itself and the writings of the prophets and apostles. There was no unified response by the theologians to these positions, and the debate between Spinoza and the Orthodox marked a turning point in the separation of reason and revelation. Spinoza insisted that the Bible had authority only in the realm of piety.

As noted, the Reformed Orthodox teaching on the Bible looked to the reformers of the sixteenth century, though Calvin did not figure prominently. The Heidelberg theologians Zacharias Ursinus and Girolamo Zanchi argued that the Scriptures were the foundation of all theology and that God could not be known to humanity without them. Richard Muller has written, 'Orthodoxy did provide Protestantism with an increasingly lengthy and detailed doctrine of Scripture that maintained the fundamental principles of the Reformers in an increasingly technical and scholastic form.'[74] The Reformed Orthodox maintained the teaching of the reformers on the authority of Scripture over against tradition and the church. Scripture is self-sufficient in revelation to the church.

The writers of the High Orthodoxy preserved the Reformed emphasis on the Word, yet with a particular attention to the balance between the objective authority of Scripture and the internal testimony of the Spirit. The development of text-critical methods in the seventeenth century did not create a divide between Reformed Orthodox scholars and radicals, for the former were leading the way in the cultivation of these new methods, though some

[74] Muller, *Holy Scripture*, p. 113.

became concerned about the relationship between text and doctrine. The real Orthodox opposition arose in the eighteenth century in the face of deism. The Reformed Orthodox had to formulate their doctrine of Scripture in competition with text-critical methods that emerged in the seventeenth century, the great age of scholarship when enhanced linguistic skills permitted Jewish and Christian texts to be read comparatively with greater precision.[75]

Post-Reformation Reformed biblical study is only now receiving the attention it warrants, and the emerging picture offers some surprises. As we have observed, there was no clear separation between the Reformed Orthodox theologians and the passion for detailed linguistic and textual study. Not only was Reformed engagement with the Bible shaped by the study of Jewish sources, but writers drew from the work of Catholic and Lutheran scholars. A significant work in this respect was the Presbyterian Matthew Poole's (1624–79) five-volume *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae*, which brought together material from various traditions.[76] Poole's work, with its *loci* method, was typological and Christological in orientation and owed much to the thought of Piscator. Poole's writing belonged to the Reformed post-Reformation enthusiasm for the Jewish exegetes and their attention to the literal interpretation of the Bible. Poole's interest was in the 'meaning' of Scripture, and to this end he made use of the Catholic biblical scholars John de la Hay, Tomás Malvenda and Andreas Masius, but also the Remonstrant Hugo Grotius, Junius, Piscator and the Lutheran Abraham Calov, among many others. Calvin was mentioned but did not figure prominently, indicating a significant shift in Reformed scholarship from the sixteenth century. Poole remarked that Calvin's exegesis was largely theological and practical rather than critically oriented.[77] In contrast, Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* was largely etymological and philological in the service of biblical exegesis. In this sense it formed the complement to another work of great influence on the Reformed in the Old and New Worlds, Matthew Henry's *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (1708–10), which was primarily devotional in nature, rather than textual. Both were highly influential on Cotton Mather (1663–1723) and Jonathan Edwards (1703–58). Poole's work was extraordinary for the manner in which it offered a diverse range of interpretations reflecting Reformed, Lutheran and Catholic teaching, bringing a marked ecumenical intention that resisted traditional

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[75] Ibid., p. 128.

[76] See Nicholas Keene, 'Poole, Matthew (1624?–1679)', *Oxford DNB,* available at www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22518.

[77] See Adriaan C. Neele, 'The Catholicity of Post-Reformation Biblical Interpretation', *Theologica Wratislaviensia* 7 (2012), 51–67.

interpretations of strict confessionalism in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Poole drew together many streams of seventeenth-century interpretation of the Bible, offering a range of possible readings.

During the early modern period the Bible remained central to the intellectual and devotional endeavours of the Reformed tradition, though one could not argue against a variegated reception. At issue was the question of authority. However could one argue for the interpretation of the Bible in the absence of ecclesiastical sanction? Like the Lutherans, the Reformed struggled to establish and defend their sense of *sola scriptura* and its meaning for the interpretation of texts and the biblical foundation of the expanding world of scientific knowledge. Attention to the literal sense had profound implications for work on languages, manuscripts, the exegetical tradition and the relationship between theology and biblical interpretation. This scholarly edifice would be placed under severe strain during the eighteenth century with the collapse of confessional religion, and in the Reformed tradition by the rise of 'reasonable Calvinism'.

# The Bible in Roman Catholic theology, 1450–1750

ELLIE GEBAROWSKI-SHAFER

Roman Catholic theologians of the late Middle Ages inherited a system of methods and sources with which to work out answers to philosophical and practical questions long held in controversy among Christian believers. Catholic interpreters of Scripture,[1] usually university professors and higher-ranking clergy, used the Latin Vulgate version and made extensive use of patristic writings by renowned early scholars of the faith such as Augustine of Hippo (354–430). They also applied methods of pre-Christian philosophers, including Aristotle's system of categorising and applying knowledge. Other theological sources included canon law (containing conciliar decrees and patristic writings), the decretals (papal decrees since the mid-twelfth century) and multi-volume scriptural commentaries such as the *Glossa Ordinaria* and works by Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) and Peter Lombard (*c*. 1100–60). Use of such canonical sources, a single translation of Scripture (that varied among manuscript copies), and philosophical methods of sorting through all possible conclusions and objections for one presumably correct answer to a question gave rise to the term 'systematic' for this type of theology. While chiefly maintaining status quo doctrines and practices, such theological work, the focus of the first section of this chapter, challenged powerful forces in society and called for reform. Catholic spiritual writings of the era also exhibit a systematic, Bible-centred approach to monastic and personal devotion. In the second section I treat controversial theology: writings by Catholics aimed at a Protestant audience or meant for the instruction of Catholics in how to refute Protestant doctrines and biblical interpretation. The final section

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[1] In this chapter, 'Catholic' is used interchangeably with 'Roman Catholic', notwithstanding the term's use by other Christian groups to indicate ancient and universal Christian teachings. 'Roman Catholic' is taken here to mean that which was approved by the Vatican or connected to prominent regional beliefs and practices.

examines Catholic theology collectively from 1600 to 1750, when a demand for Scripture-focused popular theology in northern Europe contrasted with traditional works maintaining an integrated use of sources.

## Systematic theology and spiritual writings before Trent

The familiar Protestant accusation that the Bible played a small role in Catholic theology would have seemed very strange to the late medieval theologian. Intellectual life revolved around the study of the Bible, from the highest degrees at universities, to the basis of legal systems, to the cornerstone of lay spirituality. Still, the complexity of the scholastic method, the inaccessibility of dense biblical commentaries in Latin and the central authority exercised over the highest levels of scriptural interpretation left the Church vulnerable to allegations that the Pope and clergy were enemies of Scripture rather than the Christian Bible's custodians and inspired exegetes since late antiquity. This type of rhetoric cast a long shadow and remains one of the lasting legacies of the European Reformation in worldwide Christianity.

Historians of religion in early modern Europe point to the innovation, social criticism and calls for reform occurring in theological work and in the Church before Luther. Vernacular translations of the Latin Vulgate were indeed banned on occasion in late medieval times, but the Roman Catholic Church did not categorically oppose lay readership of the Bible and theological writings in the common languages of Europe. Opposition to such texts was fragmented and often centred on controversies of ecclesiastical and clerical authority – such as lay usurpation of the role of preaching – rather than on the Bible itself.[2] In moments of crisis and censorship, Church authorities saw themselves as dealing according to historical precedent with 'heretics' who seemed to threaten the fabric of Christendom and the souls of the faithful. At the level of the university, scholastic theologians, prioritising order and tradition, were at odds with Catholic humanists whose reforming agendas showed less regard for those values, especially of ecclesiastical traditions thought to be

[2] See L. E. Boyle, 'Innocent III and Vernacular Versions of Scripture', in K. Walsh and D. Wood (eds.), *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Studies in Church History Subsidia 4 (Oxford: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by Blackwell, 1985), pp. 97–107; M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920; repr. 1966); L. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 185, 254–5; and A. Walsham, 'Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible', *Journal of British Studies* 42 (April 2003), 141–66.

introduced after the apostolic and patristic eras. These disagreements posed even larger problems when set in public, lay discussion formats and open to word-of-mouth dissemination among the uneducated and discontented. Calls for reform and revitalisation from within, written in Latin for especially literate audiences, were common. Public, unauthorised preaching in the vernacular criticising the Church raised serious concerns for the order of religion and society, and occasionally resulted in official bans of Scripture and vernacular writings about it, as with England's Oxford Constitutions of 1409.

Nonetheless, the Bible in Latin and in vernacular languages consistently played a central role in lay spirituality, with textual, dramatic, artistic and musical interpretations of key stories and teachings to enrich the devotional lives of the faithful. The Bible thus served as inspiration for lived experience and reform of the Church from within – a reform that seemed unattainable at the institutional level.[3] Christ-centred lay piety movements grew, namely the Devotio Moderna and lay confraternities.[4] Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* encouraged meditation on biblical and Christological themes. New religious orders were founded and older orders were reformed, as biblical devotion inspired realignment with long-standing Catholic traditions of charity, humility and community. Lack of opportunity for common people to engage with technical theological work of university culture struck few at the time as a serious problem.

Late medieval scholastic theologians trained for many years to become masters of traditional sources and the neo-Aristotelian method of raising questions about doctrines and practices, then answering them through logic and reasoning in a manner consistent with accepted Church teachings. They valued theology as the mother of sciences, supreme over philosophy, history and the natural sciences. Theologians and the Church they worked to sustain upheld the doctrine of inspiration: a belief that the whole Bible was the inspired word of God. They believed that the Bible, in the Western church's preferred Latin version, required spirit-led discernment in order to be understood correctly and for heresies to be avoided. Augustine's doctrines of justification and of the church also weighed heavily. The salvation of the individual depended on the sanctity of the church and its teachings, and the Roman Catholic Church with Peter as first Pope seemed the clear winner among western Europeans as the true community of Christ's believers.

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[3] Such as at the Council of Constance (1414–18) and the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17), when delegates protested against simony, pluralism, nepotism and non-resident bishops.

[4] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2003), pp. 22–4, 90–3.

Following their predecessors in classical hermeneutics, interpreters of Scripture developed three specific spiritual senses in addition to the literal meaning of a passage: allegorical, tropological and anagogic. Still, the task of deciding what a given passage or phrase of Scripture meant or how to apply it to the present needs of the Church was not easy. To home in on an exact meaning, Scripture could be cited against itself or contextualised with the Fathers' interpretations. For this reason, Scriptural commentaries by inspired writers of the Christian past became indispensable. These included works by Augustine, Jerome, Aquinas, Scotus and Bonaventure, and new theological work often involved creating 'supercommentaries', updated interpretations and applications of older, respected texts – newer commentaries discussing older commentaries. Slightly less valued were the biblical commentaries of Greek Fathers such as Origen. Personal interpretation or individual experience played lesser roles, although this changed in the sixteenth century.

Francisco de Vitoria (1485–1546), who for twenty years was Prime Professor of Theology at Salamanca and composed continuous commentaries on Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* and Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, withheld publishing during his own lifetime, as did a few other theologians such as Sylvester of Ferrara (1474–1528).[5] From lecture notes that survive from an academic session of 1533–4, we know that Vitoria worked through day-to-day lectures on Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* and that a full cycle took about seven years.[6] For Vitoria, lack of ambition to publish accorded with his views that students 'already had too much to read', including handsome editions of Aquinas and Augustine in print. The oral cultures of lecture and disputation in the late medieval schools generated demand for the production of more books, inducing the shift from monastic copying to university scriptoria and finally to print. Especially in university cultures, the printing press was revolutionary less for the content of early printed books (mostly Bibles and commentaries) than for allowing students and professors additional time to reflect on the meaning of the texts with the burden of production removed.

Super commentaries of the university system did not merely rehash what Aquinas or Lombard said, as shown in the work and career of Italian Dominican Tommaso de Vio Cajetan (1469–1534). A prodigious learner and a professor by the age of twenty-four, Cajetan took seriously his work of defending and reforming the Church according to biblical teachings. He wrote an impressive

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[5] His commentary on *Summa Contra Gentiles* was published posthumously in 1552.
[6] A. Pagden and J. Lawrance (eds.), *Francisco De Vitoria: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 153.

157 works of theology, philosophy and biblical exegesis, including 10 volumes on Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* (1502–22) and a commentary on the *De Ente et Essentia*.[7] In his works he attacked and attempted to correct the methods and ideas of rival schools of thought. His theology was shaped by the disputation duties of one of his early jobs, when as chair of Thomistic metaphysics at Padua (from the age of twenty-seven) he routinely debated against the chair of Scotist metaphysics as well as against representatives of the Averroists.[8] For Cajetan, flawed arguments arose out of faulty methods and hasty conclusions. The Scotists, for instance, allegedly misattributed opinions to Aquinas that he did not hold. Cajetan attacked their teachings because in his view they 'spoke without having the whole law before them, and they make facile pronouncements according to Aristotle after considering a few points'.[9] His theological work thus addressed these mistakes, so that his students could learn from and avoid them in their future careers as leaders of Christian society.

Scholastic theologians built careers on defending a position against adversaries and upon the principles and methods of established university culture, so their alleged and actual hostility to humanism must be viewed in this context. Moderate reformers such as Cajetan took exception not to the study of biblical languages but to some of the methods and values of humanist scholars.[10] Some scholastic theologians trained among the humanists, such as Vitoria, who studied in Paris and taught there from 1509 to 1523, making positive references to Homer and Pliny in his lectures on theology. Hallmarks of humanistic learning – the study of biblical languages, the production of accurate texts of Scripture, the value of more modern writings in addition to ancient ones – were not problems for traditionalists, many of whom shared similar goals and values, *unless* humanists disregarded careful scholastic methods and church precedents for accurate discerning and application of biblical teachings. Scholastics pointed out that the texts Jerome had access to were lost. Study of biblical languages, they believed, could provide insights but not necessarily new truths. In the case of Erasmus, critics objected to specific passages from his Latin translation, which was based on the text of four late Byzantine Greek manuscripts. They claimed that the translation

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[7] Thomas de Vio Cajetan, *Commentary on Being and Essence*, trans. Lottie H. Kendzierski and Francis C. Wade (Milwaukee:Marquette University Press, 1964), p. 1.

[8] Ibid., pp. 1–2.

[9] Ibid., p. 231.

[10] J. H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 15–31, 70–4; A. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 1–22.

and accompanying philological annotations had a theologically subversive agenda.[11] For example, for Matthew 3:2 in the 1516 edition, Erasmus exchanged the Vulgate's *poenitentiam agite* (do penance) for *poeniteat vos* (repent), with a further revision in 1519 to *resipiscite* (come to your senses), thereby appearing to sever the verse's connection with the penitential system. Erasmus's opponents feared that readings like these would cause people to question the integrity of the Bible and the authority of the Church.[12] Their arguments provided a model for conservative responses to the versions of Luther and Tyndale, and hence for later Catholic criticisms of Protestant Bibles and exegesis in the sixteenth century and beyond.

Humanists and their newly rediscovered sources brought into question some medieval certainties, particularly regarding canonicity: why did Greek Bibles contain books different from the Vulgate, and in a different order? Why were many books from the Vulgate's Old Testament absent from the Hebrew Bibles of the Jews? What if the Vulgate contained significant errors, to the point of its inspired quality being jeopardised? Their interest in the writers of antiquity prompted additional study of the works of St Jerome, which included his own humble assessment of his translation and exegetical work in progress, while textual studies revealed that the Vulgate was not made by his hand alone. Systematic theologians and ardent defenders of the Catholic Church, in contrast, carried on with traditional assumptions of the Vulgate's truth in canonicity, and that it was more reliable than manuscripts of the Greek New Testament or the Hebrew Old Testament as they existed in the sixteenth century.[13] The humanist controversy and scholastic responses to it drove the focus even more sharply onto the text of the Bible, because the Bible rather than disputed passages from the Fathers remained common ground

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[11] See E. Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics, 1515–1536*, 2 vols.(Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1989) and D. V. N. Bagchi, *Luther's Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518–1525* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991).

[12] E. Rummel, *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: From Philologist to Theologian* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1986) pp. 123–6, 150–3.

[13] Ibid., pp. 123–4; D. Steinmetz, 'The Re-evaluation of the Patristic Exegetical Tradition in the Sixteenth Century', in P. Saenger and K. Van Kampen (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions* (London and New Castle, DE: British Library/Oak Knoll Press, 1999), pp. 135–42, at pp.136–8. G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. 31; cf. R. A. Muller, 'The Debate over the Vowel Points and the Crisis in Orthodox Hermeneutics', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10 (Spring 1980), 53–72, esp. pp. 53–7; and H. A. Oberman, 'Discovery of Hebrew and Discrimination against the Jews: The Veritas Hebraica as Double-Edged Sword in Renaissance and Reformation', in A. Fix and S. Karant-Nunn (eds.), *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), pp. 20–34.

as a textual authority for all disputants. These trends, of negativity towards humanism and increased focus on the Bible in theological and polemical discourses, would continue during the struggles against Lutheranism and be solidified in Church doctrine at the Council of Trent (1545–63).

If Catholic humanists challenged the wisdom of antiquity or the inspired nature of St Jerome's translation to the point of wanting to retranslate it from the best available copies of original texts, red flags were raised and university jobs lost.[14] Who were such scholars, to claim to be more inspired translators than St Jerome? To think their minds worked with greater rationality and precision in defence of authentic Christianity than notable thinkers of the past? With these questions, scholastic theologians held sway in the universities of pre-Reformation Europe and in the decrees of the Council of Trent, affecting worldwide Catholicism for centuries. The notion of *sola scriptura* accompanied by the cry *ad fontes* made little sense to those steeped in the wisdom of the Christian past and respectful of Church hierarchy. Traditionalists therefore rejected humanism's potential for becoming a successful method of systematic biblical interpretation. The Bible, even in its most pristine, original sources or most accurate printed editions and translations for them could never be the absolute authority for religious truth; it needed precise, learned, Church-directed interpretation.

Its resistance to humanism notwithstanding, the scholastic method stood in need of reinvigoration. This it received from theologians producing work that, contrary to some caricatures, was not all about calculating how many angels could dance on the head of a pin. Vitoria's theological work and academic career at Salamanca provide a key example of an innovative Catholic systematic thinker of the era. Master of two generations of Spanish theologians and jurists including Francisco Suárez, he despised humanists and the chaos their ideas had wrought in the fledgling Protestant Reformation. He also engaged the Bible critically and challenged the status quo with his practical application of biblical teachings. Like other Catholics in the 'Second Scholastic' movement of the early sixteenth century, Vitoria sought to revitalise the method, introducing shortcuts and aiming for increased relevance to recent scholarship and current problems. For instance, in what survives of his seven-year lecture series on Aquinas, he stated the initial question on a biblical teaching. Then he summarised Aquinas's reply, often condensing a series of points to a quick mention of 'four reasons' given by Aquinas or

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[14] E. F. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), pp. 173–5.

briefly alluding to Aquinas's solutions to a series of arguments, 'which are full of egregious points'.[15] With due deference to tradition, he brought in likely responses of Lombard, Bernard of Clairvaux and Augustine, and points 'all doctors agree upon'. He engaged with ideas that more recent theologians 'appear to hold', including those of Cardinal Cajetan, Gregory of Rimini and Nicholaus de Tudeschis. Vitoria made his own assertions and brought in additional biblical passages, different from those Aquinas had used. In this, he offered his theology students a valuable and fairly accessible summary of Aquinas and an efficient guide to the vast literature and oral wisdom available in university culture and Christian history.

Vitoria's inclination to speak his mind and use traditional methods of biblical interpretation to challenge the status quo is most famously evident in his lectures now known as *De Indis*, 'On the American Indians', delivered in January 1539. These lectures arose from the question of whether forced baptism should be used on the American Indians. With Matthew 28:19, the 'Great Commission', as a starting point, Vitoria employs biblical and classical sources to justify the dominion of Spain over the American Indians, even their enslavement.[16] Posing the disputation-style question whether unbelievers can be compelled to accept the faith when 'legitimately' being ruled over and presented with 'provable and rational arguments' of the truth of Christianity, Vitoria says yes, citing biblical support from Mark 16:16, Romans 10:14 and Acts 4:12. Logic tempers these scripturally supported conclusions and leads him to challenge the bad behaviour of Spanish conquistadores in the name of Christianity:

> It is not sufficiently clear to me that the Christian faith has up to now been announced and set before the barbarians in such a way as to oblige them to believe it under pain of fresh sin. By this I mean that…they are not bound to believe unless the faith has been set before them with persuasive probability. But I have not heard of any miracles or signs, nor of any exemplary saintliness of life sufficient to convert them. On the contrary, I hear only of provocations, savage crimes, and multitudes of unholy acts. From this, it does not appear that the Christian religion has been preached to them in a sufficiently pious way to oblige their acquiescence; even though it is clear that a number of friars and other churchmen have striven industriously in this cause, by the example of their lives and the diligence of their preaching, and this would have been enough, had they not been thwarted by others with different aims.[17]

[15] Pagden and Lawrance (eds.), *Francisco De Vitoria*, p. 191.
[16] Ibid., pp. 239–40.
[17] Ibid., p. 271.

Speaking truth to power, he exerts a critical force from within the intellectual and spiritual community, using traditional theological methods to evoke positive change. He also insists on kind treatment of Native Americans, upholding laws and justice, use of reason over violence in solving disputes, and refraining from declaring war on them and taking their goods and property. Citing 1 Peter 4:9 and 1 Timothy 3:2, he advocates hospitality to 'strangers and foreigners' and an early form of racial equality, wherein a child born in the Indies of a Spanish father should be treated to all advantages and privileges of native citizens, 'at least as long as he accepted the same burdens as they'.[18] Alongside these calls for justice and genuine conversion, one must always also note that Vitoria deploys biblical texts to condone slavery and some cases of forced conversion. The work, delivered in Latin for university students, was not designed for prompt publication, for swift change in society or to challenge the Church hierarchy. But it does attempt to inspire students to think critically about the status quo, giving scriptural support for improvement in Christian society.

The trend towards application and moderate reform in systematic traditions of biblical interpretation extends to Jesuit spiritual writings. Here, the historical genre of devotional manuals for members of holy orders, clergy and laypeople lends itself to a lessening of weight on patristic authors and an emphasis on personal prayer life and ministry, with room for individual interpretation of the Bible. Ignatius Loyola (1492–1556) wrote *The Spiritual Exercises* in Spanish from 1522 to 1524, following his experience of spiritual conversion in 1521 while recovering from wounds. The work, which trains the reader in a rigorous programme of spiritual growth, circulated in manuscript among early members of the Society of Jesus (founded in 1540). It appeared in a Latin translation of 500 copies in 1548, the only work of Loyola's in print during his lifetime. Loyola received inspiration from Kempis's popular *Imitation of Christ*, from the spirituality of Bernard of Clairvaux and Francis of Assisi, as well as from his own regimented military background, mystical visions and world-affirming attitude.[19] In this influential work, biblical theology functions within traditions yet challenges the status quo and urges personal prayer and spiritual growth focused on the life of Christ, hierarchical obedience and good works in the world.

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[18] Ibid., p. 281.
[19] J. Pereira and R. Fastiggi, *Mystical Theology of the Catholic Reformation: An Overview of Baroque Spirituality* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006), p. 169.

In the *Spiritual Exercises*, contemplations involve reflections on biblical sayings, people and places, with guided contemplations, says Loyola, 'according to my inner feelings, so that I may better follow and imitate Our Lord'.[20] Readings from Christ's life as recorded in the Gospels, as well as lives of saints and Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, are mentioned as helpful in developing one's spiritual practice.[21] Loyola encourages the reader to see in his or her mind's eye the people in the Bible story and to use the five senses for systematic meditation.[22] The individual reader, he says, should seek divine wisdom directly, through scriptural texts centring on Christ's states of life, including 'His obedience to His parents', his 'evangelical perfection, when He stayed in the Temple, leaving His adopted father and natural mother, to devote Himself to the exclusive service of His heavenly Father', then turning in prayer to 'inquire and ask in which life or state the Divine Majesty wishes to use us'.[23] In addition to concern for contemplation and prayer, Loyola exhorts his readers to seek right action, with the Bible, Church teachings and the advice of superiors as guides.[24] In a reflection on Christ's sermon on the plain, right action connects with concerns for social justice and activism: 'He recommends them to be ready to help everyone; first, by drawing everyone to the highest spiritual poverty . . . and secondly, by drawing everyone to the desire for insults and contempt. From these two things follows humility.'[25] Another meditation encourages the reader, methodically seeking ways to serve others, to 'see the various kinds of persons . . . in all their diversity of dress and appearance, some white and some black, some in peace and others at war, some weeping and others laughing, some healthy, others sick'.[26] Racial, cultural and economic equality are all suggested here, being brought to the reader's personal awareness through ordered, mindful attention to a particular biblical passage.

Loyola and the Jesuit movement thus served an integral role in the reinvigoration of the systematic method. With these popular, experientially focused and biblically centred spiritual writings they became 'systematicians of the spiritual life'.[27] In addition to writing works on spirituality for clerical and

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[20] Ignatius of Loyola, *Personal Writings: Reminiscences, Spiritual Diary, Select Letters, including the text of The Spiritual Exercises*, trans. Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean (London: Penguin, 1996), p. 306.

[21] Ibid., p. 304.

[22] Ibid., p. 306.

[23] Ibid., p. 310.

[24] Ibid., p. 293.

[25] Ibid., p. 311. Also see a meditation on Christ 'born in extreme poverty', p. 307.

[26] Ibid., p. 305.

[27] Pereira and Fastiggi, *Mystical Theology*, p. 176.

lay members, Jesuits continued to write works of systematic theology, and Aquinas was made official teacher of their order (then declared by Pius V as 'doctor' of the universal church in 1567.)[28] At the same time, they used innovative thinking alongside these traditional sources and theological methods of inquiry to address present problems in the world. Going a step further from the university-centred biblical reform suggested by Vitoria, Jesuits extended a broader call among Roman Catholic Christians for Christ-like love to be manifested in one's inner thoughts as well as in external good deeds such as preaching, teaching, charity to the poor, medical outreach and missionary work. A highly devoted practitioner of the Jesuits' systematic meditative approach to Scripture would, as affirmed by Jerónimo Nadal (1507–80), eventually finds that his or her works become prayers.[29]

Systematic and mystical theology in this period, as we have seen, experienced reinvigoration and innovation, showing both continuity with internal reforms before Luther and also responses to changes brought by printing technology and humanistic methods of scholarship. Vitoria, Cajetan and Loyola, working in a spirit of experimentalism before the Council of Trent, all pushed boundaries of Catholic faith, focused closely on the Bible, and defended the Church and traditional methods of biblical interpretation. While leaving room for individuals to reflect on the Bible's meaning, these figures accepted the order of traditional hierarchy and the need for Church leaders to guide interpretations and applications. As we see in the next section, the Church's views on the text, canon, translation and interpretation of the Bible became more clearly defined in the age of Protestantism.

## The Council of Trent and controversial theology to *c.* 1600

Theological works defending tradition and refuting Protestant biblical interpretation took on renewed importance after the Council of Trent (1545–63) and its decrees reaffirming the role of the Bible in the Roman Catholic Church. With the Church's authority shaken in northern Europe, Catholic authors drew on 1,500 years of Christian writings 'against heresies' and on oral disputation training from the university system to pen works of biblical exegesis, often in vernacular languages and to a wider reading public than

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[28] Jesuit writers of systematic theology included Francisco Suárez (1548–1617), Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) and Leonardo Lessius (1554–1623).
[29] Pereira and Fastiggi, *Mystical Theology*, pp. 174–5.

typically engaged by scholastic theologians. Catholic vernacular Bibles, in print before the Protestant Reformation, were reinvented as accessible versions of a university debate on the authority and interpretative methods of Scripture. In these and other formats, controversial writings from this era show a creative transformation and continued revitalisation of standard methods, as well as further growth in the variety of individuals who could write and read theology. While mixed views persisted regarding the wisdom of bringing biblical scholarship to the masses, northern European contexts required Catholic authors to meet reformers on their own ground in order to persuade individual readers to remain within the Roman Catholic Church. Such authors of printed works in Latin and in vernacular languages expected a high degree of literacy from their readers, as well as an interest in complex matters of biblical interpretation and translation.

Controversial theology developed in a complex web of texts in which Catholic theology and Catholic Bibles themselves were caught up. Insofar as Protestant humanists had worked to offset the Church's teachings with new annotated biblical translations, Catholics in some northern European countries replied in unique vernacular Bibles that answered both translation and annotations of the target Bible. Luther's version and its embedded theology was so controversial, and disseminated so widely and rapidly, that three Catholic translators in quick succession challenged its authority.[30] The resulting Bibles, initially including the New Testament only, provided a German translation from the Latin Vulgate (influenced heavily by Luther's) and also copious annotations denouncing Luther's teachings and alleging that he made deliberate theological errors in his version. In England, Catholic opposition to the Bible in English re-emerged with Sir Thomas More's critique of William Tyndale's New Testament (1526).[31] More faulted Tyndale for minimising the influence of the Vulgate's theologically significant words such as 'church' and 'charity', using instead 'congregation' and 'love'. As Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, pointed out in 1542, translating key words directly

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[30] *Das naw testament nach lawt der Christlichen kirchen bewerten text, corrigirt, und widerumb zu recht gebracht*, rev. Hieronymus Emser (Dresden: Stöckel, 1527; Darlow and Moule, no. 4191); *Biblia, beider Allt unnd Newen Testamenten*, rev. Johann Dietenberger (Mainz: Peter Jordan and P. Quentel, 1534; Darlow and Moule, no. 4200); *Bibel: Alt und new Testament, nach dem Text in der hailigen kirchen gebraucht*, rev. Johann Eck (Ingolstadt: [Görg Krapffen], 1537; Darlow and Moule, no. 4203).

[31] See M. Hooker, 'Tyndale's "Heretical" Translation', *Reformation* 2 (1997), 127–42, esp. pp. 135–6; H. Bluhm, 'Martin Luther and the English Bible: Tyndale and Coverdale', in G. Duennhaupt (ed.), *Martin Luther Quincentennial* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press for Michigan Germanic Studies, 1984), pp. 112–25.

from the Vulgate (*gratia*, *poenitentia*, *sacramentum*) made a dramatic differ-ence in whether a version supported the Church's teachings.[32] For Protestants this was one of the attractions of translating from the Greek: old teachings could be cast aside in light of fresh insights. But for those seeking reform from within, the new versions, in the hands of charismatic Protestant leaders, posed significant problems. Catholic theologians believed that the vernacular versions commonly available in England had 'purposely corrupted the textes, oft maliciously puttyng in suche wordes as might in the readers eares serve to the profe of such heresies as thei went about to sowe'.[33] According to John Standish, writing in 1554, such Bibles had become the source of 'obstinacie, disobedience, fleshely libertie, losse of devotion, swarmes of errours, and her-esies'.[34] These reasons, more than the single issue of controlling lay readership and access to scriptural knowledge, made Protestant translations of the 1520s onwards problematic in the eyes of Catholic scholars and prompted them to reply in print. While some pushed for Catholic vernacular translations of the Bible as part of the response literature, others advocated caution and restraint.

Such divergent practices called for a clarification of the Church's position on the Bible. The opportunity for this came at the Council of Trent, where the Church also redefined its doctrines on the authority of Scripture, can-onicity and inspiration.[35] Delegates determined that the Vulgate remained a sound basis for doctrine, and this view entered the body of official Catholic teachings on 8 April 1546. In this, the Council made a methodological break with Protestant biblical humanism, declaring the Vulgate with its customary canonical books to be the only authoritative, authentic translation, to be used in public lectures, disputations, sermons and expository discourses, and not to be rejected for any reason.[36] Humanists could of course continue to study

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[32] Gardiner advocated that when translated, key words from the Vulgate should be 'retained in their own nature as much as might be; or be very fitly englished, with the least alteration'. These words included *adorare, apocalypsis, apostolus, baptizare, benedictio, ceremonia, charitas, communio, concupiscentia, dignus, Dominus, ecclesia, episcopus, gloria, gratia, humilitas, idololatria, impositio manuum, innumerabilis, inenarrabilis, infidelis, justi-ficare, justitia, mysterium, olacausta, paganus, panis præpositionis, pascha, pietas, pænitentia, pontifex, presbyter, religio, sacramentum, sapientia, simulachrum, spiritus sanctus, satisfactio, tyrannus.* The full list can be found in G. Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic: The Life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 164.

[33] John Standish, *A discourse wherein is debated whether it be expedient that the scripture should be in English for al men to reade that wyll* (n.p.: n.p., 1554; STC (2nd edn.), 23207), A iii[r]–A iiii[v].

[34] Ibid., A ii[r]–[v]; C. A. MacKenzie, *The Battle for the Bible in England, 1557–1582* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), pp. 83–5.

[35] F. J. Crehan, 'The Bible in the Roman Catholic Church from Trent to the Present Day', in *CHB* 3, pp. 199–237, at pp. 199–213.

[36] D. Béchard (ed. and trans.), *The Scripture Documents: An Anthology of Official Catholic Teachings* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002), pp. 3–6.

the Greek and Hebrew text, but the decree prohibited loyal Catholics from allowing the Vulgate to be overshadowed by any other texts or versions, in matters of doctrine and teaching. The 17 June 1546 decree from Trent Session 5, with the goal that 'impiety under the guise of piety may not be spread', declared that any interpreter of Scripture, whether public or private, should be 'previously examined and approved by the local bishop concerning his life, moral character, and knowledge'.[37] Council attendees did not, however, make a general decree regarding Catholic vernacular Bibles or the permissibility of lay readership of the Bible.

In any case, such a decision, whether to endorse or prohibit vernacular Bibles, could not have been received in the same way across the Christian world. Conservative divines, almost exclusively from the Catholic strongholds of southern Europe, placed a lower value on producing vernacular response Bibles and popular polemical literature that defended Catholic teachings. Their northern counterparts, in the minority at the Council, had a stronger sense that the need to refute Protestantism in Europe required the publication of Catholic Bibles and associated polemical literature.[38] Furthermore, none of the members responsible for discussing how to address unorthodox interpretation of Scripture came from countries where the Protestant Bible had become an established entity in the popular religious landscape. For these reasons, delegates withheld making a specific decree and by default deferred to each nation the decision of whether to allow or prohibit vernacular Bibles. The decrees regarding the Vulgate, however, implied that translations into vernacular languages must be made from copies of the traditional version. Statements on the teaching of Scripture suggested that members of the laity who were approved to read and interpret the Bible privately should be equipped with at least a streamlined form of the intellectual apparatus needed for orthodox interpretation of Scripture.[39]

The application of Tridentine decrees varied in each region, from attempts to suppress vernacular Scriptures not in an approved translation to the production of Catholic annotated vernacular translations.[40] René Benoist, *docteur régent* in the faculty of theology in Paris and confessor to Mary Queen of Scots, produced a Vulgate-based French translation, published in 1566. In

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[37] Ibid., pp. 6–10.
[38] R. McNally, 'The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles', *Theological Studies* 27 (June 1966), 204–27, esp. p. 217; also see G. Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 4, 13–14, 115.
[39] M. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (New York and London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 38–41.
[40] D. Julia, 'Reading and the Counter-Reformation', in G. Cavallo and R. Chartier (eds.), *A History of Reading in the West* (Amherst: Polity Press, 1999), pp. 240–5.

his dedication to Charles IX, Benoist recommended the dissemination of Scripture in the vernacular as a cure for unorthodox teachings, but, lacking approbations from the Vatican, his version was condemned by the Sorbonne within a year of its publication.[41] In Italy, where no rival Protestant version existed yet, preachers published and disseminated copies of sermons, but they did not encourage members of the laity to read the Scriptures themselves.[42] English Catholic exiles, in contrast, brought forth a successful, Vatican-approved Testament for use in Protestant England, complete with scholastic and polemical interpretative notes.[43]

This volume, the Rheims New Testament (1582), was created at the intersection of post-Tridentine, Counter-Reformation publishing and educational goals. The English College at Douai, founded by William Allen in 1568, shifted away from the late medieval university culture of debate among schools and systematic exegesis of standard works of biblical interpretation. The college adopted a practical focus for training hundreds of students to serve as missionary priests in Elizabethan England, moving to Rheims in 1578 with funding from Pope Gregory XIII.[44] The college's academic course involved lectures on the Old and New Testaments, study of the Bible in its original languages, and weekly disputations on passages from Scripture held in controversy with Protestants. Catholic publishing in English was also emphasised, as a seminary affiliate and Jesuit, Robert Persons, wrote in 1581: 'Nothing has so helped, and is helping, nothing will do so much to preserve our cause in the future, and to make it known, as the printing of Catholic books, works of controversy and works of devotion.'[45] Some of these books were smuggled into Protestant England and used by missionary priests and lay Catholics to support the faith of Catholic believers and sometimes to win back converts to Catholicism. Seminary priests returning to England would have 'at their

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[41] Darlow and Moule, vol. II, no. 3729, p. 392.

[42] E. Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), pp. 4–5.

[43] *The Nevv Testament of Iesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred vvith the Greeke and other editions in diuers languages; vvith arguments of bookes and chapters, annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better vnderstanding of the text, and specially for the discouerie of the corruptions of diuers late translations, and for cleering the controuersies in religion, of these daies . . .*, trans. Gregory Martin, with annotations by Allen, Bristow and Worthington (Rheims: John Fogny, 1582; STC (2nd edn.), 2884; Darlow and Moule 134) (henceforth Rheims NT). The Old Testament was published in two volumes, in 1609–10.

[44] T. Knox (ed.), *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay* (London: David Nutt, 1878), p. xxxv.

[45] Persons in a letter to Aquaviva on 21 October 1581, quoted in P. Hughes, *The Reformation in England*, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1954), vol. III, p. 297.

fingers' ends all those passages which are correctly used by Catholics in support of our faith or impiously misused by heretics in opposition to the church's faith'.[46] This would be an improvement on priests' previous situation of translating the Vulgate extemporaneously, inaccurately, and 'with unpleasant hesitation because either there is no English version of the words or it does not then and there occur to them'.[47]

When seeking official permission to publish the Rheims New Testament, college directors William Allen and Richard Bristow carefully expressed their rationale, so as to remain in accordance with conciliar decrees. They assured Vatican officials that Oxford Hebraist Gregory Martin's English translation had been made 'according to the true meaning of that vulgate edition approved by the Council of Trent, and in accordance with the Catholic faith, and speech', free from 'all heretical errors, corruptions, and new-fangled words', with 'the ecclesiastical forms of speech' fully restored. Additionally, the version, financially backed by 'the most prudent and religious Catholics in England', would expose the 'frauds of our adversaries' and act as a remedy for 'corrupt translations…in almost every hand'. This mattered, considering that 'Catholics must be in constant debate with heretics', and because in England with all its Protestant Bibles, 'it seems impossible to take these books from them, unless some Catholic and approved version is given in their places'.[48] The version's publication with approbations did not signal universal Catholic support for Bibles 'read indifferently of all', but rather 'special consideration of the present time, state, and condition of our countrie'.[49] The Testament's preface backed Tridentine support of the Vulgate, which the author (Allen or Bristow) boldly claimed 'is not onely better then al other Latin translations, but then the Greeke text it self, in those places where they disagree. The proofe hereof is evident, because most of the auncient Heretikes were Grecians, & therefore the Scriptures in Greeke were more corrupted by them.'[50] Defending the Vulgate in the Rheims New Testament went hand in hand with attacking Protestant versions. This was done along the lines of More's criticisms of Tyndale's work, but applied to the three subsequent major version of the English Bible: the Great Bible (1539), the Geneva Bible (1560) and the Bishops'

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[46] Allen to Vendeville, in a letter dated 16 September 1578 or 1580, trans. in Knox (ed.), *Diaries*, p. xxxviii.
[47] Ibid., pp. xl–xli.
[48] Trans. in J. H. Pollen, 'Translating the Bible into English at Rheims', *The Month* 140 (August 1922), 146–8.
[49] Preface of the Reims NT, aii[r].
[50] Ibid., biii[v].

Bible (1568).[51] Critics of Martin's translation, which was informed by the Greek and borrowed from Protestant versions, deemed it 'no lesse difficult to understande than the Latine or Greeke itself'.[52] This, too, was Trent applied as coining new English words that could carry the theological valence of the underlying Latin text. An accompanying glossary duly defined for readers difficult terms such as 'pasch', 'parasceve' and 'azymes'.[53]

The annotations that accompanied Martin's translation, written by Allen and Bristow for 'the better understanding of the text ... and for cleering the Controversies in religion, of these daies', reflected trends towards practical biblical theology, applied and accessible scholasticism, and a wide audience of readers and interpreters of Scripture.[54] The notes attacked the accuracy of Protestant biblical translation and interpretation, with substantial supporting quotations from the writings of the Fathers. They also offered pastoral advice to Catholics living in Protestant England, as well as members of the Church of England who might be disillusioned with the establishment religion and consider returning to the Roman Church.[55] The note accompanying Philippians 3:15 illustrates some of these features:

> Divisions and differences come never but of Schisme or Heresie, and such are among the Heretikes, not onely in respect of us Catholikes, but among themselves: as they know that be acquainted with the writings of Luther against Zuinglius, or Westphalus against Calvin, or the Puritans against the Protestants, not onely charging one another with Heresie, Idolatrie, Superstition, and Atheisme, but also condemning each others ceremonies or manner of administrations, till it come to excommunication, and banishment, yea sometimes burning one of another. Thus did not S. Cyprian, S. Augustine, S Hierom, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Thomists, Scotists, who all agree in one rule of faith, all of one communion, all most deere one to another in the same, all (thankes be to God) come to one holy Masse, and

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[51] For study of these variant readings see E. Gebarowski-Shafer (Bagley), 'Heretical Corruptions and False Translations: Catholic Criticisms of the Protestant English Bible, 1582–1870', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2007, vol. II.

[52] W. Fulke, *A Defense of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tong, against the manifolde cavils, frivolous quarrels, and impudent slaunders of Gregorie Martin, one of the readers of Popish divinitie in the trayterous Seminarie of Rhemes* (London: Henrie Bynneman, for George Bishop, 1583; STC (2nd edn.), 11430), sig. [A I ͬ–A 2 ᵛ].

[53] See S. Maveety, 'The Glossary in the Rheims New Testament of 1582', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 61 (1962), 562–77 and Bruce Metzger, *The Bible in Translation: Ancient and English Versions* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), pp. 67–8.

[54] From the title page of the Rheims NT.

[55] See Walsham, 'Unclasping the Book?' and E. Gebarowski-Shafer, 'The Rheims New Testament Controversy: Biblical Annotation and Polemics in Elizabethan England', MA thesis, Boston University, 2002, pp. 40–71.

receive the same Sacraments, and obey one head throughout all the world. S. Augustine *li. 2 de bapt. 6. 5.* shall make up this matter with this notable sentence: *We are men* (saith he) *and therfore to thinke somewhat otherwise then the thing is, is an humane tentation: but by loving our owne sentence to much, or by envying our betters, to procede unto the sacrilege of deviding the mutual societie and of making schisme or heresie, is devilish presumption* . . .Which saying would God all our deere countrie men would marke, and come into the Church, where onely God revealeth truth.[56]

In this call to Christian unity and obedience, traditional scholarship stands prominent and innovatively transformed from its late medieval university settings, applied in English to the unique context of Reformation England. The intention to persuade and to be used for persuasion is clear for the creators' target audience: missionary priests and laypersons approved by them, with impact on their Protestant friends, family and neighbours in conversations facilitated by a handy index, 'An ample and particular table directing the reader to al Catholike truthes, deduced out of the holy Scriptures, and impugned by the Adversaries'.[57] Other Catholic books connected with the Rheims New Testament contain similar content, namely translator Gregory Martin's *A Discoverie off the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures*, also published in 1582 and reprinted in revised format in later centuries.[58] We know that at least one man, William Alabaster, converted to Catholicism after reading a book connected with the controversy.[59] English nuns living in northern Europe, however, ignored the polemical content and used copies of the Catholic version for liturgical purposes.[60] There were other, perhaps less

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[56] Rheims NT, p. 532.

[57] Daniel Cheely has shown that the Rheims–Douai Bible's primary Catholic readers were missionary priests (especially Jesuits), English gentry households, and English nuns on the continent:'Different Bokes for Different Folks: Catholic Bibles in Early Modern England', presented at the Conference on the Quatercentenary of the Authorised Version, University of York, July 2011 and previewing material from chapter 2 of 'Opening the Book of Marwood: English Catholics and their Bibles in Early Modern Europe', Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2015.

[58] Gregory Martin, *A Discoverie off the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretikes of our Daies* (Reims: John Fogny, 1582). See discussion later in this chapter of Thomas Ward's related work.

[59] Alabaster reportedly converted after reading W. Rainolds, *A Refutation of Sundry Reprehensions, Cavils, and false sleightes, by which M. Whitaker laboureth to deface the late English translation, and Catholike annotations of the new Testament, and the booke of Discovery of heretical corruptions* (Paris: publisher not stated [possibly Richard Verstegan], 1583; STC (2nd edn.), 20632); see W. Alabaster, *Unpublished Works by William Alabaster (1568–1640)*, ed. D. F. Sutton (Salzburg, Oxford, and Portland: University of Salzburg Press, 1997), p. 118.

[60] Daniel Cheely, 'Douay–Rheims Version', in Dale C. Allison, Jr., Christine Helmer [et al.] (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter Press, 2012), vol. VI, cols. 1115–18.

intentional, audiences: university divines such as William Fulke and Thomas Cartwright and Protestant readers of their full refutations, which gave additional exposure to the Catholic version and notes, reprinted in full alongside long-winded refutations.[61] Despite the careful intentions of college directors, there was no mechanism for controlling readership once the 5,000 copies (an unusually high print run for the time) reached England. This hybrid Bible – part translated text, part polemical disputation – marks a significant development in Catholic theology and in the implementation of Tridentine decrees on the role of the Bible in a divided church.

Also containing a mixture of controversial theology, systematic theology and devotional advice, the work of St Teresa of Ávila (1515–82) illustrates post-Trent vernacular publishing in southern Europe. St Teresa faced criticism for her reform work within the Carmelite order, but in her *Way of Perfection*, first published in Spain in 1583, she remains firmly traditional and a loyal defender of the Roman Catholic Church. With less direct engagement of Protestant teachings than typical Catholic writers of the north, refutation of Protestant teachings nonetheless provided motivation for her writings. Her work responded to the success of the 'unhappy sect' of Lutheranism in France, which, she says, 'troubled me very much ... I felt that I would have laid down a thousand lives to save a single one of all the souls that were being lost there.' In writing the devotional book and seeing it through to publication with approval of her superiors, she 'determined to do the little that was in me – namely, to follow the evangelical counsels as perfectly as I could', while encouraging fellow nuns, whom she addresses as 'sisters', 'daughters' and 'friends', to do the same in their lives of study, prayer and poverty.[62]

Although southern European theologians of the era typically placed less emphasis on vernacular Bibles, St Teresa ascribes to the Scriptures a central role in ascertaining religious truth: 'as far as I can see and learn by experience, the soul must be convinced that a thing comes from God only if it is in conformity with Holy Scripture'.[63] She wrote of her own mystical visions and interior voices that were transformational to her spirituality and theological work, with biblical exegesis informed by her study of the Hebrew Scriptures

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[61] William Fulke (ed.), *The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, Translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie at Rheims* (London: Deputies of Christopher Barker, 1589; STC (2nd edn.), 2888); T. Cartwright, *A Confutation of the Rhemists Translation, Glosses and Annotations on the New Testament* (Leiden: [W. Brewster], 1618; STC (2nd edn.), 4709).

[62] Teresa of Avila, *The Complete Works of St Teresa of Jesus*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. E. Allison Peers (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), vol. II, pp. 3, 183–4.

[63] Ibid., vol. I, p. 161.

with Francis Ribera. In one of her many meditations on biblical passages and mental images, the Paternoster ('Lord's Prayer') becomes the centre for practical advice on perfecting prayer. Of this exemplary prayer, she says, 'let us delight in it and strive to learn from so excellent a Master the humility with which he prays, and all the other things that have been described', including slow (not rushed) recitation of prayers, which should be repeated many times daily for a nun to achieve maximum spiritual growth.[64] By no means the first book of theology penned by a Catholic woman, this work, written and printed for an intended audience of fellow Catholic women, represents a significant broadening of who could practise biblical theology outside a university setting, due in part to the threat posed by rival Protestant biblical interpretation.

It is doubtful that St Teresa, who affirmed at least rhetorically Trent's renewed emphasis on women's inferiority, would have seen things exactly this way. Tridentine delegates pointed to 1 Timothy 2:15 to support the idea that women are saved through childbearing, and they admonished women to obey their husbands, raise children, and not leave their homes without their husbands' permission.[65] Teresa, as a Carmelite nun from the age of twenty-one, was not held to the same expectations as married women, but she faced pervasive cultural beliefs about the inferiority of women's intellectual abilities.[66] She alluded to these conventions with comments such as: 'I acted, in short, like the weak and wretched woman that I am' and 'I was a woman, and a sinner, and incapable of doing all I should like in the Lord's service'.[67] In this and other respects she maintained strict loyalty to the Church's teachings, insisting that the reader, in her meditative process, always act 'in conformity with the doctrine of the Church, asking for instruction from this person and from that...so that all the revelations [a soul] could imagine, even were it to see the heavens opened, would not cause it to budge an inch from the Church's teachings'.[68] She assures her readers that she has followed pre-publication protocols by showing the book to her confessor, Father Domingo Báñez of the Order of Saint Dominic: 'If he thinks you will benefit by it, and gives it you to read, and if you find it of any comfort, I, too, shall be comforted.'[69] In St Teresa's work and more generally, these and other traditional methods and values, including

[64] Ibid., vol. II, p. 186.
[65] See I. A. Helman, *Women and the Vatican: An Exploration of Official Documents* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2012), pp. 18–19.
[66] K. Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), p. 40.
[67] Teresa of Avila, *Complete Works*, vol. II, p. 3.
[68] Ibid., p. 161.
[69] Ibid., p. 186.

obedience to authorities and respect for Scripture, stayed prominent even in the midst of revitalisation, change and varied responses to Protestantism.

## The Bible in printed theology of Catholic Europe, *c.* 1600–1750

After the Council of Trent and into the seventeenth century, customary theological methods blended with innovative responses to Protestantism, while lay consumption of practical and devotional theology in vernacular languages expanded. Most authors used Scripture and tradition in an integrated way, drawing on a variety of sources when mining for materials to make a devotional or moral point. Popular theology in vernacular languages became more Bible-centred as authors reached out to audiences beyond the academy to combat opposing interpretations of Scripture and to cultivate Catholic spirituality. Authors in this complex web of texts show a more independent theological stance in their use of excerpted passages as well as in their understanding of the symbolic role of the Bible – especially the Bible in translation. All authors hoped to show that the Bible was on their side, and to persuade their readers accordingly. This shows in popular theological literature, which transitioned to new 'user-friendly' formats, designed to help minority Catholics navigate conversations and informal debates with members of the Protestant majority.

Reprinted and newly composed theology of the period showed continuity with the past and with oral cultures of universities and the parish pulpit. Scholars revered classic commentaries, preserving and editing them in updated editions, as Pope Sixtus V (in office 1585–90) did with the works of Ambrose, published in 1579–85.[70] Sixtus showed equal care for traditional Bibles, producing an edition of the Septuagint in 1588 and the ill-fated edition of the Vulgate in 1590.[71] Volumes of book-by-book scriptural commentary continued to be derived from lectures and sermons, as was the case with Jesuit and Tridentine delegate Alfonso Salmerón, whose sixteen-volume New Testament commentary was published in 1597.[72] Other Jesuit scholars wrote commentaries on Aquinas's *Summa*, including Gregorio de Valencia (1545–1603), whose four volumes appeared in 1591–7, and Gabriel Vázquez

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[70] On the great commentaries after Trent, especially Spain 1560–1630, see Crehan, 'The Bible in the Roman Catholic Church', pp. 213–17.

[71] This edition had to be withdrawn due to significant errors, and was reissued after his death in 1592. See Chapter 8 in this volume.

[72] Crehan, 'The Bible in the Roman Catholic Church', pp. 213–14.

(1549–1604), with eight volumes in 1598–1614. A balanced combination of Scripture and other standard sources marks the work of fellow Jesuit Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) of Salamanca, who engaged with Protestant controversies as well. Suárez is best known for his works on metaphysics, dogma and law, yet he also wrote systematic theology criticising the Church of England.[73] He drew on an impressive variety of patristic, classical and recent theological sources and scriptural commentaries. In his 1612 work *De Legibus* he referred to biblical passages such as the Decalogue, Psalm 18:8 ('The law of the Lord is unspotted, converting souls') and Proverbs 6:23 ('The commandment is a lamp, and the law a light') to establish biblical foundations of the law and how specific laws should be applied. Similar to his predecessor Vitoria, whose published lectures had urged caution and restraint in an earlier age of global Christian expansion, Suárez made a case for limitations of lawgivers in Europe and for separating the rightful powers of kings and pontiffs.[74] His volumes, as Vitoria's had in the previous generation at Salamanca, kept scholars updated and informed on the vast theological literature available for shedding insight on important, timely questions.

Meanwhile in northern Europe, controversial works in vernacular languages grew in influence, becoming more Scripture-focused in answer to Protestant attacks. University theologians such as Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) penned response literature to those who alleged, among other things, that Catholic writers had deliberately misquoted the Fathers to prove their doctrines, with supplementary works to encourage spiritual growth among lay Catholics.[75] Writers lacking university pedigrees entered the conversation, too. Their simpler books marked a movement away from the source-integration seen in the previous generation's Rheims New Testament controversy, where Allen, Bristow and Martin had included quotes from Latin, Greek and Hebrew texts of Scripture, along with substantial quotations (in English) from early Christian sources. In some circles such literature enjoyed continued popularity in reprinted editions.[76] At the same time, discussion of these texts began to

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[73] Pereira and Fastiggi, *Mystical Theology*, p. 181.

[74] Francisco Suárez, *Selections from Three works*, vol. 11, ed. Gwladys Williams, Ammi Brown, John Waldron and Henry Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1944), pp. 38, 60.

[75] Robert Bellarmine also wrote spiritual theology, as did Balthazar Álvarez (1533–80), Pedro Sanchez (1529–1609), Alfonso Rodriguez (1538–1616) and Luis de la Palma (1560–1641).

[76] The Reims NT was reprinted in 1600, 1621, 1630 and 1633, with additional exposure of its text and theological arguments in reprints of Fulke's NT in 1617 and 1633. See P. Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London: Scolar Press, 1978) and John Gee, *The Foot out of the Snare* (London: H.L[ownes] for Robert Milbourne, 1624; STC (2nd edn.), 11702), p. 97. The literature of the Rheims NT controversy lived on in nineteenth-century Ireland and America; see E. Gebarowski-Shafer (Bagley), 'Catholics

play out at the local level, as when 'sondry papists' entered a Berkshire church in 1601 or 1602, tearing up the church bible and service book, then explaining why in a poem left behind for the resident Anglican priest: 'This service booke here scattered all / Ys not devine but hereticall / So is the Bible of a false translacion / And to cut & mangle it is no damnacion.'[77] Building on such desire among lay Catholics to engage with controversial topics in theology within their Protestant communities, polemical literature began to shift away from weighty theological and linguistic content, turning instead to streamlined arguments, even using quotations from the English Protestants' own Bible.

In the Gagge (or Touchstone) controversy in England, the King James Version of the Bible – with some 'old Ecclesiastical words' reintroduced – became an essential tool for converting non-Catholics.[78] John Heigham, a lay Catholic author and publisher, argued in *The Gagge of the New Gospel* (1623) that the Protestant English Bible, despite its inferiority to the Vulgate, provided Catholics with ammunition for disproving all their adversaries' doctrines.[79] Protestants, Heigham said, attempted to obscure the truth 'by so many varieties of translations, and by such a number of grosse corruptions and falsifications'. However, different from the prefatory matter and notes of the Rheims New Testament, where Allen and Bristow insisted that English Catholics avoid all Protestant Bibles, Heigham encouraged Catholics to read them in preparation for conversations with neighbours, 'to confound them by their owne Bible'.[80] Heigham's book quickly entered into use by Catholic missionaries for proselytising and debating purposes.[81] Retitled as *The Touchstone of the*

and the King James Bible: Stories from England, Ireland, and America', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 66:3 (August 2013), 253–60 and 'The Transatlantic Reach of the Catholic "False Translation" Argument in the School "Bible Wars"', *US Catholic Historian*, 31:3 (Summer 2013), 47–76.

[77] This took place at St Michael's Church in Enborne, near Newbury. Quoted in P. Croft, 'Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion in Early Modern England', *Historical Research* 68 (October 1995), 266–85, at p. 281, from BL Egerton MS 2877, fos. 183–4.

[78] In Article Three of his 'Rules to be Observed in the Translation of the Bible', Richard Bancroft instructed scholars to keep the 'old Ecclesiastical Words', specifying that 'the Word *Church*' was 'not to be translated *Congregation*'. See A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1911), pp. 53–4.

[79] The book was long falsely attributed to Matthew Kellison. A. F. Allison, 'John Heigham of S. Omer (*c.* 1568–*c.* 1632)', *Recusant History* 4 (Fall 1958), 226–42 at p. 234; cf. Milward, *Religious Controversies*, p. 40.

[80] John Heigham, *The Gagge of the New Gospel: contayning a briefe abridgment of the errors of the Protestants of our time. With their refutation, by expresse texts of their owne English bible* ([St Omer: C. Boscard], 1623; STC (2nd edn.), 13033.2), pp. 4–5. The title changed in the fourth edition to *The touch-stone of the reformed ghospell* ([St Omer: the widow of C. Boscard], 1634; STC (2nd edn.), 13033.8).

[81] According to Richard Montagu, *A Gagg for the New Gospel? No: a New Gagg for an Old Goose. . . . Or an answere to a late abridger of controversies* (London: Thomas Snodham for

*Reformed Gospell*, the same work was reprinted again in 1634 and at least eleven more times before the end of the century.[82] In each of his fifty-three chapters Heigham presented a Protestant tenet from the Synod of Dort, then refuted it with quotations from Thomas Barker's 1615 quarto Bible, with a rationale for why the doctrine is 'Contrary to the expresse wordes of their owne Bible'.[83] This accessible book filled a need for practical strategies for literate Catholics – perhaps lacking university degrees in theology or reading knowledge of Latin – to engage in Scripture-based theological disputes with Protestants in their communities. The trend towards a 'do-it-yourself' style of controversial theology, omitting complicated proofs from biblical scholarship or lengthy quotes from the Fathers, is clear in other texts published by English-speaking authors and also in an appendix attached to an edition of the French Catholic Louvain Bible in 1621, on how to distinguish 'les Bibles Francoises Catholiques d'avec les Huguenotes'.[84] An integrated approach to theology, in line with Trent, may have been ideal, but Catholics in the north had few qualms about adapting to practical needs.

Later in the seventeenth century, self-taught lay Catholic convert Thomas Ward (1652–1708) took a contrasting yet still streamlined and Bible-centred approach in his work, *The Errata to the Protestant Bible*.[85] In this updated and abridged study of Martin's *A Discoverie*, a work that Ward claimed 'is not hard

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Matthew Lownes and William Barret, 1624; STC (2nd edn.), 18038), sigs. 4–5. Incidentally, Montagu's answer stirred up the Arminian controversy within the Anglican Church, because he denied rather than defended certain 'Calvinist' teachings.

[82] On the book's popularity see R. Bernard, *Rhemes against Rome: Or, the Remooving of the Gagg of the New Gospell, and rightly placing it in the mouthes of the Romists, by the Rhemists; in their English Translation of the Scriptures. Which Counter-Gagg is heere fitted by the industrious hand of Richard Bernard...* (London: Felix Kingston, for Ed. Blackmore, 1626; STC (2nd edn.), 1960), sig. aii[v].

[83] E.g. Heigham, *The Gagge*, p. 4.

[84] *La Sainte Bible francoise: selon la vulgaire latine reveuë par le commandement du pape Sixte V. Et imprimée de l'authorité de Clement VIII. Avec sommaires sur chaque livre du Nouveau Testament extraicts des Annales du cardinal Baronius. Plus les moyens pour discerner les Bibles francoises catholiques d'avec les huguenotes ... Par Pierre Frizon ... Premiere edition. Illustrée & ornée d'un grand nombre de figures en taille douce* (Paris: Jean Richer and Pierre Chevalier, 1621). Other controversial books aiming to give the reader a simple overview of points in controversy with Protestants included M. Kellison, *A Survey of the new Religion* (Douai: Laurence Kellam [and S. Foigny], 1603; STC (2nd edn.), 14912); S. Norris, *An antidote or soveraigne remedie: against the pestiferous writings of all English sectaries: and in particuler against D. Whitaker, L. Fulke, D. Bilson, D. Reynolds, D. Sparkes, and D. Field. The first part* ([Saint Omer: English College Press], 1615; STC (2nd edn.), 18656; subsequent parts and edns. in 1619, 1621 etc.); see Milward, *Religious Controversies*, pp. 137 ff.

[85] T. Ward, *The Errata to the Protestant Bible, or, the Truth of the English Translations Examined, In a Treatise shewing some of the Errors that are to be found in the Protestant English Translations of the Sacred Scripture, against such Points of Catholick Doctrine as are in Debate between them and the Church of Rome* (London: printed for the author, 1688; Wing, w833). See Hugh Pope, *English Versions of the Bible*, rev. S. Bullough (London and St. Louis: Herder, 1952), pp. 331–4; and S. Mandelbrote, 'Writing the History of the English Bible in the Early

to be found', he encouraged Catholic readers to reject the King James Bible on the grounds of alleged translation biases that privileged Protestant doctrines over the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. He acknowledged his debt to Martin's treatise, stating that he had omitted 'significations, etymologies, derivations' of the Greek and Hebrew words in order to accommodate the work to the 'purse of the poorest' as well as 'the capacity of the most ignorant'. Ward sought to show, through a combination of tables of scriptural quotations and narrative explanations, that English Protestants had consistently translated Scripture falsely in support of their teachings, from the early Reformation until the most recent editions of the King James Bible. To this he added the accusation that bishops and archbishops in the Church of England, beginning with Thomas Cranmer, had no claim to episcopal succession. Ward portrayed the Church of England as an anti-Christian and immoral institution whose doctrines were based on a sacrilegious translation of the Bible, thus seeking in comparison to bolster support for Charles II's pro-Catholic regime. This work, with editions of *The Touchstone* continuing to be reprinted, shows that accessible controversial theology continued to matter to people outside the academy and beyond the purview of licensed teachers of the church. Such polemical Catholic literature appears not to have been prevalent in the south of Europe, where Protestant vernacular Bibles existed in Spanish (1543) and Italian (1607) but were less a part of the dominant religious culture.[86] In the Protestant north, however, lay Catholics wanted to win converts back to the fold, and such texts gave them practical theological tools for attempting this.

By the early eighteenth century the Bible's role in popular Catholic theology became balanced again with the traditional sources that had remained consistently a part of technical, systematic theology in Latin. The focus of some polemical theology turned back to controversies within the Roman Catholic Church, chief among them Gallicanism and Jansenism.[87] In vernacular

Eighteenth Century', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and the Book*, Studies in Church History 38 (Martlesham, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), pp. 268–78, at pp. 270–1.

[86] *El Nuevo Testamento*, trans. Franzisco de Enzinas ([Enueres = Antwerp]: [Stephan Mierdmann], 1543; Darlow and Moule, no. 8465); *La Bibbia. Cioè i libri del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento. Nuovamente traslatati in lingua italiana da Giovanni Diodati di nation Lucchese*, trans. Giovanni Diodati (Geneva: n.p. [Jean de Tournes?], 1607; Darlow and Moule, no. 5598). Catholic versions in Spanish and Italian appeared by the late eighteenth century: *La Biblia Vulgata Latina traducida en Español*, trans. from the Vulgate by Felipe Scio de San Miguel, 10 vols. (Valencia: Joseph y Thomas de Orga, 1790–3; Darlow and Moule, no. 8488); *Il Pentateucho o sia i cinque libri di Mosè* [etc.]...*secondo la Volgata tradotti in lingua Italiana, e con annotazioni illustrati*, 23 vols., trans. Antonio Martini (Turin: Stamperia Reale, 1769–81; Darlow and Moule, no. 5606) (the first Catholic Bible in Italian).

[87] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2009), pp. 797–9.

theology of northern Europe, however, we see emerging a new integrated approach: anti-Protestant polemics combined with devotional instruction, with Scripture-laden spiritual texts becoming common. These included the works of Teresa of Ávila, who was canonised in 1622. In such texts, some setting the standard for Catholic spirituality up to the Second Vatican Council, the author often set up an ancient or more recent spiritual writer in the role of Scripture interpreter for the reader, to give advice on ordering one's prayer life and on how to steer clear of theological errors.

The work of Bishop Richard Challoner (1691–1781) illustrates these developments in the context of English-speaking Catholicism. Touching on virtually all genres of Catholic theology, Challoner's work remained Bible-centred and helped make classic spiritual texts accessible, such as Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* and Augustine's *Confessions* (which he translated in 1737 and 1739, respectively). No stranger to the tangle of English Reformation polemical texts, he produced a revised edition of Heigham's *The Touchstone of the New Religion* in 1734, with a reply two years later from James Serces, called *Popery an Enemy to Scripture*. Serces alleged that a 1686 French Catholic translation printed at Bordeaux contained deliberate mistranslations to support Roman Catholic teachings on penance, pilgrimages and clerical celibacy.[88] As a counter-blast to Serces's book, Challoner oversaw the reprinting of Ward's *Errata to the Protestant Bible* in 1737, with a prelude a year later to his own future translation work: a new edition of the Rheims New Testament, containing an updated table flagging passages in Protestant Bibles that were 'Corruptly Translated in Favour of Heresies'. Challoner then wrote several devotional manuals with abundant biblical material, most notably *The Garden of the Soul* (1740). This popular book contained reflections on biblical passages – 'Gospel Lessons to be pondered at leisure by every Christian' – especially from the Gospel of Matthew.[89] Hardly mentioning the Fathers, canon law or conciliar decrees, Challoner turned to recent spiritual authorities such as Teresa of Ávila, whom he later memorialised in a biography drawn from her own writings. Challoner

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[88] *Le nouveau Testament de notre seigneur, J.C. traduit de latin en François par les Theologiens de Louvain* (Bordeaux: [various publishers: chez la veuve de G. de La Court, et N. de La Court; also an edition by J. Mongiron-Millanges], 1686; Darlow and Moule, no. 3770). Another Catholic version had appeared in French earlier: *Le Nouveau Testament de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, traduit en François selon l'edition Vulgate, avec les differences du Grec*, trans. and rev. Louis Isaac Lemaistre et al., 2 vols. (Mons: Gaspard Migeot, 1667; Darlow and Moule, no.3656) (the Port-Royal version, or 'De Sacy's' version, See Chapter 12 in this volume).

[89] Richard Challoner, *The Garden of the Soul: Or, A Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instructions for Christians, who, living in the world, aspire to devotion* (Derby: for the Catholic Book Society, 1843), pp. 21–6.

also commended to his readers the meditative practice of St Francis de Sales.[90] This variety of printed devotional and polemical texts helped to meet the pre-existing yet expanding needs of English-speaking Catholics at home and abroad – lay, clerical and monastic – to grow spiritually while refuting claims of Bible-centred Protestantism. Challoner's best-known work today, a revised translation of the Douai–Rheims Bible, appeared in 1749–52. Connected to his previous writing, translating and editing work, the version signified Catholic conformity with the teachings of the Bible. It also expressed a timely view that biblical translation ought to remain an ongoing process, not a means of producing a fixed text for future generations, such as the King James Bible was already becoming for many Protestant English readers.[91]

This integration of polemics and devotion, set in the context of a battle for orthodox biblical interpretation, also occurred in publishing ventures of Catholic France. French Jesuit Vincent Houdry (1631–1729), an ascetical writer who produced a formidable body of sermons on the lives of the saints, made occasional mention of Augustine while sprinkling his French writings with quotations from the Vulgate and from contemporary works by Jean Crasset (1618–92) and Jacques Nouet (1605–80).[92] Even with a primarily devotional focus, Houdry found polemical engagement unavoidable: he attacked Calvinist 'Heretics' who capitalised on Scripture's apparent 'silence' regarding transubstantiation and put a 'strange doctrine' in place of the Catholic Eucharist.[93] Noël Alexander (1639–1724), a French Dominican with a keen interest in biblical studies and theology, rebounded from early accusations of Jansenism and went on to write distinctively Thomistic works of theology.[94] He drew on a variety of traditional sources, Scripture featuring prominently in *Theologia dogmatica et moralis*.[95] Penance, a doctrine maligned by most European non-Catholics, received ardent defences from Scripture, with frequent reference to the catechism and decrees of the Council of Trent. Seeking to support the spiritual freedom Catholics believed this doctrine brought, allowing every

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[90] Ibid., p. 34.
[91] See E. Gebarowski-Shafer, *Catholic Critics of the King James Bible, 1611–1911* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, forthcoming), chapter 3.
[92] Vincent Houdry, *La Bibliotheque des Prédicateurs, Quatrieme partie*, vol. III (Lyon: Antoine Boudet, 1724), p. 5.
[93] Ibid., pp. 314–17.
[94] His best-known work, Natalis Alexander, *Selecta historiae ecclesiasticae capita, et in loca ejusdem insignia dissertationes historicae, chronologicae, dogmaticae*, 26 vols.(Paris: Jean du Puis, 1676–86), was placed on the Index by Pope Innocent XI due to Alexander's alleged Jansenism.
[95] Natalis Alexander, *Theologia dogmatica et moralis secundum ordinem catechismi concilii Tridentini*, 10 vols. (Paris: Antonius Dezallier, 1694).

variety of sin to be forgiven – every sin except blasphemy of the Holy Spirit – Alexander cited Christ's words recorded in Matthew 12, 'neque hìc, neque in future saeculo remittendum asserit'.[96] Old Reformation wounds thus stayed fresh in northern Europe and inextricably linked with works exhorting personal piety and instruction in orthodox Catholic teachings.

Further south, eighteenth-century authors focused less on controversies with Protestants and more on giving readers access to the complexities of scholastic theology. In Italy, where Giovanni Diodati's Protestant translation had been in circulation since 1607 without a rival Catholic Vulgate-based version, theologians sought to expose their readers to the Bible within the traditional matrix of sources, for the purposes of spiritual edification and to answer questions arising from pastoral contexts. Giovanni Battista Scaramelli (1687–1752), a Jesuit, ascetical writer and ethicist, held his readers to a high standard, with topics and narration in Italian but with Latin quotations from an array of Catholic works. In *Il Direttorio Mistico*, first published in 1753 and later known as *Directorium Asceticum*, he explained (as a preface to his treatises on the value and techniques of contemplation) that scholastic theology and natural philosophy are also needed to understand mystical theology, in the same way that scholastic theology draws on some of the findings of philosophy 'in order to clearly expose the truths of our Faith'.[97] Passages from Teresa of Ávila's works abound, as well as selections from Bonaventure, John of the Cross, Augustine and Aquinas, with papal documents by Clement V and Innocent XI.[98] Scripture references and quotations also feature widely in the work, to support Scaramelli's recommendations for how readers should cultivate their spiritual lives. Similarly, the prolific Alphonsus Maria de' Liguori (1696–1787), Italian bishop and founder of the Redemptorists, drew extensively on traditional sources in his books, many of which became popular in worldwide Catholicism. Defending Marian devotion against attacks by both rationalists and Jansenists, he cited works from the Fathers and from Scripture, while extolling deeds of recently canonised saints: 'The saints, then, because they have loved God so much, have done much for love of the neighbor. But who has loved God more than Mary?'[99] In the wake of such

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[96] Natalis Alexander, *Theologia Dogmatica & Moralis, secundùm ordinem catechismi Concilii Tridentini*, 4 vols. (Venice: Nicolaus Pezzana, 1744), vol. II, p. 16.

[97] Giovanni Battista Scaramelli, *Il Direttorio Mistico, Indirizzato a'Direttori di quelle anime, che Iddio conduce per la via della Contemplazione* (Venice: Simone Occhi, 1755 [and numerous later editions]), p.3. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Stefano Mula, colleague at Middlebury College, in translating this passage for me.

[98] Ibid., pp. 7–8, 48, 69, 84–8, 99.

[99] Alphonsus Liguori, *The Glories of Mary* (New York: Edward Dunigan, 1852), pp. 52–3.

mid-century publications, Antonio Martini produced a complete translation of the Catholic Bible in Italian.[100] Coming much later, of course, than German, English or French Catholic Bibles, this version reflects a delayed but significant post-Trent movement towards Scripture engagement and application in southern Europe.

From the late Middle Ages onwards, the Bible retained a central role of authority in Catholic theology, which grew in a diverse array of genres and formats across Europe. By the end of the early modern period some of the literature had also been reprinted or transported to the Americas, Asia and Africa, where the Bible has its own story in Protestant and Catholic theologies. The Bible in translation remained a pivotal issue, within Catholicism and as a point of contention among most Western Christians. Trent's reaffirmation of the Vulgate's traditional role in the church, though adapted as deemed necessary in northern European locations, required loyalist Catholics to oppose not only Protestant interpretations of the Bible but also Protestant Bibles themselves. Reformation-era Bible translation debates and related polemical literature, therefore, became recurring features of the Catholic theological landscape from Erasmus to Challoner, extending even to the twentieth century. Readers' access to texts and ideas, and the ability of women and lay Catholics to write and publish theological literature expanded significantly, as Church-directed interpretation relaxed in practice. This was due in part to rival Protestant biblical interpretation and spiritual movements, while much of the change we find reflects late medieval religious, social and technological developments that precede the European Reformation. Conformity did not result in a lack of innovation; often quite the opposite was true, as seen in the works of Vitoria, Teresa of Ávila and others. Although the interests of writers and readers in northern Europe differed from those in the south, by the end of the period common people throughout the entire region had significantly greater opportunities to engage with the full intellectual apparatus of systematic theology, in which the Bible – particularly the favourite Gospel of Matthew – remained a key source of inspiration for a reader's spiritual growth and a guide to Christ-like action in the world.

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[100]  [Martini], *Il Pentateucho o sia i cinque libri di Mosè*.

# Orthodox biblical exegesis in the early modern world (1450–1750)

ATHANASIOS DESPOTIS

## The situation of the Eastern Churches

There are two reasons why research into biblical exegesis in the Orthodox Churches in the period between 1450 and 1750 is difficult. First of all, this was a very challenging time for the Orthodox Churches in the East because, with the exception of the Russian Church, none of them enjoyed much autonomy. Secondly, a remarkably large number of exegetical works from this period have to this day still not been published. On the other hand, these difficulties make the topic of this article all the more interesting, because no one has yet published a systematic study on this subject.

The Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine Empire affected not only the Greek-speaking Orthodox world, but also the Romanian and Slavic Orthodox Churches, which included Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian branches.[1] After 1450 Greek Orthodoxy struggled for survival under very difficult circumstances. Within the conquered Greek region the monks on Mount Athos were the only community who were able to enjoy relative freedom, and in particular they had the benefit of being able to use the renowned monastic libraries in this location. They were able to study manuscripts with classical commentaries written by Greek patristic authors. A few Greek theologians were able to visit the great educational centres of Europe, but they were not able to contribute the kind of magnificent scholarship that had been evident in the works of earlier Greek exegetical writers. After the conquest of Constantinople many more Byzantine scholars sought refuge in the great educational centres of Europe. From these distant places they brought about a rekindling of interest

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[1] For a detailed account of the situation of the Orthodox Churches in this period see G. Maloney, *A History of Orthodox Theology since 1453* (Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Co., 1976); E.-C. Suttner, *Staaten und Kirchen in der Völkerwelt des östlichen Europas: Entwicklungen der Neuzeit*, Studia Oecumenica Friburgensia (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2007).

in classical Greek language and philosophy. Thanks to the establishment of a number of Greek printing presses outside Greece, a range of biblical, liturgical and patristic texts and some modern Greek translations were published in this period. The spread of printing across Europe served at the same time to disseminate the works of classical Greek authors as well as those of the early Greek Church Fathers. At this time there is very little evidence of the acceptance of enlightened ideas in the Greek Orthodox exegetical tradition because theology was not studied as an academic discipline. Similarly, western European philosophy did not affect Greek Orthodox theology until Eugenios Voulgaris (Eugenius Bulgaris) (1716–1806) turned his attention to it. The major influence on Greek Orthodox theology of this period was Byzantine theology. This enabled the oppressed Greeks to preserve their own cultural identity, and especially to retain the Greek language; but on the other hand it impeded other influences from Roman Catholic or Protestant theology. It is important to remember, however, that there were also some Greek communities that were under Venetian rule, such as Crete for example, which was very obviously influenced by Roman Catholicism.

The Serbs, the Bulgarians and some of the Romanians were under Turkish rule in this period, while the Russians and the Transylvanian Romanians remained outside it. In 1698 the Romanians in Transylvania joined the Roman Catholic Church in response to pressure from the (Catholic) Austro-Hungarian Empire. This step is known as the *Biserica Unita*, and Uniate theologians from this area have been producing theological writings inspired by Roman Catholicism ever since. The Russians, on the other hand, tried in this period to develop their own theological identity. They were motivated much more by a Slavic way of thinking. This meant that in the wake of the conquest of Constantinople the Russian Church saw itself as having a messianic mission to preserve the Orthodox faith in the world, with Moscow becoming a third Rome. After the end of the very turbulent period of Mongol invasion Russia did enjoy stability and political freedom, but this still did not provide the necessary conditions for high-level exegetical scholarship. The Russian Church concentrated its efforts on emancipation from the Greek–Byzantine tradition and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This is why the Russian Church distanced itself from the Greek language in the liturgy and from Greek text traditions in biblical studies. This brought about a kind of textual isolation in the Russian territories.[2] In 1448 the Russian Church gained independence from the Ecumenical

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[2] A. Negrov, *Biblical Interpretation in the Russian Orthodox Church: A Historical and Hermeneutical Perspective*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 130 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), p. 45.

Patriarchate, and the Metropolitan of Moscow was declared the Metropolitan of all of Russia. On 26 January 1589 the Patriarchate of Constantinople recognised Job of Moscow as the first Patriarch of Russia. This relocation of the political and religious centre towards Moscow weakened the Orthodox tradition in Kiev, where the influence of Catholicism grew ever stronger. This influence was particularly strong in the theological academy of Kiev, which served as a bridge bringing Latin and scholastic theology to Russia. It is no coincidence that the Kiev Church was united with the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Brest-Litovsk in 1596. 'Uniatism' was a very intensive phenomenon at this time. After the Council of Ferrara the Roman Catholic Church did not give up on its efforts to bring the Orthodox Churches into union with the Pope. The Council of Ferrara and Florence (1438–9) is one of the best-known attempts to unify the Churches in East and West. For the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos (John Palaeologus) (1392–1448, emperor from 1425) rapprochement with the Roman Catholic Church was a political necessity. He was hoping that the unification of the Churches would secure the support of Western and papal forces and thereby save his empire from the Ottomans. This explains why he forced the Orthodox bishops to agree to the union with the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Ferrara–Florence. Nevertheless the result of his efforts turned out to be disappointing. The Patriarchs and the people of the East denounced the Council of Ferrara, and in fact the military support that had been expected from the West never did appear in Byzantium. So it was that Constantinople was taken by the Ottomans and the sultan recognised Gennadios Scholarios (Gennadius Scholarius) (c. 1400–c. 1473), a leading opponent of unification, as Patriarch. He fulfilled this role from 1453 to 1456 and from 1458 to 1463 and this ensured that any discussion about unification was abandoned once and for all.

The Roman Catholic Church continued nonetheless to dream of subordinating the Eastern Church to the Pope. To this end a Greek language school, the Saint Athanasius Gymnasium, was founded in Rome for the education of priests who would foster the union of the Greek Church with Rome. A similar function was performed by the Jesuit college at Constantinople (Galata). Jesuit monks were particularly active in working towards Uniatism in the Eastern Churches at this time. At the same time some Protestant theologians made similar efforts to establish their own profile in the Eastern Churches and to work against these Roman Catholic initiatives. One could mention as a representative example the collaboration between Protestant, and particularly Calvinist, theologians and the Patriarch Kyrillos Lukaris (Cyril Lukaris, 1572–1638), which had the objective of disseminating Protestant theology in

Constantinople and throughout the East. This included three objectives: first of all, translating the New Testament into modern Greek; secondly, setting up schools for the oppressed Greeks; and thirdly, drawing up a Confession which contained elements of Reformed theology (cf. the *Confessio Fidei Orthodoxae* by Kyrillos Lukaris, which was published anonymously in 1629 in Geneva).[3] Protestant theological groups were also active in the other Churches of the East, and they gained influence largely because of the support they had from the Russian emperor Peter the Great. It was thanks to the work of these Protestant groups as well as through Uniatism that both Protestant and Roman Catholic elements crept into the theology of all Eastern Churches.

## The question of translation

In the period between 1450 and 1750 Greek theologians did not pay very much attention to exegesis. No newly edited Greek commentary was produced during this time. There were some editions of the New Testament, the Psalter,[4] lectionaries and modern Greek translations, but there were no proper commentaries. Translation of the biblical texts was a highly contested issue which had several implications for internal Church politics. Translations of the New Testament were generally regarded with suspicion or seen as a means of Protestant proselytising and duly destroyed. This is what happened to the translation by Maximos Kallipolitis (Maximus of Gallipoli), which was published in 1638 in Geneva and was financed through Calvinist groups and intended as a means of bringing about closer relations with the oppressed Greeks. This translation, which was printed alongside the ancient Greek text, was not successful. All copies of it were destroyed in Constantinople because it had been printed with the blessing of the allegedly Calvinist Patriarch[5] Kyrillos Lukaris. In 1703 the Maximos Kallipolitis translation was revised by Serapheim (Seraphim) of Mytilene (second half of the seventeenth century–1735) and then printed once more. On this occasion it was funded by the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and printed without the ancient Greek text, but once again it was condemned

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[3] G. Metallenos, Το ζήτημα της μεταφράσεως της Αγίας Γραφής εις την νεοελληνικήν κατά τον ΙΘ' αιώνα, 2nd edn.(Athens: Armos, 2004), p. 75.

[4] A. Demetrakopoulos, Προσθῆκαι καὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τὴν Νέαν Ἑλληνικὴν Φιλολογίαν Κωνσταντίνου Σάθα (Leipzig: Metzger & Wittig, 1871), p. 35.

[5] In the second article of his Calvinist *Confession* Lukaris confirmed the basic Reformation principle that Scripture has a higher authority than the church: 'τὴν τῆς Ἱερᾶς Γραφῆς μαρτυρίαν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνωτέραν εἶναι τῆς ἣν κέκτηται ἡ Ἐκκλησία' ('the witness of the Scriptures is much more important than the witness of the church').

and destroyed. The main reason for these negative attitudes was the suspicion that they might act as a bridge which would allow one-sided and idiosyncratic interpretations of Scripture to question and ultimately displace the Greek patristic tradition and Orthodox dogma. These fears on the part of the Orthodox Church were not only the reason for the condemnation of translations, but also the underlying motivation for the prohibition of private study of the Holy Scriptures which existed at that time in the form of the Encyclical of the Patriarch of Constantinople of 1723.[6] This admonition was, however, a temporary measure which prevailed only for a short time.

## The understanding of Scripture in Greek circles

Alexandros Elladios (Alexander Helladius, 1686–1785), alumnus of the 'Greek College' in Oxford, which was established at the end of the seventeenth century, was prompted by similar motives to devote a linguistically oriented work to the question of a modern Greek translation of the New Testament. In his book *The Present State of the Greek Church*, published in 1714, Elladios tried to show that the Greeks under Ottoman rule were well educated and therefore had no need for a modern Greek translation to help them understand the Greek text of Scripture.[7] With this argument he endeavoured to refute any Catholic and Protestant accusations[8] that superstition and heresy were rife in the Greek-speaking regions due to a lack of basic education. Another alumnus of the Oxford Greek College and contemporary of Elladios, Frangiskos Prosalentis (Francis Prossalentis, 1679–1728), was similarly keen to resist the Western view of Orthodoxy and the proselytising tendency of the Greek College. Prosalentis wrote *The Heretical Teacher Cross-Examined by his Orthodox Pupil*.[9] In this work he defended the Orthodox tradition against his 'heretical teacher' Benjamin Woodroffe, on the grounds that it rested not only on the witness of Scripture but also on ecclesial tradition. The most plausible question posed by the Orthodox side (according to Patriarch Gerasimos

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[6] G. Metallenos, Παράδοση καὶ ἀλλοτρίωση (Athens: n.p., 1986; repr. 1989), p. 123.

[7] Alexander Helladius, *Status praesens ecclesiae Graecae: in quo etiam causae exponuntur cur Graeci moderni Novi Testamenti editiones in Graeco-Barbara lingua factas acceptare recusent. Praeterea additus est in fine Status nonnullarum controversiarum* ([Nuremberg]: Impressus A. R. S., 1714).

[8] See the response of J.M. Gesner (1691–1761), *Observatio xxx: De Eruditione Graecorum, qui hodie vivunt contra Alexandrum Helladium, nat. Graecum*, in *Miscellanea Lipsiensia ad incrementum rei literaria edita*, vol. 11 (Lipsiae [Leipzig]: Lanckisius, 1716), pp. 397–452, 712–19.

[9] Francis Prossalentis, Ὁ αἱρετικος διδασκαλος ὑπο του ὀρθοδοξου καθητου ἐλεγχομενος. Βιβλιον … βεβαιουν τας παραδοσεις, και τα σοφισματα του Β. Ο'υδρωφ, διδασκαλου του ἐν Βρεταννια έλληνικου φροντιστηριου … (Α' μστελαιδαμῳ,,αψϛ', [1706]).

(Gerasimus) Spartaliotes, 1560/70–1636) was why the Protestants, if they really wanted to help the Greeks, only wanted to finance the translation of Scripture, which was linguistically more straightforward, and not the works of the Church Fathers.[10] In this period the difference between the spoken Greek dialects and Koine, or Hellenistic Greek, is not at all comparable with the difference between Latin and Italian, for example. The language of the New Testament and of the Septuagint demonstrates remarkable continuity with the language of classical Greek authors, and also with Greek as it was spoken in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.[11] This means that the Greeks under Ottoman rule had no need for a translation, but rather they urgently needed a thorough grounding in their own language.

## Interpretation through homilies rooted in patristic thought

As mentioned above, the establishment of printing presses in this period encouraged the dissemination of patristic writings. One example of this is the translation by Georgios Trapezountios (George of Trebizond) of various classical commentaries by the Church Fathers into Latin in the middle of the fifteenth century, such as John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on the Gospel of John* and some other patristic writings which are exegetically interesting, including Basil the Great's lectures on the Hexaemeron. Other authors, including Damaskenos Stoudites (Damascenus Studites or Damascenus of the Studium, beginning of the sixteenth century–1577), Meletios (Meletius) Pegas (1549–1601) and Agapios Landos (Agapius Landus, 1600–71), composed or published sermon cycles for all of the Sundays in the year. These were written in Greek and drew upon the patristic tradition. The best known of these works is the Θησαυρός (*Thesaurus*) of Damaskenos Stoudites, which appeared in 1523 in Venice.[12] There is a very obvious connection with patristic thinking in this work. This connection was retained in Orthodox countries, and can still be seen today. It can be observed in a tendency that Greek exegetes have had since the fifth century to edit the works of the great theologians of the fourth and fifth centuries and publish them as collections (Catenae), paraphrases and summaries.

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[10] Metallenos, Παράδοση καὶ ἀλλοτρίωση, p. 120.

[11] For more detail see Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

[12] E. Deledemou, Θησαυρὸς Δαμασκηνοῦ τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου καὶ Στουδίτου (New York: Atlantis Greek Book Co., Inc., 1943).

## Translated paraphrases

There is evidence also of a different tendency in the form of translation from Italian sources into modern Greek. Ioannikios Kartanus (John Cartanus, *c.* 1500–67) published a didactic book entitled Παλαιά τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη ἤ τοι τὸ ἄνθος καὶ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῆς (Old and New Testament or the most precious and necessary parts of them) in modern Greek. This is a paraphrase of the Bible which is based on an Italian source (supposedly *Fioretto di tutta la Biblia historiato* or *El Fiore di tutta la Biblia Historiato*) and contains various apocryphal traditions and unusual interpretations of the biblical text. This text was widely available in the Greek-speaking countries and very popular,[13] but it was criticised by the Patriarchate of Constantinople and by the monk Pachomios Rusanos (Pachomius Rusanus, 1508–53)[14] because of its provocative interpretations.[15] A similar approach was taken by Maximos Margounios (Maximus Margunius, 1549–1602) in his translation of the work of the Italian exegete Laurentius (Lawrence) of Brindisi (1559–1619) entitled *De Numeris amorosis mystice in divina scriptura positis disquisitio* (On the mystical numbers in Holy Scripture)[16] as Λαυρεντίου Καπουκίνου, Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Γραφῇ ἀριθμῶν.[17] There is another didactic translated work by Antonios Katiforos (Antonius Catiforus, 1696–1763) entitled *History of the Old and New Testament from the Italian …*.[18] Once again this is a translation of an Italian account of the biblical story with chalcographs and additional patristic commentaries. There were also several authors on the island of Crete who wrote

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[13] See Ioannikios Kartanos (John Cartanus), Παλαιά τε και Νέα Διαθήκη, ed. Eleni Kakoulidi-Panou (Thessalonica: Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας, 2000 [Venice, 1536]).

[14] See Pachomios Rusanos, "Ὁμιλία πρὸς τοὺς ἀγροίκους τὴν θείαν γραφὴν διασύροντας', ed. S. Lampros as 'Εκ των ομιλιών του Παχωμίου Ρουσάνου', Νέος Ελληνομνήμων 13 (1916), 56–67; Pachomios Rusanos, 'Περὶ τῆς εκ τῶν γραφῶν ὠφελείας, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ αἴτιοι οἱ ταύτας συγγραψάμενοι τῆς ἀσαφείας, ἀλλ᾽ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀμάθεια καὶ ἀμέλεια, καὶ περὶ διδασκάλων', in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus, seu bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum …*, Series Graeca, 161 vols. (Paris: Migne, 1857–66), vol. XCVIII, cols. 1333–60.

[15] K. Sathas, Νεοελληνικὴ φιλολογία: Βιογραφία ιτῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν διαλαμψάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐθνεγερσίας *(1453–1821)* (Athens: Εκ της Τυπογραφίας των τέκνων Ανδρέου Κορομηλᾶ, 1868), pp. 149–50.

[16] Lawrence of Brindisi, *De Numeris amorosis mystice in divina scriptura positis disquisitio*, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. X / 2 (Padua: Ex officina typographica Seminarii, 1956), pp. 417–89.

[17] Sathas, Νεοελληνικὴ φιλολογία, p. 217.

[18] Antonios Katephoros, Ἱστορία τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ *νέας* Διαθήκης ἐκ τοῦ ἰταλικοῦ μετὰ χαλκογραφιῶν καὶ ἐξηγήσεων τῶν Πατέρων (Venice: n.p., 1737).

prose or poetry based on the biblical narratives and rendered into simple Greek language. Best known among them are John Morzenos (Morezinos)[19] and Georgios (George) Choumnos (sixteenth century), *Eclogue from the Old Testament* (Ἐκλογὴ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης), and especially the anonymous author (possibly Vitsentzos Kornaros (1553–1617)) of the biblical drama *Abraham's Sacrifice* (Ἡ θυσία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ) of 1696, which is based on an Italian source, *Isaac*, written by Luigi Groto and published in Venice in 1605.[20]

## Commentaries on the book of Revelation

A much more interesting question is that of the unpublished exegetical writings. One such work is the *Answer to Various Questions from the Gospels* (Λύσις διαφόρων εὐαγγελικῶν ἀποριῶν) by Gennadios Scholarios. Apart from this there are also several notable and unpublished commentaries on the book of Revelation from this period. In fact, during this period of Turkish occupation the book of Revelation was the most popular of all in Greek-speaking countries. They tended at this time to identify either the Pope or Muhammad as the Antichrist. This is a kind of apocalyptic interpretation of the two powers that either threatened or oppressed the Greek-speaking peoples: on the one hand there was the occupying Ottoman force, and on the other the influence of the Pope. This topic is of such great interest that it has already sparked two relevant monographs.[21] Maximos (Maximus) the Peloponnesian (1565/70–1621/31) wrote the very first commentary on any book of the Bible for this period. It is a simply written commentary on the Revelation of St John in Greek. Maximos draws upon the Byzantine interpretation of Andrew and Arethas of Caesarea on the book of Revelation.[22] Maximos takes up a position against Rome in this commentary, but he does not identify the Pope as the Antichrist. In the main he puts forward a perspective intended to protect its Greek audience from false eschatological ideas.

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[19] See D. Holton (ed.), *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 14: 'The work of Morezinos (died 1613), an Orthodox priest of Kastro, is impressive for its combination of scriptural interpretation and story-telling.'

[20] Luigi Groto (1541–85), *Isac: Rappresentation nuova* (Serraualle di Vinetia: Marco Claseri, 1605).

[21] A. Argyriou, 'Les Exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse à l'époque turque (1453–1821): Esquisse d'une histoire des courants idéologiques au sein du peuple grec asservi', 2 vols., Ph. D. thesis, Strasbourg 2, 1977 (later published:Thessalonica: Société des études macédoniennes,1977); M. Tsikritsis, Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου, κείμενα καὶ ἑρμηνεῖες (1ᵒˢ–19ᵒˢαἰ.): Ἀνάλυση περιεχομένου (Heraklion: Βικε΄ λαια Δημοτική Βιβλιοθή κη, 2006).

[22] Argyriou, 'Les Exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse', pp. 134ff.

The eminent modern Greek scholar Asterios Argyriou sees in this commentary the beginnings of a new exegetical movement within Greek Orthodoxy.[23] Evidence for this has been found in some interesting discoveries from the seventeenth century. Georgios (George) Koressios of Chios (1566–1654) composed several exegetical works,[24] including a commentary on the book of Revelation. This work by Koressios was very well received, despite the fact that it was never formally published. This can be deduced from the huge number of manuscripts that were in existence and for the contribution it made to the work of a later interpreter of the Bible, Nikodemos (Nicodemus) the Hagiorite, in the nineteenth century. The reason for this is that Koressios often refers to the Church Fathers[25] and advances a very strong 'anti-Ottoman' line of argument in his interpretation of the book of Revelation.

In addition to Koressios there are two further Greek authors around this time who wrote commentaries on Revelation under the influence of Protestant thinking. Christophoros Angelos (Christopher Angelus, 1575–1638) accepts the proposition that Muhammad is the Antichrist, but he focuses much more on the apostasy of the Roman Catholic Church and the Pope. Zacharias Gerganos (Gerganus, second half of the sixteenth century–after 1626)[26] is even more keen to attack the Roman Catholic Church through his commentary on the book of Revelation.[27] He follows the lead of Maximos the Peloponnesian, and consequently also of Arethas and Andrew of Caesarea, but he goes further and identifies the Pope as the Antichrist. A third Greek author closes the circle of exegetes of the book of Revelation in this period: Anastasios Gordios (1654–1729). Gordios viewed both Muhammad and the Pope as the Antichrist incarnate.[28] In his work entitled *A Book against Muhammad and the Latin [Pope]* (Βιβλίον κατὰ Μωάμεθ καὶ Λατίνου), which was probably written between 1717 and 1723, he writes a commentary on Revelation 6:12f. The point he makes in relation to this section is that the spread of Islam and the Pope's aspiration to be recognised as the second Christ are the underlying reasons for the downward direction that human history is taking.[29]

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[23] Ibid., pp. 113ff.

[24] See N. Rafailidis, 'Les Commentaries de Georges Coressios sur le Nouveau Testament: (problèmes philologiques)', Ph.D. thesis, Strasbourg 2, 1994.

[25] See Argyriou, 'Les Exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse', p. 262, n. 1.

[26] G. Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821): Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1988), p. 160.

[27] See the critical edition by A. Argyriou, Ζαχαρίας Γεργάνος, Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου Θεολόγου Ἀποκάλυψιν (Athens: Artos Zōēs, 1991).

[28] Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 306–7.

[29] Tsikritsis, Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου, pp. 143 ff.

## The Greek Orthodox hermeneutics of this period

It is regrettable that so many exegetical works from this period have remained unpublished or have been lost. One of the most interesting of these is the Commentary on the Letter to the Romans by Meletios Syrigos (Meletius Syrigus), which is a translation into modern Greek of Origen's commentary on the Letter to the Romans.[30] It is clear that none of the works mentioned above deliver the outstanding quality of exegesis that had been present in the works of the Greek Fathers of the first few centuries A D. It is also not surprising that the book of Revelation aroused such great interest, against such a dark background of adversity for the Church in the East. Neither is it a coincidence that the Greek exegetes of this period place such a great emphasis on the Greek Fathers in their interpretations.[31] Ever since the time of the Patriarch Photios (Photius) the Great (c. 820–891) and the first Schism of 867 the Latin Fathers had lost their authority in the East because of differences with the Roman Catholic Church. The early Greek exegetes were emphasised all the more between 1450 and 1750 as a reaction to the influence of Catholic and Protestant theology. There are of course a few Greek theologians who investigate Roman Catholic sources (such as the converted Greek theologian Leo Allatius) and some who follow up Protestant sources (for example the Patriarch Kyrillos Lukaris). These tendencies were, however, vehemently condemned by the majority of Greek exegetes under Ottoman rule as well as by the Greek people and clergy. The majority of the exegetes found their material partly in the patristic exegetical tradition and partly in the contemporary debates and eschatological expectations of the oppressed Greek-speaking population. These authors updated the patristic tradition for application in a new context where exegesis was used against two different opponents: the Ottoman rulers, on the one hand, and both Catholic and Protestant theological influences, on the other. At the same time they also made an effort to put the basic principles of the Orthodox faith and the ethical admonitions of the Scriptures into a language that was simple enough for the oppressed people to understand.[32] It is interesting to note that the exegetical contributions that were made in this period were all written by theologians who had studied in the major educational centres of Europe (Oxford, Padua, Altdorf and Venice). This had two immediate consequences: some of them focused

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[30] Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, p. 211.
[31] Ibid., p. 123.
[32] Argyriou, 'Les Exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse', p. 117.

their exegesis quite forcibly against the teachings that they had experienced in the great educational centres of Catholicism and Protestantism, while others maintained contact with Catholic and Protestant groups from which they received funding in order to publicise their works amongst the 'schismatics' or 'uneducated' Greeks. These two tendencies brought about a polarisation and a climate of polemic between East and West, and also amongst the Greeks, who often were caught up in heated arguments, as for example in the case of Meletios Syrigos's polemic against Maximos Kallipolitis's translation.

## An overview of exegesis in the other Orthodox Churches

It is important to consider also the history of exegesis in the rest of the Orthodox world, and especially in Russia. The development of the exegetical tradition of the Russian Church in this period begins with the work of Gennadios (Gennadius), Archbishop of Novgorod (1410–1505). In the 1490s Gennadios worked on a Slavonic translation of the whole Bible, which was intended to be the *textus receptus* for all of the Russian Church. Gennadios sought the opinion of the Pope on completing the Slavonic canon, however, and not that of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This explains why some of the books were not translated from the Greek text tradition, but from the Vulgate. The first complete Bible in the Slavonic language was printed in 1581 by Konstantin Ostrozshkii (Constantine Ostroski). Another very important figure in the Russian exegetical tradition is Maximus Graecus (1470–1556), under whose leadership a number of biblical and liturgical texts belonging to the Russian Church were revised or translated anew from the original Greek. He is best known for his translations and commentaries relating to the Psalms, the Acts of the Apostles and the canonical letters of the New Testament. He also translated some classical patristic commentaries (for example the exegetical homilies of Chrysostom) and in so doing set down guidelines for the future development of exegesis in the Russian-speaking regions. His efforts were halted, however, by the unwillingness of the official Russian Church to allow its liturgical and textual foundations to be revised any further. As a result of this, Maximus suffered almost lifelong persecution and was sent into exile. Exegesis carried out in the period after Maximus was based partly on the Greek Fathers and partly on Latin and German sources which were translated into Russian at this time.[33] From the middle of the seventeenth century

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[33]  Negrov, *Biblical Interpretation in the Russian Orthodox Church*, p. 58.

onwards Russian theology, through the Academy at Kiev, turned towards the West and started to follow Latin, and in particular scholastic, models. During the reign of Peter the Great the influence of Protestant ideas grew stronger because this first emperor of all Russia wanted to modernise both the church and the state in ways that were modelled on the West. The best-known supporter of Peter the Great in his reform of the church is Feofan (Theophan) Procopovich (1681–1736), whose exegesis and theology[34] demonstrate openness to the rationalism of the Enlightenment and to Protestant theological ideas. The Russian New Testament scholar Alexander Negrov notes in his very insightful dissertation that until 1750 Russian exegesis was almost exclusively dependent upon patristic exegesis and that it was only after this time that any systematic engagement with the biblical texts (in the modern sense) began in Russia. This is true only of conservative circles in Moscow, however, because western Russia had been open to Western theology since the middle of the seventeenth century.[35] The Greek Patriarchs took a much more conservative line, especially Dositheos of Jerusalem (1641–1707) who urged his Orthodox neighbours to retain their patristic orientation in the interpretation of Scripture and to reject both the Latin and the Reformed tradition.[36]

Contributions from theologians in the Russian territories were positively received well beyond the boundaries of the Russian Church, including in the Bulgarian, Serbian and Romanian Churches. In Romania in the sixteenth century Diaconul Coresi (d.1583) attempted to immunise the Romanian Church against the spread of Lutheran and Calvinist works and translations of the Bible by publishing Slavonic and Romanian translations of the Gospels, the Psalter and various other liturgical texts. The first complete Romanian translation of the New Testament was published in 1648 in Bălgrad (now Alba Iulia) by Simion (Simeon) Ştefan (Metropolitan of Transylvania from 1643 to 1656).[37] Three decades later, in 1688, a translation of the whole Bible into Romanian was published. It is not known for certain who translated the Septuagint into

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[34] Maloney, *A History of Orthodox Theology*, p. 45: 'Prokopovich is the first to bring in the Russian theology the Protestant insistence on the Hebrew canon of the Old Testament with the rejection of the seven books of the Deuterocanon of the Septuagint.'

[35] In actual fact the contact, or in some cases conflict, with Reformation and Counter-Reformation theologians brought about a rapprochement of Russian theology with the argumentation styles of Western theologians, which Florofsky calls 'pseudomorphosis'. See W. von Scheliha, *Russland und die orthodoxe Universalkirche in der Patriarchatsperiode (1589–1721)*, Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte 62 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), pp. 468 ff.

[36] See the discussion in Suttner, *Staaten und Kirchen*, pp. 229 ff.

[37] Simion Ştefan, *Biblia: Noul Testament* (Bălgrad [=Alba Iulia]: Tipăritu-s-au întru a mării sale tipografie, dentîiu noou în Ardeal, 1648).

Romanian.[38] We know that Metropolitan Dosoftei Barilă (1624–93) made a verse translation, or rather paraphrase, of the Psalms into Romanian, but it is not clear who was responsible for the translation of the Old Testament. At the same time the Greek Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem set up a printing press in the Romanian town of Jassy which published several Greek works there and disseminated them throughout all of the Eastern Church with a view to preventing Western theology from penetrating that region.

## Concluding remarks

In conclusion, then, it seems evident that in this period the Orthodox world tried to maintain its own theological identity by preserving its close ties to the patristic tradition. On the other hand, there was an ever-increasing influence detectable from the West, as well as some critical engagement with both Catholic and Protestant theology. Across the Orthodox territories, therefore, a multiplicity of different voices can be heard, and these extended also into official circles. Patriarch Kyrillos Lukaris published a controversial Confession in 1629 which demonstrates his support for Protestant interpretations of Scripture, whereas Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem used a synod in 1672 to issue a new Confession which very definitely turns against a Protestant understanding of Scripture. A similar dynamic can be seen at work in the Russian Church. It is interesting to note that in the Greek territories theology was not pursued as an autonomous theoretical discipline, as was the case in the West and in the academy at Kiev, but rather it is always directly linked with the Christian life, or the life of the Church. This tendency is most clearly evident in the second half of the eighteenth century in the lengthy exegetical work of Nikodemos the Hagiorite (1749–1809). Nikodemos, along with Athanasios Parios and Makarios (Macarius) Notaras, had a conservative understanding of Orthodoxy. These three individuals were the pioneers of a Byzantine and Hesychastic renaissance in the Greek territories in the eighteenth century. This movement emphasised the spirituality of the early Greek Church Fathers and ancient monasticism as well as the teachings of Gregorios (Gregory) Palamas (1296–1359).[39] It represents the strongest reaction against the spread of Catholic and Protestant theology in the East. Nikodemos paraphrases Theophylaktos (Theophylact) of Ohrid's commentary on the Pauline

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[38] Maloney, *A History of Orthodox Theology*, p. 277.
[39] Maloney, *A History of Orthodox Theology*, p. 312.

Epistles and adds further material from the other Fathers including especially Chrysostom as well as later authors such as Agapios Landos and Georgios Koressios. This emphasis on patristic and Byzantine exegesis can still be seen modern Orthodox exegetical works. Nowadays, however, patristic exegesis in modern theological seminaries does not rule out historical research.

# The Bible in the pulpit, 1500–1750

HUGHES OLIPHANT OLD

One of the basic acts of worship in the Christian church, as in the synagogue, is the public systematic reading and preaching of the Holy Scriptures. Moses set the example in the worship at the foot of Mount Sinai (Exod. 24:1–11). Ezra recovered the practice when he reconstituted the worship of the sacred nation in the square before the water gate (Neh. 8:1–18), and Jesus himself honoured the tradition when he preached in the synagogue of Nazareth (Luke 4:16–30). This chapter will review how this fundamental act of worship was practised from the age of the Reformation to the age of Pietism.

The Middle Ages had known much good preaching. The Franciscans and Dominicans particularly had devoted themselves to popular preaching. For the most part this took two forms, the preaching of the Gospels and Epistles of the lectionary and the preaching of the annual Advent and Lenten missions. There was a great deal of this preaching. It was carefully cultivated and generously supported. The problem was that in time it had become conventionalised. Its methods had been used to the point of tedium and its message was familiar. Preachers such as Bernardino da Siena (1380–1444) had written out both his lectionary sermons and his mission sermons, so that other preachers could use them all over Europe. His sermons conveyed much biblical material as he called people to emulate the repentance of Mary Magdalene, the prodigal son or the thief on the cross. His sermons were true classics, their only fault being that they were over-used by preachers who lacked the spiritual intensity and oratorical gifts of their original preacher.

At the end of the Middle Ages there was no greater master of the homiletical art than Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg (1445–1510), preacher at the cathedral of Strasbourg. He used all the techniques of oratory. He was a passionate defender of the Nominalist piety in which he had been reared. Skilled in the art of pulpit oratory, he was a most popular preacher. The biblical materials that his sermons did contain were overshadowed by all kinds of *exempla* and

illustrative material, so that too often one lost the sense that the sermon was an exposition of Scripture.

By the end of the fifteenth century preachers such as Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98) strongly under the influence of the Renaissance began to introduce a new approach to biblical preaching. Apparently following the example of John Chrysostom, Savonarola began to recover the practice of preaching through the different books of the Bible following the *lectio continua*, explaining the text chapter by chapter, verse by verse. Savonarola's calling, as he understood it, was to preach reform, and that reform was to be based on a careful exposition of the Bible, especially the prophetic books.

## The Reformation

By 1500 the Christian humanists were beginning to transform the study of Scripture. In keeping with their motto, *ad fontes*, 'back to the sources', they advocated study of the Bible in the original languages.[1] They taught themselves both biblical Greek and biblical Hebrew. In 1504 Wolfgang Capito (1478–1541), a leading preacher in the Upper Rhineland, published the Hebrew text of the Psalms along with a Hebrew grammar. Having strong family connections with the infant publishing industry and occupying several leading pulpits in his time, he did much to popularise the Hebrew Bible.

Martin Luther (1483–1546) did the most to revitalise biblical preaching. He began to develop sermons that were an explanation of the lesson that had been read. Historical grammatical exegesis had advanced far with the help of the new biblical scholarship. Using all the tools of Renaissance philology, Luther was able to explain the biblical text with greater clarity than had been possible for generations. Another of Luther's major contributions was his translation of the Bible.[2] Luther's translation of the New Testament was largely guided by the publication of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus, but, even more, that publication revolutionised theological studies. It was because Luther realised this that he gave Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) such a prominent role at Wittenberg. Young Melanchthon was the grand-nephew of Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), another pioneer philologist who had done much to stimulate interest not only in biblical Greek but especially in Hebrew. This use of the new Renaissance philology helped make Luther's translation of the Bible a masterpiece. But there was something else about Luther's Bible. Not

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[1] See Chapters 1 and 2 in this volume.
[2] See Chapter 9 in this volume.

only was it a big step forward from a scholarly point of view, it was equally a great piece of literature. Luther wrote into it his own spiritual intensity as well as his engaging common touch. The Luther Bible had the breadth and sensitivity of the Reformer, to be sure, but even more profoundly it communicated the passion and the universality of the sacred book itself.

For Luther the Reformation was not only a preaching of reform, but a reform of preaching as well. Realising that few preachers in his day could themselves handle the original languages, he provided a series of postils, starting in 1523, which showed how one could preach the gospel from the Gospels and Epistles of the traditional lectionary. As Luther understood it, the preacher should hold forth the Word of God in such a way that the grace of God was made clear and those who heard could come to faith. It was in believing God's Word that one came to salvation. Preaching should be an exposition of Scripture because, as the apostle Paul put it, 'Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God' (Rom. 10:17, KJV). With Luther's strong emphasis on the kerygmatic nature of preaching, the preaching of the Reformation began more and more to re-emphasise the place of the Bible in the pulpit. As Luther saw it, the first responsibility of the disciple is to listen to the teaching of the master. It is for this reason that the reading and preaching of the Scriptures is worship. It is the service God has called us to perform. Jesus himself commanded the apostles to go out to all nations and teach them whatever he had commanded them (Mark 16:15–16; Matt. 28:18–20).

Other preachers picked up on the new approaches to the study of the Bible that the Christian humanists had opened up. One of these was Huldrych Zwingli (1483–1531). A little over a year after Luther posted his theses Zwingli was called to fill the endowed pulpit of the Great Church in Zurich. Scholasticism had had little influence on his thinking. Unlike Luther, he was a student of the Christian humanists. He had spent much time in Basel and moved in the circles of Erasmus and Capito. Emulating John Chrysostom, the ancient patriarch of Constantinople, he preached through the Gospel of Matthew chapter by chapter, verse by verse, day by day, for a whole year. The crowds enthusiastically came to hear him explain the Bible with such an amazing thoroughness. The news of his success spread, and other preachers in the Upper Rhineland tried it. The next year Zwingli devoted to preaching through the Gospel of John, and then went on to several of the Pauline Epistles. For the rest of his ministry he preached through one book of the Bible after another, treating both New Testament and Old Testament books. Zwingli was not only an expository preacher, he was also a prophetic preacher. His applications of the biblical text brought him to address the scandal of idolatry, the

shame of mercenary soldiering and the hypocrisy of ministerial celibacy. Like Savonarola before him, Zwingli found that strongly biblical preaching could be very prophetic.

The Reformers of Strasbourg offered an amazing variety of biblical preaching and teaching from their pulpits. Wolfgang Capito held the endowed pulpit at the Cathedral in Basel. He was greatly admired by the Christian humanists who had gathered in Basel at the feet of Erasmus. It was said that Erasmus made a point of never missing one of Capito's sermons. For some time Capito preached through Paul's Epistle to the Romans. He began to come up with conclusions very similar to those of Luther. Then, strangely enough, he was given the position of endowed preacher at the cathedral of Mainz. What that meant was that Capito worked in the household of Albrecht von Brandenburg, the Primate of Germany, in the earliest days of the Reformation. Capito did not find this position altogether congenial, and he started to look for another one. In 1523 he was able to secure the prestigious pulpit of the St Thomas Foundation in Strasbourg.[3] Capito's home was Strasbourg: his family was prominent in the printing industry there. In the pulpit of St Thomas he preached through the Old Testament prophets, basing his sermons on the original Hebrew text. His *lectio continua* sermons, preached at the St Thomas Foundation, have come down to us in the form of commentaries.

In 1523 Martin Bucer (1491–1551) also came to Strasbourg. At first he was appointed to the pulpit of St Aurelia. He occupied several different pulpits in the city, preaching through the Scriptures following the *lectio continua*. At one point he is known to have preached through the Pauline Epistles. Bucer also helped with catechetical preaching as well. Other preachers did much the same thing in the various neighbourhood churches.

A particularly interesting aspect of the Reformation in Strasbourg is its cultivation of the use of the Psalter. In 1529 Bucer published his pioneering commentary on the Psalms, unique in its careful attention to textual criticism. In establishing the Hebrew text he consulted the different Greek versions that have come down from antiquity. It was far and away the most scholarly attempt to interpret the Psalms that had been produced in a thousand years. Bucer, inspired by his study of the worship of the ancient church, encouraged several poets and musicians of Strasbourg to produce metrical settings of the

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[3] Ironically, Capito was called to Strasbourg by the conservative chapter in the hope that he would answer the reforming sermons of Matthäus Zell. Capito was in turn soon converted to Zell's way of thinking and became a preacher of the Reformation message.

Psalms that could be sung by the congregation. In Strasbourg the Reformed Church not only read and preached the Bible, it sang the Bible as well.

Another sort of biblical preaching was fostered by the Christian humanists: catechetical preaching. At first it was a matter of preaching through the catechetical pieces – the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed – in order to give children introductory instruction in basic Christian teachings. The Christian humanists, in their concern to return to the sources, had discovered that the ancient church regularly provided catechetical preaching. As time passed, the Sunday afternoon catechetical sermon more and more was addressed to mature adults and became an occasion to show how church doctrine was taught in the Bible. With the renewed emphasis on the authority of the Bible, catechetical preaching had to deal with the biblical authority that stood behind the teachings of the church. Much biblical material, therefore, was conveyed in catechetical preaching.

John Calvin (1509–64) was a full generation younger than Luther, Zwingli and Bucer. He learned much from their experience and followed their patterns closely. He was the consummate example of the expository preacher. While at Geneva he preached through almost the entire Bible following the *lectio continua*. On Sunday mornings he preached through the Gospels at the cathedral, then most probably on Sunday evenings he would treat one of the Psalms, while during the week he preached on the Old Testament at morning prayer and the Epistles at evening prayer. The other ministers preached in a similar fashion. A lot of the Bible was preached in the pulpits of Geneva during Calvin's twenty-year pastorate.

The question has often been raised as to whether in the Reformed Church of Geneva the reading of a Scripture lesson was practised in the formal sense. Two things need to be said in this regard. There was in the medieval church a great amount of reading in the services of worship. This was especially the case in the daily office of various monastic communities. The Latin texts were read at both the masses and at the daily prayer services. In the early years of the Reformation people often complained about the 'endless reading'. It was often regarded as both tedious and fruitless. When the Reformation finally came, the double lesson, Gospel and Epistle, was often dropped in favour of a single lesson. Furthermore, one often hears the Reformers of the sixteenth century complaining of long readings of sacred Scripture without any attempt to explain difficult passages or apply to the lives of the worshippers what had been read. The evidence seems to suggest that in Geneva, as in Strasbourg, the usual service contained a single Scripture lesson followed by some sort of commentary, explanation or sermon. There is another consideration. In

those areas where Protestants spoke French, it was a long time before a good French translation of the whole Bible was available. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples had produced a translation of the Gospels and Epistles of the lectionary, but it was a translation of the Latin Vulgate. As big a step forward as it indeed was, it was not much help to those who wanted to preach through the whole of the Bible.[4]

In 1535 Olivétan published a French Bible in Neuchâtel, only a year after the Church of Neuchâtel had accepted the Reformation. It was never regarded as a particularly successful translation, and some preachers may have hesitated to use it for the formal lesson, somewhat as in recent times preachers would not think it proper to read from the *Living Bible* for the formal Scripture lesson on Sunday morning. Preaching to a French-speaking congregation, the preacher had to make his own translation as he went along. There is some evidence that the preacher would read the Latin Vulgate as the Scripture lesson and then translate the text in the course of his preaching. We find this, for example, in Calvin's commentaries of the Old Testament prophets.

Calvin's sermons present dedicated expositions of Scripture. He read for his lesson that which he intended to expound in the sermon before him. His sermons are characteristic of his disciplined exegesis. He studied the text in the original languages, Hebrew and Greek. He explained his text from the standpoint of its vocabulary and grammar. He looked at it in its historical context. He studied it to find what it has to say about sound doctrine and the living of a faithful Christian life. One finds nothing like the thick foliage of *exempla* so popular in the preaching of the late Middle Ages. Calvin was very much a student of the Christian humanists such as Erasmus and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. He was capable of a most sophisticated use of the language and was quite skilled at identifying the rhetorical figures used in the sacred writings. But in the end he was primarily concerned to get across to his congregation the message of sacred Scripture. To do this he used all the philological methods and skills so highly developed by the literary studies of the Renaissance. Calvin expounded the Bible in his pulpit because, in his view, it had authority. It is the Word of God. It is to be listened to with care and devotion. That is why its reading and preaching is at the centre of worship. Even more, for Calvin the Word of God is a creative force in our lives. It is a source of wisdom and power, justice and peace.

The Reformation followed a very different course in the British Isles. In England and Scotland there had been nothing like the high preaching

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[4] See Chapter 12 in this volume for the Bible in French.

culture enjoyed by northern Italy and the German Rhineland. Hugh Latimer (1485–1555) was an outstanding preacher, but, although he was a prominent supporter of the Reformation, he followed in the traditions of late medieval preaching. A few preachers during the reign of Edward VI introduced the kind of expository preaching developed by the German and Swiss Reformers. John Hooper (1495–1555) and John Knox (c.1513–72) were the most notable, but their preaching ministry was cut short by the death of Edward and the accession of Mary Tudor. Both Latimer and Hooper sealed their witness in martyrdom; John Knox, after several years of exile in Geneva, returned to his native Scotland and there became the mentor of a distinct school of preaching strongly influenced by Calvin and his approach to biblical preaching. If in the first phase of the English Reformation the reform of the pulpit was disappointingly sketchy, there were two important achievements. First, there was the English Bible, which was largely the work of William Tyndale (c.1494–1536) and Miles Coverdale (1488–1569). While it would not reach its definitive form until the reign of James I, and though it cost the church several martyrs, this work set the foundations of one of the great Bible translations. Like the Luther Bible it was a translation of the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament rather than a translation of the old Latin Vulgate.[5]

The other achievement was Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer, with its heavily revised lectionary. Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) was a Cambridge scholar schooled in the new biblical studies of the Christian humanists. Appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by King Henry VIII, he introduced many of the reforms advocated by the continental reformers. Cranmer's lectionary for the service of daily prayer followed the *lectio continua* fairly closely. It provided for a chapter from the Old Testament and a chapter from the New Testament for both morning prayer and evening prayer for every day of the week.[6] With the new English Bible and Cranmer's lectionary, especially with the lectionary for morning and evening prayer, the leaders of the English Reformation could at least count on the public reading of a large portion of the Bible each day of the week. The regular expounding of the Bible from the pulpit, however, would come only later.

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[5] See Chapter 13 in this volume for the English Bibles.
[6] On the making of the Book of Common Prayer see Brian Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), especially the introduction. The reformed lectionary also owed something to the preface to the reformed Breviary by Cardinal Francisco Quiñones, undertaken on the order of Pope Clement VII and first printed in 1535. See Chapter 24 in this volume.

## The Catholic Reformation

The Catholic reaction to the growing importance of the Bible in the Protestant pulpit was guarded and slow to mobilise. The Council of Trent (1545–63) had decreed that the sole authoritative Bible was to be the Latin Vulgate. The general consensus in Counter-Reformation circles seems to have been that the Bible could not safely be left in the hands of the common people. When Catholic preachers of the day wished to quote the Bible they quoted it in Latin and perhaps gave an impromptu translation.[7] The homiletical efforts of Catholic preachers seemed to concentrate on catechetical preaching rather than expository preaching. The catechism of a German Jesuit, Peter Canisius (1521–97), led the way. Highly polemical, this catechism was taught and preached throughout the Catholic world. Like Protestant catechetical preaching which it intended to counter, it did, however, disseminate much biblical material.

The situation was quite different in Spain from that in other parts of the Catholic world. The sixteenth century was the golden age of Spanish preaching. It was the age of Thomas of Villanova (1486–1555), Juan of Ávila (1450–1559) and Luis of Granada (1504–88). There Christian humanism and its new methods of studying the Bible had to some degree escaped the suspicion of Protestant tendencies. Some accusations of this sort were made, but the leading Spanish preachers were successful in clearing themselves. Cardinal Jiménez (1436–1517) published a Greek New Testament only shortly after that of Erasmus. With his encouragement the University of Alcalá became a centre for the study of the literature of the ancient church and, of course, that included the biblical literature as well. The sermons of Thomas of Villanova, who had studied at Alcalá, provide a considerable amount of the sort of biblical erudition that so fascinated the Christian humanists. Still, the Spanish preachers, brilliant and devout as they undoubtedly were, kept rather closely to the medieval lectionary and the annual penitential missions of Lent and Advent. When Luis of Granada preached the feasts of the liturgical calendar, he followed closely the example of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1151).

There is another side to this golden age. Spanish preaching was profoundly evangelistic. Juan of Ávila preached for conversions. He understood conversion much the way the ascetics of the early Middle Ages had understood it. He

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[7] For the diversity of attitudes to Scripture and doctrine in Catholic preaching at this time see Emily Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

exhorted his listeners to leave the affairs of the world behind and devote themselves entirely to the concerns of the spirit. The outstanding achievement of Spanish preaching was the conversion of Mexico.[8] One always hears of the conquistadors, but the Franciscans and Dominicans were not slow in their zeal to learn to preach in Aztec and Mayan. Apparently, however, not much biblical content was used in their mission. It was a long time before the Bible was translated into any of the Native American languages.

## Puritanism

In England, especially among the Puritans, the biblical emphasis was much stronger. Preachers such as William Perkins (1558–1602), a Cambridge scholar who was pastor of St Andrew's Church in that famous university town, saw the preaching of the Bible as their first responsibility. In 1592 Perkins published his essay on preaching, *The Art of Prophecying*. The purpose of preaching, according to Perkins, is twofold: the glory of God and the salvation of the neighbour. As Perkins saw it, preaching is a matter of reading the Bible and then making its meaning clear. Perkins's work was widely influential, and regular systematic expository preaching began to appear throughout England. Among some of the better known of Perkins' students was Richard Sibbes (1577–1635). After occupying the pulpit of Holy Trinity Church in Cambridge, Sibbes was called to the chapel of Gray's Inn, London's famous law school. Sibbes's custom was to preach series of expository sermons on individual chapters of the Bible. His series of sermons on the Song of Solomon so conveyed a sense of the love of God that he earned the title 'the mellifluous Dr Sibbes'.

Another gifted expositor was Thomas Goodwin (1600–80). He had come under the influence of Sibbes while he was a student at Cambridge. Serving in London during the most tumultuous time of the Civil War, he preached through the Epistle to the Ephesians verse by verse. An even more meticulous expositor was Dr Thomas Manton (1620–77). It was Manton who saw to the publishing of a number of Sibbes's works. Manton was the most disciplined of Oxford scholars. His extensive personal library was the envy of his colleagues. During the Puritan ascendency Manton was pastor of St Paul's Covent Garden, a prominent London church. Twenty-two volumes of his sermons have come down to us. Manton was a preacher of chapters. He left us forty-five sermons on John 17, forty-seven on Romans 8 and sixty-five on Hebrews 11. The

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[8] However, compare Chapter 34 in this volume.

crowning achievement of his pulpit ministry was his three-volume series on the 176 verses of Psalm 119. As extreme as this may sound today, it seems that he did pull it off.

The Puritan concern to emphasise the place of the reading and preaching of the Scriptures in public worship was codified in the *Westminster Directory for Public Worship*, drawn up in 1645 to replace the Book of Common Prayer. It stipulated that a chapter from the Old Testament and a chapter from the New were to be read at each service and that each of these readings was to be accompanied by an exposition or explanation of the passage that had been read. This was to be done on the principle of the *lectio continua*. Furthermore, there was to be a sermon in which the preacher was to take a passage of the Bible or a point of doctrine, expound it and apply it. This was obviously an attempt at melding several different traditions. In all probability, it was not often that all this was done in one service. The point the Westminster divines were trying to make was that Puritans expected to hear a good amount of Scripture both read and preached in their services of worship.

## Protestant orthodoxy

By the seventeenth century Protestantism on the Continent had matured considerably. Luther and his followers had put the Bible in the hands of the people. Many of the common people had been taught to read, and when the minister entered the pulpit he could expect the congregation to understand biblical metaphors and allusions. Biblical *exempla* helped the preacher make his point. Not only had the people come to know their Bibles, their preachers knew their Bibles better, too. Theological education in Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia and the Netherlands stressed the importance of knowing biblical Hebrew and Greek, and the pastors were expected to be well trained in the interpretation of Scripture. The universities assumed that a theological student must have a broad education in the liberal arts and the history and literature of antiquity. The vision of the Christian humanists was largely being realised.

The maturity of seventeenth-century Protestantism is also partly explained by the suffering many had experienced because of their witness. The persecution of Protestants in parts of eastern Europe and France taught people to draw strength from the Scriptures. Philipp Nicolai (1556–1608) went through constant personal tribulation and trial during his pastorate. He found in the Bible a source of consolation for himself and for his congregation. Valerius Herberger (1562–1627) was pastor to a Protestant minority in Catholic Silesia.

He had been orphaned at an early age. Seeing that he was a gifted boy, an interested neighbour arranged for him to have a proper theological education. A great part of his preaching focused on the Gospels and Epistles of the Lutheran lectionary. These sermons were remarkable in the way they put their focus on the mighty works of God in Christ and spoke to the hearts of troubled Christians. Even more beloved were his weekday sermons, in which he preached on one Bible story after another, starting from Genesis and continuing on through the historical books of the Old Testament. One would expect that the preaching of Protestant orthodoxy would be dry and abstract. When we look at the Passion sermons of Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) we find that nothing could be further from the truth. The classical Lutheran preaching of the seventeenth century had a way of being profoundly Christ-centred.

Catechetical preaching had developed into an important genre of biblical preaching by the seventeenth century. As it became increasingly sophisticated over the years, much of it was no longer aimed at children but rather at adults. Its focus on introductory teaching faded as it became increasingly doctrinal. The catechetical preaching of Christian Scriver (1629–93), pastor of Stendahl, gives us a good example of how biblically oriented catechetical preaching can be. Lutherans, of course, started out with Luther's Catechism while the Reformed in Germany but also in Switzerland, the Netherlands, and even as far away as Hungary, used the Heidelberg Catechism. Among French-speaking Protestants it gradually became the practice to preach through the Huguenot Catechism. Heinrich Müller (1631–75) represents a particularly fine example of this type of preacher. He had a profound understanding of preaching as worship. In keeping with strict Lutheran tradition, much of his preaching is exposition of the Gospels and Epistles of the Lutheran lectionary. One of the leading teachers of Protestant piety, he is at his best when dealing with the struggles of the soul. In the end, Protestant orthodoxy was profoundly devout.

## Pietism

Pietism had a very different attitude towards the place of the Bible in the pulpit from those held in Protestant orthodoxy, or, for that matter, classical Protestantism. As Pietism developed either in Catholic France or Protestant Germany, it represented a strong reaction against the government-controlled state church. The two traditional founders of Protestant Pietism are Philipp Spener (1635–1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663–1727). Pietism laid emphasis on the inner experience of religion, giving little attention to the

outward institutions of the church. It gave special attention to the conversion experience. Supporters of the Pietist movement attended the usual Sunday services in the Lutheran Church. The usual Gospels and Epistles were read and preached, but greater spiritual commitment was expressed in their small group meetings, usually held on Sunday afternoon in private homes or perhaps in a rented hall. There people would pray together, read their Bibles, tell of their religious experiences and share their problems. No clergy, trained exegete or expositor was needed. Francke in his essay on preaching even went so far as to advise Pietist preachers not to spend too much time in the interpretation of the text prescribed by the lectionary. Instead, they should get down to talking about spiritual experiences as quickly as possible. This did not mean that ministers gave up the reading and preaching of the Bible. The Bible remained important for the Pietists, but not so much the Bible in the pulpit as the Bible in private devotions.

Among the English Nonconformists, the Bible in the pulpit became more important than ever. Matthew Henry (1662–1714), pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in Chester, maintained the discipline of preaching through the whole Bible Sunday by Sunday, chapter by chapter. Thoroughly trained in Greek and Hebrew as well as the literature of antiquity, he was heir to the tradition of Christian humanism. His classic six-volume *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* contains the record of his work. His expositions are filled with deep spiritual insight, warm devotion and classical Reformed theology. Avoiding the illuministic tendencies of the Pietists and the arid rationalism of the Enlightenment, Henry prepared the way for the evangelical awakenings of the eighteenth century. He had a strong influence for more than three hundred years. His *Expositions of the Old and New Testaments* are found in the libraries of countless preachers, and no expositor of the sacred book has ever been more helpful in opening up the meaning of Holy Scripture to his congregation. In the commentaries of Henry the Bible is clearly a guide to practical holiness.

The reading and preaching of Scripture in the pulpit of Matthew Henry carefully followed the patterns of the *Westminster Directory*. There was the reading of a chapter from the Old Testament and a reading of a chapter from the New, each with an exposition. In addition to this, there was a sermon of a more doctrinal nature. This was considered the sermon proper. It, too, of course, would have treated much biblical material. This made for a rather long service of worship, to be sure, but among Nonconformists there would be a Sunday evening service as well as a Sunday morning service. The Sunday evening service would also have the reading of a chapter and an exposition of that chapter.

## Evangelicalism

Evangelicalism has deep roots. One could claim several of the Puritans as 'evangelicals', such as John Preston (1587–1628) and William Ames (1576–1633). Several of the founding fathers of New England were thoroughly 'evangelical' preachers, as for instance Thomas Shepard (1605–49) and Thomas Hooker (1586–1647). Evangelicalism put a strong emphasis on the kerygmatic dimension of preaching. It is concerned to preach the gospel. Consequently it has a tendency to return again and again to those passages of the Bible that have directly to do with the *ordo salutis*, the steps to salvation. Anglo-Saxon Evangelicalism was strongly influenced by German Pietism. It tended not to pay much attention to the public reading of the Scriptures at church or Bible exposition in its preaching. It was much more interested in the devotional reading of the Bible in private or in small groups.

John Wesley (1703–91) was a leading figure of the Evangelical Awakening in England. Like many evangelists before him, he 'preached from a barrel'. That is, he developed a collection of sermons which he preached again and again in one town after another throughout the British Isles. He preached on saving faith, justification by faith, sanctification by faith, the born again experience, repentance unto life, and the hope of eternity. True to Francke's admonition, however, he did not spend much time explaining his text. He was more concerned with preaching the message of the Bible than with the reading and preaching of the Bible itself. George Whitefield (1714–70), one of Wesley's associates at Oxford, also had a passion for the conversion of souls. He was as Calvinistic as Wesley was Arminian. The interest of his sermons lay not in his theology but in his ability to bring people to Christ. What made Whitefield unique was his amazing gift of oratory.

In America the Great Awakening was no sudden burst of enthusiasm. Foundations were being laid even by the earliest preachers of Massachusetts and Connecticut. At First Church in Boston in the early 1600s there was the reading of the Bible following the *lectio continua* together with an exposition of the reading by one of the ministers. Then later on in the service there was a sermon on some point of doctrine by another minister. Thomas Shepard at Cambridge in New England has left us a series of expository sermons on the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. It is very similar to the systematic expository sermons by such English Puritans as Goodwin and Manton. We also have from Shepard a series of sermons on conversion. The Great Awakening had strong roots in New England Calvinism, and this made it distinctly different from German Pietism. Nevertheless, the Great Awakening did not do

much in the way of promoting systematic expository preaching, or even the systematic reading through of the Bible. Lessons were more often than not chosen to support the theme of the sermon. Jonathan Edwards (1703–58) was heir to the best of New England Puritanism. He would have been accustomed to hearing the Bible read in church as well as at family prayers. He could not, however, be called a strong biblical preacher. Edwards did do other types of preaching, but for the most part he was a doctrinal preacher and as a matter of course much biblical material was gone over in these sermons. He knew his Bible well, as did the members of his congregation. In this sense, of course, he could be called a biblical preacher. His preaching was indeed biblically sound.

The ministry of the Dutch Pietist Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen (1692–1747) in the Raritan Valley of New Jersey was another root of the Great Awakening. He and Gilbert Tennent (1703–64), the son of an Irish Presbyterian minister, fostered a revival very similar to that in the Connecticut River Valley. They preached for conversion, choosing texts that supported their appeals. Like other Pietists, they spent little time going over their actual texts, instead concentrating on their application. One assumes that for the usual Sunday services a chapter from the Old Testament and another from the New was read and expounded. If, however, the preachers of the Great Awakening did maintain this discipline, and it is not always clear that they did, its importance paled before the interest of the evangelistic message. Compared to classical Protestantism, neither Pietism nor Evangelicalism gave a very big place to the Bible in their pulpits.

# The Bible in catechesis, *c.* 1500–*c.* 1750

IAN GREEN

Catechesis formed a key element in the strenuous campaigns of both Protestant and Catholic clergy to raise levels of religious knowledge and spiritual awareness among their charges in early modern Europe. But compared to many of the methods of teaching and inspiring the less educated that were then tried, catechesis tended at first to be pursued with caution: the need for simplicity and brevity, for example, meant that the Bible was usually deployed in a traditional way, and in pursuit of a limited number of ends. From the later sixteenth century, however, there was a greater emphasis on the use of Scripture proofs, and increased interaction between catechising and other modes of religious instruction involving the Bible, so that in many countries by the end of the early modern period a much wider range of catechumens were being encouraged to develop a closer acquaintance with the Bible. In this chapter, a brief survey of the development of catechesis will be followed by a survey of what Catholic and Protestant catechists had in common and what separated them in their attitudes to the Bible.

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The Greek verb *katechizo* means literally to make hear, hence to instruct, and in the New Testament it is used to signify instruction 'in the way of the Lord', the Law, or the Word (Luke 1:4; Acts 18:25; Rom. 2:18; Gal. 6:6). The forms of instruction given during the patristic and early medieval periods to adult *katechumenoi* to prepare them for baptism and communion concentrated on teaching strict adherence to the will of God through abstention from vices such as idolatry and the pursuit of virtues such as charity; but in succeeding centuries catechising gradually shifted towards a more general instruction for adolescents and adults. From the eighth century at least, parents and god-parents were expected to be able to recite the Our Father and the Apostles' Creed, and by the late Middle Ages, as a result of oral catechesis from the pulpit, penitents at their annual confession were also expected to be familiar

with the Ten Commandments and the seven sacraments, works of mercy, virtues and deadly sins. The growing attention then being paid to auricular confession meant that many of the fifteenth-century manuscript handbooks for priests and religious (such as Gerson's *Tractatus*), and some of the new vernacular works targeted at adolescents and adults (such as the anonymous *Spiegel des Sünders* and Dietrich Kolde's *Christenspiegel*), tended to devote much more space to the Decalogue than to other elements. With the spread of printing and rising literacy rates in the late fifteenth century, not only were more manuals published to help the clergy foster comprehension of the essentials through their sermons, but also shorter summaries were issued to help those of their flocks or students who could read.[1]

On the mainland of Europe there was then a transitional period from the 1520s to the 1560s. In this period scores of (what were now regularly called) 'catechisms' were devised by the first generations of Lutheran and Calvinist preachers and teachers to suit their particular needs; many adopted the question-and-answer format which it was thought produced better results than mere declaration. From the 1530s detailed alternatives were constructed by many Catholic clergy too. But in the last third of the sixteenth century there was a narrowing of the range, as the authorities realised that diversity could weaken their cause. Catechists in Lutheran countries in Germany and Scandinavia were told to use Luther's *Deudsch catechismus* or his *Der kleine Catechismus* (both published in 1529); while those in Calvinist states in western and central Europe were encouraged, with children, to use Calvin's second form, *Le Catéchisme de l'église de Genève* (1541), and, with youths, the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), which had been commissioned to help unite the regional churches in Elector Frederick III's palatinate. Meanwhile Catholics across Europe tended to opt either for translations of the shorter or middling versions of the Latin form written by the Jesuit Peter Canisius in the 1550s, or the huge 'Roman' or 'Tridentine Catechism' of 1566 which provided a manual for parish priests.[2]

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[1] *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn, 15 vols. (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2003), vol. III, pp. 227–31, 239–41; H. J. Hillerbrand (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), vol. I, pp. 275–6; P. E. Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen: Literatur des späten Mittelalters Nach den Handschriften der Bayerischen Stattsbibliotek* (Munich: Beck, 1965); I. Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530–1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 1–3, 13–15.

[2] *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. III, pp. 231–5, 241–3; and Hillerbrand (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. I, pp. 276–80.

Thereafter, the new forms that appeared in many countries tended to plug gaps in the coverage provided by those standard forms. Sometimes this was a matter of size and function, as with Bellarmine's very short *Dottrina Christiana breve da imparsi a mente* (1597) for complete beginners, or the three levels of diocesan catechisms issued in late seventeenth-century France: a short form for children; a middling for preparation for first communion; and a long compendium for adults. But other new forms either reflected changing ecclesiastical and doctrinal preoccupations, as with John Ball's *Short treatise* (*c*.1615) and the English Presbyterians' *Larger* and *Shorter catechisms* of 1647, or used dialogues to respond to the intellectual challenges posed by atheism, rationalism and natural religion. In addition, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries catechising in many western European countries became not only a more regular occurrence than before, in church, school and college or university, but also more responsive to what catechists recognised were the different needs and capacities of different groups of catechumens. It also became much more sophisticated in the techniques of fostering comprehension as well as memorisation.[3]

Similarity of purpose resulted in many parallels between the forms used in different churches. However, as confessional lines hardened, disagreements not only sharpened between Catholic and Protestant: they also emerged among Protestants. Such disagreements arose over exactly what should be included in a catechism, how it should be interpreted and what its prime function was: to prepare for confession; as a qualifying rite of passage (before confirmation, first communion, acting as godparent or getting married); or as a means of ensuring that the laity obtained the maximum benefit from hearing the Word read and preached. Let us see how the shared ground and the differences between catechists affected the way in which they treated the Bible, following four themes: attitudes to the authority of the Bible; choice of scriptural texts to be memorised and understood; use of proof texts from the Scriptures; and interaction between catechising and other forms of religious instruction involving the Bible.

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Throughout the early modern period both Catholic and Protestant catechists demonstrated deep respect for the authority of the Bible as the inspired Word

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[3] In addition to notes 1 and 2, see also J. McManners (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 284; François-Xavier de Feller et al. (eds.), *Catéchismes philosophiques, polémiques, historiques, dogmatiques* [*etc.*], 2 vols. (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1848), vol. 1, *passim*; and Green, *Christian's ABC*, chaps. 1–6, and index under John Ball and Westminster.

of God and an essential sourcebook for Christian belief and conduct. This respect is evident in the comments embodied in the texts of some catechisms, and the frequent use of Scripture passages as proofs for points made in the majority of forms (on which more shortly).[4] Scriptural practice was also regularly cited in the sixteenth century to justify catechising to the reluctant or uninitiated, and in some cases to provide some basic guidance or rules on its practice. A certain amount of ingenuity was involved in equating what had happened in Old and New Testament times with 'catechising' of the type being practised in the sixteenth century, and scriptural warrant was regularly supplemented by appeals to past practice. In England, both conservative and 'godly' Protestants were soon deploying precedents from the practice of the early church and the early Middle Ages, and by the late seventeenth century it was admitted that the question-and-answer form was a development of 'the latter ages'.[5]

However, in both camps catechists were to a greater or lesser extent inhibited in using catechesis to encourage the laity to study the Bible for themselves. Most catechists agreed that religious instruction should begin by providing 'milk' for 'babes', before moving on to 'strong meat' for those 'that are of full age' (Heb. 5:12–14), with the result that difficult or contentious issues of doctrine or ecclesiology were usually avoided at elementary and intermediate levels. Demonstrating which books of the Bible were canonical, or why one text or translation was more authentic than another, was deemed likely to confuse young or uneducated adolescents, and even encourage scepticism among some adults. Such matters, it was felt, were best left to confessions or handbooks on Bible study, or to the more advanced catechetical forms used to instruct students and ordinands in academies and colleges.[6]

Beyond this shared concern there were different sources of tension inside the main camps. On the Catholic side it was firmly believed that on many issues the Bible posed problems of interpretation upon which dissidents

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[4] C. Moufang (ed.), *Katholische Katechismen des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts in Deutscher Sprache* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1964; repr.); F. Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1978); J. M. Reu, *Quellen zur Geshcichte des kirklichen Unterrichts in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands zwichen 1530 und 1600*, 4 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1976); E.-W. Kohls, *Evangelische Katechismen der Reformationszeit vor und neben Martin Luthers Kleinem Katechismus* (Gütersloher: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1971).

[5] Green, *Christian's ABC*, pp. 21–5.

[6] Ibid., p. 24; I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 137–8 and chap. 3 *passim*; P. Schaff, *The Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1987), pp. 211–12, 237–40, 360–2, 384–9, 489–92.

regularly seized, and that the only way to interpret it correctly was through the writings of the Doctors and Fathers, the councils and the schoolmen of the Catholic Church. The preface of one English version of Canisius's catechism proved its credentials by devoting four pages to his sources, century by century, from the Bible to the Council of Trent, as indicated in the four volumes of *Authoritatum sacrae Scripturae et Sanctorum Patrum quae in Summa Doctrinae Christianae ... Petri Canisii ... citantur* published in Cologne in 1569–70.[7] The text and margins of the catechism written by Henry Turberville, a professor at the English College at Douai in the mid-seventeenth century, were dominated by Scripture proofs on all matters of debate between orthodox Catholicism and its critics; but Turberville also made it clear that, while the Bible was written that 'we might be able to know that God is, and what he is, and also that there is a Heaven and a Hell, reward for virtue, and punishments for vice, with examples of both', the only way of being assured of the truth of the Bible on controversial matters was 'by the infallible authority, definition, and proposition of the Catholic church'.[8]

The Protestant insistence on the clear supremacy of the Bible above all other sources meant that non-scriptural sources figured much less often in Protestant catechisms. When patristic glosses, the insights of leading Reformers and the words of current confessions did begin to appear in Protestant catechesis, it was usually in a preface targeted at supporters of the established church, or in a more advanced catechism.[9] Nevertheless, surprisingly few of the major sixteenth-century Protestant catechisms listed above devoted a section or even a single question to the Bible's origins or interpretation. More explicit treatment can be found in some seventeenth-century catechisms, but even intermediate and some advanced Protestant forms were relatively thin on this subject. Whereas the first chapter of the confession drawn up by the Westminster Assembly in 1646 had ten paragraphs on the origins, authenticity, authority and testimony of the Holy Scripture, the 'infallible rule of interpretation of scripture' and the necessity of the 'inward illumination' provided by the Holy Spirit in achieving 'saving understanding' of God's word, the same Assembly's *Larger catechism* had only two questions and answers on this topic (out of a total of a 196): a brief description of the Word as 'the only rule of faith and obedience', and a longer one how it could be established that the

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[7] [Petrus Canisius], *A summe of Christian doctrine ... newly translated into English* (n.p., *c.* 1592), sigs. *4ᵛ–6ʳ; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. III, pp. 17–18.

[8] HT [Henry Turberville], *An bridgement [sic] of Christian doctrine* (Basel: n.p., 1680), pp. 45–6 and *passim*.

[9] For example, Henry Hammond, *A practical catechisme* (1645), and Edward Boughen's *Short exposition of the catechism of the Church* (1646), which were aimed at older schoolboys or undergraduates.

Scriptures were indeed that Word; and the *Shorter catechism* (consisting of 107 questions and answers) had only the first of these.[10]

If encouraging as many people as possible to study the Word had been the prime target of Protestant catechising, one way forward would have been to encourage mass literacy and circulate cheap Bibles. But this was blocked initially by limitations of time and resources to combat illiteracy, and from the late 1520s by growing fear of the risk of unorthodox interpretation by an unsupervised laity. Subsequently in many of their sermons and handbooks and in some seventeenth-century catechisms, Protestant clergy did encourage responsible youths and adults to study the Bible for themselves (observing strict guidelines set by the clergy); and eventually in what some have termed a 'second Reformation' more effort was put into raising literacy levels and providing edifying books.[11] But in the meantime, especially at elementary level, the more common Protestant strategy was to treat the main staples used in catechising as encapsulations of God's message. Not many Protestants went as far as the two late sixteenth-century Swedish bishops who described Luther's short catechism as 'the essence of the Holy Scriptures and the sum of the Word of God' and 'the Bible of the common man'; but the spirit of their comments can frequently be found elsewhere. In his very popular *Principles of holy Christian religion* (1656), Richard Sherlock explained that the Scriptures were 'both spacious and difficult', but reassured catechumens that 'all that the whole Book of God contains [which is] absolutely necessary to salvation' had been reduced to four general heads. The Apostles' Creed was 'a little breviary or sum of the Gospel'; the Decalogue in Exodus was 'the epitome of the Law'; the Lord's Prayer in Matthew 6 and Luke 11 was 'the sum, pattern, and perfection of all prayer and devotion'; and sacraments were visible 'seals' and 'signs' of inward invisible graces, authenticated by the Scriptures.[12]

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[10] *Confession*, chap. 1; *Larger Catechism* questions 3 and 4; *Shorter Catechism* question 2. For early editions of these texts see *The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by Authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Larger Catechisme, presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament . . .* (London: Printed by A.M., [1647]; Wing, w 1437); *The confession of faith and the larger and shorter catechism: first agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and now appointed by the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland to be a part of uniformity in religion, between the Kirks of Christ in the three kingdoms* ([Edinburgh] Amsterdam: printed by Luice Elsever [i.e. Gideon Lithgow], for Andrew Wilson, 1649).

[11] R. Gawthrop and G. Strauss, 'Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany', *Past and Present* 104 (1984), pp. 31–55 at pp. 45–54.

[12] H. Pleijel, *The Devotional Literature of the Swedish People in Earlier Times* (Lund: Gleerupska universitetsbokhandeln, 1955), pp. 6–10; Richard Sherlock, *The principles of holy Christian religion* (London: R. Royston . . ., 1663), sigs. A5ʳ–6ᵛ, pp. 45–50, and *passim*.

There was a substantial degree of consensus among the established churches of early modern Europe that these four elements should form the basis of catechesis (many Catholic catechists added a section on religious observance described as the commandments or precepts of the church). There was also broad agreement on how and why these elements should be deployed.[13]

In the case of the Ten Commandments, this consensus represented the culmination of a significant, long-term shift in the Catholic position: the supplanting of the Seven Deadly or Capital Sins, widely used in the Middle Ages as the basis for moral and ethical instruction, by the Decalogue. Against those who viewed the Commandments as the Old Law of the Jewish church, Augustine and Aquinas had argued that they had been confirmed by Christ in the summary forms recorded in the Gospels. The Decalogue was also (writes John Bossy) 'stronger on obligations to God, somewhat narrower on obligations to the neighbour, and in both directions more precise, more penetrative and more binding'. But its increased use caused concern to those theologians and confessors who were convinced that the Sins were 'more serviceable' in helping penitents perform their annual moral check-up. The two systems continued to appear side by side in Catholic catechesis well into the sixteenth century, as in the different versions of Canisius's form; but in 1566 the Roman Catechism of 1566 endorsed the view that the Decalogue 'comprehended the entire obligation of Christians'.[14]

By then, all Lutherans and most Calvinists were also using the Commandments as the essential guide to Christian conduct (ironically, it was only among some radicals on the Protestant side that doubts would persist over the use of Jewish law). Protestant authors adopted a different system of numbering and insisted on some different interpretations to Catholic ones, most notably on what was permissible in the use of images;[15] but they continued,

[13] See Moufang (ed.), *Katholische Katechismen*; Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*; Reu, *Quellen zur Geshchichten*; Kohls, *Evangelische Katechismen*; J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 120; Green, *Christian's ABC*, chaps. 6–7, 10–12.
[14] J. Bossy, 'Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments', in E. Leites (ed.), *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 215–34, at p. 217.
[15] Broadly speaking, the Roman Catholic and Lutheran traditions amalgamated the first two Commandments, on the worship of God alone and the prohibition of graven images, then subdivided the tenth Commandment on covetousness into two; the Reformed churches and the Church of England regarded worship of God alone and the prohibition of images as two Commandments, and treated the prohibition of all forms of covetousness as only one.

like many of their Catholic counterparts, to divide the Commandments into two tables, one covering duties to God, the other to man, and to treat every Commandment as having a negative side – a prohibition (do not kill) – and a corresponding positive (do all you can to preserve life). Using Scripture proofs from other books of Old and New Testaments, they also continued to throw the net very wide when interpreting commands such as honouring father and mother (which was held to include rulers, magistrates, clergy, teachers, elders and masters) and avoiding sin ('murder' covered anger, hatred, reviling and revenge, even if provoked).[16]

The Lord's Prayer aroused little controversy. Unimpeachably scriptural, it was almost universally treated as the model of Christian devotion, and its regular use was deemed both a duty and, when used properly, a means of strengthening faith. Catechists regularly divided it into a preface, six petitions (the first three to God's glory, the last for our own needs) and a doxology or conclusion, and (later) added Scripture proofs for the exposition of each petition. 'Thy kingdom come' elicited a this-worldly interpretation among some radical Protestants, but most catechists drew a distinction between an earthly, as yet imperfect, kingdom and a perfect heavenly kingdom of glory. God's will being done in heaven often introduced a discussion of angels' duties; while 'daily bread' led to some discussion over whether this meant satisfying merely physical needs or covered spiritual food in the sacraments as well. Under 'lead us not into temptation' it was stressed that it was not God but the devil and human sinfulness that led men astray; on the Catholic side efforts to resist that temptation were regarded as 'a great occasion of merit'.[17]

Lacking explicit scriptural warrant, the Apostles' Creed found itself in a different category, and prompted different responses. Catholic catechists used it; but often, to enhance its authority, attached the name of an apostle to each of its twelve articles (though not always the same apostle). Luther's catechisms and those of Calvin and Heidelberg incorporated the Creed, as did a high proportion of other Protestant forms, on the basis that the Creed was a summary of the teaching of the apostles or apostolic men in biblical times, and could be *confirmed* from the Bible. But a significant minority of Protestant authors avoided a phrase-by-phrase treatment of the Creed: perhaps as many as half of the 'puritan' catechisms in seventeenth-century England, including John

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[16] See Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*; Reu, *Quellen zur Geshchichten*; Kohls, *Evangelische Katechismen der Reformationszeit*; and Green, *Christian's ABC*, chap. 10.

[17] Green, *Christian's ABC*, chap. 11; also Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*; Reu, *Quellen zur Geshchichten*; Kohls, *Evangelische Katechismen der Reformationszeit*; HT [Turberville], *Bridgement of Christian doctrine*, pp. 91–2.

Ball's and the Westminster Catechisms, did so. On the other hand, in many of these forms the Creed was printed at the start or end, separate from the catechism, and in the body of the catechism cognate material on belief in God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the visible church and the invisible community of saints was tackled, with carefully chosen supporting Scripture proofs.[18]

Sacraments represented an area where differences were always likely to be greater than parallels. There was a measure of agreement that a sacrament was (in Canisius's words) an 'outward and visible sign of the invisible grace of God'; there was also a shared readiness to use proofs from the obvious passages in the New Testament, and a common concern to explain meaning and encourage participation. However, there was an unbridgeable gulf over the number of sacraments approved by Christ, and Catholic authors' ultimate reliance on the 'uniform sentence, mind, and interpretation of the holy fathers' and the councils of the church in interpreting the 'testimonies of the holy scripture'. On specific points, such as the validity of penance, the nub was the difference in the official translation of Matthew 4:17: did Christ say 'Do penance' or 'Repent'?[19]

The fact that the first Protestant catechists had opted to use much the same building blocks for creed, code and cult as the Catholics (though not necessarily in the same order), and that later generations in both camps were reluctant to change this pattern too much, meant that neither side showed much enterprise in selecting alternative Scripture texts or themes, for example by replacing the Ten Commandments with Christ's summary of the Law in Matthew 22:37–40, or the Beatitudes in the Sermon on the Mount, or Paul's discussion of 'love' in 1 Corinthians 13. A few efforts were made to construct catechisms from the *verba ipsissima* of the Bible as far as was possible (to counter sceptics' allegations that catechetical texts were human inventions). But such attempts tended to be disjointed and hard for beginners to understand. Of the works described as 'scripture catechism' or 'Bible catechism', some did have a higher proportion of text taken from the Bible than the average, but this was rarely more than half.[20]

A more radical departure was to pursue the idea mooted centuries before, by Augustine and St Gall, of using the Bible story and especially the New Testament narrative as a framework for catechesis – a scheme which had the

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[18] Moufang (ed.), *Katholische Katechismen*, pp. 246, 601; Green, *Christian's ABC*, pp. 284–6, 294–5, 300–2, 347–8 and chap. 7 *passim*.

[19] [Petrus Canisius], *Ane cathechisme or short instruction* (Paris: Imprented be Peter Hyry, 1588), fo. 62ʳ; Green, *Christian's ABC*, chap. 12, esp. pp. 549–51; A. Nowell, *A catechisme, or first instruction*, ed. G. E. Corrie (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1853), pp. 119, 177; HT [Turberville], *Bridgement of Christian doctrine*, p. 209, citing the Reims–Douai translation.

[20] Green, *Christian's ABC*, pp. 32–3, 92, 166, 207, 253.

double advantage of highlighting the saving role of Christ and the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and of placing in clear perspective the position of the Christian church in relation to those of other religions. Catholic and Protestant catechists periodically attempted such a work in the sixteenth century under a title such as 'historical catechism', 'history of the Bible' or 'sacred dialogues'. An early example is Georg Witzel's *Catechismus*, published in Mainz in 1542, in which he made extensive use of scriptural quotations to tell the Bible story from the Creation to the establishment of the Christian church, and in explaining the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary and Decalogue, which were tacked on at the end. Later Catholic examples include the *Catéchisme historique* (1683) in which Claude Fleury claimed that the Bible method of telling a story was more effective than an analytical, theological approach, and François Pouget's 'Montpellier Catechism' (1702), which explained 'the history and tenets of religion . . . and rites of the Church . . . by holy scripture and tradition'.[21]

On the Protestant side there were some early 'histories' of the Bible in the vernacular, in verse or prose, and with illustrations too, suggesting an audience with limited education, like that for the *Biblia pauperum*. But most early abridgements were in Latin, such as Sebastian Castellio's *Dialogorum sacrorum liber quatuor*, which consisted of over a hundred dialogues in Latin tackling episodes from the Creation to the Last Judgement. In the original Latin, this work was widely used in both Protestant and Catholic schools to encourage the fluent speaking of classical Latin, but the fact that in some countries vernacular versions were also printed well into the eighteenth century shows that it was also intended to increase Bible knowledge.[22] The seventeenth century saw a revival of works in the vernacular, such as Eusebius Paget's *History of the Bible* and the anonymous *Doctrine of the Bible*, both first published in 1602 in England, and republished many times thereafter. Apparently used in devout households and for light relief in schools, these works were a cross between a catechism and a quiz, providing a digest of the Bible, chapter by chapter, in questions and answers which were mostly factual, but sometimes picking out doctrines, lessons and duties.[23]

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[21] *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. III, pp. 229–30; Moufang (ed.), *Katholische Katechismen*, pp. 107–34; de Feller et al. (eds.), *Catéchismes Philosophiques*, vol. II, cols. 5–91; [F.A. Pouget], *General instructions by way of catechism* (London: n.p., 1723), title page.

[22] Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichten*, vol. II, pp. 82–177, 288–385, 691–788; H. R. Guggisberg, *Sebastian Castellio 1515–1563: Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age*, trans. B. Gordon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 174–9, 234–5, 239, 245, 247, 261.

[23] Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 151–4. For later variations see pp. 559–62 in this chapter.

In their use of Scripture proofs we find clear parallels between Catholic and Protestant at the outset, but a tendency to diverge thereafter. From as early as the 1520s and 1530s both sides were regularly deploying Scripture proofs, though the practice was by no means universal in elementary forms, even on the Protestant side. At this stage both camps were also severely hampered by the necessity of having to cite only book and chapter for their proofs: the option of specifying verses as well was not generally available until the 1550s, and not widely adopted in catechesis until the later decades of the century.[24] In both Protestant and Catholic forms, proofs were at first usually provided through a supporting reference in the margin or at the end of an answer (which a catechist or an interested student with access to a Bible could pursue), but increasingly often took the form of extensive quotations in the body of the text, occasionally set in larger type. Thus Witzel's *Neuer und kurzer catechismus* (1560), for example, put Bible texts and references in the mouth of the catechumen when he or she was answering the catechist's queries.[25]

However, there were contrasts too. In most Catholic forms the sections discussing ceremonies and sacraments contained fewer scriptural references and more references to the Fathers and Doctors (and, in Contarini's and Canisius's forms, to the councils also) than did those expounding the Commandments or the Lord's Prayer. Moreover, Catholic use of scriptural proof texts tended to peak during the sixteenth century, whereas Protestant authors tended to increase the number of proofs for intermediate and even some elementary forms, and to provide proofs even in the sections explaining the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, which in the early sixteenth century had sometimes been deemed superfluous.[26] From the later sixteenth century we also find many Protestant catechists taking increasing care to draw their catechumens' attention to the Scripture proofs in a campaign that would peak in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

That proof texts were more than window dressing in the eyes of many Protestant catechists becomes moderately clear from the English evidence. The *Brief and necessary catechisme* published in London in 1572 by John More in collaboration with Edward Dering had proof references in the margin, but in

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[24] Nowell, *Catechisme*; [Edward Dering and John More], *A brief and necessary catechisme* (London: John Awdely, 1573); Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichten*, vol. 1.2, pp. 375–93, 1.3c, pp. 1319–25.

[25] Moufang (ed.), *Katholische Katechismen*, pp. 467–538.

[26] Moufang (ed.), *Katholische Katechismen*; Cohrs, *Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*; and Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichten*, *passim*.

1580 a new version was published by a 'godly' schoolteacher, John Stockwood, with the proofs printed in full. By 1583, however, Stockwood had decided to reduce the number of proofs, because he and other catechists had concluded that there were too many for those of weak capacity, and that rather than helping they were confusing the 'ignorant and simple soul'. Over the next few decades this version sold twice as many editions as the original. Sales of Eusebius Paget's *Short questions and answers* were also enhanced by later modifications: Robert Openshaw had Paget's 'proofs out of the Word of God' printed in full (and subdivided his longer answers); while Richard Jones inserted after each of Paget's answers a curt order to 'Prove it', and then gave a Scripture text in full. It may be assumed that these derivative forms were used with literate pupils in schools and in zealous households rather than with illiterate catechumens in church.[27]

Most English catechumens began with the official short catechism of the Church of England, drawn up in 1549, revised in 1604 and reproduced in thousands of editions. However, from as early as the 1590s, but especially from the 1620s and 1630s, this form was supplemented by scores of commentaries and expositions, and in many of these proof texts were printed in full in a distinctive typeface. A late example which was recommended for use in the burgeoning Charity Schools of the early eighteenth century, and sold fifty-eight editions between 1701 and 1820, was John Lewis's exposition, which regularly asked catechumens 'What proof have you from Scripture for this?', and helpfully supplied them with full texts for their 'answer'.[28]

The proofs attached to the *Shorter Catechism* published in 1647 by the predominantly Presbyterian members of the Westminster Assembly were a late addition to the text: separate approval had to be obtained for them, and there are signs of haste in their transcription. But within a few years, in 1656, a version appeared in which many of the original proofs were either dropped or abbreviated or switched round, and some new ones added (usually from the bigger pool of proofs in the Assembly's *Larger Catechism*). In addition, all the proof texts were now published 'at length', and in italic to distinguish them from the question (in black letter) and answer (in roman), 'for the benefit of Christians in general, and of youth and children in understanding in particular, that they may with more ease acquaint themselves with the Truth according to the Scriptures, and with the Scriptures themselves'. The care taken over the selection of proofs ('fitted for both brevity and clearness to their form of

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[27]  Green, *Christian's ABC*, pp. 32, 185–6, 210–11.
[28]  Ibid., pp. 88–90, 146–66, 168–9, 193–5, 206–8, 246–7, 259–65.

sound words'), and the fact that this edition was printed for the Stationers Company, who were jealous of their monopoly of such titles, suggests this 1656 version – the first of many editions – was an official exercise rather than just a publishing ploy. Moreover, as with faulty editions of the Bible itself, errors in typesetting were taken seriously: the mistakes in the proofs in a sloppy edition in 1693 were neatly pasted over by tiny pieces of paper bearing the correct text; and in the 1694 edition 'the proofs' were (the title page asserted) 'carefully corrected and amended'.[29]

Many catechists in Scotland and England were willing to adopt the *Shorter Catechism* for its sound doctrine and ecclesiology, but found the questions and answers too long or too technical. A number of works soon appeared deploying different educational techniques to help different types of catechumen grasp its meaning, and in many cases the number of proof texts actually increased, as in Thomas Lye's *Explanation of the Shorter Catechism* (1675), and John Flavell's *Exposition of the Assemblies Catechism* (1692). If we take their expositions of the Shorter Catechism's fourth question and answer (on God's nature and qualities) we find that Lye offered nearly seventy proof references, and Flavell over a hundred, mostly printed in full. In his *Scripture-catechism, in the method of the Shorter Catechism* (1703), Matthew Henry said his chief aim was 'to promote the knowledge of the Scriptures' by 'acquaint[ing] children betimes with their Bibles'; and in the revised third edition of 1714 he claimed to have had some success through his method of adding a dozen or more extra questions, to be answered 'Yes' or 'No', and providing each correct answer with a brief Scripture text.[30]

The increased attention paid to 'proof' texts was facilitated in countries such as England and Scotland where literacy rates had risen or were rising, and where catechisms and Bibles were plentiful and cheap. By contrast, in Catholic countries where proof texts were probably deployed mostly with more advanced catechumens, and in Protestant countries with lower levels of literacy or where printing levels remained low, there was probably only a limited acquaintance with such texts. The Swedish church came up with a clever solution during the seventeenth century: a determined campaign to raise literacy levels was combined with the distribution of a mass-produced plaque,

[29] Ibid., pp. 80–2, S. W. Carruthers, *Three Centuries of the Westminster Shorter Catechism* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Published for the Beaverbrook Foundations by the University of New Brunswick, 1957), pp. 3–6, 19–22, and cf. D 16 on p. 55.
[30] Green, *Christian's ABC*, pp. 81–3, 167–9, 261–2, 268–9; Thomas Lye, *Explanation of the Shorter Catechism* (London: A.M. for Tho. Parkhurst ..., 1675), pp. 6–11; John Flavell, *An exposition of the Assemblies Catechism* (London: Tho. Cockerill, 1692), pp. 6–21; Carruthers, *Three Centuries*, p. 108.

the *hustavla*, which was hung on the wall in each home and listed specific Bible verses outlining Christian duties and obligations to church, state and household. Not only was this and the *psalmbok* (which included the official catechism) the only reading material in Swedish in most households, but also the minister came round from door to door to test families' levels of knowledge.[31]

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Important as it was, catechesis did not exist in isolation, and it is worth noting some of the ways in which it intersected or developed close links with other forms of instruction and edification which involved familiarity with the Bible. Some of these were relatively orthodox, others less conventional. Both Catholic and Protestant churches provide some examples of attempts to integrate catechising with preaching. To help parish priests correlate their catechetical efforts with their weekly homily, the authors of the Tridentine Catechism provided a supplement suggesting links between different sections of the catechism and the Gospel laid down for each Sunday of the liturgical year; and in the Sulpician method of teaching used in seventeenth-century France, children were urged to memorise the Sunday Gospel as preparation for the catechism lesson on Sunday afternoon, when the catechist preached a homily on that Gospel and tried to apply it to the children's everyday lives.[32] In later sixteenth-century Germany there are various examples of catechetical explanations being provided for the Epistles and Gospels specified in the Lutheran lectionary. Sermons devoted to a section of the approved catechism, or the phrases currently being taught the young, were also common in most Lutheran and many Reformed countries in the sixteenth century, and became increasingly common in England too from the 1620s.[33]

Growing numbers of Catholic and Protestant catechisms were printed with extra prayers to supplement the Lord's Prayer. These might be for general use and drawn from the official liturgy, as in Sweden where the *psalmbok* (which passed through at least 250 editions between the mid-sixteenth century and 1819) consisted of a prayer book, a translation of Luther's short catechism, and hymns. Alternatively they might be for use before, after or

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[31] E. Johansson, 'The History of Literacy in Sweden', in H. J. Graff (ed.), *Literacy and Social Devlopment in the West: A Reader* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 151–82.

[32] *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. III, pp. 234–5.

[33] H. O. Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, 7 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998–2010), vol.IV: *The Age of the Reformation* (2002), pp. 16–19, 386–8 and vol. V: *Modernity, Pietism and Awakening* (2004), pp. 52–3, 95; Green, *Christian's ABC*, pp. 145–52, 158–66. See also the previous chapter.

even during catechising: such prayers often reinforced the catechetical material just explored. One Protestant enthusiast, Bishop Thomas Ken, not only interspersed his exposition of the official church catechism with pious 'ejaculations', but also offered catechumens simple directions on how to convert the answers in that catechism into their own prayers.[34] Catechetical treatment of the sacraments also fed into popular manuals written to help literate adolescents and adults prepare for the Mass or Lord's Supper.[35]

As means of instructing the less educated, the Catholic Church had also for some time appreciated the value of both verse and iconography. Whole or part catechisms in vernacular verse can be found being said or sung in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Catholic circles; and Catholic catechists and publishers also used woodcuts or engravings much more than their Protestant counterparts. Some of these depicted a scriptural scene such as the Creation, the Crucifixion or the Resurrection; others provided visual representations of a text such as the Ten Commandments; while yet others added scriptural references to depictions of the seven sacraments. This trend peaked in an illustrated version of Canisius's catechism published by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp in 1589. Nicolas Fontaine's pioneering *L'Histoire de Vieux et du Nouveaux Testament avec des explications édifiantes*, published in Paris in 1670 for pious well-to-do families, was not a catechism as such, but combined elements of basic instruction with edification through the use of high-quality engravings of a familiar passage of the Bible, each followed by a prose narrative of the episode and a patristic commentary.[36]

Protestants were not averse to the use of verse for the young or less educated, though they were comparatively rare in vernacular, as opposed to Latin, catechisms. On the other hand, metrical versions of the Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer in the vernacular were widely circulated through being printed at the start or end of many editions of the metrical psalters and hymnals published by Protestants. The educational dimension of the scriptural materials in these works must not be discounted. In England by 1700, many poorly educated or illiterate adults had managed to memorise most of the Psalms in the metrical version known as 'Sternhold and Hopkins'. In Sweden the *psalmbok* by 1695 contained 413 psalms or hymns, some corresponding to

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34 *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. III, p. 233 (prayers added to Canisius's form); Johansson, 'Literacy in Sweden', p. 162; Green, *Christian's ABC*, pp. 30–1, 483, 674–5.
35 Green, *Christian's ABC*, pp. 79–80; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 288–303.
36 Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, p. 120; Manfred Müller et al. (eds.), *Der Katechismus von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1987), pp. 7, 32, 57, 118–30; for use of images in the picture language of the Aztecs in missionary catechisms see *New Catholic Encylopedia*, vol. III, pp. 18, 246–7.

the main sections of the catechism, others to be sung on different occasions in the church year or at different times of the day in the home, and those who sang them most often became known as 'hymnbook Christians': asked what the Bible said about preparation for death, one old lady in Västergötland recited verse after verse of a hymn which commented on Christ's last words on the Cross.[37]

As a rule, Protestant instructors did not deploy images in catechesis. But there were exceptions in the early 'histories of the Bible' mentioned above, and in the later variations on that genre in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Some of these were moderately respectable, such as Samuel Wesley's poetic version of Old and New Testaments 'adorn'd with…sculptures' (1701–4), while others, such as Nathaniel Crouch's *Youths divine pastime*, were aimed at much humbler readers, and despite the inferior quality of their verse and artwork proved very popular from the 1690s to the 1720s.[38]

We may finish this survey with two weightier examples of this genre, one prepared by a Pietist minister in Germany, and the other by an Evangelical in England, which reflect a changing situation by the early eighteenth century. The Pietists put a much greater stress on literacy and Bible reading than their sixteenth-century forebears in Germany had done, but they still used Luther's short catechism to help teach reading, and as soon as pupils could read fluently they were given a cheap Bible or an edifying work such as Johann Hübner's *Biblische historien*, which sold over a hundred editions between 1714 and 1828. In this case, traditional catechising had been downgraded but had not become completely redundant, and the mixture of quotation and paraphrase in Hübner's stories constituted a bridge between Luther's catechism and full-scale Bible study.[39]

Isaac Watts was a highly educated Congregational minister who had written extensively on matters of educational theory and practice, and also published a number of popular catechisms before he published his *Short view of the whole scripture history* in 1732. In its preface he insisted that everybody needed to know the Bible, but accepted that it was 'a very large book' and not everyone had the capacity or the time to read all of it. In explaining why his abridgement was in question-and-answer form, he referred back to his earlier discourse on catechising: 'the catechistical method of question and answer is

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[37] Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichten*, vol. 1.2, pp. 614–22, 1.3b, pp. 925–8; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, chap. 9; Pleijel, *Devotional Literature*, pp. 12–14; Johansson, 'Literacy in Sweden', pp. 161–3.

[38] Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 155–62.

[39] Gawthrop and Strauss, 'Protestantism and Literacy', pp. 48–51.

preferable to all other methods of instruction'. His abridgement was innovative in being thematic rather than chronological, and he added chapters to explain the 'prophetical connexion' between Old and New Testaments and other matters, and three engravings to help explain technical matters. That it passed through twenty-six editions between 1732 and 1820 suggests that it filled a niche in the market.[40]

In the early sixteenth century Bible knowledge had been subordinated to mastering the staple formulae of catechesis, but by the early eighteenth in some countries that was changing. The fact that leading Protestant ministers such as Hübner and Watts attempted a Bible summary as a catechetical tool or in a catechetical mode, and that their works sold so well for so long, confirms what we can deduce from other developments – the efforts of Fontaine to raise scriptural awareness among the devout laity in France, the campaign to drive home proof texts in seventeenth-century England and the impact of the *psalmbok* and *hustavla* in Sweden – that where motivation was strong and circumstances propitious, catechesis and Bible knowledge could both be advanced.

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[40] I. Watts, *A Short View of the whole Scripture History* (London: Eman. Matthews, Richard Ford, and Richard Hett, 1732), pp. iii–xii.

# The Bible in liturgy and worship,
## *c.* 1500–1750

BRYAN SPINKS

In the Western Catholic Church of the early sixteenth century, the Bible as a canonical and printed book had little place in worship, but Scripture most certainly did. This is because in worship in every tradition there is always a canon within the canon, or a liturgical canon. Medieval liturgical rites were contained in a series of books, each appropriate for the personnel needed for the performance of a particular rite. The reason for this practice was in part utilitarian, since prior to printing it was impossible to have every text needed for everything in one book. Thus for Mass the celebrant would need a missal, but the cantor would need an antiphoner. Although printing had made it possible to compact the liturgical texts, and to produce smaller tomes, the tradition continued of providing separate books for different purposes. For the Mass, the liturgical Epistles and Gospels were collected in different books, the epistolary and the evangelary. The system of readings can be traced back in the Romano-Frankish tradition as found in the *Comes* of Murbach, an eighth-century lectionary. Likewise, for the eight Daily Offices a psalter was needed, a hymnal and a Collectar, but also a Legenda for the small portions of Scripture that were to be read at each of the offices. The selection of the readings was in part dictated by the liturgical calendar, the appropriate pericopes being selected for the feast and season. There are certainly examples of early medieval Bibles being marked for liturgical use, but as a distinct lectionary emerged, the lectionary and printed pericopes made it unnecessary for an actual *Bible* to be used. The non-Roman Western Mass (Gallican, Milanese and Visigothic) had three readings: an Old Testament, Epistle and Gospel; but, from perhaps the sixth century, Rome itself had adopted two readings, an Epistle (sometimes an Old Testament reading survived in place of an Epistle) and Gospel. But the Mass was also punctuated with chants which varied according to the season, and provided a short commentary or elucidation on the main lections. Geoffrey Cuming noted, 'the Whole system

is a model of devotional use of the Bible'.[1] The Daily Office in the sixteenth century was dominated by the recitation of the Psalter; the whole Psalter, being dispersed between the Offices, was recited over a week. In addition, biblical canticles and short readings were ingredients of the services. The Scripture readings were supplemented with patristic and hagiographic readings. To reformers it seemed as though Scripture readings in the Office, which were short, had been reduced and replaced by non-canonical readings, though it fact this was incorrect. The history of the Daily Office shows us that its original strata consisted of praise, with set psalmody for the time of day; canticles; and intercession. Scripture reading was integral to monastic usage, the 'monastic' office. Its inclusion as part of the 'cathedral' office for normal congregational use was a later innovation: even today, apart from Easter, the East Syrian Daily Office is devoid of Scripture reading. The rites were celebrated in Latin, save for a few texts such as the marriage vows, and advice to godparents in baptism. The lections, too, were read in Latin. Certainly there is evidence of vernacular translations, such as the fifteenth-century British Library Harl. 2276, which contains the Gospel readings for important occasions in English, accompanied by a homily, but these must have been exceptional. The laypersons' Primers – adaptions of the Daily Office – were often in the vernacular, and so some snippets of Scripture and the canticles could be read by the literate wealthy. However, the walls of many parish churches were adorned with paintings, illustrating the main biblical stories, both Old and New Testament (Copford Church in Essex tells something of the splendour) and iconography, such as rood screens (St Helen's Ranworth), tympana (St Peter's Wenhaston) and windows (the Jesse Tree was a common feature), abounded to teach the eye what the ear could not understand. And in some pockets of England, at least, there were families who in secret read their Lollard Bibles.

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries represent the high water mark of the Renaissance, which was a movement concerned with *ad fontes*, getting back to the original. Thus we find a renewed interest in the Bible – and not its Vulgate Latin translation, but the original Hebrew of the Old Testament, and Greek of the New.[2] When ecclesiastical tradition was compared with the 'original' of Scripture, it was not long before some called for a reform of the tradition so that it conformed more closely to the original, and so Renaissance passed over into Reformation. However, there was no agreed hermeneutic on

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[1] Geoffrey J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London and New York: Macmillan/ St Martin's Press, 1969), p.18.
[2] See Chapters 1 and 2 in this volume.

the basis of which one might decide what the 'original' actually demanded. Thus the reformers demanded a thorough biblical approach to worship, but came to very different conclusions of what this would like. The Reformation churches separated in protest at the Western Catholic Church, demanding scriptural reform. In answer to the crisis, the Council of Trent was set in motion; it defined doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church, and revised worship. Even prior to Trent, attempts had been made to reform the Daily Office of the Breviary. The attempts by Bishops Zacharia Ferreri and Peter Caraffa in the early 1520s were mainly concerned with improving the Latin to accord with the Renaissance concern for Ciceronian style. However, the experimental Breviary compiled by Cardinal Francisco Quiñones (1482–1540, also known as Quignon or Quignonius) in 1535 was based on the principles that the original office consisted of psalms and Scripture readings, and these became the basis of his revision. The Psalms were no longer recited in course, but were chosen for their length. The lessons were reduced to three in number: one from the Old Testament; one from the New Testament; and a third from either the New Testament or from a reputable 'Lives of the Saints'. His revision had been made for the secular clergy, but was so popular that religious communities also adopted it, and this was one of the factors that led to its later papal suppression. What is significant about Quiñones's reforms is his belief that the reading of Scripture was the original core of the Office. This belief was shared by Thomas Cranmer, who used Quiñones's work as a source for his own Protestant reforms. The Tridentine Breviary of Pius V (1568) reverted to the recitation of the Psalter in course over the week. It provided for Scripture to be read more often in the old Vigil service of Matins, but these readings remained short, mostly non-sequential, and on some days entirely absent. The system of readings for the Mass was fixed in the *Missale Romanum* in 1570, and adopted what had been the prevailing Romano-Frankish system of the eighth century. In the seventeenth century some French dioceses produced local revisions of the Breviary based on Quiñones's principles, with greater use of Scripture readings, and redistribution of the psalms to allow for more equal length at most of the daily services. The readings remained in Latin, from the Vulgate version.

## Luther at Wittenberg

Luther became professor of biblical theology at the new university of Wittenberg, and much of his early work took the form of expository lectures on the Bible. But from his studies he came to the conclusion that the term

'justification' was a spiritual quality neither inherent nor earned, but imputed by grace through faith in Jesus Christ. This led to attacks first on indulgences and then on the concept of the Mass as a sacrifice which could be offered to effect salvation. This in turn led to his suggestions for liturgical reform, and his production of new liturgies, in which the Bible is used in a number of ways. In his *Formula Missae* of 1523 he made some recommendations for the reform of the Daily Office. Apart from the propers for saints' days, Luther thought that the Offices consisted of 'nothing but divine words of Scripture'.[3] It was necessary (in schools) for boys to be accustomed to reading and hearing the Psalms and lessons from Scripture. He advised that the whole Psalter, psalm by psalm, should remain in use. Daily lessons must be appointed, one in the morning from either the Old or New Testament, and another for Vespers from the other Testament, with an exposition in the vernacular. Here then, the Bible is used in a straightforward manner of reading lessons, though Luther still envisaged readings in Latin. For the Mass, Luther expunged all that he felt was inconsistent with Scripture, which meant that the offertory prayers and the *canon missae* (prayer of consecration) were removed because of their implication that something was 'offered' to God in propitiation. Thus the teachings of the Bible were used to reform tradition. The Introits were retained, though where they were from a psalm, Luther preferred to have the whole psalm rather than just a verse. The Roman lections for the Epistles and Gospels were retained, though he thought that 'the Epistles seem to have been chosen by a singularly unlearned and superstitious advocate of works'. Scripture was also used within the ritual. The Institution narrative was to be intoned, since Luther believed that these words were the Gospel in a nutshell. The Sanctus from Isaiah 6:3 was retained and sung, but now after the words of institution, as a fitting sacrifice of praise. The Lord's Prayer was retained. Luther allowed the customary benediction at the close of the service, but also recommended Numbers 6:24–6, 'which the Lord himself has appointed'. As far as ceremonies and chant texts were concerned, providing these were not contrary to Scripture, they were matters indifferent – *adiaphora* – and could be retained or discarded according to local wishes.

By 1526 Luther had compiled a vernacular Mass, the *Deutsche Messe*. His main concern here was the arrangement for sermons and lessons. At Mass the customary Epistles and Gospels are retained. He noted:

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[3]  As translated in *LW*, vol. LIII, p. 38. The Latin original is ed. in *WA*, vol. XII, pp. 205–20, at p. 219.

For the Epistles and Gospel we have retained the customary division accord-
ing to the church year, because we do not find anything especially reprehen-
sible in this use … Since in this matter we can be of service to others without
loss to ourselves, we leave it, but have no objection to others who take up the
complete books of the evangelists.[4]

Here Luther allows the *lectio continua*, the reading of a Gospel in course
from week to week rather than the selection of the traditional lectionary.
On Wednesday mornings readings from Matthew were assigned, and the
Fourth Gospel was assigned to Saturday afternoons. Thursday and Friday
mornings were given over to the Epistles and the rest of the New Testament.
The Psalms were to be chanted in Latin, after which the lesson was read first
in Latin, and then in German. At Sunday Mass a whole psalm in German
was sung in the First Tone, the Epistle was sung in the Eighth Tone, and the
Gospel in the Fifth Tone. The Institution narrative was to be sung in the same
tone as the Gospel, emphasising Luther's belief that it was the Gospel in a
nutshell. He made his own paraphrases of the Sanctus. The liturgical year
was preserved, and thus the appropriate lections were read at appropriate sea-
sons. One other use of Scripture, peculiar to Luther, needs to be mentioned.
In his marriage rite he provided no Nuptial Blessing, but instead what might
be termed the 'original blessing' of male and female. After exchanging vows
a rubric directed: 'Before the altar he shall read God's word over the bride-
groom and bride, Genesis, the second chapter [verses 18 and 21–24].'[5]

## Zwingli at Zurich

Whereas Luther was content to leave indifferent matters in worship, the Swiss
Reformer Huldrych Zwingli was concerned that unless something was man-
dated in Scripture, it should not be used. Like Luther, Zwingli was a priest,
though a secular one. He was a thoroughgoing Neo-Platonist; his humanist
grounding suggested that returning *ad fontes* meant not adding to the text
of Scripture at all. Influenced by his reading of John Chrysostom, on being
appointed preacher of the Great Minster in Zurich in 1519 he began to read and
preach through St Matthew's Gospel. This *lectio continua* reading and preach-
ing was to develop into the 'prophesyings', which took the form of a prayer,
short reading and expository preaching exercise every day, and took the place
of the Daily Office in those churches in the Zurich orbit of influence. Zwingli

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4 *LW*, vol. LIII, p. 68, based on *WA*, vol. XIX, p. 79.
5 Martin Luther, 'The Order of Marriage for Common Pastors' (1529), in *LW*, vol. LIII,
 p. 110. The German original may be found at *WA*, vol. XXX, part III, pp. 74–80.

took a year to complete Matthew, and this was followed by the Acts of the Apostles, 1 Timothy, 1 and 2 Peter and Hebrews. It is possible that some of his occasional sermons reflect the traditional readings of the Catholic liturgical calendar, but this is far from certain.[6] The main Sunday service at Zurich was a preaching service derived from the popular medieval preaching rite known as Prone. It began with intercessory prayer, ending with the Lord's Prayer and Ave Maria – the latter being quite biblical. The centre was a reading of Scripture and expository preaching. A trial revision of the Lord's Supper was published in 1523, but this was more an essay than a new liturgy. The Mass was replaced in 1525 by the *Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals*. This was celebrated only four times a year, and had fixed lections, 1 Corinthians 11:20ff. and John 6:47ff. Psalm 103 was used as a post-Communion psalm, but was said. Zwingli was an accomplished musician, but felt that music and singing had no place in public worship.

## Bucer at Strasbourg

Martin Bucer began his Reformation career as a disciple of Wittenberg, but then came to appreciate the Zwinglian and Zurich school, and finally attempted to steer a path between the two. Reform of worship in Strasbourg had begun in a modest way in 1518 when Wolfgang Capito began a series of expository sermons on the Epistle to the Romans, following the *lectio continua*. In 1524 Theobald or Diebold Schwarz (also known as Nigrinus, *c.* 1485–1561) introduced a vernacular Mass. Bucer arrived in 1524, and began to influence the reforms which would continue through until 1537. In his liturgy of 1539, Bucer outlined the form of worship used in Strasbourg at that time. The Sunday service was a reformed version of the Mass. It included short psalms, the Ten Commandments and the reading of the Gospel. The ministry of the Word was carefully crafted to underpin the importance of the Word. Prior to the reading and preaching of the Scriptures there was a prayer for illumination, taking the place of the old calendar collects of the Mass. Instead of a collect, this prayer of illumination asked for a true understanding of God's Word so that the congregation might in faith recognise both his will and his love, and live their lives accordingly. A rubric then directed:

> Then the church sings a Psalm or, if it is too long, several verses at the direc-
> tion of the cantor. And the minister goes to the pulpit and reads out of one

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[6] H. O. Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, 7 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998–2010), vol. IV: *The Age of the Reformation*, pp. 46–7.

of the Gospels as much as he proposes to expound in a single sermon, treating the book in succession. Since the Gospels have described the words and works of our Lord quite clearly, it is the custom of Sunday morning generally to preach from one of the Gospels, more than from other books; and they should be dealt with in their order, not as heretofore by picking out several pieces, often without particular skill, so that all the other things given in the Gospels have been withheld from the congregation. In the afternoon and at other hours, the other biblical books are also expounded.[7]

Thus Strasbourg was critical of the old lectionary, and promoted the *lectio continua* model, leaving a minister to choose which book he would read and preach from.

The reform of daily prayer was outlined in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526, and this together with Bucer's comments in various writings allowed H. O. Old to piece together the contents of these services. The service began with an invocation from Scripture, and the bliblical canticles were retained. A chapter from the New Testament was read at Morning Prayer, and from the Old Testament at Vespers. These were read on the *lectio continua* principle, and the sections were chosen according to sense. The lesson was to be explained, especially difficult passages.[8]

## The Reformed traditions

The *lectio continua* scheme seems to have been the norm in most Reformed traditions. Calvin, for example, based his Strasbourg rite on that of Bucer, and, on his return to Geneva, modified his Strasbourg forms. For example, between 1560 and 1561 he preached on St Matthew's Gospel. However, the old lectionary system still held on in some places. A Dutch synod held at Dort in 1574 directed: 'Regarding the Sunday gospels which are in use in the Church of Rome, it was decided that they shall not be preached in our churches, but an entire book of Holy Scripture shall be usefully explained in an orderly way.' Four years later the synod, again held at Dort, ordered: 'and in places where the Sunday gospels are still in use, they shall be tolerated until such time as they can be skilfully set aside'.[9]

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[7] 'Psalter, with complete Church Practice', as trans. in Bard Thompson (ed.), *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980 [1961]), pp. 167–84, at pp. 170–1.

[8] H. O. Old, 'Daily Prayer in the Reformed Church of Strasbourg 1525–1530', *Worship* 52 (1978), 121–38.

[9] Passages quoted in Howard G. Hageman, 'Three Lectures', in Gregg Mast (ed.), *In Remembrance and Hope: The Ministry and Vision of Howard G. Hageman* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), pp. 93–169, at p. 103.

This adoption of the *lectio continua* had the advantage that a congregation heard a particular evangelist or New Testament author in his entirety. However, the drawback was that of ecclesial individuality. It was the minister's choice, and so congregations were no longer all worshipping and hearing the same Scripture readings together. This would have a knock-on effect when preachers would abandon not only the lectionary, but also the *lectio continua*, and simply read their own private choice of preaching passages. At that point the preacher was no longer under the Word, but dictated the Word he would read and preach.

Although Zwingli rejected singing, most Reformed traditions adopted the singing of metrical psalms. This was an interesting development in that it set a precedent for adapting and paraphrasing Scripture. Most famous are the psalms of Clément Marot (1539), which were used by the French-speaking Reformed communities, but the Dutch also had their own *Psalmbook*. Psalmody, whatever its form, continued to be central to Protestant worship.

In the Church of Scotland the Sunday Morning Service was derived from the English Genevan Form of Prayers of 1556. Prior to the service it was common to have a 'Reader's Service', which consisted of reading of chapters of the canonical books of Scripture and singing psalms, as a sort of warm-up before the main service. The main service, like other Reformed churches, used the *lectio continua* at first. Later in the seventeenth century there seems to have developed amongst some Scottish ministers a reluctance to read Scripture during worship, and the preacher simply expounded a text he had chosen.

## The Church of England

Although Henry VIII and his Reformation parliament severed the English Church from Rome in the 1530s, and the king appointed Reformation-minded people to positions of authority, such as Thomas Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, the doctrinal positions of the Church remained for the time being quite conservative, and its official position was hostile to Reformation ideas. William Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament was banned, and Tyndale himself was executed at Vilvoorde near Brussels in 1536. However, with the publication of Primers for literate laypersons to say abbreviated forms of the Daily Offices, the biblical canticles in the vernacular were made available. In 1537 Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, ordered the liturgical Epistles and Gospels at Mass to be read in English.

In 1541 Convocation had ordered a reading in English of a chapter of the New Testament on Sundays and Holy Days, after the *Te Deum* at Lauds and

the Magnificat at Vespers. However, not until the publication in 1549 of the first Book of Common Prayer were wide-ranging reforms of public worship undertaken. The preface of this prayer book, probably composed by Thomas Cranmer, yields information about the thinking about the place of the Bible in worship, particularly as regards morning and evening worship. Cranmer had already experimented in private with reforming the Daily Offices of the Breviary, and in the Book of Common Prayer the daily eight services were reduced to two, Morning and Evening. The preface noted that the ancient Fathers of the Church

> so ordered the matter, that all the whole Bible (or the greater part thereof) should be read over once in the year, intending thereby, that the Clergy, and especially such as were Ministers of the congregation, should (by often reading and meditation of God's word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able also to exhort other by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were adversaries of truth.[10]

It claimed (historically, quite erroneously) that legends and stories had replaced Scripture readings in the Daily Office. Now only pure Scripture was to be read. The 'Table and Kalendar' set out the psalms to be read/sung in course over a month, and a lectionary was included which provided for a reading from the Old Testament and one from the New at both Morning and Evening Prayer daily throughout the year. The readings usually consisted of one chapter. Thus, for example, at Morning Prayer on the first of the month, Psalms 1 to 5 were assigned, but the readings for 1 February were Exodus 10 and Mark 1 at Morning Prayer. The Epistle and Gospel readings for the Mass or Lord's Supper were a modified form of the old traditional Western lectionary. This first Book of Common Prayer was short-lived, being replaced in 1552 with one that was more definitely Protestant in doctrine and provision.

The importance of the Bible was emphasised in the Ordinal of 1552.[11] In the Latin Ordinal, and retained in the 1550 English Ordinal, bishop, priest and deacon were presented with appropriate 'instruments of office', such as crozier and ring for a bishop, and chalice and paten for a priest. A deacon was presented with the New Testament in the 1550 Ordinal, and in 1552. However in 1552 both bishop and priest are given the Bible with an appropriate admonition. That to the priest read: 'Take thou authority to preach the word of God,

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[10] Brian Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 4. Spelling has been modernised.

[11] [Church of England], *The fourme and maner of makynge and consecratynge, bisshoppes, priestes, and deacons* (London: Edward Whitchurche, 1552).

and to minister the holy sacraments in the congregation where thou shalt be so called.'

Under Mary (r. 1553–8) the Reformation services were abandoned and the traditional Catholic services and readings were reintroduced, and reading the Bible in English was seen as a sign of heresy. However, with the Elizabethan Settlement in 1559, the 1552 Prayer Book with some minor modifications was reinstated. Amongst the modifications was a table giving Proper First Lessons for each Sunday in the Liturgical Year. Thus for the first Sunday of Advent, Isaiah 1 was assigned for the Morning Prayer and Isaiah 2 for Evening Prayer. The readings were almost certainly read from a lectern or possibly the pulpit, and almost certainly by an ordained minister. The psalms, however, were frequently read or led by the parish clerk.

The psalms appointed in the Books of Common Prayer were those of Coverdale, and Plainsong was still the most common chant used. This was possible in cathedrals and churches with endowed singers, but proved less easy in smaller parish churches. In 1564 a metrical version of the Psalms, by Sternhold and Hopkins, was published, and this quickly became the main source of sung psalmody in parish churches. These were often 'lined out' by the parish clerk; he would sing the first line, and then the congregation would repeat it. This a cappella lining out method made the service quite lengthy. Furthermore, from Elizabethan times until the nineteenth century the main Sunday Morning Service consisted of Morning Prayer with appointed psalms, and metrical psalms before and after the service, followed immediately by the Litany, and the first part of the Communion Service.[12] Thus congregations were exposed to large amounts of Scripture reading, including psalms said, metrical psalms sung, Old and New Testament lessons, the canticles, and then an Epistle and Gospel reading.

The Elizabethan Settlement did not bring complete harmony to the Church of England. The prevailing theology was that referred to by scholars as 'international Calvinism'. The Church of England rejected the Roman Catholic claims, and it also rejected Lutheran doctrines, particularly on the Eucharist. It embraced the prevailing Reformed consensus, though adapting it to the situation of a church that still retained many institutions and customs in common with the pre-Reformation Catholic Church. It is not surprising therefore that some of the more zealous clergy urged for further reform. Known by their

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[12] Though there may be some doubt as to whether parish churches (as opposed to cathedrals) actually followed the full provisions of the Book of Common Prayer every Sunday. See Cummings (ed.), *Book of Common Prayer*, pp. xl, 727.

opponents as 'Puritans', these clergymen wished for further reformation, in accordance with what they took to be the norms of Holy Scripture. William Bradshaw summed up their theological agenda thus:

> IMPRIMUS, They hold and maintain that the word of God contained in the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, is of absolute perfection, given by Christ the head of the Church, to be unto the same, the sole Canon and rule in matters of Religion, and the worship and service of God whatsoever. And that whatsoever done in the same service and worship cannot be justified by the said word, is unlawful.[13]

One of the first complaints made against Church of England worship was the inclusion of some readings from the Apocrypha, which had been excluded from the Protestant canon. In addition, however, the keeping of Holy Days was questioned, and the lectionary for Holy Days. Beyond that, although there was no complete agreement amongst those termed 'Puritan', there was a concern to use the Bible as a gauge to reform the content of worship. Many of these hoped for something like the Genevan Service Book as used in the Church of Scotland, or the use of the Dutch Reformed Church. This would include the abolition of the lectionary, and reading books in course at the choice of the minister. There is certainly some evidence to suggest that in some congregations either readings were substituted for the ones appointed, or additional readings were included. The posthumously published commentary on Galatians of William Perkins, the Cambridge theologian and pastor, was in fact an edited version of sermons preached through the Epistle in course. Another problem of which the Puritan-minded clergy complained was the accuracy of the translations of both the English Bible and the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalms. In terms of Bible versions, some ministers used the Geneva Bible of 1560, and others the Bishops' Bible of 1568. The complaint on accuracy was discussed at the Hampton Court conference called by James I, resulting in the undertaking of the King James Version of 1611.[14] The pulpit-sized folio editions that came off the press were intended for public reading in church. As to the Psalter, a number of authors attempted metrical versions which tried to keep to the original Hebrew, all with varying success and popularity – for example, Henry Ainsworth, William Barton, and Francis Rous. However, within the Church of England Sternhold and Hopkins held

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[13] William Bradshaw, *English puritanisme containening* [*sic*]. *The maine opinions of the rigidest sort of those that are called Puritanes in the realme of England* (London: W. Jones's Secret Press, 1605), sig.A2.

[14] See Chapter 13 in this volume.

its own, and not until 1696 was a new version by Tate and Brady given official status, and this 'new' version took many decades to displace the 'old' one.

Although the Book of Common Prayer envisaged Morning and Evening Prayer being recited each day in church, for most English Protestants weekday worship centred on the family at home. A vast number of devotional manuals were provided (e.g. Daniel Featley's *Ancilla Pietatis, or The Handmaid to Private Devotion*, 1626), giving prayers and suggesting psalms and readings for what the compilers regarded as the 'seminary' of the family. Thus the Sunday readings of the Bible were supplemented in many families by morning, noon and evening readings of Scripture.

## The Radical Reformation

Whereas Luther, the Reformed leaders of Zurich, Strasbourg and Geneva, the Dutch Church and the Church of England all envisaged a geographical church, the Radical Reformation was centred on gathered churches, or small communities of believers, who were autonomous. On the Continent in Switzerland, Germany and Holland, the emergence of the Anabaptists shows the typical characteristics of these gathered communities. The order of service was little changed from the sixteenth century, and after initial hymn singing and a first sermon or talk by the bishop, there were further hymns. Then came the Scripture reading, usually from the New Testament, and the main sermon.

In England the late sixteenth century saw the rise of Independent or Separatist groups, such as those under the leadership of Robert Brown and Henry Barrow. Brown's congregation met together for 'prayer, thanksgiving, reading of the scriptures, for exhortation and edifying'. From the deposition from an informer it was alleged that the Barrowists 'met together in the field a mile or more about London. There they sit down upon a bank and divers of them expound out of the Bible so long as they are assembled,' and 'continue in their kind of prayer and exposition of Scripture all that day'.[15] The Baptist congregation of under John Smyth in Amsterdam in 1608 had the following order of worship:

> 1. We begin with a prayer, after read some one or two chapters of the bible give the sense therof, and confer upon the same, that done we lay aside our books, and after a solemn prayer made by the 1. speaker, he propoundeth

[15] Robert Browne, *A True and Short Declaration, both of the Gathering and Joyning together of certaine persons: and also of the Lamentable Breach and Divisions which fell amongst them*, in Robert Browne and Robert Harrison, *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne*, ed. Albert Peel and Leland H. Carlson (London: Allen & Unwin, 1953), pp. 396–29 at p. 422.

some text out of Scripture, and prophesyeth out of the same, by the space of an hour, or three quaters of an hour.[16]

The first speaker was followed by any number of subsequent speakers 'as the time will give leave'. Thus the Bible was read and used in a congregational Bible study, but the preaching was based on a text read by the preacher. Thomas Helwys, who broke away from John Smyth's congregation, contrasted his group's worship with that of a successor to Robert Brown, one Francis Johnson:

> They as parts or means of worship read Chapters, Texts to preach on and Psalms out of the translation, we already as in praying and singing Psalms lay aside the translation, and we suppose it will prove the truth, that all books even the originals themselves must be aid aside in the time of spiritual worship, yet still retaining the reading and interpreting of the Scriptures in the Churche for the preparing to worship, judging of doctrine, deciding of controversies as the ground of our faith and of our whole profession.[17]

Here it would seem that Scripture reading was a preliminary to 'spiritual worship', when all books, including the Bible itself, were laid aside. The logic of this type of thinking is seen in Quaker worship, where eventually the whole gathering is in silence, and the Bible read if the Spirit prompted a worshipper to read a passage. On the other hand the Independents, as represented by John Cotton in New England, used the Bible in their worship thus:

> After prayer, either the Pastor or Teacher, readeth a Chapter of the Bible, and expoundeth it, giving the sense, to cause the people to understand the reading, according to Neh.8.8. And in sundry Churches the other (whether Pastor or Teacher) who expoundeth not, he preacheth the Word…Before Sermon, and many times after, wee sing a Psalme.[18]

We may assume that the reading was *lectio continua*.

In England during the crisis of the Civil War, the Church of England as an Episcopal church was abolished, and so was the Book of Common Prayer. Its place was taken by the *Directory for Public Worship* mandated in 1645.[19] This was a compromise between those Presbyterian-minded ministers who wanted a

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16 Letter from Hughe and Anne Bromheade to Sir William Hammerson, in Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), vol.II, p.176.

17 Ibid., p. 167.

18 John Cotton, *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England* (London: Matthew Simmons . . ., 1645), p.67.

19 *A Directory for the publique worship of God, throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland: together with an ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book*

Reformed liturgy and the Independents who would use no set forms of worship. The *Directory* tried to suggest an order and content for services. Eight short paragraphs advised on the 'Publique Reading of the holy Scriptures'. It advised that reading of the Word to the congregation was part of public worship, and was a means of edification. It is restricted to 'Pastors and Teachers', and only the (Protestant) canonical Scriptures, in the vulgar tongue. It advised: 'How large a portion shall be read at once, is left to the wisdome of the Minister: but it is convenient, that ordinarily one Chapter of each Testament bee read at every meeting; and sometimes more, where the Chapters be short, or the coherence of matter requireth it.'[20] The canonical books were to be read over in order, and the minister was to judge whether or not to expound any part of what is read, but if so, it should come at the end of the reading, and not interrupt it. This advice suggests that some ministers read a verse and then expound it before reading the next verse.

The Restoration of 1660 brought to an end the life of the *Westminster Directory*, and an updated Book of Common Prayer was enacted in 1662. However, the *Directory* pattern of Scripture reading continued in those Presbyterian and Congregationalist traditions that seceded from the Church of England following the 1662 settlement. One interesting footnote is that some Presbyterian-minded (Puritan) clergy appointed Richard Baxter to undertake an alternative form of liturgy to the Book of Common Prayer. Baxter's own view was that prayer should be as far as possible in scriptural language. His Savoy Liturgy of 1660, though never used, offers a good example of scriptural phraseology and direct quotation being the main grammar of liturgical prayer. Baxter opted for Nonconformity, and Robert Kirk, a Scottish minister in London in 1689, described a service taken by Baxter:

> His clerk first sung a psalm reading the line. Then the Reader read 3 psalms, Isa.5 & Math 22 after he had given an extemporary prayer'. The minister (Baxter) 'reading the prayers [*sic*]' of the sick or troubled in minde, those intending a journey, concluding with petition 'that people might not despise the Gospel, the only charter of evidence of their Salvation.[21]

*of Common-Prayer, and for establishing and observing of this present directory throughout the Kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales* (London: Company of Stationers, 1645).

[20] Quotation from the modern edition: Westminster Assembly, *The Westminster Directory: Being a directory for the publique worship of God in the three Kingdomes (1643–52)*, introduction by Ian Breward (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1980), p. 11.

[21] Kirk, ms. folio 37, as quoted in Bryan D. Spinks, *Liturgy in the Age of Reason: Worship and Sacraments in England and Scotland, 1662–c.1800* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 55–6.

Baxter preached on the topic of popery and the Gunpowder Plot commemorated on 5 November.

From 1736 onwards George Whitefield and the Wesleys, together with lesser-known evangelical preachers, pioneered itinerant outdoor preaching, in the context of an act of worship. Wesley seems to have based his format on the Oxford University Sermon. In these outdoor services, it appears that neither the seasonal nor *lectio continua* lectionaries were used, but rather a short reading was chosen by the preacher suitable for the sermon he was going to preach. It was the eighteenth-century Evangelicals who also extended and made popular the use of hymns in worship. This was an extension from metrical psalms. If paraphrases of the psalms and canticles were permissible, then why not other paraphrases of Scripture? Thus, beginning in the seventeenth century, we find some paraphrases of Scripture added to metrical Psalters. The next step was hymns inspired by Scripture, pioneered by Independents such as Richard Davis of Rothwell and Benjamin Keach, a Particular Baptist, but made popular by Isaac Watts. In the Church of England hymn singing tended to be restricted to family and informal gatherings of religious societies, but the Evangelicals helped make the shift from informal worship to use in regular public worship. Thus the Bible was read, and its many phrases and themes were now sung.

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# THE BIBLE IN THE BROADER CULTURE

# The Bible in political thought and
# political debates, *c*. 1500–1750

NATHAN REIN

In a 2010 interview about his decades-long fight against South African apartheid, Archbishop Desmond Tutu described his '[discovery] that the Bible could be such dynamite ... If these white people had intended keeping us under,' he went on to say, 'they shouldn't have given us the Bible.' The Bible, for Tutu and his supporters, could be a powerful weapon in the hands of any revolutionary struggling for justice. Its power came from its ability to function as a transcendent source of authority that could challenge the claims to legitimacy of unjust but long-established political institutions.

Tutu's 'discovery' ultimately has its historical roots in the complex events of the early modern period. During this time the spread of printing and the subsequent rise in literacy, the emergence of new forms of European religious pluralism alongside the increasing dominance of the modern territorial state, and shifting attitudes about the nature of authority and its relationship to texts – among other factors – laid the foundation for a profound reorientation in the Bible's political meaning. In this chapter we will adumbrate the trajectory of that change. The Reformation and its forerunners, such as Lollardy in England, initially cast the Bible in the role of an incendiary weapon, rendering ordinary Christians capable of combating, destabilising and overturning long-established authorities. Over several generations, however, strong countervailing tendencies began to emerge, reframing the biblical text as an instrument of conservatism and retrenchment, best suited for the defence of the political status quo.

In the cultural and religious landscape of early modern Europe individuals and communities drew political meanings from the biblical text using distinctive styles and strategies for reading and appropriation. To understand the political role of the Bible and the ideas taken from its text, we need to recognise the critical differences between these reading strategies and how their use changed over time during the period we are examining. We can recognise the existence of three distinct such reading strategies, which, for the sake of

convenience, I will here call 'modes'. In political settings, most early modern interactions between reader and scriptural text tend to fall into one of the following categories, although a degree of overlap is to be expected. First, and probably most intuitively familiar to modern readers, is the *proof-texting* mode. Proof-texting is characterised by the assumption that the Bible can be treated as a repository of loosely interconnected authoritative utterances. Proof-texting readers will select individual items out of this repository, extract them from their context, assess their relevance for a particular question, and subsequently invoke them in support of political (or other) positions – whether affirming or critiquing the status quo. Here the primary focus is in the complex meaning of the Bible's words as they are written and read. The second such mode I will designate *exemplary*. Here, the Bible appears as a book of stories featuring significant characters, scenes and moral themes. For the great majority of late medieval Christians, stories and exemplars provided the primary framework for encountering the Bible's content, and this pattern would continue well into the early modern period and beyond. Laypeople's acquaintance with the text, rather than being mediated through reading, came primarily via the visual programmes of their local churches and other buildings, alongside the occasional sermon preached by parish and itinerant clergy. These were often richly embellished with narrative content drawn from the Bible and other sources. In this context, the greatest weight falls upon the people and themes of the Bible, rather than the words themselves. But the power of biblical narrative was certainly not limited to the unsophisticated or illiterate. Political and theological theorists drew just as heavily on biblical models for precedent and illustration, and debated their significance at length. There is some overlap with the proof-texting mode – after all, characters and stories can be invoked to support contemporary claims, just as phrases and sentences can. However, with the use of exempla, an added element of aesthetic and moral appreciation of the text begins to emerge. Exempla tend also to de-emphasise the Bible's status as absolutely unique, since tales from the Bible could appear alongside lives of the saints or narratives from Classical literature. Third, and perhaps most difficult for modern observers to imagine, is the notion of the Bible as *political object*. Here, power comes with access to the text itself; mastery of the words of Scripture both signifies and conveys power. This sense of the Bible's significance encompasses a wide range of medieval and early modern practices and claims, stretching from the most ritualistic and talismanic – for example, the use of brief biblical quotations in incantations or amulets – to such critical early modern concerns as the publication, translation and dissemination of scriptural texts. Seen in this light, the Bible

itself – independent of what any particular reader understands its 'meaning' to be – has a power of its own, and can even be seen as a social and political agent in its own right. Speaking, reading, teaching about or distributing the sanctified words can effect both immediate and long-term changes in one's world and lived experience.

Within the framework of each of these three modes we can see significant development over the course of the period under examination in this chapter. In the context of proof-texting we see an increasing awareness of the critical labour of interpretation. By 1750 political discourses that depended heavily on the Bible had to stake out and explicitly defend interpretative positions that would have been taken for granted a few centuries earlier. Biblical stories, on the other hand, achieved an increasing conceptual detachment from the authority of the Bible as text, so that interpreters in the early modern period could take a critical, even clinical perspective on biblical figures and themes (compare Machiavelli's dispassionate and amoral analysis of Moses, discussed below, with the near-hagiographic portrayals familiar from high medieval art). The bible as object, on the other hand, was transformed from a largely spiritual entity, whose distinctiveness consisted primarily in the quasi-magical powers attributed to it through the thoughts and actions of the faithful, to a material one – a physical book – amenable to control and manipulation via the avenues of profane and worldly power.

The Bible around 1500 was not so much a document full of ideas as it was the idea of a document. Its importance in the political lives of most European Christians arose less from what the Bible was understood to say than from what it was understood to be – namely, a kind of repository of sacred language, mysterious and celestial in origin, to which only a very few trained, initiated and consecrated individuals were entrusted with access. The official consternation that greeted movements to open the scriptural text to profane examination, such as Lollardy in England, possessed a strongly political character.

## The Bible and politics on the eve of the Reformation

For Christians in pre-Reformation Europe the Bible was a deeply arcane and mysterious text. Most people encountered the text in a fragmentary and talismanic form. Short Latin passages might be invoked in sanctification of ecclesiastical or sovereign policy, or as a way of blessing one's livestock or crops. Spoken snippets of biblical language formed a part of the healing practices

of local cunning men and women. Written on scraps of paper, they might be woven into garments or sealed inside amulets to provide protection. Scripture was the source of the powerful words of institution spoken over the elements of the Mass at the moment that the priest consecrated them. It is perhaps not too great an over generalisation to say that for the majority of medieval European Christians the Bible was a source of magic, not the medium for a spiritual message. Prior to the spread of print its availability – like that of all written texts – was sharply limited, and vernacular translations were hard to come by and often subject to draconian restrictions by suspicious authorities.

The fourteenth-century reformer John Wyclif, among others, had advocated broadening the availability of the Bible through translation and dissemination (via preaching) in the vernacular, and sixteenth-century inheritors of his ideas sought to realise this intention more fully than Wyclif himself ever could have imagined, using the new technology of print. The thought that any tradesman who could read might simply obtain a Bible and read it alarmed authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, more than modern people can easily imagine. For many, the Bible represented a source of power that possessed not only spiritual but also thoroughly this-worldly potency. This power could be seen across a range of practices, from the text's use in apotropaic magic to the use of the insignia VMDIE (*Verbum Domini manet in eternum*, 'the word of the Lord abides forever') in the uniforms of Protestant Saxony's guardsmen.[1] The Bible, in this context, was like a keg of gunpowder. Making Scripture available to everyone would be tantamount to putting a powerful weapon in the hands of whatever agitator or miscreant wished to disrupt the established order of things. In 1582 the Catholic translators of the Rheims New Testament laid the blame for social disorder on indiscriminate access by 'the unworthy' to the text of Scripture. Prior to the spread of vernacular translations, they argued,

> The scholer taught not his maister, the sheepe controuled not the Pastor, the yong student set not the Doctor to schoole, nor reproued their fathers of error & ignorance… Looke whether your men be more vertuous, your women more chast, your children[n] more obedient, your seruants more

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[1] For an overview of the variety of Bible magic practices common among the laity see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (New York: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 45ff., 118ff.; for a specific example see Dick E. H. de Boer, 'Protego-proterreo: Making an Amulet by Mutilating a Manuscript', *Quaerendo* 41:1–2 (2011), 112–25. For the VDMIE slogan cf. Isaiah 40:8 and 1 Peter 1:25; Frederick John Stopp, 'Verbum Domini Manet in Aeternum: The Dissemination of a Reformation Slogan, 1522–1904', *Essays in German Language, Culture and Society* (1969), 123–35.

trustie, your mades more modest, your frendes more faithful, your laitie more iust in dealing, your Cleargy more deuout in praying: whether there be more religion, feare of God, faith and conscience in all states now, then of old, when there was not so much reading, chatting, and jangling of Gods word . . . Look whether through this disorder, women teach not their husbands, children their parents, yong fooles their old and wise fathers, the scholers their maisters, the sheepe their pastor, and the People the Priest.[2]

In the 1520s and following decades the theological faculties of Louvain and Paris issued a series of increasingly restrictive pronouncements regarding the availability and legality of vernacular Bibles. These condemnations cited concern for the 'seditious sects' they foresaw emerging from the practice of private Bible reading by the untutored, whether individually or in small groups called conventicles.[3] Opponents of lay access to the Bible sought to keep it embedded in a matrix of formal institutional structures, centring on catechesis, preaching, orthodox paratexts and far-reaching ecclesiastical censorship.

This generalised apprehension at the danger of allowing unrestricted access to the Bible reflects a widely held sense that it was powerful enough to act as a profoundly destabilising force in the political arena. Even those reformers who consistently promoted broad accessibility of vernacular Bibles, such as Luther and Martin Bucer, also insisted on the need for paratextual materials such as marginalia and commentary to steer readers' interpretations. For Luther especially, 'the Word of God' meant the *preached*, not the printed, Word, and the laity required formal catechesis as a context for encountering Scripture.[4] Not until the emergence of Pietism did large numbers of Protestant leaders actively encourage extensive, private, individual Bible reading by layfolk. For Catholic critics of the Reform movement, to invite the unlearned to read and follow the Bible on their own was to foment not only doctrinal error but worldly anarchy. One pamphleteer accused Luther of

[2] *The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English out of the authentical Latin*, trans. Gregory Martin, with annotations by William Allen, Richard Bristow and Thomas Worthington (Rheims: John Fogny, 1582; Darlow and Moule, no.134), known as the Rheims New Testament, pp. [iv, vi–vii].

[3] Wim François, 'The Condemnation of Vernacular Bible Reading by the Parisian Theologians (1523–31)', in Wim François and August den Hollander (eds.), *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment?: The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), pp. 111–39; Wim François, 'Vernacular Bible Reading and Censorship in Early Sixteenth Century: The Position of the Louvain Theologians', in M. Lamberigts and August den Hollander (eds.), *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450–1800* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), pp. 69–96.

[4] Cornelis Augustijn, 'The Sixteenth-Century Reformers and the Bible', in Wim Beuken, Seán Freyne and Anton Weiler (eds.), *The Bible and its Readers* (London and Philadelphia: SCM Press, 1991), pp. 58–68.

teach[ing], along with the Beghards, that no one should practice or believe anything at all except what is to be found in the naked Gospel, which everyone may understand as just he sees fit. . . [and that] each person should do just as he pleases, paying no attention to any rule or authority, whether spiritual or temporal. Such has always been the root of all wickedness and error.

Against this backdrop, the German Peasants' War of 1525 provided ample ammunition for controversialists seeking to demonstrate the destructive effects of encouraging ordinary men and women to read Scripture for themselves.[5]

By the middle of the eighteenth century, though, the way the Bible's power was understood had undergone a dramatic shift, and Scripture now occupied a very different place in European political consciousness. In 1750, throughout much (though not all) of Europe, virtually anyone who knew how to read and could afford to buy an inexpensive pamphlet could obtain a Bible in his or her own language, without attracting much, if any, attention from civil authorities. Some locales, such as England and the Low Countries, saw the emergence of lively Bible-reading cultures.[6] In others, such as Italy, vernacular Bibles were only just becoming commonly available and were still the object of some suspicion.[7] While the Bible's political charge had not dissipated, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the established authorities had found ways to channel its force and tame its radical potential. Bible reading and study had become an accepted and uncontroversial part of the religious lives of many ordinary laypeople. It had become possible to claim, plausibly, that such study actually reinforced the authority of established powers. Rather than seeking to withhold the biblical text from the 'common folk', many governments and churches now sought to guide and form them through their encounter with Scripture.

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[5] Petrus Sylvius, *Eyn Mssiue [sic] ader Sendbriff an die Christliche versamlunge und ßonderlich an die oberkeit Deutzscher Nation zu wegern den untthergang irer herschafft und das iemmerlich verterbnis der Christenheit* (Dresden: n.p., 1525). See David V. N. Bagchi, *Luther's Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518–1525* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), pp. 99–114.

[6] Naomi Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible: Scripture, Society, and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), esp. pp. 11ff.; David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), esp. pp. 471ff.; Fred van Lieburg, 'Bible Reading and Pietism in the Dutch Reformed Tradition', in M. Lamberigts and August den Hollander (eds.), *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450–1800* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), pp. 223–44.

[7] See the essays collected in Gigliola Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship, and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

When the Bible's themes, narratives and images were absorbed into the reigning political discourses, they typically took the form of exempla. In the political arena, biblical figures were held up as paragons – often positive, sometimes negative – of rulership and subjecthood. The risen Christ, shown as humanity's just judge, seated on a rainbow in a scene drawn from the Apocalypse of John, customarily adorned chamber walls where judicial proceedings took place.[8] When the young Charles of Burgundy ascended to the imperial throne, uniting under a single sovereign the largest swath of territory since the reign of Alexander the Great, court poets exalted him in apocalyptic terms as well, invoking prophecies of a world-conquering king.[9] Late medieval English rulers, seeking to consolidate their authority, drew on the imagery of kingdom and nation from the historical books of the Old Testament, while jurists turned to Hebrew precedent for models of economic and juridical organisation.[10] Nobles and potentates commissioned artworks in which their own likenesses were inserted into biblical scenes, gazing prayerfully at the manger in Bethlehem or kneeling, horror-struck, at Golgotha. Biblical texts, for the most part, provided shining models, calling forth reverence and imitation, rather than moral teachings for contemplation and study. In providing stories of heroes, saints and villains, Scripture fed into the same common pool of tableaux and tales supplied by Christian and classical sources such as the *Legenda aurea* and Æsop's Fables. Indeed, judging from the frequent mixing of these and similar sources in sermons and iconographic programmes, the Bible does not seem to have been treated all too differently from such more secular bodies of literature.

With the coming of humanism and the Renaissance, however, this began to change. As scholars began to recover the original texts of the Bible, they began to see it as a corpus of teachings potentially applicable to the life of every Christian. In 1516 the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus wrote a preface to his new Latin translation of the New Testament; this preface, called the *Paraclesis*, offers a striking early example of this new way of thinking applied

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[8] Ulrich Meier, 'The Iconography of Justice and Power in the Sculptures and Paintings of Town Halls in Medieval Germany', *Medieval History Journal* 3:1 (April 2000), 161–74.

[9] Frances Amelia Yates, 'Charles V and the Idea of the Empire', in *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 1–28.

[10] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Eric Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic: Jewish Sources and the Transformation of European Political Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), esp. pp. 57–87.

to the political realm. In it, Erasmus pictures a society pervaded with the lessons of Scripture, in which every relationship is structured and governed according to biblical norms. In one famous passage Erasmus expresses the pious hope that someday 'the farmer might chant a holy text at his plow, the spinner sing it as she sits at her wheel, the traveler ease the tedium of his journey with tales from the scripture'.[11] The Bible would become intimately familiar to all people, and from that familiarity they would draw the principles with which to order their daily affairs.

Erasmus's vision of a social world steeped in biblical teachings strongly implied that concord and prosperity would be the outcome. He hated war, and he thought that, in a world shaped by the Bible's teachings, peace would reign. Critics found little to condemn in his idyllic depiction of a world of piety and harmony. And contrary to the charges levelled by Protestant polemicists in the succeeding centuries, printed and manuscript texts of the Bible had been circulating in the vernacular for decades in many parts of the Continent.[12] However, Erasmus's willingness to challenge the long-held canonical status of the Latin Vulgate alarmed even relatively open-minded colleagues. Maarten van Dorp, a Louvain theologian with pronounced humanist sympathies, admonished Erasmus against doing anything that might shake the laity's confidence in the authority of the institutional church, including calling into doubt its scriptural foundations.[13] Who but an enemy of the established Church, detractors asked, would challenge ecclesiastical privilege and tradition by insisting that she open the treasure-chest of Scripture and display its contents promiscuously to self-appointed prophets or rabble-rousing labourers? The example of the Lollards suggested that critics were right to be sceptical of Erasmus's images of tranquil coexistence. Such efforts to tear down hierarchical distinctions and traditional authorities in the past had sparked violent conflict, factionalism and social disruption in communities where their ideas had taken hold.

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[11] Erasmus, 'Paraclesis (1516)', in John C. Olin (ed. and trans.), *Christian Humanism and the Reformation: Selected Writings of Erasmus* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987), pp. 97–108, at p. 101.

[12] Thomas Kaufmann, 'Vorreformatorische Laienbibel und reformatorisches Evangelium', *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 101:2 (2004), 138–74.

[13] For Maarten van Dorp see Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 1, A–E (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), s.v. 'Dorp', pp. 398–404, esp. pp. 401 f. Correspondence in R.A.B. Mynors, Douglas F.S. Thomson and James McConica (eds.), *The Correspondence of Erasmus, Letters 298 to 445, 1514 to 1516*, in *CWE*, vol. 111; see esp. letters no. 304, 337, and 347, pp. 17–23, 111–39 and 154–67.

## The early Reformation and the Peasants' War

As the Reformation movement spread from its origins in Saxony and the upper Rhine, laypeople's interest in gaining access to the Bible's text and the authority to be found there spread as well. The sermons and pamphlets that carried the new evangelical ideas laid a new, more forceful emphasis on the notion that the power of the biblical word outweighed all human claims to truth. They often carried a heavy freight of citations, proof texts and exempla drawn from its pages. The Roman Church, we should explicitly note, had never denied Scripture's authority – far from it. Traditionally, however, it had understood the Bible as only one part of a complex structure of institutions and practices by which revelation was mediately conveyed to human beings. That structure, in turn, was isomorphic with the Church itself. In the reformers' new emphasis on the exclusive authority of the Bible, this isomorphism was explicitly negated. Instead of the Church being the purveyor and interpreter of God's word as found in Scripture, the Bible itself stood over and against the visible church – a merely human institution – and delivered its shattering prophetic challenge. It reminded Christians that all human ordinances, *Menschensatzungen*, were no more than penultimate, and that even the Church itself could never claim authority over the Word of God.

Thus, in the typical rhetoric of the Reformation movement's first decades, the Bible – frequently referenced under the rubric 'the Word of God' – stood for an appeal to extra-worldly authority. It offered a powerful theological and rhetorical weapon to those who sought to overturn the ecclesiastical status quo, and sometimes the political or social status quo as well. A wide range of reform-minded writers, accordingly, equipped their work with an arsenal of biblical citations. Scholarly treatises critical of the Roman Church opened with scriptural epigrams. The margins of popular broadsheets and pamphlets were littered with footnote-like references to specific passages. Reform literature was replete with scriptural references to such an extent that one might almost be justified in estimating the strength of a particular writer's Protestant affinities by the frequency of explicit references to the Bible in his or her work. The rhetoric of early sixteenth-century Catholicism, on the other hand, tended to emphasise the congruity between traditional Church authority and the message of Scripture, and thus was less likely to present the Bible as an independent source of authority standing apart from institutions grounded in the apostolic succession. Indeed, only the apostolic succession and the testimony of the Holy Spirit embodied in the Church could reliably establish the

canonicity of the scriptural corpus. The doctrinal consensus that emerged from the Council of Trent stipulated that legitimate interpretation could only take place within the parameters established by ecclesiastical structure and authoritative tradition.[14]

For reformers and their supporters, on the other hand, the scriptural text came to represent an appeal to transcendent, unchanging, other-worldly authority. This authority retained its normative power independent of all customary human arrangements, and it inexorably unmasked the contingency of even the most stable, long-established of conventions. In the literature and preaching of the Peasants' War we recognise over and over the prophetic juxtaposition of divine justice with human tyranny. Divine justice could be shown by biblical testimony to be eternal, changeless and implacable, while the oppression experienced by the rebels and their supporters was transient and penultimate, embodied in the depredations of the powerful and the abuse of law by the crafty jurists who served them. Appeals to the timelessness of godly justice went handing love with indictments of the disregard shown by the mighty of this world for the 'common man's' time-honoured rights and prerogatives. The Bible's fixedness and stability in a world characterised – at least rhetorically – by the breakdown of traditional ties and loyalties, and by the steady increase of chaos and collapse, lent support to the revolutionaries' claim that they were the ones defending the old ways.[15] Thus, the Bible's imagined status as a stable and fixed point of reference, existing outside history and thus capable of judging the present, was precisely what gave it its counter-cultural power as a weapon against established authority – its political 'dynamite', in Archbishop Tutu's expression.

As the awareness of the Bible's revolutionary potential spread more and more broadly into the mainstream of literate culture, the incendiary nature of this rhetoric became increasingly pronounced. Part of what gave this phenomenon its power was the way it brought together the three modalities of the Bible's political meaning described in the opening section of this chapter. Proof-texting typically provided the backbone for this sort of argument, as peasant manifestos and anti-clerical pamphlets salted their claims generously with quotations and cross-references. But wildly popular tracts, such as the famous *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, showed the devastating impact that a

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[14] Tanner, *Decrees*, pp. 663ff. For an overview of developments at Trent see Euan Cameron, 'The Counter-Reformation', in John F.A. Sawyer (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to the Bible and Culture* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 85–103, pp. 95–9.

[15] Peter Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), esp. pp. 87–93.

well-placed image from Scripture could produce.[16] Even an illiterate labourer could understand – and relish – the juxtaposition, on facing pages, of two woodcuts: one showing Christ, humbly dressed with eyes cast down, washing his disciples' feet; the other showing the Pope, the epitome of pride and ostentation in his regalia, surrounded by sycophants outdoing one another in flattery and obeisance. At its sharpest, this characteristic Reformation strategy for invoking the Bible transformed the text itself into a political object. The accumulated power of the text's anti-authoritarian associations could become sufficiently concentrated that merely to cite or discuss the Bible implied the adoption of a pro-Reform stance.

## New strategies for reading: Machiavelli and Galileo

Among theologians and jurists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a range of models was emerging for the engagement and application of biblical texts to political life. A parallel from the development of the natural sciences is instructive here. Galileo, writing in 1615, famously claimed that 'it is the Holy Spirit's intention to teach us how one goes to heaven, not how heaven goes', a quip he attributed to Cardinal Baronius. In making this claim, Galileo was effectively demarcating the invocation of scriptural proof texts into two categories, one legitimate and spiritual, the other illegitimate and this-worldly. According to this logic, one could challenge the applicability of a scriptural norm – or, rather, a norm that was ostensibly scriptural in origin – in a given context while still upholding the authoritative and divinely inspired character of the text itself. Galileo specifically addressed Joshua 10:12–13, in which Joshua commands the sun to 'stand still at Gibeon', and God complies, apparently by halting the sun's movement through the sky. The astronomer argued that this passage could still be taken as true without forcing the reader to reject the Copernican, heliocentric model of the cosmos. Galileo argued for this conclusion by suggesting that a range of interpretations of the text were possible. In doing so, he sought to undermine his opponents' argument by attacking the underlying assumption that the biblical text could

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[16] First published 1521 in Wittenberg, then reprinted in multiple editions: see *VD16*, ʟ 5579–ʟ 5587 for German versions; Irmgard Bezzel et al. (eds.), *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des xvi. Jahrhunderts: VD 16* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1997), available at www.gateway-bayern.de/index_vd16.html (accessed 29 July 2013). See Karin Groll, *Das 'Passional Christi und Antichristi' von Lucas Cranach d. Ä.* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990).

be understood in only one, self-evidently correct way (namely, as requiring geocentrism).[17]

Galileo's strategy was not entirely new. Medieval scholars already had at their disposal a long and well-developed tradition of analysis built on carefully drawn distinctions between the various senses of Scripture. Galileo's new emphasis fell on the notion that interpretation of the biblical text could be and ought to be constrained by information from other sources, information understood as being practically and experientially verifiable. Augustine (in *De Genesi ad litteram*) had urged humility in interpreting the Bible, reminding his readers that the Bible's primary relevance for Christians lay in its power to instruct us morally and spiritually. While its contents were divinely inspired and thus absolutely truthful, we should not overstep our interpretative warrant by trying to use the text as an encyclopaedia of the natural world. Augustine warned that presumptuous over interpretation of Scripture's meaning, undertaken without regard for the spiritual and edifying purpose of the text, could commit the Church to dubious opinions that might later prove to be false, unbiblical and irrelevant to salvation. Galileo, citing Augustine as an authority, made a similar point, but in his hands the argument underwent a sweeping and dramatic extension in scope, now focusing on the claim that scientific description of the natural world occupied an independent epistemic domain separate from the truth-value of the Bible.

Machiavelli's treatment of biblical texts has important parallels to Galileo's. Machiavelli was famously fascinated with the figure of Moses, who he took to be an archetype of national leadership.[18] Instead of treating Moses as a sanctified figure to be revered and exalted, Machiavelli looked to him as a paragon of political skill and cunning, a man whose example could provide lessons about effective use of this-worldly power and practical statesmanship. His discussion of Moses strongly implied that the latter's success as a leader was due to his *virtù* – his strength, boldness, perceptiveness and strategic skill – while disregarding his chosenness by God. (Machiavelli explicitly acknowledged the novelty of this approach to the biblical text, remarking that 'one should not reason about Moses, as he was a mere executor of things that had been

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[17]  Galileo, 'Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina (1615)', in Stillman Drake (ed.), *Discoveries and Opinions of Galileo* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1957), pp. 173–216. For the Baronius quotation see p. 186 n. 8; for the discussion of Joshua's miracle see esp. pp. 211–15.

[18]  The discussion that follows is draws deeply on Steven Marx, 'Moses and Machiavellism', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 65:3 (1997), 551–71 and J. H. Geerken, 'Machiavelli's Moses and Renaissance Politics', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60:4 (1999), 579–95. Machiavelli's discussions of Moses are scattered throughout *The Prince* and the *Discourses*.

ordered for him by God'. However, in typical fashion, he went on to reason about Moses nonetheless.[19]) The qualities that drew the Florentine's scrutiny were unrelated to holiness. Instead, Machiavelli concentrated on Moses's skill in recognising and responding to the dangers that threatened his young polity. Moses, he noted, saw that one of the greatest threats to the Hebrew nation came from the stubbornness, recalcitrance and fickleness of the Hebrew people themselves, and took decisive – often violent – steps to quell discontent and dissension. He exemplified the ruthlessness in dealing with enemies, both internal and external, that Machiavelli believed was required of any nation-building prince who hoped for success. Most importantly for Machiavelli, Moses's story demonstrated the critical importance of shaping the moral lives of his subjects in their relation to the state and the sovereign. One of the key elements in Moses's political success was the people's awe at his direct communication with God, and he knew how to exploit that relationship to secure their full obedience and loyalty. Machiavelli, naturally, never made the heretical suggestion that Moses's claims to divine sanction for his rule were untrue, but the implication was clear: princes must be able to invoke the authority of God and religion if they hope to cultivate the consistent and faithful submission of their followers. The application of this style of strategic, instrumental thinking to Moses, a figure conventionally understood as exemplifying intimacy with God and special blessedness, typified Machiavelli's tendency towards provocation and intellectual scandal. It implied that Moses's success had as much to do with native unscrupulousness – shrewdness in discerning and manipulating his subjects' weaknesses, willingness to exploit his divinely granted legislative authority, mercilessness in crushing even potential opponents – as with his piety, virtuousness or chosenness. For Machiavelli, none of these judgements implied that Moses was a less than exemplary figure, as he continually sought not his own good but the preservation and enlargement of the Hebrew nation.

Like Galileo, Machiavelli was in effect arguing for a new way of reading the Bible. Instead of focusing on traditionally 'religious' elements of the text, Machiavelli here treats the Bible essentially as a secular history. Providential, theological and moral lessons are thrust aside and rendered irrelevant, and the story of Moses is offered to readers as a purely practical source of instruction in the art of statecraft, similar to Romulus, Theseus or Cyrus. Machiavelli's reading reflects an implicit separation of the Bible's message into a supernatural

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[19] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. Harvey C. Mansfield, 2nd edn. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), p. 22.

component, which presents authoritative teaching on individual salvation and matters of Church dogma, and what might be labelled a natural component, whose meaning is this-worldly, contingent and empirically testable. Galileo's logic and Machiavelli's interpretation ran in different directions, but they paralleled one another. Galileo, on the one hand, argued for parsimoniousness in interpreting the Bible, confining the scope of the scriptural teachings to a relatively narrow range of dogmatic and ritual prescriptions, while excluding a fortiori the possibility that the text could compel belief in claims about the natural world that could be experimentally falsified. Machiavelli, on the other hand, treated the Bible as an authoritative source for historical knowledge, but, like Galileo, explicitly segregated its theological and moral teachings from its historical lessons, which were amoral, pragmatic and instrumental, and bore no relation to salvation or doctrine. For both men only part of the Bible's content was specifically relevant to the Christian religion. The rest was either superfluous (for Galileo because it provided putative information belied by subsequent observation) or useful (for Machiavelli because it provided an instructive example of worldly success), but in either case its superfluity or usefulness could be judged on the basis of criteria purely external to the text and drawn from profane experience.

The type of biblical interpretation put forward by both Galileo and Machiavelli amounted to a partitioning of Scripture's meaning into two components, each with distinctive characteristics. The Bible's theological and moral message possessed absolute authority but only limited scope. On the other hand, the non-theological aspects of the Bible were much broader in their import – touching on matters of historical fact, cosmology and liturgy, among others – but their authority was merely contingent and could be tested against the evidence of the senses, the testimony of other texts or practical necessity. The precise boundary between these two domains varied greatly, depending on the context and the writer's own assumptions and interests, and it could be a matter of considerable uncertainty and debate. But the notion that some parts of the Bible's message were unrelated to salvation and thus subject to critique and evaluation based on external standards found broad though not universal assent.

The notion that biblical teachings or Christian practice could be separated into two categories in this way, one central to salvation and the other peripheral to it, was not a new idea. It had never been problematic to assume, for example, that local church leaders had the authority to set the time of congregational worship, but that this authority was of an entirely different character from the authority of the magisterium to determine correct dogma

on key points of doctrine (such as the Trinity or the sacraments). The distinction between these two kinds of authority had been mostly taken for granted over the history of Christianity. But it took on a new and bitterly controversial significance in the period following the Protestant Reformation. Moderate, reform-minded Catholics, as well as some Protestant leaders, recognised the need for reform in the Church but deplored the division that the Reformation had brought about. They sought to repair the schism by finding areas of possible negotiation and compromise between the parties. In doing so, they leaned heavily on the notion of *adiaphora* (indifferent matters, neither commanded nor forbidden). Faced with the pressing need for reconciliation and unity, some divines argued in favour of flexibility, even to the point of tolerating what might earlier have been called heresy. Erasmus made this point in his *De sarcienda Ecclesiae concordia*: 'a simple and pious disposition should be tolerated, even if it might be combined with some error'.[20] Against this background, the strategies for biblical interpretation that were developing in Machiavelli's work, as well as that of Galileo and even Erasmus, took on a special urgency for political thought. Their partitioning of the biblical message established a conceptual divide that roughly paralleled a split between matters of inward faith and external practice – between the fundamentals of Christian teachings and the *adiaphora*. Ordinary readers, on this view, could reasonably discern that only some biblical teachings were, in fact, genuine *teachings*, while others – such as Galileo's stationary sun, or Machiavelli's shrewdly calculating Moses – required other frames of reference for their interpretation.

## Anabaptism, deism and spiritualism

Within the separatist wing of the sixteenth-century Anabaptist movement, certain strains were exceptional in their determination to forge a thoroughly biblical polity, even at the cost of marginalisation and suffering at the hands of the larger society. Accordingly, the 'proof-texting' of thinkers such as the communitarian Menno Simons or the leaders of the Hutterite Brethren was of a more complex and comprehensive nature.[21] Rather than simply using isolated texts and decontextualised passages to provide warrants for individual legal or political norms – rather than arguing, in other words, that this or that

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[20] Desiderius Erasmus, 'De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia', in *CWE*, vol. LXV, Expositions of the Psalms, pp. 125–216, at p. 203.

[21] See, for example, James M. Stayer, *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), esp. pp. 155f., for a discussion of the Hutterites' Bible-informed self-understanding.

particular norm could claim to be rooted in Scripture – they sought to show that the entire structure of interlocking norms and policies they espoused was uniquely biblical. Indeed, it was the sole such structure that could be derived from the Bible. In this setting, little or no explicit acknowledgement was made that any legitimate source of social, political, moral or legal norms could exist outside God's revealed Word, which in turn was usually understood to be limited to the biblical text itself. Correspondingly, they tended to have what modern theorists call a 'maximalist' understanding of the scope of religious norms, which is to say that according to their assumptions the entire life of a Christian person should be governed by biblical teachings, from fundamental determinations of basic values – for example, pacifism – to matters of family relationships, clothing choice and economic decision making. In this view there were, and could be, no *adiaphora*. (We should recognise that this position is fictive and depends on a very selective understanding of social and political reality – many of the Anabaptists' practices did in fact have extra-biblical sources – but the explicit ideological claim for a singular and wholly biblical polity is what is significant for our purposes here.) This is what Ralph Keen has called an 'Exclusively Biblical' conception of political order and its provenance, and it stands in sharp contrast to the conceptions of order typically associated with magisterial Protestantism (which he calls 'Inclusively Biblical') and early modern Catholicism ('Inclusively Ecclesial').[22] Here, the Bible is treated both as a unified, integrated whole and as the sole source for this-worldly legitimacy. The political ramifications of this perspective are far-reaching.

Claims to the contrary notwithstanding, early modern people frequently found that the 'clear word' of Scripture required human clarification. The claims made by the Anabaptists about the Bible's political meaning required them to adopt a distinctive and fairly novel perspective regarding the practice of exegesis. Traditionally, in medieval Christianity, biblical exegesis was an esoteric discipline, practised by a small cadre of professionalised, university-trained clergy. Anabaptists, conversely, recoiled at the notion of creating anything that smacked of a new priesthood. Thus, rather than establish a specialist class of expert interpreters, they defended instead the claim that the Bible was essentially self-interpreting. The only tools a Christian needed to read and understand Scripture correctly were a pious disposition and innate human reason.

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[22] Ralph Keen, *Divine and Human Authority in Reformation Thought: German Theologians on Political Order* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1997), esp. pp. 89–112.

Henning Graf Reventlow has shown that this emphasis on the Bible's true clarity and simplicity – or, put another way, the claim that natural, unaided human reason is ideally suited to understand the revealed Word of God as it appears in Scripture – is the point at which several distinct early modern discourses on the Bible dramatically converge.[23] Biblicist forms of Anabaptism, with their covenant-focused piety and their typically strict literalism and rigorism, intersect here with early deist thought, with its muscular and confident rationalism. The deists held that the essence of revelation consisted in pure and general truths amenable to discernment by the human mind.[24] To compel the belief and assent of a reasonable person, genuine revelation should require no extraordinary appeal to external authority, whether institutional, historical or textual. The Anabaptists' refusal to permit the establishment of any class of privileged religious experts meant that they too insisted on an understanding of the Bible that laid it open to ordinary readers.

At the same time, the Reformation period saw the emergence of a new generation of religious individualists, whose work was coloured in part by the legacy of the northern European mysticism of the high and late Middle Ages. Modern writers have typically referred to them as 'spiritualists', although they do not constitute an organised group as such and showed a great deal of diversity. Many were affiliated with one or another Anabaptist commmunity, but their ideas do not entirely fit the typical Anabaptist emphasis on separateness and rigour. This category includes such figures as Caspar Schwenkfeld, Sebastian Franck, Pilgram Marpeck and others. The most distinctive feature of their thought was a deep ambivalence, or even hostility, towards those aspects of religious practice that they considered 'externals'. Under 'externals' were classed, *inter alia*, some or all of the traditional ritual observances of the Christian church. These they frequently derided as 'ceremonies', a term which was often given a strong negative connotation by the use of phrases such as 'mere ceremonies'.[25] This dismissive attitude towards the visible, tangible and (as they argued) superficial elements of religious life brought with it, by implication, the conviction that what really mattered for the Christian were the interior, invisible and ineffable qualities of the soul. This conviction, combined with the claim that their version of Christianity represented the

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[23] Henning Graf Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* (London: SCM, 1984). The following paragraphs are indebted to Reventlow's analysis.

[24] Ibid., pp. 289–335.

[25] Sebastian Franck's 1534 *Paradoxa* is perhaps the most dramatic example of this line of thought: Sebastian Franck, *Paradoxa*, 2nd edn. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995). See Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible*, pp. 54–63.

tradition's truest and most authentic form, implicated the spiritualists in a wide-ranging hermeneutical enterprise, as we also saw in our brief discussions of Anabaptist and deist ideas. Since God's will and word were primarily conveyed to human beings by way of formal practices, literal texts and visible, tangible things, spiritualists had to show that these practices, texts and objects were merely a superficial representation – an earthly shadow – of divine revelation in its true, spiritual form. Even such ancient ritual touchstones of the faith as baptism and the Eucharist, in some instances, were presented by spiritualist thinkers as external, ceremonial conventions – mere pedagogical devices – which mature and sincere Christians ultimately could dispense with. Such divinely instituted traditions as baptism and the Eucharist did not have intrinsic value in themselves, but rather, they served as signposts pointing beyond themselves to an invisible, spiritual, even mystical reality.

This key theme of spiritualist thought, the dichotomous differentiation of religious practice and thought into the categories of exterior forms and invisible, inwardly experienced truths, had implications for their understanding of Scripture as well. These implications – like those we have previously treated – in turn had political ramifications. In essence, the spiritualist position regarding Scripture was akin to an extreme version of the distinction between 'spirit' and 'letter', which posits an inherent duality between the literal sense of the text and the profound underlying meaning. The literal sense, with all its time-bound and culture-specific particularity, is broadly accessible to readers, but it is superficial in nature and fails to encompass the real truths hidden beneath the outer surface of the text. The spiritual sense, on the other hand, is concealed. In the hands of a wise and discerning reader, however, the text can be coaxed to yield up its real fruit: a timeless, unchanging and universally compelling message.

Anabaptists, deists and spiritualists held widely varying views of the relevance of Scripture to political life, but those views were founded on a similar conceptual framework. For each of them the Bible's meaning is dualistic in nature. Seen without discernment, its message is external, contingent, historical or literal, and thus it is superficial, limited, confusing and partial. Seen in the light of reason or contemplative illumination, however, its authentic, underlying truth emerges, which is spiritual, eternal and absolute. All three groups reflect an understanding of the sources of authoritative knowledge that elevates and privileges the power of individual reason; defends individual Christians' right (or, indeed, even obligation) to read, understand and interpret Scripture on their own; and thus paves the way for a natural law-centred view of political life.

## Scripture and the secular state: Luther on the Turks

Luther's *Heerpredigt wider die Türken* (Military sermon against the Turks) illustrates the complex intersections between these dynamics.[26] The *Heerpredigt* has always been recognised as significant for the way it expressly rules out any understanding of war against the Turks as a crusade, whether explicit or implied. Luther's argument is closely connected with his Two Kingdoms doctrine, which posits an unbridgeable separation between spiritual and secular forms of authority. According to this teaching, the concept of a Christian polity is inherently self-contradictory, and any attempt to actualise it must be not merely chimerical but potentially idolatrous. This puts Luther at odds with the imperial vision of the House of Habsburg, in which Charles V took on the role of apocalyptic world emperor whose ascendency foreshadowed the universal rule of the glorified Christ. Luther's emphasis on human sinfulness, and on the irreconcilable gap between the spiritual and natural, meant that Charles's pretentions to universal sacral kingship were not only false but incoherent. Luther's position also required the rejection of any claim by Charles, or anyone else, to act as *defensor fidei* against the invading Muslim army. In the *Heerpredigt* Luther argued that the Ottoman attacks did indeed represent great evil, but that legitimate resistance meant protecting people, territory and sovereign right, not fighting on behalf of Christendom, the Church or Christ. This did not diminish the war's importance in Luther's mind. Rather, this claim illustrates the autonomous importance, for Luther, of what modern people would call a 'secular' realm. Participation in a war of defence against the Turks would, in Luther's view, represent an absolute obligation. Its aim would be secular, not spiritual, but it was no less crucial for that.

This stance also excluded the Anabaptist vision of communal life based solely on biblical norms. Just as a 'Christian kingdom' was a contradiction in terms, for Luther, the attempt to raise up a fellowship of saints out of the everyday community of fallen human beings rested on an impossible and dangerous dream. The Bible could not be taken, *tout court*, as a charter for everyday life. In this sense, the *Heerpredigt* emphasises the modern qualities of Luther's Two Kingdoms doctrine, in particular its explicit separation of political, social and legal norms from the Bible. This foreshadows the rising power of the secular, territorial state, which possessed its authority independent of any ecclesiastical or scriptural justification and which would be permanently

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[26] *WA*, vol. xxx/2, pp. 160–97.

enshrined in the Treaty of Westphalia a century later. Christendom, in the traditional sense, is in Luther's view a mirage.

On the other hand, it would be a mistake to think that the *Heerpredigt* reveals a vision of the political and social life of the Christian from which supernatural, and especially biblical, concerns have been purged. On the contrary, much of the sermon focuses on the apocalyptic significance of the Turkish threat. Luther begins this discussion by explicating the place of the Ottoman Empire in the framework of Daniel's prophetic dream of the four beasts (Daniel 7). According to a reading of Daniel that would have been widely familiar to sixteenth-century readers, the dream foretold four great world empires before the apocalypse, namely Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome. Rome, the fourth, was already present and visibly in decline. It follows, Luther asserts, that God will not permit the establishment of a Turkish empire in Europe. In his reading, Daniel foretells the Turkish threat in the nightmarish image of the single small horn that emerges from the head of the fourth and final creature, with 'eyes like human eyes ... and a mouth speaking arrogantly' (Daniel 7:8). This horn possesses great destructive power, but is ultimately brought low by the judgement of the Ancient of Days. Accordingly, Luther reassures his audience that the Turks' power will ultimately prove to be limited in both extent and duration.[27] Rather than fearing the Turkish armies, Christians should view the suffering and loss they bring as heralding the imminent approach of the Last Judgement. Luther places special emphasis on Daniel 7:21 ('and I saw the horn do battle with the holy ones, and it was victorious over them'). The message of this passage, he says, is ultimately one of encouragement and consolation: all who struggle against the Turkish invaders – Daniel's final prophesied horn – must by implication be 'holy ones' (*heiligen*, or saints).[28]

In the *Heerpredigt* Luther seems to reject explicitly some ways of connecting the Bible to politics, while simultaneously accepting others. On the one hand, as we saw, he rejects any possibility of a biblical polity as inherently contradictory and hence meaningless. By implication, any attempt to justify a political course of action by appealing to putatively biblical norms became potentially deeply problematic. Luther and his allies found it both reasonable and virtuous that individual rulers adopt biblical maxims as guides to action, or that they rely upon biblical exempla as models for emulation, but they did not expect such leaders to build a Christian state governed by biblical principles. To do so would be to confuse the two kingdoms. A Christian ruler would be a

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[27] Ibid., pp. 166 f.
[28] Ibid., pp. 161, 164 f.

just, wise and effective prince, but he would still be a fallen, imperfect human being. Any pretence of invoking biblical authority to banish the effects of sin would ultimately lead to a catastrophic, idolatrous legalism. In the event, when radicals claimed the authority of Scripture to justify radical alterations in the social order – for example, in the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster, or in the dreams of 1525's rebel preachers – Luther, and thinkers who followed his lead, unleashed some of their most thunderous and violent condemnations. This pattern is borne out in the *Heerpredigt* as well. No one should flatter himself, he argues, that he bears the banner of Christendom in resisting the Turk. Christendom is not, and can never be, a kingdom of this world.

On the other hand, the relevance of the Bible to political life is strongly reaffirmed in other aspects of the *Heerpredigt*. Luther, steeped in the biblical apocalypticism of his age, saw contemporary events as a direct reflection of prophecy, as a revelation of the divine will previously given in Scripture. Every Christian could draw strength from the knowledge that God's plan for his faithful, disclosed in the text of the Bible, could never be contravened by any power, worldly or spiritual. The drama of empire – kingdom pitted against kingdom, the rise and fall of great houses – had been scripted in advance by God, and thus its outcome need not be a source of concern to Christian believers. This, we should note, is not the same as the idea that biblical prophecy granted believers the ability to predict world events with any certainty. Rather, Luther believed, God had supplied Christians with sufficient information in the Bible that it could serve in troubled times as a source of confidence and strength and as a guide to true faith, despite temptations and hardships. For Luther the assertion of the future limits of Turkish domination did not represent the esoteric manipulation of biblical evidence for mere prognostication. Rather, it sprang from the Bible's power as a channel of divine mercy, God's promise of comfort and succor to Christians struggling in the face of danger. It was a message of grace addressed to individual believers.

This stance closely follows the classic contours of Lutheran theology. Strict dualities – law versus promise, flesh versus spirit, divine power versus human weakness, justification versus sin – provide the governing framework within which the *Heerpredigt* articulates its claims and exhortations. Although the Bible, in Luther's understanding, could be seen as an infinitely precious treasury of divine wisdom, relevant to all areas of a Christian's life, its fundamental and most important value to believers lay in the gospel promise of mercy and salvation. To attempt to legislate from the Bible, as the Anabaptists claimed to do, was to misread its central significance. This did not mean that the gospel was powerless in the political realm. On the contrary, it bore an important

political message, emphasising – for example – the absolute obligation of all subjects to submit to legitimate rulers. This obligation held even if those rulers acted unjustly or tyrannically. Believers must endure temporary injustice in the political realm but could rest secure in the knowledge that true justice would one day come, and it would prove inexorable, perfect and devastating. Similarly, the intractability of human fallenness, which was manifest in every endeavour, meant that no ruler or regime could ever be legitimately presented to the world as God's earthly representative – hence, no crusade could ever take place in a Lutheran state. In other words, the irrelevance of the Bible to one aspect of political action was a direct consequence of its teaching in another area.

## Fragmentation or consolidation

The examples given here show the emergence, during the early modern period, of a new level of complexity and reflexivity among political interpreters of the Bible. Implicit – and sometimes explicit – acknowledgements of the ambiguous and contested nature of biblical truths are ubiquitous, from Erasmus's pragmatic tolerance for 'error' and Machiavelli's tongue-in-cheek reluctance to 'reason about Moses', to Luther's delineation of appropriate applications of Scripture to contemporary events. Distinctions between the senses of Scripture were hardly novel, but early modern interpreters gave them a new and often more polarising meaning. Rather than finding a diversity of hidden, esoteric truths, as medieval interpreters tended to do, these thinkers sought to identify, demarcate and extract a single fundamental message they could be apply to contemporary life in specific and limited ways.

# The problem of 'spiritual discipline': Apocryphal books among sixteenth-century leaders of the Lutheran churches

SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN

The affirmation that *by Scripture alone* (*sola scriptura*) one could gain access to all the truth that God desired to reveal to humanity made Martin Luther the more scrupulous in defining the canon of sacred texts upon which to base this foundational principle. As soon as he began translating the Old Testament he consigned the contents of the Catholic Apocrypha to a status more clearly separate from the pure Word of God than it had occupied in the eyes of Holy Mother Church – which from ancient times had itself recognised the lesser legitimacy of the books that made it up.[1] The reformer nonetheless regarded these books – Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, Tobias (Tobit), Jesus Sirach[2] (Ecclesiasticus), Baruch, First and Second Maccabees, Esther and Susanna (Daniel and Susanna) – as worthy of respect. He included them in his complete German Bible and composed introductions to some of them.[3] In the complete Bible of 1534 the Apocrypha appeared as an independently paginated section entitled 'Apocrypha. Das sind Bücher, so nicht der heiligen Schrifft gleich gehalten, vnd doch nützlich vnd gut zu lesen sind'.[4] Other full and partial editions followed from presses in the German-speaking world, in both high and low linguistic forms.[5]

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[1] Saint Jerome referred to books that 'non sunt in Canone' (J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus, series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris: Garnieri, 1844–1891), vol. XXVIII, cols. 600–2 and 1307–8).

[2] Early modern men invariably spelled the name Syrach. Today it is spelled with an i, Sirach. I have used the former spelling when quoting and the latter, modern spelling when speaking for myself.

[3] For a history both of the books' publication individually and their inclusion in the *Luther Bibel* see *WADB*, vol. XII, 'Entstehungsgeschichte und Abhängigkeitsverhältnis der einzelnen Drucke', pp. xv–lxi.

[4] Ibid., p. lix.

[5] Ibid., p. lxi, nn. 137–8.

Within the ambit of Huldrych Zwingli, Leo Jud (1482–1542) saw to press his first translation of the entire Apocrypha in 1529.[6] The title was initially simply descriptive, but the Strasbourg edition of the following year contained an additional valuation of the content: *Apochrypha: Biblical Books that, Although the Ancients Did Not Count Them as Scripture, Are Nevertheless Worthy, Useful, and in Frequent Use.*[7] Whether in Wittenberg or Zurich, the founding divines regarded the exhortations of certain apocryphal books in particular as essential to the cultivation of devotion and ethical behaviour. The one to which they referred most often is Ecclesiasticus, Jesus Sirach.[8] The *vd* 16 lists, under *Biblia*, thirty-seven Latin and Latin-and-Hebrew editions and eighty-seven High and Low German editions, far more than the publications of all the other apocryphal books taken together.[9] Church leaders recommended it to Latinate men at the higher end of the social spectrum,[10] and they included it in vernacular translation in their advice to those hoped-for domestic 'priests', the heads of households; to pastors as a topic for preaching; and to schoolmasters and -mistresses for the inculcation of boys of a young age and girls of any age. Luther's introduction reveals the broad scope of its applicability to his mind:

It is a useful book for the common man, for its whole purpose is to make a citizen or father of the family god-fearing, pious and sensible, and to teach him how he ought to behave toward God, God's word, priests, parents, wife, children, his own body, his property, servants, neighbors, friends, those in

6 *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1969; repr. [1881]), vol. XIV, pp. 651–4; Leo Weiß, *Leo Jud: Ulrich Zwinglis Kampfgenosse, 1482–1542* (Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1942).

7 The first, Zurich, edition (1529) is entitled *Diss sind die bücher, die by den alten vnder Biblische gschrifft nit gezelt seind, ovch by den Ebreern nit gefunden...* (Zurich: Froschouer, 1529). The 1530 title, translated above, reads in German *Apocryphi: Biblische Bücher, so wiewol bey den Alten vnder, Biblischer Schrifft nit gezelt, yedoch bewerdt, nutzlich, vnd in hohem brauch...* (Strasbourg: Knobloch, 1530).

8 In early German Bibles the title of this chapter, 'Geistliche Zucht', was given as the summation of the book of Ecclesiasticus or Jesus Sirach: see e.g. *Biblia germanica* (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1475) and *Diß durchleuchtigist werck der gantzen heyligen geschrifft. genant dy bibel ...* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1483).

9 *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich) and Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel), vol. XII (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1984), pp. 579–600 [elsewhere *vd16*]. Such tabulation does not take into account the many published volumes of sermons, commentaries, anthologies and plays that draw on one or more of the apocryphal books as their subjects.

10 An example of an edition directed at Latin readers is Lucas Osiander (ed. and trans.), *IVDITH, Liber Sapientiae, Tobias, Ecclesiasticvs, Barvch ...* (Tübingen: Georg Gruppenbach, 1586). Osiander (1534–1604) was the son of Andreas Osiander and brother-in-law of Jakob Andreae.

authority, and everybody else. One could well call it a book about household discipline, or about the virtues of a pious head of household, in other words, about what is and should be called proper spiritual discipline [*geistliche Zucht*].[11]

Those in authority at home and school were to adopt it as a personal model and convey its principles to those in their charge, in a format that was consonant with their charges' intellectual capacity. Thus, little girls and boys were to memorise verses (*Sprüche*) from it. They also memorised verses from many other parts of the Bible, but the book of Jesus Sirach was, strictly speaking, no longer scriptural. The Wurttemberg School ordinance (a part of the larger ecclesiastical ordinance) of 1559 specified:

> And because above all else children should be brought up in the fear of God, so we hereby also desire that the schoolmasters allow no child to use any annoying, shameful, sectarian books or otherwise useless fables [and] writings in their learning; but to be alert that if printed books are being employed, these be Christian little books, such as the *Tafel* [tables], in which [are contained] the catechism, the Book of Psalms, the sayings of Solomon [*Spruchbüchlin Salomonis*[12]] and Jesus Syrach, the New Testament, and the like.[13]

The Breslau ordinance of 1570 for the boys' school prescribed 'the Latin Gospel every week, and catechism, selected moral opinions from Solomon, Syrach, and others'.[14] The great electoral Saxon ecclesiastical ordinance of 1580 declared, apropos of boys' schools within its boundaries:

> In Christian schools, chiefly three things are accomplished: the first is the fear of God and genuine faith and religion; the second is outward decorum; the third is that the boys are turned into learned and rational people... In accordance with this ... [A list of categories of literature follows.] In addition, the Psalms of David, the sayings of Solomon,[15] the sayings from the Book of Jesus Syrach.[16]

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[11] *WA DB*, vol. xii, p. 146.

[12] This title I take to refer to the canonical book of Proverbs and not to the apocryphal *Sapientia Salomonis*. According to the vd16 the former underwent ninety-six printings as a separate book during the sixteenth century (in Latin, Hebrew and the vernacular), whereas the latter was much less in demand, being printed twenty-seven times to our knowledge. Twenty-seven editions is no small number, and I cannot guarantee, because the wording is vague in all contexts, that only the book of Proverbs is meant.

[13] Reinhold Vormbaum (ed. and comp.), *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1860), p. 160.

[14] Ibid., p. 193.

[15] See n. 13.

[16] Ibid., p. 275.

The curricula for Stralsund (1561),[17] Brandenburg (1564)[18] and Walkenried (1570)[19] likewise all draw attention to Sirach. The Stralsund ordinance describes how the learning shall proceed: 'The German teacher shall write a German sentence from the sayings of Solomon or Jesus Syrach on the board, which the boys should immediately transcribe and learn by heart and recite [from memory] on the following day after 7:00.'[20]

The well-known educator, physician and scientist Michael Neander (1529–81), professor of medicine at the University of Jena, recommended the use of the Psalms, the Proverbs and verses from Jesus Sirach. He explained the motivation behind such memorisation: 'Once he [a boy] had committed [such excerpts] to memory and through frequent recitation made them known to himself, he would afterward retain and never forget them, throughout his life.'[21]

The seven-volume compilation by Karl Pallas of the Saxon parish visiting protocols contains references to Sirach by name chiefly in the 1672 visits. Surrounding circumstances explain the late date. Undoubtedly, it was earlier taken for granted that this text would be central to the grammar-school and catechetical course of study for both girls and boys, but the visitors were less detailed in their ordinances. They had, they thought, more pressing needs to address, such as basic economic provision for church and school personnel and moral rectification of clergy and laity alike.[22]

Girls' curricula were shorter, exclusively in the mother tongue and less complex. Their purpose was, as with the boys, to edify and guide, using texts of high moral tone when teaching the basics of letters and numbers. Among such texts were a range of Bible verses, prayers, Luther's Shorter Catechism, the lyrics of hymns and selections from Jesus Sirach. The girls thus acquired the elementary skills they and their parents sought while simultaneously imbibing the religious and moral standards that were supposed to mould their future lives.

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[17] Ibid., p. 480.
[18] Ibid., p. 527.
[19] Ibid., p. 549.
[20] Ibid., p. 480.
[21] Michael Neander, *Bedenken, An einen guten Herrn vnd Freund: Wie ein Knabe zu leiten, vnd zu vnterweisen . . .*, 4th edn. (Eisleben: Urban Gubis, 1582); reprinted in Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen*, pp. 746–65, here at pp. 751–2. The Herzog August Bibliothek holds an edition of 1581. The *VD16* does not show this title either under Neander or Neumann.
[22] Karl Pallas (ed. and comp.), *Die Registraturen der Kirchenvisitationen im ehemals sächsischen Kurkreise*, 7 vols. (beginning with an unnumbered introductory volume) (Halle: Otto Hendel, 1906–18), vols. I–VI, *passim*.

A salient example of bringing the book of Jesus Sirach into the female class-room is the work of schoolmistress Magdalena Heymair (*c.* 1545–*c.* 1590) in Regensburg.[23] Her regular ties to Bohemia help to explain her admiration for hymnist and educator in Joachimsthal, Nikolaus Hermann (*c.* 1480–1561). She subscribed to the theory that both rhyming and singing would assist her pupils to absorb the adages that they required to carry essential norms with them through life. She rendered both Jesus Sirach[24] and the Book of Tobias[25] into lyrics. In his preface to the 1578 edition of her Sirach, Regensburg pastor Josua Opitius (*c.* 1542–85) set forth his own outlook:

> Now this little book, Jesus Syrach, is also God's Word, and brought together out of that same Word, and holds before us much useful and healthful teach-ing, especially having to do with maintaining a household. For in it are to be found husband and wife, parents and children, masters and servants, mis-tresses and maids, etc. Each one finds his own reading within it, so that it could properly be called a mirror of the household.[26]

But he thinks that the book has special relevance for women and girls.

> Women and girls here have a mirror into which they should look and perceive that they ought diligently to allow God's Word to be dear and valuable to them, gladly hear, read, sing, and tell about it, to the end that they too attain heavenly wisdom and may be found among the numbers of those women who are elect.

This is more suited to them, he says, than their temporal happiness, pleasure, arrogance, idleness and other unchristian things.[27]

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[23] The first biographical treatment of Heymair was Lotte Traeger, 'Das Frauenschrifttum in Deutschland von 1500–1650', Ph.D. thesis, University of Prague, 1943, pp. 45–51, and addendum 5–6. A more informative one is Cornelia Niekus Moore, 'Biblische Weisheiten für die Jugend: Die Schulmeisterin Magdalena Heymair', in Gisela Brinker-Gabler (ed.), *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen: Vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1988), pp. 172–84; and a bibliography of Heymair's works and editions, pp. 485–6. Moore's detective work turns up the fact that Heymair (and, during his life, her school-master husband) was compelled to move about, but ended up as in-house tutor to the daughter of Bohemian nobility. This was a notable step up from her station of origin.

[24] First edition 1571, followed by seven others, the last in 1609 (ibid., pp. 485–6). The first edition is entitled *Das Büchlein Jesu Syrach in Gesange verfasset vnd der lieben Jugendt zu gutem in Truck gegeben durch Magdalena Heymairin, Teutsche Schulmeisterin zu Regenspurg . . .* (Regensburg: Hans Burger, 1571).

[25] First edition 1586; second and final one 1586 (Brinker-Gabler (ed.), *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen*, p. 486). The first edition is entited *Das Buch Tobiae samt etlichen vnd 50 geistli-chen Liedern vnd Kindergesprächen, wozu noch viele Weynacht = Oster = vnd Pfingstgesänge zu rechnen . . .* (listed in Traeger, 'Frauenschrifttum', Addendum, p. 5).

[26] *Das Büchlein Jesu Syrachs in Gesangweiß verfast . . .*, ed. and expanded by Gregorius Sunderreutter ('preacher at St George in Augsburg') (n.p.: n.p., 1578), A iiiiʳ.

[27] Ibid., A iiiiᵛ.

Heymair herself gives no evidence of dissenting from the masculine valu-
ations of her day. She works her way through most of Sirach with a plenti-
ful supply of rhymes. She assigns each major segment, whether chapter or
thought, its own tune, one already known to the girls in her schoolroom.
Chapter 2, verse 2, is to be sung to the melody of 'A Mighty Fortress is our
God'. Its content may be rendered in English:

> Be firm and strong in His Word
> Unfrightened in the faith
> If someone would lure you from the Lord
> With slander, lies, and murder.
> For God's promise is the truth:
> He fortifies in distress and danger
> And against the Devil's cunning.[28]

As is well known, for all the wisdom that the book of Jesus Sirach contains
that may still bear scrutiny today, some of its sentiments depart radically
from modern Western conviction. In particular, parts of chapters 25, 26 and
42 seem to the modern mind acutely misogynistic. The authors of *Malleus
maleficarum* dug deeply into Sirach in amassing their vilifications of women.[29]
Magdalena Heymair takes a middle position in her versification of Sirach. She
renders the venomous parts of chapter 25 for her girls' edification:

> Nothing on earth is as dangerous
> As the cunning of an evil woman,
> As Syrach here writes down.
> Her wrath is beyond all measure.
> No God-fearing person would indulge in it.
>
> A pious and God-fearing man
> Would rather have a lion around him
> And pass his time with it

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[28] Ibid., вii (verso). In German:

> Seyt vest vnnd starck in seinem wort,
> Im Glauben vnerschrocken:
> Wann man durch schmach, lugen vnd mordt,
> Will euch vom Herren locken,
> Dann sein verhaissung die ist war,
> Er stärcket in not vnd gefahr,
> Vnnd vor des Teufels Lüsten.

[29] 'The Hammer of Witches' (abridged), in Alan C. Kors and Edward Peters (eds.), *Witchcraft
in Europe, 1100–1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania
Press, 1972), pp. 105–89, on this point pp. 117, 120, 121.

> Than spend the days of his life
> In discord with such a wife.[30]

In fact, however, she leaves the snake of verse 16 out: 'I would sooner share a home with a lion or a snake than keep house with a spiteful wife'.[31] She omits, 'Woman is the origin of sin, and it is through her that we all die'.[32] Likewise, she neglects the vituperation of chapter 42:13–14: 'For out of clothes comes the moth, and out of woman comes women's wickedness. Better a man's wickedness than a woman's goodness; it is woman who brings shame and disgrace.' We may thus see in Heymair a moderate teacher by the prevailing standard of her day. She accepted that standard – even though, by her writing and publishing, she violated it – namely, that females' duty was to be subordinate and obedient to men; but in practice, in her classrooms, she ignored the worst ideological castigations of her gender. She juxtaposes the bad woman and the good in presenting parts of chapter 26:

> Should your daughter not wish to be modest
> But practises insolence,
> Take firm measures and hold her hard;
> Make her remain pious.
> If you don't, she will bring shame upon you,
> Believe you me!
> Everyone will shun you.
>
> How lovely is a friendly woman
> Who remains silent.
> That one who practises understanding
> refreshes a man's heart in his body.
> There is nothing better upon this earth.
> The man to whom God has granted a modest wife
> Has an adornment above all others.
> She shines with sun-like clarity.
> Truly, her jewels are chastity and shame;
> This pleases God well.[33]

The total impression that Heymair leaves is one of acceptance of women's lower station and role and yet a rejection of the most extreme denigration, including that found in holy books.

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[30] Heymair, *Das Büchlein Jesu Syrachs* (1578), Giiii^r.
[31] Sirach 25: 16, *The New English Bible with the Apocrypha* (Oxford and Cambridge: Oxford University Press/Cambridge University Press, 1970).
[32] Ibid., 25:24.
[33] Heymair, *Das Büchlein Jesu Syrachs* (1578), Gv^r.

A number of prominent Lutheran divines both preached on apocryphal books and subsequently permitted their sermons or commentaries to be published. Among these is Caspar Huberinus (1500–53), pastor in Augsburg and Oehringen, who from his early maturity proved a prolific writer of devotional treatises, often reprinted and directed toward the educated laity. Among the most popular was his *Spiegel der Haußucht: Jesus Syrach genandt*, which first appeared in 1553.[34] In his introduction (dated 1552) Huberinus observes that he had preached on Sirach at his midday and also his Sunday sermons 'for a time'.[35] He praises Sirach as the instructor of all God-fearing *Hausvätter* in 'how above all things he [*sic*][36] should seek heavenly, godly wisdom'.

Huberinus gives the text on which he will comment; his excursus is usually many times the length of the citation. Thus, this book is not chiefly an edition of Sirach. It extensively reveals the pastor's own views. In his remarks on chapter 1, he emphasises God's special favours to his elect. By means of the Holy Spirit, he confers special wisdom upon them. He notes that women, too, are among those elect; and he names individually 'Hanna, Jael, Judith, Hester, Susanna, Elisabeth, and the Virgin Mary'.[37] A recurrent theme in this divine's gloss is that Christians must remain in the station to which they have been assigned. This is a fundamental rule for living, he thinks.[38] Despite his theological subscription to the doctrine of divine election, within the text Huberinus declares that God will not permit any sin to go unpunished, and the penalties could well be collective ones, visited upon the entire community: 'inflation, pestilence, epidemic, syphilis, the English sweating sickness, war, robbery, plunder, etc.'.[39]

A remarkable feature of Huberinus's handbook is a lengthy, intense admonition (inspired by Sirach 4:30) to husbands not to beat their wives. The so-called house-father literature varies on this point, but not even the authors who are most disposed towards the well-being of women go on as vociferously in their condemnation of violence between spouses, and specifically by the husband against the wife.

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[34] The rest of the title of the 1565 edition that I used is *Sampt einer Kurtzen Außlegung Für die armen Haußuäter, vnd jr Gesinde, wie sie ein Gottselig leben, gegen menigklich sollen erzeygen* (Nuremberg: Vlrich Newber and Johann vom Bergs Erben, 1565). The Herzog August Bibliothek alone possesses seven editions stretching from 1553 to 1588.

[35] Ibid., fol. A ii$^{r-v}$.

[36] Ibid., fol. A v$^v$.

[37] Ibid., fol. B b$^v$.

[38] Among others, see ibid., fols. F i$^v$–F iiii$^v$, Z ii$^r$.

[39] Ibid., fol. J v$^v$.

> It often occurs, and daily experience verifies, that especially the young, unseasoned [*vngenieten*] husbands treat their wives in a very hard manner and tyrannise them such that a Turk or a heathen is friendlier, more moderate, and more decent towards his wife... Housefathers should not think that they have the right and power to behave towards their wives as they like, to deal with them according to their crazy frame of mind. Sometimes on account of a slight word or simple matter, they begin such a cursing and rowing; they throw things, push, strike, pull out hair, and grow sullen – just as though they were ravening wolves, bears and lions. They might cause a simple woman to be filled with horror and withdrawn. Such men want to be bullies towards their own wives. If one louse should crawl over the liver, they gasp, rant and rage against the innocent wife. They pour all their anger out upon the wife.[40]

Men should ever 'look through their fingers' at the misdeed of their wives, tolerate them, and help them to improve. They should pay more attention to their wives' virtues than to their bad habits and transgressions, 'even if the latter are more than the former'.[41] But the husband is head of the household. He should never let his spouse dominate him – or be a *Siemann*, a 'she-man', as early modern Germans put it.[42] He enjoins moderation in all physical punishment within the household, including of children and servants.[43] Curiously, in his remarks on chapter 22 he draws on a coarse, vulgar bit of popular stereotype, the image of the many-skinned female, in decrying the evil woman once again:

> Her husband may beat her as he will, but he will encounter either the skin of a goose – and she will do nothing but honk – or the skin of a dog – and she barks – or the skin of a bear – and she growls – or the skin of a cat – and she scratches – or the skin of a horse – and she kicks. And evil, wild, ill-mannered woman is just such an untamed, wild animal.[44]

In sum, however, Huberinus is moderate in his application of the 'wise man's' worst vituperation to the women of his day. In explaining Sirach's harsh chapter 42, verses 13–14 ('Better a man's wickedness than a woman's goodness; it is woman who brings shame and disgrace'), he insists that not all women stand condemned. Rather, Sirach refers here exclusively to evil women.[45]

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[40] Ibid., fol. Hiiii[r–v].
[41] Ibid., fol. Miiii[v].
[42] Ibid., fols. Ov[v]–Ovi[r].
[43] Ibid., fol. Hiiii–Hv[r–v].
[44] Ibid., fol. EEv[v].
[45] Ibid., fol. Zziiii[v].

Huberinus includes chapters on many other ethical issues: honouring one's parents, gossiping, lending money to others, poverty and hunger, drunkenness, dreaming, begging, dying. The list could be as long as all the topics that Jesus son of Sirach himself takes up. For this preacher, as for most of his counterparts in pulpits throughout Lutheran Germany, *ethical* is probably too detached a concept for behavioural recommendations that he sees as binding on all Christian people. He would doubtless prefer the designation of this work as a Christian *moral* handbook.

A direct contemporary of Huberinus and like him an incessant producer of edifying tracts, the Saxon pastor in Joachimsthal, Bohemia, Johannes Mathesius (1504–65) saved his homilies on Sirach and wrote an introduction for them.[46] Twenty-five years after his death, his son's father-in-law Georg Lythenius, court preacher to Elector Christian, saw them to press.[47] In his own preface Mathesius writes of Sirach's particular suitability for girls.

> My dearest little children [his parishioners, especially those in attendance at his catechism sermons], because we have finished and completed the catechism, we want from now on to explain and lay out for you the very lovely handbook of the dear wise man, Syrach. [We shall do it] for the sake of [all] you children, but above all for the little girls [*Jungfräulein*] in the school, for whom it is prescribed that you read in it and learn ... And the parents and the girls' schoolmistress should keep their children and little pupils at this and admonish them ... to pay attention to these sermons and this handbook of the wise man, Syrach.[48]

Mathesius is self-conscious in dealing with those highly charged sections of the book of Jesus Sirach that condemn many if not most women: chapters 24, 26 and 42. Mathesius regards himself as a promoter of women: 'We don't refer here to any honourable woman and maiden – yes, they have all been pardoned – and if God will, we desire to have spent our lifetime in the praise of

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[46] On his life see Karl Friedrich Ledderhose, *Das Leben des M. Johann Mathesius* (Heidelberg: Universitäts-Buchhandlung von Karl Winter, 1849); Georg Loesche, *Johannes Mathesius, ein Lebens- und Sitten-Bild aus der Reformationszeit*, 2 vols. (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1895), vol. 1, pp. 1–258. Loesche asserts that Mathesius did not actually preach these (vol. 1, pp. 468–9), but the clergyman's preface suggests against this. In addition, pastors and preachers were expected to preach regularly, either on Sunday afternoons or during the week, usually on Wednesday, on the catechism and on other edifying devotional works. Also Karl Amelung, *M. Johannes Mathesius, ein lutherischer Pfarrherr des 16. Jahrhunderts: Sein Leben und Wirken* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1894).

[47] *Syrach Mathesij, Das ist, Christliche Lehrhaffte, Trostreiche vnd lustige Erklerung vnd Außlegung des schönen Haußbuchs, so der weyse Mann Syrach zusammen gebracht vnd geschrieben* (Leipzig: Johan Beyer, 1589).

[48] Ibid., part 1, p. 1.

women.'[49] When he makes this remark, he has been commenting on dwelling 'with lions and dragons' (*sic*) in the form of an evil woman. Yet the length and drama – the author's verbose and drawn-out description of the bad woman – somewhat contradicts his stated intention:

> Syrach is only speaking about those raging ones who are bound to the devil, who burn up with anger and snort like wild boars. They make a disturbance with their husbands such that their eyes gleam like those of cats and darken from anger like a coal-sack; they curse, rant and yap, grumble and snarl, growl and fuss like a bear, and toss and throw things around and makes angry gestures; they … slam the door so hard that the windowpanes spring out … and make such an outcry that it can be heard on the Schottenberg,[50] which could be used if one wanted to storm hell.

His vituperation is much longer than the passage cited. Several pages later he calms down and concludes that this very predilection is why a woman is given to her husband to be his helpmeet, remedy and joy. His is the authority, and hers is to create an atmosphere that makes possible his 'joy and delight, consolation and pleasure' in his wife and children.[51]

Mathesius devotes his entire eighth sermon on Sirach to chapter 25, verse 24: 'Woman is the origin of sin, and it is through her that we all die'. The preacher affirms this. Eve was, he says, the grandmother of all evil women. The devil's seduction transformed the lovely mother of humanity into the fount of darkness. After the Fall, Eve wears the mask of Satan, even though she and her husband are able to be saved because of their faith in Christ, their Mediator. All the daughters of Eve retain a nature that has been ruined by original sin. Sirach, Mathesius continues, intends to remind women of their despoiled nature so that they may learn to be God-fearing, 'arm themselves with the Holy Spirit, [and] battle against Satan'. He, Jesus Sirach, admonishes them to pray, to be obedient, and not to follow their inclination towards sensuousness.[52]

The author urges husbands to behave towards disobedient wives just as magistrates and schoolmasters must often wield the instruments of discipline. A bad woman must be broken of her will and course of action. Otherwise, she is like a river in flood that will destroy everything in its path. A woman whom the devil rides will injure herself and other people. But as he preaches his way to chapter 42, Mathesius insists once again that he does not mean to slander

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[49] Ibid., p. 168.
[50] A mountain and source of silver near Joachimsthal.
[51] Ibid., p. 171.
[52] Ibid., p. 172.

all womankind. Although indeed evil comes from women as the moth from clothing, much good does come from pious women.[53]

Much more in the way of godly ethics is to be found within Mathesius's commentary on the book of Jesus Sirach than simply guidance in keeping women and girls under control. The preacher takes up the topics in each chapter in turn – a Lutheran use (which was frequent) of *lectio continua* – whether about obeying those in authority or giving plentiful alms to people in need. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, leaders of the Lutheran churches regarded this apocryphal text as a major guide, for all segments of the population, to leading a Christian life in society. Especially via the media of sermon and book, Latinate boys and men, too, could be expected to absorb the 'wise man's' advice. Part of that advice, however, concerned their relations with women.

Even though Lutheran leaders envisioned and promoted a greater use of Jesus Sirach than any other apocryphal book, they regarded others, too, as useful. Andreas Schoppius (1544–1614), pastor in Erxleben, gave, preserved and published fifty sermons on the book of Tobit.[54] He envisioned their use to be similar to that made of Jesus Sirach.[55] In Tobias there are at least two godly men, the father Tobit and his only son Tobias. Both are held up as models for their responses to trying vicissitudes, although they are assisted in their worst trials by the archangel Raphael. The message that binds all their adventures together is reliance upon and fidelity towards God. Tobit the father had the temerity to bury a dead body that he found outside, and for this he is rendered dishonourable in the eyes of his extended family. Swallows drop guano in his eyes, and he becomes blind. He will later be cured by the application of a fish's gall. A minor Job, he never loses faith. His wife, Hanna, however, manifesting women's lesser capacity, complains bitterly and is tempted to keep a possibly stolen kid. She weeps with regret when her son Tobias sets out on a journey in accordance with Raphael's instructions. This son's greatest test lies in marrying Sara, daughter of his first cousin Raguel, whose seven previous husbands have died on their wedding night. Through the device of abstaining from sex

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[53] Ibid., pp. 53–4 (repaginated in the copy I used).
[54] According to the *VD16* Tobias was published as a separate book only fifteen times, exclusively in Latin or Latin and Hebrew.
[55] *Das Buch Tobias, In Funfftzig Predigten kurtz vnd richtig ausgelegt. Allen frommen Hausuetern, Christlichen Hausmüttern, Ehrliebenden jungen Gesellen, vnd Jungfrawen, zur Lere, Trost, vnd Warnung* . . . (Magdeburg: Paul Donat, 1581), reprinted in at least 1582 and 1604. Schoppius doesn't hold a candle to Balthasar Kerner (1582–1633), however, who gave a full year's worth (364) of sermons on the Book of Tobias: *Tobias, das ist Schrifftmässige Erklärung des Büchleins Tobiae: in 364. Predigten . . . abgehandelt . . . gehalten zu Ulm durch M. Balthasar Kerner* . . . (Ulm: Görlin, 1653).

during the first three nights and engaging in prayer,[56] as Raphael had coun-selled him, Tobias escapes his predecessors' fate. Schoppius says of the last episode that although it is not incumbent on the grooms and brides of his day to postpone consummation of the marriage until the fourth night, 'still, it is fine and praiseworthy when a person is able to compel his flesh. But it is not given to everyone to do that.'[57]

The parameters of this story are narrower than Sirach, yet the preacher finds in its niches plentiful opportunities for moral lessons for his congrega-tion and his readers. Among these are the difficulties that women may pose to men's pursuit of righteousness. Martin Luther summed up in his preface that the book of Tobit is a story but yet a *holy* story:

> For just like the Book of Judith, it shows how things often go miserably with a land and its people, and how tyrants initially rage and finally go shamefully to their ruination. Just so, Tobit shows how things go badly with a pious peas-ant or citizen, and how much suffering there is in the marital estate. But God always graciously helps, and the story ends with happiness. This is so that married people learn to have patience and bear all kinds of trials, have hope for the future, [and] gladly bear what they must with a proper fear of God and firm faith.[58]

Yet another means of conveying to the public the edifying contents of selected portions of the Apocrypha was dramatisation. In this era of competition for adherents among at least three emerging creeds, Catholic teachers – and in particular the Society of Jesus – excelled at exploiting the potential of the stage. Most often, however, Jesuit plays were put on in Latin and were pri-marily for the benefit, both intellectual and spiritual, of the students in their grammar schools. Lutheran pedagogues did likewise, but they often invited in the general public to witness a youthful production and benefit from it as they were entertained.[59] Swiss Protestants invented their own forms and venues.[60] Certainly, affiliates of all three faiths must have been aware of the appeal of the medieval Carnival and morality plays.

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[56] The story also describes Tobias driving the devil away with a fumigation made with part of a fish that he had caught while Raphael accompanied him: as such this text had been cited in the Middle Ages as evidence for the spiritual power of physical elements. Protestant writers tended not to follow this line.

[57] Schoppius, *Das Buch Tobias*, fol. 108ᵛ.

[58] *WA DB*, vol. xii, p. 108.

[59] Thomas Ivey Bacon, *Martin Luther and the Drama* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1976).

[60] Indispensable on Switzerland (Bern) is Glenn Ehrstine, *Theater, Culture and Community in Reformation Bern, 1523–1555*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

The very brief 'Story of Susanna', found among the apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel, lent itself well to entertainment, and also to impressing upon the people the desirability of chastity (embodied by Susanna) and the deplorable evil of lust (the two conniving seducers, Jewish elders).[61] This apocryphal tale, too, found its place in the edifying literature of the sixteenth (and seventeenth) century.[62] The story held more appeal for Lutheran educators than for Catholic, because it features not celibate chastity but marital loyalty. The main character is physically so beautiful that she innocently arouses the desire of two community elders, who conceal themselves in her garden while she bathes, and then try to persuade her to have sex with them.

Paul Rebhun (*c*. 1505–46) is one of those who composed a play about Susanna.[63] A teacher in Zwickau and Plauen and eventually elevated to the pastorate, Rebhun first composed the piece in Zwickau in 1536, for the benefit of his pupils there. His *Ein Geistlich spiel von der Gotfurchtigen vnd keuschen Frawen Susannen*[64] was performed before the general public in 1537, and enjoyed 'great acclaim'.[65] Rebhun explained in his foreword that his goal was to provide youth with 'an incentive to be God-fearing, honorable, virtuous, and pious', and to be of use to the city.[66] The boys performed this play in the German language, which shifted their teacher's stress from demonstrating their Latin prowess to the presentation of a story in which high moral values triumph. At one level, despite Susanna's distress, the audience may have been entertained as the boy playing the role of Ichaboth, one of the elders who demand sex with the lovely woman, declares:

> Do not be terrified, Lady Virtuous,
> That we come here now to you!

[61] See Paul F. Casey, *The Susanna Theme in German Literature: Variations of the Biblical Drama* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1976).
[62] For a survey of literature on Susanna during the entire early modern period, see ibid., esp. pp. 25–7. Casey notes that from the late fifteenth century, plays on Susanna began to be put on but became more popular after the start of the Reformation.
[63] Paul F. Casey, *Paul Rebhun: A Biographical Study* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1986). Luther did not write a preface to his *Historia von der Susanna vnd Daniel* (*WA DB*, vol. XII, pp. 506–13).
[64] Paul Rebhun, *Ein Geistlich spiel von der Gotfurchtigen vnd keuschen Frawen Susannen, gantz lustig vnd fruchtbarlich zu lesen* (Zwickau: Wolfgang Meyerpeck, 1536) and again in 1544. Available in modern print editions in Hermann Palm (ed.), *Paul Rebhuns Dramen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969), pp. 3–88; and Paul F. Casey (ed.), *Paul Rebhun: Das Gesamtwerk*, vol. 1: *Dramen* (Bern, Berlin et al.: Peter Lang, 2002), pp. 8–207.
[65] See Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *Zwickau in Transition, 1500–1547: The Reformation as an Agent of Change* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1987), p. 210.
[66] First printing, fol. Kv^r.

> The cause that drives us here,
> It is your noble, tender body,
> By love of which we are enflamed.
> Our hearts burn unceasingly,
> The flame cannot be extinguished.
> So do for us what we desire
> Both of us ask this of you,
> For you are presently alone.
> Submit yourself to our will,
> You can put out the flame of our love.[67]

The other elder, called Resatha, adds his effort at persuasion:

> Dear, you have so enflamed us
> That we have lost our senses.
> We yearn entirely for you.
> We ask, therefore, Frau Virtuous,
> Because you've done it already [with her husband],
> Do let us enjoy the same.[68]

## Conclusions

The adduction of several examples of authors and works, from among numerous that are available, have shown the following:

1. Despite the riches of the canonical Scriptures, Protestant leaders did not wish to dispense with edifying apocryphal books. They gave some of these books unprecedented currency, particularly Jesus Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), Tobias and Susanna. These ancient writings lent themselves to the instruction of the laity at every level as authorities of both church and state strained to tame what they saw as people's immoderate and self-indulgent behaviour. We may see the swelling of this genre as an aspect of what historians have referred to as 'social disciplining'. Campaigns to lift the ethical tone could not be undertaken simply using punishment, but also required indoctrination from an early age and encouragement, by means of the proverbial 'house-father', of a regular domestic practice of moral instruction. Yet, in light of the Lutheran and Reformed emphasis on *sola scriptura*, the question remains why such

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[67] Casey (ed.), *Dramen*, Act 3, Scene 2, lines 713–24, pp. 38–9.
[68] Ibid., lines 731–6, p. 39.

canonical books as the Psalms, the Proverbs, and the four Gospels might not have been adequate to this purpose.

2. Jesus Sirach, the most popular and widely used of the apocryphal books, directs more outspokenly negative attention to the alleged ills of women's nature and behaviour than the canonical Scriptures do. If the artistic topoi of the dangers presented by women to men, such as 'Phyllis Riding Aristotle', tend to diminish during the post-Reformation period, surely their place is taken by the recitation of the dangers of evil women verbally depicted in Jesus Sirach. Despite its promotion of marriage, the Reformation did not usher in an era of greater esteem for women. The chaste Susanna does clearly embody the best of which women are thought capable in her total fidelity and submission to her husband Joachim. We should carefully weigh the relative touting and denigrating of good and bad women in our ongoing effort to determine whether women benefited from the Reformation. It is clearly import-ant that in one of his explanations of a passage in Jesus Sirach, Caspar Huberinus denounces the use of physical violence, and indeed exces-sive psychological violence, by husbands against their wives and other family members. Huberinus was a single individual, and the playwright Paul Rebhun, like Huberinus a devout follower of Luther, spoke out in favour of the physical discipline of bad wives.[69] We should not affirm a trend on the basis of the opinions of either of these men. One hopes that the appeal of Sirach did not lie in its more immoderate excoriation of women, when compared, say, to the book of Proverbs, which also addresses the full range of human relations.

3. The reliance upon Sirach, along with the other inspirational works that often accompanied it, continued through the seventeenth century. The online *VD17* presently yields twenty-seven editions in German and four in Latin.[70] In part, the text of Sirach is included entire along with other works, such as the book of Proverbs; in part it and the others that accom-pany it are all abridged. Indeed, two men, Johann Hildebrand (1614–84)[71] and the Saxon composer Constantine Christian Dedekind (1628–1715)[72] undertook, like Heymair before them, to transpose Sirach into rhyme

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[69] Paul Rebhun, *Hausfried* (Wittenberg: Veit Creutzer, 1546), fols. ʀiᵛ–ʀiiʳ. This was reprinted at least fourteen times, including on into the seventeenth century (1633).

[70] Thus, conclusions based on it are strictly provisional.

[71] Johann Hildebrand, *Johann Hildebrands in deutsche Reime übersetzter Jesus Syrach* (Halle: Oelschlegel, 1663).

[72] Constantine Christian Dedekind, *Constantin Christian Dedekinds Singender Syrach* (Dresden: Günter, 1683).

and song. At least Dedekind, in his dedication addressed to five noble-women, reveals his intention that the work should have special appeal and applicability to the female sex.

Although the *VD17* is not yet complete, from the extant traces of printing the remaining apocryphal books appear to lose their currency. This impression, especially apropos of the book of Tobias, requires further research. Casey traces the theme of Susanna in German literature during the seventeenth century; it does not fade away.[73] A better indication of the story's continuing dissemination is probably the fact that families of prominent social stature named their daughters Susanna. A search in the online *VD17* under the entry *Susannen*[74] turns up 162 entries, nearly all funeral (121) or wedding (38) sermons for women bearing that name.[75] During the first half of the sixteenth century Susanna had not been a popular name. Its adoption may even have been hindered by the practice of christening infants after their godparents. The wider use of Susanna may have begun as a middle name precisely within the class that conferred multiple Christian names upon its children. Before the Reformation parents selected for their offspring the names of saints, often those on whose feast-days a son or daughter had been born, in the expectation that that holy figure would guard its young ward and serve as its intermediary before God. Alternatively, godparents' names were selected in the hope that the social and economic connection so furthered would prove advantageous throughout life. No Protestant parent was prepared to name a son Jesus. But the choice of Susanna or, for a male, Tobias, which seems also to have spread, would give some indication of the reception of new models. Through baptism, parents now asked their progeny to take on the specific virtues of an apocryphal (or a scriptural) protagonist. As these little ones matured, all those in charge of their upbringing would then expose them to the stories of these heroically righteous people. That was the theory.

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[73] Casey, *The Susanna Theme*, pp. 99–162.
[74] The name in titles usually appears in inflected form rather than as *Susanna*.
[75] Three entries dealt with other matters, such as the loss of an infant.

# The Bible and the emerging 'scientific' world-view

PETER HARRISON

In February of the year 1616 a group of advisers to the Holy Office met in Rome to consider the Copernican teaching that the Earth moved around a stationary Sun. They concluded that this theory was 'foolish and absurd in philosophy', and that it explicitly contradicted many passages of Holy Scripture 'according to the literal meaning of the words'.[1] For the latter reason the doctrine was declared formally heretical. While it was the name of Copernicus that appeared in the official decree of the Holy Office, and Copernicus's *De revolutionibus* (1543) that was then placed on the Index of Prohibited Books, the chief target of the decree was the brilliant astronomer and mathematician Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). The famous Florentine, who for several years had openly championed the motion of the Earth, was specifically warned at this time against teaching or defending this controversial theory – a theory that was deemed to be at odds with the biblical witnesses. At first Galileo seemed content to comply with the wishes of the ecclesiastical authorities, but eventually, in 1632, he published his *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems* which, in spite of its dialogue form, set out a relatively unambiguous case for Copernicanism. In the following year Galileo was tried in Rome and convicted of 'vehement suspicion of heresy'. On 22 June 1633, in a room adjoining the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, he read a humiliating retraction of his views concerning the motion of the Earth. He was placed under house arrest for the remainder of his life and his *Dialogue* was added to the Index, where it stayed until 1835.

The well-known story of Galileo lends a certain credence to the idea that throughout history there has been a perennial struggle between a rational and enlightened scientific world-view on the one hand and the forces of religious oppression on the other. It must be said that, amongst historians of

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[1] Maurice Finochiaro (ed. and trans.), *The Galileo Affair* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 146.

science, the myth of an ongoing conflict between science and religion now finds few, if any, adherents. Nevertheless, on the face of it the Galileo affair does suggest that the victories of the new seventeenth-century science – 'natural philosophy' as it was then known – were won only against a determined opposition from those who believed that the literal words of Scripture were the sole authority in scientific matters. Such an interpretation seems all the more plausible in the light of more recent events in which biblical literalists inveigh against Darwinian doctrines. Given the prominent place accorded to particular passages of Scripture in the condemnation of Galileo, it is natural to assume that the role of the Bible in the emergence of the new science was almost entirely negative.

The truth is somewhat more complicated. While it is undeniable that there were occasions on which the Bible was used to oppose certain scientific views, this was by no means the standard pattern. The Bible was just as likely to be enlisted in support of the new sciences. It was also the case that new approaches to the interpretation of the 'book of Scripture' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries inspired new approaches to the interpretation of the 'book of nature'. Most important of all, perhaps, specific passages of Scripture motivated scientific enquiry and lent social legitimacy to the rational investigation of nature. In short, the Bible played a significant role in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century and influenced the emergence of modern science in a variety of ways.

## Aristotle, the church and the authority of Scripture

One puzzle about the Galileo affair concerns the timing of the relevant events. Why was it that the issue of the Earth's motion and its relation to the teaching of Scripture only came to a head some seventy years after the publication of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus*? A partial answer may be found in the fact that the theory of Copernicus was taken by many to be only a mathematical model – a calculating device that 'saved the appearances'. Galileo, by way of contrast, presented his Sun-centred system as a true physical account of how things really were, thus posing a direct challenge to the traditional Aristotelian and Ptolemaic cosmologies. Equally important, however, were the growing challenges to the authority of the Catholic Church and controversies over the status of Scripture that came in the wake of the Protestant Reformation. The Protestant reformers had stoutly defended the principle of *sola scriptura*, insisting that the Bible was the pre-eminent authority in theological matters and demanding that individuals be free to read it in the

vernacular and interpret it for themselves. In their response to Protestantism, Catholic authorities at the Council of Trent (1545–63) had also wished to assert the importance of Scripture, but with the proviso that its interpretation be a matter for the ecclesiastical authorities, guided by the consensus of the Church Fathers.[2] It was the peculiar misfortune of Galileo to be presenting his alternative cosmology at a time when Catholic authorities were acutely sensitive to challenges to their status as legitimate interpreters of Scripture. So, when the Holy Office first declared the idea of the Earth's motion to be contrary to Scripture, it referred back to the principles enunciated at Trent, pointing out that the novel Copernican view 'explicitly contradicts in many places the sense of Holy Scripture according to the literal meaning of the words and according to the common interpretation and understanding of the Holy Fathers and Doctors of theology'.[3]

Galileo himself, it should be understood, never denied the importance of scriptural authority in determining matters of natural philosophy. In his carefully crafted *Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina*, written in 1615, he showed how Scripture might be interpreted in ways that supported his cosmological contentions. He also sought to invoke the authority of Augustine, arguing that demonstrated truths of natural philosophy could never be contrary to the true teaching of Scripture.[4] The difficulty faced by Galileo was that to his opponents he seemed to be adopting a 'Protestant' attitude insofar as he was attempting to interpret the Bible according to his own lights, rather than submitting to the authoritative readings of the Church and the Fathers. Moreover, a principle of biblical interpretation that looked back to patristic and medieval readings would necessarily support the scientific consensus from those previous eras rather than some proposed new understanding of the natural world. The constraints of patristic and medieval interpretation, to which Catholic exegetes found themselves committed, thus gave rise to an implicit bias in favour of the traditional Aristotelian natural philosophy.

In some respects the French natural philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650) was in a similar situation to that of Galileo. While Descartes is now best known as a philosopher, most of his energies were devoted to what we would regard as scientific pursuits. Descartes' cosmological theory, for example,

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[2] Tanner, *Decrees*, pp. 663–4 (Session 4 of 8 April 1546).

[3] Finochiaro (ed.), *The Galileo Affair*, p. 146. See also Ernan McMullin, 'Galileo on Science and Scripture', in Peter Machamer (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 271–347.

[4] Galileo, 'Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina', in Stillman Drake (ed. and trans.), *Discoveries and Opinions of Galileo* (New York: Doubleday / Random House, 1957), pp. 173–216, pp. 194f.

dominated seventeenth-century Europe until it was eventually replaced by the Newtonian system. In 1633 Descartes had been poised to publish his treatise *The World*, a work that sets out an account of the origins of a heliocentric cosmos in terms of the new mechanical philosophy. On learning of Galileo's condemnation, Descartes, also a devout Catholic, immediately withdrew the work from publication. It was destined not to appear in print until after Descartes' death, although just over ten years later he was later sufficiently emboldened to publish another treatise that set out a heliocentric cosmos, albeit carefully couched in hypothetical terms. Privately, however, Descartes was convinced that the Earth's motion around a stationary Sun was more than a mere hypothesis, and that the heliocentric model was consistent with the biblical record. In a letter to Sir William Boswell, penned in 1646, he wrote that after spending four or five days reading and re-reading the first chapter of Genesis he had become convinced that his new cosmogony was far more consistent with the Christian faith than the prevailing Aristotelianism.[5] A number of Descartes' Continental supporters were to go much further, publicly insisting that Cartesian cosmological speculations were little more than an extended philosophical commentary on the first chapters of Genesis.[6]

The examples of Galileo and Descartes demonstrate that, to a degree, all sides gave some place to the authority of Scripture in matters of natural philosophy. The disagreement lay in the interpretation of the relevant passages. As pious Catholics, both Galileo and Descartes found themselves having to contend with the inherently conservative readings of Scripture embedded in a centuries-old interpretative tradition. Protestant readers of Scripture laboured under no such restrictions. As a consequence, it often was easier for those in Protestant territories to interpret Scripture in such a way that it supported certain tenets of the new sciences. Difficulties raised by the literal sense of certain passages could be dealt with by appealing to the long-standing principle of accommodation – the idea that the words of Scripture had been tailored to the capacities of its original audience.[7] This principle was available to Catholics,

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[5] Descartes to William Boswell (1646), in René Descartes, *Oeuvres de Descartes*, ed. Charles Adam and Paul Tannery, 2nd edn., 11 vols. (Paris: J. Vrin, 1974–86), vol. IV, p. 698.

[6] Gérauld de Cordemoy, *A Discourse written to a Learned Frier* (London: Moses Pitt, 1670); Antoine Le Grand, *An Entire Body of Philosophy According to the Principles of the Famous Renate Des Cartes* (London: Samuel Rowcroft, 1694), pp. 56–8; Johan Amerpoel, *Cartesius Mosaizans: seu, evidens & facilis conciliatio philosophiae Cartesi cum historia Creationis primo capite Geneseos per Mosem traditâ* (Leovardiae [Leeuwarden]: heirs of Thomas Luyrtsma, 1669).

[7] Amos Funkenstein, *Theology and the Scientific Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 213–21.

but could be applied only with the warrant of the appropriate authorities. Protestant interpreters were also free to reject exegetical traditions that over the centuries had necessarily been influenced by the principles of Aristotelian natural philosophy. It was possible for Protestant interpreters of Scripture, in other words, to drive a wedge between the authority of Scripture and the authority of Aristotle in a way that Descartes could only privately hint at.

There was certainly one point on which it was universally acknowledged that Scripture was at odds with Aristotle, and that was the doctrine of Creation. Aristotle had believed that the universe was eternal, and thus no part of his natural philosophy dealt with the coming into existence of the world. This had been an issue when Aristotelian texts had first found their way into Western Christendom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, the enormous advantages of incorporating Aristotelian philosophy into Christian theology had ultimately meant that this error was noted but excused. In the wake of the sixteenth-century movements for religious reform, the question of religious authority generally, and of Aristotle's status as de facto Church Father in particular, was firmly back on the agenda. Aristotelian philosophy, some Protestants argued, had corrupted Christian teaching and distorted the biblical message. Martin Luther, in one of his less charitable moments, complained that the universities were dominated by 'the blind heathen teacher Aristotle', whom God had sent 'as a plague upon us on account of our sins'. This 'dead heathen', he complained, 'has almost succeeded in suppressing the books of the living God'.[8] If the Catholic appeal to the authority of Scripture had meant, in practice, *and* Aristotle, for many Protestants the principle *sola scriptura* meant *or* Aristotle, but not both. This disjunction made possible an alliance between Scripture and the new science which, although not pursued by any of the major reformers, was adopted by a number of natural philosophers in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

## Scriptural science

Writing in 1651, the Moravian theologian and educational reformer Johannes Amos Comenius (1592–1670) surveyed the scientific writings of the previous century and singled out for special praise the pioneers of what he called 'Christian Philosophy'. These men, Comenius wrote, 'have not doubted to asseverate that the seeds of true philosophy are contained in the holy Book

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[8] Martin Luther, 'Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation', in *Three Treatises* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), pp. 92–3; also in *LW*, vol. XLIV, pp. 200–1.

of the Bible, and to derive their maxims of philosophy from thence'.[9] While on the face of it an appeal to the Bible as a source of natural philosophy might not seem particularly conducive to scientific innovation, in certain respects it represented an advance over slavish adherence to the writings of the traditional scientific authorities. Unlike the writings of Aristotle, the Bible was silent, or at least ambiguous, on many questions of natural philosophy. This meant that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers were afforded considerable scope to read their own scientific speculations into the biblical text – the more so if they were not bound by authoritative interpretations sanctioned by the church.

The appeal to Scripture as a source of scientific information was not only informed by the Protestant reformers' elevation of the authority of Scripture and their advocacy of freedom of interpretation. It was also implied by the commonplace Renaissance idea of the *prisca sapientia* (ancient wisdom), according to which a number of the ancients had possessed a comprehensive knowledge of the operations of nature.[10] This knowledge was thought to have been revealed to Adam or Moses, and transmitted from them to other ancient philosophers. These typically included Seth, Abraham, Solomon and Job, along with such noble pagans as the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistus, and the Greek philosophers Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato. (These latter individuals were often accused of having plagiarised their learning from the ancient Jews, thus preserving the primacy of the biblical tradition.) On the standard view, this ancient wisdom had been lost to posterity, either because of excessive secrecy in the attempt to keep it from the uninitiated, or simply through carelessness. Solomon and Job, for example, were widely believed to have written scientific treatises on a number of topics, although these works were no longer extant. However, vestiges of the primeval scientific knowledge were thought to be still present in ancient texts, of which the most important were the hermetic writings (associated with the mythical Egyptian priest Hermes Trismegistus) and Scripture itself. For this reason, the Bible, correctly interpreted, was thought capable of providing independent corroboration of contemporary scientific speculations. It also followed that contemporary

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[9] Johannes Comenius, *Naturall Philosophie reformed by Divine Light: Or, a Synopsis of Physics* (London: Robert and William Leybourn, for Thomas Pierrepont, 1651), sig. A5ᵛ.
[10] D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972); Martin Mulsow, 'Ambiguities of the Prisca Sapientia in Later Renaissance Humanism', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65 (2004), 1–23.

scientific endeavours could be understood as attempts to restore an ancient wisdom that had been lost.

The *Physica Christiana* (Christian physics, 1576, 1580) of the Calvinist theologian Lambert Daneau (1530–95) provides a good early example of the principles of scriptural science. Daneau featured in Comenius's list of Christian philosophers, and the major premise of his book was, appropriately enough, that true natural philosophy is 'founded upon the assured ground of Gods word and holy Scriptures', rather than 'the fickle foundation of mans reason'.[11] Resort to the latter had apparently been the mistake of pagan writers, and most notably Aristotle. The opposing of biblical truths to the pagan teachings of Aristotle was a recurring theme amongst these writers. The Oxford astronomer and mathematician Thomas Lydiat (1572–1646), also identified by Comenius as a 'Christian philosopher', argued on biblical grounds against Aristotelian doctrines concerning the nature of the heavens and the elements. According to Lydiat it could be demonstrated from the book of Genesis that there was an enormous body of water above the heavens and a great mass of fire beneath the earth. Both claims were at odds with the Aristotelian understanding of the 'natural place' of the elements of water and fire. Lydiat believed that the first Christians had been aware of the true meaning of the relevant passages of Scripture, but contended that during the Middle Ages exegetes had been seduced into foreign interpretations by the fallacious arguments of pagan philosophers.[12] Views such as these were by no means idiosyncratic, and to the several names that appear on Comenius's list of scriptural scientists many more could be added. The individuals shared the view that a genuinely Christian natural philosophy would be based on Scripture rather than Aristotle.

It is tempting to regard the contributions of these mostly unfamiliar individuals as not particularly central to the scientific advances of the period. However, we should not underestimate the role played by scriptural science in undermining the prevailing Aristotelian natural philosophy. By insisting that peripatetic science was intrinsically unbiblical, pagan and false, these writers made room for alternative natural philosophies. On the positive side, some advocates of a scriptural science were to promote the better-known theories of such canonical natural philosophers as René Descartes and Isaac Newton.

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[11] Lambert Daneau, *The Wonderful Woorkmanship of the World* (London: Andrew Maunsell, 1578), Epistle of the Translator. For the trend to biblically oriented natural philosophy see Ann Blair, 'Mosaic Physics and the Search for a Pious Natural Philosophy in the Late Renaissance', *Isis* 91 (2000), 32–58.

[12] Thomas Lydiat, *Praelectio astronomica* (London: John Bill, 1605), sig. A5ʳ.

Descartes' scientific speculations, for example, initially met with an enthusiastic reception amongst the English Platonists. The Cambridge divine Henry More (1614–87) regarded Descartes as a reformer of natural philosophy who had restored to their proper place a number of ancient truths. More subscribed to the widespread view that Adam had possessed a comprehensive knowledge of the natural world, and that this knowledge had been passed on to Moses. Specifically, More believed that Moses had taught the true, heliocentric system of the cosmos and that the Mosaic tradition had served as the source of Pythagoras' views on the matter. (Copernicus imagined his Sun-centred solar system to have been a revival of the ancient hypothesis of Pythagoras, and the anti-Copernican Decree of 1616 similarly speaks of 'the Pythagorean doctrine'.) Moses was also said to have taught an atomic matter theory which was passed down to the ancient atomists Democritus and Epicurus. All of these doctrines, More thought, were implicit in the book of Genesis and had been lately revived by Descartes. The famous Cartesian hypothesis of celestial vortices – which has the heavenly bodies carried along in their orbits by whirlpools of celestial aether – was also supposed to have been encoded in the first books of the Bible. Henry More, in short, held the view that the new natural philosophy of Descartes was nothing less than a restoration of an ancient biblical tradition. More believed that the diligent reader, armed with a knowledge of the most recent advances in natural philosophy, could discover in the pages of Holy Writ a whole range of hitherto hidden scientific truths. The Bible, thus understood, lent its authority to new cosmological speculations. For its part, the new science provided a hermeneutical key for unlocking the true meaning of certain passages of Scripture.

As we have already noted, one of deficiencies of Aristotle's world-view, at least from the perspective of orthodox Christianity, was his conviction that the universe was eternal. Scripture, however, taught that the world had a beginning, and that at some time in the future it would end. The principles of Cartesian philosophy now made possible 'scientific' explanations of the Creation of the world, of such cataclysmic events as the Deluge, and of the final conflagration of the Earth. Henry More had explored the possibility of marrying biblical eschatology to Cartesian cosmology. The final destruction of the present world would take place, he suggested, when the Earth's orbit decayed to the extent that it was irresistibly drawn into the vortex of the Sun. All of this would take place 'according to the Cartesian philosophy'.[13]

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[13] Henry More, *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness* (London: J. Flesher for W. Morden, 1660), p. 240, cf. pp. 231–5.

A comprehensive 'scientific' account of the mutations of the Earth from Creation to extinction was provided by More's compatriot Thomas Burnet (1635–1715) who, like More, drew heavily on elements of Descartes' natural philosophy. In his *Telluris theoria sacra* (Sacred history of the Earth, 1681) Burnet, a divine and fellow traveller with the Cambridge Platonists, seized upon Descartes' hypothetical account of the beginning of the Earth and sought to harmonise it with biblical history. The result was a work that explained, in terms of Cartesian science, how a perfect paradisal Earth was originally formed, and how a universal flood brought it to its present state. In the second part of the work Burnet went on to explain the natural mechanisms involved in the eventual destruction of the world by fire, as prophesied in the pages of Scripture. While Burnet's speculations were by no means uncontroversial, he succeeded in demonstrating that the new natural philosophy was potentially more in keeping with the biblical record than the older Aristotelian science.

Other attempts to harmonise sacred history and science followed. In 1696 William Whiston, the mathematician and theologian who succeeded Isaac Newton in the Lucasian Chair of Mathematics at Cambridge, published his *New Theory of the Earth*. This work was based on the more recent Newtonian account of the universe and invoked comets to account for the creation of the Earth, its inundation by the biblical Deluge, and its eventual destruction by fire. According to Whiston the Earth was formed when a passing comet was drawn out of its parabolic path into a stable orbit around the Sun. The ancient chaos to which Moses and other writers had referred answered well, he believed, to the nature of a comet – 'a mixed compound of all sorts of Corpuscles, in a most uncertain confused and disorderly State'.[14] A further visitation by a comet resulted in the biblical Flood. Vapours from the comet's tail saturated the atmosphere with water, while its close proximity to the Earth precipitated massive geological disturbances. Breaches in the Earth's crust allowed the subterranean waters to add their volume to waters that had fallen from above, and together these brought about a global inundation. The final destruction of our world would also be effected by the Earth's fiery collision with a comet – quite possibly, Whiston surmised, the same one that had caused the Flood. Whiston generated understandable concern amongst Londoners when he later predicted that this collision would take place on 16 October 1736.

Implausible as some of these scenarios may now seem, in their time they attracted considerable interest. Burnet's original Latin work was quickly

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[14] William Whiston, *A New Theory of the Earth* (London: R. Roberts, for B. Tooke, 1696), pp. 69–71.

rendered into English and other European languages. The English edition was one of the most popular works of the late seventeenth century. Whiston's *New Theory* enjoyed less popular success but was endorsed by such prominent figures as Christopher Wren, John Locke and, not least, Isaac Newton.[15] For many of their supporters their theories of the Earth were thought to provide confirmation of the biblical account of the Earth's Creation, the Flood and the end of the world. Part of the agenda of the theorists was also to demonstrate that religious believers had nothing to fear from the new natural philosophy. That said, there were those who alleged that Burnet and Whiston had taken liberties with the biblical text and that their scientific speculations were not consistent with the literal words of Scripture. A few, like Galileo's accusers, were motivated by their commitment to a geocentric cosmos. Others were concerned that a close alliance between scientific explanation and biblical narrative left too little room for divine activity. Thus, while 'scientific' accounts of such events as the Creation and the Deluge provided independent corroboration of the biblical record and bolstered the authority of the Bible, it could also be argued that the offering of naturalistic explanations of this kind left no room for the direct activity of God that was suggested by literal readings of the relevant narratives. The one generalisation that does hold is that given the authority accorded to Scripture on all sides, debates about the meaning of particular Bible passages featured prominently in many scientific discussions over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On occasions, as in the case of Galileo, the Bible was used as a weapon against scientific innovation. But at least as often Scripture was enlisted in support of new scientific speculations. Certainly most of those involved in the investigation of nature were at pains to show that their theories were consistent with the contents of Scripture. Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to conclude, with one historian, that 'Mosaic philosophy' – the philosophy of Moses – 'was a condition presupposed by all of the new philosophies'.[16]

## The book of Scripture and the book of nature

Up to this point we have considered ways in which the status of the Bible as an authority affected the practice of science, and how the contents of Scripture were used in scientific controversies. There is a broader issue, however, which

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[15] William Whiston, *Memoirs*, 3 vols. (London: printed for the author, 1749), vol. 1, p. 43.

[16] Stephen Menn, 'The Intellectual Setting', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Daniel Garber and Michael Ayers, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 33–86, at p. 58.

concerns changes in the early modern period to the ways in which both Scripture and nature were interpreted. There had been a long-standing tradition in Western Christendom, dating back to Augustine, according to which there were 'two books': the book of nature and the book of Scripture.[17] For many patristic and medieval thinkers this metaphor implied more than simply the view that God had authored both 'books'. In addition to this minimalist understanding, it was believed that God had encoded nature with deep theological meanings, and that if nature was 'read' in tandem with Scripture, these profound symbolic meanings of natural objects would become apparent.[18] The Alexandrian Church Father Origen (c.184–c.254), who was instrumental in introducing this concept into biblical hermeneutics, suggested that God had invested the creatures with 'teaching and knowledge of things invisible and heavenly, whereby the human mind might mount to spiritual understanding and seek the grounds of things in heaven'.[19] This view persisted through the Middle Ages, when it was widely assumed that contemplating the book of nature was a deeply theological activity. The twelfth-century writer Hugh of St Victor proposed in this vein that the sensible world was 'a kind of book written by the finger of God' in which each of the creatures had been invested with representational qualities that would 'manifest the invisible things of God's wisdom'.[20] The idea that God had imbued natural objects with symbolic theological meanings provided the premise for a particular kind of allegorical interpretation, in which the interpretation of Scripture was closely linked with the interpretation of nature.

Whereas we now tend to think of allegorical interpretation as a way of reading multiple meanings into the words of Scripture, for its patristic and medieval practitioners allegory was a way of linking the words of Scripture to the meanings of natural objects. Writing in the sixth century, Augustine had carefully explained that we understand the literal meaning of Scripture when we connect a word to the object to which it refers. In order to determine the allegorical meaning, however, we must understand that the object can itself refer to other objects.[21] Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) was later to endorse the view that allegory is about the multiple meanings of objects, rather than of

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[17] K. van Berkel and A. Vandejagt (eds.), *The Book of Nature in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), and *The Book of Nature in Early Modern and Modern History* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006).

[18] For a similar attitude to the interpretation of history see Chapter 29 in this volume.

[19] Origen, *The Song of Songs, Commentary and Homilies*, trans. R.P. Lawson (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1957), p. 223.

[20] Hugh of St Victor, *De tribus diebus* 4, in *MPL*, vol. CXXII, cols. 176.814 B–C.

[21] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana* I.2.2.

words. The author of Scripture, he wrote, is able to signify meaning 'not by words only … but also by things themselves'. So when a passage of Scripture is understood to have multiple senses, this is not because the words are equivocal, 'but because the things signified by the words can be themselves types of other things'.[22] In this understanding of the relationship between Scripture and nature, the world derives much of its intelligibility from the fact that natural things have the capacity to act as symbols of theological truths. It is against this background that we are to understand why some medieval thinkers could assert that nature communicated truths that we tend to think of as belonging to the realm of revealed religion. The Franciscan theologian St Bonaventure (c.1217–74), for example, suggested that the world was 'like a book in which the creative Trinity is reflected, represented, and written'.[23] The important implications of allegorical interpretation, for our purposes, are that the interpretations of nature and Scripture were intimately connected, and that part of the ordering of the natural world involved the attribution of meaning to natural objects. As a consequence, any dismantling of the practice of allegorical interpretation would have far-reaching implications for how the natural world was understood.

The sixteenth century witnessed the beginning of the demise of allegory, at least as understood in the sense described above. A major impetus came from the Protestant reformers' criticisms of the practice of allegorical interpretation. Martin Luther, although not averse to occasional allegorical interpretation himself, argued that allegory was produced by idle men for the consumption of weak minds.[24] John Calvin, who was perhaps more consistent in these matters than his co-reformer, complained that allegorical readings were little more than meanings foisted onto Scripture by the interpreter. Allegories, in his view, were 'deadly corruptions' and 'pretended expositions that lead us away from the literal sense'.[25] One of the chief objections to allegory, from the point of view of the Protestant reformers, was that it violated the principle of *sola scriptura*, either by ceding authority to the fertile imaginations of exegetes or by shifting the locus of theological meanings from the

[22] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* I. q. 1, art. 10.
[23] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* II.12. Cf. Raymon Sibiuda [Raymond Sebonde], *Theologia naturalis seu liber creaturarum*, ed. F. Stegmüller (Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: Frommann, 1966), Prologus.
[24] Martin Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, in *Three Treatises*, pp. 146, 241; also in *LW*, vol. XXXVI, pp. 30, 110; Martin Luther, *Answer to the Hyperchristian Book*, in *LW*, vol. XXXIX, p. 177.
[25] John Calvin, *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, Philippians, Ephesians, and Colossians*, trans. T. H. L. Parker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), pp. 84f.

literal words of Scripture to the objects of nature. Moreover, Protestants tended to be critical of symbolic representation generally, as witnessed by their at times vehement iconoclasm and their attempts to circumscribe the sacramental practices of the medieval church. Catholicism, it must be said, also moved towards a renewed emphasis on the historical and grammatical meaning of Scripture, re-emphasising at the Council of Trent the primacy of the literal sense.

The unravelling of the intimate link between the interpretation of Scripture and nature had far-reaching implications for the way in which the natural world was understood. As we have seen, nature derived much of its intelligibility from the fact that it had been invested with theological meanings. Now that Scripture was increasingly regarded as the sole repository of theological meaning, nature stood in need of new ordering principles. The mathematical and taxonomic methods of the new sciences provided these. Thus was the assault on allegory to make room for new approaches to the natural world – approaches that allowed no place for meanings to be attached to natural objects.[26] Neither, it should be noted, were the effects of this transition restricted to Protestants. As we have already seen, the reforms of Trent led to a reaffirmation within Catholicism of the authority of Scripture and the primacy of the literal sense. This was compromised, to a degree, by an ongoing commitment to a history of interpretation in which allegory played an important part. Nonetheless, it is safe to make the generalisation that allegorical readings that bound together the interpretation of nature and Scripture fell into decline from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.

The importance of this hermeneutical shift for early modern science can be seen in the new ways in which the 'two books' metaphor was now deployed. Francis Bacon (1561–1626), who played a significant role in articulating the methods of experimental science, stated that there were 'two books or volumes to study, if we will be secured from error; first the scriptures, revealing the will of God, and then the creatures expressing his power; whereof the latter is a key unto the former'. What is clear from Bacon's use of the metaphor is that there is minimal overlap between the two books. Scripture reveals God's salvific will, nature reveals his power. Nature is thus not wholly divested of theological significance, for we can still discern God's power and wisdom there. Indeed, this provides an important motivation for the study of nature

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[26] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (London: Tavistock, 1987), p. 72; Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism and the Rise of Natural Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

for the next two centuries. What we do not see in the book of nature, however, are direct reflections of revealed theological truths, or of other aspects of the divine nature. Elsewhere Bacon was to observe that the works of God 'show the omnipotency and wisdom of the maker, but not his image'.[27] From the diligent study of nature, then, we make inferences about the divine nature – about God's power and wisdom – but we do not see reflections of the divine nature or representations of other theological truths. For that we must have resort to Scripture.

Other major figures of the scientific revolution, such as Galileo, Robert Boyle and John Ray, also addressed the questions of how the book of nature was now to be interpreted. Galileo wrote that the contents of the book of nature relate primarily to philosophy. The language in which this book is written is the language of mathematics.[28] What is required in order to interpret nature correctly, then, is not a familiarity with the lexicon of natural theological symbols, but rather knowledge of mathematics and geometry. Insofar as God has invested nature with a particular order, that order is mathematical rather than symbolic. Nature is not the bearer of meaning. Robert Boyle (1627–91), often designated the 'father of chemistry', also spoke of the book of nature, but for him it was to be interpreted by means of dissection and experimentation. Rather than reading off theological meaning from the outer appearances of things, Boyle thus recommended a close investigation of their internal structures. 'Physiology', he wrote, will provide an understanding of the 'texts' of the creatures. This activity will not yield direct resemblances of theological truths, although again, it may provide indications of the wisdom and power of God.[29] Perhaps the most unambiguous dismissal of the idea that meaning was to be located in the natural order was provided by John Ray (1627–1705). Best known for his work of natural theology, *The Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of Creation* (1691), Ray was also a pioneer in the fields of natural history and taxonomy. In the preface to a major new work of ornithology, Ray argues that in proper natural history there is no place for questions

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[27] Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Arthur Johnston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), I.vi.16 (p. 42); II.vi.1 (p. 86). Cf. *Novum organum* I, §89, in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath, 14 vols. (London: Longman & Co., 1857–74), vol. IV, p. 88. Robert Boyle, Some Motives to the Love of God, in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, ed. Thomas Birch, 6 vols. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966, repr. [London: Johnston, Crowder and others, 1772]), vol. I, p. 264.

[28] Galileo, *The Assayer*, in Drake (ed.), *Discoveries and Opinions*, pp. 237–8. Cf. Galileo, *Dialogue concerning the Two Chief World Systems – Ptolemaic & Copernican*, trans. Stillman Drake (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 3.

[29] Robert Boyle, *The Usefulness of Natural Philosophy*, in *Works*, vol. II, pp. 5–201, at pp. 62–3.

of meaning. We have omitted from this volume, he writes, 'what we find in other Authors concerning *Homonymous* and *Synonymous* words, or the divers names of Birds, *Hieroglyphics, Emblems, Morals, Fables, Presages* or ought else appertaining to *Divinity, Ethics, Grammar*, or any sort of Humane Learning'.[30] Ray thus provides an uncompromising rejection of the allegorical approach to the study of nature and presages the sharp division that would later emerge between the humanities and the natural sciences.

In sum, in the tradition of allegory deriving from Origen, interpretations of the books of Scripture and nature were part of single, integrated, hermeneutical endeavour. The decline, in the early modern period, of allegorical interpretation left room for new ways of reading the natural world, and these were provided by the mathematical and taxonomical methods of the nascent natural sciences.

## The Bible and the promotion of a scientific culture

There is yet another way in which the Bible was relevant to the emerging science of the early modern period. Certain passages of Scripture were to provide motivation for scientific activity and offer crucial theological legitimisation for the study of nature. It is not difficult to imagine some of the ways in which specific biblical texts might have been used to give legitimacy to science. The Psalmist's declaration that 'the heavens declare the glory of God; And the firmament shows his handiwork' (Ps. 19:1) routinely appears in attempts to justify the study of nature, and the pursuit of astronomy in particular. So too does St Paul's observation that 'since the creation of the world, his [God's] invisible attributes are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made' (Rom. 1:20). Such passages, it must be said, would be equally supportive of virtually any systematic approach to the natural world, including Aristotelian science and the symbolic readings that characterised medieval attitudes to the book of nature. In fact, Psalm 19 featured prominently in arguments against Copernicanism, for verses 5 and 6 refer to the rising of the Sun and its 'circuit' through the heavens. As for Romans 1:20, it was the *locus classicus* for the symbolic understanding of the world that underpinned the practices of allegorical interpretation. These passages were still used to demonstrate the theological relevance of the study of nature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but they did not provide reasons for preferring the

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[30] John Ray and Francis Willughby, *The Ornithology of Francis Willughby* (London: A.C. for John Martyn, 1678), Preface.

new science to the old. There were, however, some texts that for early modern thinkers – particularly in seventeenth-century England – seemed to provide a more specific warrant for the new sciences.

The frontispiece of *The Great Instauration* (1620) – Francis Bacon's influential manifesto for the reformation of learning – depicts the ship of knowledge sailing through the Pillars of Hercules on a voyage of discovery. Beneath the image is a verse from Daniel 12, which describes the signs of the last times: 'Many shall go to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.'[31] The apocalyptic context of the verse is highly significant, and Bacon no doubt wished to make the point that voyages to new territories and additions to the store of human knowledge were to be understood as signs of the impending end. The discovery of new lands also made possible the preaching of the gospel to the whole world – another event that was widely regarded as a prelude to the end of human history. Added to this, the sixteenth-century movements for religious reform were assumed to signal a more general reformation of all learning, while the wars of religion that racked Europe were consistent with the tribulations of the end times, as predicted in the book of Daniel. The publication in 1627 of Joseph Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* – a popular work that applied the prophecies of Revelation to the interpretation of contemporary historical events – also inspired many individuals to appropriate its interpretative principles and demonstrate the imminence of the end times. All of this promoted strong millenarian expectations both in England and in parts of Europe.[32]

This apocalyptic mind-set, or at least the particular form it was to take in England and some of the Calvinist territories of Germany, did not result in a calm acquiescence in the face of the impending *eschaton*. Rather, it promoted active attempts to further the dual reformations of religion and learning, and so hasten the end times. The imperative element of this particular vision was neatly summarised by Johannes Comenius. There will be, he insisted, 'a multiplication of knowledge and light at the very evening of the world Dan. 12.4, Zach. 14.7'. 'Therefore', he concluded, 'let us endeavour that this be promoted.'[33] The impending end, then, called for ever greater efforts to

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[31] Daniel 12:4. Bacon used the Vulgate rendition: 'Multi pertransibunt et augebitur scientia'.

[32] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: Viking, 2003), pp. 469–84, 531–7; Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); W. Schmidt-Biggeman, 'Apokalyptische Universalwissenschaft: Johann Heinrich Alsteds "Diatribe de mille annis apocalypticis"', *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 14 (1988), 50–71; R. G. Clouse, 'Johann Heinrich Alsted and English Millenarianism', *Harvard Theological Review* 62 (1969), 189–207.

[33] Johannes Comenius, *A Patterne of Universall Knowledge*, trans. Jeremy Collier (London: T.H. and Thomas Collins, 1651), p. 65.

reform the world, and this included the reformation of knowledge itself. As a consequence of the wide currency of attitudes such as these, the decades between Bacon's death in 1626 and the Restoration in 1660 witnessed a remarkable proliferation of scientific activity in England, fuelled by the powerful combination of Puritan millenarianism and Baconian science.[34] While many historians have justifiably expressed doubts about aspects of Robert Merton's classic attempt to link Puritanism and scientific activity, it cannot be doubted that there was something quite distinctive about the religious motivations of those engaged in scientific pursuits during this period.[35] Playing a key role in those motivations were the apocalyptical books of Scripture.

With the restoration of the monarchy in England in 1660, millenarian expectations became more subdued and the heady mix of apocalypticism and scientific reform that had characterised the Interregnum came to be viewed with some suspicion. Yet there were related features of Francis Bacon's programme for scientific advancement that drew inspiration from other biblical narratives, and which provided more enduring religious justifications for the pursuit of science. In the closing paragraphs of *Novum Organum* (1620) Bacon had set out a vision of science as the activity through which the human race could recapture the dominion over nature that Adam had exercised before the Fall:

> For man by the fall fell at the same time from his state of innocency and from his dominion over creation. Both of these losses however can even in this life be in some part repaired; the former by religion and faith, the latter by arts and sciences. For creation was not by the curse made altogether and for ever a rebel, but in virtue of that charter, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' it is now by various labours (not certainly by disputations or idle magical ceremonies, but by various labours) at length and in some measure subdued to the supplying of man with bread; that is, to the uses of human life.[36]

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[34] Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626–1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975); Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (eds.), *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Restoration: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[35] Robert K. Merton, *Science Technology and Society in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Harper, 1970). For discussions of the thesis see Charles Webster (ed.), *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974); Richard Kroll, 'Introduction', in Richard Kroll, Richard Ashcroft and Perez Zagorin (eds.), *Philosophy, Science, and Religion in England 1640–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1–28; John Brooke, *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 82–116.

[36] Bacon, *Novum organum*, II, §52, in *Works*, vol. IV p. 247.

The notion of recapturing a command over nature that had been lost as a consequence of Adam's sin meshed neatly with the apocalypticism of the middle decades of the century, but it could function equally well as a motivating ideology outside that framework. For this reason it was a persistent theme in the justifications of the new science throughout the century.[37]

It is important to understand that Aristotelian science had recognised neither the fallenness of the world nor the cognitive disabilities that befell the human race as a consequence of sin. Accordingly, the Aristotelian approach was based on the uncritical assumption that the mind and the senses could perform their primary functions without difficulty and that the world was more or less transparent to human investigation. The narrative of Adam's Fall, as Bacon and many of his contemporaries came to understand it, contradicted this sanguine assumption. A fallen nature, it was surmised, would resist investigation, and human faculties would need considerable assistance if they were to derive any useful knowledge of the operations of nature. This insight prompted the idea that nature should be investigated by intrusive experimental methods, and that artificial instruments would be required for the augmentation of limited human senses. Bacon imagined nature to be a deceitful labyrinth, concluding that its secrets could be extracted only by force.[38] Robert Hooke (1635–1703), a leading figure in the early Royal Society and pioneer of microscopy, wrote that the use of the telescope and the microscope might make some 'reparation made for mischiefs, and imperfections which mankind has drawn upon itself'. Artificial instruments were thus imagined by some to restore the sensory powers that Adam had enjoyed before he fell.[39] From this more pessimistic assessment of postlapsarian human powers it also followed that natural philosophy would be a collective and collaborative endeavour, rather than the activity of a single contemplating mind, and that advances in knowledge would come only after concerted long-term effort. All of these elements – experiments, instruments, communalism, systematic scepticism – became distinctive features of the new experimental philosophy. To a large degree these elements, which are now hallmarks of the scientific endeavour,

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[37] Peter Harrison, *The Fall of Man and the Foundations of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[38] Bacon, *Novum Organum* I, §98, in *Works*, vol. IV, pp. 94f.; Bacon, *Great Instauration*, in *Works*, vol. IV, p. 18.

[39] Robert Hooke, *Micrographia* (London: J. Martyn and J. Allestry, 1665), Preface; Joseph Glanvill, *Scepsis Scientifica, or, Confest ignorance, the way to science* (London: E. Cotes, for Henry Eversden, 1665), sig. b2ᵛ–b3ʳ; Henry Power, *Experimental Philosophy in Three Books* (London: T. Roycroft, for John Martin and James Allestry, 1664), sig. c3ᵛ.

were the direct implications of a view of natural philosophy that conceptualised it as a palliative for original sin.

It is also significant that patristic and medieval readings of the loss of Adamic dominion over things had typically allegorised the narrative, offering moral or psychological accounts of Adam's Fall. Origen explained how the animals in the creation account represented human desires and passions which had once obeyed the dictates of reason. Adam's loss of dominion was traditionally viewed as a loss of control over the 'beasts within', and this reading was common amongst patristic and medieval exegetes.[40] Such an understanding of the text promoted a view of the Christian life as one directed towards the regaining of an inner psychological dominion. It was an interior work, a spiritual exercise, aimed at rectifying the psychological damage wrought by human sin. These moral readings of the text also underscored the medieval view which accorded priority to the contemplative rather than the active life. With the early modern emphasis on the literal sense, the narrative of the Fall was understood primarily as a historical event in which Adam's loss of dominion over the exterior world was given a more prominent place. Bacon's advocacy of regaining a literal dominion over the natural world thus represents both a new exegetical emphasis and, to some extent, a new conception of the religious life itself.[41] The true ends of knowledge, Bacon insisted, are not 'for the pleasure of the mind . . . but for the benefit and use of life; and that they perfect and govern it in charity'.[42] Experimental science was presented as a means not only of restoring the dominion over nature that Adam had lost, but also of promoting human welfare and enacting the greatest of the Christian virtues, charity.

This Baconian conception of natural philosophy persisted through the Interregnum and was subsequently embraced by many within the Royal Society. Robert Hooke, to take a single example, argued that our errors

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[40] Origen, *Homiles on Leviticus* 5.2; Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of St John,* 11; Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis,* IX.7; Ambrose, *The Holy Spirit* 10; Augustine, *Confessions* XIII.xxi. See also Patricia Cox, 'Origen and the Bestial Soul', *Vigiliae Christianae* 36 (1982), 115–40; Jeremy Cohen, *'Be Fertile and Increase, Fill the Earth and Master it': The Ancient and Medieval Career of a Biblical Text* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989); Peter Harrison, 'Reading the Passions: The Fall, the Passions, and Dominion over Nature', in S. Gaukroger (ed.), *The Soft Underbelly of Reason: The Passions in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 49–78.

[41] For the argument that Bacon offers a new conception of philosophy see Stephen Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early Modern Natural Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[42] Bacon, *Great Instauration*, in *Works*, vol. IV, pp. 20f.

of judgement sprang from our innate corruption. The remedy for this, he insisted, was to embrace 'the real, the mechanical, the experimental Philosophy'. The new science, in other words, would rectify the operations of the mind, restoring them to something like their prelapsarian condition. In this manner, Hooke concluded, 'all our command over things is to be establisht'.[43] The Fall narrative, when read in a literal, historical sense, thus underpinned the practices of the new science of the seventeenth century. This biblical episode was used to invest natural philosophy with a deep religious significance and was of central importance in establishing the social legitimacy of experimental natural philosophy.

## Conclusion

Most recent historical assessments of the interaction between science and religion in the West have concluded that the relationship is best described as 'complex'.[44] Consideration of the more specific question of the role of the Bible in the emergence of modern science yields a similar conclusion. While there were occasions on which biblical passages were used to oppose new scientific doctrines, champions of the new natural philosophy also commonly appealed to Scripture in order to support their views. Part of the strategy of those in the latter group was to claim that the new science was more genuinely biblical than the 'pagan' science of Greek origin that it was destined to displace. The demise of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture was also significant in the emergence of modern science on account of the fact that allegory entailed a particular view of the natural world. The gradual dismantling of the symbolic universe of the Middle Ages made room for the imposition of alternative ordering principles, such as those provided by mathematics and taxonomy. The new forms of natural philosophy could thus bring a new kind of intelligibility to a natural world that had been evacuated of meaning. Finally, particular biblical narratives were to provide religious legitimacy for natural philosophy. The remarkable efflorescence of scientific activity in the middle decades of seventeenth-century England was motivated

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43 Hooke, *Micrographia*, Preface; Robert Hooke, 'The Present State of Natural Philosophy', in *The Posthumous Works of Robert Hooke*, ed. R. Waller (London: Royal Society/Smith and Walford, 1705), pp. 3–7 at p. 7.

44 Brooke, *Science and Religion*, p. 5; Gary Ferngren (ed.), *Science and Religion: A Historical Introduction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 8, 80, 128, 259, 354; David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (eds.), *When Science and Christianity Meet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 1–5.

by the apocalyptic writings of Daniel and Revelation. Of more enduring significance, perhaps, was the ideology of Baconian science, which promoted the new forms of experimental philosophy, and the active engagement with nature that they promoted, as part of a religious quest to re-establish a lost human dominion over the natural world.

# Between humanism and Enlightenment: Morality, reason and history as factors in biblical interpretation

HENNING GRAF REVENTLOW

The use of the Bible during the period between around 1500 and 1750 cannot be understood without considering the influences upon the intellectual climate of the centuries between the late Middle Ages and the rise of the modern world. There was no break between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The so-called Middle Ages served as a bridge transporting characteristic traditions from Classical Antiquity to later times. Broadly speaking there were three main tendencies. Humanism (which flourished in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, in Holland as far as the seventeenth, but remained influential much later) inherited from Antiquity, mediated by ecclesiastical theology and the study of classical sources, the following modes of thought:

1.  Moralism, particularly in the Stoic tradition. Stoic authors were popular with the intellectual elite, especially in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. Also, the theory of natural law was of Stoic origin.
2.  Reason, too, was a classical heritage. The Aristotelian tradition, after a revival by Arabic mediation (Averroes, 1126–98), was kept alive through the use of Aristotelian rationality in the scholastic dogmatic systems. Later rationalistic approaches, such as Cartesianism (René Descartes, 1596–1650) gained only a temporary restricted influence.
3.  Also, historical viewpoints played an important role already in humanism with its call *ad fontes* (to the sources). The method intended to restore the best available form of texts was textual criticism. During the period we have in view we can observe a growing consciousness that all written documents are time-bound and imprinted with the cultural characteristics of their times. This insight could conflict with the official dogma of

verbal inspiration, which regarded each verse of the Bible as inspired, unconditioned and free of error.

Erasmus of Rotterdam was one of the first who (in his edition of the New Testament, *Novum Instrumentum*, 1516) used textual criticism for restoring the text of the New Testament.[1] Textual criticism has retained its importance since then. Besides, Erasmus's intention was, in a spiritualistic and anti-ceremonial vein, a reform of the church on the basis of the New Testament and the Church Fathers. The Erasmian Hugo Grotius (de Groot; 1583–1645) worked in the spirit of toleration between the confessions and hoped for a reunification of the church on the basis of Bible and patristic theology. He wrote extensive *Annotationes* (notes) on both parts of the Bible. He accepted in an old-fashioned way the biblical stories as true historical reports. But, using classical sources, numerous quotations from patristic works and even the Jewish exegetical tradition from Philo and Josephus to Maimonides, Kimchi and Ibn Ezra, he tried to explain their historical background. Arguing on scriptural grounds, the Reformed churches, and in a more radical sense the English Puritans, both shared the humanistic demand for moral piety instead of outer forms. The church, they argued, should be reconstructed following biblical principles. But this represented a rather selective way of using the Bible on the basis of dogmatic presuppositions.

Text-critical observations could have an important impact upon the theological understanding of the Bible. The debate on vowels and accents in the Hebrew Bible demonstrates this point. The Jewish philologist Elijah Levita (1469–1549) had asserted in his work *Masora ha-Masoret* (Commentary on the rabbinic comments on the Hebrew Bible, 1538), that the vowel signs and accents did not originate with Ezra and the legendary men of the so-called Great Synagogue, traditionally connected with the final completion of the canon, but were added to the consonantal text by rabbinic commentators not earlier than the fifth century A D.[2] The debate became theologically important in the period of Orthodoxy. The verbal inspiration of the Old Testament seemed to its supporters to be endangered if the vowels in the text, upon which often the sense depended, had been secondarily added in a later period. Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564–1629), professor of Hebrew at Basel, attempted, especially in his work *Tiberias* (1620; 2nd edn. 1665), to defend the early origin of the

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[1] See Chapters 2, 3 and 9 in this volume.
[2] See Richard A. Muller, 'The Debate over the Vowel Points and the Crisis in Orthodox Hermeneutics', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10 (1980), 53–72 and Chapters 1 and 4 in this volume.

vowels and accents. Louis Cappel (1585–1658), however, professor of Hebrew at the Protestant academy in Saumur, in his book *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum* (The mystery of [Hebrew] punctuation revealed, 1624) regarded the vowels and accents as comparatively late. But this would not diminish the value of the Old Testament. Later, in his work *Critica sacra* (Holy criticism, printed 1750) he explained the textual variations in the Hebrew text, between it and the Old Testament quotations in the New Testament, and between the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint by the process of transmission. On the other side, a Catholic convert from Protestantism, Jean Morin (1591–1659), used these arguments as proofs against the Protestant *sola scriptura* for Counter-Reformation propaganda. In his work *Exercitationes biblicae de Hebraei Graecique textus sinceritate* (Biblical exercises on the genuineness of the Hebrew and Greek text, 1633) he tried to prove that the Hebrew text is distorted by a multitude of errors.

The philosophical–theological approach of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) represented an endeavour to collect biblical arguments in favour of the unity between church and state. Hobbes had been accused (wrongly) by many of his contemporaries of being an atheist. However, he was an 'Erastian' defender of a state church. His *Leviathan* (1651) contains his mature theory of the state, already published in *De cive* (1642), but now supported by arguments from the Bible. The first part, 'About Man', is followed by 'On Commonwealth' and 'On a Christian Commonwealth'. The parallelism illustrates the argument that state and church, both under one ruler, should form a unity in England. The fourth part describes the negative counterpart: 'On the Realm of Darkness'; chapter 44 deals with the 'Spiritual Darkness caused by a wrong Interpretation of the Scriptures', meaning the Roman Catholic Church, the arch-enemy in English polemics since the schism under Henry VIII. This illustrates the importance Hobbes attributes to the Bible in his political discourse. Hobbes evolves his arguments *more geometrico*, adhering to the then-popular deductive scientific–mathematical method. According to his theory about the 'natural condition of man' – not a historical period, but a theoretical model – a *bellum omnium contra omnes* (a war of everybody against everybody) prevails (chapter 13), everybody acting according to his right of self-preservation. To avoid chaos, the basic law of nature demands that everybody should strive after peace as far as possible: (i) everybody should renounce mutuality in revenge; (ii) therefore the so-called common wealth treaty (later called 'covenant') is concluded; (iii) a sovereign must be installed, to watch over commonwealth and church (chapter 17).[3]

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[3] For more on this theme see Chapter 25 in this volume.

As previously in the *Elements of Law, Natural and Politic* (1640) in chapter 31 Hobbes identifies civil laws with God's commandments in Scripture. This seems awkward for a modern reader, but follows necessarily from Hobbes's approach. Also, as citizens, people have to know God's commandments, neither to offend against God by too much civil obedience nor out of fear to offend against God to transgress civil laws. Natural law and obedience are not to be derived from thankfulness for God's benefits, but from God's omnipotence. A witness for this is Job, who was punished without being guilty! The conclusion is: God cannot be comprehended by human insight.

Chapter 32 of part 3 begins with the statement that the essence and laws of a Christian commonwealth mostly depend on the will of God, revealed in the prophetic word. This explains why Hobbes inserts ten chapters on the Bible. Nevertheless, he remarks, the use of the senses, experience and right reason should not be neglected. The will of God should also obligate the leaders and judges of the state. This part of the work has sometimes been excluded from modern editions as unimportant, by editors who did not grasp its significance.[4] By placing biblical authority as the foundation of a Christian commonwealth alongside the secular one by the commonwealth treaty, Hobbes maintains a double foundation of society.

Hobbes also showed a vivid interest in historical questions. Thus he remarked that the books of the Pentateuch could not have been written by Moses, because (i) Genesis 12:6 had been written *after* the Canaanites lived in the land; and (ii) in Numbers 21:14 another, older book is mentioned, the 'Book of the Wars of the Lord'. However, Hobbes stressed that all passages expressly ascribed to Moses' authorship, especially the laws in Deuteronomy 11–27, were his work. In chapter 43 Hobbes discussed the essential conditions for being saved. These consist of believing 'Jesus to be the Christ', and obedience to God's commandments. This minimalist confession is typical for Latitudinarians and was similarly formulated by Locke (see pp. 648–51).

A Dutch contemporary of Hobbes was the famous Baruch (Benedictus) de Spinoza (1632–77). This excommunicated Jew had a similar fate to that of Hobbes, in that he was mistakenly thought to be an atheist. Because of his exegetical work, one can characterise him as a Christian humanist. Spinoza, under Cartesian influence, strictly separated his philosophy, in which he, with the Greek tradition, regarded God as unlimited substance (though Spinoza was not a pantheist, as he was falsely accused of being), from his theology,

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[4] Though for a modern edition see Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Noel Malcolm, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012).

which he founded on the Bible – remarkably, on *both* Testaments. His *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670) demonstrates his lifelong interest in theological and biblical themes.

The *Tractatus theologico-politicus* presents a mixture of introduction to the Bible, biblical theology and hermeneutics, embedded in a theory of church and state. It was Spinoza's purpose, declared in the subtitle, to defend himself against the accusation of atheism. In this he failed. The book even confirmed the objections of the Reformed Orthodoxy against him and was soon prohibited. His constructive intention was to protect the freedom of philosophising, by proving that it was innocuous for both piety and the state. His judgements were typical of humanistic and enlightened thinking, remarkable only for the rigour with which they were formulated. Thus even in Spinoza's preface, the reproach of superstition against the common people, and the criticism that the representatives of the church had replaced real piety with external 'ceremonies' and cultic forms, was quite typical, and had already been proclaimed by the Puritans. In chapter 6, 'On Miracles', Spinoza declared that miracles could not occur in reality, but just in human imagination, because the whole course of nature goes on according to a fixed eternal order. Accordingly – and this is an important step – natural light is also divine, and could even be called prophetic (chapter 1). Miracle stories in the Bible 'were inserted by sacrilegious men'. A comparison with Hobbes's *Leviathan* shows striking structural parallels: chapters 16–19 of Spinoza's treatise ascribe to the government supervision over external rule and the outer rituals of the church: however, in accordance with the situation in the Netherlands, that is to take place within a democratic constitution. Chapter 20 closes the whole with the statement that 'in a free commonwealth it is allowed to everybody to think what he wants and to say what he thinks'.

In the seventeenth century it was impossible to develop a theory of society without founding it on the Scriptures. Spinoza dared to take an important step in stating that the prophets (as he calls all receivers of revelation in the Bible) were also human beings. They were interpreters of what God revealed to them by words and visions or in dreams. In chapter 12 Spinoza explains that true religion is inscribed in the hearts of men. The Bible is holy only insofar as it induces humans to the adoration of God. In order to show that in all other aspects it is human, Spinoza collects in chapters 8–10 all available information to prove that the Bible is full of errors, especially regarding the authors of the Pentateuch. For several reasons Moses cannot be its author. In drawing upon earlier statements on this matter, Spinoza goes back as far as to Jewish exegetes of the Middle Ages such as Ibn Ezra. Histories of biblical exegesis

often (mistakenly) quote only these chapters of the *Tractatus*, thereby failing to do justice to the context and intention of the whole work.

In chapter 7 Spinoza explains his hermeneutical method in interpreting the Bible. It is the same as Hobbes's (*more geometrico*): by analogy with the method of natural science (the construction of a history of nature allows the exact definition of natural things), it is necessary to conceive a history of the Scriptures in order to reach the intention of the authors. This is not yet historical thinking in the way usual from the second half of the eighteenth century. The idea of evolution was still unknown. Finding facts in the historical past is the goal, as with facts in nature. A complete knowledge of biblical Hebrew; an investigation into the historical situation of the authors; and lists of the main terms of a biblical book in order to explain obscure passages form part of the programme of humanist exegesis.

But all these techniques are subsidiary to the struggle against the Orthodox belief in the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. In chapter 13 Spinoza states that the Holy Scriptures have been preserved incorrupt insofar as they are God's Word, namely as far as the Bible is law. To the extent that they have been adapted to the time-bound world-view of the people – as was suggested in the 'adaptation' theory of Christopher Wittich (1625–87) in his *Dissertationes duae* (1653)[5] – they are out of date. For instance, the existence of four different Gospels shows that they are human work. The apostles were teachers, not prophets. Also, the mission of Jesus Christ was to teach the whole of humankind, mainly in morality. Spinoza did not believe in God's incarnation in Christ; he interpreted his resurrection allegorically. Jesus Christ and the apostles taught the divine law. Philosophy can lead the wise to blissfulness. But the common people can reach it only by obedience to God's commandments. This argues in exact opposition to the doctrine of the Reformation about justification by faith. In all these respects, Spinoza may be regarded a typical representative of late humanism. Seen in the context of the intellectual climate of his time, he loses much of his originality. However, his reputation as an atheist and the suppression of his books prevented him from having influence upon immediately following developments. Spinozism as a philosophy

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[5] Christoph, Wittich, *Dissertationes duae quarum prior de S. Scripturae in rebus philosophicis abusu, examinat, 1. An physicae genuinum principium sit scriptura? 2. An haec de rebus naturalibus loquens accuratam semper veritatem, an potius sensum & opinionem vulgi saepius sequatur? Altera Dispositionem & ordinem totius universi & principalium ejus corporum tradit, sententiamque nobilissimi Cartesii, de vera quiete & vero motu terrae defendit* (Amstelodami [Amsterdam]: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1653). Wittich wrote in response to Gisbertus Voetius, who specifically argued a conservative position regarding the relationship between philosophy and theology.

became fashionable not earlier than in the late eighteenth century. But the historical criticism of the Bible in the nineteenth century also had other founders.

It is remarkable that Descartes' philosophical approach had such a small direct impact on biblical exegesis. Only one author, a friend of Spinoza, the medical doctor and poet Lodowijk Meyer (1629–81), wrote a book, *Philosophia Sacrae Scripturae Interpres* (1666), in which he tried to show that, because we cannot know the private ideas of the biblical authors, we should use Descartes' philosophy as the norm for the interpretation of Scripture. The book brought about a fiery discussion, but ultimately it had no success. Better known is Richard Simon (1638–1712), a Roman Catholic philologist.[6] He had to suffer much suppression during his restless life. He was expelled from the Oratorian order after the contents of his main work, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, became known. Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), Bishop of Meaux and influential at the royal court, in 1678 caused the confiscation of nearly the whole first edition of the work before the print run could be finished. A second edition was printed in 1685 in Rotterdam.

Simon demonstrated the importance of textual criticism for his method by devoting the whole of the first book to that subject. Against Jean Morin, who favoured the Septuagint, Simon stressed that neither the Hebrew nor the Greek text is identical with the original. He takes this fact as an important argument against the Protestant *sola scriptura*. But the alterations were not intentional falsifications, and did not distort the sense of important passages. They even have the same authority as Holy Scripture; otherwise one would have to say that not the whole of Scripture is divine. For the problem of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, Simon proposed a special solution. He likened its compilation to that of 'public scribes', who produced it using official files preserved in the national archives, adding to them or skipping what seemed fitting to them. The present form of the Pentateuch is the result of their work. But some of the sources they used, above all the law, could originate with Moses, whereas for instance the creation story could contain still older material. Repetitions in the Pentateuch could be caused by parallel use of the same files.

Simon extended his textual criticism and the query about the authors of the biblical sources also to the New Testament. His *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* (Amsterdam 1689) was followed by his *Histoire critique des versions du Nouveau Testament* (1690) and a history of the commentaries on and reception of the New Testament, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs*

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[6] For further discussion of Simon see also Chapters 16 and 29 in this volume.

*du Nouvaux Testament* (1693). In his *Histoire critique du texte* Simon delivers an internal canonical criticism, starting with the extent of the canon. The Gospels are, as Simon correctly observes, apostolic sermons written down. Heretics tried in vain to replace them by their own apocryphal gospels. The Gospel of Matthew was originally written in Aramaic, and came from the Nazarenes, the first Christians of Jerusalem. The Greek version is just a translation, but gained apostolic authority by long use in the church. Matthew is the oldest Gospel – an opinion that prevailed for a long time, and has still some adherents. Mark, according to an old tradition, contains the message of St Peter, but was written originally in Greek. The conclusion of Mark (16:9–20) was, according to Jerome, missing even in the most ancient manuscripts, as was the passage about the adulteress (John 7: 53–8:11). But even this would be no reason to doubt the truth of these passages and thereby to detract from the authority of the canon as fixed by the decrees of the Council of Trent. For the authorship of Hebrews (chapter 16) Simon follows Origen, who ascribed the letter to a pupil of Paul. Simon addressed the problem of whether it can be regarded as genuine by stating that the church, by declaring the books of the Old and New Testaments to be canonical, had simultaneously decreed that they were written by those authors whose names they bear.

As a typical humanist philologist, Simon as a theological exegete knew to distinguish between a canonical belief and critical observations. From a modern viewpoint, one wonders why he suffered from persecution. He made plausible affirmations to the effect that he was a believing Catholic Christian: he also proved his allegiance by lifelong daily reading of the Mass. Simon by no means undertook his biblical criticism in an unprejudiced thirst for knowledge. After the Second World War and Pope Pius XII's encyclical *Divino afflante spirito* (1942) Catholic French scholars identified Simon as father of Catholic biblical scholarship.

The founder of Liberalism, John Locke (1632–1704), is famous for his essays on tolerance and natural law and his epistemology. His engagement in theology and Bible is much less known. His *Two Treatises of Government* (first published 1689 but possibly drafted 1681/2) addressed an important biblical and political question, the theory of royal absolutism. King Charles I had regarded his absolute rule as a divine right, and the royalist Robert Filmer (1588–1653) supported this claim during the Civil War in his essay *Patriarcha, or the Natural Power of Kings*, by means of the theory that all human government can be derived from the rule of Adam, the first man, over his family. For Filmer, all political power according was transmitted from Adam via Noah and the Israelite kings to the later kings of all countries. His son published the book in

1680 during the so-called exclusion crisis to support the claim of the Catholic James II to the throne.

When Filmer's book appeared on the market his thesis acquired supporters, even in a period when the royal typology still seemed convincing to many. Locke could invalidate it only by arguments from the Old Testament itself. In the *First Treatise* it was comparatively easy to disprove Filmer's thesis that modern kings had inherited their rule by lineal descent from Adam, the first man. Royal lineages had often been interrupted by wars, revolutions, the lack of an heir and so forth. More importantly, because Adam is the father of all humankind, everybody has the same right to participate in the government. This argument offers biblical proof for the political theory of Liberalism. In the second tract Locke developed his own idea of society, derived out of the natural freedom and equality of all people, not based on the Bible but on natural right.

We meet with the same two approaches in Locke's essays on ethics. In the early *Essays on the Law of Nature*, written in Latin in 1661–4, he followed the traditional approach: the law of nature is valid for everybody and forms the basis of an ethical system, developed by discursive reason. If innate ideas and tradition are denied, reason (or the 'light of nature') can be derived from the senses and the things they perceive (empiricism). Their complete ordered movement allows one to perceive the creator behind them, who gave in the law of nature a rule of conduct for humans.

Locke later engaged once again with the question of whether ethics could be deduced from first principles. In his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) he expressed growing doubts whether ethics could be inferred from natural law. Because the idea of God is not innate (any more than any other idea) there is no direct way to natural law. More and more, Locke confesses the limits of human knowledge. Whereas witnesses from the past are the less reliable the further from truth they are, there exist statements that are completely reliable, because they come from one who can neither deceive nor be deceived, namely God. This witness is called 'revelation'; our approval 'belief'. But whatever disagrees with sensory experience would be unthinkable. Therefore one must conclude: whatever God reveals is indubitably true. But whether a statement is in fact revelation, only reason can decide. Thereby the method of enlightened biblical exegesis is defined. Elsewhere (in his *Second Reply*)[7] Locke declares that he is trying to understand the Bible in the same

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[7] [John Locke], *Mr. Locke's reply to the right reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester's answer to his second letter wherein, besides other incident matters, what his lordship has said concerning certainty by reason, certainty by ideas, and certainty of faith, the resurrection of the same*

way as any other book. There are, however, some topics on which we have no natural experience, such as the resurrection of the dead. They belong to the specific field of faith. Later (in an addition to the *Essay*)[8] Locke acknowledges two sources of revelation: reason or Scripture. He has abandoned his earlier pure rationalism.

In the same year Locke published his work *The Reasonableness of Christianity*. In the foreword he declares that, being disappointed by most of the theological systems, he had turned to the Scriptures. Locke was induced by a discussion among Dissenters on justification to find out what the Scriptures were saying on the topic. (An extreme antinomian wing among Calvinists denied any connection between justification and works, whereas more moderate Presbyterians (such as Richard Baxter, 1615–91) included repentance and sanctification within the process of justification.) Locke started again with Adam's Fall (Gen. 2–3) and its consequences for humankind, collated with Romans 5:12 and 1 Corinthians 15:22. He concluded that after Adam's expulsion from paradise humankind had inherited from him mortality, but not guilt. Mortality is no punishment. Everyone is punished according to his guilt (Rom. 2:6; 2 Cor. 5:10 etc.). But Locke can also say that (according to Rom. 3:20–23; Gal. 3:21 f.) all people have sinned against the law of works. Thus nobody would have earned eternal life, if God had not given the 'law of faith' (Rom. 3:27). The rules are the same: the moral law (not the ceremonial or political one) is valid. But faith, and even an earnest endeavour to fulfil the commandments, can compensate for the deficiency of human obedience. Locke does not accept the doctrine that Jesus Christ took upon himself the punishment for the guilt of humankind. But the central Christian confession is 'that Jesus is the Messiah'. This Locke shows by skilfully selected New Testament quotations. Similarly, he proves (as William Wrede did much later) his observation that Jesus kept his status as Messiah secret until the last stage of his activity, and spoke of it only in a veiled way. Reading the Pauline letters did not make Locke a Pauline theologian. But he moved from his earlier rationalism to what, by the minimal

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*body, the immateriality of the soul, the inconsistency of Mr. Locke's notions with the articles of the Christian faith and their tendency to sceptism [sic], is examined*, (London: Printed by H.C. for A. and J. Churchill ... and C. Castle ..., MDCXCIX [1699]). Note that this follows on an earlier reply: [John Locke], *Mr. Locke's reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester's answer to his letter concerning some passages relating to Mr. Locke's Essay of humane understanding, in a late discourse of His Lordships, in vindication of the Trinity* (London: Printed by H. Clark, for A. and J. Churchill ... and E. Castle ..., 1697).

[8]  'Of Faith and Reason, and their Distinct Provinces', Book IV, chapter 18 of John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 3rd edn. (London: Awnsham and John Churchil ..., and Samuel Manship, 1695), pp. 393–8.

confessional standard (similar to that of Hobbes above), could be characterised as a Latitudinarian (liberal) Christian approach.

It was only a small step from Locke to his deist pupil John Toland (1670–1722). In France in the sixteenth century there had been reports of 'deists', who were then described as a loose underground movement opposed to dogmatic Christianity.[9] The conditions for such a movement were more favourable in England, especially after the Glorious Revolution of 1689, when censorship ended and freedom of the press was guaranteed. Now deistic literature could appear without problems. In their basic beliefs the English deists mostly were no enemies of the Christian religion. While beginning from a doctrine of God oriented on Stoicism and natural law, they nevertheless left open the question of recognising a religion of revelation. But their moralism and antipathy to organised worship was similar to that of the most radical Puritans. 'Priestcraft' became their catchword, used to sum up everything they fought against in the organised Anglican Church.

As the example of John Toland shows, moderate deism was still rather close to the Latitudinarian position. Toland was a versatile writer. His late book *Pantheisticon* (1720), in which he describes the doctrine and ritual of a pantheistic club, earned him the label of pantheist. But in other essays his Christian background is undeniable. In our context his *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696) is important, insofar as the understanding of the Bible was his theme in that work. In his preface Toland declares that 'the true Religion must necessarily be reasonable and intelligible', and 'We hold that Reason is the only foundation of all Certitude'.[10] Revelation has its place, but only as a 'means of information' alongside the moral certainty by trustworthy human testimony, either directly or mediated by unbroken tradition. Toland is convinced that the Doctrines of the Gospel are not contrary to Reason: 'God should lose his end in speaking to them [the hearers], if what he said did not agree with their Common Notions.' Accordingly, 'Faith or Perswasion must necessarily consist of two Parts, Knowledg and Assent'.[11] Toland remains old-fashioned to the extent that he even acknowledges miracles as proofs of Jesus' divine mission.

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[9] On the reputed deists of sixteenth-century France see C. J. Betts, *Early Deism in France: From the so-called 'déistes' of Lyon (1564) to Voltaire's 'Lettres philosophiques' (1734)* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1984), pp. 3–14.

[10] John Toland, *Christianity not mysterious: or, A Treatise Shewing, that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to reason, nor above it: and that no Christian Doctrine can be properly call'd a mystery ... To which is added, an apology for Mr. Toland, in relation to the Parliament of Ireland's ordering this book to be burnt* (London: n.p., 1702), pp. xxv.

[11] Ibid., pp. 128, 133–43,

From the thesis that all the doctrines and precepts of the New Testament must agree with natural reason 'and our own ordinary idea's', it follows that the rules that can apply to the interpretation of the Scriptures must be the same as those that apply to all other, purely secular, literature. This is an important hermeneutical principle for the history of interpretation, though Toland himself does not really carry it through. Instead he stresses the simple, natural style of the gospel. He indicates that the aim of the apostolic message is 'Piety towards God, and the peace of Mankind'. To the argument that human reason is too corrupt as a result of original sin to recognise the truths of the gospel, he responds that reason is a capacity given by God. Being led astray by error and false passions is not an inescapable doom. 'We lie under no necessary Fate of sinning'; ''tis the perfection of our Reason and liberty that makes us deserve Rewards and Punishments'.

In the third part of his book Toland carries through the main aim of his investigation, to argue that there is nothing mysterious or beyond reason in the gospel. He combines much from the well-known arsenal of humanist tradition with the concept of reason shaped by Locke. 'Mysteries' are (i) things that are comprehensible in themselves but are so concealed by images, types and ceremonies that this veil must be removed before reason can penetrate to them; or (ii) things that are incomprehensible of their own nature, however clearly they may be revealed. In contrast to paganism, in which the 'cunning priests' disguised religion with ceremonies, sacrifices and rites, in the gospel there are no mysteries, since in the New Testament only those things are called mysteries that previously were concealed and have now be made known by revelation, such as special doctrines like the calling of the Gentiles, the Resurrection etc., and finally what is told in parables, which was only mysterious to those to whom it was not explained. If we use reason in the interpretation of Scripture there emerges a pure, rational gospel. This could be found in the message of Jesus: he preached the purest morals, the reasonable worship. 'So having stripp'd the truth of all these external Types and Ceremonies … he rendered it easy and obvious to the meanest Capacities.'

In Toland's book we find an almost complete presentation of the most important themes discussed in the deistic debate over and over again. All that followed afterwards represented a gradual and natural progression, where those themes that Toland had not yet seen as a problem, such as miracles, came to be included in the discussion. Toland himself in his *Letters to Serena* (Queen Sophie Charlotte of Prussia) discussed some main themes of the Enlightenment: in letter I he reviewed the origin and power of prejudice; in letter II the history of belief in immortality; in letter III the emergence of

idolatry. Insofar as revelation appears in Toland's *Christianity not Mysterious* only as a means of transmitting information, that move represents the decisive step towards autonomy on the part of man, who no longer wants to follow God-given ordinances, but proposes to take on himself the law of his actions.

Whether the third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713) can be reckoned among the deists is debatable. But he is important as an author who developed, in a collection of his works, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1711; 2nd edn. 1714), a positive estimate of human morality. In accordance with the natural ordinances of life in the harmony of the universe as taught by the new philosophy (Newton and the Newtonians) he insists upon a human disposition towards the good. It is 'natural' for human beings to act well: there is no need for either divine inspiration (as with the Christian Neo-Platonists) or grace and forgiveness to develop this capacity (as the Latitudinarians taught). This is a decisive new step: Virtue is now 'innate'; as such it is normal and independent of any form of normative revelation, whether natural law or divine will revealed in the Bible. In the essay *An Inquiry concerning Virtue, or Merit* (1699) Shaftesbury decides against a voluntaristic solution to the question of the relationship between morality and belief in God. Before any acquaintance with the simplest form of knowledge of a God, he argues, a primitive man shows a feeling of good and evil and an attitude which is by nature friendly. But if one adores a God whose character is captious, subject to wrath and anger, revengeful, favourable to a few and cruel to the rest – Shaftesbury seems to be alluding here directly to official Christianity – a similar attitude will be required of and discerned in his followers.

The regular ordering of natural laws in the world argues for the existence of a just governor of the world. Only someone who thus has found his way first to belief in God can as a second step hearken to historical revelation. In his *Miscellaneous Reflections* (published as the third volume of *Characteristicks*) Shaftesbury assembles a whole series of critical observations on Old Testament institutions and events. For instance, circumcision, taken over by Abraham from the Egyptians, shows the servile dependence of the Israelites on their oppressors. The Exodus is morally offensive as 'the retreat of Moses by the assistance of an Egyptian loan'. Joseph in Egypt allied himself with the priestly caste, and came thereby to possess the whole land.

Shaftesbury was the first to develop a theoretically formulated postulate to the effect that any critically thinking Christian must be sceptical about the biblical tradition. His scepticism was directed in particular against revelation. Anyone who has never had the experience of receiving divine revelation, or has never been witness to a miracle, depends only on history and

tradition for his belief, and therefore is 'at best a critical Christian'. He has no more than a historical faith. This keyword for the first time gave open expression to the dilemma that historical Christianity was to pose for the whole of Enlightenment right down to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Shaftesbury also adopted a critical attitude to the extent of the canon and the question of textual tradition. Any historical truth handed down in writing has first to undergo a testing of the character of the author and the capacity of the historian who handed it down, before anything can be accepted on its authority. Shaftesbury was among the first to base Christianity on natural religion. This produced a new relationship to the Bible in the Enlightenment, first in England and later in Germany. In both countries his influence was great. This meant for his ethics that he remained faithful to the humanist tradition: he abandoned its nominalist roots in the will of God and thus in the Bible, and made absolute the realist line of natural law, which likewise derived from scholasticism.

Some other deists also contributed more or less important essays touching biblical themes. Anthony Collins (1676–1729), in his *Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713), rebuked the priests, the 'enemies of freethinking', for refusing an independent examination of the Bible. He discussed extensively the different opinions of the priests of various religions over the extent and nature of their sacred scriptures, and those within the Christian churches over the extent and nature of the canon, and the meaning of Scripture. He referred to textual–critical problems, to the obscurities of the content and to problems of interpretation. He also reprimanded certain Protestant theologians for having damaged the cause of Protestantism by drawing attention to the textual variants in the New Testament. This remark appears surprising for a deist, but could be attributed to the militant anti-Roman tradition still found in the English Church. Collins continued to value the Bible, especially the New Testament. He frequently quoted William Chillingworth.

In his *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of Christian Religion* (1724) Collins responded to William Whiston's (1667–1752) apologetic *Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* at length in section 11. In section 1 he contributed to the current debate about the significance of Old Testament prophecy for Christian faith. The apostles in the New Testament used the predictions from the Old as the main argument for the truth of Christianity. As (in Collins's opinion) there are no other solid arguments, if this particular does not hold water, Christianity has no just foundation. He claimed to have tested all the prophecies quoted by the apostles, and showed by some examples that they are based on a typological ('mystical'/'allegorical') reading. But as for Collins (like Whiston) only a literal fulfilment of prophecy is legitimate, and

as this took place in the Old Testament period (for instance, he believed that the child in Isa. 7:14 is Isaiah's own son), the claim of Christianity to discern a second fulfilment of the same prophecies is clearly refuted. Whether this meant a farewell to Christianity is doubtful, for Collins remained a practising member of the Church of England all his life.

Matthew Tindal (1657–1733) became famous for the work of his old age *Christianity as Old as the Creation: or, the Gospel, a Republication of the Religion of Nature* (1730), often called 'the Bible of deism'. In the form of a dialogue it summarises the basic features of the deistic concept of religion. Tindal assumes a natural religion, adequate for everyone, based on the law of nature ('the Relation between things, and the Fitness resulting from them'), which can be recognised by all men, because it corresponds to their own rational nature. Religion is 'the practice of morality in Obedience to the will of God', a eudemonistic ethics, because God as the all-wise Being can give to his creatures only commandments to their advantage.

This moral religion can be known directly by reason as internal revelation, and contains everything that man needs to know about God's will for his salvation. This an external revelation can only confirm. But in practice people do not always live up to this ideal. Thus there arose Tindal's central thesis, namely that Christianity is not a new religion, but it is a new proclamation of the law, which has been valid from the beginning and is given with human nature itself. It is the 'Re-publication of the Religion of Nature'. As such, it is not superfluous; it fulfils the important function of calling men's attention to natural religion, which they have continually failed to follow, because they have fallen victim to superstition by pursuing a positive religion. All external cultic practices are superstition, detracting from ethical knowing and moral action.

The consequences of this line of argument for the Bible were particularly striking. Tindal devoted a whole detailed chapter to its role. Scripture could be significant only for the divine commandments it contains. No personal relations are possible with a God defined only in metaphysical terms. Also, an unbridgeable abyss opens between a moral religion and one that has become historical and rests on tradition. The moral integrity of the first recipients of revelation becomes important: and a short survey from Abraham and Paul shows that these biblical figures were anything but infallible. The eternal changelessness of the Supreme Being cannot be reconciled with the anthropomorphic biblical God. The contents of the Old Testament offend moral feelings, for example the cruelty of the Israelites towards the Canaanites, and how they exterminated them along with their children. The New Testament,

though preferable, is not without mistakes either, for instance in its mistaken expectation of the imminent return of Christ.

The activity of the deists slackened in England about 1740. Their subjects of debate ceased to be relevant, and their discussions became less attractive. But their impact was comparatively broad. In Germany Johann Lorenz Schmidt's translation (1741) of Tindal's *Christianity as Old as the Creation* inaugurated numerous translations of deistic literature. Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten in his *Nachrichten von einer hallischen Bibliothek* (1748–51) made new works known to German readers. The most important were also translated into French. The United States produced itsown late deist tradition, as seen for instance in Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781); Ethan Allen, *Reason the Only Oracle of Man . . .* (1784); Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason* (1794/5).

An original work to emerge in the wake of deism was H. S. Reimarus's *Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes*. Reimarus (1694–1768) had learned to know deism during his research visits to Leiden, London and Oxford (1720–2). While officially publishing books on reason and natural religion, he was secretly working on the manuscript of the *Apologie*. In 1774 and 1777 Lessing published some fragments of an earlier version, arousing thereby the so-called fragments discussion. The final manuscript was published not earlier than 1972. Typical deistic criticism of the Bible re-emerged here, characterised by moral indictment of characters in the Old Testament and the Israelite people, natural explanations of miracles such as the Exodus, and denial that the messianic promises were fulfilled in Jesus. Original to Reimarus, however, was his attempt to distinguish between the purpose of Jesus (to teach pure morality) and that of his disciples (to erect a worldly kingdom under his rule).

# The Bible and the early modern sense of history

EUAN CAMERON

Pre-modern people believed that the history of the world held transparent meaning. History displayed the working out of the plans, and the judgements, of God.[1] Divine sovereignty dictated not only the history of human salvation through the progressive revelation of the divine purposes, but also the rise and fall of peoples and empires. Consequently, preachers, theologians and historians turned to Scripture for guidance as to how the divine plan was working itself out. The Christian reading of Scripture became absolutely fundamental to the structure and understanding of human history. In the early modern period the reading of world history acquired, like nearly every other intellectual activity, a confessional and dogmatic edge. Antagonists in the tormented ideological struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries appealed to the Bible to prove that their objectives and their experiences – including their sufferings – had been written up in prophecy and could be integrated into a comprehensible pattern of human destiny. However, the quest for biblical endorsement of partisan views of history ultimately disillusioned those who tried to fathom it out. The quest for scriptural clues to world history took on a tragic aspect as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries progressed. The more closely scholars examined the sources, the more elusive the old certainties about world history seemed to become. Ultimately, in the late eighteenth century some thinkers confronted the fact that the world was vastly older than the Bible suggested; that human history could not be crammed in to fit schemes derived from ancient Hebrew prophecy; and that even the universe itself might be a self-sustaining system of vast antiquity, built by the forces of chance and evolution.

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[1] See Jennifer A. Harris, 'The Bible and the Meaning of History', in Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (eds.), *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 84–104.

## The medieval prologue

The European Middle Ages bequeathed to the Renaissance era certain assumptions about the cosmos. First, the universe was a relatively small place, composed of the Earth at the centre with two or three elemental spheres around it: wrapped around the Earth were the spheres of the planets (including the Moon and the Sun); beyond those in turn, a slightly variable range of outermost concentric spheres (firmament, *primum mobile*, empyrean) of which only the sphere of fixed stars was visible from the earth. In the region of the outermost spheres lived God, the saints and the most senior angels. Within this relatively small space, representing a compressed and misunderstood version of a part of our solar system, it made sense to envisage the whole of cosmic history taking place over a short period of time, and being devoted essentially to the redemption of the human race and the created order on this world.[2]

 The same world-view that presumed that the universe was relatively small, compact and Earth-centred also presupposed that cosmic history was extremely short. There was nothing natural or traditional (or for that matter correct) about this assumption. In Classical Antiquity a variety of opinions were available, some of which claimed that the world was eternal, while others at least suggested that it was very, very old: tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands of years. However, Christian thought since the Fathers had embraced the book of Genesis as a factual chronology of world history. That approach implied that only some four thousand years had elapsed from creation to the birth of Jesus, and that the post-Pentecost history of the world would be correspondingly brief. Augustine, in the *City of God*, insisted that 'reckoning by the sacred writings, we find that not 6,000 years have yet passed'. He regarded the attribution to the Egyptians of 100,000 years' worth of astronomical knowledge as 'most empty presumption'. 'For as it is not yet six thousand years since the first man, who is called Adam, are not those to be ridiculed rather than refuted who try to persuade us of anything regarding a space of time so different from, and contrary to, the ascertained truth?'[3]

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[2] For pre-Copernican cosmologies see e.g. Petrus Apianus, *Petri Apiani Cosmographia, per Gemmam Phrysium ... restituta. Additis de eadem re ipsius Gemmæ Phry. libellis, etc.* (Antwerp: A. Berckman, 1539). On this subject see also Pierre Duhem, *Medieval Cosmology: Theories of Infinity, Place, Time, Void, and the Plurality of Worlds*, ed. and trans. Roger Ariew (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

[3] Augustine, *City of God* XII.10, XVIII.40, available at http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/AugCity.html. See discussion in Richard H. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère (1596–1676): His Life, Work, and Influence* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1987), p. 27.

Augustine's views probably settled the matter as far as medieval Christianity was concerned. However, in medieval Judaism several writers felt it necessary to defend the relatively short time-span allotted to the world in the Judaeo-Christian tradition derived from the Hebrew Bible. The *Kuzari*, written by the Sephardic Jew Judah Halevi around 1140, included an imaginary dialogue between the Khan of the Khazars and a rabbi where the two debated the age of the world. Halevi expended some time in arguing that neither the traditions of the East nor the speculations of Western philosophers about the age of the world could be trusted: none of these had access to authoritative and inspired scripture.[4] Maimonides, in his *Guide for the Perplexed*, discussed at some length a treatise on the beliefs of the Sabaeans, translated or compiled in the tenth century by Ibn Wahshiyya under the title *Nabatean Agriculture*.[5] The Sabaeans described in this work had believed in the eternity of the world. The book was, Maimonides argued, 'full of the absurdities of idolatrous people, and with those things to which the minds of the multitude easily turn and adhere'.[6] For thinkers in this tradition, the divine origin and relatively precise cosmogony of Hebrew Scripture offered clarity and certainty compared to the exotic myths of pagan peoples.

By the scholastic period something like consensus appeared to have settled over the questions of the age of the world and the uses of the Bible for history in the Christian West. The immensely prolific Dominican encyclopaedist Vincent de Beauvais (*c*.1190–*c*.1264) offers an example of the medieval approach. He included a review of world history in the truly massive work entitled *Speculum Historiale*, part of his even more compendious *Speculum Maius*. Vincent's portrayal of world history in the *Speculum* reflected an ordered, confident, highly structured view of how the world worked. The life of the church and the world were closely interconnected. Abel founded the church, as the first to offer sacrifice.[7] For the history of pre-Christian and Christian Antiquity Vincent folded together materials from Scripture, classical history, post-scriptural tradition, martyrologies, hagiographies and miracle stories. Post-scriptural elements such as the life of Longinus, the Roman

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[4] Judah Halevi, *Kitab-al-Khazari*, Part 1, verses 60–7, available at http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Kitab_al_Khazari/Part_One, accessed 14 July 2014.

[5] Moses Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed of Maimonides*, ed. and trans. M. Friedländer, 3 vols. (London: Trübner & Co., 1885), book III, chapter 29, in vol. III, pp. 134–45.

[6] Ibid., vol. III, p. 141; also available from www.sacred-texts.com/jud/gfp/gfp165.htm, accessed 14 July 2014.

[7] References to Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* are based on the online edition of the text at http://atilf.atilf.fr/bichard/, accessed 14 July 2014. *Speculum Historiale* i.15 is entitled 'De continentia tocius operis'.

soldier believed to have pierced Christ's side on the cross, and the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul were incorporated alongside the New Testament narratives.[8] Vincent's work reveals complete confidence in the unity, consistency and divine character of church history. For much of his account secular history served chiefly as a backdrop to a succession of narratives of bishops, councils, martyrs and saints. At one point he showed himself so indifferent to chronology that he included a whole book devoted to saints whose dates were completely unknown.[9] Vincent wrote as a Christian triumphalist, as when he reported that the Council of Jerusalem formally abolished the Mosaic ceremonial code and replaced it, in the history of the people of God, with the Christian sacraments.[10] Vincent de Beauvais and his kind felt sure that they knew when, how and why the world was made, and how its history was conducted. The explanations for those questions revolved around the manifestation of the purposes of God in the Christian church of the Middle Ages.

Yet medieval scholars, like others from Late Antiquity onwards, realised perfectly well that the consistency and clarity of biblical chronology, on which writers such as Augustine and Halevi had built their confidence in its accuracy, was largely illusory. With much simplification, one can identify three major challenges. First, the dating of events in the narrative parts of the Pentateuch is relatively precise: one can add up the dates of the lives of the patriarchs and conclude that 1,656 years passed between the Creation and the Flood. However, as one moves into the historical books of the Bible, the books of Judges, Kings and Chronicles, the reckoning of dates becomes (paradoxically) less rather than more specific (this may reflect the fact that the present form of the Pentateuch may be significantly later than the 'historical' books).[11] Secondly, those books of the Old Testament generally received as canonical stop well short of the Roman domination of Judaea and therefore also of the New Testament era; even the Apocrypha reaches only part of the way into

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[8] See e.g. *Speculum Historiale* i.28, summarising book viii, the time of the emperors Tiberius and Caligula, including the Passion of Jesus: for the martyrdom of the soldier Longinus see book viii, chapter xlvii.

[9] Ibid., i.36, summarising book xvi in 100 chapters: 'Sextusdecimus liber nullam hystoriam certi temporis continet, sed gesta quorumdam sanctorum confessorum et monachorum quorum invenire non potui certitudinem temporum.'

[10] Ibid., i.29: 'Sed propter concilium Iherosolimitarum in quo legalia revocata sunt per Petrum et Iacobum, illic inseritur brevis epylogus de cessatione legalium et institutione novorum gratie sacramentorum.' See book ix, chapters xi–xc, which comprise a treatise on the seven sacraments, implying that all seven were included in the decision at Jerusalem.

[11] See James Barr, *Biblical Chronology: Legend or Science?* The Ethel M. Wood Lecture 1987. Delivered at the Senate House, University of London on 4 March 1987 (London: University of London, 1987), p.19.

the Hellenistic period. To compile a continuous chronology required scholars to interlink the scriptural record with classical Greek and Roman historians, who worked on different scales of time but were needed to fill in the gaps. In the case of Jewish history it also required them to try to reconcile the dates in Deutero-canonical Scripture such as the books of Maccabees with the historical writings of Flavius Josephus, which were often in disagreement. Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, the currently used texts of the Old Testament disagreed with each other. The Hebrew text, largely used for the Vulgate Latin translation attributed to Jerome, gave relatively low numbers for ancient history, yielding something around 3,950–80 years from Creation to Incarnation. The Septuagint Greek translation of Hebrew Scripture, on the other hand, consistently supplied higher numbers for the events of the Pentateuch. The Septuagint allotted 2,242 years from Creation to Flood and 5,199 years from Creation to Incarnation. The Septuagint was widely used in Christian Antiquity, including by some authors of books of the New Testament, and not surprisingly by Eusebius of Caesarea. These higher numbers for world history consequently became widely current through Eusebius' writings. Vincent de Beauvais' integrative method, therefore, represented the only solution to a problem that became pressing as soon as one accepted the premise that the Hebrew Bible provided reliable information about the chronology of world events since Creation. Interestingly, Vincent was perfectly well aware of the discrepancy between the Vulgate and the Septuagint, and discussed it at some length; not surprisingly, he came down in favour of using the shorter Vulgate time-periods.[12]

Augustine also contributed to the Middle Ages a sense of the periods of history, which would in due course deeply inform the more elaborate schematic structures to be discussed later. In his short treatise *On the Catechising of the Unlearned* Augustine incorporated biblical prophecy into a six- or sevenfold historical system for counting the ages of the world. The first age ran from Adam to the Flood; the second from the Flood to Abraham, the third from Abraham to King David, the fourth from David to the Babylonian captivity, the fifth from the captivity to the coming of Christ, and the sixth from Christ's birth to

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[12] *Speculum Historiale* i.27 and book v, chapter lxxxviii: 'Et hoc dumtaxat secundum nos, qui ab Adam usque ad Abraham ex divina hystoria iuxta beati Ieronimi translationem annorum numerum accepimus. Ab Abraham quoque usque ad Christum, iuxta eiusdem Ieronimi ac cesariensis Eusebii et ipsorum Hebreorum computationem, qui omnes hystoriis gentilium concordant, minores numeros secuti sumus, ea nimirum ratione quam superius in annis iudicum exposuimus. Verum ante tempora Abrahe, tam ante diluvium quam post, multo plures anni in editione LXX a leguntur, quam in nostra reperientur.'

the end of time.[13] After the six ages of the world, in the seventh God and the saints would enjoy an era of Sabbath rest, corresponding to the seven days of Creation.[14] Augustine's system of ages of the world found repeated echoes in such late medieval classics as Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle*.[15] The evocation of a paradisal 'seventh age' after the Second Coming provoked a flurry of millenarian speculations, some more orthodox than others. In 1519 Berthold Pürstinger (1465–1543), also known as Berthold of Chiemsee, in his highly critical but still very Catholic *The Burden of the Church*, argued that the history of the church could be divided into seven ages corresponding in substance, though not in chronology, to the seven ages of the world and the seven days of Creation.[16] Pürstinger appealed to the ideas of apocalyptic visionaries such as Brigid of Sweden, Joachim of Fiore and Ubertino of Casale, though that did not prevent his work from being taken seriously by Catholics and Protestants alike.[17]

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[13] Augustine, *De Catechizandis rudibus*, translated in *NPNF* series 1, volume III, pp. 277–314, also in www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf103.iv.iii.html, accessed 14 July 2014: chapter XXII, on p. 307: 'Peractis ergo quinque aetatibus saeculi, quarum prima est ab initio generis humani, id est, ab Adam, qui primus homo factus est, usque ad Noe, qui fecit arcam in diluvio, inde secunda est usque ad Abraham, qui pater dictus est omnium quidem gentium, quae fidem ipsius imitarentur; [Gal. 3:7] sed tamen ex propagine carnis suae futuri populi Judaeorum: qui ante fidem Christianam gentium, unus inter omnes omnium terrarum populus unum verum Deum coluit, ex quo populo salvator Christus secundum carnem veniret. Isti enim articuli duarum aetatum eminent in veteribus libris: reliquarum autem trium in Evangelio etiam declarantur [Matt. 1:17], cum carnalis origo Domini Jesu Christi commemoratur. Nam tertia est ab Abraham usque ad David regem: quarta a David usque ad illam captivitatem, qua populus Dei in Babyloniam transmigravit: quinta ab illa transmigratione usque ad adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi; ex cujus adventu sexta aetas agitur: ut jam spiritalis gratia, quae paucis tunc Patriarchis et Prophetis nota erat, manifestaretur omnibus gentibus: ne quisquam Deum nisi gratis coleret, non visibilia praemia servitutis suae et praesentis vitae felicitatem, sed solam vitam aeternam, in qua ipso Deo frueretur, ab illo desiderans; ut hac sexta aetate mens humana renovetur ad imaginem Dei, sicut sexta die homo factus est ad imaginem Dei. Tunc enim et lex impletur, dum non cupiditate rerum temporalium, sed caritate illius qui praecepit, fiunt quaecumque praecepit. Quis autem non redamare affectet justissimum et misericordissimum Deum, qui prior sic amavit [1 Ep. S. John 4:19] injustissimos et superbissimos homines. ut propter eos mitteret unicum Filium [1 Ep. S. John 4:9: John 3:16], per quem fecit omnia, qui non sui mutatione, sed hominis assumtione homo factus, non solum cum eis vivere, sed etiam pro eis et ab eis posset occidi?'

[14] Ibid., chapter XVII.

[15] For a modern facsimile see Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum/Chronicle of the World 1493: The Complete Nuremberg Chronicle*, ed. and annotated by Stephen Füssel (Cologne: Taschen, 2013).

[16] [Berthold Pürstinger], *Onus Ecclesiae: In hoc libro lector candidissime, admiranda quaedam ac plane obstupenda, de septem ecclesiae statibus, abusibus quoque gravissimis, et futuris eiusdem calamitatibus ex sanctorum prophetiis et novarum revelationum vaticiniis, solidissimisque scripturis, luce clarius enarrantur* (Cologne: Quentell, 1531), chapters 5–14, 16, 66.

[17] See 'Berthold von Chiemsee', in Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz (ed.; later with Traugott Bautz), *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 14 vols. of main entries so far, plus

## The Protestant Reformation and biblical history

As is discussed elsewhere in this volume,[18] the Protestant Reformation in Europe provoked a profound epistemological crisis, as well as crises in so many other areas. First and foremost, the reformers appealed to the *sufficiency* of Scripture to rebut the claim (later to be made explicit in the Council of Trent) that traditions necessary to be known and authoritative for Christians were contained in the continuing organic witness and tradition of the institutional Church. All that *needed* to be known, the reformers argued, could be determined from Scripture, correctly and economically expounded.[19] By 'correct and economical' exegesis, as is explained elsewhere,[20] the reformers would have understood a reading of the literal sense of the text, with a view to discovering the spiritual–prophetic sense divinely infused into it. Excluded from their approach was the 'discovery' in the text of additional layers of allegorical meaning brought to the text by the reader: eisegesis rather than exegesis, so to speak.[21] That would mean, in Calvin's hands for example, that Christological prophecy would be read very sparingly into the texts of the Hebrew Bible.[22]

On the other hand, the early Reformation did not promote the same emphasis on the supposedly literal inspiration or verbal inerrancy of Scripture that would later emerge in the era of Reformed Orthodoxy. The reformers, Calvin especially but by no means uniquely, knew that Scripture was written in a historical context and must be read with an understanding of that context. At one and the same time, Calvin insisted (i) that Scripture had been written in a particular historical setting by authors who could only write in the terms knowable to themselves when they wrote, and that this setting must be known to the exegete; and (ii) that Scripture contained within it a divine and spiritual message which constituted, in effect, the ultimate and eternal purpose of a given passage.[23]

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supplements to vols. xv–xxxiii (Hamm and Herzberg: Verlag T. Bautz, 1975–), vol. 1, pp. 551–2.

[18] See Chapter 16.

[19] For doctrines of Scripture in the Reformation see a brief introduction in Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 163–71.

[20] See Chapter 17 in this volume.

[21] Travis L. Frampton, *Spinoza and the Rise of Historical Criticism of the Bible* (New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006), pp. 31–40 and references.

[22] G. Sujin Pak, *The Judaizing Calvin: Sixteenth-Century Debates over the Messianic Psalms* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); also Euan Cameron, 'Calvin the Historian: Biblical Antiquity and Scriptural Exegesis in the Quest for a Meaningful Past', in Karen Spierling (ed.), *Calvin and the Book*, Refo500 Academic Studies Series (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), pp. 77–94.

[23] Randall C. Zachman, 'Gathering Meaning from the Context: Calvin's Exegetical Method', *Journal of Religion*, 82:1 (2002), 1–26, esp. pp. 14ff. For a somewhat different view

History mattered to the reformers, because the Reformation confronted its adherents with an enormous challenge to validate and legitimise their understanding of the Christian church and its place in the flow of events. Their theological insights, which the reformers believed to be the essence of Scripture, diverged radically from the *teachings*, and invalidated the *practices* of the Catholic Church of the past three or four hundred years. Somehow, the Church had gone badly astray; yet the divine promises remained faithful *ex hypothesi*. Indeed, those promises were believed to be fulfilled most clearly in what the reformers perceived as the restoration of the gospel in the sixteenth century. The Reformation presented an existential mystery wrapped up in a historical paradox. The God who established the covenants of grace with humanity also played out the story of salvation through a series of meaningful cosmic dramas.

The Protestant vision of history developed within a series of traditions or schools of thought. One of the most important strands in world history originated with the *Chronica* of Johannes Carion, first published in 1531 in German.[24] This work was then taken up by Carion's mentor Philipp Melanchthon and reissued in a considerably expanded and edited form in Latin. After Melanchthon's death in 1560 his pupil and son-in-law Kaspar Peucer completed the work, bringing its narrative up to the year 1517.[25] The Philippist intellectual community then produced a sequence of further works both of historical writing and of historical theory, especially from the hands of Christoph Pezel, David Chytraeus (1531–1600, a former Philippist converted to more conservative Lutheranism) and the reformed historian Reiner Reineccius, successively professor at Frankfurt an der Oder and Helmstedt.[26] Alongside the works of the Philippists, the histories of the moderate Strasbourg Reformed Protestant Johannes Sleidan provided

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see Richard Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics, vol. 11: Holy Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), pp. 51–230, which acknowledges development from the reformers to Orthodoxy but minimises discontinuity. See also Chapters 18 and 19 in this volume.

[24] [Johannes Carion], *Chronica, durch Magistrum Johan Carion, vleissig zusamen gezogen, meniglich nützlich zu lesen* (Wittenberg: Rhaw, 1531). Numerous later editions of the German text were issued.

[25] [Johannes Carion], *Chronicon Carionis expositum et auctum multis et veteribus et recentibus historiis . . .*, ed. Philipp Melanchthon and Caspar Peucer. . . (Wittenberg: J. Crato, 1572). Multiple subsequent editions.

[26] Christoph Pezel, *Mellificium Historicum integrum*, ed. Johannes Lampadius (Marburg: Paulus Egenolphus, 1617); David Chytraeus, *Chronologia historiae Herodoti et Thucydidis: recognita, et additis ecclesiae Christi ac imperii Romani rebus praecipuis, ab initio mundi, usque ad nostram aetatem contexta* (Rostock: Iacobus Lucius, [1573]); Reinerus Reineccius, *Historia Iulia, Siue Syntagma Heroicum . . . Auctore Reinero Reineccio . . . academiæ Iuliæ Historico . . .*,3 vols. (Helmaestadii [Helmstedt]:Lucius and Kierchner, 1594–7).

fundamental textbooks, for the Reformation decades and more importantly for the scope of world history in Antiquity arranged under the scheme of the 'four monarchies' (see pp. 668–9). In Reformed Switzerland a minor but influential tradition of historical writing developed in the hands of Joachim Vadian, the reformer of St Gallen, his pupil and biographer Johannes Kessler, and Vadian's younger friend and more famous colleague Heinrich Bullinger of Zurich.[27] Finally, a staunchly Lutheran school of theologically formed history developed around Matthias Flacius Illyricus, an energetic antiquary and manuscript collector, and an equally implacable polemicist; following his own *Catalogue of Witnesses to the Truth* (1556) Flacius gathered and led the team of scholars who produced the *Magdeburg Centuries* of post-Pentecost church history from 1574 onwards.[28]

However, the writing of theologically and biblically informed history was by no means confined to those works announced as histories. Some of the earliest, fullest and most elaborate literary encounters between the Bible and history took place in books of exegesis of Scripture, especially of the book of Daniel. Several leading reformers, some not otherwise known as historians, wrote commentaries on Daniel, including Philipp Melanchthon, Johannes Oecolampadius, Heinrich Bullinger and John Calvin.[29] Martin Luther

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[27] Joachim Vadian, *Deutsche historische Schriften: Joachim v. Watt (Vadian)*, ed. Ernst Götzinger, 3 vols. (St Gallen: Zollikofer'schen Buchdruckerei, 1875–97); Joachim Vadian, *Epitome Trium Terrae Partium, Asiae, Africae et Europae compendiarum locorum descriptionem continens, praecipue autem quorum in Actis Lucas, passim autem Evangelistae et Apostoli meminere . . .* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1534); Johannes Kessler, *Johannes Kesslers Sabbata mit kleineren Schriften und Briefen*, ed. Der Historische Vereins des Kantons St Gallen (St Gallen: Fehr'sche Buchhandlung, 1902); Heinrich Bullinger, *De Origine Erroris Libri Duo Heinrychi Bullingeri: In priore agitur de Dei veri iusta invocatione & cultu vero, . . . In posteriore disseritur de Institutione & vi sacrae Coenae domini, & de origine ac progressu Missae Papisticae . . .* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1539); Heinrich Bullinger, *Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichte*, ed. J.J. Hottinger and H.H. Vögeli, 3 vols.(Frauenfeld: C. Beyel, 1838–40). See discussion of this school in Euan Cameron, 'Primitivism, Patristics and Polemic in Protestant Visions of Early Christianity', in Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (eds.), *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 27–51 at pp. 32–40.

[28] Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Catalogus testium veritatis: qui ante nostram ætatem reclamarunt papæ* (Basel: Joannes Oporinus, 1556); Matthias Flacius Illyricus [et al.], *Ecclesiastica historia, integram Ecclesiae Christi ideam, quantum ad locum, propagationem, persecutionem, tranquillitatem, doctrinam, haereses, ceremonias, gubernationem, schismata, synodos, personas, miracula, martyria, religiones extra ecclesiam, & statum imperij politicum attinet, secundum singulas centurias, perspicuo ordine complectens*, 13 vols. (Basel: Ioannes Oporinus, 1559–74).

[29] Philipp Melanchthon, *In Danielem Prophetam Commentarius* (Leipzig: Nicolaus Wolrab, 1543); Joannes Oecolampadius, *Commentariorum Ioannis Oecolampadii in Danielem prophetam libri duo, abstrusiore tum Hebraeorum tum Graecorum scriptorum doctrina referti* (Geneva: Ioannes Crispinus, 1553); Heinrich Bullinger, *Daniel . . . expositus homiliis LXVI . . .: Accessit . . . epitome temporum et rerum ab orbe condito ad excidium . . . ultimum urbis Hierosolymorum sub Imperatore Vespasiano . . .* (Zurich: C. Froschoverus, 1565); John Calvin,

published his translation of the book as a separate volume in 1530, with an extended prefatory commentary and interpretation.[30] All these commentaries required of their authors to write learned and intricate interpretations of the history of the eastern Mediterranean from the Babylonian exile to at least the rise of the Roman Empire. Associated with the exegesis of Daniel (and other prophetic works believed to have historical lessons) was the quest for a more perfect biblical chronology. Many major reformers engaged in the exercise technically known as 'supputation' of the years of the world: calculating the precise age of the world and the dates of the major political events in its history against the biblical record and classical historians. Two of the most elaborate exercises of this kind came from the pens of Martin Luther and Heinrich Bullinger; many biblical translations of this period availed themselves of this exercise by including chronological tables from the Creation to the time of publication.[31]

## Protestants and Old Testament prophecy

The Protestant exposition of biblical chronology began with a slightly adjusted quotation from the Babylonian Talmud. The choice of this and other key texts was not in any way original to the reformers: it can be and has been traced back to the Middle Ages.[32] Nevertheless, Protestants put these old materials to new uses. In Tractate Sanhedrin it reads: 'The Tanna debe Eliyyahu teaches: The world is to exist six thousand years. In the first two thousand there was desolation; two thousand years the Torah flourished; and the next two thousand years is the Messianic era, but through our many

*Praelectiones in librum prophetiarum Danielis* (Geneua [Geneva]: I. Laonius, 1561), standard edition in *Calvini Opera*, vol. XL, cols. 529–722, vol. XLI, cols. 1–304.

[30] *WA DB*, vol. XI/2, pp. 2–131 contains comparative editions of the three versions of this long preface. *LW*, vol. XXXV, pp. 294–316 translates the 1530 preface. Full bibliographic description of this first edition is supplied in *WA DB*, vol.11, pp. 484–5.

[31] Martin Luther, *Supputatio annorum mundi* (Wittembergæ [Wittenberg]: Rhau, 1541); edition in *WA*, vol. LIII, pp. 22–182; Heinrich Bullinger, *Epitome Temporum Et Rerum Ab Orbe Condito, ad primum usque annum Iothan regis Iudae: in qua praecipue attinguntur, quae pertinent ad sacras literas illustrandas, & ad veram antiquamque religionem et eius certitudinem, progressum item, et mutationem, cognoscendam. Una cum vi. Tabulis Chronicis, a temporibus Iothan usque ad Excidivm urbis Hierosolymorum deductis, potissimum pertinentibus ad expositionem Danielis prophetae, auctore Heinrycho Bullingero Tigurinae ecclesiae ministro* ... (Zurich: C. Froschoverus, 1565), printed directly after Bullinger, *Daniel ... expositus homiliis lxvi.*

[32] Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 140, and note 114 cites a discussion of the medieval antecedents of these themes in Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1980), pp. 148–54.

iniquities all these years have been lost.'[33] Another tractate, 'Abodah Zarah, repeated the text just quoted, ending more explicitly with 'through our many sins a number of these have already passed [and the Messiah is not yet]'.[34] The implication traditionally drawn in rabbinic exegesis was that, because of the sins of the people, the coming of the Messiah was delayed from the time when it should have occurred. In a modified form this phrase provided the introductory motif and framework for Protestant biblical world history. Carion's *Chronica* presented the three-times-two-thousand framework in its introduction, attributing it to the 'House of Elijah' and adding the suggestion that the times might not be fulfilled entirely (i.e. the world might not last its full six thousand years) because of the people's sins.[35] This phrase was then adopted as the opening clause in (among many others) Luther's *Supputatio Annorum Mundi* of 1541; in George Joye's exposition of Daniel in 1545; Melanchthon's revision of Carion, and in the framework for Johann Heinrich Alsted's table of world chronology.[36] It is by no means clear why this post-biblical text assumed so much prominence. Obviously, to Christian exegetes the prediction of the coming of the Messiah, the Christ, after four thousand years of world history could be regarded as an affirmation of their Christological readings of Hebrew Bible traditions.[37]

World history, therefore, was composed of discrete phases, ordered by divine providence and discernible through the words of the prophets. Prophecy is often studied in terms of its significance for apocalyptic and eschatological thought. However, to the exegetes of the early modern period, some of the most interesting studies of prophecy concerned periods of history that were already past. If one could demonstrate through historical scholarship that the prophecies of Antiquity had been fulfilled in subsequent history, that would

[33] Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 97a–b; see www.halakhah.com/pdf/nezikin/Sanhedrin .pdf, accessed 14 July 2014; main intro at www.halakhah.com/.

[34] Babylonian Talmud, 'Abodah Zarah 9a, from www.halakhah.com/pdf/nezikin/Avodah_ Zarah.pdf, accessed 14 July 2014.

[35] [Johannes Carion,], *Chronica, durch Magistrum Johan Carion, vleissig zusamen gezogen, meniglich nützlich zu lesen. Gemert und verbessert* ([Wittenberg]: [Rhaw], 1533), sig. B I².

[36] Luther, *Supputatio*, in *WA*, vol. LIII, p. 22; George Joye, *The exposicion of Daniel the prophete gathered oute of Philip Melanchton, Iohan Ecolampadius, Chonrade Pellicane [and] out of Iohan Draconite, etc.* ('Geneue' [i.e. Antwerp]: [By the successor of A. Goinus], 1545), fos.9ᵛ–10ʳ; [Johannes Carion], *Chronicon Carionis Expositum et Auctum Multis et Veteribus et Recentibus Historiis . . .* [ed. Philipp Melanchthon and Caspar Peucer] (Bern: Le Preux, 1601), pp. 6–7; there is a tipped-in chronological table to this effect in Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Thesaurus chronologiae: in quo universa temporum & historiarum series in omni vitae genere ponitur ob oculos* (Herbornae Nassoviorum [Herborn]: n.p., 1624); further editions in 1628, 1637 and 1650.

[37] It is possible that these Christian exegetes depended remotely on Paul of Burgos: see *WA*, vol. LIII, pp. 11–12 for this suggestion.

not only support the Christian interpretation of Hebrew Scripture; it could also prove the divine qualities of scriptural revelation against sceptics and doubters.

Without question the book of Daniel offered the richest opportunities to historical exegetes of prophetic writings, and the reformers seized on this work with enthusiasm. At least five distinct passages within the book attracted the attention of historians: the colossal statue in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, in chapter 2; Daniel's dream in the reign of Belshazzar, of the four beasts, the horns and the 'little horn' the Ancient of Days, and the Son of Man, in chapter 7; the vision of a battle between a ram and a goat, in chapter 8; the 'seventy weeks' appointed for the time until the coming of the Messiah, in 9:24–7; and finally, the prediction of the 'time, times, and a half', in 12:5–7. The book displays considerable textual and linguistic complexity: it survives partly in Aramaic and partly in Hebrew, leaving room for dispute over authorship and the time of its composition. The reformers on the whole accepted that it was written in one piece during the Babylonian exile. In keeping with a pre-existing tradition, they interpreted the four parts of the statue, and the four beasts of Daniel's dream, as both referring to the 'four great monarchies' of the ancient world. With considerable consensus they identified these as the Assyrian/Babylonian, the Persian, the Greek/Hellenistic (including the Seleucids and the Ptolemies) and the Roman Empires.[38] Thus was derived the 'four-monarchies system', which determined the compilation and writing of world history for a large part of early modernity. Through Johannes Sleidan's often-reprinted and widely translated textbook, *Three Books on the Four Great Empires*, this scheme of world history provided the fodder for school instruction in history for over a century.[39]

Several important lessons emerged from reading ancient political history out of Hebrew prophecy. First, the prophet had allegedly foretold – twice over – the sequence of world empires that would follow after his own time. That apparently confirmed not only the divine credentials of his prophecy,

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[38] Melanchthon, *In Danielem Prophetam Commentarius, Argumentum*, sigs. a8ᵛ–b4ʳ and pp. 22–33, 108–23; Bullinger, *Daniel ... expositus homiliis lxvi*, homilies ix–xi, fos. 17ʳ–22ᵛ; homilies xxxvi–xxxvii, fos. 73ʳ–78ᵛ; Calvin on Daniel 2:31–5 and 7:4 in *Calvini Opera*, vol. xl, cols. 588–96, vol. xli, cols. 40–2. Unusually, Hugh Broughton, in *Daniel his Chaldie visions and his Ebrevv...* (London: Field and Simson, 1596) argued that the fourth monarchy was the post-Alexandrine Seleucids and Ptolemies, omitting the Romans altogether.

[39] Joannes Sleidanus, *De quatuor summis imperiis libri tres, In gratiam iuventutis confecti ...*, ([Strasbourg]: [Rihel], 1557); translations include *Beschreibung der vier Monarcheyen oder höchsten Regimenten, so Gott allein in der wält verordnet* (Basel: Niclaus Brylinger, 1557); *The key of historie: Or, A most methodical abridgement of the foure chiefe monarchies, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome*, 3rd edn. (London: W. Sheares, 1635).

but also – just as importantly – that the world monarchies were raised up and deposed by a specific action of God. Whether pagan or not (and of course all were pagans until Constantine) these monarchs were answerable to God for their government of human affairs. Secondly, the 'monarchies' were alleged to rule consecutively, as a specific divine decision brought one to an end and raised up another.[40] This sequence of reigns was understood, and explicitly interpreted, as a warning to secular rulers that even those who did not acknowledge the true God ruled only by God's decree and sufferance. 'Divine institution' could not provide a sanction for reckless or immoral conduct.

The 'four monarchies' system worked well enough for Late Antiquity, but it raised the obvious question of how it could be applied to contemporary affairs. Some commentators assumed that the present dispensation of multiple territorial kingdoms simply represented the degraded continuation of the Roman Empire.[41] Jean Bodin stood out, relatively speaking, in the sixteenth century when he argued that the whole four-monarchies system was absurd, as it manifestly failed to address contemporary realities.[42] The more subtle biblical exegetes noted that there was no need for the four monarchies to comprehend all the regimes of the entire world: the point was to chart the history of those monarchies that oppressed the Jewish people. There would have been no point, Oecolampadius observed, in Daniel describing the regimes of the Carthaginians, Indians, Ethiopians or Scythians.[43] As Calvin remarked, 'the Prophet is not here describing what should happen through all the ages of the world, but only what the Jews should see … No notice is taken of [the Roman] empire, till it was made known to the Jews.' With characteristic mindfulness for both the authorship and audience of the text, Calvin argued that the point was to prepare the people of God for the times of oppression until the coming of Christ.[44]

A further key theme in the many expositions of Daniel lay in locating the coming and mission of Christ within the context of world history as well as of biblical prophecy. The 'four monarchies' passage in Daniel 2 opened itself

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[40] See e.g. Calvin on Daniel 2:21, in *Calvini Opera*, vol. xl, cols. 576–8.

[41] See e.g. Luther's preface to Daniel in *WA DB*, vol. xi/2, pp. 4–61; translated in *LW*, vol. xxv, pp. 294–316; also the 1530 preface to Revelation, in *WA DB*, vol. vii, pp. 412–15, translated in *LW*, vol. xxv, pp. 405–6.

[42] Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* ([Heidelberg]: Heredes Ioannis Mareschalli Lugdunensis, 1591), ch. 7, pp. 416ff.; discussion in Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 167–73.

[43] Oecolampadius, *Commentariorum … in Danielem*, p. 26.

[44] Calvin on Daniel 2:40–3, in *Calvini Opera*, vol. xl, cols. 598–603 and on Daniel 2:31–5 in *Calvini Opera*, vol. xl, cols. 588–96.

to Christological interpretation; but the real focus on the foreshadowing of Jesus came in the exposition of the 'seventy weeks' in Daniel 9:24–7. Nearly every Protestant interpreter insisted that the 'seventy weeks' represented seventy times seven years (490 years) from the supposed time of Daniel to the crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ. There was some level of disagreement over details; that did not stop the compilers of chronological tables and supputations from calculating precisely when this period began and ended.[45] Once again, biblical chronology and prophecy fused to demonstrate that salvation history was contained and expounded in the flow of the chronology of the world. Melanchthon went even further than most, and argued that the prophecies of Daniel contained in germ the Reformation gospel of repentance and saving faith.[46]

Since the Reformed theologians argued that their tradition represented the continuity of the eternal church of the divine covenant, they felt able to turn the accusation of novelty against their opponents. Protestants claimed that the church had more or less maintained the true faith for the first five centuries or so of its post-Pentecost existence, so they could argue that the rise of the 'recent heresy' of papal Catholicism began gradually during the second half of the first millennium, and also claim (rather neatly) that Islam spread more or less contemporaneously with it. As Philipp Melanchthon argued in the preface to his recension of Carion's *Chronica*, 'we can see the seeds of both the empires of this old age of the world, the Mahometan and the Papal. Both arose out of disagreements over doctrine.' Dissensions over doctrine in the Eastern church left the way open for the clarity and apparent simplicity of Islam; strife between the Goths and Greeks in Italy paved the way for the growth of papal power.[47] As Calvin observed, many held that both Muhammad and the Pope founded new forms of religion.[48] The 'new religion' of Catholicism had taken hold in the church, which explained why its medieval history had been such a disaster for true religion.

[45] Luther, *Supputatio*, in *WA*, vol. LIII, pp. 107ff.; Bullinger, *Daniel ... expositus homiliis lxvi*, homilies xlviii–xlix, fos. 99ʳ–103ᵛ, and additional 'supputation' on fos. 103ᵛ–107ᵛ; also Bullinger, *Epitome Temporum Et Rerum*, fos. 87ʳ, 89ʳ, 96ᵛ: Bullinger begins the 'weeks' in A M 3512, and ends the 'weeks' in A M 4002, A D 33, 490 years exactly.

[46] Melanchthon, *In Danielem Prophetam Commentarius*, pp. 152–64, and, for the complex numerological analysis of Daniel's 'seventy weeks', pp. 164–73.

[47] *Chronicon Carionis* (1572), p. 4; also 1581 edn., sig. g1ʳ⁻ᵛ, preface to Sigismund of Magdeburg: 'Considerentur autem praecipue in historia Ecclesiae semina utriusque imperii huius senectae mundi, Mahometici et Pontificii. Utrunque exortum est ex dissidiis de doctrina.'

[48] Calvin on Daniel 11:37, in *Calvini Opera*, vol. XLI, col. 271.

For the protagonists of the Reformation, their struggle with Catholicism and the papacy was written into the larger drama of the divine plan. Exegetes were thus tempted to read the confessional strife back into the words of the prophets themselves. One of the first to make the association between prophecy and contemporary threats was Johannes Oecolampadius. In his commentary on Daniel 7 he identified the 'little horn' that issued from the fourth beast (Daniel 7:8) with the Antichrist. He then, with great ingenuity, presented the parallels between two threats to true religion: the military threat posed by Muhammad and the Ottoman Empire; and the spiritual and theological challenge of the papacy. For Oecolampadius there was no doubt that Daniel had foreseen both these threats to the godly in remote Antiquity.[49] Heinrich Bullinger picked up on the references to the 'little horn' in his own massive *Homilies* on Daniel, although he thought that it referred even more plausibly to the Pope than to the Turkish sultan. He incorporated into his homily on Daniel 7:8 an extended digression on the history of the papacy, showing how it rose to excessive power from humble beginnings.[50] George Joye, basing himself on both Oecolampadius and Melanchthon, insisted categorically that

> This lytest horne was and is the Anti|crysten kingdome of the popes of Rome with all their vnclene clergye by lytle & lytle at their begininge creping vp from so low a state into so hyghe dignities / po|wer and possessions vnder themperours, and their. x. other hornes / sowen oute of the serpents sead into euery corner of the worlde / flyinge lyke locustes into euery emperours and kinges bosome ether to be their confessers / counsellers / prechers or teachers . . .[51]

Philipp Melanchthon, in his own commentary on Daniel, offered a slightly different read on the text to the same general effect. Following Luther's 1530 preface, Melanchthon read the 'little horn' as a reference to the Ottoman Empire; he declined to mingle with it supposed references to the papacy. However, when expounding chapter 8, with its perplexing battle of the ram and the goat, Melanchthon decided that the prophecy referred not only to the struggles of the Macedonians against the Persians (as the text required) but also to the coming of the Antichrist. Folding in references to 2 Thessalonians

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[49] Oecolampadius, *Commentariorum . . . in Danielem*, pp. 89–92.
[50] Bullinger, *Daniel . . . expositus homiliis lxvi*, homily xxxvii, fos. 78ff., and summary on fos. 84ᵛ–85ʳ of homily xxxix.
[51] Joye, *The Exposicion of Daniell the prophete*, fo. 99ᵛ.

and Revelation, Melanchthon argued that the Antichrist of prophecy would comprise a beast (the Turkish emperor) and a false prophet (the Pope).[52]

John Calvin, in contrast, when he reached Daniel 7 in his extraordinarily lengthy commentary (delivered as a set of daily lectures), proved to be much more restrained. He insisted that the prophecies of Daniel covered the period up to the coming and ministry of Jesus Christ, and ought not to be extended to later events, let alone to the Last Judgement:

> Here interpreters begin to vary; some twist this to mean the Pope, and others the Turk; but neither opinion seems to me probable; they are both wrong, since they think the whole course of Christ's kingdom is here described, while God wished only to declare to his Prophet what should happen up to the first advent of Christ.[53]

Ironically perhaps, because of his characteristic modesty and restraint in reading New Testament meanings into Old Testament texts, Calvin required himself to become a more expert historian of Late Antiquity (especially of the Hellenistic and Second Temple period) in order to vindicate his historical reading of Daniel. His lectures demonstrated meticulous reviewing of the events of Hellenistic history – accompanied by occasional apostrophes of admiration that the prophet had been given such a clear vision of events several centuries after his own time.[54]

## Covenant and Apocalyptic in early Protestantism

Protestant exegetes turned the Bible into a tool for understanding history in another important way. In Swiss Reformed thought especially, the *covenant* or covenants made by God with the people provided frameworks for understanding the flow of time. Johannes Oecolampadius initiated serious discussion of the historic covenants in his commentary on Jeremiah,

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[52] For Luther similarly identifying the little horn with the power of Islam, see his preface to Daniel in *WA DB*, vol. xi/2, pp. 12–13, translated in *LW*, vol. xxxv, p. 300. Compare Melanchthon on Daniel 7 and 8, *In Danielem Prophetam Commentarius*, pp. 112–13, 139–46.

[53] Calvin on Daniel 7:7, 7:8, 7:17–18, in *Calvini Opera*, vol. xli, cols. 46–53 (passage quoted on col. 50), and cols. 65–8. See also Barbara Pitkin, 'Prophecy and History in Calvin's Lectures on Daniel (1561)', in Katharina Bracht and David S. du Toit (eds.), *Die Geschichte der Daniel-Auslegung in Judentum, Christentum und Islam: Studien zur Kommentierung des Danielbuches in Literatur und Kunst*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 323–47.

[54] E.g. Calvin on Daniel 8:13–14, in *Calvini Opera*, vol. xli, col. 108: 'Thus the histories confirm in every way what Daniel had predicted many centuries before – that is, nearly three hundred years before it happened.' See Cameron, 'Calvin the Historian'.

published posthumously in 1533.[55] He began with a relatively conservative position, that there were two covenants for the two Testaments: one material and this-worldly, concerned with land and sacrifice, and therefore imperfect; another spiritual and celestial, eternal and perfect. However, as his exposition deepened Oecolampadius observed ever greater continuity between the covenants. The ancient covenant with Abraham and Isaac was a covenant of grace; only under Moses were legal conditions attached, which were types foreshadowing the coming of Christ. Ultimately there was but one covenant, though expressed in various and transient circumstantial details.[56] What Oecolampadius had proposed as an exegetical reflection, Bullinger then elaborated in 1534 in his short treatise *On the Single and Eternal Covenant*.[57] The eternal covenant established that God would be the God of the people – whoever the heirs to that covenant might be – and that they would hold God as their God. Thus even in the realm of material promises about land, the essential covenant was spiritual in nature. The entire history of the covenant pointed to Christ.[58] An important insight about the diversity of religious practices within history followed from Bullinger's response to the obvious objections to his theory. The frequent references in Scripture to old and new covenants appeared to disprove the unicity and continuity of the covenant. To this Bullinger answered that many things formed part of religious practice which were not of the essence of faith. They were temporary, circumstantial conditions appended to the basic covenant because of the needs of the time – as for instance the Aaronic priesthood, or the Mosaic laws of sacrifice and purification. The patriarchs had been saved without such ceremonies.[59] By this argument, one could reason that, as Eusebius had claimed in the fourth century, Reformed Christianity was only the latest temporal manifestation of the eternal divine covenant, the manner in which the primal monotheism of the people of God was expressed in the present age.

In a third important way Protestants deployed scriptural texts and arguments to vindicate their own positions. The book of Revelation played an

[55] Johannes Oecolampadius, *In Hieremiam Prophetam commentariorum libri tres Ioannis Oecolampadij. Eiusdem In Threnos Hieremiae enarrationes* (Argentinae [Strasbourg]: In Officina Matthiae Apiarii, M.D.XXXIII [1533]).

[56] Ibid., on Jeremiah 31:31–4, in fos. 161 *bis*ʳ–164 *bis*ʳ (there is duplicate foliation in this part of the book).

[57] Heinrich Bullinger, *De Testamento seu Foedere Dei unico et aeterno Heinrychi Bullingeri brevis expositio* (Tiguri [Zurich]: in excusum Christoph. Frosch., Mense Septemb. Anno. MDXXXIIII [1534]).

[58] Ibid., fo. 27ʳ: 'Tempora variata sunt non fides. Diversis quidem temporibus, sed utrosque per unum fidem ostium, hoc est per Christum videmus ingressos.'

[59] Ibid., fos. 28ᵛ–30ᵛ.

important role in their understanding of the past, as well as of the eschato-logical future. The English martyrologist John Foxe (1516–87) claimed that the history of the rise and fall of the Christian churches up to the Reformation had been foretold in Revelation, where it was prophesied that an angel would seize the 'dragon', Satan, and chain him up for a thousand years, after which he would be released for 'a short while'.[60] Foxe interpreted this to mean that for about a thousand years after the coming of Christ 'Satan was chained', that is, the church was allowed to grow more or less unmolested. When that time was over the enemy was progressively let loose to seduce the church into error. In the time of Reformation, the devil was definitively cast out of the church.[61] Revelation 20, therefore, played a vital role for many Protestants in making historical sense of the decay and recovery of true Christianity. This partisan reading of the Apocalypse entailed hermeneutical and chrono-logical difficulties, which Foxe wrestled with. Nevertheless, his view was influential. The great seventeenth-century Anglican scholar and Archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher, in his *Succession and State of the Christian Churches* (1613), set out to prove essentially the same point, though with much greater theological and scholarly precision than Foxe was qualified to deploy.[62]

German Lutherans likewise worked the Apocalypse into their vision of church history. Johannes Lampadius, who edited the Philippist Christoph Pezel's *Historical Beehive* and brought it up to his own era, divided the Christian era into periods in terms of the prophecy of the seven trumpets in Revelation 8–9. The fourth trumpet referred to the time of Emperor Henry IV and Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII) 'up to the beginnings of the Apostasy or of the Papal reign'; the sixth prophesied 'the Reformation of the Church or the revelation of Antichrist'. The last era would run from the death of Luther to the end of the world.[63] Apocalyptic served as vital a role in explaining the past as in predicting the future.

[60] Revelation 20: 1–3, 7–8.
[61] John Foxe, *The First Volume of the Ecclesiasticall History Contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes of thynges passed in euery Kynges Tyme in this Realme, especially in the Church of England prin-cipally to be noted … from the primitiue tyme till the reigne of K. Henry VIII* (London: Iohn Daye, 1570), book 5, pp. 514–15.
[62] James Ussher, *Gravissimae quæstionis, de Christianarum Ecclesiarum, in occidentis præser-tim partibus, ab apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usq[ue] ætatem, continuâ successione & statu, historica explicatio* (London: Bonham Norton, 1613). On this theme see also Irena Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse: Geneva, Zurich, and Wittenberg* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[63] Pezel, *Mellificium Historicum integrum*, sig.):(3ᵛ, and title page.

## Roman Catholicism and biblical history

In this area as in so much else, the complex and often nuanced responses of
the emerging Roman Catholic Church of the post-Reformation period can be
summed up in three verbs: to continue; to purify; and to defend. The Church
believed passionately that it conserved the living and valid tradition in which
the Holy Spirit was active. It also acknowledged (with a unanimity that per-
sisted until recent revisionist attempts to rehabilitate everything medieval)
that much in its medieval inheritance was spurious and needed purging. It
then set about a furious rebuttal of the arguments by which the reformers had
re-written the Church's history as well as its theology. However, these various
strands in Catholic thought probably did not appear at all distinct from one
another in the minds of those who wrote Catholic polemic. All merged in the
single task of proclaiming, justifying and defending the true faith.

An interesting and very scholarly instance of polemical church history is
afforded by the French Hebraist, pro-Ligue polemicist and preacher Gilbert
Génébrard (1535–97). Génébrard was an outstanding Hebrew scholar, and
served as professor of biblical and Hebrew studies at the Collège de France.[64]
He investigated the chronological writings of rabbinic Judaism with a care
probably unprecedented among Christian scholars. In 1572 Génébrard pub-
lished a Hebrew edition with Latin translation of the shorter version of the
Hebrew chronology known as the *Seder 'Olam Zuṭa*, attributed to Rabbi Jose
ben Chalafta.[65] A few years earlier, in 1567, Génébrard had published the first
edition of his *Chronographia*, which would appear in a significantly expanded
edition in 1581 and multiple times thereafter. In the *Chronographia* Génébrard
adapted the genre of the tabular chronology to serve specific theological ends.

Like the Protestant covenant theologians – but in a completely different
way – Génébrard believed that study of the religious past would vindicate the
religious present. Throughout the early sections of his chronology he claimed
to demonstrate that, from the beginnings of history, biblical testimony tended
to confirm not just Christianity, but *Catholic* Christianity. He saw in the earli-
est testimonies to Hebrew religion the beginnings of sacrifices, sacraments,

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[64] For a biography of Génébrard see Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum (eds.),
*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd edn. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA in association with
the Keter Pub. House, 2007), vol. VII, pp. 438–9, where it is reported that he was a pupil
of the Avignonese Jewish convert Abraham de Lunel.

[65] Jose ben Chalafta, *Chronicon breve, et capita R. Mose ben Maiemon de rebus regis Messie.
Cum Latina conuersione Gilberti Genebrardi . . .* ed. and trans. Gilbertus Genebrardus
(Paris: Martinus Iuuenis, 1572).

religious vessels and vestments, prayers for the dead, belief in purgatory, religious vows, even the use of a language other than the vernacular for worship … in short, all the beliefs, practices and traditions that the Protestant historians had discarded as recent innovations.[66] Génébrard shared with the Protestant historiographers the belief that the four great world monarchies of Late Antiquity were foreshadowed in the prophecies of Daniel, and that the years from the time of Daniel to the crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ could be computed according to the prophetic scheme of seventy 'weeks'.[67] However, he inverted the Protestant claim that the antecedents of the true church could be found in the heretics: heresies indeed anticipated the Protestants, but in a negative way. Hence, he claimed, Simon Magus was the first to teach justification by faith alone and to deny free will.[68] Protestantism succeeded a long line of enemies of the church.

Undoubtedly the most celebrated of Roman Catholic historians of the early modern era was Cesare Baronio ('Baronius', 1538–1607). His *Ecclesiastical Annals* began to appear in 1588, and by 1607 had issued twelve volumes, bringing the story up to 1198, the year of the accession of Pope Innocent III.[69] The *Annals* offered a meticulous and discriminating refutation of the claims of the *Magdeburg Centuries*. However, since Baronius began his history only with the Christian era, there was less opportunity to debate the relevance of texts of Hebrew Scripture for understanding the place of the church within world history and cosmic time. Baronius stood out in respect of his confident, but discriminating and scholarly, insistence that when traditions were properly purged and purified, they cohered with and supported the testimony of Scripture to the Catholic Church. He promised to demonstrate by authentic and carefully selected sources:

> the visible monarchy of the Catholic Church instituted by Christ the Lord, founded on Peter, and conserved inviolate and religiously guarded by his legitimate successors, the Roman Pontiffs, never interrupted, never intermitted, but perpetually continued; and that he has always been recognized and accepted in each age as the one visible head of the mystical body of Christ, which is the Church, to which the other members are obedient.[70]

[66] Gilbert Génébrard, *Chronographiae Libri Quatuor: Priores duo sunt de rebus veteris populi, et praecipuis quatuor millium annorum gestis* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1599), pp. 21–2, 38, 68–70, 113–15, 160–1, 165–71, 376–7, 388–9, 406, 433–4.
[67] Ibid., pp. 181, 213, 231ff.
[68] Ibid., p. 364.
[69] Caesar Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 12 vols. (Rome: ex Typographia Congregationis Oratorij apud S. Mariam in Vallicella, 1588–1607).
[70] Ibid., preface, sig. †† 5ᵛ.

When discussing the Last Supper, Baronius saw no incongruity in extending the discussion into a detailed survey of the Eucharist in succeeding centuries, to prove that the Catholic Mass offered a valid and appropriate communication of the Lord's Supper to believers.[71] The letters of Ignatius of Antioch stood, not for one particularly extreme view of Episcopal monarchy, but for the received wisdom of the Church as a whole at that time.[72] For Baronius, the kinds of disputes that mattered arose over the continuity (or the opposite) between early custom and Catholic rules. For instance, were early councils summoned by the popes, as Baronius insisted, or by emperors, as the Protestants had claimed?[73]

A protégé and follower of Baronius, Tomás Malvenda (*c.* 1566–1628), built on the tradition that Génébrard had developed, using scriptural exegesis for a polemically pro-Catholic reading of world history. In 1604 Malvenda published the first edition of his work *On Antichrist*. The whole work offered a prodigious exegetical discursus on the verses describing the revelation of the 'Man of Sin' in 2 Thessalonians 2:3–12, which was held to be a necessary prelude to the Second Coming. A Catholic polemic needed, of course, definitively to disprove the arguments so widely and freely put about by Protestants, that the Antichrist was either Muhammad or the Pope, or a contorted combination of the two, as discussed above. Consequently Malvenda sought to distance not only the papacy, but also the founder of Islam, from the prophecies of Antichrist. To prove that Antichrist had not in fact yet come, and that some historical scourges were at worst merely foreshadowings or types of Antichrist, Malvenda had to engage in a fair amount of biblical reading of the historic past, much of it directed against the growing Protestant consensus on the subject.

Malvenda examined in great detail the claim drawn from the Talmud (as above) that the world should last for only 6,000 years (sometimes understood as 6,000 years plus a sabbatical millennium thereafter). While some early Fathers of the Church had given credence to this alleged prophecy, the correct Catholic opinion held by Augustine and others (Malvenda argued) was that no one could possibly claim to know when the world would end.[74] More importantly, Antichrist was foretold to be a human being, not an institution

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[71] Ibid., vol. I, cols. 179–83.
[72] Ibid., vol. II, cols. 33ff.
[73] Ibid., vol. II, cols. 289ff.; and cf. Carion, *Chronicon Carionis* (1572) on the summoning of councils at pp. 418ff.
[74] Thomas Malvenda Setabitanus OP, *De Antichristo* (Lyon: Societas Bibliopolarum, 1647), book ii, chaps. 21–3.

or a sequence of people. More specifically, Antichrist could not be the papacy or any particular pope, as a large number of nameless Protestant polemical writers had claimed, and had been disproved by a more distinguished catalogue of (named) Catholic authors.[75] At some length Malvenda reflected on whether Muhammad should be seen as the true Antichrist or merely as a forerunner: ultimately he decided for the latter option. Malvenda then quoted Génébrard to the effect that Luther, by weakening Christendom and therefore bringing Muslim power into Europe, was at the very least a precursor of Antichrist. The emperor Maximilian had even claimed to have seen a vision of a demon crouching on Luther's shoulders.[76] In the rest of the work Malvenda set the coming of Antichrist in the near but imprecise future, with copious biblical references to show that the prophecies had not yet been fulfilled. Now that the gospel was finally preached across the entire world, and that the Roman Empire was undergoing desolation, the coming of these times might be close. By proving, for instance, that the West Indies were not the biblical Ophir, he could demonstrate that only in the sixteenth century was this prediction being fulfilled.[77]

## The fatal elaboration of biblical chronology

While biblical exegetes had been deploying such ingenuity to try to reconcile their readings of Scripture with the mathematics of world history and their ideological presuppositions, there had already developed a flourishing industry in what one might term technical chronology: the calculation of the times of reigns, lives and major events, shorn of most if not all ideological interpretation. In the mid-sixteenth century popular chronological manuals appeared from (among numerous others) such compilers as the Florentine Joannes Maria de Tholosanis (writing under the name of Johannes Lucidus Samotheus) and the Lutheran theologian Johann Funck, a devoted and unlucky follower of Andreas Osiander: both these works first appeared in

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[75] Ibid., book i, chaps. 8, 20. For Protestant authors Malvenda refers to Georgius Draudius, *Bibliotheca classica, sive Catalogus officinalis in quo singuli singularum facultatum ac professionum libri, qui in quavis fere lingua extant quique intra hominum fere memoriam in publicum prodierunt secundum artes et disciplinas, earumque titulos et locos communes, authorumque cognomina … recensentur … authore M. Georgio Draudio, …* (Francofurti [Frankfurt]: N. Hoffmannus, 1611) under the heading of 'Antichrist', where Draudius lists many Reformed authors who had written about Antichrist.

[76] Malvenda, *De Antichristo*, book i, chaps. 24–6.

[77] Ibid., book iv, chaps. 29–37. Cf. the debates about Ophir in Chapter 34 in this volume.

the mid-1540s.[78] As astronomical and cosmographical knowledge increased, those who were not historians entered into the business of chronology. Most influentially, the great geographer Gerard Mercator issued in 1569 a *Chronology . . . from eclipses and astronomical observations, also from Scripture and the best writers*.[79] To demonstrate the effectiveness claimed for his method, Mercator presented in the second chapter of the work a harmony of the Gospels, in which he proposed a reconciliation of the narratives of the life of Christ in the four Gospels.[80] The following chapter offered a meticulous reconstruction of the date of the Passion. However, the biblical–prophetic scheme was too pervasive to be omitted. In the following chronological tables Mercator, like so many contemporaries, added to the headers of the pages the words *inane* (void), *lex* (law) or *gratia* (grace) to describe the three talmudic eras; and under the times of the four monarchies, associated them with the symbolic beasts of Daniel 7; the 'weeks' were conventionally listed in columns during the relevant period.

Mercator had aspired to extreme mathematical precision, but he was outdone for sheer scholarly and linguistic hypertrophy by the fantastically elaborate, linguistically and culturally exotic work of Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), *On the Emendation of Times*, which appeared first in 1583.[81] This work, so dexterously analysed by Anthony Grafton, brought a degree of systematisation and rigour to chronology not seen before. It also allowed Scaliger to indulge a habit of mocking the ignorance of his rivals and detractors in a long prolegomenon.[82] The work stepped back from the ideological debates and many of the more fanciful numerological speculations of its predecessors. In the first four books it aspired to sort out the various means of computing

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[78] 'Ioannes Lucidus Samotheus', *Opusculum de eme[n]dationibus temporum ab orbe condito ad hanc vsq[ue] nostram aetatem: iuxta veram ac rectam chronographiam: ex antiquis ac probatissimis authoribus excerptum* (Venetiis [Venice]: officina Luceantonii Iunte, 1546 [1545]); later edition as *Chronicon seu emendatio temporum ab orbe condito usque ad annum Christi* MDXXXV (Venice: Apud Juntas, 1575); Johann Funck, *Chronologia: Hoc est Omnium Temporum Et Annorum Ab Initio Mundi, Usque ad Resurrectionem Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, computatio* (Nuremberg: Wachter, 1545) (later edn. Basle, 1561 which took the chronology up to 1561). See discussion of these works in Daniel Rosenberg and Anthony Grafton, *Cartographies of Time* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010), pp. 62–3.

[79] Gerardus Mercator, *Chronologia. Hoc est, Temporum demonstratio exactissima ab initio mundi vsque ad Annum Domini* M.D.LXVIII, *ex eclipsibus et obseruationibus astronomicis omnium temporum, sacris quoq; Biblijs, & optimis quibusq; scriptoribus . . . concinnata* (Coloniæ Agripinæ [Cologne]: Apud hæredes Arnoldi Birckmanni, 1569; later edn. Basel: T. Guarinus, 1577).

[80] Ibid., chap. 2, sigs. B i[r]–d v[v].

[81] Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Opus Novum de Emendatione Temporum* (Paris: Mamertus Patissonius, 1583); revision in 1598 and definitive edition in 1629.

[82] Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, pp. 104–44.

the year. Armed with this technical equipment, it went on to resolve dates for the epoch-making events of world history (book 5). Scaliger then addressed two distinctly biblical issues: the date of the birth and ministries of Jesus, and the dating the events foretold in Daniel (book 6). The final book discussed issues of calendrical diversity between the various known world cultures. Scaliger's display of virtuosity must have discouraged most others from attempting to achieve such precision, while provoking a tiny minority among the very learned. His work, written basically in Latin, comprised a tessera of quotations from Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac. After several pages of intricate computation and argument (for instance) he supplied the date of Jesus' nativity according to five different calendars.[83]

However, Scaliger's scholarly and technical computational virtuosity did not bring to an end, even in his own Reformed tradition, the quest for meaning in the intricate thorn-bushes of global chronology. The Herborn theologian Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) produced in 1624 a monumental *Treasury of Chronology*, destined to appear in multiple later editions.[84] This vast work consisted of all manner of tabulated chronological sequences for every known culture of the world (and some, such as the Chinese, not really all that well known in the West) as well as genealogical tables and annalistic narratives of the Reformation, the Dutch Revolt and the Thirty Years War. Alsted borrowed explicitly from Scaliger's virtuoso comparison of different calendars. He also adopted Scaliger's estimate which placed the birth of Christ in around AM 3948, a few decades earlier than the previously favoured date of around AM 3970, and significantly earlier than Archbishop James Ussher's notorious estimate of 4004, or Génébrard's even higher estimate of 4089. He then restored much of the apocalyptic and theologically charged material that Scaliger had played down. He also followed, in his fold-out table, the by now traditional talmudic pattern of three ages and six millennia, interspersed with astrological and chiliastic calculations.

The production of such ever more complex and intricate exercises in computation betrays no sign of fatigue or disillusionment on the part of their authors, and no sense that the unending controversies over computation were taking their toll. Scaliger, not surprisingly given the acid quality of many of his observations on rivals, received a massive rebuttal from the enormously

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[83] Scaliger, *De Emendatione* (1629 edn.), pp. 541–51.
[84] Alsted, *Thesaurus chronologiae*. See discussion in Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted, 1588–1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

learned French Jesuit Denis Pétau (Petavius; 1583–1652), which appeared in multiple volumes in the 1620s and 1630s, and continued to be republished in Catholic countries into the middle of the eighteenth century.[85] However, these debates must eventually have left the impression that, with so much intellectual energy already expended, absolute certainty lay forever beyond their authors' grasp. Some who were not utterly absorbed in the game of chronology, and some who were, began to speculate openly whether accuracy could ever be attained. Sir Thomas Browne (1605–82) included a learned discussion of biblical chronology in a section of his encyclopaedic and insatiably curious compendium, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, 'widely-believed falsehoods', first published in 1646 and revised and enlarged until 1672.[86] Browne's view represented that of the consumer rather than the practitioner of chronology. As he observed:

> Thus may we observe the difference and wide dissent of mens opinions, and therefore the great incertainty in this establishment. The Hebrews not only dissenting from the Samaritans, the Latins from the Greeks, but every one from another. Insomuch that all can be in the right it is impossible; that any one is so, not with assurance determinable. And therefore as *Petavius* confesseth, to effect the same exactly without inspiration it is impossible, and beyond the Arithmetick of any but God himselfe.[87]

Browne pointed out that the differences in chronology ultimately derived from the instability with which the text of Scripture had been transmitted. The Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs presented different dates, and the Septuagint, itself subject to numerous corruptions, differed radically from both. Moreover, the biblical texts often used numbers in a symbolic and therefore imprecise sense. Calculating the 'weeks' of Daniel depended on which of four Persian edicts were deemed to mark the beginning of the 490 years. But did any of this matter? As Browne remarked, 'When [Jesus] therefore came is not so considerable, as that he is come: in the one there is consolation, in the other no satisfaction. The greater Quere is, when he will come again; and yet indeed is no Quere at all; for that is never to be known, and therefore vainly

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[85] Denis Petau or Dionysius Petavius SJ, *Opus de doctrina temporum*, 2 vols. (Paris: Seb. Cramoisy, 1627); a third volume entitled *Uranologion, sive, Systema variorum authorum, qui de sphæra, ac sideribus, eorumqve motibus Græcè commentati sunt* appeared three years later (Paris: Seb. Cramoisy, 1630); some subsequent editions folded all three volumes into the *Opus de Doctrina*. See also the abridgement of the whole work entitled *Rationarium temporum* (Paris: Seb. Cramoisy, 1633).

[86] Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica, or, Enquiries into very many received tenents and commonly presumed truths* (London: Printed by T.H. for E. Dod, 1646); revised and enlarged editions appeared in 1650, 1658, and 1672. There also appeared translations of the work into German, French and Italian in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[87] Ibid., pp. 273–82; quotation on p. 278.

enquired.'[88] None of these difficulties that Browne noted, of course, was new, save perhaps the discovery of the Samaritan Pentateuch. This important text only began to be seriously studied in the West after the first manuscript was brought to Europe by Pietro della Valle in 1616. Shortly thereafter it was included in the Paris Polyglot (1629–54) and subsequently also in the London Polyglot.[89] What had changed was not so much the *knowledge* of the problems of chronology as the *response* to those problems. Little by little, approaches to biblical history were about to change radically.

## The implications for history of new ways of reading Scripture in the seventeenth century

In the mid-sixteenth century, Protestant thought focused so closely on proving that Scripture was sufficient without the addition of ecclesiastical traditions that it left some unresolved ambiguities about the authority and application of the Bible. As was seen earlier, reformers such as Calvin could hold in tension the concept that Scripture was divinely inspired and uniquely authoritative, and that it was also, in the form in which we have it, a product of its times. Patriarchs, prophets and evangelists wrote as people of their own time and their own culture. In the seventeenth century this tension showed some signs of falling apart. On one hand, conservative Protestant scholastics responded to the Catholic insistence on Bible-and-Tradition by insisting, in their turn, on the absolute inerrancy and literal inspiration of the biblical text (something not taught by the early reformers).[90] On the other hand, some critical spirits began to explore the origins and historical location of the scriptural books in a more challenging way. As the debate over Louis Cappel's theories about the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible showed, different sects of Protestant scholastics could disagree violently over the legitimate scope of biblical criticism.[91] It became not only thinkable, but publishable, to argue that the history of the world derived from the book of Genesis did not represent a full account of events since Creation. Ultimately but not soon, this movement of thought would detach the understanding of world history from the chronologies and models derived from scriptural evidence.

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[88] Ibid., p. 282.
[89] See Chapters 4 and 6 in this volume; also R.T. Anderson and T. Giles, *The Samaritan Pentateuch: An Introduction to its Origin, History, and Significance for Biblical Studies*, SBLRBS 72 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012).
[90] See discussion in Chapter 19 in this volume. Cf. also Muller, *Holy Scripture*, pp. 51–230.
[91] See discussion of the views of Louis Cappel (1585–1658) regarding the Masoretic pointing in the Hebrew Text in Chapters 1, 4, 6 and 19 in this volume; also Muller, *Holy Scripture*, pp. 426–32.

One of the first writers to achieve a *succès de scandale* with his claims about pre-biblical Antiquity was the eccentric French Huguenot Isaac La Peyrère (1596–1676). This modestly educated Protestant lawyer moved in Parisian intellectual circles in the 1640s, and formed the notion that the biblical Adam had been not the first human being, but merely the first ancient Hebrew person. There had been people before him for many ages. The work containing these theories was published as *Prae-Adamitae* in 1655, with a subtitle indicating that the work constituted an extended reflection on Romans 5:12–14.[92] It has been convincingly demonstrated that La Peyrère proposed this theory as part of an imprecisely millenarian system: he hoped that the Jews, as a distinct people chosen by God (but not the ancestors of all humanity), could be drawn into union with undogmatic Christians.[93] *Prae-Adamitae*, when it appeared, drew a chorus of ridicule and criticism, not least because many of the greater scholars who had confronted the same evidence about ancient cultures older than was allowed for in the Judaeo-Christian chronology, such as Scaliger and Claude Saumaise (Salmasius), had simply worked around it. La Peyrère quoted them against themselves without taking their exegesis seriously.[94] In 1656 La Peyrère was arrested in Brussels and found it expedient to go to Rome, where he abjured his Protestantism and his eccentric views. By his abjuration he inoculated himself against criticism of his opinions. The work continued to be published and had wide influence through the seventeenth century.

Later in the seventeenth century two considerably greater minds confronted some of the same questions as La Peyrère: namely, that the record of events in the Pentateuch could not be read as a sufficient and definitive account of human origins. Whereas La Peyrère produced his eccentric ideas from long personal reflection on the texts (which he could not read in the originals), these later scholars reformed the approach to biblical history and chronology through rigorous textual and philological criticism. They were a very diverse pair, the controversial Dutch philosopher and excommunicate Jew, Baruch Spinoza (1632–77), and the French Oratorian priest Richard Simon (1638–1712). These two worked quite separately, and their works show little if any mutual dependence. On the contrary, when Simon wrote about Spinoza in the preface to the *Histoire critique*, it was to denounce Spinoza for his failure

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[92] Isaac de La Peyrère, *Prae-adamitae, sive Exercitatio super versibus duodecimo, decimotertio, & decimoquarto, capitis quinti Epistolae D. Pauli ad Romanos: quibus inducuntur primi homines ante Adamum conditi* (n.p.: n.p., 1655).

[93] Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère*, pp. 7–8, 53–9; Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, p. 207.

[94] Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, esp. pp. 209–10.

to recognise that later recensions of the Scriptures might have been as much divinely inspired as the original texts.

Spinoza and Simon concurred in arguing that the textual state of the Pentateuch utterly excluded the possibility that it was the work of a single author in remote Antiquity. Consequently, world history needed to be envisaged in a form that comprehended and set in context the compilation of these books. If that were so, history could no longer be written as though the Pentateuch were itself a historical source. Spinoza presented, for his time, a startlingly original and daring interpretation, combining scriptural and political reflection in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* of 1670. He stressed that the prophets knew *speculatively* only what suited their temperaments and times; so they should not be used as evidence for scientific or indeed spiritual information which they could not have known. By implication at least, the idea that Daniel could have had certain knowledge of the future was disallowed. Divine law required no faith in particular historical events, least of all miraculous ones. Scripture needed to be interpreted by itself, with respect to the language in which it was written, and the cultural context in which it was produced, so far as that could be ascertained.[95] Internal evidence proved that the earliest books of Hebrew Scripture were clearly written long years after the events they described.[96] Spinoza then suggested that the early books of Scripture were compiled by Ezra after the exile. While citing instances of cross-quotation between various passages in the prophetic and historical books, Spinoza demonstrated the impossibility of forming a coherent chronology for the period of the judges and early kings to Solomon. He hypothesised that the same author might have written Ezra–Nehemiah and Esther as wrote Daniel, but anonymously. In any case these works were relatively late products of the era of the Second Temple.[97]

Richard Simon adopted a similar line of argument to Spinoza as far as the transmission of early Hebrew Scripture was concerned, but in order to reach (as he insisted in his preface) radically different conclusions. He demonstrated without great difficulty that the Old Testament, and in particular the Pentateuch, presented a heavily redacted summary of many older and more complex texts of diverse sources, where the essential message intended for the people had been distilled out of pre-existing ingredients. Therefore, in the

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[95] Benedictus de Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (Hamburg: Henricus Kunrath, 1670), chap. vii, pp. 83–103.
[96] Ibid., chap. viii, pp. 103–10.
[97] Ibid., chap. x, pp. 127–36.

form in which it was now available, the text did not in any way represent the form in which its authors first wrote it down. Since the text had undergone such changes over time, it was impossible for those Protestants who claimed to adhere to only the bare letter of Scripture to set their faith on a sound footing – since that letter had undergone so many changes. Accordingly, argued Simon (here reasoning very much as a loyal though idiosyncratic Catholic), one could only believe the Scriptures if one believed that the editors and transmitters of those Scriptures were similarly divinely guided and inspired. By an irony, the humanist *ad fontes* approach led to the conclusion that, since the *fontes* could never be recovered, one must place one's trust in the tradition itself.[98]

Both Spinoza and Simon were excoriated by the forces of conservatism in their respective theological traditions, which was not in itself surprising. The late seventeenth century saw the very first stirrings of intellectually weighty and credible critical study of the Scriptures. That process is studied elsewhere in this book: at this point one need only note that this process ultimately would render meticulous pursuit of biblical chronology and of biblical understandings of world history obsolete. However, the process unfolded only very slowly. The *philosophes* of the Enlightenment would feel free to speculate that the world was indeed of vast antiquity, as some of the records of classical and Near Eastern mythologies, or the chronological records of some ancient cultures, had suggested. Many of those pieces of information were not new; but the climate of opinion, in which they could be taken seriously as testimony against the explicit word of Scripture as traditionally understood, certainly was new. In due course geologists would first theorise, and then demonstrate, that the age of the world was to be numbered not in thousands, but in hundreds of thousands, and then millions, of years. As those insights gradually gained traction among the educated, the notion that one could write world history solely with reference to Scripture would gradually slip away. The same world-historical events and processes would be told; but the scale of time would now run backwards from the Incarnation into the remote and unrecorded years BC, rather than forward from a confidently defined date *Anno Mundi*, of the year since the creation of the world.[99]

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[98] Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, new edn. (Rotterdam: Leers, 1685), preface, esp. sig. *** 4ᵛ.

[99] For an example of a table that emphasises the traditional biblical ancient monarchies, but with a BC rather than an AM chronology, see Joseph Priestley's 'A New Chart of History', reproduced in Rosenberg and Grafton, *Cartographies of Time*, pp. 120–1.

# The Bible and literature in the European Renaissance

BRIAN CUMMINGS

Erasmus's colloquy *Convivium religiosum*, composed and published in 1522, gathers together a group of intimate friends for an exquisite lunch in the countryside in midsummer.[1] The scene is a classical *locus amoenus*; the house is 'elegant' but not 'luxurious'.[2] The garden itself provides all their needs.[3] The wine is *du terroir*; melons, figs, pears, apples and nuts drop into their laps. We could be in Horace's Sabine farm or Cicero's villa at Tusculum. Erasmus quotes Horace's *Epodes*, just in case we miss the reference.[4] This is one of half a dozen of the *Colloquia* which conform to the Classical genre of a Platonic *symposium*, a feast at which friends share stories and philosophise. 'The whole Renaissance', Johan Huizinga reminds us, cherished the wisdom and conversation of friends 'in the cool shade of a house under trees'.[5] The topic of the *convivium*, however, is not love or hospitality or folly, but how to read the Bible. The participants all have Greek names suggesting piety or learning (Eusebius, Timothy, Theophilus). A serving boy comes in to say that the meal is spoiling with all their talk; Eusebius, the host, tells him to stay calm. Eusebius says grace via a homily of Chrysostom.[6] But, he continues, there is still no place set for Christ to join in with their feast. He gets the boy to read from the Bible, a passage from Proverbs. Dinner has to wait until Eusebius, followed by three of his companions, offers an exegesis of the verse. Except that, while we are listening to their commentary, it becomes obvious that

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[1] First printed in *Colloquia familiaria* (Basel: Johannes Froben) of March, 1522, with only the introduction; the full text appeared in an edition by the same printer later in the same year, probably August.

[2] 'Equidem arbitror has intra mundiciem consistere, aut, si mauis, elegantiam; certe absunt a luxu, ni fallor'; text from ASD, vol.1-3, p. 258. Translation by Craig R. Thompson from *CWE*, vol. XXXIX, p. 200.

[3] ASD, vol. 1-3, p. 232.

[4] Horace, *Epodon*, 11, 48.

[5] Johan Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation*, repr. edn. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 104.

[6] ASD, vol.1-3, p. 240.

the feast has already begun, and they do not want for any delicacy, savoury or sweet.

The interpretation of Scripture provides the allegorical narrative as well as the formal subject of Erasmus's fable. None of the companions is a priest or a professional theologian, Erasmus stresses: they are laymen and married; they quote from the ancient Fathers but never from scholastic doctors. The dialogue thus taps into the controversies then raging at the onset of the Reformation about the role of the laity, vernacular translation, and the place of Scripture in everyday devotion. Like much of Erasmus's writing, it contains satire and complaint about the financial excess of the church and the abuses of piety that concentrate more on ceremonies than substance. It also provides several exemplary instances of biblical reading in action. Eusebius apologises that he is not a professional *theologus*; however, he does not lack biblical learning: he is familiar enough with the commentary tradition to omit conjectures ('omissis variis coniecturis, quae in hoc locum congerunt interpretes').[7] He himself affords an interpretation in accord with what he calls the *sensus moralis*.[8] The proverb 'The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord' means (he says) that no man, however mighty, can escape God's judgement. Timothy declares that this reading would not shame a bachelor of divinity, but he also suggests that the passage may lend itself to a 'deeper meaning' ('ad abstrusiorem sententiam accomodari posse').[9] 'King' can be understood as the man who has his bodily passions under control. The text implies that no human regulations can bind the man who is governed by the Holy Spirit.

In this sense, Erasmus's colloquy could be placed in the context of arguments about the different levels of sense embedded in biblical texts, and the methods of interpretation – moral, anagogical and so on – that could be applied to them. Eusebius and Timothy show a preference for an allegorical interpretation, in accordance with Erasmus's own taste for Origen, Jerome and pseudo-Dionysius.[10] They are good humanists in their knowledge of different textual traditions, in their respect for the original languages of the Bible, and in their knowledge of historical traditions, whether Jewish or Greek, which can elucidate meaning. However, it is not the humanism of Eusebius and Timothy that makes the *Convivium religiosum* so radical a piece of writing. The dialogue not only exhibits forms of biblical reading, it embodies the

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[7] Ibid., p. 242.
[8] Ibid.
[9] ASD, vol.I-3, p. 244; *CWE*, vol. xxxix, p. 186.
[10] Constance M. Furey, *Erasmus, Contarini, and the Religious Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 114.

Bible itself as a literary ideal. The colloquy performs as an allegory in its own right. The doorkeeper to Eusebius's house is called Peter, and the door itself is inscribed with minute quotations from all three ancient languages, in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. On the altar in the chapel along the path is a new set of inscriptions. Each is a different citation from the Bible; none is translated: they body forth Scripture, just as Erasmus's story does. For the garden, following Classical types of metaphor, acts as an anthology of flowers and a treasury of literary tropes: 'let everyone pick some blossoms and leaves from it'.[11] Jesus himself, rather than a pagan Priapus, presides as protector of the garden: this is symbolised by the little fountain that flows throughout, 'which refreshes with its heavenly stream all those who labour and are heavy laden'.[12] As if this is not sufficient hermeneutic coding, Erasmus makes Eusebius refer to his own garden as a form of *ekphrasis*, a speaking picture; and at a more literal level, the whole house and garden are covered with frescoes which blazon forth scriptural stories of the life of Christ and the works of the prophets.

This idea of the Bible as literary form in the *Convivium* competes with other religious meanings more familiar to the late medieval church. Primary among these, of course, is the Eucharist itself, what might be considered the true 'Holy Feast'. While careful not to challenge the supremacy of the corporeal sacrament directly, Erasmus suggests that spiritual food is the highest ideal of all. The body is more than satisfied by the delights on offer, but the mind is also transported. Scriptural reading – whether explicitly in Eusebius's commentary or implicitly in the living fountain of the *locus amoenus* – sanctifies the life of the reader, inspires his affections onto a new plane and dedicates the mind to the truest philosophy. All of this the Bible achieves in the way that a work of literature does. Indeed, Erasmus goes so far as to compare the effect of Scripture with that of pagan writing and of poetry. Perhaps, Eusebius suggests, 'the spirit of Christ is more widespread than we understand, and the company of saints includes many not in our calendar'.[13] In a truly daring moment, in the context of a colloquy which makes explicit reference to the rituals of the Mass, Eusebius says he cannot read his Cicero 'without sometimes kissing the book'. Nephalius counters by exclaiming later, 'Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis' (St Socrates, pray for us!).[14]

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[11] ASD, vol.1–3, p. 233; *CWE*, vol. xxxix, p. 176.
[12] ASD, vol.1–3, p. 234; *CWE*, vol. xxxix, p. 178, referring to John 4:13–14 and Psalms 42:2.
[13] ASD, vol.1–3, p. 251; *CWE*, vol. xxxix, p. 192.
[14] That this is an afterthought or an improvisation of special daring is suggested by it being a marginal addition to Erasmus's autograph manuscript copy, Royal Library, Copenhagen, MS Thottske Saml 73 Fol, fol. 310ʳ.

Erasmus's application of the methods of a literary-critical apparatus to the text of the Bible is well known; Lorenzo Valla had already employed the same techniques for a generation.[15] In 1516 Erasmus's *Novum instrumentum* not only produced a Greek text of the New Testament purporting to be based on classical editorial principles, but also supplied annotations which drew on the vast resources of philological *scholia*. Between 1517 and 1524 he produced a series of *Paraphrases* of the Epistles and the Gospels which rewrote their meaning in a new literary form. But every so often he declared something far more sensational, that the Bible might *be* a work of literature. In this, he was not attempting to bring the Bible down to earth, but to raise it to the highest level. In *Paraclesis*, the preface to the 1516 New Testament, he referred to 'Christi litterae', Christ's writings, as if they were like Plato's writings, or a poet's.[16] The title of the work means effectively a 'call to reading'. Yet Erasmus does not only mean by this an emphasis on the need to interpret the Bible correctly and sensitively. By referring to the New Testament as *litterae*, he uses the same word as for familiar letters, of the kind written by Cicero to his friends, but also that someone from Erasmus's own time might carry on the person, from a brother or a lover.[17] Scripture evokes the same intense feelings and intimate communication provided by works of literature: and this is what makes it so powerful in bringing us closer to Christ. Christ, indeed, is more fully present in his writings than he would be if we were able to gaze on him with our own eyes.[18]

## Erasmian humanism and the Bible as literature

At times such as this, Erasmus skirts close to blasphemy. How to compare Scripture with pagan literature was, as he well knew, a very ancient debate. Tertullian stated that the *antiquitas divinae litteraturae* makes it the storehouse for later wisdom, so that all the poets have 'drunk from the fountain of the prophets'.[19] But this was only to spurn the claims of those who asserted the superiority of Greek literature. Tertullian rejected Classical culture, asking

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[15] Jacques Chomarat, 'Les Annotations de Valla, celles d'Érasme et la grammaire', in O. Fatio and P. Fraenkel (eds.), *Histoire de l'exégèse au XVIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1978), pp. 202–28.

[16] *LB*, vol.V, p. 141D.

[17] Kathy Eden, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Intimacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 89.

[18] *LB*, vol.V, p. 144D.

[19] Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, xlvii. 1–2; *MPL*, vol. 1, col. 515A.

'what has Athens to do with Jerusalem?'[20] Lactantius took a more concili-
atory approach, admitting that Scripture might appear rude to those used
to polished and eloquent language: 'divinarum litterarum simplicem com-
munemque sermonem pro sordido aspernantur'.[21] But God 'wished those
things which are divine to be without adornment that all might understand
the things which he himself spoke to all'.[22]

The most common defence among the early Fathers against the charge
that Scripture is not literary is to say that eloquence is the privilege of an
elite. Scripture must be comprehensible to all, so God decided not to make it
eloquent.[23] Jerome later repeated such views: 'How can Horace go with the
psalter, Virgil with the gospels, Cicero with the apostle?'[24] But Jerome, trained
rhetorician, lover of the classics and literary stylist that he was, arrived at such
conclusions at some cost. He recounted to Eustochium his personal struggle
to abjure his personal library. He would repent his sins in nights of vigil and
then take to reading Plautus again. Finally, as if in a dream, he comes before
the judgement seat and is told: 'Ciceronianus es, non Christianus'.[25] Erasmus
annotated this passage in his monumental 1516 edition of the works of Jerome.
He expressed regret that this famous passage was still being used to suppress
the knowledge of good literature.[26] Pope Leo X, he said in a passage added
in 1524, had created a ban in universities on studying poetry and rhetoric for
more than five years. However, Erasmus protests, Jerome never said that we
should not read Cicero; indeed, he thought a knowledge of Cicero gave a
better understanding of theology. And Jerome himself, Erasmus adds tartly,
writes in a style nothing like Duns Scotus.

The dig at the universities and the denigration of Scotus is part of the
ritual polemic of early humanism.[27] Erasmus tried to make it seem that
humanism and scholasticism were mutually exclusive, rather in the way that
others had used the Fathers to create a stark choice between Ciceronianism
and Christianity. The reality was more nuanced. The universities every-
where opened up to the humanists, and opposition to humanism was often

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[20] 'Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis? quid Academiae et Ecclesiae? Quid haereticis et
Christianis?' *De praescriptione haereticorum* VII; *MPL*, vol. II, col. 20B.
[21] Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*, VI, xxi.
[22] *MPL*, vol. VI, cols. 713B–14A.
[23] David Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 1993), vol. I, p. 26.
[24] Jerome, *Epistola* 22 Ad Eustochium; *MPL*, vol. XXII, col. 416.
[25] *MPL*, vol. XXII, col. 416.
[26] *CWE*, vol. LXI, p. 190.
[27] For instance in *Moriae Encomium*, ASD, vol. IV–3, p. 154; *Praise of Folly*, in *CWE*, vol. XXVII,
p. 129.

exaggerated by the humanists themselves. Theologians on both sides of the developing divide of the Reformation welcomed some form of literary training. Erasmus's many remarks on the rhetorical interpretation of scriptural meaning did not fall on deaf ears. His appeal in the early *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (1503) to look beyond the literal *sensus simplex* to an allegorical *sensus mysterius* conformed to a familiar scholastic hermeneutic.[28] Yet the assumption in the same paragraph that in this sense the Bible was not to be read in any different way from Plato and the poets was a much bolder move. Erasmus illustrated his idea by saying that the Bible was like one of the *Sileni Alcibiadis* – the ugly dolls of Silenus which contained divinities inside. This was a favourite topos of Erasmus from Plato's *Symposium*, which he expanded in *Praise of Folly* and in the 1515 edition of the *Adagia*.[29] The idea is similar to a medieval cliché of interpretation distinguishing between the chaff and the kernel of a nut. But it is given an edge in the *Adagia* when Erasmus calls Christ 'a marvellous Silenus': a man of humble means and very ordinary company, friend of fishermen and publicans, without form or comeliness, and yet what treasure within! Erasmus combines theological commonplace with a novel capacity to treat Jesus like a character in one of his own *Colloquia*. He takes Scripture in an opposite direction when he calls the Bible, too, a kind of Silenus. How ridiculous Genesis would seem if we took it literally: Adam made out of clay, his poor wife extracted from his rib while he is sleeping, the serpent as a comic villain, and God going on a walkabout to get some fresh air. Truth and wisdom in the Old Testament are only to be found by looking under these absurd wrappings of the literal to discover the mysterious depths within.

*Enchiridion* goes on to point out how prone Christ is to using elaborate figures of speech to express his meaning. In the *Ratio verae theologiae* – which began as a methodological preface to the Greek New Testament but was issued from 1518 onwards as an independent treatise – Erasmus made an exhaustive list of Christ's figurative language, page after page, and showed Paul in the same light as a literary writer.[30] More daring still, perhaps, is his determination to show how far Christ in the Gospels creates effect by appealing to the emotions – the *affectus*.[31] The Bible works, in short, not by persuading us of truth as certainty via logical demonstration, but through truth as a form of education of feeling. Christ makes us love the truth, not give in to it rationally.

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[28] 'quae ex simplici sensu & mysterio': *LB*, vol. v, p. 29ab; *CWE*, vol. lxvi, p. 67.
[29] Plato, *Symposium*, 215b–217a; Erasmus, *Adagia*, iii iii 1. See M.A. Screech, *Ecstasy and the Praise of Folly* (London: Duckworth, 1980), pp. 105–6.
[30] Beginning at *LB*, vol. v, p. 86.
[31] *LB*, vol. v, p. 95.

## The Protestant Reformations

This repositioning of truth via literary categories of meaning had the capacity both to enliven and to challenge Christian orthodoxy of whatever kind. On the one hand, the appeal to Scripture as moving the heart satisfied the evangelical longings emergent in Luther's confrontation with the church. When *Enchiridion* thundered, 'You venerate the saints, and take pleasure in touching their relics. But you disregard their greatest legacy, the example of a blameless life,'[32] Erasmus was using a rhetoric that Luther readily borrowed. Likewise, the idea of *sola scriptura* leads in a direct line from Erasmus's clarion call: 'If you venerate mute and dead ashes and ignore his living image still speaking and breathing, as it were, in his writings, is not your religion utterly absurd?'[33] Philipp Melanchthon was hired by Luther to take up a professorship in Greek at Wittenberg in 1518. But it was Erasmus who converted Melanchthon to a Reformed biblical Christianity. At Heidelberg he studied philosophy, rhetoric and astronomy as part of the arts syllabus, but also mastered Greek; he continued in humanist studies at Tübingen, and even when he began theology in 1516, he lectured on Virgil and Livy and on oratory. Luther himself used Erasmus's annotations on the Greek New Testament as soon as it appeared.[34] He consistently assumed that scripturally based Christianity required the deepest knowledge of philological humanism in all the ancient languages. Melanchthon taught rhetoric and dialectic as part of a reformed syllabus in the arts in Wittenberg, and almost immediately produced textbooks to match. *De rhetorica* was published in 1519, followed by a dialectic in 1520. After revised versions of both, the comprehensive *Elementa rhetorices* appeared in 1531, one of the most influential rhetoric books of the early modern period, with seventy-one printings (the last in 1610). *Erotema dialectices* held a similar authority in logic in northern Europe, with forty-seven editions up to 1603.[35]

Melanchthon's theological credibility made him a reference standard across the humanist syllabus in Protestant Europe. He was the source for the first manual of rhetoric in English, Leonard Cox's *The Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke* (*c*.1530).[36] Whether this shows a victory for biblical humanism in the reception

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[32] *CWE*, vol. LXI, p. 71.

[33] *LB*, vol. V, p. 31D; *CWE*, vol. LXI, p. 72.

[34] Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 78.

[35] Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 107.

[36] Brian Vickers, 'Rhetoric and Poetics', in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. C. B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler and Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 713–45, at p. 724.

of the Bible needs to be answered in two contrary ways. On the one hand, Melanchthon followed Erasmus's *Ratio verae theologiae* in finding figures of speech all over Scripture, beginning a tradition of quoting biblical texts as rhetorical illustrations which became commonplace in Protestant (including Calvinist) Europe. Indeed, Melanchthon expanded this to include biblical orations alongside Ciceronian and other Classical examples in his analysis of deliberative and demonstrative oratorical method.[37] He thus brought the sermon within the conspectus of rhetoric. However, he also provided constraints on Erasmus's sense of the literary value of Scripture. Erasmus declares that without allegory some parts of the Bible will make no sense – and cites Christ and Paul in defence of allegorical interpretation.[38] Melanchthon, by contrast, makes strict rules to limit interpretation of the Bible to the literal sense: 'Nam oratio quae non habet unam ac simplicem sententiam nihil certi docet' (any discourse which does not have a single and simple meaning teaches nothing for certain).[39]

This distinction applies all the more when Melanchthon comes to read the Bible himself. His *Loci communes* were first published in 1521 and became one of the best-selling religious books of the century. Theological historians have often treated this work as a brief summa of doctrinal explanations, but its method is rhetorical and dialectical, organising ideas in a system of place logic. Here his model is not Erasmus but Erasmus's own *praeceptor* Rudolph Agricola (1444?–85). While topical logic derived ultimately from Aristotle, Cicero and Boethius, Agricola vastly expanded its significance to become a fundamental tool of epistemology, allowing connections between things to be found and then constructed within arguments.[40] Melanchthon's reading of the Bible becomes radically Agricolan rather than Erasmian in its humanism. Melanchthon treated the 'commonplaces' in his *Elementa rhetorices*.[41] His way of reading the Bible is founded on an Agricolan method in which rhetoric and theology trade between each other.[42] The Bible is clarified by being understood as a rhetorical argument following an internal logic of organisation. Thus in Genesis the consciousness of Adam and Eve of their nakedness following sin can be aligned with the working of an afflicted conscience, without

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[37] Mack, *History of Renaissance Rhetoric*, p. 114.

[38] Erasmus, *Ratio verae theologiae*, in *LB*, vol. v, p. 77.

[39] Philipp Melanchthon, *Elementa rhetorices libri duo* (Lyon: Sebastian Gryphius, 1539), sig. E6ᵛ.

[40] Peter Mack, *Renaissance Argument: Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 130–68.

[41] Melanchthon, *Elementa rhetorices*, sig. D2ᵛ–D4ᵛ; Mack, *History of Renaissance Rhetoric*, p. 115.

[42] Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, p. 323.

recourse to allegorical method.[43] Indeed, Melanchthon specifically rejects the use of Origen (which Erasmus had favoured).

After the 1550s such tendencies were all the more marked with the rise of Ramism. Peter Ramus (1515–72), in works such as *Dialectique* (1555, Latin edition in 1556) and Omer Talon (*c*.1510–62) in *Rhetorica* (1557), dominated the market in Protestant Europe after 1560, while reprintings of Agricola and even Melanchthon began to decline. Calvinists took to Ramus especially because of his reputation as a Protestant martyr after his death in the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572. At the core of this teaching, rhetoric and logic come to be seen as mutually supportive. Ramist logic finds out arguments and arranges them according to a streamlined idea of invention. Ramus also emphasises the syllogism in his treatment of judgement. Talon's *Rhetorica* has received less attention from historians of the Bible and of theology, but was also highly influential. Especially interesting is his treatment of figures of speech, in which he favours the *figurae sententiae*, 'a figure which alters the whole meaning through a certain motion of the mind'. Talon divided figures of thought between monologue and dialogue types: the latter include *addubitatio*, *occupatio* and *concessio*.[44] Such figures are a throwback to Erasmus, who used them freely himself and also noticed Christ's love of them in the Gospels. However, they also point to an aspect of Calvinism that has been much underestimated. While it is often commented that Calvin and Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605) began life as professional humanists, it is less noted how far they employ complex figures of speech in expounding even the *arcana* of the theology of predestination. In this they show a propensity for biblical rhetoric that owes much to the continuing (but by now almost always subterranean) influence of Erasmus. Thus, while the literal sense prevails, it contains its own element of the figurative within.

### The Counter-Reformation

Erasmus's biblical humanism encountered noisy opposition in some quarters of Catholic orthodoxy almost immediately. Diego López de Zúñiga (d.1531; Stunica in Latin) published his *Annotationes* against Erasmus's New Testament in 1520, a year after his attack on Lefèvre d'Étaples (*c*.1455–1536). Although Stunica was a Greek scholar at Salamanca and worked on the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, he objected to the way Erasmus's edition openly questioned

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[43] Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci communes rerum theologicarum* (Strasbourg: Johannes Prüß the younger, 1522), sig. H4ᵛ–H5ʳ ('De vi evangelii').
[44] Omer Talon, *Rhetorica* (Paris: Martinus Iuvenes, 1553), sig. B4ᵛ–B6ʳ; Mack, *History of Renaissance Rhetoric*, p. 149.

the Vulgate. Erasmus was also wilfully disrespectful of tradition. Stunica retorted: 'vetera non immutanda' (what is old must not be changed).[45] Further north, in Louvain, theologians accused Erasmus's biblical work of being open to the charge of Lutheranism. Jacques Masson (*c*.1475–1544; Latomus in Latin) tarred Erasmus with the same brush as Luther in his *Ratio* of 1521 (to which Luther wrote an abrasive reply). Elsewhere he disputed that the Greek and Hebrew languages were necessary to understand sacred matters.[46] Erasmus should stick to the classics. Later, in 1535–6, Latomus took part in the trial of the English Bible translator William Tyndale at Antwerp.[47]

Later in the century, as a result of such suspicions of heresy, Erasmus attracted the attention of the Catholic censors. The *Index expurgatorius* (Antwerp, 1571) excised a long paragraph in *Enchiridion* which extolled the presence of Christ in his writings above that of his human person.[48] Erasmus ran into predictable trouble whenever he questioned the Vulgate or the authority of the church as the final arbiter of biblical meaning. He also created difficulties by questioning relics and the cult of saints in his valuation of the invisible truth of writing over and above the visible truth of the body, the *corpus mysticum* of the divine Christ. Nevertheless, the presence of Erasmus on the list of prohibited authors has precipitated powerful misunderstandings about Catholic attitudes to humanism, and also the relationship between sacred and secular learning altogether, especially with respect to literature. Erasmus's opponents, such as Stunica, met with resistance from Catholic theologians.[49] While literary history is often assumed to be a secular story, poetry and theology coexisted in this period. It is possible to read a standard account of *De arte poetica* (1527) – the most widely used theoretical discussion of poetry of the sixteenth century – without learning that its author, Marco Girolamo Vida (1485?–1566), became Bishop of Alba in 1533, attended the Council of Trent, and collaborated with Carlo Borromeo.[50] *De arte poetica* is based on concepts from

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[45] Diego López de Zúñiga, *Annotationes J. Lopis Stunicae contra Erasmum Roterodamum in defensionem tralationis Novi Testamenti* (Alcalá: A. G. de Brocario,1520), sig. A 1ʳ; see Erika Rummel, *The Humanist–Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 99.

[46] Rummel, *Humanist–Scholastic Debate*, p. 117.

[47] Marcel Geilis, 'Leuven Theologians as Opponents of Erasmus and of Humanistic Theology', in Erika Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 197–214, at p. 207.

[48] See *CWE*, vol. LXI, p. 74.

[49] Alejandro Coroleu, 'Anti-Erasmianism in Spain', in Rummel (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism*, pp. 73–92, at p. 77.

[50] Ann Moss, 'Theories of Poetry: Latin Writers', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. III: *The Renaissance*, ed. Glyn P. Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 98–105, at pp. 98–100.

Horace and is dedicated to the praise of Virgil above all. Poetry is praised as the extention of language to its fullest expressive power. Metaphors in poetry extend nature by transforming language in any direction, creating a plurality of images, narratives and worlds. The golden words of the poets are our food: 'quorum depascimur aurea dicta'.[51] Poetry therefore creates its own form of truth independent of nature.

Antonio Minturno (1500–74) – whose dialogue *De poeta* (1559) was even more ambitious than Vida's – was also a bishop and also attended Trent (indeed, he wrote a collection of Latin poems, *Poemata Tridentina* (1564), while there). Minturno's theory bases itself on a genuine engagement with Aristotle's *Poetics*, including an elaborate treatment of *anagnorisis* ('recognition') and a theory of imitation. Rather than saying that poetry imitates the truth, however, he finds an independent role for poetry by saying that it imitates how things ought to be. This became an increasingly common defence of poetry, that it has the capacity to create moral virtues in a way that is distinct from other forms of discourse. Reading literature becomes a form of education, since, like rhetoric, literature is an art of persuasion, with the capacity to change the mind by moving the will. In *Poetices* (1561), Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558) – who was Italian born but worked largely in France – advanced this theory of imitation into a more technical formation. In poetry, words stand as images for things, which brings to it a form of verisimilitude equivalent to a version of truth.[52] Poetry aims at right action, and by turning the passions to pursue the good, makes us good citizens.[53] It is to be noted that Scaliger, a self-proclaimed Aristotelian and self-vaunting anti-Erasmian, also took holy orders and harboured unfulfilled ambitions to become a cardinal, or even the Pope.

That the division between secular and sacred in literary humanism is largely a modern fiction is confirmed by the fact that the most successful book of rhetoric in southern Europe during the Renaissance was by a Jesuit. Cypriano de Soarez (1524–93) entered the Society of Jesus in Lisbon and taught rhetoric while training in theology. His *De arte rhetorica* (1562, revised 1565) was associated from the first with Jesuit schools, spreading through Spain, Italy, Germany and France before being incorporated in the official pedagogic scheme (the

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[51] Marco Girolamo Vida, *De arte poetica*, iii.211, ed. Ralph G. Williams (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 98.
[52] Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* (Lyon: Antonius Vincentius, 1561), vols. I.i (p. 2) and v.i (p. 214).
[53] Ibid., vol.VII.ii (p. 348); see Moss, 'Theories of Poetry', p. 104.

*Ratio Studiorum*) in 1599.[54] It was printed seventy-eight times between 1562 and 1620 (in Cologne, Venice, Paris, Lyon, Brescia, Rome, Ingolstadt and elsewhere), and fifty-one more by 1700.[55] He aims to be Ciceronian, but also follows Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, and seems to know Agricola, Erasmus, and even Melanchthon and perhaps Ramus. The resulting handbook is exceptionally clear, perhaps aiding its success. As part of the arts course, he avoids using Christian examples in the text, but he does advise avoiding the deceitfulness and aggression of Classical oratory, and recommends the example of Gregory, Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine and other Christian orators.[56] He also emphasises pleasure as an art to persuade. Embellishment and variation – as in Erasmus – makes an argument richer and more attractive. Soarez devotes much space to extended accounts of a selection of tropes, figures of speech and figures of thought. He also pays great attention to the emotional power of writing and speech. Christian rhetoric should not be proud or magniloquent, but it should be passionate and persuasive; it does not need to be either plain or simple.

This last point may explain why it is that, in the last part of the sixteenth century, the most influential theorists of poetry were also Jesuits. Antonio Possevino (1533–1611) collected many of these ideas in his *Bibliotheca selecta* (1593) which emphasises the power of language to animate the senses and the *affectus* (or 'emotions'). The *Poeticae institutiones* (1594) of Iacobus Pontanus (1542–1626) joined Soarez in the *Ratio studiorum*, and was used in schools throughout Europe.[57] It was part of the general learning of Catholic Europe that poetry is an art of making (*facere*), fictionalising (*fingere*) and imitating (*imitari*), and that it can generate, as from nothing, imaginative versions of things that do not exist, but which relate to reality and inform our understanding of it.[58] Providing there was no challenge to the authority of the Church to determine truth, or to give interpretations of the final meaning of the Bible and of the Fathers, Erasmian biblical humanism, and the ideal of biblical poetry, had no bar in Catholic Europe.

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[54] *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu* (Naples: Tarquinius Longus, 1599); ed. Ladislaus Lukàcs as vol. v of *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1986).
[55] Mack, *History of Renaissance Rhetoric*, p. 179.
[56] Ibid., p. 181.
[57] Cummings, *Literary Culture of the Reformation*, pp. 335–6.
[58] Moss, 'Theories of Poetry', p. 105.

## Biblical literature in the Renaissance

### *Italy*

The idea of creating a new form of biblical poetry was an ambition that became almost a cliché within Italian humanism. Cristoforo Landino (1424–98) wrote commentaries on both the *Aeneid* (1478) and on Dante's *Divina commedia* (1481), urging what he called a *theologica poetica*, a synthesis between Classical Latin prosody and the Christian stories. Baptista Mantuanus (1447–1516) and Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530) both composed humanist Latin poems on the life of the Virgin Mary, suggesting new idealised possibilities for religious verse. Erasmus predicted that Mantuanus would become known as the 'Christian Virgil'. Such an accolade belongs more to Vida, one of his followers at the court of Isabella d'Este in Mantua, who as we have seen, also wrote a *De arte poetica*. Vida's 6,000-line Latin epic on the life of Christ, the *Christiad*, was commissioned by no less an authority than Pope Leo X, and continued to enjoy papal patronage under Clement VII. Vida was lionised and imitated by vernacular poets such as Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533) and Torquato Tasso (1544–95), and his fame reached England, where he was praised by John Milton (1608–74) and later by Alexander Pope (1688–1744), who compared his influence in verse to Raphael's in art.

'Revere Virgil in your mind above all others', Vida tells his readers in *De arte poetica*.[59] At times the imitation is taken all too literally, as when the priests of the Temple in Jerusalem feel foreboding at the entry of Christ:

> Tempus erat per membra quies cum grata soporem
> irrigat ac positis affert oblivia curis
>
> (It was that time of night when care is set aside and welcome rest brings sleep and oblivion to weary bodies)[60]

Word for word this recalls the *Aeneid*, 'Tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris/ Incipit'.[61] Vida also followed Virgil closely in his persistent use of extended similes. For this he earned the praise of Scaliger for his inventiveness, but also some misgiving. Scaliger feared that the comparison between Christ's flood of followers on entering Jerusalem and the rising of the river

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[59] 'Ergo ipsum ante alios animo venerare Maronem': *De Arte Poetica*, i.208, ed. Williams, p. 16. See also the eulogy of Virgil at i.161–74.

[60] Marco Girolamo Vida, *Christiad*, ii.22–3, ed. and trans. James Gardner, I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 62.

[61] Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii.268–9.

Po might be thought *impium* by his readers.[62] Such criticism shows the nicety over questions of literary decorum which the Bible, and most especially the Gospels, evidently entailed.

The danger Vida falls into would seem to be more one of fastidious tasteful-ness than impious daring, however. When Mary worries about her young son growing up, she is compared to a mother deer fretting in the mountain woods:

> Ac veluti pastu rediens ubi vespere cerva
> montibus ex altis ad nota cubilia, foetus
> iandudum teneri memor, omnem sanguine circum
> sparsum cernit humum, catulos nec conspicit usquam; (v. 773–6)

> (As when a doe, returning at evening from the mountaintops to her famil-iar resting-place, mindful of feeding her tender young, finds the ground all about spatterd with blood, but her fawns nowhere to be seen)
>
> (Vida, *Christiad*, ed. Gardner, p. 301)

Yet in structural terms, Vida's Gospel epic is original and thought-provoking. He alternates books stressing the humanity of Christ (books I, III and V) with those concentrating on his divinity (II, IV and VI). Beginning, in epic style, *in medias res*, with Christ's entry through the gate of Jerusalem, Vida uses the raising of Lazarus, and an interlude in hell in book I, to prefigure the harrow-ing of hell and the resurrection in book VI. Similarly, the birth of Christ in book III mirrors his baptism in book IV.

Christ himself is frequently referred to as *heros*, and it is sometimes remarked that he lacks obvious internalisation or inwardness. However, from his first appearance in the poem Jesus is presented as emotionally reflexive and sensitive. When he thinks of his twelve disciples and apprehends his own oncoming end, his body reacts in sympathy with his thoughts: 'moestissimus ore / eque imo rumpens suspiria pectore fatur' (Tears welled up in his eyes, and a great sigh rose from the depths of his heart).[63] This literature of tears became a staple of Counter-Reformation style, endorsed by Jesuit critics such as Pontanus. Luigi Tansillo (1510–68), in his *Lagrime di San Pietro* (1560), later merged Petrarchist emotional self-scrutiny with an urgent devotional subjectivity which is consciously biblical in derivation. St Peter became the perfect model for this scripturally based inwardness, combining literary effu-siveness with a confessional orthodoxy which was impeccable in its Catholic

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[62] Scaliger, *Poetices*, vol. VII. See the discussion in Richard T. Bruère, 'Virgil and Vida', *Classical Philology* 61 (1966), 21–43, at p. 29.
[63] Vida, *Christiad*, i.36–7, ed. Gardner, p. 5.

lineage. Jesuit poets especially, including the English martyr Robert Southwell (1561?–95), found this penitential aesthetic a powerful source of poetic sensibility joining writer and reader in an affective exchange which is also intensely theological.[64]

Other energies in Vida have more unexpected confessional results. In book v of the *Christiad*, as they contemplate Christ's impending crucifixion, half of the angels in heaven take up arms in an effort to save him from his fate. It is this passage that proved a direct inspiration for Milton, in the battle between the warring armies of angels in book vi of *Paradise Lost*. Satan, too, makes a vivid appearance inside inferno, 'nigram igne tricuspide dextram / armatus' (his black hand armed with three-fold fire).[65] Vida's Satan proved a model for a wide range of later poets: Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*; *La strage degli innocenti* (The Massacre of the Innocents), a sacred poem in four books by Giambattista Marino (1569–1625); as well as for Milton once again in *Paradise Lost*. The passage of Virgil via Vida into Milton is a sign of how porous the borders are between both sacred and secular and between Catholic and Protestant, as biblical literature developed.

### France

In France, Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549), the sister of François I, was familiar with the ideas of Erasmus by 1511, with the publication in Paris of *Moriae Encomium* and of the *Adagia* as well as *Institutio Christiani Principis* (The education of a Christian prince). Marguerite acquired a copy of Erasmus's 1516 translation of the New Testament, and he in turn sought her patronage. Clément Marot (1496–1544), who became her secretary and court poet in 1519, translated three of the *Colloquia*, one of which is dedicated to her. In Marguerite's own writing, something of a transition can be seen between medieval mystery plays and a humanist biblicism influenced by Lefèvre d'Étaples.[66] Between 1534 or 1535 and 1546 she wrote four biblical comedies: *Comédie de la Nativité de Jésus-Christ*, *Comédie de l'adoration des Trois Rois à Jésus-Christ* (on the Adoration of the Magi), *Comédie des Innocents* (on the Holy Innocents), and *Comédie du désert* (on Jesus in the desert).[67] This was part of a courtly aesthetic based on direct attention to Scripture. Marguerite and her ladies-in-waiting embroidered the words 'ubi spiritus, ibi libertas' (where

[64] Cummings, *Literary Culture of the Reformation*, p. 333.
[65] Vida, *Christiad*, i.165–6, ed. Gardner, p. 13.
[66] Michel Jeanneret, *Poésie et tradition biblique au xvie siècle* (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1969), p. 22.
[67] I.D. McFarlane, *Renaissance France 1470–1589*, Literary History of France (London: Ernest Benn, 1974), pp. 61–3.

the spirit is, there is freedom) from 2 Corinthians on panels preserved at the castle of Pau.

Sacred drama meanwhile developed not only from applying the tenets of Greek and Roman theatre to the vernacular, but from a modern tradition of neo-Classical drama in Latin. The Scot George Buchanan (1506–82), who taught at the Collège de Guyenne between 1539 and 1543, imitated Classical models in relation to biblical material in two plays, *Jephthes sive votum* (1540; published 1544) and *Baptistes sive calumnia* (before 1544; published 1577).[68] *Jephthes* was read throughout Europe: translated into English six times, into French four, it was the inspiration in Dutch for Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) in his play *Jeptha of Offerbelofte* as late as 1659. Humanists made an intuitive connection between the story of Jephthah and Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* (translated by Erasmus in 1506), creating a conflict between duty to God and human fatherly love.[69] Borrowing the structure of irony directly from the story in Judges, Buchanan nonetheless draws out the tragedy by placing his attention on human passions. Human grief, even in apparent excess, is made into a model of love, while duty is presented in emotional rather than rational terms.

Buchanan remained for the moment a Catholic humanist; he did not convert to Protestantism until returning to Scotland in the 1560s. However, his drama spoke to all religious camps. His conflict of a discourse of the emotions with a theology of divine will found powerful expression in *Abraham sacrifiant* (1550), the play by Calvin's great collaborator Théodore de Bèze. Bèze's play transfers attention from a simple retelling of sacred history in narrative form to a psychological drama in which the real subject is the crisis Abraham experiences at the moment of decision, as he is ordered to sacrifice his son Isaac. He is an autonomous protagonist, and through his tragic choice the audience is encouraged to feel sympathetic engagement with his emotions. Just as much as in Jesuit biblical literature, therefore, Calvinist drama is based on a theory of the passions. 'In theology', Terence Cave has said, 'there is a wide chasm between the Calvinist and the Catholic view of sin and redemption; but the demands of poetry tend to minimise the gap.'[70] Indeed, this produced literary originality which in turn created theological novelty. While identification with the protagonist is not central to the Greek tragedians, or to their Roman

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[68] J.S. Street, *French Sacred Drama from Bèze to Corneille* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 22.

[69] Debora Kuller Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 135.

[70] Terence Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France c.1570–1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 23.

followers, it became a fundamental tenet in Renaissance theory of tragedy. In creating a drama out of the emotions of a biblical character, Bèze allied the neo-Latin drama of Buchanan to the resources of an incipient vernacular biblical poetic. *Abraham sacrifiant* thus becomes the first French neo-Classical play, the forebear of Pierre Corneille (1606–84) and Jean Racine (1639–99), who in *Esther* (1689) and *Athalie* (1691) used biblical as well as familiar Classical models for his tragedies.

To mediate the exalted divine destiny by which Jephthah's daughter meets her preordained end, Buchanan introduced the figure of her mother, Storge. Modelled on Euripides' Hecuba, Storge struggles to save her daughter, and so creates a channel for the experience of pathos. Jephthah himself refuses to break his vow despite the fact that a crime will result. This model of conscience under threat is then applied by Bèze in *Abraham sacrifiant* with an equal mixture of theological force and emotional power. Abraham hesitates at the moment of sacrifice, and then subjects himself to the divine will, not with a ringing endorsement of destiny, but with a mortal father's sense of personal judgement:

> ô Seigneur, tu scais qu'homme je suis,
> Executer rien de bon je ne puis,
> Non pas penser, mais ta force invincible
> Fait qu'au croyant il n'est rien impossible.[71]

> (O Lord, you know that I am a man, that I cannot bring about anything of good, nor even think it, but your unconquerable power makes nothing impossible for the believer)

By means of this conduct of the emotions, the theology of the sacrifice of Isaac is subtly transformed. Whereas in Catholic iconography the story was often employed as a typological reminder of the sacrifice of the Mass, Calvinism here makes it a model for divine will. But far from the stereotype of the unyielding force of predestination, Bèze allows a more human scale to the event. He makes Abraham's patient endurance of faith at once a confirmation that human will on its own can achieve nothing good, and at the same time that nothing is impossible with God. Conscience is not rewarded for ethical steadfastness, but instead is justified and sanctified by the operation of a benign and all-powerful God.

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[71] Théodore de Bèze, *Abraham sacrifiant*, ed. K. Cameron, K.M. Hall and F. Higman, Textes littéraires français (Geneva: Droz, 1967), lines 811–14.

The natural register for a devotional language of confession and conscience came from the book of Psalms. Clément Marot began translating psalms into French as early as 1533, and in 1541 presented a group of thirty to François I.[72] The king was apparently pleased with them and the Dauphin set one to music, but by 1542 Marot found himself under suspicion of heresy. From Lyon (where his printer Étienne Dolet had been getting him into troubled waters, much like François Rabelais) he fled eventually beyond France's borders to Geneva. However, if he was too heterodox for his home country, he was too pagan for his adopted city, and a game of backgammon had him cited at the consistory. Marot's misfortunes concluded in an early death at Turin in the autumn of 1544. Meanwhile, his psalm translations, which he had continued in Geneva, prospered without him. Bèze completed the translation into French and in metrical versions these became the standard in francophone Protestantism and a model for languages beyond. In the second half of the sixteenth century, biblical paraphrase became one of the most popular forms of poetic exercise. Confessionalisation did not prohibit mutual influence, and the Marot–Bèze psalms were endorsed on one side and countered on the other, in a proliferation of versions. The penitential psalms were the most popular: for Catholics in a confirmation of the liturgical year and the ritual rhythm of daily experience; for Protestants as a more experimental language of the passions. After the Psalms, Job was the greatest inspiration for paraphrases. The Protestant Acace d'Albiac du Plessis (d.1562?) produced *Le livre de Job traduit en poesie française* in Geneva in 1552. Such work could also create new poetic forms. Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552–1630) based his framing story for his *Tragiques* on Job: here, tragedy, epic and lyric coalesced in an original narrative identity.

A fully articulated sense of an autonomous biblical literature emerged in the work of the Gascon Huguenot Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas (1544–90). *L'Uranie* formed a poetic manifesto, accompanied by a 'Triumph of Faith' in imitation of Petrarch's *Trionfi*. Du Bartas declared poetry to have a uniquely divine and theological source: 'Tout art s'apprend par art, la seule poésie est un pur don céleste'.[73] *L'Uranie* was published in 1574 with *Judith*, a biblical epic commissioned by Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre. In 1578 he followed this with *La Sepmaine*, an encyclopaedic epic which appeared in more than a hundred editions. With its unfinished sequel *La Seconde Sepmaine* (1584), it formed a universal history from Adam onwards. *L'Uranie* was translated into Scots

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[72] Jeanneret, *Poésie et tradition biblique*, p. 51.

[73] Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, *L'Uranie, ou muse céleste*, in *Commentaires sur la création du monde* (Anvers: Thomas Ruault, 1591), p. 106.

by James VI in 1584; while *La Sepmaine* was translated (at James's request now as king of England) into English by Joshua Sylvester (1563–1618), as also into Dutch, German, Italian and Latin. Du Bartas was dubbed the French Tasso, and for fifty years was one of the most read and most widely imitated poets in Europe; his influence reached America in the work of Anne Bradstreet (*c*.1612–72).

A hexameral poem on the first six days in the work of God, *La Sepmaine* puts Genesis centre stage in biblical poetics. Du Bartas created a literature out of the Bible that is not constrained by the desire to paraphrase or to explain dogma. Biblicism liberates poetry rather than limits it; indeed, expands it into what du Bartas conceived as a universal language that mere philosophy or natural history could not aspire to. His geocentric polemic against Copernicanism is less a conservative declaration of orthodoxy than a radical assertion of God's unbounded creative freedom, which the poet aspires to imitate. Poetry is similar to creation in the way that the human is made in the image of God:

> Dieu, qui ne peut tomber és lourds sens des humains,
> Se rend comme visible és oeuvres de ses mains.[74]
>> (du Bartas, *La Sepmaine*, I, 129–30)

> (God, who cannot descend to the heavy senses of humans, makes himself visible in the works of his hands)

God imprints his holy image in every soul with his living spirit.[75] He animates the human body with his 'holy wind' (*d'un sacré vent*) and makes the human soul beautiful and immortal. In such a process, the power of poetry itself is made a central image of the divine, as God works through a sensuous capacity akin to poesis:

> Or ce docte Imager, pour son oeuvre animer,
> Ne prit de l'air, du feu, de terre, de la mer,
> Une cinquiesme essence, ains poussant son haleine,
> Il fit comme couler de la vive fontaine
> De sa Divinité quelque petit ruisseau
> Dans les sacrez conduits de ce fresle vaisseau.
>> (du Bartas, *La Sepmaine*, VI, 709–14)

> (Now this image-maker to animate his work, did not take from fire, from earth, from the sea, a fifth essence, rather letting out his

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[74] Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, *La Sepmaine: Texte de 1581*, ed. Yvonne Bellenger (Paris: Librairie Nizet, 1981), at p. 7.
[75] Du Bartas, *La Sepmaine*, VI, 912–13.

breath he made to flow from the living fountain of his divinity a little stream into the sacred channels of the frail vessel.)

The literary claims of the biblical have now come full circle. Not only is the Bible a kind of literature, but in its power as literature it comes closest to rendering the action of God.

### The Netherlands

The Dutch translation by Zacharias Heyns of du Bartas's *La Sepmaine* and *La Seconde Sepmaine* as *Eerste Weke* and *Tweede Weke*, published in Amsterdam in 1621, contained dedicatory poems by both Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Vondel.[76] Heinsius was the legendary protégé of Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) and Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), and became professor successively at Leiden of poetics, of Greek and of *politices* or 'political science'. His treatise *De tragica constitutione*, or 'how to make a tragedy', of 1611, was an intensely personal manifesto of how to understand Aristotle's *Poetics*. His own dramas followed Grotius, in a Senecan style in Latin, and like Grotius he also freely crossed between Classical and biblical, or between ancient ethics and contemporary politics. He also experimented with poems in Dutch, collected by his friend Petrus Scriverius (1576–1660).

Dutch golden age literature spans the religious confessions in a way that matches the political rifts of the religious conflicts of the same period. Zacharias Heyns and Vondel were published together in a volume which also contained the work of Jacobus Revius, a militant Calvinist.[77] Revius was a pastor in Deventer when he was appointed by the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618 to work on revision of the Dutch translation of the Old Testament, resulting in the 1637 *Statenbijbel*.[78] His *Over-Ysselsche Sangen en Dichten* of 1630 contains a long section of poems on biblical topics, along with secular poems. Vondel meanwhile created an utterly original biblical literature in the vernacular from a diametrically opposite confessional standpoint. Vondel was from a Mennonite Anabaptist family and his very first play was biblical in character, *Het Pascha* (The Passover) of 1610. While French experimentation with biblical forms of literature was often associated with incipient Protestantism, Vondel reached in the opposite direction, and anticipated his conversion to Catholicism in

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[76] *Weken* forms the first volume of Zacharias Heyns, *W. S. Heere van Bartas wercken*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Paulus van Ravesteyn, 1621–8).

[77] See Freya Sierhuis, *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy: Religion, Politics and the Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

[78] *Biblia, Dat is: De gantsche H. Schrifture, vervattende alle de Canonijcke Boecken des Ouden en des Nieuwen Testaments* (Leiden: Paulus Aertsz, 1637).

1641 in a series of dramas on the lives of Joseph and his brothers in the late 1630s. The first of these, *Jozef in 't Hof* (1635), was a translation of Grotius's *Sophompaneas*, which had used biblical allegory to structure a personal narrative of imprisonment and exile. Vondel's newly coined tragedies, *Jozef in Dothan* and *Jozef in Egypten*, followed in 1640. Far from enacting a simple biographical or autobiographical identification with biblical exempla, however, these plays work through a complex process of mimesis. They arouse the passions of the spectators in order to effect a 'change of heart' as profound as that imagined on stage in the person of Joseph and his followers: they are conversion plays.[79]

In Vondel there emerges a synthesis of Classical and Christian dramatic principles that only appears paradoxical to a modern sensibility trained in a divorce between sacred and secular. He vigorously promoted the ideals of Classical Latin and Greek tragedy, while in his own dramatic work his content was almost exclusively biblical and Christian. By now, a European biblical drama had assimilated a classical theory of poetics to the extent that the Aristotelian tragic emotions of pity and fear could be understood as a naturalised language of Christian remorse. Vondel dedicated his play *Gebroeders* in 1639 to his compatriot Gerardus Vossius (1577–1649), who crossed the disciplines in the characteristic manner of his age, between Classical scholarship, Hebraism, rhetoric and theology. Vossius directed the theological college at Leiden from 1614 to 1619, until his irenic stance on the Arminian controversy over justification and predestination brought him under suspicion of heresy with the Calvinist Reformed Church. He turned to teaching rhetoric at Leiden, and ended up as professor of history in the newly founded *Athenaeum illustre*, the new 'university' in Amsterdam.

Vossius returned Vondel's compliment by remarking to the dramatist, 'scribis aeternitati'.[80] There seems no doubt that Vossius learned to theorise about tragedy from reading and watching Vondel just as Vondel developed his sense of tragedy by discussing theory and practice with Vossius. Although Vossius's treatise *Poeticae institutiones* was not published until 1647, he worked on it for the twenty years preceding, and it is likely that Vondel saw it in manuscript in preparation. Vossius drew on Scaliger's *Poetices*, and *De poetica* (1579) by Giovanni Antonio Viperano (1555–1610), as well as Aristotle and Horace.

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[79] Freya Sierhuis, 'Therapeutic Tragedy: Compassion, Remorse, and Reconciliation in the Joseph Plays of Joost van den Vondel (1635–1640)', *European Review of History*, 17 (2010), 27–51, at p. 27.

[80] Geeraardt Brandt, *Het Leven van Joost van den Vondel*, ed. P. Leendertz ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1932), p. 36.

Vossius's Aristotelian validation of the passions as central to the action of tragedy is intrinsically sympathetic to Vondel's method: 'Actiones eae conveniunt tragoediae quae a perturbatione animi profiscuntur'.[81] Pity and fear produce recognition (*agnitio*) between the spectator and the tragic plot. As the energy of drama is transferred to the divine narratives of the Bible, the education of the passions becomes the ground for spiritual renewal and conversion. Indeed, the rhetorical vocabulary of emotional transformation becomes subtly unified with a theological reading of biblical narrative.

On a Wednesday in March 1648 Vondel came into Vossius's private library (which the old scholar willingly laid open to Amsterdam's intellectual brotherhood) asking to borrow some books on the theology of angels. He was thinking, he said, of writing a tragedy on the story of the tragic angel Lucifer.[82] Vondel takes on the difficult task of making the devil the hero of a tragedy, something which seems intrinsically contrary to Aristotle's theory of a hero of middling virtue, confirmed in Vossius.[83] The subtlety of the play lies in its evocation of a dual world. The angels are always looking implicitly over their shoulders at the world of humans on earth. Thus the angel Apollion in Act 1 describes (with pained consciousness of ontological difference) the beauty of Adam and Eve, and the gift of sex:

> Dan kuste hy zijn bruit, en zy den bruidegom:
> Dan ging de bruiloft in, met eenen wellekom
> En brant van liefde, niet te melden, maer te gissen;
> Een hooger zaligheit, die d'Engelen noch missen.
> <div align="right">(van den Vondel, <em>Lucifer</em>, 1.i.135–8)[84]</div>

> (Then kissed he his bride, and she her bridegroom: then the wedding begins with a greeting. It burns with a love which can't be spoken, only imagined; a blessing so high, the angels miss it)

Lucifer is thus deprived of a deeper emotional experience which haunts the whole play. He knows also that in humanity will come forth the saviour of the world. Lucifer's revolt, while the formal action of the play, is thus revealed to the audience as part of a complex divided consciousness: the angel brings sin

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[81] 'Actions fitting to a tragedy are those that originate with emotions': Gerardus Vossius, *Poeticae institutiones libri tres*, 11, 13 §18, ed. Jan Bloemendal, 2 vols., Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 41 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), vol. 1, pp. 506–7.

[82] C.S.M. Rademaker, *Life and Work of Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577–1649)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981), p. 260.

[83] 'personae nec prorsus probae nec plane improbae': *Poeticae institutiones*, 11, 13 §11, ed. Bloemendal, vol. 1, pp. 498–9.

[84] Joost van den Vondel, *Lucifer: Treurspel* (Amsterdam: Abraham de Wees, 1654), sig. A3ʳ.

into the world, and with it the deeper tragedy of the Fall of man; but the Fall of man implies a world beyond the immediate drama, in the ultimate victory of Christ and the redemption of tragedy. True to Classical principles, however, redemption is off stage and as yet unseen.

For the Amsterdam Calvinist Church council this was too much: the play was banned after two performances for its blasphemous hubris in representing the workings of the mind of heaven. But this only stimulated sales of the printed play text, which went through five editions in the single year of 1654. Vondel, while a dedicated agent of the Amsterdam stage, was often more successful in print. *Jeptha* (1659), which he intended as *een toneelkompas* ('theatrical compass', or model for modern tragedy), also only saw a handful of performances.[85] But its ambition is shown in the preface, which set out the panoply of contemporary Dutch tragic theory in Grotius, Heinsius and Vossius. Vondel also consciously drew on Buchanan's play of a hundred years before. His imaginative commitment to Classical ideals is shown by his giving to Jephthah's daughter the name Ifis, a Hebrew Iphigenia. Vondel recalls and rewrites Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in making Jephthah first follow the command of God in fulfilling his vow to sacrifice his daughter, and then realise after he has completed the violence of the promise that he has made an appalling mistake, saying to the high priest at the opening of Act v:

> Och vader, och, ick heb my zelf verraeden,
> En voel met recht de nasmert van mijn daeden.
> 'k Heb dwaes belooft, stont stip op dit besluit,
> En voerde mijn belofte Godtloos uit.
> <div align="right">(van den Vondel, <em>Jeptha</em>, v.i.1731–4)[86]</div>

> (Oh, Father, oh, I have myself betrayed, and feel with justice the pain of my actions. I made a stupid promise, I stood immoveable in my decision, and carried out my vow in godless fashion.)

There is a confessional subtext present here in that in making the vow and fulfilling it, Jephthah sounds like a good Calvinist. Yet unlike Aeschylus' Clytemnestra, Jephthah's wife Filopaie, while she rages against her husband, she does not kill him in revenge. The play instead demonstrates the torment of the divided conscience, and yet ends with a discourse by the high priest on the higher purposes of human suffering. Jephthah thus lives out the *hamartia*

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[85] Joost van den Vondel, *Jeptha of Offerbelofte: Treurspel* (Amsterdam: Abraham de Wees, 1659), Preface, sig. B1ʳ.
[86] Van den Vondel, *Jeptha of Offerbelofte*, sig. H4ᵛ.

of killing his own daughter – 'Ick ken mijn schult' (I acknowledge my fault) – invoking the terrified sympathy of the audience. He follows this with a truly Aristotelian *peripeteia* as victory is turned into agony. But in the *anagnorisis* (or formal recognition) of the purpose and moral end of tragedy is revealed a truly Christian and biblical form of *agnitio*.

## England

Shortly after his return from his journey through Italy in 1638 and 1639, after a happy sojourn in Geneva on the way home, John Milton wrote four drafts of an outline of a tragedy on the loss of paradise, the third suggestively entitled 'Paradise lost'. The first two drafts consist only of lists of 'The Persons' in the play.[87] A longer outline that follows has a Euripidean prologue spoken by Moses, followed by a debate between Justice, Mercy and Wisdom, on 'what should become of man if he fall'. Adam and Eve do not enter until Act 4, by now fallen, perhaps in order to allow them the dignity of appearing in clothes. After they have been driven out of paradise, an angel informs them of their new future by parading before them a series of personified passions, such as Grief, Hatred and Envy, followed later by Ignorance, Fear and Death. Suitably mortified by the experience, Adam is introduced to Faith, Hope and Charity, who intervene instead to 'comfort him and instruct him'.

On the verso of this page (fol. 36), Milton compiles, as if noting them down as they occurred to him, a long list of possible subjects for biblical plays. He begins with the golden calf from Exodus. While Leviticus fails to tickle his inspiration, he finds four potential plays in Numbers; there follow subjects from Joshua, several from Judges (including *Gideon Idoloclastes*, and two Samson plays), Ruth, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, and then more than a dozen from 2 Kings alone. It appears that Milton has opened a copy of the Bible and leafed through it, looking for potential literary projects. Having filled a whole page with Old Testament topics, he projects a play on Abram in Egypt, another on John the Baptist, one on Sodom, and seven more taken from the New Testament, before returning to the origins of man in the first chapters of Genesis. However, now he abandons the title 'Paradise lost', choosing first 'Adams Banishment' before finally hitting on 'Adam unparadiz'd' (fol.40).

The frenetic activity in Milton's mind evident in these leaves from the Trinity MS shows two things. One is how, a century after Erasmus and the Reformation, it is possible for an author to imagine almost any biblical event as a literary plot. The second is that the language for doing so crosses Europe via rhetorical

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[87] Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.4, fol. 35.

and poetic theories derived from the classics, and also crosses confessions. The Milton who proposed to write of 'Adam in Banishment' in 1640 was an ardent admirer of the moral economy of Calvinist Geneva, where he had just spent the most 'pure and untouched' days of his life.[88] However, the title is directly borrowed from Grotius's youthful play in Latin, *Adamus Exul* (1601) and Milton's drafts follow Grotius in mould and structure.[89] Milton met Grotius with reverence in Paris in 1638, but was well aware of his Remonstrant reputation, for which he had suffered imprisonment and then exile from the Netherlands. In turn, Vondel, a true Grotian, was a Catholic by the time he chose an identical title for one of his last plays, *Adam in Ballingschap* (1664). In his final outline of an Adamic play, Milton applies Aristotelian and Ciceronian principles of emotional transformation and education which are familiar from Vondel: 'Man next and Eve having by this time been seduced by the serpent appears confusedly covered with leaves'.[90] In their guilty bewilderment Adam and Eve 'accuse one another but especially Adam lays the blame to his wife'. Mercy enters at the end of the play not so much to instruct him in doctrine as to teach him how to feel. Adam repents, gives God the glory, and submits to his punishment.

In the preface to *Samson Agonistes* (1671), Milton later expressed a specifically Aristotelian aesthetic, remarking on the power of tragedy of 'raising pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of those and such like passions'.[91] He compared in medicine the homeopathic therapy attainable by treating melancholy with 'things of melancholic hue and quality'. Commentators have suggested that Milton harks back here to Minturno's *L'arte poetica* (1563) or else to Heinsius's *De tragica constitutione* (1611). However, Minturno refers to the treatment of undesirable passions, whereas Milton seems to think that the passions in general are educable. Indeed, in that sense he may be thinking of Vossius, who argued that *katharsis* had a moral character. On the title page of *Samson Agonistes*, Milton shows how intricately he is thinking about these matters by citing Aristotle's *Poetics* as an epigraph. Here he uses as translation for *katharsis*, in preference to *expiatio* (used by Heinsius) or *purgatio* (by Vossius) the word *lustratio*, suggesting a purification of the body's passions.[92] There is

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[88] Letter quoted in William Riley Parker, *Milton: A Biography*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), vol. I, p. 181.

[89] J.M. Evans, *Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 212–13.

[90] MS R.3.4, fol. 40.

[91] John Milton, *Complete Prose Works*, vol. VIII, ed. Maurice Kelley (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 133.

[92] Russ Leo, 'Milton's Aristotelian Experiments: Tragedy, *Lustratio*, and "Secret refreshings" in *Samson Agonistes* (1671)', *Milton Studies* 52 (2011), 221–52, at pp. 247–9.

in fact a general sympathy across all confessions to the idea of rhetoric moving the Christian towards greater understanding of Christian truth through an education of the passions. Dudley Fenner (*c*.1558–87), whose *The artes of logike and rethorike* was staunchly Calvinist, argued that the function of these arts was to 'mooue them the better to confidence, and truste in God'.[93] Fenner had no qualms with applying complex figures of speech to this end. Milton wrote a work on logic (probably in the late 1640s) according to principles of Ramism; a similar art of rhetoric would have had no difficulty in echoing Fenner.[94]

The public stage in England, unlike the Netherlands, was never treated to a biblical drama. The secularising bias of literary history has put this down to the iconophobia of English Puritanism. A likelier explanation is a specific anti-Catholic antipathy to the medieval mystery plays, or a general Elizabethan and Jacobean sensitivity to theological controversy in a public environment. Even closet drama, intended for performance in country houses (or not at all) avoided too obvious a theological framework. Fulke Greville (1554–1628) wrote plays with Islamic plots even in the expression of a Calvinist political theology. *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613), by Elizabeth Cary (1585–1639), on the story of Herod and Salome, is an exception. Biblical literature in English is thus usually private and devotional in character, or else diffused into an acceptable political form. Sir Philip Sidney (1554–86) referred to David in *The Defence of Poesy* (*c*.1579) as the model for modern poets, and he and his sister Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (1561–1621), wrote a complete version of the Psalms in a complex range of English meters, using the Geneva Bible and the Marot–Bèze French metrical psalms. The Psalms were avowedly public and sometimes popular, as in the metrical versions of Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins.[95] John Donne (1572–1631) wrote a poem praising the Sidneian psalms, and Mary was also an influence on George Herbert (1593–1633), her sons' first cousin. The biblicism of the poetry of Donne and Herbert, however, is personal in style.

*The Faerie Queene* of Edmund Spenser (*c*.1552–99) shows a different solution. A strongly apocalyptic framework, with a dense network of biblical citation, often learned in character, is transmuted into an allegorical register. He peoples his fairy world with a vast array of characters derived from a syncretic

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93 Dudley Fenner, *The artes of logike and rethorike plainelie set foorth in the English tounge* ([Middelburg]: [R. Schilders], 1584), sig. A3ʳ.
94 John Milton, *Artis logicae plenior institutio, ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata* (London: Spencer Hickman, 1672). On the dating, see Walter J. Ong in Milton, *Complete Prose Works*, vol. VIII, p. 146.
95 Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meter* (London: John Day, 1562).

synthesis of mythological sources. British and Celtic heroes intermingle with classical demigods in a variety of Christianised guises. A biblical undertow is scarcely concealed, as in the description of Duessa with her 'purple pall to weare, / And triple crowne set on her head full hye'.[96] The beast she rides is purple with seven heads, in an overt reference to the Whore of Babylon: 'I sawe a woman sit vpon a skarlat coloured beast…which had seuen heads… And the woman was araied in purple and skarlat, and guilded with golde, and precious stones, and pearles' (Rev. 17:3–5).[97]

The mixed mode of Spenser's biblicism freely uses an Aristotelian framework from the *Nicomachean Ethics* to provide themes for the different books of *The Faerie Queene*, and borrows from Virgil's *Aeneid* its projected twelve-book structure. Milton experimented with the idea of an Arthurian subject on Spenserian lines, but when he returned to literary projects after his engagement in the British Civil Wars, it was Genesis that drew him back. Yet it was not a drama that now excited him, as in 1640, but a full-scale Virgilian epic. *Paradise Lost*, consciously Homeric and Virgilian in scale, imitates Vida's *Christiad* from a century before, while also drawing on vernacular models, including Spenser, now merged with du Bartas's *Les Sepmaines*, and with Tasso's *Sette giornate del mondo creato* (1607). The distance travelled since Erasmus's call to literary arms in praise of the Bible can be seen in contradictory forms. Erasmus in *Enchiridion*, repeated over a decade later in *Ratio verae theologiae* (1518), ridiculed the creation myths of Genesis, such as 'the formation of the figure of Adam from moist clay and the breathing into it of a soul, or the creation of Eve from his rib'.[98] Only if you treat these stories as forms of poetic fable, and interpret them allegorically, he said, will you be able to make sense of them.

Milton treats them as literally, but he still realises them as poetic fables. This is a sign, paradoxically, of how internalised Erasmus's literary language of the Bible has become. Eve's creation from the rib becomes a free composition imagining her emergence into personhood from prebiotic unconsciousness:

> That day I oft remember, when from sleep
> I first awaked, and found my self reposed
> Under a shade of flowers, much wondering where
> And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.[99]

[96] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, I.vii.16, ed. A.C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita and Toshiyuki Suzuki (London: Longman, 2001).
[97] Geneva Bible:*The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke* (Geneva: n.p., 1560).
[98] *LB*, vol.v., p. 27c.
[99] John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 449–52, ed. Alastair Fowler (London: Longman, 1967).

However, her first encounter with the physical form of her husband Adam derives not from the Bible or even from Virgil but from the Narcissus myth in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. She sees a figure that she interprets at first as her own reflection, which responds 'with answering looks / Of sympathy and love'.[100] An escape from the Ovidian cycle of endless unrequited desire is redeemed only when the divine voice recalls her to embrace her other in the form of her human mate:

> And I will bring thee where no shadow stays
> Thy coming, and thy soft embraces, he
> Whose image thou art, him thou shalt enjoy
> Inseparably thine, to him shalt bear
> Multitudes like thyself, and thence be called
> Mother of human race
>
> (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iv, 470–5)

Eve evades becoming Narcissus, and turns into 'the mother of all living' in conformity with Genesis 3:20. The poetic language is dense and allusive. Ovid exchanges glances with commentary on the Hebrew sources, which Milton retrieves from rabbinic glosses in the Talmud or just as easily from the Jesuit Benedict Pererius (1536–1610) or the German Reformed David Pareus (1548–1626). Often it is hard to tell what his exact source is, he reads the Bible with such literary intensity.[101] Yet we should not take his flexibility as idiosyncratic: Arthur Golding (*c.*1536–1606), who produced an English translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1567), also produced a translation of Calvin's commentary on the Psalms (1571), as well as his sermons on Deuteronomy, Job, Galatians and Ephesians.

Milton's *Paradise Lost* becomes an exemplary case of how Erasmus imagined the Bible to work as literature. The Bible does not so much persuade us of truths as make us feel religion as an experience. The reader in this sense is not the passive recipient of doctrines but an active subject in the production of biblical meaning. In Stanley Fish's sophisticated analysis of Milton's poem, it works by recreating in the mind of the reader the drama of the Fall – by making the reader 'fall again exactly as Adam did'.[102] In this way, the emotional complexity of Eve's experience of consciousness – its passage via anxiety and

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[100] Ibid., iv, 464–5.
[101] Arnold Williams, *The Common Expositor: An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis 1526–1633* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), pp. 84–93.
[102] Stanley Fish, *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in* Paradise Lost, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 1.

desire towards enlightenment – becomes a template for the emotional education of the reader. If Fish's analysis is regarded now as a classic of what in the twentieth century became known as 'reader response theory', it also conforms to seventeenth-century theories of the passions and how they are manipulated in tragedy. Thus, just as Vondel's Lucifer is agonisingly conscious of the rapturous embodiment of human beings, which he himself can never feel, so we see Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost* at first only through the envious gaze of Satan:

> From this Assyrian garden, where the fiend
> Saw undelighted all delight, all kind
> Of living creatures new to sight and strange
> (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 285–7)

Satan's warped conscience becomes an index for the reader's own. Reading the poem is a divided exercise: we learn how not to read as well as how to read, and at the same time how difficult it is to distinguish between the two.

In this way, poetry realises the creative energy of what seemed otherwise the hopeless burden of commentary on the Bible after the Reformation: the availability of contradictory interpretations of the same text. That is not to say that Milton somehow allows for critical alternatives with equanimity. *Paradise Lost* is the production of a theological mind which knows (or thinks it knows) the difference between truth and error. However, the experience of reading is recognised by Milton as being like the process of temptation that assails Adam and Eve in Eden. The reader is tried and tested by the process of interpretation, and interpretation always involves the intervention of the passions as well as of reason, and is always prone to failure and misconception. Yet this is precisely what gives it redemptive value. When the archangel Raphael asks Adam, in one of the most delightful imaginative speculations in the poem, what it feels like to be human, Adam replies by trying to explain what it is like to be in love. When he is with Eve, he says, his emotion transports him to a different plane of experience. This is what he calls passion, 'Commotion strange', the body's knowledge. As a result, whatever he is thinking, he wants to believe what she says and feels: 'that what she wills to do or say, / Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best'.[103]

Raphael replies like a good Stoic. The body does not know best: the passions are leading Adam astray. This accords with over a thousand years of

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[103] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VIII, 549–50.

interpreting the book of Genesis: Adam falls because he is conquered by female desire. Raphael also sounds like any number of Renaissance theorists of drama: he is attempting to persuade Adam to expel undesirable passions and replace them with desirable ones. But Raphael does not get the last word. Adam asks Raphael the most awkward of questions: how would he know, as an angel, when an angel has no experience of sex? Raphael blushes, 'Celestial rosy red',[104] as well he might. In a sublimely non-carnal way, angels too get intimate with each other.

The Bible, Erasmus said, works like any other literary work, by a rhetoric of the affections, rather than by a logic of demonstration. It is a book designed for humans. The Genesis story provides a template for human desire, error and the hope of redemption. In Grotius's *Adamus Exul*, Adam relates his feelings as he first saw Eve emerge from inside his own body:

> Stupor occupavit, flamma quem solvit nova
> Et amoris igni
>
> (Grotius, *Adamus Exul*, ii. 674–5)
>
> (amazement seized my body; a new flame and the fire of love melted it).[105]

Grotius makes an avowedly Virgilian departure from the patristic tradition. For Chrysostom, life before the Fall was immortal precisely in the sense that it was free from sexual as from other natural demands, and unaffected by the emotions. Gregory of Nyssa speculated that if mankind had not fallen, some other means of reproduction would have been found.[106] While Jerome followed the Greek Fathers, Augustine was insistent that God allowed for sex before the Fall. Prelapsarian sex is nonetheless rational and voluntary.

Adam in Grotius, on the other hand, is like Dido in Book IV of the *Aeneid*, when she confesses to Anna her love for Aeneas, 'agnosco veteris vestigia flammae' (I recognise the signs of the old flame).[107] This legacy is felt when Eve eats the fruit and then overcomes Adam's resistance to temptation, by appealing

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[104] Ibid., VIII, 619.
[105] Hugo Grotius, *Adamus Exul*, ii.674–5, ed. and trans. W. Kirkconnell in *The Celestial Cycle: The Theme of Paradise Lost in World Literature with Translations of the Major Analogues* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), pp. 96–220.
[106] Evans, *The Genesis Tradition*, p. 87.
[107] Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv.23. The line had been made famous by Dante, *Divina Commedia*, *Purgatorio*, xxx.48.

passionately to the vows they made in love. As Adam falls, he declares that God gave him love for Eve, just as he gave him the apple.[108] Grotius suggests that love is the human tragedy. Milton extends this treatment with extraordinary complexity. In his speech to Raphael he gives full voice to the 'Commotion strange' of human affectivity, and to his apprehension that love makes him do things reason would not advise. But this is not, as in Grotius, a simple tragedy. Adam does not fall for love alone:

> Should God create another Eve, and I
> Another rib afford, yet loss of thee
> Would never from my heart; no no, I feel
> The link of nature draw me: flesh of flesh,
> Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy state
> Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe.
>
> (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IX, 911–16)

Quoting from Genesis 2:23 ('flesh of my flesh'), while also invoking the language of love lyric, Milton subtly ambiguates here between a notion of love as the highest calling of reason and the instinctive determinism of embodiment. In a moment of ethical abandonment Adam forgets to verify where his emotions are leading him. When it is said, a little later, that he falls 'fondly overcome with female charm',[109] this is not a repetition of the misogynist tradition of the Greek Fathers that Adam's sin is all the woman's fault. It is a complex acknowledgement that the weight of the human condition requires both an ability to allow for emotional engagement and an ethical responsibility to make such feelings the grounds for voluntary decisions that seek a good end in the direction of motivation.

After the Fall, Adam and Eve expend their energy at first in blaming each other for the whole experience. Milton thus does not view the passions as inherently uncontrollable; nor does he distinguish between a simple dichotomy of good and bad passions. Instead, all human passions are capable of being redirected by voluntary reason. For if love provides the context for the Fall, it also provides the context for human transformation through confession and repentance. It often goes unnoticed that the longest and most eloquent expressions of love in *Paradise Lost* come in the books that follow the Fall rather than those that lead up to it. As Adam returns from hearing the prohibition from the archangel Michael, he comes back to the bower where he left Eve sleeping. It is here that Adam and Eve finally find equality in love. Eve is

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[108] Grotius, *Adamus Exul*, iv.1459–61.
[109] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IX, 999.

awake. But in her dream she has been listening to God. Love is no longer the subject of instinct:

> In me is no delay; with thee to go,
> Is to stay here; without thee here to stay,
> Is to go hence unwilling; thou to me
> Art all things under heaven, all places thou
> <div align="right">(Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XII, 615–18)</div>

At the end of *Paradise Lost*, human passions are resolved as part of voluntary agency. Milton thus uses the literature of love to offer a sophisticated commentary on the theological interpretation of Christian doctrine. In that sense he does not subordinate literature to theology, but nor does he subvert the Bible to a literary transgression. Adam and Eve shed 'some natural tears' as they exit from Eden. Fear and pity, as in a classical tragedy, set the mood. But it is a literary mode of redemption not of despair:

> The world was all before them, where to choose
> Their place of rest, and providence their guide:
> They hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
> Through Eden took their solitary way.
> <div align="right">(Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XII, 646–9)</div>

Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost* are exemplary humans not only in representing the first human creations. They are also God's first protagonists. Milton creates from his epic narrative a distinctive interpretation of Scripture in action. Scripture is human rather than dogmatic in scale, and it works by moving the reader to feel differently rather than to be persuaded by axiomatic doctrinal truths. Milton suggests a way of thinking about the Bible that is quintessentially of the Renaissance: the experience of the Bible as literature.

# The Bible and the visual arts in early modern Europe

DAVID H. PRICE

The Renaissance recovery of the Bible in original-language texts contributed to far-reaching and revolutionary changes for European Christianity. As the other chapters in this volume indicate, text-historical scholarship resulted in different reconstructions of the Bible and fostered the formation of diverse positions on the authority and meaning of those texts. Because those innovations turned out to have profound political and social ramifications, Renaissance biblical philology has always been a prominent subject of inquiry for historians and theologians. One aspect of the rise of humanist biblical philology, however, that deserves stronger recognition is its symbiosis with the revolution in Renaissance visual arts.

After all, the phenomenon expressed by the term 'Renaissance' defines equally well the innovations in both biblical philology and visual representation, for the reorientation to Classical Antiquity (or idealisations of the Classical world) informed both textual and visual culture in the same fundamental ways. Artists and scholars looked to Antiquity for the substance of their work: subject matter, models of style, historiography, philosophy and theory, as well as technical methodologies. In particular, the Bible was perceived as the central discourse of the ancient world, and, as such, needed not only to be recovered in its pristine form but also to be visualised through the lenses of Classical art.

A recognisably Renaissance style emerged as artists transformed representations of the Bible from iconic to realistic (or illusionistic) images, a process that resulted from the reception of ancient artistic styles and techniques. This development is evident in both painting and sculpture from early fifteenth-century Florence, as we can see in pioneering works by Ghiberti, Donatello and Masaccio.[1] Among the most significant biblical projects from

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[1] Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*, 2nd edn. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Thomas Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, 4th edn. (New York: Abrams, 1994); John T. Paoletti and Gary M. Radke, *Art in Renaissance*

the early Florentine Renaissance were Lorenzo Ghiberti's two sets of bronze reliefs for the doors of the Baptistery of Florence. The first set, begun in 1402–3 and sometimes described as the beginning of Renaissance art, features twenty panels, framed by medieval quatrefoils, with scenes from the life of Christ, along with portraits of the four evangelists and four doctors of the church (Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory and Augustine). The second set, which Michelangelo subsequently immortalised as the *Gates of Paradise*, has ten large rectangular panels with complex designs combining related scenes from Old Testament narratives in a fully developed Renaissance style. It was for this project, begun in 1425, that Ghiberti developed a technique of very low relief (including incised lines) to enable his innovative sculptural application of linear perspective.

In a long and influential career, Donatello successfully established the classical sculptural scheme of the *contrapposto*, weight-shifted stance, as the versatile basis for Renaissance handling of the human body, a new paradigm that profoundly transformed Christian art. Donatello captured the subtle expressiveness of the classical *contrapposto* in his early marble *David* (1408–9), a work that paved the way for subsequent experimentation. With his bronze *David* (*c.* 1440s), the first free-standing nude since Antiquity, Donatello recalibrated the *contrapposto* to create a prepubescent boy more sensual than heroic, thereby greatly expanding the boundaries for artistic interpretation of the Bible (Fig. 1). In the aftermath of Donatello, sculptors often aimed for innovation and creativity within the classical paradigm. For example, in his monumental interpretation of *David* (1504), Michelangelo took a novel approach by depicting the saviour before the battle, and by projecting a calm but potentially overwhelming force – destined to prevail in any exigency – that asserted the political, religious and cultural vitality of the restored Florentine Republic (after the 1494 exile of the Medici family).[2]

The unity of classical and biblical art can be seen with unusual clarity in the historical origins of Renaissance painting, Masaccio's *Trinity* fresco (*c.* 1427) in Santa Maria Novella in Florence. The *Trinity*, though ultimately a symbolic image of a metaphysical Christian doctrine, is the first major use of perspective to rationalise a two-dimensional representation of three-dimensional space. Moreover, by placing God, Christ and the Holy Spirit in a framing classical architectural structure (a coffered Roman barrel vault supported by Greek

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*Italy*, 4th edn. (London: Lawrence King, 2005); John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence, 1200–1575* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).

[2] John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986).

Figure 1. Donatello, *David* (bronze, *c.* 1440).
Credit: Scala / Art Resource

columns and pilasters), Masaccio set the story of salvation in the Roman (and, by extension, the humanist) world. In the frescoes for the Brancacci Chapel (*c.* 1426–7; in the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence), Masaccio depicted scenes from Genesis, the life of Jesus and St Peter, also with a recognisably classical handling of body and space. Like the *Trinity*, the Brancacci frescoes attempt to represent coherent human psychologies in the biblical figures, including Jesus.

Perhaps no composition conveys the Christian–Classical unity better than Raphael's *Stanza della Segnatura* (*c*. 1508–11), where all of culture – Classical philosophy and Renaissance art, Christian theology, Roman and ecclesiastical law, Christian and Graeco-Roman poetry – has the same divine origin from the perspective of Renaissance humanists, including Raphael and his patron, Pope Julius II. Raphael's *Entombment of Christ* (1507), an excellent example of an Italian High Renaissance aesthetic, represents the dynamic movement of figures in a way reminiscent of Roman relief sculpture, while creating an evocative and convincingly human image of the experience of Christ's death.[3]

Even before the Reformation, religious status was an important political issue, with many polities vying to promote the holiness or sanctity of their territory, often through the creation of religious art. In the Renaissance, no place better exemplifies this than the city of Rome, which experienced a phase of rapid expansion from the 1470s to the 1520s, as the popes, having re-established residence as of 1420 (with some hiatuses), sought to make the city worthy of its function as the capital of Christianity.[4] In the context of papal patronage of scholarship (as reflected in the foundation of the Vatican Library by Sixtus IV), the Bible became the focus of papal art commissions, with some of the results ranking among the most powerful visualisations of the Bible in the history of Christianity. The best example of this is also the most famous: the Sistine Chapel, commissioned by Sixtus IV (1470s, attributed to the architect Baccio Pontelli), with its frescoes of the New and Old Testaments on the ceiling and altar wall by Michelangelo and on the side walls by various leading artists of the late fifteenth century (Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Perugino, Rosselli). The side walls, which juxtapose the life of Moses and the life of Christ, portray biblical events in a Classical setting and idiom, thereby suggesting the medieval idea of typological relationship between Old and New Testament, though without making explicit exegetical connections. They also affirm the biblical basis of the papacy, as in Perugino's emphatically classicising rendition of *Christ Giving the Keys to Peter* (1481–2). Michelangelo's ceiling frescoes (1508–12), commissioned by Pope Julius II (nephew of Sixtus IV), portray events in Genesis from creation through Noah, framed by images of the biblical prophets and the Sibylline oracles in the pendentives, thus conveying the idea, from a Christian perspective, that all history (and Scripture) leads prophetically towards redemption, a theme Michelangelo later portrayed in the immense altar wall fresco of the *Last Judgement* (1534–41). The Genesis account

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[3]  Roger Jones and Nicolas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).
[4]  Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).
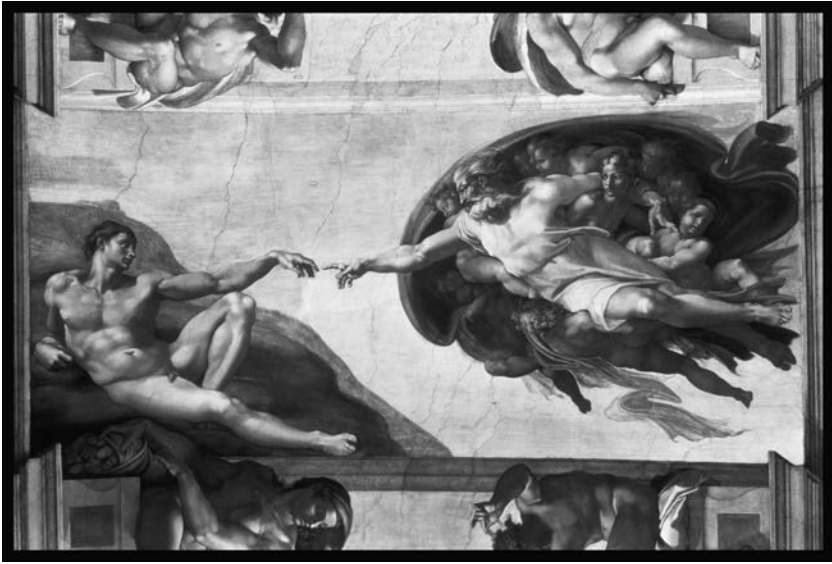
Figure 2. Michelangelo, *Creation of Adam*, Sistine Chapel (fresco painting, *c.* 1511).
Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource

of Creation had been rendered countless times in the history of Christianity, but never with such a compelling image of the human drama and the divine majesty of the events, all on a colossal scale. In the history of art, no biblical images have had a greater impact than Michelangelo's Sistine frescoes (Fig. 2).

The technological basis for the early modern Bible revolution – the invention of printing in Europe – was also fundamentally connected to visual art. It is possible that woodcut printing of phrases from the Bible, in the form of the earliest Apocalypse block-book (*c.* 1440/50),[5] preceded Gutenberg's epochal production of the Vulgate with moveable type (*c.* 1453). In any event, printing of images (often religious images), which developed well before text printing, revolutionised the visual arts. Moreover, in the aftermath of Gutenberg, printed art and printed texts would develop in conjunction with each other, a symbiosis of considerable importance for the history of the Bible.

Indeed, a major new context for biblical imagery in the Renaissance was in graphic media: woodcut, engraving and etching. While early printed

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[5] The dates are conjectural; see Elke Purpus, 'Die Blockbücher der Apokalypse', in Gutenberg Gesellschaft (ed.), *Blockbücher des Mittelalters* (Mainz: Gutenberg Museum, 1991), pp. 81–97.

Latin Bibles were rarely illustrated, the first example being a single modest woodcut of St Peter on a Vulgate published in Venice in 1492,[6] vernacular Bibles frequently included extensive illustration. It is often thought that the non-scholarly Bibles lent themselves to visual enhancement for a less literate readership, but the fact is that nearly all of these early, illustrated vernacular Bibles were deluxe imprints unquestionably intended for elites. Of the eighteen complete German Bibles printed before Luther's *Septembertestament* (1522), sixteen were richly illustrated with woodcuts.[7] With the exception of Dürer's *Apocalypse*, the most influential woodcut programme from Germany was that of the Cologne Bible of 1478/9, printed by Heinrich Quentell and featuring 113 woodcuts (123 in second edition), most of which were re-used by the Nuremberg printer Anton Koberger for the German Bible of 1483.[8] The dominant themes are narratives from the Old Testament, whereas only the book of Revelation is illustrated in the New Testament, with the minor exception of New Testament author portraits.

The Quentell–Koberger Bibles are early experiments in replicating painted manuscript illuminations as printed woodcuts. The designs, which were based on a fifteenth-century illuminated Bible,[9] emphasised the contours of forms and were intended to be coloured in by hand. This was a common approach before Dürer, as we can also see in Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* and Stephan Fridolin's *Schatzbehalter*, both influential books with extensive biblical imagery designed by the Nuremberg masters Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff.[10] Another ambitious incunabular effort, the Lübeck Bible (printed by Steffen Arndes in 1494), has 152 carefully designed and executed woodcut illustrations, the work of at least two separate artists,[11] one of whom managed to portray figures with convincing movement, making this Bible an early example of a Renaissance handling of the body in northern Europe.

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[6] Darlow and Moule, no. 6087.

[7] Complete list in Heimo Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch: Luthers Bibelübersetzung und ihre Tradition* (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1983), p. 85. The total of eighteen imprints includes the illustrated 1522 Halberstadt Bible, even though it is not known for certain if it appeared before Luther's 1522 New Testament.

[8] The blocks were used yet again in the 1522 German Bible (Halberstadt: Lorenz Stuck).

[9] The manuscript is now in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Germ. fol. 516.

[10] Hartmann Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1493); Stephan Fridolin, *Schatzbehalter* (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1491).

[11] Max J. Friedländer, *Die Holzschnitte der Lübecker Bibel von 1494 zu den 5 Büchern Mose* (Berlin: Grotesche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1918). Digital facsimile of the Lübeck Bible is available from Bavarian State Library, Munich: http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00025548-9.
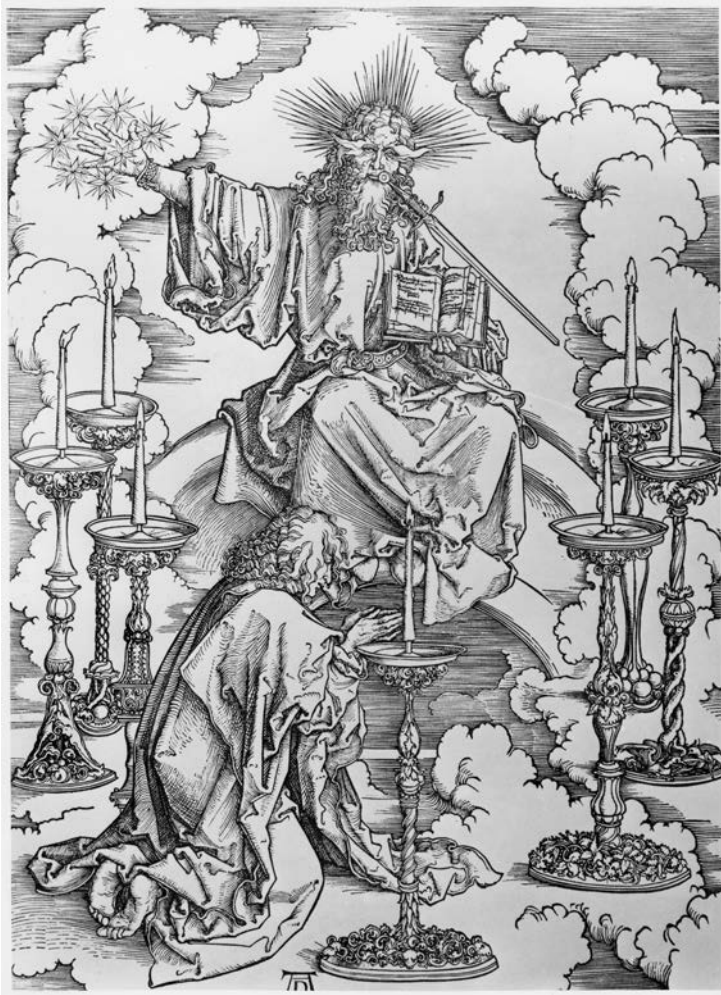
Figure 3. Albrecht Dürer, *The Seven Candlesticks* (woodcut, 1498).
Credit: Snark / Art Resource

The most influential fifteenth-century illustrated Bible was Albrecht Dürer's *Apocalypse* (1498), a work that appeared simultaneously in separate Latin and German editions.[12] Both editions are in large folio format and have the same fifteen full-page woodcuts (Fig. 3). The thematic substance has direct

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[12] Albrecht Dürer, *Apocalypsis cum figuris* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1498); Albrecht Dürer, *Die heimlich offenbarung iohannis* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1498). See David

sources in eight woodcuts from the Quentell–Koberger Bibles, but a distinctive stylistic innovation is that, unlike the coloured-in designs of the model, Dürer's approach supplants colour entirely with graphic effects. In 1498 no one – not even the advanced Italian artists – had seen woodcuts as expressive, detailed, complex or ambitious as these. The complexity, which paved the way for sixteenth-century designers, rivalled that of the best engravings of the late fifteenth century, but did so without contradicting the properties, especially the abstract linearity, of the woodcut medium. Erwin Panofsky identified an important aesthetic paradox in 'the naturalistic rendering of the non-naturalistic mode of presentation',[13] arguing that naturalism in representation of detail and setting is crucial for the intelligible representation of supernatural, visionary themes. Dürer's influence can be detected throughout the history of early modern graphic art, in Cranach, Holbein and even in much later artists with very different styles, such as Rembrandt.

Although rarely depicted in early printed Bibles, the Gospel narratives of Jesus' life are well represented in other printed books, especially in German translations of the Gospel and Epistle readings for the church calendar (pericope collections that were called *plenaria*) and in books devoted to the Passion of Christ.[14] Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff created seventy-three full-page illustrations of New Testament material in their *Schatzbehalter*, with only twenty-three for the Old Testament.[15] Dürer represented the Gospel narratives in his famous triad of books from 1511, each of which includes humanist poetic paraphrases of biblical and traditional stories of Christ's life along with full-page visualisations. They are commonly known by the titles *The Large Passion*, *The Small Passion* and *The Life of the Virgin* (all printed in Nuremberg by Hieronymus Höltzel, but under the imprimatur of the artist). An important feature of these books is the attempt to anchor them in the poetics of Roman literature, for the *Large Passion* attempts a heroic epic style (with the poetry in dactylic hexameter), and the *Life of the Virgin* enters the domestic and ecclesiastical (hymnic) realm of the elegy (with the poetry in distiches), while the *Small Passion* evokes the intense subjectivity of Horace's *Odes* (with the poetry on Christ's life and Passion set in twenty different Horatian lyric meters). In a sense, Dürer's books combine a humanist rewriting of the Gospel narratives

Hotchkiss Price, *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance: Humanism, Reformation and the Art of Faith* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), pp. 29–63.

[13] Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 56.

[14] Karl Knappe, 'Bibelillustration', *TRE*, vol. VI, p. 148.

[15] Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, *Schatzbehalter* (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1491). Altogether, the *Schatzbehalter* has ninety-six woodcuts from ninety-one blocks.

along with a Renaissance revisualisation.[16] Many pre-Reformation artists created series of engravings or woodcuts that depicted Christ's Passion, most significantly Martin Schongauer (engraved Passion, *c.* 1475–90), Albrecht Dürer (engraved Passion, complete 1513), and Lucas Cranach the Elder (woodcut Passion, 1509).[17] Such series also occur in Renaissance painting, as, to cite a well-known example, in Raphael's Vatican Loggia frescoes.

The most profusely illustrated Bible of the fifteenth century was from Italy: the 1490 reprint of Nicolò Malermi's translation.[18] Featuring 386 elegant woodcut illustrations, the Malermi Bible was frequently reprinted and, consequently, had a major impact on Bible illustration.[19] The woodcuts were also reused to create the first extensively illustrated edition of the Vulgate, and their designs were recut in metal for a 1512 edition of the Vulgate.[20] In the aftermath of the transfer of the di Giunta designs to Vulgate imprints, Latin Bibles of the sixteenth century would occasionally receive significant illustrations, even though most scholarly Bibles would continue to be unadorned. Only one of the great Renaissance polyglot Bibles received significant illustration: the magnificent Plantin Polyglot, produced under the patronage of Philip II of Spain.[21]

An especially common theme in Renaissance art was the authority of the Bible, a subject explored in myriad images of St Jerome. As the ancient scholar who translated Hebrew and Greek Scriptures into Latin, Jerome had achieved such wide prominence by the end of the fifteenth century that we might think of him as the unofficial patron saint of Renaissance humanists.[22] Ultimately, the research of Lorenzo Valla, Johannes Reuchlin, Desiderius Erasmus and their followers would lessen the authority of Jerome's great accomplishment – the Latin Vulgate translation – but the scholar himself

[16] Price, *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance*, pp. 133–65.
[17] Tilman Falk (ed.), *Sixteenth Century German Artists: Hans Burgkmair, the Elder, Hans Schäufelein, Lucas Cranach, the Elder*, The Illustrated Bartsch 11 (New York: Abaris, 1980), pp. 325–38.
[18] Nicolò Malermi, *Biblia vulgare istoriata* (Venice: Lucantonio di Giunta, 1490).
[19] James Strachan, *Early Bible Illustration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), pp. 25–35.
[20] *Biblia cum tabula nuper impressa et cum summariis noviter editis* (Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, 1498); *Biblia cum concordantiis veteris et novi testamenti* (Lyon: Jacques Sacon, 1512).
[21] *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine: Philippi II. Reg. Cathol. pietate, et studio ad Sacrosanctae Ecclesiae usum*, 8 vols. (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1569–73).
[22] See Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *St. Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); Berndt Hamm, 'Hieronymus-Begeisterung und Augustinismus vor der Reformation: Beobachtungen zur Beziehung zwischen Humanismus und Frömmigkeitstheologie', in Kenneth Hagen (ed.), *Augustine, the Harvest, and Theology (1300–1650)* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 127–235.

would continue to represent the ideal of Christian biblical philology anchored in the three sacred languages. Artists also represented Jerome's piety and asceticism, making him an image of biblical scholarship grounded in the elite ideals of Christian devotion. He could serve as a model for spirituality in the high clergy as well, since he was nearly always rendered as a cardinal (even after Erasmus proved that Jerome could not have actually been a cardinal). These traditional aspects of biblical authority would continue to inform many Catholic representations of Jerome after the Reformation, as the Council of Trent anathematised any rejection of the authority of Jerome's Vulgate.[23] As evident in Titian's portrayals, the sacrament of penance along with biblical scholarship would define the post-Tridentine Jerome.[24]

Drawing on the iconography of Italian artists such as Giovanni Bellini in Venice, Dürer frequently represented Jerome as scholar and penitent, and in some cases, more distinctively, as a humanist melancholic probing the mysteries of theology from the vantage point of biblical philology. Dürer's earliest signed woodcut depicted Jerome with the opening phrase of Genesis rendered xylographically in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The woodcut actually represents the first ever printing of any part of the Septuagint, and the same preoccupation with the Bible's authority informs Dürer's other presentations, such as the famous engraving of *St Jerome in his Study* (1514), a composition that notably combines the crucial elements of biblical philology and the new Renaissance science of perspective.[25]

With the onset of the Reformation, artistic visualisations of the Bible's authority became confessionally and politically charged. For the emerging territorial or state churches, Bibles would often display authorising portraits of rulers (or their coats of arms) serving, in lieu of the Pope, as heads of the new churches, a change evident in the famous image of Henry VIII that Hans Holbein designed for the title page of the Coverdale Bible of 1535.[26] An early example of a Reformation visualisation of biblical authority was Dürer's *The Four Holy Men* (1526).[27] The composition, on two large panels, consists of

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[23] Jaroslav Pelikan and Valerie Hotchkiss (eds.), *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, 4 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), vol. ii, pp. 822–4 (Session 4; 8 April 1546).

[24] See his *Penance of Jerome* (*c*. 1575, in El Escorial).

[25] Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

[26] See Hans Reinhardt, 'Einige Bemerkungen zum graphischen Werk Hans Holbeins des Jüngeren', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 34 (1977), 229–60, at pp. 252–3.

[27] Fedja Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1991), nos. 183–4.

monumental author portraits of John, Peter, Mark and Paul, now, however, depicted to endorse specifically the authority of Luther's German Bible. In the left panel John reads from his own Gospel in Luther's German, whereas the base of the composition has passages from the four biblical authors, also in the new version by Luther. The texts suggest that the composition is an assertion of the authority of the Bible against theological and political radicalisation that threatened to undermine Protestant biblicism. The arrangement of the figures with the powerful forms of John and Paul in the foreground reflects the hierarchy of Scriptures proposed by Luther in the preface of the *Septembertestament*: 'Therefore John's Gospel is the one fine, true, and chief Gospel, and is far, far to be preferred over the other three and be placed high above them. So, too, the epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter far surpass the other three Gospels.'[28]

The Reformation shattered the Western Christian consensus on the religious use of images, as formulated definitively by Pope Gregory the Great (in two letters to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, *c*. 600) and, for all of Christianity, in the Second Council of Nicaea (787).[29] New theologies of images, which developed under the banner of reformation of worship, soon became church-dividing issues. Indeed, in this respect there would be a closer affinity between the cultures of Catholicism and Lutheranism than between Lutheranism and other forms of Protestantism. The new doctrines on images not only undermined the status of ecclesiastic art but also all too often fuelled the demolition of centuries of art in some parts of Europe, most notably in England, Scotland, Switzerland, France and the Netherlands. These iconoclastic acts were promoted as necessary destruction of the Catholic 'idols' by the 'true' worshippers of God, and they functioned as a significant device for establishing a new communal evangelical identity. For example, 'cleansing' of churches typically followed Protestant occupation of a city in the Dutch revolt against Spain (beginning in 1566).

Despite disagreement in other details, Protestant confessions shared the categorical rejection of any type of veneration of an image, and even the very concept of a sacred image, structure or place. Beginning with Andreas Karlstadt in Wittenberg and Ludwig Hätzer in Zurich, theologians of the 'Radical' Reformation rejected religious (and biblical) imagery as a form of idolatry on the basis of the commandment in Exodus 20:4: 'Thou shalt not

[28] Price, *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance*, pp. 258–75, quotation at p. 258.
[29] See C. M. Kauffmann, 'The Bible in Public Art, 1050–1450', in *NCHB2*, pp. 785–820, at p. 785; Werner Hofmann, 'Die Geburt der Moderne aus dem Geist der Religion', in Werner Hofmann (ed.), *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst* (Munich: Prestel, 1983), pp. 23–71.

make unto thee any graven images.'[30] Huldrych Zwingli ultimately accepted many elements of Hätzer's extensive theological critique (which extended to church music) and formulated a strongly anti-imagistic theology, accepting the contention that images lead to idolatry, although he defended images that serve historical or instructional purposes. From 20 June to 2 July 1524 Zwingli conducted a systematic removal and destruction of ecclesiastical art in Zurich.[31]

Karlstadt's rejection of images in Wittenberg, which in the winter of 1521–2 resulted in the first outbreaks of art vandalism (with the worst case occurring on 6 February 1522),[32] elicited a very different response from Luther: a vigorous counter-attack that defended the legitimacy of religious images. Luther's earliest defences were grounded in the Pauline concept of Christian liberty, specifically claiming that Christians are free either to have or to dispense with imagery. An important basis for Luther's initial 'indifference' was his contention that Exodus 20:4 forbids idolatry, but not visual representation. From the very beginning of the movement, Luther opposed patronage of religious art for fear that it would foster a false sense of works righteousness (the belief that good works contributed to one's salvation) in the minds of the donors. According to Luther, people should 'spend no more money on bulls [i.e. indulgences], candles, bells, paintings [Taffeln] or churches',[33] but should instead contribute any extra resources they may have to the poor. This position, combined with a great willingness to use existing Catholic ecclesiastical structures, resulted in a steep decline in the patronage of public religious art. In other respects, Luther was comfortable adopting traditional attitudes towards Christian art, especially the view (as formulated by Gregory the Great) that biblical pictures should be tolerated and even encouraged for their instructional value: 'for the sake of memory [gedechtnis] or better understanding'.[34]

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[30] Luther (following medieval practice) counted Exodus 20:4 as part of the First Commandment, although in the Eastern and reformed churches it was considered the Second Commandment.

[31] Charles Garside, Jr., *Zwingli and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 159; Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 53–101.

[32] Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1979), p. 40.

[33] *WA*, vol. VIII, pp. 683–4: 'gib nit mer gelt tzu Bullen, Kertzen, Glocken, Taffeln, Kirchen' (*Eyn trew vermanung Martini Luther zu allen Christen, sich tzu vorhuten fur auffruhr unnd emporung*, 1522).

[34] *WA*, vol. XVIII, p. 82: 'wyr auch solche bilder mügen an die wende malen umb gedechtnis und besser verstands willen' (*Wider die himmlischen Propheten, von den Bildern und Sakrament*, 1525).

In his 1525 *Wider die himmlischen Propheten* (Against the heavenly prophets), a work that probably inspired Dürer's creation of the *Four Holy Men*, Luther not only continued to advocate the didactic value of religious pictures, but also, and more importantly, began expressing a certain enthusiasm for biblical imagery, proposing that authorities should have the 'entire Bible' painted on the walls of houses for the benefit of ordinary people.[35] His 1529 *Passional*, sometimes hailed as the 'first children's Bible',[36] has fifty woodcut illustrations for biblical pericopes, with the imagery covering the entire *Heilsgeschichte* from Creation to the Resurrection. In the preface Luther firmly embraced the value of biblical imagery 'above all for children and simple people who are better moved by pictures and likeness [or allegory, or parable: "gleichnis"] to remember the godly stories than they are by mere words and instruction'.[37] Eventually, Luther developed a distinctive perspective on religious art, contending that people cannot refrain from creating images in their minds even of metaphysical, theological concepts and that such mental image-making was an important part of cognition. For that reason, he saw no need to forbid the creation of physical external images, accepting even the use of visual analogies for immaterial phenomena, such as the representation of God the Father as an old man. Consequently, anthropomorphic images of God appeared in Lutheran Bible imprints throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as with striking prominence on the title page of 1534 *editio princeps* of the complete Luther translation.

In the final edition of the *Institutes* (1559) John Calvin systematised a strongly iconophobic position.[38] Whereas the Second Council of Nicaea had defended icons on the basis of the Incarnation, Calvin contended on the contrary that, since God was something purely spiritual and utterly devoid of physical attributes amenable to visual representation, any attempt to depict the divine was doomed to failure. Quite unlike Luther, he rejected the value of imagistic

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[35] *WA*, vol. XVIII, p. 83: 'Ja wollt Gott, ich kund die herrn und die reychen da hyn bereden, das sie die gantze Bibel ynnwendig und auswendig an den heusern fur ydermans augen malen liessen, das were eyn Christlich werck' (*Wider die himmlischen Propheten, von den Bildern und Sakrament*, 1525).

[36] Gottfried Adam, 'Kinderbibeln–von Luther bis heute', in Gottfried Adam and Rainer Lachmann (eds.), *Kinderbibeln: ein Lese- und Studienbuch* (Vienna and Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2006), pp. 50–64, at p. 53.

[37] *WA*, vol. X / 2, p. 458: 'Ich habs fur gut angesehen das alte Passional büchlin zu dem bett-büchlin zu thun, allermeist umb der kinder und einfeltigen willen, welche durch bildnis und gleichnis besser bewegt werden, die Göttlichen geschicht zu behalten, denn durch blosse wort odder lere' (*Passional*, part of 1529 edition of *Betbüchlein*).

[38] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), vol. I, p. 11.

analogy, concluding instead that attempts at representation were not only misguided but also blasphemous on the grounds that the attempted divine images expressed fundamental disrespect for God's majesty. Consequently, Calvinist churches underwent thorough iconoclastic cleansings, and Calvinist Bibles eschewed pictorial representation with the exception of explanatory images such as maps. Calvin also felt that crosses were superfluous in churches because the sermon on the gospel should 'paint' the crucified Christ sufficiently. While biblical art, even in non-ecclesiastical settings, tended to atrophy in many Calvinist cultures, Calvin did concede the legitimacy of historical painting and portraiture.

As we have seen, though he expressed concern about potential idolatry, Luther preserved the basic Catholic allowance of representational art in churches. He welcomed biblical imagery in many forms, especially scenes of the Last Supper and pictures that emphasised the redemptive actions of Christ.[39] Most distinctively for Protestant worship, Luther strongly endorsed the continued use of altarpieces. (Reformed polities rejected altarpieces as forms of idols.) Even more important, Luther served as the major catalyst for the development of a richly variegated tradition of Bible illustration.

The most significant Protestant creator of ecclesiastical art in the sixteenth century was Lucas Cranach the Elder.[40] Cranach was instrumental in the development of the new iconography of the 'Law and the Gospel', a didactic visualisation of Luther's theology of justification by faith alone.[41] Beginning with the introduction to the *Septembertestament*, the 'Law and the Gospel' was enshrined as a basic hermeneutical principle for Lutheran Bible reading. Cranach's iconography contrasts biblical images of the law, such as Moses receiving the tablets on Mount Sinai and the transgression of Adam and Eve, with pictures of faith, such as the bronze serpent of the Exodus (set up to save the Israelites in Numbers 21), the annunciation, and, above all, the Resurrection of Christ. As Protestant theologians would elaborate in different ways, the law has many functions but cannot lead to salvation – something that, according to them, occurs only through grace and faith in the redemptive

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[39] Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, p. 150; *WA*, vol. xxxi, p. 415.
[40] Dieter Koepplin and Tilman Falk, *Lukas Cranach*, 2 vols. (Basel and Stuttgart: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1974).
[41] The iconography apparently existed before Cranach developed and popularised it. Heimo Reinitzer, *Gesetz und Evangelium*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Christians Verlag, 2006); Matthias Weniger, ' "Durch und durch lutherisch"? Neues zum Ursprung der Bilder von Gesetz und Gnade', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3rd series, 55 (2004), 115–34; Peter-Claus Schuster, 'Gesetz und Gnade', in Hoffmann (ed.), *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst*, pp. 210–16; Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, pp. 124–30, 136–45.

work of Christ. There would be many adaptations of the 'Law and Gospel' iconography by Protestant artists, some portraying the functions of the law more favourably than is typical in Cranach.

In 1529 Cranach unveiled the iconography in two paintings, designed perhaps for display in churches.[42] Within ten years, in the Schneeberg Altarpiece (1539; commissioned by Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony and Duke John of Coburg), he had developed the new motif to transform the late medieval triptych retable into a Lutheran high altar. The 'Law and the Gospel' dominates as the closed position of the altarpiece, with a depiction of the Crucifixion as the centre of the open position. As exemplified in these early cases, the Lutheran altarpiece also enshrines the specific authority of the word of the Bible by including biblical passages as prominent parts of the composition. This textuality, although it implies anxiety about religious imagery, intensifies both the biblicism and the goal of confessional indoctrination. Focusing on the didactic function, one art historian decried the pictorial result as something 'as interesting as a solved crossword puzzle'.[43] An important feature in this and other Cranach altarpieces is the glorification of the Saxon electors. In the Schneeberg Altarpiece, John Friedrich of Saxony and John of Coburg are on the wings of the open position, in part depicted as the pious patrons. Cranach also included emphatic tributes to the electoral dignities in his pre-Reformational art, as in his *Altarpiece with Holy Kinship* (1509; also called the Torgau Altarpiece), but the effect is different now because the rulers are the heads, and not just the patrons, of the church. Cranach also acted on Luther's suggestion that the Last Supper is the ideal iconography for church art, including the scene as a large predella for the Schneeberg Altarpiece and also as the central panel of the Wittenberg Altarpiece (1547), in the latter work depicting the recently deceased Luther among the disciples of Christ. Luther also appears in the predella of the Wittenberg Altarpiece, delivering a sermon, apparently based on an image of the Crucifixion, to a recognisably Wittenberg congregation. The most important Lutheran altarpiece was for the Church of St Peter and St Paul in Weimar, the masterpiece of Lucas Cranach the Younger (1555). This luminous and monumental work repeats the visual interpretation of the Crucifixion in accord with the principle of Law and Grace, and enshrines the

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[42] The paintings survive in Gotha and Prague. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, pp. 124–30.

[43] Joseph L. Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 379. See Bonnie Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2009), pp. 27 ff., for a different view.

now deceased Cranach the Elder as the penitent Adam, redeemed by Christ's blood. Martin Luther appears as the framing figure of the Crucifixion, holding an open Bible, as the authoritative stamp of *sola scriptura* on the theology of redemption.

Overall, however, the Lutheran reformation of religious art and the iconoclasm of Reformed Protestantism resulted in a steep decline in church painting. This trend is especially noticeable in Calvinist or Calvinist-influenced polities. For example, in England, where the commissioning of church art and architecture atrophied almost completely until the architectural projects of Christopher Wren, which occurred only in the aftermath of the great London fire of 1666.[44] In Continental Protestant polities the only major exceptions were the innovative paintings of Cranach and seventeenth-century Dutch art, especially Rembrandt's religious art, the latter being intended for extra-ecclesiastical display. In older art histories the waning is often characterised as an abrupt end to a dawning golden age in German religious painting that featured the likes of Dürer, Cranach, Matthias Grünewald, Hans Baldung Grien and Hans Holbein.[45] A reason for the eclipse in painting is surely Luther's rejection of patronage of ecclesiastical art and the paucity of new church construction in Protestant countries.

Cranach is a key figure for understanding the ideological visualisation of the Bible, but he also exemplifies two other important trends in the aftermath of the Reformation. One is that artists sometimes worked both sides of the theological divide. Cranach continued to accept major commissions from several Catholic patrons, most importantly from Albrecht of Brandenburg, who relied heavily on Cranach's workshop for artwork for his new collegiate church in Halle, in many ways constructed to demonstrate the vitality of Catholicism so close to Wittenberg.[46] Cranach painted portraits of Albrecht of Brandenburg in four separate compositions as the biblical authority St Jerome, a strategy that was surely intended by the elector–archbishop as an answer to Lutheran biblicism. In fact, Albrecht was then sponsoring the creation of the first complete post-Reformation, Catholic translation of the Bible, the work of the Dominican scholar Johann Dietenberger, to compete with Luther.[47]

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[44] C. M. Kauffmann, *The Bible in British Art* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1977); John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535–1660* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

[45] For a recent survey see Anne-Marie Bonnet and Gabriele Kopp-Schmidt, *Die Malerei der deutschen Renaissance* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2010).

[46] Andreas Tacke, *Der katholische Cranach* (Mainz: Zabern, 1992).

[47] Johann Dietenberger, *Biblia/ beider Allt vnd Newen Testamenten/ fleissig/ treülich vnd Christlich/ nach alter/ inn Christlicher kirchen gehabter Translation* (Mainz: Peter Jordan, 1534).

Cranach also exemplifies the important phenomenon of the secularisation of art in the context of the Renaissance and Reformation, as he emphasised secular portraiture, classical mythology and even genre painting throughout his career.

If Lutheranism did not create an environment conducive to the growth of church art, it certainly touched off an explosion of creativity in the graphic arts. This occurred mainly as a result of the unprecedented promotion of Bible printing; but biblical imagery, often innovative, also informed anti-Catholic broadsides and pamphlets. The most famous of these was the *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, a scurrilously anti-papal pamphlet by Cranach and Philipp Melanchthon, apparently produced with Luther's blessing.[48] It consists of thirteen pairs of images contrasting the life of Jesus with the satirically exaggerated worldliness of the Renaissance papacy. In one set of images the story of Christ driving the money-changers from the Temple (Luke 4:43–4) is contrasted with a woodcut of Leo X selling indulgences in a church. In another opening a picture of the Pope enjoying a jousting match, accompanied by courtiers and prostitutes, faces an image of Christ ministering to the poor and sick (Phil. 2:6–8). In the aftermath of Cranach, this kind of polemical deployment of the Bible proliferated across Protestant Europe.[49]

The very first Protestant Bible, Martin Luther's translation of the New Testament, published in Wittenberg in September 1522 (known therefore as the *Septembertestament*), established two important characteristics for early Protestant Bible illustration: pictorial literalism (or fidelity to the text) and confessional agitation. As the first vernacular translation of the Greek text, this New Testament served the dual function of disseminating Scripture in a reliable German text and, as the authority for Luther's challenge to the church's magisterium, of inflaming sentiment against the Catholic Church. The Bible was published and illustrated by Cranach the Elder, who happened to be a personal friend of Luther. Like the early printed German bibles, only the book of Revelation was illustrated: it has twenty-one full-page woodcuts, strongly influenced by Dürer's *Apocalypse*. Cranach's imitations of Dürer represent a sustained effort to adjust the details of Dürer's images to agree more exactly with the text. Moreover, several of Cranach's designs drew on

Archbishop Albrecht von Brandenburg appears on the woodcut title page of the 1534 Dietenberger Bible.
48  Lucas Cranach and Philipp Melanchthon, *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (Wittenberg: Grunenberg, 1521).
49  Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

millenarian strains of ecclesiastical criticism to add fiercely anti-papal exegesis to Luther's text. Cranach's workshop dared to represent the Babylon of Revelation ('dwelling place of demons, haunt of every false spirit': Rev. 18:2) as contemporary papal Rome, a polemical strategy that also appears in the first complete Luther Bible (1534), where Babylon is depicted as the city of Worms to express scorn for the Edict of Worms, which outlawed Protestantism. Cranach also crowned two of the apocalyptic monsters (the beast from the bottomless pit of Rev. 11:7 and the beast on the throne of Rev. 16:10) as well as the Whore of Babylon (Rev. 17:1 ff.) with the papal tiara (Fig. 4). In the following few decades Protestant illustrators would continue to portray the Pope as the Antichrist, although the *Septembertestament* woodblocks were modified by excising the papal tiaras before they could be reprinted in December 1522.[50]

The success of the Cranach illustrations for the *Septembertestament* launched the most significant period ever for the illustration of the Bible. In an effort to compete with the Wittenberg imprints, the very first reprints of Luther's text – some fifteen reprints of the New Testament were made outside Wittenberg in 1522–3[51] – featured significant illustrations. In 1523 the printer Adam Petri commissioned images from Hans Holbein, one of the most influential Bible illustrators of the age. In 1526 Sebald Beham created an extensive set of miniature illustrations for a New Testament published by Hans Hergot.[52] Erhard Altdorfer designed seventy-nine woodcuts (four repeated) for a 1533 Low German adaptation of the complete Luther translation – which actually appeared before the 1534 Wittenberg version. Altdorfer's title page, later reused for the important English Matthew's Bible (1537), is a pictorially unified adaptation of Cranach's 'Law and Gospel' iconography, an early appearance of the motif in a Bible (Fig. 5).

Wittenberg remained a centre of Bible production and illustration, with particularly influential illustrative programmes in a series of complete Bibles (especially those of 1534, 1541, 1545 and 1546).[53] The first complete high German Luther Bible[54] has a new set of 117 text illustrations, created for the most part

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[50] After formally protesting at the anti-papal woodcuts, Duke Georg of Saxony (Ducal Saxony) acquired the modified woodblocks from Cranach and used them for Hieronymus Emser's New Testament of 1527, the first Catholic translation published after Luther.

[51] Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch*, pp. 116–17. For a complete list of High German reprints of Luther's Bible see *WA DB*, vol. 11, pp. 201–727.

[52] *Das New Testament Teutsch* (Nuremberg: Hans Hergot, 1526).

[53] See Philipp Schmidt, *Die Illustration der Lutherbibel 1522–1700* (Basel: Reinhardt, 1962) for a comprehensive survey.

[54] *Biblia, das ist, die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch / Mart. Luth.*, 2 vols. (Wittenberg: Hans Luft, 1534).

Figure 4.  Lucas Cranach the Elder and Workshop, *The Whore of Babylon*, from first
edition of Martin Luther's translation of the New Testament (woodcut, 1522).

by the ambitious MS designer, an artist associated with Cranach's workshop,
who carefully rationalised space representation and added dramatic energy to
his literal approaches to the text. The illustrations for Revelation continued the
anti-papalism of the earlier Luther Bibles. Nonetheless, like the woodblocks
for the *Septembertestament*, these blocks were also eventually used to illustrate
a Catholic Bible, the *editio princeps* of the Polish Bible in Cracow, 1561. The only
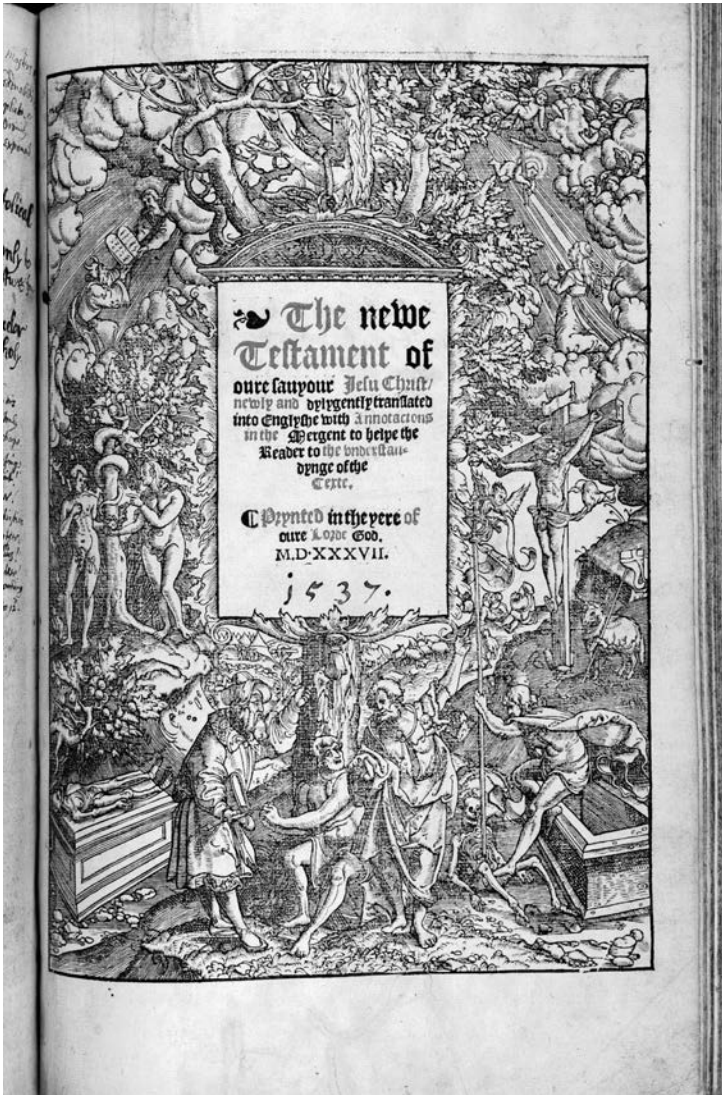
Figure 5.  Erhard Altdorfer, *Law and Gospel*, from title page of Matthew's
Bible, 1537 (woodcut, first used in 1533).
Credit: Private Collection, Dallas, TX

major adaptation for the Catholic Bible was excision of the papal tiaras from the apocalyptic beasts and the Whore of Babylon.[55] The 1561 Catholic title page is new, but, remarkably, it also features a woodcut of the 'Law and Gospel' in the top panel.[56]

Despite the cleansing of churches in Zurich under Zwingli, the Zurich Bibles developed ambitious programmes of illustration, inspired by the success of the early Swiss adaptations of the Wittenberg Bibles, many with lavish illustrations and strongly under the influence of Hans Holbein the Younger's designs. The anthropomorphic representations of God the Father in the early Swiss Bibles were adopted by the Zurich Bibles, even the richly illustrated Zurich Bible of 1545 (also called the Froschauer Bible) that set the model for Swiss Bible illustration well into the eighteenth century.

Although the same anti-imagistic theology prevailed throughout Reformed Protestantism, there would be a great difference between the aesthetic of the Zurich Bibles and those emanating from Calvinist Geneva. In a reflection of Calvin's theology, the Calvinist Bible included only explanatory images such as maps, architecture and ritual accoutrements. This restriction of imagery would have a great impact on the English Bible as of 1560 with the ascendance of the English Geneva Bible. Nonetheless, many early English Bibles, especially Tyndale imprints, were strongly influenced by Lutheran Bibles (as in the 1537 Matthew's Bible and the 1568 Bishops' Bible) or by Holbein's designs (as in the 1535 Coverdale Bible). The illustrations in the elegantly produced Bishops' Bible were derived from the Lutheran woodcuts of Virgil Solis, but the anthropomorphic depictions of God the Father were sometimes excised and replaced with the Tetragrammaton. The King James Version eschewed illustration with the exception of the engraved title page by Cornelis Boel (Fig. 6), which has become one of the most recognisable title pages from the entire history of printing, and the woodcut title page of the New Testament.[57] Boel's design adopts traditional imagery, even the Catholic eucharistic symbol of the pelican, but also stresses the unity of Scripture (the twelve disciples are present in parallel with the twelve tribes of Israel); images of the law in Moses and Aaron complemented by representations of the four evangelists with their traditional symbols. The references to the martyrdoms of

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[55] Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch*, pp. 175–7; 108 of the original woodblocks also survive at the University of Cracow. Before being used for the Polish Bible the woodblocks were printed in Czech Bibles of 1549, 1557 and 1560.

[56] Ibid., p. 175.

[57] John Speede engraved a map and genealogy, as a separate imprint, that was inserted in many copies of the King James Bible.
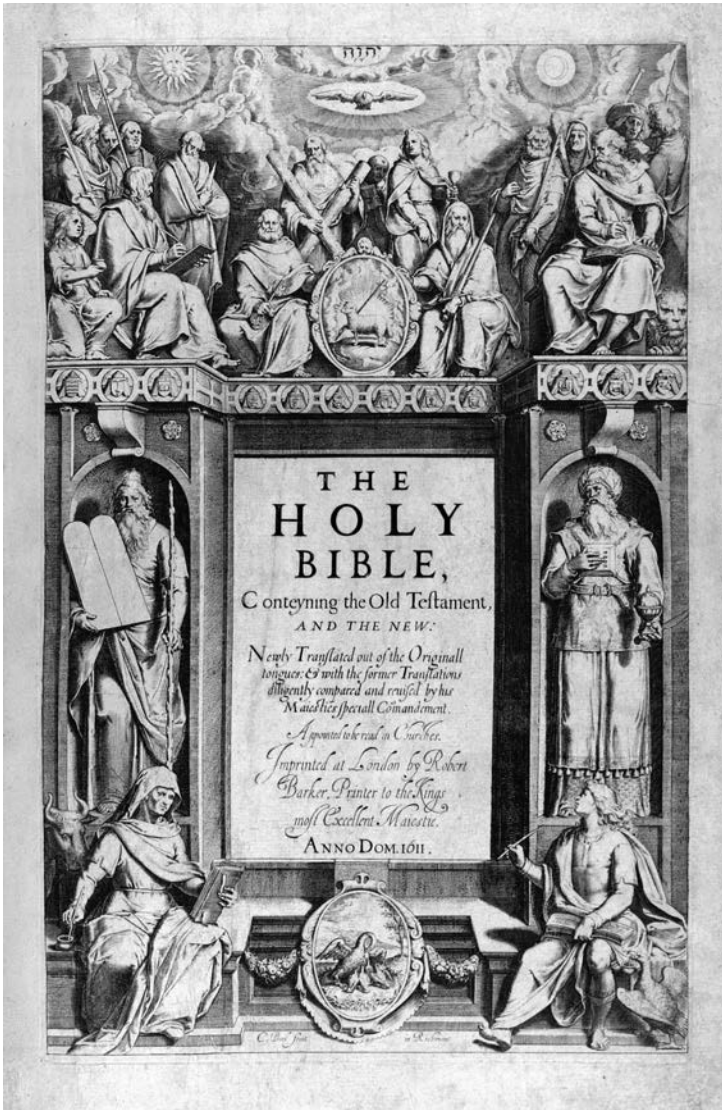
Figure 6.  Cornelis Boel, title page of King James Bible (engraving, 1611).
Credit: Private Collection, Dallas, TX

the apostles at the top of the entablature were also capable of appealing to Protestant and Catholic sensibilities alike. Thereafter, the English Bible would be unadorned until the richly illustrated Cambridge Bible, the work of John Ogilby, appeared in 1660.

The new Catholic Bibles from Germany, which were also extensively illustrated, indicate that in the early decades of the Reformation Catholic and Lutheran sensibilities for Bible imagery remained compatible. As Catholics vigorously promoted their own Bibles in German, in competition with the Lutheran imprints, they directly incorporated Lutheran designs in all their major versions. The 1527 Emser translation reused most of the Cranach woodblocks from the December 1522 reprint of the *Septembertestament*. The Dietenberger Bible of 1534, which would go through fifty-eight editions, contained nearly seventy designs from Sebald Beham's Bible. Similarly, Johannes Eck's translation of 1537 had sixty-six illustrations, many of which were closely related to woodcuts in a deluxe 1534 Luther Bible printed by Heinrich Stayner.

In the context of the extreme demand for illustrated Bibles, graphic artists soon began designing comprehensive picture Bibles, with only minimal textual elements (usually only mottoes or brief epigrams). The printed picture Bibles, which deserve to be recognised as a new genre, were explicitly intended as sources for aesthetic pleasure as well as religious instruction or devotion. They also usually avoided confessional polemic.[58]

The inspiration for the genre was the immensely successful *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones* (Images of the stories of the Old Testament) of Hans Holbein the Younger, first published by Melchior and Gaspar Trechsler in Lyon in 1538 (printed by Jean Frellon: Fig. 7). The original imprint, which narrated the Old Testament in ninety-one woodcuts, had only Latin mottoes labelling each picture, whereas in later editions (using the original woodblocks) Latin, French, German, Spanish and English texts, often as poetic epigrams, were added. The Trechsels also published Holbein's images as illustrations for a 1538 Vulgate edition. One of the curiosities of Holbein's *Icones* is that it had a huge impact even before it was published. The designs and woodblocks were completed sometime between 1523 and 1531, and a set of proof sheets (which still survives) was plagiarised in some sixty-seven images for the influential 1531 Zurich Bible.[59] It was apparently the Zurich Bible that informed Sebald Beham's imitations of Holbein in 1533,[60] from which Holbein's designs influenced the illustrations in the first complete English Bible, the Coverdale Bible of 1535.

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[58] There are some anti-papal images in Holbein's *Icones*.

[59] Erika Michael, 'The Iconographic History of Hans Holbein the Younger's *Icones* and their Reception in the Later Sixteenth Century', *Harvard Library Review*, NS3 (1992), 28–47, at p. 37; Christoph Sigrist (ed.), *Die Zürcher Bibel von 1531* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2011), pp. 129–38.

[60] Sebald Beham, *Biblicae historiae, artificiosissimis picturis effigiatae / Biblische Historien, Figurlich fürgebildet* (Frankfurt am Main: Egenolph, 1533). See Michael, 'The Iconographic History of Hans Holbein the Younger's *Icones*', p. 38.

Figure 7. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Genesis xxii*, from *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones* (woodcut, 1538).
Credit: Bridwell Library, Southern Methodist University

Bible imagery often has long lines of genealogy. For the *Icones* Holbein studied the woodcuts in a Lyon imprint of the Vulgate (published in 1518 by Anton Koberger the Younger; printed by Jacques Sacon) that were adapted by the Nuremberg artists Hans Springinklee and Erhard Schön from the elegant di Giunta designs of 1490, which in turn can be partially traced back to the Cologne Bible (1478/9) and the important illustrations in Anton Koberger's imprint of Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla*.[61] Capturing the aesthetics of the High Italian Renaissance in miniature format, Holbein carefully and consistently constructed convincing three-dimensional space and presented the human body in lively, fluid movement as well as with a certain sculptural roundness, creatively exploiting the versatility of the Renaissance *contrapposto*. A remarkable achievement, given the small format, is the individualisation of faces and emotions.

Many picture Bibles were inspired by Holbein's landmark, including those by Sebald Beham (1537),[62] Bernard Salomon (1553),[63] Virgil Solis

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[61] Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla super totam bibliam*, 3 vols. (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1481).

[62] *Biblicae historiae artificiosissime depictae Biblische Historien, figürlich fürgebildet* (Frankfurt: Egenolph, 1537).

[63] Ruth Mortimer, *Harvard Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts: Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts*, part 1: French Sixteenth-Century Books (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1964), pp. 110–11 (no. 82).

(1560),[64] Jost Amman (1564),[65] Tobias Stimmer (1576),[66] and Christoph Murer (posthumously printed 1625).[67] Many others, including important Catholic efforts, such as the Jesuit *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* written by Jerónimo Nadal, with engravings by Hieronymus and Johann Wierix,[68] have no direct connections to Holbein's designs but were, of course, influenced by the success of the genre.[69] Salomon's extensive woodcut Bible,[70] which was printed with epigrammatic quatrains by Claude Paradin (*Quadrins historiques de la Bible*), is recognised as another high achievement in Bible imagery from the French printing centre of Lyon (Fig. 8). Salomon's designs often evoke the simple elegance of Holbein, and also prefigure future stylistic developments by locating biblical stories in expansive landscapes teeming with life. His handling of the human figure, usually commanding attention on the surface plane of his designs, evinces a tendency towards mannerist contortion, though his figures, especially his nudes, retain a noticeable lithesomeness, and are capable of evoking humanist eroticism, as, for example, in his masterful *Fall of Humanity*, where Eve's sexuality is portrayed as the very substance of the forbidden fruit (with an apple forming one breast) and the serpent morphs into an alluring female nude. Salomon's picture Bible was unusually successful. The woodcut Bible would be reprinted in several French editions and also in Italian, Spanish, Latin and German translations, and the designs would also be used to illustrate complete Bible imprints. The Bible as source of aesthetic experience and pleasure was a major goal of Sigmund Feyerabend of Frankfurt, who published picture Bibles by Virgil Solis and Jost Amman. The layouts of these two books, similar to that of Salomon's, have a quasi-emblematic character.

A major interpretation of the picture Bible as an emblem book occurred in Tobias Stimmer's *Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien*, with poems (usually five-line epigrams) by the German poet Johann Fischart. In this case, a motto precedes the biblical *pictura*, under which, as *subscriptio*, Fischart's

[64] Virgil Solis, *Biblische Figuren des Alten vnd Newen Testaments / gantz künstlich gerissen* (Frankfurt: David Zöpfel, Johann Rasch and Sigmund Feyerabend, 1560).

[65] Jost Amman, *Neuwe Biblische Figuren / deß Alten und Neuwen Testaments* (Frankfurt: Georg Rab, Sigmund Feyerabend, and Weigand Hans Erben, 1564).

[66] Tobias Stimmer, *Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien* (Basel: Thomas Guarin, 1576).

[67] Christoph Murer, *Novae Sacrorvm Bibliorvm figurae versibus Latinis et Germanicis expositae: Das ist / Newe Biblische Figuren mit Lateinischen vnd Teutschen versen außgelegt* (Strasbourg: Christoff von der Heyden, 1625).

[68] Jerónimo Nadal, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Antwerp: Nutius, 1593).

[69] Thomas Buser, 'Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome', *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), 424–33.

[70] First edition published by Jean de Tournes in 1553; expanded edition, 1554.
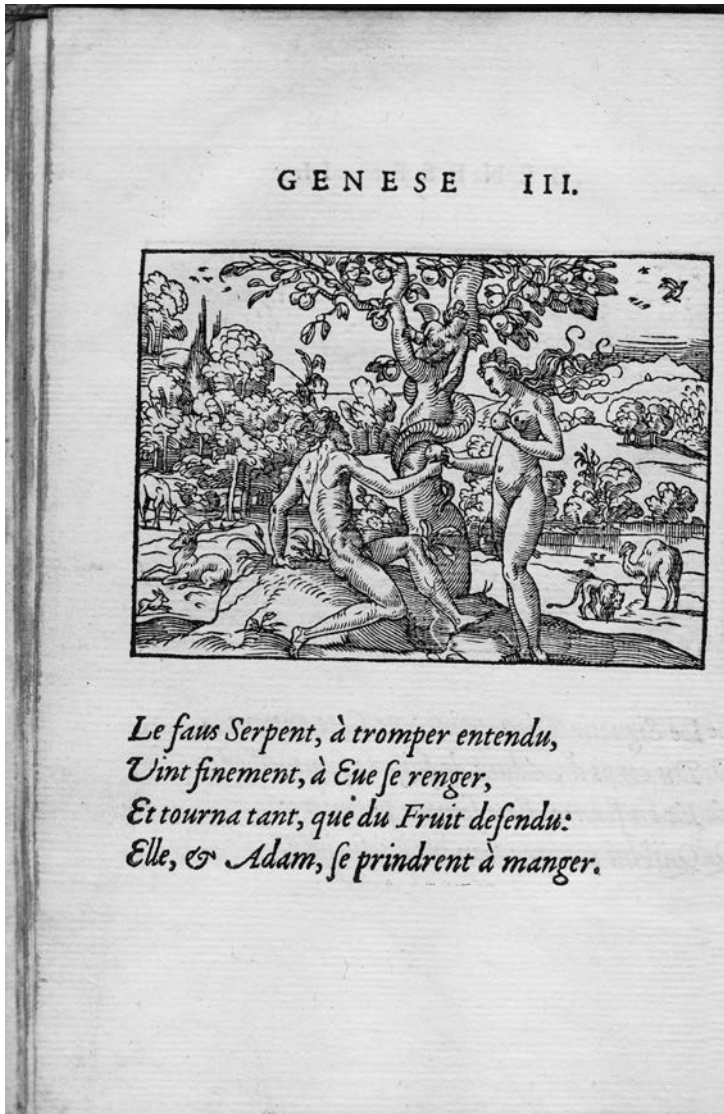
Figure 8. Bernard Salomon, *Genesis iii*, from *Quadrins historiques de la Bible* (woodcut, 1553).
Credit: Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

poem offers a moralistic, often even Christological, interpretation. Stimmer saturates the entire page with image by using woodcut frames (which are repeated) around the central woodcuts. In the seventeenth century Catholics also designed religious emblem books. The Jesuit Herman Hugo created *Pia*

Figure 9. Matthäus Merian, *David and Goliath*, from *Icones Biblicae* (engraving, 1625).
Credit: British Museum

*Desideria*, an engraved devotional emblem book based on biblical verses that was printed at least forty-four times in Latin alone.[71]

The one picture Bible that rivals Holbein's *Icones* in its significance is Matthäus Merian's *Icones Biblicae*, first published in 1625 by Merian's father-in-law, Johann Theodor de Bry (Fig. 9).[72] This work also continues Stimmer's emblematic style, with poetic *subscriptiones* written in Latin, German and French by Johann Ludwig Gottfried, along with superscript mottoes. Merian's engravings are, however, extraordinarily beautiful and complex renderings of the biblical stories in more vivid settings than ever before achieved, in essence capturing the grandeur of large-scale historical painting in the small dimensions

[71] Herman Hugo, *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp: Aertssens, 1624). See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 'Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting under the Jesuits and its Legacy throughout Catholic Europe, 1565–1773', in John W. O'Malley, SJ, and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2005), pp. 125–98, at p. 129.
[72] Stefan Strohm, *Die Kupferbibel Matthäus Merians von 1630* (Stuttgart: Müller & Schindler, 1985).

of the engraving. The handling of the human form is unusually supple and powerful, and many compositions reveal a tendency to represent war as an all-encompassing, heroic drama, as in the rendering of the fall of Jericho, which evokes the ongoing horrors of the city sieges of the Thirty Years War (which Merian also depicted in other engravings). In one highly dramatic composition the Philistine and Israelite armies surround David and Goliath as they duel. Other images, however, suffuse the biblical stories with pastoral nobility, and the cityscapes (which draw on Merian's expertise in topographical imagery) and landscapes with their grand vistas, often reminiscent of Merian's native Switzerland, are pictorially as important as the stories themselves. There is unusually careful differentiation of flora as well, a prefiguration of the work of his daughter, Maria Sibylla Merian.

In a fascinating dedication, Merian claimed that art had recovered its greatness in a golden age under Dürer, Cranach and Holbein, but now teetered on the brink of a barbarous chaos of ignorance. Rather immodestly, he offers his own biblical art, which he describes in emblematic terms as a hieroglyphic combination of image and symbolic meaning (in part intelligible through the contributions by the poet Gottfried), as a bulwark against the looming artistic decay. Merian's influence spread widely; Dutch, French and English copies or adaptations were immediately created, and the engravings were also published in a 1630 Bible in Strasbourg.[73] The impact on many artists, especially Rembrandt, was profound. Merian gave seventeenth-century Europe the capacity to see the Bible more vividly as part of its own world. Over all, interest in creating biblical landscape increased noticeably in the seventeenth century, as exemplified with unusual intensity in the oeuvre of the renowned landscape artist Claude Lorrain.

Contrary to common perception, Jews in late medieval and early modern Europe did not reject biblical imagery, even if Jewish communities were scrupulous in their determined efforts to avoid idolatry.[74] Indeed, there are even a few records of Jews commenting favourably on efforts in the Reformation to rectify Christian idolatry.[75] Jewish biblical imagery occurs mostly in textual

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[73] Schmidt, *Die Illustration der Lutherbibel*, pp. 304–29.

[74] Cecil Roth, 'Introduction', in Cecil Roth (ed.), *Jewish Art* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1961), pp. 17–36; Joseph Gutmann, 'The Second Commandment and Images in Judaism', in *Make No Graven Images: Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible* (New York: KTAV, 1971), pp. xiii–xxx, 3–16; Kalman P. Bland, *The Artless Jew: Medieval and Modern Affirmations and Denials of the Visual* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[75] Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson, 'Reformation', in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd edn. (Detroit: Macmillan, 2007), vol. XVII, pp. 163–5, at p.164; also available at www.jewishvirtuallibrary .org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0017_0_16560.html.

illustration, both in manuscripts and printed works. Prohibition of imagery (and even gold-leaf lettering) in synagogue Torah scrolls was uniformly observed, but medieval codex Hebrew bibles, both in Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities, often have beautiful illuminations and also contain images in elaborate micrography (pictures created by shaping delicate lines of tiny Hebrew writing). Even more biblical imagery occurs in the late medieval illuminated Haggadot, often in the context of textual allusions to biblical events in the Passover Seder. Consequently, most pictures pertain to events recorded in Exodus, but many other biblical scenes also appear. A few Haggadot have extensive prefatory biblical imagery, as in the lavish Sarajevo Haggadah (Sephardic, *c.* 1350), which begins with a series of sixty-two miniatures illustrating biblical history from Creation to the Exodus from Egypt.[76] The manuscript Haggadah in the *Rothschild Miscellany* (Treviso, 1479) clearly shows the impact of Renaissance painting (see illustration of Esther and Mordecai), both in the settings and in the handling of the human body.[77] Some medieval Mahzorim (prayer books for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur) also feature important illuminations of biblical scenes. Like their Christian counterparts, Jewish printers embraced woodcut and, as of the seventeenth century, engraved illustration.[78] The printed Jewish Bibles themselves, however, essentially lack illumination, although the Soncino Bible of 1492 left blank spaces for illuminated initials. Moreover, in 1521 Moses dal Castellazzo produced a woodcut Pentateuch, of which, unfortunately, not a single copy is now extant.[79] Above all, beginning in 1526 with the Prague Haggadah, printed Haggadot featured important and influential biblical imagery (Fig. 10).[80] Again, events from Exodus appear most commonly, although other scenes, such as the Binding of Isaac (*Akedah*), also occur frequently. Among the more influential illustrated Haggadot are Prague (1526), Mantua (1560)[81] and Venice (1609).[82] In

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[76] *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, with commentary by Eugen Werber (Belgrade and Sarajevo: Prosvet/Svjetlost, 1983).

[77] *The Rothschild Miscellany*, facsimile with commentary by Iris Fishof et al., 2 vols. (London and Jerusalem: Facsimile Editions/Israel Museum, 1989).

[78] Abraham M. Habermann, 'The Jewish Art of the Printed Book', in Roth (ed.), *Jewish Art*, pp. 163–74.

[79] Kurt Schubert (ed.), *Bilder-Pentateuch von Moses dal Castellazzo* (Vienna: Benthaler & Windischgraetz, 1983).

[80] *Haggadah* (Prague: Gershom and Gronem ben Solomon ha-Kohen, 1526). See Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Haggadah and History* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2005); Samuel Wiener, *Bibliographie der Oster-Haggadah, 1500–1900*, 2nd edn. (New York: Frankel, 1949); and David J. Gilner, *When Your Children Ask, You Shall Tell Them: The Art of the Passover Haggadah* (Cincinnati: Klau Library, 2001).

[81] *Seder Hagadot shel Pesah* (Mantua: Isaac ben Samuel ha-Shammash, 1560).

[82] [*Seder Hagadah shel Pesah*] (Venice: Giovanni di Gara, published by Israel ha-Zifroni, 1609).

Figure 10.  Prague Haggadah (Prague: Gershon Cohen, 1526).
Credit: Klau Library, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of
Religion, Cincinnati, OH

1695 an unusually influential Haggadah was published in Amsterdam,[83] with illustrations by Abraham bar Jacob that were based on Merian's *Icones Biblicae*. Esther rolls (Megillot), necessary for the celebration of Purim, were produced with printed illustrations beginning in Italy in the sixteenth century. During the Renaissance, Esther Megillot often had printed illustrations, but, in accord with Jewish law, handwritten biblical texts. One of the finest engravers of Megillot was Shalom Italia, who was born in Mantua and worked in the 1640s in Amsterdam, an important centre of Jewish printing.

In Catholic Europe, artists continued to turn to the Bible as well as to the traditions of the Church to create important religious art. A solid foundation for visual art was laid in the final legislative session of the Council of Trent, the twenty-fifth session of 3–4 December 1563, with the Decree on Invocation, Veneration and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images. In some ways, the doctrine of sacred images was in reaction to the exaggerated Protestant attacks against alleged idolatry, though the decree is entirely consistent with pre-Reformation understanding of images (as formulated by Thomas Aquinas among others). In respect to didactic value, the Catholic position agreed with the Lutheran defence of religious imagery: 'The faithful are instructed and strengthened by commemorating and frequently recalling the articles of our faith through the expression in pictures or other likenesses of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption.'[84] Moreover, the Church explicitly addressed allegations that imagery (and the cult of the saints) was prone to lapsing into idolatry or superstition:

> The holy council desires to root out utterly any abuses that may have crept into these holy and saving practices, so that no representations of false doctrine should be set up which give occasion of dangerous error to the unlettered. So if accounts and stories from Holy Scripture are sometime etched or pictured, which is a help to uneducated people, they must be taught that the Godhead is not pictured because it can be seen with human eyes or expressed in figures and colors.[85]

But most importantly the council laid a dogmatic foundation for continuation of the worship of God and veneration of the saints through imagery by emphasising that the 'prototypes' of the images warranted reverence:

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[83] *Seder Hagadah shel Pesah* (Amsterdam: Asher Anshel ben Eliezer and Isaachar Baer ben Abraham Eliezer, 1695).

[84] Pelikan and Hotchkiss (eds.), *Creeds and Confessions*, vol. II, p. 870.

[85] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 870–1.

And they [i.e. bishops and other clergy] must also teach that images of Christ, the Virgin Mother of God, and other saints should be set up and kept, particularly in churches, and that due honor and reverence is owed to them, not because of some divinity or power [that] is believed to lie in them … but because the honor showed to them is referred to the original which they represent: thus, through the images which we kiss and before which we cover our heads and go down on our knees, we give adoration to Christ and veneration to the saints, whose likenesses they bear. And this has been approved by the decrees of councils, especially the Second Council of Nicaea, against the iconoclasts.[86]

This forceful assertion of traditional views, which was prefigured in Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* (images should be 'venerated according to what they represent'[87]), informed the Tridentine Church and contributed to the flourishing of Catholic biblical art in the Baroque era. In the aftermath of the Council of Trent many Catholic theologians would also compose treatises on religious art, perhaps most pre-eminently Carlo Borromeo, who, after exerting considerable influence on the final sessions at Trent, published an important manual on church architecture and art in 1577.[88]

The Tridentine doctrine also attempted to preserve the sacredness of religious imagery in part by forbidding the admixture of profane elements, explicitly by rejecting worldly sensuality, especially sexually arousing elements in biblical art: 'All sensual appeal must be avoided, so that images are not painted or adorned with seductive charm.'[89] Sexual sensuality had certainly entered the previously sacred realm of biblical art, as for example in the works of Dürer (as in his *Adam and Eve* panels of 1507), Cranach, Baldung Grien, Michelangelo and others. Protestants had also objected to this development. In the context of the emerging Tridentine doctrine of decorum, Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* in the Sistine Chapel was attacked as being 'indecorous' and, in an action advocated by Paul IV, genitals were painted over. Similarly, Peter Paul Rubens's spectacular *Last Judgement* (1617) was removed some twenty years after being installed in a Bavarian church (in Neuburg on the Danube) because of excessive female nudity.

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[86] Ibid., vol. II, p. 870.

[87] Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, trans. George E. Ganss (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1992). p. 134.

[88] Evelyn Carole Voelker, 'Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae* 1577: A Translation with Commentary and Analysis', Ph.D. thesis, Syracuse University, 1977.

[89] Pelikan and Hotchkiss (eds.), *Creeds and Confessions*, vol. II, p. 871.

For well over a century after the Council of Trent the Catholic Church experienced a golden age of ecclesiastical art patronage, as many new churches were constructed across Europe. This building boom was fuelled in part by the growth of new orders, among which were the Oratorians, the Theatines and, above all, the Jesuits.[90] Apart from the ongoing work on the Basilica of St Peter, the first major architectural project in Rome since the disastrous sack of 1527 was, in fact, for the mother church of the new Jesuit order, Il Gesù (Church of the Most Sacred Name Jesus), designed by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, with the facade designed by Giacomo della Porta (who would also be the final architect for the dome of St Peter's). Constructed under the patronage of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (beginning in 1568), the Gesù immediately became one of the most influential churches for Christian art. Although often considered the first baroque facade, della Porta's design is partially anchored in the early Renaissance idiom of Santa Maria Novella (Florence) by Leone Battista Alberti. As a result of their tremendous expansion worldwide, the Jesuits would contribute substantially to the creation of new religious art: they published and promoted important defences of traditional imagery (Robert Bellarmine's *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*, 1588, and *De imaginibus sacris et profanis*, 1594), composed theories of ecclesiastical art (Antonio Possevino, *Tractatio de poesi et pictura*, 1595), and implemented ambitious projects on a grand scale seemingly everywhere, from Europe, to India, to China, to the New World. Many major artists, including Gianlorenzo Bernini and Peter Paul Rubens, were closely associated with the order. The great Jesuit painter Andrea Pozzo published a landmark study of architectural perspective at the end of the seventeenth century: *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (1693–8).[91]

An essential element of the new approach to design was the attempt to unify architecture, sculpture and painting in order to orchestrate a sensual experience of the majesty of the Church and, most importantly, to create sacred spaces that inspired awe and personal devotion. Harking back to Renaissance masters such as Andrea Mantegna and Antonio da Corregio, Baroque painters, such as Pozzo, Pietro da Cortona and Gianbattista Tiepolo and others, used the technique of *quadratura* to extend illusionistically the interior space of churches in order to intensify the experience of religious wonder as the

[90] Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (eds.), *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972); Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

[91] Bailey, 'Italian Renaissance Baroque Painting'.

heavens opened up before the faithful. Bernini, himself an architect, sculptor and painter, would later call such unified design 'bel composto' (well integrated), but its beginnings can be seen in the Gesù as well as in the Oratorian church of Santa Maria in Vallicella in Rome (often called Chiesa Nuova). This concept of the 'total work of art' also informed the emergence of opera during the Baroque age.

As a source of subject matter, the Bible continued to inform religious art, especially as the new orders embraced biblical imagery in their missionising efforts in Europe and beyond. The desire to portray faith with intensity and force resulted in a growing preference for depictions of martyrs, including the recent martyrs and martyred biblical saints, even if representation of the latter is also grounded in traditional (non-biblical) sources. Christ's Passion continued to dominate biblical art. But the spiritual experience of joy and even ecstasy also figure prominently, as is evident in the ubiquity of angels in Baroque art. Loyola and his followers (especially Pierre Favre) fervently promoted belief in guardian angels.[92] For example, Loyola emphasised angels as agents of God, stating that they, among other things, brought 'spiritual gladness and joy' to the faithful. Naturally, artists frequently portrayed biblical angels, as famously in the Chapel of the Angels in the Gesù. In some instances it is possible to identify Jesuit emphases in biblical iconography. The original high altar of Il Gesù was Girolamo Muziano's *Circumcision of Christ* (1587–9), which would be the subject of other important high altars in Jesuit churches, most notably versions by Cornelis Schut in Antwerp and by Rubens in Genoa. The circumcision was central for Jesuit iconography because it represented the moment Jesus was named, and the Feast of the Circumcision is the feast day of the order. The circumcision also connected the adoration of the infant Jesus directly to the crucifixion, and Mary's prominence in the iconography reflected her undiminished centrality in Catholic biblical imagery and the special promotion of her cult by the Jesuits and other orders.

The Council of Trent may mark the beginning of pronounced changes in the approach to biblical art, but it does not in any way represent a rupture with tradition. Many Renaissance artists, especially Michelangelo and, of course, Titian, would continue to exert powerful influence on innovative post-Tridentine artists. In the seventeenth century, biblical painting sought not so much to inculcate knowledge of a scriptural event as history, or even necessarily to emphasise a theological meaning of an event, but rather, above

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[92] Heinrich Pfeiffer, SJ, 'The Iconography of the Society of Jesus', in O'Malley and Bailey (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Arts*, pp. 199–228 at pp. 221–4.

all, to evoke as strongly as possible devotional reactions – love of God, remorse for sinfulness, compassionate experience of suffering – with the goal of contributing to the religious transformation of the viewer. The Passion of Christ was not something to comprehend intellectually but something to experience in one's own life. As a result of the focus on devotion and religious feeling, subject matter from the Bible or from the traditions of the Church could be equally authoritative. Thus, in Catholic Europe, new biblical imagery usually functioned as part of a discourse of faith that encompassed both the Bible and tradition.

In a long career, Titian managed to be one of the most influential Renaissance artists as well as one of the most significant precursors of an emergent Baroque sensibility. Even before the Council of Trent, which he briefly attended, Titian depicted biblical scenes with pronounced sensuality, often conveying simultaneously the immediacy of Christ's humanity and the mysterious transcendence of his divinity. His composition of *Christ and the Tribute Money* (1516) exploits the secular portrait genre to depict a moving epiphany of Christ as man and saviour. Some of his highly experimental compositions from his late work deployed dramatic lighting and colouristic effects, and, most daringly, loose and expressive brushwork, and even impasto, often in emotional reflections on Christ's death. His gripping *Entombment* (1559) evokes the musculature and complex motion of Michelangelo, but Christ's powerful body has dissolved, movingly, into a heavy, limp languor of death (Fig. 11). The empathetic experience of Christ's suffering defines other works as well, such as the *Crucifixion* (1558), with St Dominic collapsing in *compassio* at the cross, and the mysteriously nocturnal rendering of the *Pietà* (1575), for which Titian experimented with sensual painterly effects.

Biblical artists became committed to arousing strong emotional responses in viewers. They represented highly dramatic moments, using illusionistic realism, drastic foreshortening and stark lighting – extreme chiaroscuro that is often called tenebrism – sometimes with blinding shafts of light illuminating parts of a scene otherwise obscured in darkness. The innovator in this regard was Caravaggio (Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio), an artist whose highly original style was immediately influential, in many ways transformational for seventeenth-century painting. Especially in his biblical oeuvre, Caravaggio exploited his tenebrist technique as he arranged his subjects to capture the absolute high point of a biblical *mis-en-scène*. His extreme illusionism, colouristic drama, exaggerated musculature and wild contortions, and, above all, blazing theatrical light created striking images, all of which

Figure 11.  Titian, *Entombment* (painting, 1559).
Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource

were intended, on some level, simply to be stunning. Sometimes, as in *Christ at Emmaus* (1601) or *The Calling of St Matthew* (*c*. 1599–1600), the compositions capture a moment of recognition, which is simultaneously a conversionary experience of self-recognition (Fig. 12). His dramatic focus on the body of Christ in his *Entombment of Christ* (1602–3), a tragic laying to rest of the heroic body, and a similar orchestration of high religious drama in the *Death of the Virgin* (1604–6), are examples of theatrical attempts to elicit pathos and awe. Caravaggio also deeply penetrated the psychologies of the witnesses to the deaths. While these scenes are intended to evoke religious *compassio*, some of his works were disturbing spectacles of horror, especially his merciless visions of religious retribution, as in his gore-spewing depiction of Judith actually severing Holofernes' head (*c*. 1598–9) and his painting of David thrusting the blood-oozing head of Goliath (*c*. 1610) out of the canvas towards the viewer.

Peter Paul Rubens, sometimes called *the* painter of the Counter-Reformation, represented a culmination of the biblical art of both the Renaissance and

Figure 12. Caravaggio, *The Calling of St Matthew* (painting, 1599–1600).
Credit: Scala / Art Resource

Baroque periods.[93] He was the consummate student of art as well as a deeply devout Catholic intellectual. During his early training in Antwerp he carefully analysed prints by or after Holbein, Raphael, Dürer, Stimmer and Lucas van Leyden, and soon travelled to Italy (1600), where he absorbed the Venetian school (especially works by Titian, but also Veronese and Tintoretto) and the art of Florence and Rome (especially Michelangelo, Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci). The theatricality of Caravaggio and Caravaggism also had a major impact. Deeply learned in the classics, Rubens studied ancient art directly, and, like Michelangelo, was drawn to Hellenistic sculpture, especially the Vatican

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[93] Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

*Laocoön* and the Farnese *Hercules*. Rubens would be one of the most productive artists ever – when complete, a catalogue raisonné of his oeuvre will entail twenty-six volumes – and he managed a large and talented studio in Antwerp.

Back in Antwerp as of 1608, he contributed substantially to the revival of Catholicism as he organised many projects for new churches being constructed and for the refurbishing of the old ones undergoing renovation after decades of destructive religious turmoil. To create a new high altarpiece for the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp, a Gothic structure, Rubens revived the late medieval triptych retable but filled it with a stunning set of dramatic paintings, most importantly the *Elevation of the Cross* (1610–11), a painting that exemplifies his penchant for forceful and turbulent motion and his vigorous and free handling of paint (Fig. 13). This composition, created after his return from Italy, shows his stylistic anchors in Michelangelo and Caravaggism. The *Elevation of the Cross*, as the focus of the high altar, amplifies the liturgical grandeur of the elevation of the Eucharist, also the body of Christ, as the focus of the Mass. A member of the Jesuit lay sodality in Antwerp, Rubens had numerous associations with the order. Most importantly, he created the entire pictorial programme for the new Jesuit church in Antwerp, including thirty-nine ceiling paintings (mostly destroyed by fire in 1718), and, in another influential Jesuit project, created a complex *Circumcision* for the high altarpiece of the Jesuit church of Genoa. He also painted an immense altarpiece, *Virgin and Child Adored by Angels* (1608), for the high altar of the Oratorian church in Rome. This monumental canvas depicts an ancient painted icon of the Virgin being received in heaven by Mary herself (as Queen of Angels), thus creating an iconography for the doctrine of veneration of images. His recently re-discovered *Massacre of the Innocents* (*c.* 1611) is a violent spectacle of fury and bloodshed, which uses the Bible to depict the religious trauma of the age. Drawing strongly on the aesthetics of Caravaggism, *Massacre of the Innocents* prefigures his renowned *Consequences of War* (*c.* 1637–8), an allegorised visualisation of the horrors of the Thirty Years War, a religious war devoid of religious triumphalism or redemption. Rubens was, in fact, an important diplomat engaged in several embassies during the Thirty Years War. He played an instrumental role in the negotiated peace between England and Spain in 1630.

A generation younger than Rubens, Rembrandt also enjoys unquestioned stature as one of the most compelling visual interpreters of the Bible. In the aftermath of the Treaty of Utrecht (1579), as Calvinism became the dominant religion in the United Provinces, the iconoclasm of the Reformed Church informed Dutch culture profoundly. Nonetheless, a strong market for biblical historical paintings and prints developed by the end of the sixteenth

Figure 13. Peter Paul Rubens, *Elevation of the Cross* (painting, 1610–11).
Credit: Foto Marburg/Art Resource

century, fuelled by both the rising wealth of Dutch merchants and by the strong orientation to biblical history in Reformed culture.[94] Rembrandt was able to draw on many sources for his biblical art, including a group of painters

[94] Eckhard Schaar, 'Calvinistische Malerei in den nördlichen Niederlanden', in Hofmann (ed.), *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst*, pp. 348–74; Christian Tümpel, 'Religious History Painting', in Albert Blankert (ed.), *Gods, Saints, and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1980), pp. 45–54.

called the Utrecht Caravaggisti as well as the history painters in Amsterdam, most importantly Pieter Lastman. The influence of the Catholic Rubens was also significant. A great difference from Rubens, who worked mostly in the Catholic Spanish Netherlands, though, was that none of Rembrandt's some three hundred biblical compositions (drawings, prints and some sixty paintings) were commissioned or intended for display in a church. None of his works has a liturgical function; none articulates ideals of salvation mediated in any way through a church. Indeed, although in multi-confessional Amsterdam and Leiden Rembrandt had important connections to many different forms of religion, he never formed a specific confessional identity or allegiance. He was raised in the Reformed Church in Leiden, had Catholic relatives, and trained under Catholic masters (Jacob van Swanenburgh and Pieter Lastman). His first major dealer was the Mennonite Hendrick van Uylenburgh, whose niece Saskia, a member of the Reformed Church, became his wife. Moreover, in Amsterdam, he lived in the midst of the most vibrant Jewish community in Europe. Among his known patrons were Remonstrants, Mennonites, Catholics and Jews. If anything, Calvinists were relatively underrepresented,[95] although an important patron as of 1630 was the Calvinist Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange. Even if he was not a Calvinist, Rembrandt's interest in biblical history suggests his Protestant environment. He carefully studied biblical iconography in Renaissance graphic art and also absorbed scholarly research on the Bible as it was being conducted at the University of Leiden, in Jewish Amsterdam circles of Menasseh ben Israel, and as it was presented in the monumental Dutch *Statenbijbel* (1637).[96]

Rembrandt was equally significant as a printmaker and painter. His prints, traditionally called etchings even though he also frequently used engraving techniques, often approach biblical material from an ethical perspective, as in his famous *Hundred Guilder Print* (1647–9; often called *Christ Healing the Sick*) with its concern for grace and charity. Rembrandt's print techniques are also of extreme importance in the history of art in part because he tried to achieve painterly effects in his most ambitious plates, as can be seen in a comparison of the etching *Descent from the Cross* (c. 1633) with the painted version of the same theme (c. 1634) from a Passion cycle commissioned by the Prince of Orange. Like his prints, his biblical paintings are diverse in format, technique

[95] Shelley Perlove and Larry Silver, *Rembrandt's Faith: Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), p.18.
[96] See Christian Tümpel and Astrid Tümpel, *Rembrandt legt die Bibel aus* (Berlin: Hessling, 1970).

and subject matter, although they are usually grounded in a concept of history painting. He often accepted commissions for historical–biblical narratives, as in his *Storm on the Sea of Galilee* (1633; whereabouts unknown since theft in 1990), but sometimes he undertook major biblical painting, such as the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (1634), on his own initiative, knowing that he could sell such works in the vibrant new international art market of Amsterdam. Typically, Rembrandt sought to capture a moment of high drama, sometimes, as in *The Feast of Belshazzar* (1635), an instantaneous revelation of deep psychological insight. In this respect, we can see the general influence of Rubens and Caravaggism. Nonetheless, in many other works, especially in his late period, Rembrandt complemented the historicising biblical aesthetic with strong focus on the psychology of biblical actors, often creating highly subjective and introspective reflections on the meanings of events. Sometimes he included representations of himself in biblical narratives, as, for example, in his heavily textured *Self-Portrait as St Paul* (1661). As in the *Self-Portrait as Paul*, Rembrandt typically used traditional biblical iconography and symbolism, although, in a few cases, he reduced iconographic references so drastically that it is hard to identify a theme, as in the famously misnamed *Jewish Bride* (*c*. 1667), which is probably meant to represent Isaac and Rebecca.[97]

In some ways an extension of his sensitivity as a portraitist, the later biblical works explore the humanity of biblical characters with unusual tenderness and sensitivity. An outstanding example of this is *The Return of the Prodigal Son* (1668), a work often apostrophised as one of the most moving biblical images of all time (Fig. 14). The prodigal son of Luke 15 was a parable often used in Protestant drama to exemplify justification through grace, yet Rembrandt, superseding questions of theology, portrays the human need for forgiveness and grace not so much from God as from other people. The sensitivity to the troubled mind of the older brother poignantly expresses the complexity of this need. Rembrandt was strongly interested in Old Testament figures, with some compositions freely exploring the Jewishness of the Hebrew Bible, while many others sought to establish connections between the Hebrew Bible and Christian ideas of salvation and expressed expectation for the conversion of Jews to Christianity.[98] In his late-period *Ahasuerus and Haman at the Feast*

[97] The research by Christian Tümpel is of foundational importance for understanding Rembrandt's biblical iconography. See Christian Tümpel, 'Ikonographische Beiträge zu Rembrandt', *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 13 (1968), 95–126, and 16 (1971), 20–38; and 'Studien zur Ikonographie der Historien Rembrandts', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 20 (1969), 107–98.
[98] On Rembrandt and Judaism see Christian Tümpel and Astrid Tümpel, *Rembrandt: Images and Metaphors* (London: Haus Publishing, 2006), pp. 106–15, and Steven Nadler,
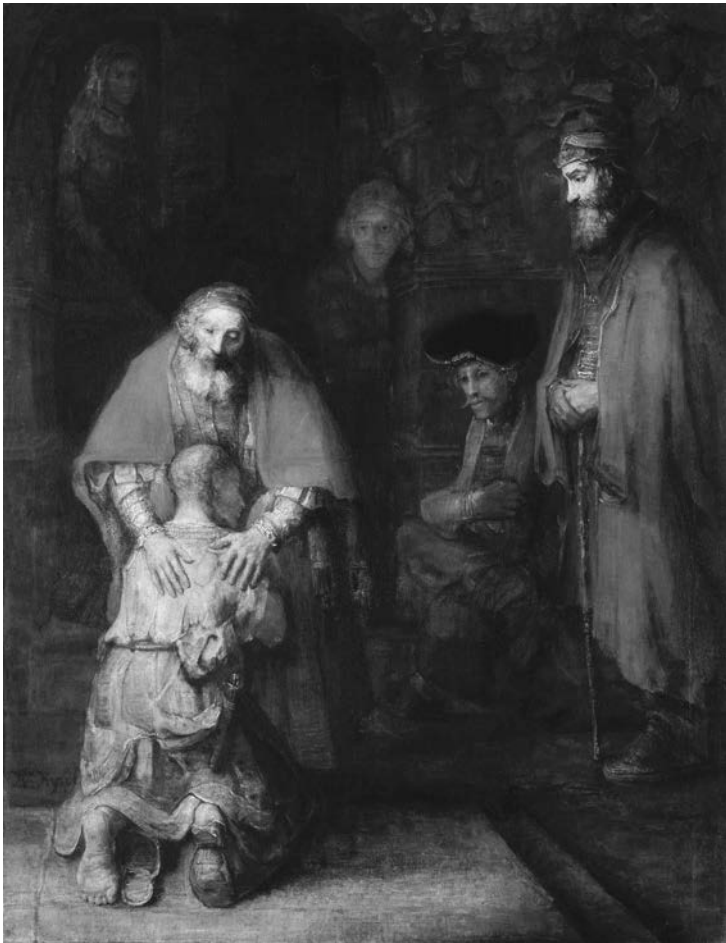
Figure 14. Rembrandt, *Return of the Prodigal Son* (painting, 1668).
Credit: Album / Art Resource

*of Esther* (1660), Rembrandt portrayed the redemption of the Jewish people through the story of Esther, in this case without suggesting an allegorical Christian sense and again with sensitivity to the heavy psychological burden of guilt (rendered in the portrayal of Haman). In some of Rembrandt's images the Bible does not answer questions of religious redemption but rather offers

*Rembrandt's Jews* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003). On Rembrandt's representations of Esther and Mordecai see Perlove and Silver, *Rembrandt's Faith*, pp. 137–47.

a context for reflection on the mysterious complexity of human nature, whereas many other compositions unambiguously express faith in the biblical story of salvation.

Biblical art flourished so abundantly in the Renaissance and Baroque periods that it has been possible, within the limits of this chapter, to include only a selection of the most important artists. In the eighteenth century, with the emergence of Enlightenment philosophy and seismic shifts in the cultural and political status of religion, the Bible would no longer dominate visual art. To be sure, the Renaissance unleashed unprecedented innovation as artists expanded the scope of art beyond the sphere of religion, but arguably the greatest expansion occurred within the realm of biblical art, as artists used classical paradigms to explore new approaches to the Bible. As the Catholic and Protestant Reformations divided the cultures of Europe, different sensibilities towards biblical imagery formed, even though the Bible remained the foundation for elite and popular culture everywhere. For Protestants, iconoclasm, rejection of patronage for religious art and *sola scriptura* intensified the focus on the Bible as text, with imagery encouraged, above all, as a device for inculcating biblical knowledge rather than as a medium for eliciting individual faith. The energetic dissemination of printed Bibles fostered the creation of printed biblical imagery everywhere, yet with particular intensity in the Protestant world. After all, the print medium did not transgress rejection of religious art in liturgical settings. The result was that for many Protestants the Bible picture became a non-liturgical and extra-ecclesiastical experience. Even Rembrandt fits this general pattern, for he, too, devoted great energy to the development of biblical prints and his paintings were never commissioned for churches. In the aftermath of the confessional fragmentation, Catholic Europe experienced increased levels of patronage of public religious painting and sculpture. The biblical image became a cultural focus of the Church's reform efforts as it sought to appeal to the senses to intensify religious fervour and emotion. Biblical artists also tried to render liturgical spaces both sacred and awe-inspiring. The image retained its sacred status and was promoted, along with the word, as a means for instilling faith in people. After the Council of Trent many new churches were constructed, often designed to be unified works of art where visitors found strong visual inspiration for their religious feelings. Another important difference is that, while the Protestant Bible picture remained subordinated to the biblical text, Catholic biblical art functioned as part of a larger discourse of religion that embraced the traditions of the Church, as authenticated by the Church's saints, often celebrating both the personal and the social force of the Church throughout history,

nearly always portrayed in high drama in order to forge emotional bonds between the Church and the individual believer. Yet, despite these important differences, we should not ignore the doctrinal neutrality of most biblical imagery, something that allowed numerous images to move relatively freely across confessional borders in this strife-ridden age.

# The Bible and music in the early modern period (1450–1750)

MARKUS RATHEY

The Bible is no doubt the single most important source for texts in the music of the early modern period.[1] Liturgical music was of course based on biblical texts, but compositions that can be classified as texts of domestic devotion also refer to the words of both Old and New Testaments. Because of the similarities in these two types of text it can be quite difficult to determine with any certainty whether a specific piece is derived from a liturgical or non-liturgical source. It is also beyond the scope of this overview to examine in detail all of the different ways in which biblical texts were used in music, and the ways in which music was used to interpret biblical texts. The amount of material available is simply too great. The approach in this study is therefore to illustrate the main trends by means of a series of representative case studies.

It is important to remember that music, like any art form, has its own inherent rules which are manifest on a syntactic level (harmony, melody) and also in the way that various genres are used. Theological history and musical history do not always develop in the same direction, and great caution should be exercised when making theological interpretations of musical works. Sometimes composers respond to theological shifts and sometimes, as in the case of the oratorio of the Counter-Reformation, religious music selects and adapts ideas that have already become established in secular music, such as those found in opera, for example.

An important question in the study of the relationship between music and the Bible is what exactly music contributes beyond a simple presentation of the text. To what extent does music add some kind of extra 'value' when

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[1] A number of bibliographies provide evidence of biblical texts in music, for example John Dovaras, *Choral Settings of the Scriptures with English Texts* (Dayton: Dean, 1988); James Laster, *Catalogue of Choral Music Arranged in Biblical Order*, 2nd edn. (Lanham: Scarecrow, 1996); Sönke Remmert, *Bibeltexte in der Musik: Ein Verzeichnis ihrer Vertonungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

biblical texts are reproduced? Music can highlight particular sections, or even individual words, and thereby add an emphasis which in itself is a type of interpretation. Music can also add emotional content to a text, as for example when the emotions contained in the words, such as joy, sadness etc., are amplified in the music. It is also possible to have a dialectical opposition between the music and the text, with the result that the music challenges or ironises the text. Music can also, following the text theory of Iser, fill in the 'gaps' that are left partially or completely open in the text.[2] Music also has the ability to bring biblical texts up to date because it can give the traditional words a realisation in sound which is appropriate for each successive period.[3] Lastly, music can present several texts at the same time. There are musical techniques that make it possible to present multiple texts simultaneously, in such a way that the meaning of each can be understood quite distinctly. This cannot be done with normal speech alone, because multiple voices speaking simultaneously would be unintelligible. This means that in music a biblical text and its interpretation, or two biblical texts that interpret each other, can be presented together. Examples of this can be seen in the motet of the thirteenth century and the Cantatas of Johann Sebastian Bach.[4]

The Bible can be set to music using several different forms. The simplest form is cantillation of a text based on a psalm or lectionary tone. There were established forms for the presentation of psalms, gospels and epistles throughout the Middle Ages, and these persisted into the early modern period, although they did undergo some minor modification such as alteration of the formulation of the readings in order to fit with changes in harmonic sensibility. There are also some more complex and hybrid forms for several voices such as lectionary tones, or formulaic songs derived from them. These hybrid forms can be found especially in the Passions, and to a lesser extent in the compositions relating to the genealogies of Jesus. One very early example of this can be seen in the Tongeren manuscript (c. 1480),[5] where the genealogy

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[2] See Martin Weber, 'Aus der Tiefen rufe ich dich': Die Theologie von Psalm 130 und ihre Rezeption in der Musik, Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 13 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2003).

[3] See Markus Rathey, 'Rezeption als Innovation: zur Aktualisierung traditioneller geistlicher Texte durch die Musik im 17. Und frühen 18. Jahrhundert', in Andreas Solback (ed.), Aedificatio: Erbauung im interkulturellen Kontext der Frühen Neuzeit (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2005), pp. 227–45.

[4] For an overview see Reinhold Hammerstein, 'Über das gleichzeitige Erklingen mehrerer Texte: zur Geschichte mehrtextiger Komposition unter besonderer Berücksichtigung J. S. Bachs', Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 27 (1970), 257–86.

[5] On this manuscript see Eliseus Bruning, De Middelnederlandse liederen van het onlangs ontdekte handschrift van Tongeren, omstreeks 1480 (Antwerp and Amsterdam: Standaard, 1955).

of Jesus is set to music for one voice throughout, except for the last few words 'de qua natus est Jesus qui vocatur Christus' (of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ), which break into three-part polyphony.[6]

It seems that there was a preference for multi-voice versions of the genealogy in the East German and Bohemian area.[7] These sources, all of which are preserved in manuscript form, show only simple polyphony which is very different from the elaborate multiple-voice motet of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One early example of a Gospel text being set to music in a large-scale motet form can be seen in the two compositions of the genealogy of Christ by Josquin Desprez (*c.* 1450/5–1521).[8] Josquin's composition is doubtless influenced by the multivocal tradition of the genealogy, but in his scoring of the text he makes his own artistic contribution. Recent scholarship has shown that these motets were composed for Christmas festivities at the court of the French king Louis XI in the early 1480s.[9]

These early hybrid examples are the foundation upon which later and more expansive forms were built, such as the oratorio. This can be seen, for example, in the history of compositions relating to the Passion. The biblical Passion texts were traditionally performed as lectionary tones during Lent. Some compositions do emerge, however, with a simple telling of the Gospel framed within multiple-voice beginning and end sections (*exordium* and *conclusio*) and including passages which in the biblical text are assigned to a larger group of people (such as a crowd) and which are increasingly scored for several voices. These multivocal sections become more and more common, and these simple insertions in the sixteenth century lead directly to the magnificent Passions of Johann Sebastian Bach in the eighteenth century.

Besides these expanded lectionary sections there are also some shorter passages of biblical text, such as single verses or even parts of verses. The preferred source for these was the Psalms, although there are also some other

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[6] See Theodor Göllner, *Die mehrstimmigen liturgischen Lesungen* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1969); and M. Huglo, 'Gospel', in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London and Washington, DC: Macmillan/Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1980).

[7] Cf. M. Huglo, 'Evangelium', in Friedrich Blume (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. Friedrich Blume, 17 vols., 2nd edn. (Kassel/New York and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter/Metzler, 1994–), PIII, col. 216.

[8] See the overview in Martin Just, 'Josquins Vertonungen der Genealogien nach Matthäus und Lukas: Textgestalt und musikalische Struktur', in *Zeichen und Struktur in der Musik der Renaissance* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1989), pp. 87–105.

[9] Jeremy Noble, 'The Genealogies of Christ and their Musical Settings', in Barbara Haggh (ed.), *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman* (Paris: Minerve, 2001), pp. 197–208.

Old Testament texts and a few from the New Testament. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries most of the compositions based on biblical texts are in the form of motets, that is to say, works usually for between four and eight voices. They followed the basic principle of the motet, which was to split the texts into separate sections and set them one by one to music, each with its own musical material, and sometimes contrasting one part with another. This 'motet principle' was to remain the dominant model for scoring over a very long period but nevertheless there was some development in the way that texts were used in the course of musical history. The most significant of those developments was in the area of text interpretation.

Some of the surviving motets were created for the liturgy, based on the Propers for Sundays and saints' days, but a great many of them do not fit exactly with the liturgical sources. This means that they must have been created for non-liturgical or para-liturgical purposes, such as domestic devotion within holy orders or in courtly circles. Very often there is some overlap between these distinctions, and works could be used in both contexts. It can also be difficult to classify these works. An additional problem is the fact that some works that appear initially to be putting a biblical text to music in a straightforward manner can turn out after careful examination to contain deeper theological or historical layers of meaning which go far beyond a simple musical scoring process.

## Psalm motets

Although the 'motet principle' forms the basis for most motets in the sixteenth century, differences in the choice of texts for scoring allow us to discern several sub-categories. The most important of these is the psalm motet. Psalms had always been an integral part of the Christian liturgy, both in terms of the hourly prayers and of the Mass. This is why a large proportion of sixteenth-century motets are based on psalms or on single verses from psalms. These psalms and verses were also used beyond liturgical contexts in domestic devotion, as we find in the 'book of hours' genre. Within the liturgy the motets largely remained close to the original Bible text, and this text was then scored for several voices. In the domestic hourly prayers, however, some examples of paraphrasing can be found. These passages still relate to the text of the relevant psalm, but they paraphrase and interpret the original source text. This kind of psalm paraphrase can also provide the basis for multiple-voice motets. Many different forms can be seen in terms of compositional technique, and these range from simple falsobordone parts (chordal

voice leading, with the voices remaining in parallel) to complex multivocal textures.

Liturgical music retained a conservative style for a long time, but non-liturgical psalm motets were open to much more freedom of artistic expression and a more modern style of experimentation. This can be observed in the way that compositions of this kind show a tendency to interpret the text more thoroughly and make use of a more intense and expressive style. Josquin Desprez stands out as the greatest of these composers. An example of his work can be seen in his psalm motet *De Profundis* (Out of the depths), a setting to music of some verses from Psalm 129 (or 130).[10] From the opening bars of this work onwards, it is obvious just how skilfully he deals with the text and all its meanings. He begins the motet for four voices in his usual fashion, which means that there is a duet for two voices, in this case Superius (soprano) and Altus (alto), which sing the opening lines of the Psalm text: 'De Profundis clamavi ad te'. The upper part rises up from e' to c' in order to reflect the concept of 'depth' in the text, and then a little later it makes an astonishing drop from e' right down to a (during the word 'profundis'). The voice rises again, however, with an immediate jump to f' on the following word 'clamavi', and this makes it clear that there is an emphasis on the notion of crying out to God. The Altus makes an even bigger rising leap of a whole octave when it goes from d' to d''. God, who is being addressed in this pleading, is accentuated in the following bars by means of an extensive melisma on the word 'Domine', which is joined by the lower voices singing the text of the opening section. The expansion into four voices and the melismatic extension are clearly designed to highlight the figure of God. It is quite obvious that Josquin is making every effort, even in the first ten bars, to draw attention to a specific interpretation of the text which he amplifies in the rest of the composition. This shows that the Renaissance had brought along new ways of understanding language and also that there had been some changes in devotional attitudes in the sixteenth century, with a growing emphasis on the individual.

A motet which is even more intimate and expressive than the one mentioned above is certainly the musical setting of the text *Absalon fili mi*, a free paraphrase of 2 Samuel 18:33, with echoes of Genesis 37:35 and Job 7:16:[11]

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[10] Josquin Desprez, *Werken van Josquin Des Prez*, ed. A. Smijers, part 3: Motetten (Amsterdam: Vereeniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1954–5), vols. xx–xxv.

[11] See Richard Sherr (ed.), *New Josquin Edition 14: Motets on Texts from the Old Testament 1: Texts from Samuel, Job, the Song of Songs, Ecclesiasticus* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2002), pp. 1–4.

Absalon fili mi, fili mi Absalon.
Quis det ut moriar pro te, fili mi, Absalon.
Non vivam ultra, sed descendam in infernam plorans.

(Absalom my son, my son Absalom.
Who will grant that I might die for thee, my son Absalom.
I shall live no longer, but will go down into hell lamenting.)[12]

It need not concern us here that recent studies have suggested that Josquin may not in fact be the author of this motet. Several researchers propose that the author might be Pierre de la Rue (c. 1452–1518), a contemporary of Josquin.[13] Regardless of the attribution question, this piece is a prime example of the expressive power and intimacy of motet composition around 1500. The text expresses a feeling of resignation, as David expresses the grief that he feels following the death of his son. It is set to music for four voices, but the composer has chosen to make them all low parts (in modern terminology these would be one tenor and three bass parts), and this gives the motet a rather dark character. Moreover, each of the parts is written in a different key, which also results in some harmonically unexpected and rather sinister sound combinations. At the very end of the piece the lowest bass voice drops down on the closing word 'deplorans' (lamenting), which ensures that the resigned mood of the text is carried over into the music.

One very special case with unique features is Josquin's psalm motet on Psalm 50, *Miserere mei Deus* (Have mercy on me, O God), which was composed in the first few years of the sixteenth century. It is one of the very earliest examples of the setting of a whole psalm to music.[14] This motet is a masterpiece, both in terms of its setting of the text to music and of its musical structure. The text of the psalm is set to music verse by verse in the correct order, and Josquin uses the interpretative approach mentioned above, while there is simultaneously also an Ostinato (repeated musical motif) which runs through the whole motet in the tenor part using the words of the opening cry 'Miserere mei Deus'. This means that the plaintive cry to God is constantly being repeated, and it provides the hermeneutical key to understanding the whole psalm. There is yet another level to

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[12] Translation based on the critical commentary in ibid., p. 7.
[13] See Joshua Rifkin, 'Problems of Authorship in Josquin: Some Impolitic Observations with a Postscript on *Absalon, fili mi*', in Willem Elders (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986* (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991), pp. 45–52.
[14] See Patrick Macey, 'Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 422–52, at p. 449.

Josquin's technique which brings more to the piece than just a straightforward interpretation of the Bible text. As Patrick Macey explains, Josquin's motet is also inspired by Girolamo Savonarola's meditation on Psalm 50. This text was published in printed form in Ferrara in 1498, which is precisely the place where Josquin is said to have been active in the period 1503 to 1504. It is also well known that Josquin's employer, Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara (1431–1505), was a follower of Savonarola, the theologian who was ultimately executed for heresy in 1498.[15] This same frequent repetition of the opening phrase is found in Savonarola's meditation, albeit in a refrain-like format, repeating the first few words again and again. It is not known whether, or to what extent, we can consider Josquin to be a follower of Savonarola, but it is clear that there is a stylistic and also structural connection between Savonarola's meditation and Josquin's motet which must have come about through Josquin's acquaintance with Ercole d'Este. Immediately following this period, and leading on into the latter half of that century, a whole new tradition of Miserere compositions appeared, inspired by Josquin and using his Ostinato technique. It is no coincidence that the majority of these have a connection with the court of the Duke d'Este in Ferrara, and this suggests that these works also should be understood in connection with the Savonarola cult that prevailed in that area.

This example illustrates how the setting to music of a Bible text can have deeper layers of significance, even when it consists of the complete text of a psalm and contains no additional passages of interpretation. These hidden depths are very difficult, or even in many cases quite impossible, for the modern listener to discern. In other words, then, it is clear that when a Bible text is set to music, there can be a great deal more behind it than a straightforward musical rendition of the actual text.

The psalm motets and the motets based on other Old Testament texts, including the lamentations that were popular in the sixteenth century, are both important sub-genres and alongside the Gospel motets, which also emerged in this period. Gospel motets rose to prominence in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and are associated with a paradigm shift in motet composition. In the first half of the sixteenth century the liturgical motet was rather backward-looking in terms of style. Stylistic innovation was to be found mostly in non-liturgical motets, but then in the second half of the century the liturgical motets, too, took advantage of these new stylistic developments. Laurenz Lütteken and Ludwig Finscher rightly describe this process

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[15]  Ibid., p. 448.

as a kind of 'liturgification' of the motet in the second half of the sixteenth century.[16] There is evidence of this process in the increasingly multivocal composition of readings, especially in Gospel motets, but also in the motets composed by the two most famous motet composers of the second half of the sixteenth century: Orlando di Lasso (1530/2–94) and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1526–94). These two important composers represent two dichotomous forms of setting texts to music in liturgical and non-liturgical motets. Lasso interprets the text more intensively, looking to each single word for expressive potential, while Palestrina's style is more concerned with creating a balanced tonal language, with less emphasis on the interpretation of single words and more on the balanced interplay of voices and harmonics. This is not to say, however, that Palestrina had no interest in the interpretation of the text itself.

## Penitential psalms in the sixteenth century

Verses from the seven penitential psalms – 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130 and 143 (following the numbering of the Hebrew Old Testament) – formed an important form of Bible text composition in the sixteenth century. Josquin's composition of Psalm 51 belongs in to this group. These psalms, were, however, important in contexts other than that of Savonarola and his followers. They were part of the liturgy (Psalm 51 was part of the Laude in Holy Week, and Psalm 130 on Good Friday and at funeral services), and also had a significant role to play in domestic devotions.

Reuchlin's 'Septene' is regarded as one of the most important philological texts on the penitentiary psalms. This is an edition of the seven psalms which presented a Latin translation alongside the Hebrew text as well as some grammatical explanations. Luther used this edition for his translation and interpretation of the penitential psalms which appeared in 1517.[17] The penitential psalms had a relatively low liturgical significance in Protestant churches, but nevertheless they were very popular outside the liturgy in both Protestant and Roman Catholic denominations. Complete cycles of penitential psalms were produced by the Roman Catholic composers Orlando di Lasso and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, and also by Melchior Franck, who was a Protestant. All of these works were composed as motets.

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[16] Laurenz Lütteken, 'Motette', in Blume (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, s vi, col. 525; Ludwig Finscher, *Die Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft 3 (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1990) vol. II, p. 279.
[17] *WA*, vol. 1, pp. 154 ff.

The cycle by Orlando di Lasso is particularly significant. It is a very high-quality composition, and arises out of the unusual context in which the penitential psalms originated and were passed on. Lasso composed his penitential psalms for the Bavarian Duke Albrecht V (1528–97). The duke ordered an exquisite manuscript version to be prepared in two volumes between 1558 and 1570. The scholar Samuel Quiccelberg (1529–67) was responsible for its production. The first volume contained Lasso's compositions and some illuminations by the artist Hans Mielich (1516–73), and the second presented Quiccelberg's commentary on the penitential psalms. While Lassus sets the psalms to music in multiple voices using quite elaborate techniques, the illuminations and the text of the commentary embed them firmly into both biblical and contemporary historical contexts. Katharina Urch points out that Mielich's illuminations embed the psalms 'into a dense context of pictorial quotations, of copies of well-known paintings and other graphic works by Italian, German and Dutch artists of the sixteenth century'.[18]

This luxury manuscript shows clear signs of denominational bias; that is to say, it has anti-Protestant qualities which can be seen in its choice of images and in its interpretations. Its layout could be described as 'multimedia', and it shows what can be expressed in music and also what music cannot express. Lasso's compositions exploit the affective potential of the psalms and manage also to produce musical interpretations for single words, as for example in the phrase 'de profundis', but the theological interpretation of the psalms within their biblical context can only be provided via the images and Quiccelberg's commentary.[19] Looking at this in a positive way, this means that the language and image-based commentary can make definitive discursive statements, while the music's power lies precisely in its ability to interpret the emotional content.

The penitential psalms also enjoyed considerable popularity in the Protestant community, largely because Martin Luther held them in such high regard. Orlando di Lasso's verses were eagerly adopted in spite of their anti-Protestant provenance, although this context was admittedly not evident from the music on its own. Many Protestant composers also made use of the texts used by Lasso.

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[18] Katharina Urch, 'Das Bußpsalmenwerk für Herzog Albrecht V', in H. Leuchtmann and H. Schaefer (eds.), *Orlando di Lasso: Prachthandschriften und Quellenüberlieferung* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1994), pp. 19–25, at p. 23.

[19] On Lasso's penitential psalms see Weber, '*Aus der Tiefen rufe ich dich*', pp. 187–99; also Horst Leuchtmann, 'Orlando di Lassos Busspsalmen', *Musik und Kirche* 66 (1996), 273–8.

## Gospel motets

In addition to the psalm motet, the motet based on Gospel texts also became increasingly significant in the course of the sixteenth century. It was not until towards the end of the fifteenth century that a few isolated composers, primarily from the Franco-Flemish area, began to use polyphonic verses constructed from linked Gospel extracts. The reasons why this sub-genre of motet suddenly appeared are not entirely clear.[20] It is no doubt reasonable to assume that two factors helped to create a more favourable climate for the emergence of this genre: first the spread of humanism across central Europe around 1500, which had brought about changes in the way that texts were understood; and secondly a growing interest in 'a revised and much more personally oriented religiosity'.[21] This is why so many of the early Gospel motets are to be found in connection with devotions, and not primarily in the liturgy. Nevertheless, these are only indicative clues, and they cannot completely explain how and why the Gospel motets first came into being. The development of music in the early sixteenth century, with its interest in a musical scoring technique that was both impressive and expressive, complemented this growing fondness for Gospel text compositions, and indeed the music acquired thereby a means to translate the emotions of the texts into sound.

Hans Joachim Moser, in his seminal study on the history of multi-voice settings of the Gospel, had assumed that Gospel motets, which generally only set a portion of the text to music, were inserted into the relevant readings of the Gospel.[22] This means that the motet would have replaced the key thematic sentences of the reading. Karin Bartels more or less uncritically accepts this line of thinking in her work on German Gospel motets[23] but Wolfgang Krebs disagrees, based on an exhaustive study of the sources. It seems that many of the early Gospel motets were used in a domestic devotional context, and appear to have been added on to the end of the Gospel readings later on. In liturgical terms this means that they would have been slotted in between the reading and the sermon.

[20] See Wolfgang Krebs, *Die lateinische Evangelien-Motette des 16. Jahrhunderts: Repertoire, Quellenlage, musikalische Rhetorik und Symbolik*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 25 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1995), p. 18.

[21] Ibid., p. 23.

[22] Hans Joachim Moser, *Die mehrstimmige Vertonung des Evangeliums* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1931; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1968).

[23] Karin Bartels, 'Musikalisch-rhetorische Figuren in deutschen Evangelienmotetten um 1600', Ph.D. thesis, University of Göttingen, 1991, pp. 17–18.

There are a number of early examples of Gospel motets which have survived, including some written by composers in Josquin Desprez's generation. There is, for example, Josquin's motet *In principio erat verbum* (In the beginning was the word), based on John 1:1–14, and *Missus est Angelus Gabriel* (The angel Gabriel was sent), based on Luke 1:26–38 and composed by Jean Mouton (1459–1522).[24] It seems therefore that Josquin's motet on the prologue to the Gospel of John founded a tradition of its own. It originated in the first few years of the sixteenth century at the court of Ferrara, and has survived in an exceptionally large number of manuscripts with Italian, German and Spanish provenance.[25] It is the first of many settings of the text of St John's Gospel, and is one of the most frequently used texts in whole genre of Gospel motet composition. Gospel motets gained a new lease of life during the Reformation. On the one hand, Gospel motets in the vernacular (especially German in the context of the Lutheran Reformation) came to prominence as part of the reform of the liturgy; on the other, whole new cycles of Gospel motets were created which covered Gospel material throughout the whole of the liturgical year. There is very little evidence of such cycles in Roman Catholic regions, whereas in Lutheran regions they are very common. Early examples of the Protestant Gospel motet include Johann Walter's *Et cum inducerent Jesum* (And when they brought in Jesus) (Luke 2:27–32), which originated in the circle immediately around Luther himself, and motets by Leonard Päminger (1495–1567), who composed numerous Gospel motets in southern Germany.[26] Towards the middle of the sixteenth century the leading composers of Gospel motets are Balthasar Resinarius (*c*. 1485–1544) and Johannes Galliculus (*c*. 1490–after 1520). The common feature that these early examples share is, as Krebs points out, 'that they all belong to the narrative / dramatic type of gospel motet'.[27] It was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that the Protestant regions saw the emergence of motets based on short verses or sayings, which express just the key theological point, in a single verse or in a short passage, rather than a whole lengthy passage of biblical text. The first examples of this paradigm shift can be seen as early as the 1560s in the works of Gallus Dressler (1533–between 1580 and 1589). It was then developed further in the collected

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[24] See Krebs, *Evangelien-Motette*, p. 20.

[25] Ibid., p. 41.

[26] See for an overview Ilse Roth, 'Leonhard Päminger, ein Beitrag zur deutschen Musikgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts', Ph.D. thesis, University of Munich, 1935; see also the overview on Päminger's motets in Krebs, *Evangelien-Motette*, pp. 478–9; Krebs lists a total of twenty-three Gospel motets, which is an impressive number for this early phase in the emergence of the genre.

[27] Krebs, *Evangelien-Motette*, p. 68.

'Sententia' or sayings of Johannes Wanning (1537–1603), Philipp Dulichius (1562–1631) and Georg Otto (1550–1618).

Madrigalian elements (that is to say, expressive text interpretation influences which had developed mainly in secular music) occur more frequently in the Gospel motets *Amen, amen dico vobis* (Amen, amen, I say unto you) and *Ascendente Jesu in naviculam* (Jesus got into a boat) by Leonard Lechner (*c.* 1553–1606), who follows in the musical tradition of Orlando di Lasso.[28] Lasso himself also composed quite a large number of Gospel motets. Another collection which falls in musical terms into this same tradition is that of the *Deutschen sonntäglichen evangelischen Sprüche* (German gospel sayings for Sundays) by Melchior Vulpius (*c.* 1570–1615), which contains a whole cycle of Gospel motets in German.

In the waning years of the Gospel motet (from 1600 onwards) the history of the motet and the spiritual concerto overlap. Solo voices were used in these concertos, and this opened up new possibilities for the setting of Bible texts, such as a quasi-dramatic dialogue between two opposing characters, as we shall see.

## Hymns (*Kirchenlieder*)

The elaborate motets of the sixteenth century were not the only genre of note because a very large number of hymns in this period also engaged in the task of setting biblical texts to music. Luther himself wrote a letter to his friend Georg Spalatin, asking him to make songs out of psalms:

> I would like to ask you to work with us in this and to turn a Psalm into a hymn as in the enclosed sample of my own work. But I would ask you to avoid new-fangled, fancied words and to use expressions simple and common enough for the people to understand, yet pure and fitting. The meaning should also be clear and as close as possible to the Psalm. Irrespective of the exact wording, one must freely render the sense by suitable words.[29]

This letter is one of the founding documents of Protestant hymnody. It also marks the beginning of the sung psalm in the vernacular, which had not existed in that form before.[30] Luther himself transformed many psalms into

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[28] Ibid., p. 71.
[29] Quoted after *LW*, vol. LIII, p. 221. See also Robin Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), pp. 144–5.
[30] On the relationship between biblical texts and hymns see also Gerhard Hahn, *Evangelium als literarische Anweisung: zu Luthers Stellung in der Geschichte des deutschen kirchlichen Liedes*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur Deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 73 (Munich and Zurich: Artemis, 1981), pp. 246–88.

hymns, and many others followed his example. The Geneva Psalter was a very important influence from Calvinist quarters in the second half of the sixteenth century. It contained all 150 psalms (including also the New Testament Cantica), in rhyme and complete with melodies. The main difference between Luther's rhymed psalms and those in the Reformed tradition is that Calvin and his followers thought it most important to make the verse text as faithful as possible to the original, whereas Luther's hermeneutics, in accordance with his Christological understanding, required that the faithfulness of the resulting text should be demonstrated in terms of a Christological interpretation of the Old Testament original.[31]

There are also musical differences between Lutheran and Calvinist hymns. While Calvin was rather sceptical about the efficacy of music, and was very concerned to make sure that the melodies should be different from any secular (or even Roman Catholic) models,[32] Luther's more positive attitude towards music meant that he considered reworkings of older models, and parodies of secular melodies, as suitable elements which could be used in the setting of his hymns to music.

It is beyond the scope of this brief overview to investigate the whole history of versified psalms and Gospel hymns, but these early beginnings in the sixteenth century show just how closely the history of church music and hymnody are linked with the setting of biblical texts to music, and how these different processes of transformation also reflect theological principles.

## Sacred concertos in the early seventeenth century

A number of upheavals took place in the music history of the period around the turn of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, or, in other words, in the shift from the Renaissance period to the Baroque. The setting of biblical texts to music was most noticeably affected by the emergence of sacred concertos and opera. Although opera was a secular form, it nevertheless provided inspiration for religious compositions such as the sacred concerto and the oratorio. Opera appeared towards the end of the sixteenth century in and around the Florentine Camerata, a group of scholars, philosophers, musicians and poets which was modelled on Plato's Academy. They met to promote the

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[31] For an example of this, see Luther's versification of Psalm 130, *Aus Tiefer Not*. A comparison between the biblical source and Luther's poetic version is offered by Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, pp. 132–52, and by Hahn, *Evangelium*, pp. 250–67.

[32] On Calvin's understanding of hymnody and music see Charles Garside, *The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1979).

revival of ideas from Classical Antiquity, especially in the field of drama. They were persuaded by the work of the philologist Girolami Mei (1519–94), and believed that Classical drama had been characterised by solo singing throughout, accompanied by kithara or aulos. This prompted the development of monodic singing in early opera which then lasted into the nineteenth century in the form of the recitative. This style of composition with a single melodic line encouraged a more intensive and expressive use of language, and this was of immense benefit to religious as well as secular music.

In Florence and elsewhere people were engaged in humanistic discourse about music, and around 1600 a related concept of musical rhetoric emerged. This notion was an attempt to apply a systematic approach to the task of setting texts by using so-called musical–rhetorical figures.[33] These 'figures' were nothing new; in fact, they had already started to appear in motets by composers in Josquin's generation. What was now needed was a systematic appreciation of compositional conventions, which would facilitate the description and discussion of the process of setting texts to music within the framework of humanistic discourses on rhetoric. The influence of musical rhetoric permeated all musical endeavours in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was not confined to just one genre such as the concert or the oratorio. Even older genres such as the motet made use of these new means of musical expression.

The most important genre in the seventeenth century is the sacred concerto. Two different types emerge around 1600, and they are equally important when it comes to musical settings of biblical texts. The small sacred concerto, as its name suggests, required only a small number of musicians. Often there were one or two – sometimes more – voices, and occasionally there was also a small instrumental ensemble, with an instrumental bass accompaniment called the basso continuo. The very smallest type of small sacred concerto had only one solo singing voice and the instrumental basso continuo or thorough-bass (often a string instrument as well as a keyboard instrument, which played accompanying chords). In principle it was possible to put all kinds of sacred texts into the form of a sacred concerto, but setting a solo part was a way of bringing a more virtuoso and emotional quality to the piece. In fact there was a trend towards choosing precisely those texts that lend themselves to this compositional configuration. Texts taken from the Psalter

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[33] See on this point Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical–Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

and from the Song of Solomon were most commonly used in those especially small and expressive sacred concertos.

One special form of sacred concerto is the dialogue composition. In this configuration one or more voices conduct a dialogue much like a spoken conversation. This type of setting is modelled to some extent on the sixteenth-century Italian madrigal, where there is already a similar type of dialogue arrangement in place, and to a much greater extent on contemporary opera. Early sacred dialogue compositions come from Italy (for example the *Dialogi* of Adriano Banchieri[34]), but then the dialogue form later spread throughout the whole of Europe. There are many examples from Germany, where composers such as Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672), Andreas Hammerschmidt (1611/12–75) and Christoph Bernhard (1628–92) all used this form.[35]

All kinds of biblical texts were used in dialogue compositions, but two particular types were preferred. New Testament texts were the most popular choice, but the Song of Solomon was also very much in demand, with its dialogue between the male and female lovers which was interpreted in the theology of that period as a dialogue between Christ and the soul of the believer. New Testament dialogue compositions are based mainly on conversations between Jesus and his disciples, or other contemporary figures.[36] The most popular texts were the healing of the leper (Matt. 8:1–4), Peter catching the net of fish (Luke 5:1–11) and the dialogue between Jesus and Nicodemus (John 3:1–21).

Apart from the small sacred concerto, there was also the large-scale sacred concerto for multiple choruses in the second half of the sixteenth century. The concerto for several choruses, in which several ensembles, usually consisting mainly of voices, presented portions of the text by alternating one with another, has its origins in northern Italy. Here, too, biblical texts play a prominent part. They provide a model for the idea of making music with two choruses because there had been a long-standing tradition of singing psalms antiphonally in two separate groups. This style of alternating between two groups of musicians was adopted by composers in the sixteenth century, but instead of alternating between single-voice recitations of a psalm tone, as was

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[34] Adriano Banchieri, *Dialoghi, concerti, sinfonie e canzonidà cantarsi con due voci in variati modi nell'organo, opera xlviii* (Venice: Gardano, 1625).

[35] For an overview see Michael Märker, *Die protestantische Dialogkomposition in Deutschland zwischen Heinrich Schütz und Johann Sebastian Bach*, Kirchenmusikalische Studien 2 (Cologne: Studio, 1995).

[36] See the list in ibid., pp. 16–17.

traditionally practised, the later dialogues have two, multiple-voice choruses. The earliest example of this, which must also have had its antecedents, is believed to be the collection of *Salmi Spezzati* by Adrian Willaert (*c.* 1490–1562), who was the *maestro di cappella* at St Mark's Basilica in Venice, and his contemporary Jacquet of Mantua (1483–1559). There are a few additional settings in this collection by Dominique Phinot and another, anonymous, composer. The collection contains two types of double-chorus settings of psalms. The simpler type provides a psalm tone by Willaert or Jacquet of Mantua for each verse, and these alternate with each other without any overlap. The further developed, more complex type, composed only by Willaert, presents the whole psalm in one continuous composition. Each individual verse of the psalm is also allocated to one of the choruses, but the beginning and the end of the verses overlap, with the result that the piece can be understood as a single coherent composition.

A few details about the performance practices of these compositions should also be noted. Even though the *Salmi Spezzati* emerged out of the tradition of antiphonal psalm singing, recent research on performance practice in Venice has shown that the pieces were delivered in a responsorial way, allowing a small group of soloists to alternate with a larger ensemble. Moreover, there was initially no physical separation of the choruses, such as can be seen in later Venetian multi-chorus music.[37]

The element of physical separation, combined with an increasing amount of joint singing between the two parts of the choir, occurs in the second half of the sixteenth century in the works of Giovanni Gabrieli (1557–1612). In Gabrieli's works the concerto principle is fully developed. We find here a tight alternation between the two choruses, both of which can be made up of only voices, or a combination of voices and some additional instruments. The choruses alternate constantly, and frequently 'throw' brief musical motifs back and forth. Biblical texts again provide the most important sources. Gabrieli uses the Psalms, which formed the central core of Willaert's collection, and there are also many settings of New Testament texts which gain a great deal of intensity through the multi-chorus setting. The texts that belong to the Vespers part of the liturgy in particular are given the largest-scale arrangement. This is true of the Vesper psalms of Willaert as well as the concertos of Gabrieli.

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[37] On this point see David Bryant, 'The Cori Spezzati of St Mark's: Myth and Reality', *Early Music History* 1 (1981), 165–86.

The *Vespro della Beata Vergine* by Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), which was published in 1610,[38] represents the highest form of concerto Vesper text composition to have been achieved at that time. It, too, has an emphasis on the Psalms. This printed work contains Psalms 110 (*Dixit Dominus*), 113 (*Laudate Pueri*), 122 (*Laetatus sum*), 127 (*Nisi Dominus*) and 147:12–20 (*Lauda Jerusalem*). Monteverdi includes two versions of the *Magnificat*, which is likewise a biblical text, and antiphons for the psalms, which are also drawn from biblical sources, although these are, in part, very heavily adapted.

Monteverdi exploits the full range of options available in concerto musicianship. The psalms are composed for a large ensemble and make some use of Gabrieli's multi-chorus techniques, but the antiphons are conceived as powerfully expressive little concertos for solo voices. In the *Vespers of the Blessed Virgin* we find a setting of the Bible text which is of the highest musical quality for its time. It uses all of the musical options available in liturgical music. Only a few years before, Monteverdi had composed his *Orfeo* (1607), which, if not quite the first opera, was at the very least the most significant contribution thus far to this emerging genre. The *Vespers* of 1610 is the religious equivalent of this secular music milestone.

The antiphon for tenor and bass entitled *Nigra sum* (I am black), which is based on verses from the Song of Solomon (1:4, 1:3, 2:10–12), is a good example of Monteverdi's sacred concerto work. The opening phrase is 'Nigra sum sed formosa filia Ierusalem' (I am black but beautiful, daughter of Jerusalem). In the very first few bars there is clear evidence of the way Monteverdi is able to interpret the text by exploiting the full range of possibilities that setting for soloists can provide. The section begins in the lowest register as the tenor declaims the words 'Nigra sum' on one note (d'). The concept of 'blackness' is therefore expressed in the dark timbre of the opening bars. The next few words establish a contrast 'sed formosa'. The tenor voice immediately abandons the dark regions of the opening bars and jumps straight to high d' which is the first note of the following phrase. A little later on (in bars 6/7) the word 'formosa' is embellished by a brief melisma, and this, too, forms a marked contrast to the dark, repetitive tone of the opening bars. Monteverdi is using the flexibility of the solo voice here to bring out the contrast that is inherent in the biblical text. Later on there is an even more elaborate melisma (in terms of its length as well as its ambitus) on the word 'surge' (arise), which uses a continuously rising line from low c' up to high g'' to reflect the idea of 'rising

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[38] For more details see John Wenham, *Monteverdi Vespers (1610)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

up'. This shows that the musical innovations of the early seventeenth century brought new expressive possibilities which could be applied to the setting of biblical as well as secular texts.

## Schütz: sacred soncerts and the link between the music and the words

The most important synthesis of Italian expressive style and Protestant textual understanding is to be found in the work of Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672). Schütz had studied in Venice under Giovanni Gabrieli, and his first printed work was a collection of Italian madrigals which clearly reflected the way that texts were interpreted in madrigals of that period. When he returned to Germany, however, Schütz was expected to apply what he had learned largely to the field of religious music. Another feature that makes Schütz significant is the fact that he possessed a very pronounced appreciation of the rhythm of the German language. He is not content simply to apply Italian melodic and rhythmic techniques to German texts, but instead he takes the rhythmic shape of the German text and uses it as the basis for his composition.[39]

The *Psalmen Davids* of 1619 are presented as an early collection which makes particularly good use of the multi-chorus aspect of its Italian provenance to produce a very expressive interpretation of the text. However, even this early collection shows how skilfully Schütz is able to deal with the passages of declamatory text, and how he makes use of German prosody in the invention of his musical motifs. The texts are taken mainly from the Psalter, and Schütz uses the emotionally charged texts of this book of the Bible to make highly emotional compositions. The emotional breadth of the collection is evident in two compositions which appear next to each other: No. 15, Psalm 100, 'Jauchzet dem Herren, alle Welt' (Praise the Lord, all the world) and No. 16, Psalm 137, 'An den Wassern zu Babel saßen wir und weineten' (By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept).

In the setting of Psalm 100 the two choruses enter the fray at full strength, one following immediately after the other. The jubilation is fast-paced as the two choruses throw their joyful exclamations back and forth to each other. After this the musical content broadens out and Schütz uses passages of melisma to express a feeling of joy. Psalm 137, on the other hand, is also for

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[39] This point is highlighted by Eberhard Schmidt: 'Schütz studied the language and sentence structures used in the Luther Bible and organised them in such a way that he created thematic units using repetition or deliberate arrangement.' Eberhard Schmidt, 'Heinrich Schütz: Ausleger der Heiligen Schrift', *Musik und Kirche* 56 (1986), 63–77, at p. 72.

two choruses but the composer uses this double-chorus feature in a very different way. In the beginning the two choruses alternate, each delivering fairly long passages. There is a particularly impressive suspended dissonance on the word 'weineten', which conveys the very deep element of tragedy in the text. The double-chorus setting, which was used in Psalm 100 to represent effusions of joy, is now used quite differently. In this case the two groups stand facing each other, crying out their sorrow in such a way that the constant repetition intensifies the lamentation.

We find a very different type of sacred concerto in the *Kleinen geistlichen Konzerten* (small sacred concertos), which Schütz published in 1636–9. These concertos follow in the tradition of small-scale arrangement, such as we saw above in the case of Monteverdi's *Vespers*. Following the example of his older contemporary, Schütz uses a small number of voices to produce an emotionally powerful setting. He selects from devotional and liturgical texts, as well as texts originating in the Bible, although one can never be completely certain where the line is to be drawn between Bible text settings and those that are based on the liturgy. The very first composition, which appeared in print in 1636, sets a Bible text to music, namely Psalm 70. The piece is composed for soprano and basso continuo and Schütz, like Monteverdi before him, hands the job of interpreting the text to the soprano voice which freely leads in a declamatory fashion, while the instrumental bass part largely confines itself to lengthy chords, and provides only a background accompaniment. In the opening bars the soprano voice presents the text in only two notes (d' and cis'') in such a way that it sounds much more like a vehement declamation than a piece of singing, with the result that the call on God for salvation reaches the highest possible level of emotional intensity.

Just as we saw above in the case of Monteverdi, these musical developments in the early seventeenth century introduce a dramatic quality to the setting process, and this is something that brought especially great benefits to the setting of biblical texts. One genre of Bible text settings in particular, the oratorio, which represents the religious equivalent of the secular opera, made good use of these developments.

## Oratorio

The oratorio came to the fore in the first few decades of the seventeenth century, and is yet another important form of biblical text setting. The genre has its roots in Italy but it very quickly spread out across the whole of Europe. It is named after the places where it was first performed, which were 'oratorios'

or 'public prayer halls'. The oratorio of San Girolamo della Caritá in Rome, which was founded by Filippo Neri (1515–95), served as a model. The prayer halls were used for many purposes, including as a place for the religious exercises of monastic orders, and also as a venue for sacred musical performances, which at that time were a feature of the Counter-Reformation led by the Jesuits. Over a period of several years these oratorios were used as the setting for performances which were dramatic, without being episodic, and which were formally oriented towards the opera, but also towards the sacred dialogue compositions described earlier. In the seventeenth century in Italy we can see two different forms of oratorio. There is the *oratorio latino*, which has its origins in the liturgical dialogue and was performed in Latin, and there is the *oratorio volgare*, which was performed in Italian and which emerged out of the religious madrigal and lauda forms.[40]

The development of the oratorio represents an important turning point in the history of the setting of biblical texts to music. In the sixteenth century it was the Psalter, whether in liturgical or non-liturgical works, that provided the most important source for musical works. The Psalter's emotional and very powerful texts inspired composers again and again to construct expressive settings. In addition to the Psalms, some other single verses from the Old and New Testaments were also set to music. Biblical narratives and dialogues were much less significant as a source, since these were only partially rendered into motet settings, and were organised as multi-voice pieces in which the parts were equally distributed. The history of the setting of the Passion shows that the majority of the texts in the sixteenth century were performed as simple lectionary tones, sometimes with the possibility of different roles, and only a very few key sections, along with the beginning and end sections, were set for multiple voices. When a Passion text was set as a motet, however, as for example by Joachim a Burck (1546–1610), it was precisely the narrative and dialogue aspects of the text that were abandoned. The oratorio, with its dramatic presentation of the text, and the use of solo singers, now offered the potential for this type of biblical text to be rendered in such a way that the element of dialogue between characters was fully maintained. This opened up, in a way, a whole new set of possibilities for composers who wanted to set biblical texts to music. Conversely, however, it was clear that texts which had been, until

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[40] On the history and development of the oratorio in general see the excellent description by Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio* 4 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977–2000).

then, at the very centre of music history, such as the Psalms, were not at all suitable for use in the oratorio form.

The central position in the oratorio form is taken up by the *testo* (narrator), who reports what is happening and carries the story along. His part is mostly confined to recitative, which means that he recites his text along a steadily advancing bass foundation. The remaining characters are then allocated to soloists, and they sing recitative or aria-like parts in dialogues and monologues.

It is generally agreed that the most important composer in the earliest phase of Latin oratorio composition was Giacomo Carissimi (1605–74), who composed thirteen works, of which eleven have survived, and who had a determining influence on the development of the genre. The oratorios were performed on the Sundays in Lent, that is to say, at a time when the performance of operas was not allowed. The oratorio filled a gap, therefore, and alongside its religious function it also served as a form of entertainment. Most of Carissimi's texts in the oratorios are taken from the Old Testament; there are also a few other sources such as the New Testament and lives of the saints. These biblical oratorios from the pen of Carissimi include: *Abraham et Isaac*, *Baltazar*, *Jephte*, *Ionas* and *Judicium Salomonis*. The biblical texts were not retained word for word, but rather were adapted and extended to enhance the dramatic development.

The most famous of Carissimi's oratorios is undoubtedly *Jephte*, which was written by an unknown librettist following the text of Judges 11:28–38. The oratorio was composed by 1650, at the latest, and tells the story of Jephthah, who was the leader of the Israelite army that fought against the Ammonites. On the way back from a great victory he returns home and is greeted (with appropriately joyful music) by his daughter and his wives. This exuberant section is followed by Jephthah's revelation to his daughter that she must die because he has promised God that he will offer up as a sacrifice the first living thing that comes to meet him at the front of his house (Judg. 11:31). The music for this section is deeply moving, and the text gave Carissimi the chance to use an especially expressive arrangement. The gloomy character of the dialogue between father and daughter overshadows the end of the oratorio once more, since this is in the form of a lament for the death of the daughter. The libretto remains close to the biblical text. Some new material is added, such as to the depiction of Jephthah's victory in battle, which is only briefly mentioned in the Bible, and the closing lament on the daughter's approaching death. In other words, the librettist makes additions to the text when the source material lacks dramatic potential.

A similar approach can be seen in Carissimi's oratorio *Ionas*, which is based on Jonah 1–3, and tells the well-known story of this Old Testament prophet. Here too, the biblical narrative contains a number of dramatic elements such as the storm at sea, the whale and the conversion of the prophet, all of which the librettist only has to expand a little further. Carissimi's composition takes up these elements and sets the storm to music in a highly dramatic arrangement. Just as dramatic, albeit in a much more introverted way, is the turning point in the action, which occurs when Jonah decides to go to Nineveh. At this point Carissimi sets the prophet's expressive prayer to music, and does so in a way that imitates the familiar structure of liturgical prayers to God, the threefold Kyrie of the litany.

In the following hundred years many composers followed the example of Carissimi, and the oratorio became, alongside the opera, the most important musical genre of all. The *oratorio latino* was influential, but the vernacular *oratorio volgare*, which also originated in Italy, was even more so. Early forms of vernacular oratorio were created by Marco Marazzoli (*c.* 1602/5–62) and Luigi Rossi (?1597–1653), and then most notably by Bernardo Pasquini (1637–1710). The structure of these vernacular oratorios is similar to that of the Latin ones, including the presence of a *testo*, who reports what is happening, and soloists and choirs, who enter into dialogue with one another. There is one particular difference between the two, however, and that is the fact that the role of the choir in the *oratorio volgare* is much enhanced, since it is drawn much more into the action, and has longer reflective and dramatic parts.

Towards the beginning of the eighteenth century there was mounting criticism of the role of the *testo*, and the Italian librettist Arcangelo Spagna (1632–1726) made it his business to abolish this component so that it no longer interrupts the dramatic action, and instead pushed for the action to be carried forward solely through the dialogues the characters have with each other.[41]

Just as we saw above in the case of the *oratorio latino*, we can see that in the *oratorio volgare* the Old Testament is the most common source; after that there are also some saints' lives and passages from the New Testament. These priorities in the choice of materials for oratorio texts were not to change much in the course of the next hundred years. It is true that the story of the Passion was to become more important for the oratorio in the course of the eighteenth century, but Handel's Oratorios, about which we shall see more below,

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[41] For more information on this see Arnaldo Morelli, 'Il "Theatro Spirituale" ed altre raccolte di testi per oratorio romani del Seicento', *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 21 (1986), 61–143.

demonstrate that the Old Testament continued to be a major source of inspiration for libretto authors.

## The Passion

The Passion of Jesus has traditionally been one of the most popular texts ever to be set to music. The Passion narratives of the four Gospels were traditionally sung as lectionary tones, partly by one person and partly with a number of separate roles. From the fifteenth century onwards there was an increasing tendency to add multi-voice parts to single sections, such as the beginning and end passages, and sections in which the crowd speaks. There are two main types to consider: the responsorial Passion and the through-composed Passion:[42] 'Responsorial means a Passion in which the single voice recitations of the evangelist, and sometimes also other lone individuals, are set in a responsorial way in opposition to sections of direct speech by several people in multiple parts; a through-composed Passion is one which the whole gospel story, including passages of direct and indirect speech, is set polyphonically.'[43] Responsorial Passions appear from the fifteenth century onwards, whereas the history of through-composed Passions does not begin until the sixteenth century.

In addition to the texts of the four Gospels, there is one other text type that comes to prominence in music from the early sixteenth century onwards, namely the Passion harmony. It is thought that the earliest example of this genre, which was very popular in both Roman Catholic and Protestant areas, is the Passion by French composer Antoine de Longueval (*c.* 1498–1525), who lived and worked in Paris and Ferrara. This Passion was composed for the court of Ercole I d'Este in Ferrara, and quickly found favour across the whole of Europe.[44] Although the work is through-composed in the fashion of a motet, Longueval arranges the voices in such a way that there is at least an attempt to convey some of the dramatic character of the Passion. The beginning and end sections (*Exordium* and *Conclusio*) and the *turbae* (crowd) sections are set in blocks with four voices. The evangelist's narrative sections, which would be the *testo* role in the Italian terminology of the oratorio, are set freely, with a varying number of voices. The remaining other characters (with the

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[42]  See Kurt von Fischer, *Die Passion: Musik zwischen Kunst und Kirche* (Kassel and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1997), p. 30.

[43]  Ibid., pp. 30–2.

[44]  See Rainer Heyink, 'Die Passionsmotette von Antoine de Longueval, Herkunft, Zuschreibung, Überlieferung', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 47 (1990), 217–44.

exception of Jesus) are mainly given two parts, both of which are in the upper range. The words of Jesus, with a few exceptions, are set in the two lower voices, and this creates a clear sound separation between what he says and what all the other characters are saying. This also reflects a long-standing tradition in Passion compositions of using the bass voice to represent the voice of Jesus. This practice continued until much later, up to the time of Bach's Passions, in which the words of Jesus are also sung by a bass voice.

In the course of the sixteenth century the responsorial Passion and the through-composed Passion developed in parallel, in both Protestant and Roman Catholic areas. Important works were produced by three composers who were already noted for their motet compositions: Orlando di Lasso (in Latin), Joachim a Burck (in German) and Balthasar Resinarius (in Latin). Another two significant responsorial Passions were written by Luther's close collaborator Johann Walter (1496–1570), based on the Gospels of Matthew and John.

The culmination of the responsorial Passion, and one of the highlights of this sub-genre, is found in the Passion compositions of Heinrich Schütz. His Passions based on Matthew, Luke and John were composed in 1665/6 for the Dresden Court Chapel. They do not incorporate any modern elements such as the *continuo* and the use of instruments, since these were not allowed in the *tempus clausum* of Lent. Schütz was therefore forced to rely solely on the expressive power of the voice parts. For the recitation parts of the biblical text Schütz uses the old recitative tone forms, but he elaborates on them somewhat, whenever he judges it to be rhetorically necessary. An example of this can be seen in the phrase 'und beugeten die Knie vor ihm' (and they bent their knees before him): the bending of the knee is indicated by a falling melodic line which is not part of the recitation tone. The very beginning and end, and the words of the *turbae* (the crowd) are the only places where the setting broadens out into multiple voices, and in these sections Schütz uses the polyphonic techniques usually associated with the motet.

In the seventeenth century, while Schütz was developing his Passion compositions, a new tradition of Passion composition was being formed at the same time. This more modern approach to the setting of the Passion incorporated instruments, and also made use of textual adaptations rather than simply setting actual extracts from the Bible to music. In other words, the Passion began to be influenced by the oratorio of that period. There are two different forms of later Passion: the oratorial Passion and the Passion-oratorio. In the oratorial Passion (and this is the category in which we find Bach's Passions) the biblical text is still the main foundation, although it may be enhanced with

arias and other non-biblical writings (such as hymns etc.). In the Passion oratorio, on the other hand, the original wording of the Bible is no longer used, and instead the story is rewritten freely (as we saw above in connection with the oratorio of the early eighteenth century).

The reformulation of the text, and the additional items slotted into the story, served to interpret the biblical text and provide material for further reflection. This raises the question of what significance the Passion had for people in this period. In fact, the function of the Passion was changing. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was regarded as having the same standing as the Gospel reading, but later it began to be linked more with the sermon, and it began to focus more on the interpretation of the biblical text, which was in any case already very familiar to the listeners.

One of the earliest oratorial Passions is that of Thomas Selle (1599–1663), who was music director at various churches in Hamburg. The underlying framework for the piece is still the responsorial Passion, and in the preface to the printed edition Selle makes it clear that the work can be also performed on its own, without any instruments.[45] His text comes complete with instrumental accompaniment, however, which Schütz would have considered unthinkable because of the prevailing liturgical restrictions. This responsorial Passion also features a number of interpolated texts, or *intermedia*, which were settings of biblical texts not found in the Passion narrative but nevertheless traditionally associated with the Passion, including Isaiah 53:4 and Psalm 22:1–25. The work closes with a motet on the chorale 'O Lamm Gottes unschuldig' which is a German version of the *Agnus Dei*. This clearly demonstrates that the Passion was slowly acquiring a number of additional elements. The biblical text is still predominant in Selle's Passion but he includes some new elements, at this stage still drawn from existing traditions rather than original creations, which add more depth and bring further interpretations into play. A similar process can be seen at work in the St Matthew Passion of Christian Flor (1626–97), which was written in Lüneburg in 1667. The story of the Passion is augmented by eight additional, reflective sections, all of which are still based on biblical sources and chorales.

From this point it was only a small step to the integration of original and freshly written reflections, and this happened increasingly from 1700 onwards.[46]

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[45]  See von Fischer, *Die Passion*, p. 81.

[46]  There are reports of several oratorio Passions from the last few decades of the eighteenth century by the *Kapellmeister* at the Weißenfels court, Johann Philipp Krieger. These have survived in printed libretto form only, however, and the actual compositions have been lost, which means that we are unable to comment on their musical arrangement.

Early examples of this include a St John Passion which was once thought to have been written by Handel, but which modern scholarship attributes to Christian Ritter (*c.* 1645/50–after 1717),[47] and a St Mark Passion which has often been attributed to Reinhard Keiser (1674–1739) and which incidentally was performed by Johann Sebastian Bach.[48]

At around this time, in the first few years of the eighteenth century, a new tradition of free Passion libretto writing emerged which was to form the foundation for the Passion-oratorio. An important example is Keiser's setting in 1704 of a libretto written by the Hamburg writer Christian Friedrich Hunold (1681–1721) and entitled *Der blutige und sterbende Heiland* (The bleeding and dying Saviour). Hunold explains in the preface that his intention is 'to emphasise this holy time in verse and in words not taken from the gospels, after the fashion of the Italians in their so-call oratorios'.[49] His blueprint is therefore the Italian oratorio and his purpose is to increase the potential impact that the setting can have on the listener. Hunold achieves this intensity of effect not just through his interpretative style and more modern language, but also because he introduces characters who do not appear in the biblical text, such as the daughter of Zion or the believing Soul, and who reflect on the events of the Passion.

Another writer who was also based in Hamburg, Heinrich Brockes, follows a very similar approach in his 1712 libretto *Der für die Sünden der Welt gemarterte und sterbende Jesus* (The dying Jesus who was martyred for the sins of the world). This libretto was set many times until the middle of the eighteenth century, by composers such as Keiser, George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767), Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690–1749) and Johann Fridrich Fasch (1688–1758). Even Bach borrowed some aria material from the text of Brockes' popular libretto in his St John Passion of 1724.[50] The language of the Brockes libretto is very graphic and it vividly depicts the blood, sweat and suffering of Jesus for the listeners. Its emotional style reflects the prevailing devotional attitude of the early eighteenth century, which placed a great deal of emphasis on emotion in religious matters. This explains why the Passion libretto texts contain some ideas

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[47] See Hans Joachim Marx, '"… eines weltberühmten Mannes gewisse Passion", Zur Herkunft der Händel zugeschriebenen Johannes-Passion', *Musica* 41 (1987), 311–16.

[48] See Daniel R. Melamed, *Hearing Bach's Passions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 78–94.

[49] After von Fischer, *Die Passion*, p. 97.

[50] On the Brockes Passion see Henning H. Friederichs, *Das Verhältnis von Text und Musik in den Brockespassionen Keisers, Händels, Telemanns und Matthesons* (Munich: Katzbichler, 1975).

that are similar to Pietism, without there being any need to classify them as Pietistic in any narrow sense.[51]

In the history of Passion settings, to which we shall return in the section dealing with Bach, we see therefore a development from accurate repetition of the biblical text (in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) to reflection upon the text (in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and then to an intensification of the emotional content (in the eighteenth century). The biblical text as such moves more and more into the background, and is replaced by more a dramatic and emotional version of the inherent meanings – or rather, the meanings that each successive author regarded as inherent in the text. There is one dramatic version of the Passion in particular, which was probably the most successful Passion libretto of the whole of the eighteenth century, and which has been somewhat unfairly overshadowed by the Bach setting. This is the libretto *La passione di Gesù Christo* (The Passion of Jesus Christ) by Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782) who is remembered in musical history mainly as an opera librettist. The ethical and moral aspirations that are to be found in his opera libretti are also present in the text of his Passion-oratorio. Metastasio was a member of the Arcadian movement in Rome, and believed that his role as an author was to bring the moral principles of Classical Antiquity back to life. This was to be done by stimulating the emotions of the audience and in so doing also teaching them to behave in a morally better way. The Passion libretto aims to produce exactly this kind of emotional response, and the setting of the suffering of Jesus is deliberately designed to evoke an emotional reaction in the audience. It is difficult to establish exactly how many composers made use of this libretto, but we can be sure that at least fifty-four individuals provided musical settings, ranging from Antonio Caldara (1730) (*c.* 1671–1736) to Niccolò Jomelli (1749) (1714–74) and to Antonio Salieri (1776) (1750–1825) and Giovanni Paisiello (1783) (1740–1816). The last composition was probably that of Francesco Morlacchi (1812) (1784–1841). It is clear, then, that Metastasio's Passion text completed the process of transformation that led from the setting of the biblical text to the creation of an ethical and moral drama.

## Anthems

The anthem can be seen as a characteristically English form of sacred concerto, and later as a counterpart to the Bach church cantata. The term 'anthem' was

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[51] On the way that the Passion was understood in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries see Elke Axmacher, *'Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben': Untersuchungen zum Wandel des Passionsverständnisses im frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, 2nd edn. (Stuttgart: Carus Verlag, 2005).

originally equivalent in meaning to the term 'antiphon'; but from the time of the English Reformation onwards, that is to say from about the middle of the sixteenth century, it was initially conceived as a choral piece similar to the Latin motet, except that it was performed in the vernacular. Texts from the Proprium of the Mass usually provided the words for anthems, and most of these were taken from the Bible. A few were from the pre-Reformation primer, which was a vernacular translation of the hourly prayers.

The most important genre, and in musical terms also the most innovative, was the verse anthem which many composers cultivated. One of the very first anthems to appear is believed to have been the one by Richard Farrant (*c.* 1525/30–80) *When as we sat in Babylon*, a setting of Psalm 137 using the Sternhold and Hopkins version of the Psalter.[52] The structure of this early example of the genre is quite simple, but the principle of alternating solo and *tutti* segments is nevertheless already very much in evidence: the single verses of the psalm are performed by a solo voice and the last line is then repeated by a four-part chorus. William Byrd (*c.* 1540–1623), who wrote some seventeen verse anthems, is regarded as one of the most notable composers for this early period of anthem composition. Others one could mention include Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625), Nathaniel Giles (*c.* 1558–1634) and Thomas Morley (1557/8–1602), to name but a few.

As in the case of the (Latin) motets of this period, it is clear that the texts of the Psalms are a very popular choice of source material for the verse anthem. We have seen already that Farrant used a psalm as a source for his anthem. Thomas Morley's anthem *Out of the Deep* is also based on a psalm (Psalm 130). This work combines the expressiveness of the madrigals popular at this time with the structural clarity of the anthem, and it is regarded as one of the most powerfully expressive examples of biblical text setting in England during this period.

In the first half of the seventeenth century there are occasional early examples of a modern Italian influence, inspired by Monteverdi, but it is not until after 1660, and the start of the Restoration period, that the anthem really began to be influenced by these new musical developments. The most famous composer of anthems in this period is undoubtedly Henry Purcell (1659–95).[53] In his anthems the instrumental sections are more prominent and there is evidence of some influence from the work of French and Italian contemporaries.

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[52] See D. Wulstan (ed.), *An Anthology of English Church Music* (London: J. & W. Chester, 1971), pp. 41–8.

[53] On Purcell's use of biblical texts see Betty Hirshowitz, 'The Bible in the Works of Henry Purcell (Bibliography)', *Tatzlil* 5:10 (1970), 73–7.

Once again the Bible is the most important source for the text, and passages from the Psalter provide many opportunities for expressive interpretations of the text. A good example of this can be found in the anthem *My Song Shall Be Alway*, which is based on verses 1, 5–9 and 13–15 of Psalm 89 and was composed around 1690. The anthem is composed for bass solo, a four-part chorus and strings. Instrumental sections alternate with solo sections. The chorus is called upon only to interject alleluias. This makes the effect of the alleluias much stronger because they are the only sections in which the full strength of the ensemble unfolds, and this emphasises the act of praising God. The solo sections, in contrast, are more intimate and expressive, with a focus on interpreting the meaning of the text. The opening bars of the first bass solo make this point very clear: 'My song shall be alway of the loving kindness of the Lord'. The words are set to music mainly in a syllabic way. The first melisma is on the word 'loving', and this word is further accentuated by a charming change of rhythm and the addition of a chromatic half step. The word 'love' and related terms were often used in conjunction with expressive chromaticism in the seventeenth century, and Purcell avails himself of these conventions in his attempts to convey the love of God in his works. There are also two extensive melismas on the word 'generation'. The syllabic approach produces an apparently excessive accumulation of notes, which in turn reflects the main message of the text, that is to say the continuous praise of God that cascades down from one generation to the next. This shows how completely the music serves to present and interpret the meaning of the text.

Although George Frideric Handel composed only a relatively small amount of work for the Anglican liturgy, his forty-four anthems are nevertheless an important contribution to the genre.[54] A group of early anthems which Handel composed between 1717 and 1718 for James Brydges, Duke of Chandos, are collectively known as the Chandos anthems.[55] These eleven anthems lie firmly within the same tradition as Purcell's anthems with orchestra, but Handel's experience as a composer of operas is very much in evidence throughout. The structure of the anthem is similar to Italian and German multi-strophic cantatas, which have a series of self-contained units or movements, each of which has a different emotional content.[56]

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[54] See Howard H. Cox, 'The Text Selection Process in Handel's Chandos Anthems', *Bach, the Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 24 (1993), 21–34.

[55] Graydon F. Beeks, 'The Chandos Anthems and the Te Deum of George Frideric Handel', Ph.D. thesis, University of Berkeley, 1981.

[56] The texts of the anthems are based on the Psalms as translated by Miles Coverdale in the Book of Common Prayer and the *New Version of the Psalms* (1696) by Nahum Tate and

One example serves to illustrate Handel's approach, namely the setting of Psalm 89 (*My song shall be alway*, HWV 252). The text is taken from the Book of Common Prayer, but Handel limits himself to verses 1, part of 5, 6–9, part of 12, 15–16, the first half of 18 and a concluding *Alleluia*. Handel always revised his work several times and has a tendency to select and use the same or similar musical items in more than one piece, but we need not concern ourselves here with the complex detail of the composition process. We shall concentrate instead on the way that the biblical text is used musically. After an instrumental prelude there is a long movement for solo soprano and choir. Handel opens with a long solo for the soprano voice and, like Purcell, he uses melismas and a livelier rhythm to beautify and accentuate the 'love of God' when it occurs in the text. The word 'generation' is also afforded a melismatic extension, exactly like those of Purcell, and furthermore Handel brings in the lower voices of the choir (Alto, Tenor, Bass) to declaim repeatedly in unison the words 'The heavens shall praise thy wondrous works', while the soprano keeps to its original text. The effect is impressive: the praising of God from generation to generation which is described at length by the soprano is now set against the praises that take place in heaven, and this dimension is powerfully expressed by the lower voices.

Shortly after this point the movement leads into a fugue which proclaims the praise of God's word in the 'congregation of saints'. The way this is set to music was again prompted by the text, because it mentions here the gathered community of saints, which can be very appropriately conveyed by sharing out the text among a number of voices. Handel sets the following verses as an accompanied recitative: 'For who is he amongst the clouds: that shall be compared unto the Lord? And what is he among the gods: that shall be like unto the Lord?' The choice of the recitative form, with its absence of melody and sparing use of instrumentation, corresponds here to the questioning tone of the text. The text of this section ends in a question mark and sets up the expectation of something more to follow in response, and the end of the recitative mimics this by leaving things harmonically open. Handel ends it with a B major chord which requires an E minor to achieve completion. This then happens in the following aria for tenor, oboe and violins. The aria begins with a clear E minor chord and after a few bars the questions raised previously in the recitative are answered: 'God is very greatly to be feared'. The following sections consist of a succession of solo and *tutti* pieces in which one phrase

Nicholas Brady. See Georg Frideric Handel, *Anthems für Cannons ii*, ed. Gerald Hendrie, Hallische Händel-Ausgabe, series III: Church Music, vol. v (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987).

'righteousness and equity' stands out. Meanwhile the full force of the chorus presents both 'habitations of [God's] seat' in a powerful, chordal declamation. Again and again polyphonic sections are slotted in, but these all feed into the declamation of the opening part. Even when, in the second part of the movement, the text changes and the singers mention the divine attributes of 'mercy and truth', the musical setting is carried on in the same vein. Thus Handel maintains the unity of the movement, both in terms of motifs and structure, and at the same time he draws attention to the theological correlation between the divine attributes of 'righteousness and equity' and 'mercy and truth'. In other words, the syntax of the movement in musical terms and the semantic content of the text go hand in hand in this composition.

The ending consists of a chorale movement presenting verse 18 and the *Alleluia*. Handel's anthem is a significant contribution in biblical text setting because it demonstrates how a composer who has benefited from training in Italian opera composition has developed a particularly sensitive approach, and how he uses this to produce striking and dramatic works based on biblical texts. Handel could hardly be called a 'theological' composer, but nevertheless his setting of the psalm text does underline its message and its affective character in a quite outstanding fashion. We shall see further on how this ability is manifest also in larger-scale works when we look at Handel's oratorios.

## Kuhnau: the keyboard as preacher

By far the majority of works which are directly or indirectly derived from biblical texts are examples of vocal music. Instrumental sections usually have an introductory or bridging function. One of the few exceptions to this which should be noted here is the *Musicalische Vorstellung einiger Biblischer Historien* (Musical presentation of a few biblical stories) by Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722). Kuhnau was Johann Sebastian Bach's predecessor as cantor at St Thomas's in Leipzig and one of the most distinguished composers of vocal music and works for keyboard at that time. In 1700 he published a collection of six keyboard sonatas, each of which was based on a biblical story, and interpreted that story through the music. He took the story of Hezekiah's illness and cure, for example, and interpreted it through music.[57] Another sonata

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[57] See D. Schröder, 'Johann Kuhnaus musicalische Vorstellung einigen biblischer Historien. Versuch einer Deutung', in P. Petersen (ed.), *Programmusik: Studien zu Begriff und Geschichte einer umstrittenen Gattung* (Hamburg and Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1983), pp. 31–45; and D. Hoffmann-Axthelm, 'David and Saul: Über die tröstende Wirkung der Musik', *Baseler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 20 (1996), 139–62.

musically 'stages' David's playing of the harp and calming of an irascible King Saul.

Kuhnau's sonatas were not intended for performance in church services, but rather were meant for domestic edification. Although they represent an exception in the musical landscape of the eighteenth century, they help us to see in socio-religious terms how domestic musical practices (using the harpsichord) were linked with domestic piety. They show also how the middle and upper classes, who alone, we must assume, could afford the necessary musical instruments, connected musical entertainment with religious edification.[58]

## Johann Sebastian Bach and the Bible

Almost without exception, the religious texts that Johann Sebastian Bach set to music are either taken directly from the Bible or make clear allusions to biblical texts, and are steeped biblical language. This is most obvious of all in Bach's Passion. Bach's son Carl Philipp Emanuel mentions a total of five Passions in Bach's obituary, but only two of them have survived in complete form: the Passions of John and Matthew. A third Passion based on the Gospel of Mark can be reconstructed, at least in part. The two remaining Passions, however (one of them based on Luke), have been lost.[59]

The two surviving Bach Passions are both based on their respective biblical narratives, both of which are retained more or less unchanged throughout, and combined with freely invented madrigals and chorales from the Lutheran tradition. The biblical text is therefore interpreted in two separate ways: the freely invented writings (mostly in the arias) present the reflections of individual characters, while the chorales represent the collective reactions (and reflection) of the Christian community. This means that the Passion libretto then contains a very rich, inter-textual framework which interprets the biblical narrative using a combination of individual reflection and communal reaction.[60]

The texts in Bach's two surviving Passions come about using two quite dissimilar routes. In the case of the St John Passion the main source is a compilation of texts by various authors, which was put together for the libretto

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[58] On religious music in domestic piety see Stephen Rose, 'Daniel Vetter and the Domestic Keyboard Chorale in Bach's Leipzig', *Early Music* 33 (2005), 39–53.

[59] See Melamed, *Hearing Bach's Passions*, pp. 111–30.

[60] See Markus Rathey, 'Johann Sebastian Bach's St John Passion from 1725 (BWV 245a): A Liturgical Interpretation', *Colloquium: Music, Worship, Arts* IV (New Haven: ISM, 2009), pp. 123–39.

either by Bach himself or by someone in his circle in Leipzig. The St Matthew Passion, on the other hand, was the work of a single author, Christian Friedrich Henrici (known as Picander), who wrote the freely invented parts and was also the person who combined them with the traditional texts taken from the Bible and the hymnal.

A good example of the inter-textual framework mentioned above is the scene involving Peter from the St John Passion. The Bible text in John 18:27 tells how Peter denies Christ for the third time, and then the cock crows. The unknown compiler of the text interpolates at this point a short passage from the Gospel of Matthew, which mentions that the apostle wept: 'Peter then denied again: and immediately the cock crew'(John 18:27); 'And Peter remembered the word of Jesus . . . And he went out and wept bitterly' (Matt. 26:75). The combination of several Gospel texts into one was not unusual in Bach's time. Passion harmonies had a long history, and the Passion harmony of Johann Bugenhagen (1485–1558) was traditionally used as a basis for sermons in the Vesper services during Lent.

After the biblical texts, the next section is a reflection by a single individual in an aria for tenor, strings and basso continuo:

> Ach, mein Sinn,
> Wo willt du endlich hin,
> Wo soll ich mich erquicken?
> [. . .]
> Und im Herzen
> Stehn die Schmerzen
> Meiner Missetat,
> Weil der Knecht den Herrn verleugnet hat.
>
> (O, my reason,
> Where are you going?
> Where can I be refreshed?
> (. . .)
> And in my heart
> Remains the pain
> Of my wrongdoing,
> Because the servant has denied the master.)

It is a characteristic of the reflective nature of the arias in Bach's Passions that they appear to blur the dividing line between the biblical narrative and the words of the believing individual. The words of the aria could just as well be spoken by Peter as by any Christian, because, according to Lutheran beliefs, every Christian denies Christ in daily life just as Peter denied his Lord.

The aria is followed by a single chorale movement sung by the chorus. The chorale, which is used by Bach to represent the whole community, pushes the feeling of anguish about the denial of Christ onto a collective level. It is not just Peter weeping over his denial, and not only the individual believer, but now the whole community acknowledges the guilt that they share through their denial of Christ. The text of the chorale is in fact a poetic reflection on the biblical Passion narrative:

> Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück,
> Seinen Gott verneinet
> Der doch auf ein' ernsten Blick
> Bitterlichen weinet.
> Jesu, blicke mich auch an,
> Wenn ich nicht will büßen;
> Wenn ich Böses hab getan,
> Rühre mein Gewissen!
>
> (Peter, who does not think back,
> Who denies his God
> And who at His sad look
> Weeps bitterly.
> Jesus, look upon me also,
> When I do not want to repent;
> When I have done wrong,
> Stir my conscience!)

The approach illustrated here is used also in the other parts of Bach's Passions. It is quite clear, therefore, that the biblical text and the interpretation sections interlock and then they are interpreted musically by Bach.

Bach's cantatas use a different approach, although they, too, display an interesting interrelationship between biblical text, free madrigal-style writing and chorale.[61]

Bach's cantatas consist of two different types. The early cantatas follow an older pattern which has its roots in the sacred concerto of the seventeenth century. They consist of a variety of often quite diverse texts, including poetry, biblical texts and hymns. Around 1714, however, Bach uses a text format which was first adopted by the pastor Erdmann Neumeister, and then widely imitated by other poets of that time immediately after it was first published 1704.

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[61] See the biblical references in Ulrich Meyer, *Biblical Quotation and Allusion in the Cantata Libretti of Johann Sebastian Bach*, Studies in Liturgical Musicology 5 (Lanham: Scarecrow, 1997) and Melvin P. Unger, *Handbook to Bach's Sacred Cantata Texts: An Interlinear Translation with Reference Guide to Biblical Quotations and Allusions* (Lanham: Scarecrow, 1996).

In its fully developed form, the Neumeister cantata libretto begins with a bib-
lical saying and ends with a chorale strophe, while the middle sections consist
of original arias and recitatives specially written for the piece. This is the form
that Bach adopts. The content then has the following order:

Dictum (biblical saying)
Recitative
Aria
Recitative
Aria
Chorale

The first aria–recitative pairing is usually an interpretation of the biblical
saying, while the second shows the application of the text in the life of an
ordinary Christian. The closing chorale section represents the supportive
reaction of the community which follows. This sequence of events, used by
Neumeister and his imitators, is based on the same principle that was used in
sermons of that time: the biblical reading comes first, followed by the *expli-
catio*, then the *applicatio*, and finally leading into the *confirmatio* which is sup-
plied by the community.

The cantatas are, therefore, closely linked to the biblical message, even
though most of the texts are new and specially created for the piece. This
relationship is strengthened further through the interpretations that occur in
the recitative and aria sections, because these make repeated use of biblical
allusions and quotations. A short example will suffice to illustrate this point,
namely an aria from the cantata *Herr, deine Augen sehen nach dem Glauben* (Lord,
your eyes look for faith) (BWV 102), which was composed for the tenth Sunday
after Trinity in 1726. The text was written by an unknown author. The fifth
movement of the cantata is an original text, but every line is influenced by bib-
lical sources, as Martin Petzoldt demonstrates in his commentary on Bach:[62]

This shows how Bach's texts are steeped in biblical vocabulary, even in the
sections that do not directly quote from the Old or New Testaments. It is
also safe to assume that Bach's contemporaries were very familiar with the
Scriptures and could easily spot these biblical allusions.

It is clear, however, that literal biblical quotation became less and less
important in the course of the eighteenth century. This was already obvious

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[62] See Martin Petzoldt, *Bach-Kommentar I: Die geistlichen Kantaten des 1. Bis 27. Trinitatis-
Sonntages* (Stuttgart and Kassel: Internationale Buchakademie and Bärenreiter, 2004),
p. 237.

| Bach's libretto | Biblical reference | Biblical text |
|---|---|---|
| Erschrecke doch Du allzu sichre Seele! (Tremble, then All too careless soul!) | Isaiah 32:11a | Erschreckt, ihr Stolzen Frauen, zittert, ihr Sicheren! (Tremble, ye women that are at ease; be troubled, ye careless ones) |
| Denk, was dich würdig zähle Der Sünden Joch. (Think, of the high cost to you Of the yoke of sin.) | Lamentations 3:27 | Es ist ein köstlich Ding für einen Mann, daß er das Joch seiner Jugend trage. (It is costly for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.) |
| Die Gotteslangmut geht auf einem Fuß von Blei, Damit der Zorn hernach dir desto schwerer sei. (God's forbearance walks on a Foot of lead, So that later his wrath will come Down upon you all the more heavily.) | Romans 2:4–5 | Weißt du nicht, daß dich Gottes Güte zur Büße leitet? Du aber mit deinem verstockten und unbußfertigen Herzen häufst dir selbst Zorn an auf den Tag des Zorns und der Offenbarung des gerechten Gerichtes Gottes. (Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and longsuffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgement of God.) |

in the transformation of the Passion from a simple setting of Bible texts to music into a moralistic drama form, and a similar change can be seen in the cantatas of the late eighteenth century, and in the oratorio form in general. Biblical texts continue to provide the basic material here and there, but they appear almost exclusively in the form of interpretative reformulations.

## Handel and the Bible

Bach's Passions and oratorios, and also the oratorios of Handel, have become a fixed part of the canon of musical works from the eighteenth century

as far as modern audiences are concerned. Handel's oratorios can also be described as settings of biblical texts, but they were created for various different purposes.[63] Bach's oratorios are all liturgical works, whereas Handel's are designed for the concert hall. This means that as non-liturgical oratorios they follow the tradition of the Italian oratorio, which we discussed earlier in connection with the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The absence of a connection to the liturgy also guaranteed that there was greater freedom as far as the choice of material and the retention (or adaptation) of biblical texts were concerned.

Handel started to compose oratorios very early in his career as a composer. One of the earliest is the *Oratorio per la Resurrezione di Nostro Signor Gesù Cristo* of 1708. He also set the above-mentioned Brockes Passion to music (1716), but most of his oratorios were composed in the later decades of his life. The main reason for his devotion to this genre is that his operas were increasingly failing to be successful in business terms. The majority of texts used in Handel's oratorios are taken from the Old Testament, following the tradition of the Italian oratorio of the seventeenth century. Examples of this are his *Saul* (1738), *Belshazzar* (1744), *Judas Maccabaeus* (1746) and *Susanna* (1748). Besides these works, Handel also composed oratorios on mythical subjects such as *Semele* (1744) and *Hercules* (1745).

*Saul* marks the beginning of Handel's later oratorio period. The text is based on 1 Samuel 17:2–2 Samuel, and was written by the English scholar Charles Jennens (1700–73), who later was to write the libretto for Handel's most popular oratorio of all, *Messiah*. Jennens used the biblical text and also the epic *Davideis* by Abraham Cowley, from which he borrowed the characters of Michal and Merab, the daughters of Saul, who are only very briefly mentioned in the Bible narrative.[64] The biblical text is reformulated into arias and recitatives, and in the process the original wording is lost.

In the three acts of the libretto Jennens describes how Saul grows more and more jealous of David after the killing of Goliath, until in the end he tries to kill David. He goes to the witch of Endor for advice and assistance, a move which Jennens portrays as the lowest point in Saul's spiritual degradation, and then the oratorio ends with the death of Saul in the battle against the Philistines. The final piece consists of David's lament on the death of Saul and Jonathan, a movement which can hardly be surpassed in terms of tragic expression. The

[63] See Bernd Baselt, 'Das biblische Thema im Schaffen Georg Friedrich Handels und seine Reform des Oratoriums', in Klaus Hortschansky (ed.), *Traditionen-Neuansätze: Für Anna Amalie Abert (1906–1996)* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1997), pp. 27–40.

[64] See Anthony Hicks, 'Handel', in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

oratorio *Saul* is important in Handel's work, not only because it shows the composer availing himself of a new genre, but also because in musical terms the work represents a turning point in the composer's technique. In this work the chorus is now more thoroughly integrated into the dramatic action than in any of his preceding operas, which is evidence of the English choral tradition, as can be seen, for example, in anthems which follow the style of Purcell. The characters who take part in the arias are also much more fully and sharply depicted than in the secular works.

The oratorios of Handel are indeed Bible text settings, but they have an additional subtext, which is also closely bound up with the ancient texts of the Bible. Convincing arguments have been proposed by Paul Henry Lang among others[65] which suggest that although the decision to use Old Testament texts is based on the tradition of the Italian oratorio, it also happens to offer significant possibilities which are especially appropriate for an English audience: the Old Testament kingship could represent a typological equivalent of the English Church establishment.

The link between biblical narrative and the politics of the time is most clearly evident in the oratorio *Judas Maccabaeus*, which Handel had composed in response to the Stuart rebellion which was quashed in 1746. The oratorio is based on the first book of Maccabees (the libretto was written by Thomas Morell), and it celebrates Judas Maccabaeus as a mighty hero who shows no fear of death and goes to war leading his army from the front to defend Israel against its enemies. The audiences of that time would have had no trouble equating this heroic figure with the Duke of Cumberland, who defeated the Roman Catholic Stuarts at the battle of Culloden in 1746, and in so doing consolidated the rule of the Hanoverian royal dynasty.[66]

Handel's most successful oratorio remains even today *Messiah*, which was composed in 1741 and first performed in 1742. It owes much more to the Bible than any other Handel oratorio, because the 'librettist' Charles Jennens compiled the text from sections of the Bible and the Psalter contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Unlike the rest of Handel's oratorios, this one retains the biblical text more or less word for word, and does not adapt it into modern verse. Another difference between this work and his other oratorios

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[65] Paul Henry Lang, *Georg Friederich Händel: Sein Leben, sein Stil und seine Stellung im englischen Geistes- und Kulturleben* (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1979).

[66] See J. Schläder, 'Der patriotische Held: Politische Moral und Gesellschaftsentwurf in "Judas Maccabeus"', in H. J. Marx (ed.), *Beiträge zur Musik des Barock. Tanz – Oper – Oratorium: Bericht über die Symposien 1994–1997* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1998), pp. 295–310; see also Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

is that the action is not presented in a dramatic style. This is a step that takes the composer yet further away from the operatic roots of the other oratorios. Instead, the oratorio is more like an epic, and it places particular emphasis on the history of salvation. The main sources for this text compilation are the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the letters of Paul, and the book of Revelation. There are also a few isolated quotations from the Gospels. Because Handel (and Jennens) were not particularly aiming to present a dramatic version of the life of Jesus (which would certainly have been seen as problematic, both theologically and in terms of having someone actually play the part of Jesus on stage in the concert hall), they did not use any genuine dialogue situations, of the type that had been very popular in the dialogue concerto since the early seventeenth century in sacred music.

The three-part oratorio deals in part one with the period of waiting for the Redeemer, and his birth, in other words with Advent and Christmas; in part two it turns to the Passion, the Resurrection and the Ascension; and part three is about the Last Judgement and the Redemption.[67]

Sections that appear to be taken straight from the Bible (Jennens avoided writing any entirely original poetry) turn out in fact to have a subtext which is not at all biblical in nature. As Michael Marissen has recently demonstrated, there is an aggressive, and possibly even anti-Semitic, thread running through the libretto, and this is most evident at the end of the second part:

> TENOR: Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron;
>            Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.

> CHORUS: Hallelujah: for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.
>             The kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of our Lord,
>             and of His Christ; and He shall reign for ever and ever.
>             King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Hallelujah!

The 'Hallelujah' is not uttered here in praise of the resurrection of Jesus, but rather it is a direct response to the phrase 'Thou shalt break them'. Marissen adds:

> Within its arrangement of juxtaposed Old Testament prophecies and their New Testament fulfillment and with its matching musical styles, Handel's *Messiah* could hardly have expressed more powerfully its rejoicing against Judaism than by having the ferocious tenor aria 'THOU [Jesus] shalt break THEM [the Jews] with a rod of iron' answered by the chorus 'Hallelujah!

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[67] See Silke Leopold, '"I've Read my Bible Very Well", Bibeltext und Arienkomposition in Händels Messias', *Musica* 37 (1938), 504–7.

For the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.' The aria is a setting of Psalm 2:9, a passage that was generally and unquestioningly believed among Christians in Handel's day to have foretold the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple in the year 70. This horrible event was construed as a divine punishment of Judaism for its failure to accept Jesus as God's promised messiah. The Hallelujah chorus apparently sees cause for rejoicing in such vengeance.[68]

Thus the setting of the biblical text to music, if one sees it against the background of the different interpretations of its day, acquires a second layer of meaning, a subtext which in part cuts right across the original meaning of the words. Marissen's interpretation has met with some opposition, and there is still work to be done on Handel to find out if, and how far, this view of the Hallelujah chorus holds water. Regardless of the outcome of this debate, it is significant that our thoughts have turned full circle. We began with a (hidden) reference to Savonarola in the early psalm motets of the sixteenth century, and we have traced a thread right through the history of setting Bible texts to music, right up until Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* and *Messiah*. This thread is the fact that biblical texts are among the most important sources for music throughout the early modern period, and yet they are often linked with non-biblical and non-musical subtexts. This leads us to the somewhat paradoxical conclusion that musical works based on Bible texts very often amount to a great deal more than just the setting of Bible texts set to music.

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[68] Michael Marissen, 'Rejoicing against Judaism in Handel's *Messiah*', *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007), 167–94 at 193–4.

PART V

⋆

BEYOND EUROPE

# The Bible in European colonial
# thought *c.* 1450–1750

FERNANDO CERVANTES

If there is a clear biblical reference to 'colonial thought', it is undoubtedly Jesus' injunction to his disciples to 'go and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit' (Matt. 28:19). For the best part of its history, however, the church seems to have remained comfortably oblivious to this aspect of its divinely entrusted mission. It was not until well into the sixteenth century that Christians began to take seriously their role as 'missionaries' as the word is understood nowadays; that is, a specialised section of the church entrusted with the instruction and conversion of non-Christians through the careful exposition of a clear set of doctrines and beliefs. It would be tempting to interpret the church's previous comparative lack of interest as the result of wilful neglect; but this would ignore the way in which Christian thinkers came to understand the nature of the church's mission during the first centuries of her history. The tremendous formative importance of those centuries for the subsequent development of Christian thought would be impossible to exaggerate; so before our topic can be fruitfully addressed, it is important to have a clear idea of the main assumptions that arose at that time in relation to non-Christians.

## The background

By the time of Constantine's conversion in 312 the church had survived the perils of heresy and schism that threatened its early history and had responded to the persecution of the imperial power by organising itself along the lines of a universal hierarchical society capable of standing against the pagan worldstate. From there it was but a small step to the recognition of the Christian faith as the official religion of the Roman Empire. Quite apart from any considerations of Constantine's sincerity, it was clear to everyone that the order and universality of the Christian church had turned the church into the

ideal spiritual ally and complement to the universal empire. As Constantine's official panegyrist, Eusebius of Caesarea, would put it:

> One God was proclaimed to all mankind; and at the same time one universal power, the Roman Empire, arose and flourished. The enduring and implacable hatred of nation against nation was now removed; and as the knowledge of one God and one way of religion and salvation, even the doctrine of Christ, was made known to all mankind, so at the self-same period, the entire dominion of the Roman Empire being vested in a single sovereign, profound peace reigned throughout the world. And thus, by the express appointment of the same God, two roots of blessing, the Roman Empire, and the doctrine of Christian piety, sprang up together for the benefit of mankind.[1]

Implicit in this vision was the firm conviction that Jesus' instruction to his disciples had already been accomplished. With the help of St Paul, the apostles had preached the message of Christ to the ends of the world. This meant that conversion was not really a matter of going out into the heathen wilderness to persuade those outside to accept the Christian truth; it was rather a matter of incorporating and absorbing those already inside the universal society of Christendom into the full hierarchical and sacramental life of the City of God. There might still be a few fringes here and there where the message of the gospel had failed to take root, but the advantages of belonging to the universal Christian society were plain to everyone. Christianity and civilisation went hand in hand. Those who wilfully remained outside, like the Jews and, later, the Muslims, had only themselves to blame.

This confident outlook remained surprisingly unchallenged until the early modern period. It is true that it had been shaken in the wake of the Crusades, especially after the realisation of the threat that the Cathar heresy posed to the health of Christendom from the late twelfth century onwards. Nothing is more illustrative of the rise of a new consciousness about non-Christians than the decision of the new mendicant orders to allow a more flexible approach to the regular liturgical observance of enclosed monastic orders in order to combat heresy and paganism more effectively. But in none of this do we find a weakening of the conviction that the gospel had already reached the ends of the world through the preaching of the apostles. Even encounters with pagans who could never have had the chance of meeting Christians were carried out with a confidence that today is apt to strike us as either arrogant or naive. The accounts of the Tartars and Mongols by the thirteenth-century Franciscans

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[1] Eusebius of Caesarea, *Oration in Praise of Constantine* XVI. 3–4, available at www.newadvent.org/fathers/2504.htm (I have slightly amended the translation).

John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck and their Dominican succes-
sors, for example, are full of serene descriptions of practices sharply at odds
with the most elementary tenets of the gospel. The attitude seemed rooted
in the firm conviction that pagans would readily become Christians as soon
as they became aware of the rights of Christ based on the (supposed) prior
preaching of the Gospel. 'If an army of the Church were to come', wrote
Rubruck, 'it would be a very easy thing to subjugate all these countries …
and take possession of the whole world.' Similarly, the bulls of Pope Innocent
IV to the emperor of the Tartars candidly reprimanded him for 'laying waste
many countries in a horrible desolation', because it pointed to their deliber-
ate turning away from an 'innate law' which united 'not only men, but even
the irrational animals … after the manner of the celestial spirits, all of which
God the Creator has divided into choirs in the enduring stability of peaceful
order'.[2]

Nor did the renewed urgency to convert non-Christians that gathered
momentum in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have anything to do
with the realisation that vast areas of the world had not been touched by
Christianity. Rather, it arose as a response to millenarian expectations about
the imminent end of the world, and the need to unite all nations and liber-
ate the Holy Places before the Second Coming of Christ. According to the
highly influential writings of the twelfth-century Cistercian abbot Joachim
of Fiore (*c.* 1132–1202) there were three ages in the history of the world: the
Age of the Father, which had lasted from the Creation to the Incarnation and
corresponded to the reign of married people and to the literal sense of the
Old Testament; the Age of the Son, which had lasted from the Incarnation
to 1260 and corresponded to the reign of the secular clergy and the literal
interpretation of the New Testament; and the Age of the Holy Spirit, which
would last from 1260 until the end of the world and would correspond to
the reign of monks and the spiritual interpretation of both the Old and the
New Testaments. These predictions coincided to a remarkable extent with
certain special circumstances in the Franciscan order. Joachim himself had
predicted the rise of a new religious order whose charge would be to convert
all non-believers.

The extent of the influence of Joachimism on late medieval and early mod-
ern Franciscan thought has often been exaggerated. It is important not to
neglect the strength of St Bonaventure's criticism of the movement's uto-
pian tendencies. Rather than projecting the Holy Spirit into a future period

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[2]  C. Dawson (ed.), *The Mission to Asia* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1980), pp. 220, 75.

of history, St Bonaventure chose to follow the Gospel of St John by stress-
ing that the Age of the Holy Spirit was inseparable from the Age of Christ.
There was thus a strong opposition to the enthusiasm with which the spiritual
Franciscans accepted and reinterpreted Joachimism; but the influence of St
Bonaventure was never strong enough to obliterate millenarian enthusiasm
and the subsequent attribution to Joachim of a series of spurious predictions
that would be at the centre of the first voyages of discovery and colonisation.

## First encounters

One of these spurious predictions was transcribed in none other than
Christopher Columbus's *Book of Prophecies*: 'Someone from Spain will restore
the arch of Zion.' Columbus had been immediately struck by this prophecy
because it neatly complemented his own expectations and led him to inter-
pret the liberation of Jerusalem from Muslim domination in an apocalyptic
sense. His discoveries of the 'West Indies' were quickly transformed in his
mind into one of the events that would precede the end of the world along
with the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre and the conversion of the whole
world. 'Who could doubt', he wrote to his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella,

> that this flash of understanding was the work of the Holy Spirit as well as
> my own? The Holy Spirit consoled you clearly and steadily with the marvel-
> lous rays of his holy and sacred scripture, that is, with the forty-four books
> of the Old Testament, the four evangelists, and twenty-three epistles from
> the blessed Apostles, and He urged me to continue with my project without
> ceasing a moment and encouraging me with great haste. Our Lord wished to
> bring about a most evident miracle out of my voyage to the Indies in order to
> console me and others and to encourage us about the Holy Temple . . . I said
> I would present my argument for the restitution of the Holy Temple to the
> Holy Church . . . I base what I say only on . . . sacred Scripture, and on the pro-
> phetic authority of certain holy persons who through divine revelation have
> said something about this.[3]

Among these 'holy persons' pride of place must be given to St Augustine
and to two influential fourteenth-century biblical exegetes: Pierre d'Ailly and
Nicholas of Lyra.[4] It was through their writings that Columbus had come

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[3] Roberto Rusconi (ed.), *The 'Book of Prophecies' edited by Christopher Columbus* (Berkeley:
University of California Press, 1997), pp. 66, 68, 70.

[4] Nor should we neglect the influence of Pope Pius II's *Historia rerum ubique gestarum*: see
P. Watts, 'Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus's
"Enterprise of the Indies"', *American Historical Review* 90:1 (1985), 73–102, at p. 74.

across the Joachimist prophecies, which in turn led him to his enthusiastic conclusion that 'only 155 years remain of the 7000 years in which … the world must come to an end'.[5] This made the fulfilment of the prophecies all the more urgent. Those of Isaiah were especially to be favoured, since 'he was not just a prophet, but also an evangelist: he put all his efforts into writing what was to happen and calling all people to our holy Catholic faith'.[6] Thus Isaiah's prophecy that the 'isles afar off' would foregather in Jerusalem in the last days acquired a deep significance: 'For, the islands wait for me, and the ships of the sea in the beginning: that I may bring thy sons from afar: their silver, and their gold with them, to the name of the Lord thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, because he hath glorified thee' (Isa.60:9). This powerful vision gave Columbus unshakeable certainty about the rightness of his cause.

Although it would be a mistake to overestimate Columbus's biblical knowledge, there can be no doubt about the careful use he made of Scripture in search of authoritative confirmation of his discoveries and the way they fitted into this overriding sense of millenarian destiny. He grew more and more convinced that he was an instrument chosen by God to set in motion the events that would initiate the last stage of history. To some extent, this sense prevented him from realising the full significance of his discoveries. He was quick, for example, to identify the Orinoco as one of the four rivers that watered the Garden of Eden. Similarly, evidence of abundant gold in Veragua immediately led him to imagine that he had reached Ophir, the place from which Solomon had taken the gold to build the Temple of Jerusalem. It would be difficult to fault his exegesis: Ophir is repeatedly spoken of as a gold-producing region (Job 22:24, 28:16; Ps. 44:10; Isa. 13:12), and mention is also made of silver, sandalwood, precious stones, ivory, apes and peacocks (1 Kgs. 9:26–8, 10:11, 22; 2 Chr. 8:17–18, 9:10, 21). No clear geographical position for Ophir is given anywhere in the Bible, but since the voyage out from Asiongaber and back is said to have lasted three years (1 Kgs. 10:22) and since the Greek translators of the Bible rendered the Hebrew *Ophir* into *Sophir* – the Coptic name for India – Columbus's associations are not at all surprising when we remember that he died convinced that he had reached some part of Asia near India.

As we have seen, it was the prophet Isaiah who had given Columbus the clearest assurance of the rightness of his cause. But Jesus' own words, 'I am the good shepherd and I know my own … and I have other sheep that are not of this flock and I must also bring them in so that they will hear my voice

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[5] For contemporary estimates of the length of world history see Chapter 29 in this volume.
[6] Rusconi (ed.), *'Book of Prophecies'*, p. 72.

and there will be one flock and one shepherd' (John 10:14–16), were located by Columbus within the age-old belief that the gospel message had already reached the ends of the world. The many islands and treasures mentioned in the Bible, now increasingly confirmed by his discoveries, could be used specifically for the recapture of Jerusalem. Just as King David had provided the wealth for Solomon to build the original Temple on Mount Zion, so now Columbus would provide the gold for the Spanish monarchs to recapture the Holy Places. In his mind, the whole 'enterprise of the Indies' was a means to that predestined end: 'the New World was to redeem the Old City'.[7]

These hopes are difficult to grasp from a modern perspective, but Columbus's contemporaries immediately noticed the eschatological significance of the discoveries. One of Columbus's acquaintances, Agostino Giustiniani, Bishop of Nebbio, left a fascinating glimpse of a typical contemporary attitude. In a marginal note to Psalm 18 (19),[8] 'There are no speeches nor languages where their voices are not heard; their sound has gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world', Giustiniani provided a brief summary of Columbus's life and then pointed out that he was convinced that his discoveries had confirmed this particular prophecy.[9] If we are to understand such optimism, we need to remind ourselves that Columbus was not alone in his conviction that he had reached some part of Asia. Well into the 1510s, despite the gradual realisation that the land mass beyond the Orinoco was far larger than Columbus had imagined, there was as yet no inkling of the existence of any land north of Panama.[10] Even after the discovery and conquest of Mexico in 1521, the general assumption that the new territories were in Asia was surprisingly slow to recede. One of the early conversations between the conqueror of Mexico, Hernán Cortés, and the Aztec emperor, Moctezuma, for example, touched upon the possibility of uniting Spanish arms and Aztec manpower in order to conquer China![11]

[7] J. S. Cummins, 'Christopher Columbus: Crusader, Visionary and *Servus Dei*', in A. D. Deyermond (ed.), *Medieval Hispanic Studies Presented to R. Hamilton* (London: Tamesis Books, 1976), pp. 45–55, at p. 45.

[8] The Vulgate Bible numbers the Psalms differently from the Masoretic Hebrew text and most modern editions. Psalms 9 and 10 are united as Vulgate Psalm 9, so Vulgate Psalm 18 is modern Psalm 19.

[9] *Psalterium Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum, & Chaldaecum: cum tribus Latinis interpretationibus & glossis ...* ed. Agostino Giustiniani ([Genoa]: Petrus Paulus Porrus, in aedibus Nicolai Iustiniani Pauli, 1516), note D on the translation of Psalm 19 (Hebrew numbering).

[10] A rare exception might be the world map produced by Martin Waldseemüller under the title *Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespucii aliorumque lustrationes* ([St Dié, France?]: n.p., 1507), though even that shows only a sliver of land to the north of Central America.

[11] See the vivid account by Hugh Thomas, *Rivers of Gold: The Rise of the Spanish Empire* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003), p. 428.

The weight of biblical authority cannot be ignored in these assumptions. If the indigenous peoples of the newly discovered territories were human – as they most emphatically appeared to be – then they had a common geographical origin with the rest of mankind. More importantly, the gospel must have reached them at some stage in the past. This idea was so widely accepted that its seemingly naive matter-of-factness is apt to baffle modern readers. But someone like the indigenous Andean chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (1534–1616) would have little difficulty in fixing the beginning of New World history at the time of the arrival of a descendant of Noah sometime after the great Flood. There then followed four ages covering some 5,300 years – the equivalent of the three biblical epochs initiated respectively by Noah, Abraham and David – a period when the natives refrained from idolatry and worshipped the one true God. Idolatry, Guaman Poma argued, was introduced by Manco Capac and his mother, leading to the evil rule of the serpent demons. But this was mitigated by the mission of St Bartholomew, who arrived in Peru during the reign of the second Inca, preaching the gospel, working miracles and bequeathing to posterity the famous cross of Carabuco.[12] Some years later the Augustinian friar Antonio de la Calancha (1584–1654) pointed to indigenous sources that spoke of a great bearded white sage called Tumupa who had set up the famous stone cross. Rather than St Bartholomew, he pointed to St Thomas as the more likely apostle. But there was no question as to the truth of the evidence. After all, if Christ had commanded the disciples to preach the gospel to all nations, it would be contrary to divine mercy and natural justice to leave them to languish in darkness and sin.[13]

There was no lack of precedents for such speculations. Take, for instance, a revealing passage in one of Cortés's letters to the emperor Charles V, where he recounts how he had made it clear to the Aztec emperor and his companions that their man-made idols were not worthy of the worship due only God. 'And everyone', the letter continues,

> especially the said Moctezuma, replied that … owing to the very long time that had passed since the arrival of their ancestors to these lands, it was perfectly possible that they could be mistaken in their beliefs … and that I, as a recent arrival, should know better the things that they should hold and believe.[14]

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[12] John V. Murra, Rolena Adorno and Jorge L. Urioste (eds.), *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 3 vols. (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 39–53, 63, 70–2, 89–97.

[13] Antonio de la Calancha, *Crónica moralizada del orden de San Agustín en el Perú*, ed. Ignacio Prado Pastor, 6 vols. (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1974–82), vol. 11, pp. 701–69.

[14] H. Cortés, *Cartas de relación*, ed. M. Alcalá, 10th edn. (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1978), p. 65.

It would be too easy to dwell on the duplicitous nature of this passage, carefully angled by Cortés to win the approval of Charles V and the Council of the Indies and to distract them from the weak legal position in which he found himself after flouting the authority of his superior in Cuba. But this would distract us from the solidity of the tradition upon which Cortés based his argument. It harks back to Origen and Eusebius through Plano Carpini and Rubruck and contemporary Franciscan millenarianism. How else could we make sense of Cortés's recurrent practice of replacing indigenous idols, whose destruction he himself had ordered, with Christian images, whose care he entrusted to the very same indigenous priests who had cared for the defeated idols? Such practices stemmed from Cortés's certainty that as soon as the Christian message was presented to the natives, they would realise the error of their ways, remember their true origin and set their house in order. Since there was no question about their humanity, there could be no question about their innate susceptibility to divine grace. As humans, moreover, they already belonged to the universal society of Christendom; they were merely in need of being fully incorporated into the hierarchical and sacramental life of the City of God.

Nothing is more misleading than to place this confident attitude in the context of an arrogant imperialism. Regardless of any considerations of economic self-interest, which are only too obvious, there can be little doubt that Cortés, in tune with most of his contemporaries, was convinced that the natives would receive the Christian message readily and willingly. They had already given clear signs of their aptitude. Their apparent lack of acquisitiveness, their exiguous diet and their general docility even put contemporary Europeans to shame by comparison. It was with these considerations in mind that Cortés asked Charles V to send, not secular priests or bishops, who were unlikely to 'abandon the custom ... of squandering the assets of the Church in pomps and other vices',[15] but Franciscan friars who would appeal to the natural virtues that he had observed and admired in the native peoples.

## The friars

The first contingent of Franciscans duly arrived in Mexico in 1524. The warm reception they received from the native peoples and the zeal with which the friars set about instructing their neophytes soon confirmed Cortés's highest hopes. If we are to believe the early Franciscan chronicles, the reception of

[15] Ibid., pp. 203–4.

the natives into the Christian faith was carried out in the midst of an enthusiasm submerged in ritual euphoria. The natives flocked to hear the Christian message by their thousands, and pleaded with the friars to baptise them at once. Fray Bernardino de Benavente (better known as Motolinía, from the Nahuatl term for poverty) once claimed to have baptised as many as 15,000 natives in a single session. This was allegedly a common practice, and it was soon to become the object of sharp criticism, particularly from members of the Dominican order, who arrived in Mexico in 1526 and encouraged a method of careful instruction and preparation before baptism.

The Dominican practice was clearly more prudent. But hindsight should not blind us to the logic of the early Franciscans, who were only too keen to see the affinities between Christianity and native rituals and actively encouraged many identifications in liturgical expression and the use of visual and verbal images. No matter how naive or misguided the policy might seem to us, it sank its roots in a well-tested tradition, harking back to Pope St Gregory the Great's advice to St Augustine of Canterbury and to the early centuries of the Middle Ages which saw the rise of the cult of the saints.

It was in this climate that the vital transfusion of Christianity with indigenous religions was most effectively achieved. The process was carried out not so much by the teaching of a new doctrine as by the manifestation of a new power, one based on the corporate experience and communion with the eternal world that the Christian church claimed to possess in the sacred mysteries. Just as the indigenous world-view had found its centre in the ritual order of sacrifice, so now the Christian liturgy came to provide a new principle of unity and a means by which the minds of the natives could become attuned to a deeply scriptural view of life and a new concept of history. Whereas the indigenous ritual order had been conceived as the pattern of the cosmic order where the mysteries of nature were represented in the dramatic action of myth and sacrifice, by contrast the Christian mysteries were essentially related to the mystery of eternal life. The early mendicants were careful to tune these mysteries into the cyclical life of nature; but they were equally careful to relate them to the new Christian liturgy, whose central object of concern was the redemption of humanity brought about by the Incarnation, death and Resurrection of Christ. Since, moreover, all these mysteries were based on a sacred history, the Christian liturgy soon developed into an intricate historical cycle where the scriptural progress of humanity, from Creation to redemption, was made vividly manifest.[16]

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[16] See Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 57–69.

Nowhere is this development better appreciated than in the art and architecture of the early mendicants. The great Franciscan convent of St Michael the Archangel in Huejotzingo (central Mexico), for example, displays a conscious attempt to replicate Solomon's Temple in the New World, based on none other than Nicholas of Lyra's *Postillae super totam bibliam*, especially his treatment of Solomonic columns and seven seals which are carefully made to hint both at a past chosen people and at the future of the indigenous neophytes, significantly referred to as the 'New World Israelites'.[17] This is but one in a myriad of examples in early mendicant art and architecture. In fact, Lyra's text, which, as we have seen, was a favourite of Columbus, was the most ubiquitous biblical text and commentary, and it was required for every mendicant library in Spanish America. The way in which its millenarian message spread to the indigenous peoples was perhaps best captured in Yucatán, where a remarkably spontaneous indigenous movement came to believe in a set of prophecies derived from the Apocalypse and the book of Daniel. A great deluge would flood the world and Jesus would return to the valley of Jehoshaphat near Jerusalem. 'But it shall come to pass that tears will come to the eyes of our Lord God. The justice of our Lord God shall descend on every part of the world.'[18]

No matter how critical the Dominicans and other orders might have been of the Franciscans' apparent rashness in encouraging baptisms en masse, the above evidence shows how their deeply scriptural liturgical imagination was rooted in essentially the same intellectual tradition. It was a tradition that was as flexible and adaptable in its practical applications as it was resilient in its philosophical foundations. A most illustrative visual example of this can be observed in one of the columns of the Franciscan convent of San Luis Obispo, in Tlalmanalco (central Mexico), one of the earliest examples of Franciscan architecture, where the Resurrection of Christ is depicted by a striking human figure emerging from the tomb and ascending to the fullness of life, represented here by the Meso-American symbols of life: maize and human bones. What seems particularly incongruous is the x-shaped depiction of the bones at the top of the sculpture, and the way they flank a human skull. To any Western observer, and to the early Franciscans themselves, such symbolism would have been unmistakably reminiscent of death! How are we to explain this apparent carelessness?

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[17] See Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), p. 141.

[18] Ralph L. Roys (ed.), *Chilam Balam, The Book of Chumayel* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 107–9, 157.

Our difficulty stems from the modern inability to appreciate, let alone understand, one of the most remarkable – and remarkably neglected – achievements of medieval Christian philosophy, namely, the way in which it advanced upon the Greek metaphysical intuition of *being* (οὐσία) by pushing it from the realm of essence to the realm of existence. If we wish to do justice to the apparent naivety of the early mendicant friars, we need to give careful attention to this momentous, but nowadays completely neglected, revolution in thought.

## The goodness of creation: a metaphysical excursus (1)

As is well known, Plato and Aristotle had taught that the ultimate explanation for anything that *is* could not rest with any given element of reality. Since any such being was constantly being generated, it could never attain to the fullness of being. The ultimate explanation therefore had to rest with something which truly had being precisely because it was not generated. Now this notion was quite close to the Judaeo-Christian understanding of God. The one fundamental difference was that, whereas Plato and Aristotle had spoken of '*that which is*', Moses had taught the Jews that God was Yahweh – '*He Who is*'. By placing a 'somebody who is' in the place of the Greek supreme cause of all 'that which is', Christian thinkers were inevitably compelled by the Bible to establish existence as the supreme attribute of God, and, consequently, as the deepest level of reality.

From the moment that these two essentially different traditions came into contact, Christian philosophy began to use a Greek philosophical technique to express a Jewish religious intuition which was as profound and far-reaching in its implications as it was neat and simple in its expression. In the process, it is not surprising that Christian philosophers began to find Greek metaphysics wanting. In the thought of Plato, for example – especially as it was transmitted through the writings of Plotinus, who was one of the most important influences on St Augustine – the first god was the Intellect, followed by the supreme Soul who was the second god, followed by all the other gods, including human souls. The difference of nature between the One and the multiple was therefore a mere difference of degree. Human souls belonged in the same class as the Intellect and the supreme Soul: they were in fact gods, begotten by the One and inferior to the One only in proportion to their various degrees of multiplicity. In sharp contrast, Christian philosophers would base metaphysics upon the far-reaching revolution that God's revelation to Moses had initiated.

A 'Pure Act', not of essence but of existence, necessarily had to be conceived as all that which it is possible to be: nothing could be added to Him; nothing could be subtracted from Him. Indeed, nothing could share in His being without at once becoming that very being: God Himself.

Now, since it could hardly be denied that everywhere there were beings that were emphatically not God, it became imperative to affirm the existence of beings that were radically different from God in the sense that they might never have existed and may still cease to exist. In his attempt to understand and interpret Aristotle, for example, St Thomas Aquinas took the Greek philosopher's notion of the self-thinking Thought and associated it with Moses's 'He Who is'. But then, in his attempt to answer the question, 'What is it to be?', Aquinas distinguished between the meaning of 'being' (*ens*) and the meaning of 'to be' (*esse*): the first designates some substance; the second designates an act.

This seemingly simple distinction was in fact of momentous originality, for it went beyond the level of essence to reach the deeper level of existence. In the process it also highlighted the natural order followed by the human reason in the act of knowing: it first conceives a certain being; it then defines its essence; and finally it affirms its existence by means of a judgement. In such a world, existence became the original energy from which every being emanates; there could be no other cause for the existence of such a world than a God who is supremely existential.[19]

This might seem like too long a digression from our topic, were it not for the fact that the shift from essence to existence was central to the outlook of the early mendicants. It was not merely that the doctrine was firmly rooted in Scripture – after all, it was not until the Bible had taught Christian philosophers that 'to be' was the proper name of God that they began to attempt to reach, beyond essences, the existence that is at their very root. More fundamentally for our purpose, the doctrine made it plain that the only possible explanation for the existence of finite and contingent beings was that they had been given their being freely by God, not as participants in His own absolute, total and unique existence, but as partial and finite imitations of it. This mysterious act, whereby something that of itself has no being is nevertheless given its being freely by God, is what Christian philosophers know as 'Creation'.

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[19] I have shamelessly plundered Étienne Gilson's remarkable study, *God and Philosophy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press/H. Milford; Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 38–73.

This fundamental Christian notion has been dismissed so often in modern thought that it is difficult to appreciate the logical consequences that it carried with it at the beginning of the early modern period. By the mere act of existing, all created things were believed to participate analogically in the very being of God; in other words, the law of their activity was inscribed in their very essence. Thus, the natural law was related to the divine law in the same way as contingent, created beings were related to the supremely existential Being. This metaphysical principle found no lack of scriptural foundations. 'He spoke and they were made, He commanded and they were created. He hath established them for ever, and for ages of ages; He hath made a decree, and it shall not pass away' (Ps. 148:5–6).

> When with a certain law and compass He enclosed the depths, when He established the sky above and poised the fountains of waters, when He compassed the sea with its bounds and set a law to the waters . . . when He balanced the foundations of the earth, I was with him forming all things, and was delighted every day, playing before him at all times . . . By me kings reign and lawgivers decree just things.
>
> (Proverbs 8:26–30, 8:15)

Through the act of Creation, God had affirmed that the Divinity was the author not only of the physical laws that nature follows blindly, but also of the moral and social laws that human beings, by virtue of their freedom, are bound to follow if they are to flourish. This was the basis of the principle that the eternal law was written in the human heart: 'The light of thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us' (Ps. 4:6); it was equally at the basis of the late medieval conviction that there was a fundamental concordance between the divine and the human, or, as Aquinas famously put it, that 'grace does not destroy nature but perfects it'. It is true that, to many, the moral law had been divinely revealed to the people of Israel and, as such, it was completely inaccessible to those who had not been instructed in it. But this was by no means the prevalent view in the late Middle Ages. That the law had been divinely revealed was incontestable, but this merely put plainly before other human beings what they had refused to read in their conscience. What God had revealed when He deemed it necessary, He had already inscribed in the human conscience in the very act of Creation. If reason and conscience were no match for divine revelation, they were nonetheless sure guides to discern the natural law as a reflection of the divine law.

This attitude was fundamental to the approach of the early mendicants, particularly in practices that subsequent critics were often too ready to see as naively optimistic and hopelessly misguided. Take, for example, the serenity of

the Dominican Diego Durán (1537–88) when he recorded the following illustrative statement of an Indian after he had been reprimanded for idolatrous practices:

> Reproached for the evil that he had done, he replied: 'Father: you should not be alarmed that we are still *nepantla*.' And wanting a better understanding of what he meant by that word and metaphor which means 'to be in the middle', I again asked him to explain in which 'middle' they were. To which he said that, since they were not yet firmly rooted in the faith, I should not be alarmed, for they were still neutral and held on to neither one law nor the other; or, in other words, that they believed in God but at the same time they reverted to their old customs and rites.[20]

Similar attitudes were recorded again and again throughout the first decades of evangelisation. They attest to the existence of an unofficial tradition that tolerated and perhaps even encouraged the persistence and gradual incorporation of indigenous rituals and ceremonies alongside the Christian liturgy. Such developments were clearly rooted in the same intellectual tradition that had fed the early mendicant friars. It received its most eloquent defence from the pen of the Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas (1484?–1566), who, in his description of the Indians of the Caribbean, had written of one aged Indian he remembered: 'it seemed to me that I saw in him our father Adam when he enjoyed the state of innocence'.[21] According to Las Casas the desire for God was a universal and perfectly natural phenomenon which responded to an essential human need seeking expression in the true worship of God – what he referred to as *latria*. Las Casas had reached this conclusion after invoking Aristotle's criteria for a true city, only moving to a discussion of religion once he had painstakingly demonstrated the essential goodness of its natural foundations. If the Indians were indeed guilty of countless vices and crimes, the same could be said of the Europeans. Therefore, to see native idolatry as a sign of the intrinsic perversity of indigenous beliefs was a terrible mistake. Idolatry was in fact a perfectly understandable response to the natural, innate desire for good. If it was true that it had been disordered by errors rooted in ignorance and the weaknesses of a fallen nature, this did not do away with the essential goodness of the basic desire behind idolatry.[22]

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[20] Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e islas de Tierra Firme*, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1967), vol. II, p. 3.

[21] Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo and Lewis Hanke, 3 vols. (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1951), vol. II, p. 354. For comparisons between the Indies and Paradise, ibid., pp. 41–61.

[22] Bartolomé de las Casas, *Apologética Historia Sumaria*, ed. Edmundo O'Gorman, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1967), vol. I, pp. 183, 539; vol. II, pp. 177–8, 215.

## A changing mood

Las Casas's vision did not carry the day. By the early 1530s the Franciscan Archbishop of Mexico, Fray Juan de Zumárraga, had thought it necessary to implement the first inquisitorial procedures against Indians suspected of idolatry and superstition. The logic of the decision could hardly be faulted; after all, the Indians were no longer innocent heathens awaiting baptism, but fully-fledged Christians who were consequently subject to the very same penalties implemented in Europe against those found guilty of heresy and apostasy. Yet, the second decade of mendicant evangelisation was marked by a growing conviction that the native deities were not merely false idols but 'lying and deceitful devils', as the eminent Franciscan ethnographer Fray Bernardino de Sahagún would put it. 'And if it be thought', he continued,

> that these things are so forgotten and lost, and that faith in one God is so well planted and firmly rooted amongst these natives that there is no need to speak about them … I am also certain that the devil neither sleeps nor has forgotten the cult that these Indian natives offered him in the past, and that he is awaiting a suitable conjuncture to return to his lost lordship.[23]

By the middle of the sixteenth century a much more negative view of indigenous cultures had come to dominate, and its influence was seen to permeate practically every statement made on the subject. The reasons for this change are as complex and varied as are the respective points of view of those seeking to explain it. The shock of betrayal undoubtedly played a part in the violence that often accompanied the reaction of the mendicants to the persistence of native idolatry. The effects of the Lutheran crisis in Europe also tended to deprive the New World of some of the best European missionaries, now more concerned with the new threat at home than with what the Franciscan Diego de Landa referred to as 'those sad priests of the devil' and their 'obscene and bloody devotions and lacerations'.[24] More fundamentally, in proportion as the principal claim to dominion in America – which rested on the flimsy Caesaro-papal claims of the bulls of donation issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493 – was progressively questioned by the official theological

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[23] Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España*, ed. Ángel María Garibay, 6th edn.(Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1985), pp. 704–5. St Thomas Aquinas is clearly Las Casas's main source of inspiration here; cf. *Summa Theologiae* IIa–IIae, q. 94.

[24] Quoted in Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatán 1517–1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 50–1, 119–20. On Franciscan violence in Yucatán see Inga Clendinnen, 'Disciplining the Indians: Franciscan Ideology and Missionary Violence in Yucatán', *Past and Present* 94 (February 1982), 27–48.

authorities in Castile, the Crown would be deprived of any objective rights and would be left only with the duty to evangelise.[25] In such a context, the more the indigenous peoples were perceived to be under the spell of demonic delusion, the more urgent the European presence would become.

It would not be difficult to add further explanations to this list. What needs emphasis is that any such explanation needs to be put in the context of a wider intellectual crisis in European thought which would make it increasingly difficult to accept the medieval doctrine of Creation analysed above. As we have seen, this doctrine was at the basis of the belief in an organic relationship between the divine and the human, between nature and grace, and thus it was fundamental to the early mendicant openness to indigenous cultures. In the wake of the Reformation crisis such openness would become increasingly difficult to uphold. Indeed, the common view that the Council of Trent confirmed medieval philosophy, and in particular the philosophical system associated with the work of Aquinas, is seriously misleading. In fact, the theological debates that dominated Trent and its aftermath were essentially fragmented and eclectic, and they proved fundamentally inimical to any conception of philosophical enquiry as a long-term, cooperative pursuit of systematic understanding. An examination of the thought of the most influential theologian of the post-Tridentine period, the Jesuit Francisco Suárez (1548–1617), will serve to clarify the change of attitude we have detected, and its endurance well into the modern period.

<h2 style="text-align:center">The rise of essentialism: a metaphysical excursus (II)</h2>

At first sight, it is tempting to see Suárez as a faithful continuator of the medieval metaphysical tradition analysed above. Like Aquinas, he distinguished between an actual and a possible essence, and maintained that it was existence that made this distinction possible. Likewise he maintained that a finite essence could not possess its own existence, but that the latter was freely given to it by God in the act of Creation. Nevertheless, Suárez argued that a

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[25] See Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 14. It was the Dominican Francisco de Vitoria who most successfully refuted the Alexandrian claims by reminding his readers that Christ had specifically said that his kingdom was not of this world. There was therefore no universal political authority in the world, just a series of autonomous states each with its own lawful ruler. See Francisco de Vitoria, *Relectio de Indis*, ed. L. Pereña and J. M. Pérez Prendez (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1967), pp. 32–116.

being in act could not be distinguished from an existing being; indeed, there was no real distinction to be made between an existing essence conceived as such and its actual existence.[26] Unlike Aquinas, therefore, Suárez did not think of existence as an act capable of producing specific effects, for any actual essence already brought about everything that existence could bring about. Since, therefore, the notion of existence was identical with the full actualisation of essence, it was thereby deprived of any causal efficacy or explanatory value.[27]

Suárez's refusal to conceive of existence on its own terms was honest and logical. Whenever he thought of existence, his interest centred on finding out *what* it was. Consequently, after having identified being with its essence, he could not logically find it in existence. The origin and philosophical explanation of being was, rather, to be found in the actualisation of non-being. So although Suárez never discarded existences as irrelevant to metaphysical speculation, his identification of existences with actual essences made it impossible for his disciples not to rule existence completely out of metaphysics. The point is all the more important because among Suárez's disciples we should count practically everyone who thought about or wrote on the topic well into the eighteenth century. Although 'real being' (*ens reale*) remained the proper object of metaphysics, from the time of Descartes onwards it was no longer possible to think of being as the present participle of the verb (*esse*), but only as the noun that derived from it. If being was to be conceived as real, in other words, it was now imperative *not* to think of it as existing; nay, more, it should not even be conceived as possible, because then it would be necessary to exclude existence, and any self-respecting metaphysician should take care not to pollute thought with that impure notion, not even to exclude it![28]

The extraordinary influence of Suárez's metaphysics of being cannot be separated from the triumph of Cartesianism and the gradual emergence of a

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[26] Francisco Suárez, *Metaphysicarum disputationum, in quibus et universa naturalis theologia ordinate traditur, et quaestiones ad omnes duodecim Aristotelis libros pertinentes, accuratè disputantur, tomi duo*, 2 vols. (Mainz: Balthasar Lipp and Arnold Mylius, 1605), XXXI, 1, 13: 'existentiam et essentiam non distingui in re ipsa'; electronic edition available at http://homepage.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/Michael.Renemann/suarez/.

[27] Ibid., XXXI, 4, 5.

[28] This view is characteristic of the 'essentialist metaphysics' that dominated Western philosophy in the seventeenth century, culminating in the eighteenth century in the monumental synthesis of Christian Wolff, from whom even Immanuel Kant learnt practically all he knew on the subject. The classic study of the topic is Étienne Gilson, *L'Être et l'essence* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1948), see esp. pp. 165–213. There is a shorter English version, *Being and Some Philosophers* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1949), pp. 108–53.

mechanicist explanation of the world. As a modern Suarezian once put it, only by 'leaving existence out of consideration' could those 'finite and created things, to which existence is not essential, become objects of science'.[29] This in itself would have an immeasurable effect on European colonial thought by providing a common basis for the justification for scientific explorations and the utilitarian exploitation of the world's resources. But more fundamentally and immediately, the trend wreaked havoc with the medieval conception of Creation, fundamental to any concordance between nature and grace. In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the work of the Dominican Thomist Bartolomé de las Casas who, as we saw, presented the most coherent vision of the natural goodness of indigenous cultures and of their intrinsic compatibility with the Christian faith, would need to await publication until the nineteenth century. The only comparable work to see the light in the sixteenth century was the *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, written by the Jesuit José de Acosta (1540–1600), whose assumptions were already much closer to the Suarezian essentialism that would foreshadow most subsequent European colonial thought.

Of particular interest is the way in which Acosta kept the realms of nature and grace scrupulously apart throughout his work. As far as the natural sphere was concerned, the *Historia* was as cool and objective as it was original. Where previous writers had had no qualms about appealing to ancient wisdom or to tradition, Acosta always insisted that any examination of the causes and effects of natural phenomena should give precedence to empirical observation. Thus he frequently expressed his impatience with 'ignorant friars'[30] who attributed everything to supernatural intervention. He quickly dismissed the theory that the Indians were descended from the peoples of Atlantis,[31] or that Peru was

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[29] J. Kleutgen, *La Philosophie scolastique*, as quoted in Gilson, *Being and Some Philosophers*, p. 106.

[30] José de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, ed. E. O'Gorman (Mexico City: Fonda de cultura económica, 1962), p. 188.

[31] The Dominicans seem to have held a rich depository of all such hypotheses. See, for example, Gregorio García OP, *Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo* (Valencia: P.P. Mey, 1607), which relies on Annius of Viterbo's alleged recovery of Berosus's history of Babylon from the days of Noah and the Ark. The diaspora of the descendants of Noah's sons, Shem, Japhet and Ham, explained the different races. García was convinced that the Indians descended from the Ten Lost Tribes, basing himself on the apocryphal book 4 of Esdras (much cited by Columbus), which argues that the tribes taken captive by the king of Assyria fled across the Euphrates to the distant land of Arzareth (almost certainly in central Asia). From there migration to the New World was perfectly possible. See also Juan de la Puente OP, *Conveniencia de las dos monarquías católicas, la de la iglesia romana y la del imperio español* (Madrid: Iuan Flamenco, 1612), which goes beyond García by tracing the travels of Noah's sons and even sketching out an itinerary of the preaching tours of all twelve apostles. The preaching of St Thomas in Brazil and Mexico is taken for

the biblical Ophir. The latter idea had particularly captivated the great biblical exegetes of late sixteenth-century Spain; after all, what could be more fitting than that the Catholic king who resided at the Escorial, the convent–palace modelled on the sober lines of the Temple of Jerusalem, should be sustained by a rediscovered Ophir? But Acosta would have none of this. Before the discovery of the magnetic compass, he insisted, there had been no adventurous transatlantic voyages. Nor could the Indians descend from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel; after all, the Jews were renowned for the tenacity with which they clung to their traditions and lineage, yet the Indians had no script and no clear idea of God. Their origin was therefore more likely to be found somewhere in East Asia, from where they had travelled by land over long stretches of time. It was this circumstance alone that made sense of the multiplicity of unrelated languages that existed in the New World.[32]

It is this sharply empirical quality that gained Acosta the respect of William Robertson in the eighteenth century, when the Scot pronounced the *Historia* to be 'one of the most accurate and best informed writings concerning the West Indies'.[33] But Robertson was only thinking of one aspect of Acosta's work. As soon as the Jesuit entered the sphere of the supernatural, he seemed completely to turn away from empiricism. To his mind, the natural and the supernatural were strictly separate realms; humans had no business in the latter, where the divine law was the only standard of truth and where the inscrutable divine will was alone sovereign. When faced with the curious similarities between native rites and Christian practices, Acosta was horrified at the providentialist hopes of the likes of Motolinía. To his mind, anything faintly religious in native cultures was necessarily the result of demonic intervention, for it was well known that the devil was always ready to take advantage of any opportunity to imitate God. Indeed, Acosta claimed that Satan had instituted sham imitations of baptism, marriage, confession and sacerdotal unction; the Eucharist was constantly copied and mocked in rituals involving communal banquets which on occasion even reached the level of elaborate parodies of the feast of Corpus Christi. Satanic pollution and ritual filth invaded every corner of the religiosity of the natives, whom Acosta made guilty of all the idolatrous aberrations listed in the Bible (cf. Wisd.14:22–30). A manifest inversion of the Christian ideals of ritual purity, the Satanic rites of the natives

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granted. La Puente was perhaps helped here the map of Abraham Ortelius, which puts Arzareth in the north-eastern extremity of Asia – hence nearer America.

[32] Acosta, *Historia*, pp. 63–4.

[33] Quoted in D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 184.

culminated in the unspeakably offensive practice of cannibalistic human sac-rifice. This, surely, was the ultimate expression of idolatry; its self-consuming nature associated it unmistakably with Satanic desire itself.[34]

## The triumph of imperialism

There was little room in Acosta's sharp separation of nature and grace for any fruitful consideration of the metaphysical primacy of existence in Creation. As we have seen, it was this doctrine that had provided the basis for any posi-tive evaluation of indigenous cultures in European colonial thought. Without this basis, Jesus' injunction to the apostles to preach the gospel to all nations would become incomparably more difficult to approach. Since, however, it was impossible to avoid the issue, more weight began to be given to the imperialist interpretation of Jesus' instruction, which had first been voiced by the chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, alleging that Spain had been the main engine of the primitive apostolic missions to the New World. Fernández de Oviedo's interpretation in turn conveniently implied that the peninsula had previous claims to sovereignty in the New World.[35]

It was Francisco López de Gómara, the humanist biographer of Cortés, who in the 1550s gave Fernández de Oviedo's work the form necessary to lay the foundations of the imperialist school to justify the conquest. It is reveal-ing that Gómara used the evidence in favour of an apostolic mission to argue forcefully, on the one hand, that the natives of America descended from Adam, and, on the other, that they had degenerated beyond recognition and sunk into idolatry, sodomy, human sacrifice and cannibalism. 'There was never a people more idolatrous than this one,' he wrote, 'so given over to the killing and the eating of their fellow human beings'.[36]

By this time, the sentiment was so widespread that it was echoed even by those who had the least reason to feel persuaded by it. Where Motolinía, for example, had celebrated the conversion of the natives as a liberation heralding the exodus of the new Israel from the Egypt of their idolatry, in sharp contrast, his late sixteenth-century co-religionist Fray Jerónimo de Mendieta donned the mantle of Jeremiah to lament the fall of the New Jerusalem, transformed

[34] Acosta, *Historia*, pp. 259–65. See also Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*, pp. 25–31.
[35] Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela, 6 vols., Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 115–21 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 17–18.
[36] Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de la Conquista de México*, ed. Jorge Gurría Lacroix (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1979), p. 367.

now into a second Babylon where the natives needed to be disciplined like children and barred from holy orders; he then turned to Psalm 79 as a remedy for the general mood of demoralisation: 'God, the pagans have invaded your heritage, they have desecrated your holy Temple, they have reduced Jerusalem to a pile of ruins'.[37] In similar vein, in the 1580s the French Franciscan Gaspar de Recarte compared the natives to the Children of Israel labouring under Pharaoh and then wrote that their condition was similar to the one encountered by Judas Maccabaeus on Mount Zion under the degrading rule of the Seleucids (2 Macc.10).[38]

By the mid-seventeenth century this pessimism seemed firmly entrenched. Gone were any references to prelapsarian innocence, and the unavoidable need to stress a common origin for the natives of America only seemed to encourage much more negative biblical references. Writing in 1650, for example, Antonio de León Pinelo (1589–1675) revived the thesis that America had been the site of the Garden of Eden. For this idea he drew upon the recently translated writings of St Ephrem, as transmitted by the Syrian bishop Moses Bar Cefas, where it was argued that Eden had been located in 'another world' which the descendants of Adam had abandoned after the Flood. León Pinelo was quick to identify this world with America, pointing out that traces of Eden were particularly in evidence in Amazonia, with its four great rivers and its 'eternal summer and perpetual spring'. Less attractive traits, such as cacti, serpents and swamps, were reminders of the expulsion, the clearest of which was the chain of volcanoes, described in the bible as swords of fire (Genesis 3:24). All this seemed to move in a positive direction with respect to the New World; and yet, as soon as León Pinelo came to discuss indigenous peoples his tone changed. He claimed that the great pre-Hispanic monuments in America must have been built by direct descendants of Adam before the Flood, but that these were clearly not related to the present inhabitants who, although Asian in appearance, in qualities were closer to the Africans. This was a sure sign of their descent from Ham.[39]

Here León Pinelo echoed an increasingly widespread opinion – already voiced by the Franciscans Juan de Torquemada in Mexico the 1610s and Buenaventura

[37] Jerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico City: Antigua librería [Impresa por F. Diaz de Leon y S. White], 1870), p. 448.

[38] Mariano Cuevas (ed.), *Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México*, 2nd edn. (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1975), pp. 354–85 (for Recarte's writings), 415–17 (for Mendieta's endorsement); also Brading, *First America*, p. 114.

[39] Antonio de León Pinelo, *El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo*, ed. Raúl Porras Barrenechea, 2 vols. (Lima: [Imprenta Torres Aguirre], 1943), vol. I, pp. 114–24, 139–51, vol. II, pp. 3–5, 27–32, 431, 525–7.

de Salinas y Córdoba in Peru in the 1630, and by the Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval in Cartagena in the 1620s, among many others – that the origins of dark skin were to be sought in Noah's curse to his son Ham, after which his descendants were condemned to be 'servants of servants' (Genesis 10:25).[40] There can be no doubt that the imperialist vision had triumphed with a vengeance. Even those who tried to escape from it sooner or later found themselves caught in its net. The celebrated Mexican polymath Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645–1700), for instance, tried to revive the idea that the natives of America were descended from the founders of Atlantis. He had been influenced by the work of the great Austrian Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, who had written about the conflict between Ham and the grandson of Shem whom he identified as Hermes Trismegistus, believed by many to have provided the wisdom of light in the ancient mysteries of Egypt. Enthralled by this idea, Sigüenza concluded that, if the natives of America were indeed descended from Ham, they must have come from the line of Ham's son, Misraim, the forebear of the Naphtuhim (Genesis 10:6–13). The idea was all the more interesting because Sigüenza was convinced that Naphtuhim was the biblical name for Neptune, the founder of Atlantis with colonists from Egypt. As he explained to the great Neapolitan traveller and adventurer Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, during the latter's sojourn in Mexico in the 1690s, surely this was enough evidence to explain the similarities between American and Egyptian temples, pyramids, calendars and hieroglyphs. Gemelli Careri seemed persuaded, but neither he nor Sigüenza ever managed to forget the subsequent descent of the natives into the most depraved forms of idolatry. In a memorable passage Gemelli Careri hauntingly described how the shape of the Mexican lakes, taken together, had the form of the Beast described in chapter 13 of the book of the Apocalypse; meanwhile, Sigüenza could only attribute the Christian victory over such depraved powers of darkness to the direct intervention of

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[40] For Torquemada's view see Juan de Torquemada, *Los veinte y un libros rituales y Monarquía indiana*, ed. Miguel León Portilla, 7 vols. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1975–83), vol. I, p. 46, vol. IV, pp. 353–5, 361–7, vol. V, p. 355. Consistent with this belief, Torquemada saw the conquest and the destruction of Indian temples as divine punishment – after all, according to the prophet Amos, the natives were guilty of the worst sins possible against God: idolatry, incest and fornication: vol. II, pp. 318–26. For Salinas y Córdoba's view see Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba, *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo, Pirú*, ed. Luis E. Valcárcel and Warren L. Cook (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1957), pp. 12–20. For de Sandoval's opinion see Alonso de Sandoval, *De Instauranda Aethiopum Salute: Naturaleza, policía sagrada y profana, costumbres i ritos, disciplina y catecismo evangélico de todos los etíopes*, ed. Angel Valtierra (Bogotá: Empresa Nacional de Publicaciones, 1956), pp. 57–64.

the Virgin of Guadalupe, who was believed to have appeared to the Indian neophyte Juan Diego in 1531.[41]

It was but a small step from this remorseless denigration of the indigenous past, even by those who had an open sympathy for it, to the climatic determinism of the likes of George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–88), or to the deeply depressing view of the American Indians voiced by Corneille de Pauw (1739–99): 'a degenerate species of humanity, cowardly, impotent, without physical force or vigour, and without elevation of spirit'.[42] Startling as this opinion might seem to us, it had a marked influence on the thought of leading Enlightenment historians of America, such as Guillaume-Thomas Raynal and William Robertson.[43] Hailed by the Bourbons in Madrid as it was detested by the American-born Spaniards, it was a good illustration of how deeply entrenched the imperialist vision had become by the mid-eighteenth century. It is equally illustrative that those who took up the challenge to counter these attacks, especially the Spanish American Jesuits who began to arrive in Italy after their expulsion in 1767, were forced to take a strictly naturalistic standpoint in their defence of indigenous cultures. In their work, any references to supernatural agencies were now carefully excised.[44] Clearly, the Bible was no longer a useful tool for their purpose. In order for it to take up that role again, a re-evaluation of the doctrine of the goodness of Creation would have been essential. But that re-evaluation never came.

[41] Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Obras Históricas*, ed. José Rojas Garcidueñas (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1960), pp. 247–59; Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Paraíso Occidental* (Mexico City: Por Juan de Ribera, impressor, y mercader de libros, 1684), p. 3; Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Viaje a la Nueva España*, ed. Francisca Perujo (Mexico City: Dirección General de Publicaciones, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1976), pp. 43–5. The idea that the American Indians descended from the Naphtuhim was later taken up by the Milanese aristocrat Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci (1702–55), who wrote a rather disjointed attempt to reinterpret the pre-Hispanic world along the lines suggested by Giambattista Vico; see Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, *Idea de una nueva historia general de la América Septentrional*, ed. Miguel León Portilla (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1974), pp. 77–91.
[42] Cornelius de Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les américains, ou: Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'histoire de l'espèce humaine*, 3 vols. (London: n.p., 1771), vol. 1, p. xii. A contemporary edition was published in Berlin. Buffon's vast work *Histoire Naturelle* was published in English first in instalments, and later as multi-volume editions, by various publishers from 1762 onwards.
[43] See Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, trans. J. O. Justamond, 6 vols. (London: A. Strahan, T. Cadell, and others, 1798); William Robertson, *The Progress of Society in Europe: A Historical Outline from the Subversion of the Roman Empire to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Felix Gilbert (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972 [1769]).
[44] See esp. Juan de Velasco, *Historia del Reino de Quito*, 3 vols. (Quito: El Comercio, 1946), and Francisco Javier Clavijero, *Historia Antigua de México*, 4 vols. (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1945).

# Conquest and evangelisation: The Bible
# in colonial America (1500–1750)

### DANIEL BRUNO AND NÉSTOR MÍGUEZ

You offer me rune, Valverde
Together with Pizarro, a new god
You give me a book you call a Bible
Through which you say your God speaks:
Nothing is heard, despite my best efforts
Your God does not speak to me, he wants to remain silent
Why do you kill me if i don't understand
Your book doesn't speak, it doesn't want to speak

('Encounter in Cajamarca', from *Taki Ongoi*
by Victor Heredia, an Argentinian singer-songwriter)

The Bible arrived in what is now known as Latin America in the hands of Spanish and Portuguese conquistadores who reached the continent from 1492 onwards. This arrival and its effect on religion was of course backed and controlled by the Roman Catholic Church. The official version of the Bible used by the Church at the time of the conquest and considered to be the only authentic one by the Council of Trent was the 'same ancient Vulgate edition, approved by the Church through its use over many centuries'.[1] Any other versions or translations into the vernacular were prohibited (with some exceptions as we shall see below) and they were included in the Index of Prohibited Books from 1559 onwards. Furthermore, the reading and interpretation of the Vulgate was reserved for specialists who were properly guided by the teaching of the Church. The Bible was not, therefore, a present reality in the everyday life of the colonial Church, except as it was first mediated through a series of filters.

The first filter would be that produced by scholastic theology, which accompanied and served as the theological foundation for the conquest and which,

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[1] Tanner, *Decrees*, pp. 664–5.

in many cases, ended up being a justification for the subjugation and extermination of the indigenous population, favoured by certain sectors of the conquistador enterprise. The second filter would be that exercised by the ecclesiastical institution that presented itself as the only valid interpreter of the Scriptures. Thirdly, that same institution, when faced with a threat to its authority, would repress even the Bible itself as a source of inspiration beyond its control. Finally, we will examine the way in which the biblical message found paths to freedom, inspiring prophets such as Bartolomé de las Casas and his defence of the indigenous cause.

## The argument for extermination and the Bible

In the first stage of the conquest of America, a phenomenon occurred which Enrique Dussel calls 'the meeting and clash of cultures'.[2] During this stage the Bible was used by certain sectors of imperial enterprise as an argument for the extermination or domestication of natives. The unintelligibility of the Bible to native peoples, who did not understand the Spanish, Latin or Portuguese languages, served as an excuse for the beginning of war and the 'beheading' of its main leaders.

Several versions exist of the story of the encounter between the Spanish conquistador Francisco de Pizarro and the Inca king Atahualpa. The meeting occurred in 1532 in Cajamarca, a region of present-day Peru. According to one of the most widespread versions,[3] Pizarro sends Friar Vicente de Valverde to speak to Atahualpa along with an interpreter. He shows him a Bible with one hand and a crucifix with the other while he says: 'I am a priest of God, I teach Christians the things of God and so I have come to teach you. I teach what God says in this book.' Atahualpa tries to take the book; he cannot open it and in a struggle, he throws it to the ground.[4] At that moment, the friar retreats,

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[2] Enrique Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation (1492–1979)*, trans. and rev. Alan Neely (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), p. 41.

[3] All versions fundamentally agree on the question and the end result of the incident. Variations differ slightly in the words spoken by one or both of the main characters, but all basically reflect the same idea in terms of the expression 'Word of God' and the book as a sacred artefact. One of the most celebrated later accounts is that of 'El Inca' Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru trata el descubrimiento del; y como lo ganaron los Españoles: Las guerras civiles que huvo entre Piçarros, y Almagros, sobre la partija de la tierra. Castigo y levantamiento de tiranos: y otros sucessos particulares que en la historia se contienen* (Córdova: Por la viuda de Andres Barrera, y à su costa, 1617), book 1, chaps. xxii–xxiv, fols. 16ᵛ–19ᵛ.

[4] Other versions state that he takes the book, lifts it to his ear, then exclaims, 'Your God does not speak to me, he doesn't want to speak to me,' and drops the book.

shouting to hasten the Spanish attack: 'Come out! Come out Christians! Go against these enemy dogs that reject the things of God. Tyranny has thrown my book of holy law to the ground. March against him: I will absolve you!' The story of the meeting between Pizarro and Atahualpa has been transformed into a paradigm for all evangelisation which, in order to fulfil its mission, systematically denies the other in its diversity.

Another similar chapter features the philosopher and historian Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. In 1542, during his dispute with Las Casas, Sepúlveda published his *De justis belli causis apud indios* (On the just causes for war against Indians). In this treatise Sepúlveda uses the biblical story of the conquest of Canaan to show that God justifies war of conquest in deserving cases. These cases can be understood as a punishment for the blasphemies and idolatries of subjugated peoples, or simply to fulfil God's promise to a chosen people. Just as in the past God chose Israel to conquer Canaan, he similarly chose the Spanish Empire to conquer America:

> Better to take examples from Sacred History, where we see that as a result of the rape and death of the wife of the Levite, in the city of Gibeah, of the tribe of Benjamin, the other children of Israel waged war against this tribe for having consented to this attack, put most of the tribe to the sword, set their cities ablaze and destroyed their fields.[5] In the same way, the Maccabeans Jonathan and Simon, to avenge the death of their brother John, took arms and attacked the sons of Jambri, causing them devastating harm.[6]

Basing his argument on Aristotle and his idea that some races are by nature slaves to others and, due to their inferiority and innate servility, deserve to be domesticated, evangelised and civilised by their conquerors, Sepúlveda furthers his denial of the indigenous population as a subject in their own history:

> With absolute authority, the Spanish rule over the barbarians of the New World and adjacent islands, who in their wisdom, ingenuity, virtue and humanity are so inferior to the Spanish as are children to adults and women to men, there being such difference between them like that of fierce and cruel people and the most clement of people . . .
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> What thing could befall these barbarians, more convenient or wholesome, than being subjected to the empire of those whose wisdom, virtue and religion must convert them from barbarians, who barely deserve the title of

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[5] Judges 20.
[6] Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *J. Genesii Sepulvedae Cordunbensis Democrates alter, sive de justis belli causis apud Indos: Tratado sobre las justas causas de la guerra contra los indios*, ed. with commentaries by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo and Manuel García-Pelayo (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1941), pp. 76–8.

human beings, into the civilised men they could become? ... For many serious reasons then, these barbarians are obliged to receive the Spanish Empire ... and it will benefit them even more than it will the Spanish ... and if they refuse our empire, they may be compelled to accept it by use of arms and it will be this war, as we have previously stated with the authority of great philosophers and theologians, justified by natural law.[7]

Thus, whether in the case of the captivity and subsequent assassination of the Inca Atahualpa, or in the justification that Sepúlveda offered of the conquest and war of subjugation, the Bible, in its content just as its symbolic value as a sacred artefact, was used as an excuse to achieve pre-existing objectives. In this way a palace cult was established, in which the Bible was converted into a mere sacred object legitimising imperial expansion, in such a way that as a text that communicates the Word of God it remains closed, far from those newly 'evangelised'. The 'message' would be mediated and adapted to the needs of the colonial enterprise, and the Bible as such would be replaced by the institution.

## The institution replaces the Bible

When Bernardo Boyl, the first Catholic priest to set foot in America, arrived in 1494, he was the forerunner of an entirely unprecedented enterprise. Christianity entered America under the guise of an institution that was representative of Hispanic Christianity or, in reality, Iberian Christianity, because the Portuguese monarchy functioned according to similar rules. In fifty years it had spread throughout the continent. This sudden expansion of the *Orbis Christianus* must be understood as a result of the implementation of the papal bull of 1493, *Inter Caetera*, which the Catholic kings were granted by Pope Alexander VI, in which Rome placed the lands and evangelisation of America in the hands of the Spanish Crown:

By the authority of Almighty God conferred upon us in blessed Peter and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which we exercise on earth, [we] do by tenor of these presents, should any of said islands have been found by your envoys and captains, give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and villages, and all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered

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[7] Quoted in Enrique Dussel, *1492: El encubrimiento del otro: hacia el origen del 'mito de la modernidad': conferencias de Frankfurt, octubre de 1992* (Madrid: Nueva Utopia, 1993), p. 72–3, footnotes.

towards the west and south ... Moreover we command you in virtue of holy obedience that, employing all due diligence in the premises, as you also promise – nor do we doubt your compliance therein in accordance with your loyalty and royal greatness of spirit – you should appoint to the aforesaid mainlands and islands worthy, God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men, in order to instruct the aforesaid inhabitants and residents in the Catholic faith and train them in good morals.[8]

Then, with the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), the territory was divided, indicating those lands that corresponded to the kingdom of Castile and those that would remain in the hands of the Portuguese. Consequently, the popes granted to the kings of Spain and Portugal a combination of privileges and special powers over Church affairs in the colonies known as the *Patronato regio*, in exchange for the guarantee that they would carry out the evangelisation and establishment of the Church in America. Through the *Patronato regio* the Castilian and Portuguese monarchs, as papal delegates subject to canon law, assumed the general administration of the Church in the Indies and all that this implied. They became responsible for the collection of tithes, foundation of dioceses, appointing of bishops, authorisation and maintenance of missionaries, construction of churches, and so forth.

For this reason, during the period of conquest and colonisation of Latin America, Holy Scripture did not possess a distinctive and exclusive agency as an instrument for the transmission of the gospel. The Church's magisterium, in the light of its teachings accumulated over centuries, would regard the Church's tradition as equal to the Scriptures as a source of revelation. As the divinely ordained authority over revealed truth, the Church understood itself as infallible, not only in respect of correct interpretation of Scripture and Tradition, but also in the institutional organisation that God had planned out for it. Thus its territorial expansion was understood to constitute the earthly diffusion of the mysterious presence of the kingdom of God.

In effect, the territorial expansion of the area controlled by Christendom appeared to be the monarchs' principal preoccupation; it became confused with the concept of evangelisation. When analysing the place that Scripture occupied in the evangelisation of America, one must remember that territorial conquest and missions to evangelise took place simultaneously, at times complementing and at others opposing each other. The place of the Bible

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[8] First of the Papal Bulls of Donation, *Inter caetera* by Alexander VI (3 May 1493), translation from Frances G. Davenport and Charles Oscar Paullin (eds.), *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies . . .*, 4 vols. (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917–37), vol I, pp. 74–5 (Latin), 77 (English) for the quotation.

in the Christian missions of the New World was highly influenced by the powerful institutions of the medieval Church in the first instance, and, shortly afterwards, by that of the Counter-Reformation, with the structures, organisms and doctrinal bodies that were designed – above all – to legitimise that same institution. It is for that reason that the institution defended itself when it found its role as mediator and only authorised interpreter of the Scriptures being questioned. And when 'the Holy Book' appeared to take its proper place, it was repressed.

## The institution represses the Bible

The church that developed in America was the Tridentine Church of the Counter-Reformation. Accounts exist of prosecutions carried out by the Holy Office of the Inquisition against 'Protestant heresy' from very early on in the history of the conquest of America, and among these the possession of the Bible was grounds for accusation. The first Inquisition to be established was on the island of Santo Domingo (Hispaniola), and later in Cuba (New Spain). The definitive tribunals were set up in Lima (1580), in Mexico (1571) and in Cartagena de Indias (Colombia) in 1610. By this time a Spanish version of the Bible which had been translated in exile by the Reformed Casiodoro de Reina had already been published – it was known as the *Biblia del Oso*[9] and was published in 1569. This was the version that some tried to smuggle into the colonial territories. From Cartagena an edict was proclaimed which condemned the different heresies that included the 'Protestant sect' and which stated:

> We the Inquisitors, against depravity and heretical apostasy, in the city and diocese of Cartagena ... to all inhabitants of the town, villages and localities of our district: if they know, or have heard [of] anything to the effect that some people have said or believe that they subscribe to the false and harmful sect of Martin Luther and his followers, or if they have left these kingdoms to convert to Lutheranism ... they should let us know.[10]

The situation in the lands controlled by the Portuguese was not much different. In what is now Brazil, the Bible was forbidden for more than three centuries.

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[9] Translator's note: lit. 'Bear Bible', named after the bear at the foot of a strawberry tree (*madroño*) which appeared on the title page. This was the emblem of the Bible's printing press. It is also the emblem of the city of Madrid. See further details in Chapter 15 in this volume.

[10] José Toribio Medina, *La Inquisición en Cartagena de Indias*, 2nd edn. (Bogotá: C. Valencia, 1978), pp. 24–8, 31.

It did not appear on the list of books authorised by the Portuguese Crown to enter into colonial territory. Only by the beginning of the nineteenth century was it permitted to read it in that country. In spite of this, a notable exception is the fact that for a while certain Protestant colonies were established that practised their religion and used their Bibles. There were attempts to colonise by the Huguenots (1555–60) and the Dutch (1624–55). The first occupied part of the bay of Rio de Janeiro, where a group of Reformed Huguenots arrived, together with a group of Catholic migrants, supported by the collaboration of some pastors from Geneva, who ministered the sacraments and preached the Word of God. Nevertheless, in 1558 the Protestant group was broken up; some were obliged to return to France, and a few others who stayed in the colony were executed. One of them (André le Balleur, or Balés), who managed to escape, was later captured and tried by the Inquisition in 1567. The second venture, this time by the Dutch, was linked to the conquest of Olinda, Recife and Pernambuco. The pastor Joannes Baers wrote a narrative of what occurred. They endeavoured to evangelise the residents through the teaching of the Bible (although they still had no Portuguese version), and even managed to found churches. To make up for the lack of Scripture in the local languages it was proposed to produce an edition of a Reformed catechism in the Dutch, Portuguese and Tupi-Guarani languages, though we do not know if this particular project came to fruition. After the retreat of the Dutch, reading the Bible in the Brazilian territory was prohibited and the evangelical religion was exiled due to the efforts of the Inquisition.

The Inquisition planted courts in Mexico, Cartagena of the Indies and Lima. The latter is the one whose records may be of most interest. During the first decades of the Lima court (1569–1600), thirteen accused were sentenced to death and executed; later (1601–40) seventeen were executed, and from that date there was only one case in 1664 and another in 1736. Of these thirty-two victims, twenty-three were prosecuted as Judaisers, six as Protestants, two for explicit heresy and there was one case of 'illuminism' or spurious holiness. In addition to these cases, we know of three Judaisers, whose bones were burned, in addition to their being burned in effigy, after their death (between 1625 and 1639), and fourteen who were burned in effigy in their absence (1605 and 1736).[11]

Those executed for being Lutherans, except in the case of Mateo Salado, who was put to death at the stake on 15 November 1573, were predominantly pirates who were captured in 'acts of war', such as John Butler and John Drake

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[11]  See Boleslao Lewin, *El Santo Oficio en América: y el más grande proceso inquisitorial en el Perú* (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Hebraica Argentina, 1950).

(nephew of the famous corsair Francis Drake). Francisco de la Cruz (executed on 13 April 1578), the only case of sentencing for 'illuminism', stands out due to his background as a theologian who had studied in Valladolid and was the vice-chancellor of the San Marcos National University, Lima; his heretical postulates included questioning the monarchical system.

But above all the Inquisition in America concentrated mainly on the control of ideas, over which it maintained a steely grip. It was similarly implacable about books. Although the tribunals were held in the cities mentioned above, in those cities without tribunals, commissioners and familiars (helpers) of the Holy Office were appointed. Inquisitorial port commissioners dedicated themselves specifically to the task of checking the ships that arrived from abroad, preventing the disembarkation of forbidden passengers (those without licences from the Casa de Contratación[12] in Seville: Moors, Jews, Protestants, 'New Christians' of doubtful racial origin, etc.). And of course they prevented the offloading of material considered to be a potential 'contaminant'. The Index of Prohibited Books of 1559 was periodically updated.

After 1707, with the publication of an update (the *Rules, Orders and General Advice*), the Inquisition threw itself into the hunt for all types of material considered dangerous: some of the most important of these were the so-called Protestant Bibles (those versions based on the Hebrew canon and which did not contain the deuterocanonical books); Bibles translated into Spanish or any other vernacular, 'due to the dangers of error given the lack of intelligence of the ignorant and vulgar people and other inconveniences that we have experienced and warned of';[13] the versions of the Bible containing forbidden notes; and books by Erasmus and other humanist authors that people were attempting to smuggle in from Europe. The commissioners had to interrogate the captain and sailors of the ship in question under pain of excommunication about a series of points – those that referred to literature were quite explicit:

> They must say if in the said ship there have travelled any images or figures of saints, popes, cardinals, bishops and religious, [that are] indecent or ridiculous [or] painted badly; or forbidden books, such as bibles in any vernacular language, or others of the sect of Luther, Calvin and other heretics, or those

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[12] Translator's note: the Casa de Contratación was the central authority for the regulation of trade and migration to the Indies.

[13] Rule v, from the *Reglas Mandatos y Advertencias Generales* appended to Vidal Marin and Diego Sarmiento de Valladares (eds.), *Novissimus librorum prohibitorum, et expurgandorum index pro Catholicis Hispaniarum regnis Philippi V. regis Catholici*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Ex typographica musicæ, 1707). Rule v modified Rule iv of the *Index* issued under the authority of the Council of Trent, which restricted access to the vernacular to those readers approved by their bishops, inquisitors or confessors.

prohibited by the Holy Office of the Inquisition or any others that may arrive unregistered, and hidden, or without licence. They must say which books they are carrying that are registered, where they come from, who has commissioned their passage and to whom they being conducted.[14]

Apart from the Vulgate, which was the only version officially accepted by the Council of Trent, the *Rules* did permit the entry and use of certain other versions of the Bible, such as the version of the New Testament in Greek by Erasmus (1516), the Vulgate Latin Bible annotated by François Vatable (in a version approved by the Salamanca theologians in 1584), and the version by Isidoro Chiari of Brescia (1541), but without the prologue and the introductory preambles, which were censored by the Holy Office.[15]

The first Bible in Spanish was the *Biblia del Oso* translated by the monk Casiodoro de Reina in 1569. Reina had embraced the Protestant faith and was therefore denounced by the Inquisition, prompting him to leave Seville in 1556. He was burned in effigy and declared a *heresiarca* (master of heretics). His luck did not improve in Geneva, as he did not like Calvin, nor did he approve of his own Inquisition-like methods. So he settled in London and there began his translation work, which he finally finished in Basel in the aforementioned year. The first edition consisted of 2,600 copies. The Inquisition pursued this translation of the Bible, almost destroying it completely. Subsequently Cipriano de Valera, another ex-monk acquaintance of Casiodoro de Reina from the San Isidro del Campo convent in Seville, undertook a revision of the *Biblia del Oso* in 1602. Some of these first copies found their way to America in later years.[16]

The Bible could not be studied outside the teachings of the Catholic Church: anyone who dared to do so would be an object of persecution and repression. A number of priests in Mexico were subjected to torture and put to death for having tried to study the Bible in a way beyond the limits considered permissible by the Church. Some of these victims included Pedro Ochante and Juan Ortiz in 1574 and Guillermo Cornelius in 1575. Brother Manuel de Cuadros was also executed for holding doctrines resembling 'Lutheran heresy'. It is noteworthy that the Index of the Spanish Inquisition banned the books of reformers such as Luther, Calvin and Zwingli while allowing their orthodox refutations. Publications seen as hostile to Christianity were also prohibited,

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[14] Luis González Obregón, *Libros y libreros del siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1914), pp. 351–9. Cited by Boleslao Lewin, *La Inquisición en Hispanoamérica: judíos, protestantes y patriotas* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Proyección, 1962), p. 211.

[15] Rule iv from *Reglas Mandatos y Advertencias Generales*.

[16] For further details on the Bible in Spanish see Chapter 15 in this volume.

such as the Talmud and the Qur'an, as well as books on divination, superstition, necromancy, etc. On the other hand, the works of Fathers and Doctors of the Church prior to 1515 were permitted, as were books from older scholarly but suspect authors, including Peter Abelard and William of Ockham, with the exception of his books in opposition to Pope John XXII. The Indexes did not mention ancient or medieval philosophers, be they Christians, Arabs, Jews or of other faiths. Writers from the Italian Renaissance and beyond were permitted, including Giordano Bruno, Galileo, Descartes, Leibniz, Thomas Hobbes, Baruch Spinoza and even Bacon, with some amendments.

Despite the rigid security in ports and commercial borders, the circulation of prohibited books was markedly widespread. The means of circulating prohibited books in America were varied for a number of reasons. Books generally arrived through maritime traders; travelling merchants, authorised ecclesiastics and others who occasionally loaned them to unauthorised individuals. In addition, books were often inherited, or bought when the belongings of the deceased were sold. The owners of prohibited books included ecclesiastics authorised by the Inquisition; individuals, mostly middle class, with the appropriate permission of the court; merchants (prior to 1706 there is no mention of booksellers in the Indies); booksellers (after 1706); and civil servants and doctors.

In the early centuries of the operation of the court it was religious works that dominated proceedings, while in the second half of the eighteenth century works of a more philosophical and political nature came to the fore. The Inquisition in America permanently censored the following types of writing: those of 'heretics', meaning those who were in direct opposition to the Catholic faith, the heading under which aforementioned unauthorised Bibles were included; those by 'slanderers', opponents of the Church, ecclesiastical authorities and religious orders; those of 'politicians', those in opposition to monarchy or empire; the 'superstitious', those who spread superstition or magic; the 'philosophers', those who disseminated ideas opposing Catholic dogmas; and those writings produced by Catholic authors but which could provoke dubious interpretations or incite heresy. Questionable paragraphs were expurgated from such texts.[17]

The repression of books became more virulent towards the end of the eighteenth century with the advent of illustration and the application of such ideas in the political realm. As a result, the Inquisition in America began to pay more attention to the ideas of French philosophers, their books and

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[17] See www.congreso.gob.pe/museo/inquisicion/censura1.pdf.

their potential propagators. At this time in Peru, during the term of office of Viceroy José Fernando de Abascal y Sousa (1806–16), the Inquisition carefully observed readers of anti-clerical and anti-monarchic material. They were subjected to sanctions and imprisonment, among them Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurre, Joaquín de Larriva and José Baquíjano y Carrillo, found guilty of reading Rousseau and Montesquieu. Towards the end of inquisitorial power, in 1818, the head of the Lima Naval School, Eduardo Carrasco (1779–1865), was exonerated before the Inquisition from an accusation of possessing books by French encyclopaedists.

Moreover, in this period of decline in the power of the Spanish Empire at the end of the eighteenth century, the Inquisition overtly exercised a role of political, more than religious, repression. The Inquisition served as an arm of repression against anti-monarchist and free-trade ideas, as well as opposing ideas of autonomy and independence. In Mexico, priests such as Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla(1753–1811) and José María Morelos (1765–1815) suffered inquisitorial prosecution for this reason. The control and censorship of ideas and books carried out by the inquisitorial tribunals was neither an isolated occurrence, nor was it marginal to the Catholic ethos in America. Within the Church, divergent groups that were often quite distant from each other on other issues – for example, how indigenous people should be treated – were in agreement on this policy.

Nevertheless, when considering the place that the Bible occupied in the evangelisation of the Americas, one observes that this paradigm of institutionalised and repressive mediation was not the only one. Throughout the period in question we find open spaces in the institutional fabric through which Scripture, freed from its organic mediations, could express its message in a more direct way. We are referring to the work carried out to educate the indigenous peoples in the *reducciónes* set up by Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries in particular. However, in 1776 the latter were expelled and their *reducciónes* closed.

## The Bible is liberated: inspiring a new model of humanity and society

The first years of the conquest were characterised by extreme cruelty on the part of the Spanish conquistadores towards the native inhabitants of the Caribbean islands. Of the 100,000–200,000, or perhaps even a million, original inhabitants of Hispaniola, in 1517 only 10,000 were left. Various interpretations which seek to defend the conquest explain the huge scale of mortality in

terms of the diseases that affected a population which lacked the relevant anti-bodies. If this was one of the reasons, it was certainly not the only one. The system of *encomiendas* used by the Spanish to exploit the manual labour of the indigenous peoples in order to extract mineral riches from the American soil was the decisive factor. Hard work was inflexibly organised and imposed by the Spaniards, to which the indigenous people could scarcely adapt themselves; they also frequently suffered from deficient nutrition as a result of requisitions, tribute and a system of agriculture and nourishment quite different from the traditional one. There were forced displacements to serve carrying loads, for expeditions and labouring; work in the mines; violent incursions and harsh treatment due to conquest; the wars that the presence of the new Hispanic power caused among indigenous ethnic groups; a fall in the birth rate, due to biological, social and psychological reasons. This was witnessed by a group of Dominican friars who finally decided to denounce the situation. They chose Fray Antonio (or Antón) de Montesinos to preach a sermon to the authorities of the island of Santo Domingo, and, 'so that the entire city would be present and so that no-one would be absent, they invited the Second Admiral who governed the island, the King's officials, and all the lawyers and jurists that were there [on the island]'. On 21 December 1511, before all the island's grandees, he preached the sermon previously agreed with his brother friars, called 'A Voice that Cries in the Wilderness', a sermon that without doubt changed the destiny of the New World:

> Are these not men? With these [people] do we not have to keep and comply with the precepts of charity and justice? Do they not have their own lands and lords and domains? Have they offended us in some way? Are we not obliged to preach the Law of Christ to them and work with all diligence to convert them? ... You are all in a state of mortal sin, and you live and die in it due to the cruelty and tyranny that you inflict on these innocent people.[18]

It was this moment that sparked the controversy that would last for centuries regarding the humanity of the indigenous peoples and their rights. Bishops and friars joined the defence of the indigenous peoples, recovering the biblical message at the centre of their exhortations and denunciations of violations of the rights of the indigenous population –then called *ius gentium* in the language of Francisco de Vitoria (a Dominican) or Francisco Suárez (a Jesuit), while others found theological arguments to objectify this treatment.

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[18] Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo and Lewis Hanke, 3 vols. (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1951), book III, chapter IV, in vol II, pp. 441–2.

This prophetic–biblical action championed by certain sectors of the church in the Indies can be analysed in two ways: the theological (evangelical humanisation), and the missiological (human evangelisation). In both respects the centrality of the biblical message as a critical text was crucial. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas was without a doubt the most well known but not the only exponent of the biblical recuperation for the evangelical humanisation of the native inhabitants of the West Indies. The conversion of Las Casas was provoked by the stark contrast between the biblical message and the social reality of the indigenous people. Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 34:18–26 was fundamental to what he would call his second conversion:

> I began to contemplate some of the principles of the Holy Scriptures. In one part of the book I found this which says: 'the poor person possesses nothing more than bread; he who takes it from [the poor] is a murderer. He who does not give the worker his due salary is a criminal' ... Then I thought about the hardships and the slavery suffered by the aboriginal people here ... and the more I thought the more I became convinced that everything that afflicted the indigenous people to the present date, was nothing more than tyranny and injustice. And the more I studied, I found in every book I read, whether in Latin or Spanish, more proofs, motives and theories to support the rights of the peoples of the West Indies against the savagery and injustices and robberies that are committed against them.[19]

Between 1515 and 1566 Las Casas developed an elaborate defence of indigenous people and fought against the methods of conquest and the system of *encomiendas*. His most important works, *History of the Indies*, *Apologética Historia*, *Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, and his writings in the Valladolid dispute against Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda about humanity and the rights of the indigenous people, without doubt constituted a historical landmark with regard to the centrality of the Bible as the basis for the defence of human life and rights in the Americas. Whilst in Spain the theologians affirmed for the indigenous peoples an intermediate position between humans and animals, Las Casas affirmed that 'Adam was and every human being is created in God's image'. The use that he makes of the Bible is tremendous: there is practically no book of the Bible that is not explicitly cited in his works or paraphrased in his arguments. The work of Las Casas is neither academic nor doctrinal, nor does he resort to the teaching of the Church to support his opinions. His reasoning is purely biblical, although occasionally he does have recourse to the interpretation of texts carried out by the Church

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[19] Ibid., book III, chap. LXXIX, in vol. III, pp. 92–3.

Fathers that were contextualised by the particular historical situation that he was referring to. In this context, the recovery of the centrality of the biblical message was the principal factor in the prophetic work of denouncing injustice and preaching a humanising gospel.

The work developed by Las Casas had a great impact. In 1537, alongside Fray Bernardino de Minaya and Julián Garcés, the Bishop of New Spain, he obtained the promulgation of a bull called *Sublimis Deus*, by Pope Paul III, which stated: 'All peoples of the earth are by their nature true humans, and as such enjoy freedom and property and it cannot be taken from them nor can they be enslaved. [Rather] they must be all invited, through preaching and good example, to join the Christian Faith.' Another direct achievement of the struggle by bishops and friars like Las Casas were the New Laws (1542). This legal body promulgated by Charles V questioned the mistreatment of the indigenous people and limited the power of the *encomiendas* as a system of production based on their labour. However, due to a combination of pressure and violence, both the Pope and the king allowed the colonists and *encomenderos* to ignore in practice those orders of the New Laws that most affected them. This meant that in everyday life the well-intentioned words of the bull were effectively useless. One secondary effect was the introduction of slaves captured in Africa, something which substantially affected the population of certain regions, such asthe Caribbean, the north-east of Brazil and the coastal zones of the Pacific, where their descendants formed the bulk of the subsequent population. In one note in his *History of the Indies*, Bartolomé de las Casas lamented the consequences of his position in the introduction of slaves from Africa. The message of human dignity born from the biblical recuperation by missionaries and bishops caused fierce struggles with the colonists, and also moved them to perfect their methods of evangelisation by introducing *reducciónes*.

The early Christian community described in the Bible, the influence of the work *Utopia* by Thomas More (1515) – a vision of an ideal city with a socialist organisation – and the prophecy of the *Eternal Gospel* by the Cistercian monk Joachim de Fiore (1202) about an egalitarian period governed by the Holy Spirit, were decisive contributions in the search for organisational experiments with a profoundly idealistic and humanitarian base. The effective organisation of the *reducciónes* dates from 1531. In each *reduccióne* the indigenous peoplewere to have a church that was attended by a parish priest, whose maintenance would be covered by the tribute that they were obliged to pay. The structure of life in the *reducciónes* was communitarian, and all goods (including lands) were inalienable and belonged to the *reduccióne*.

Also worthy of note is the model of the city hospitals, which was the work of the *oidor*[20] Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacán, 'where a programme was developed of obligatory communal work for six hours and where harvests were shared out equally after discounting the cost of the community hospital, and the rest of the money was distributed among the poor. The inhabitants wore identical clothes and all the officials were elected by the community which forbade re-election.'[21] The *reducciónes* at their greatest were those organised by the Jesuits in the south-east of Paraguay, north-east of Argentina and south-west of Brazil, where according to a census of 1744 approximately 84,000 indigenous people lived.

Before bringing our examination of this period to a close we must highlight the work of Joao Ferreira de Almeida with respect to the translation and distribution of the Bible in Portuguese. He made two translations. The first, in three volumes, was completely lost. The second, published in a single volume completed in 1681, has become a classic of the Portuguese language, and it was this particular translation that was introduced to Brazil.

The Catholic missionary enterprise in what is now called Latin America can certainly be understood in many different ways, due to the fact that during its 300 years of development there was never anything that resembled a monolithic and 'official' approach to evangelisation work. The enterprise of conquest developed amidst tensions and internal conflicts that lasted for the duration of the colonial period, pitting the papacy against the Crown, Dominicans against Franciscans, colonial archdioceses against the Crown, missionaries against *encomenderos*, 'new' Christians against 'old' Christians, Jesuits against *bandeirantes*, and so forth. These tensions enabled the coexistence of a variety of attitudes which opened a wide range of interpretations of the evangelising enterprise.

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[20] Translator's note: an *oidor* was a minister of state who listened to disputes and court cases and made judgments together with other *oidores* – effectively a colonial judge.

[21] Antonio Arriaga, *Vasco de Quiroga, Fundador de Pueblos* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1966), pp. 5–6. Available online at www.revistas.unam.mx/index.php/ehn/article/view/3196/0.

# Afterword

EUAN CAMERON

At the outset of the period covered by this book, the diverse forms of Christianity across the European and Mediterranean worlds had acquired distinct and in many respects deeply divided characteristics. The Western Latin mind had long been shaped by the Latin language, the appropriation of Greek and Arab philosophies in a Latinate garb and the dominance of the Vulgate Bible in the manuscript tradition. The social structures of the West reflected and also shaped its intellectual structures. A large, diffuse and diverse body of 'clerici' – the name designated both the learned and those living by the practice of religion – belonged to a theoretically international culture, one that was in principle (though not always in practice) institutionally distinct from the secular world that hosted and supported it.

The Eastern churches, with their greater diversity of languages and traditions, their more collegial and parallel structures of power based on the patriarchates and monastic communities, and unresolved historic divisions over doctrine, underwent a prolonged eclipse under the domination of the Ottoman Empire. Until near the end of the seventeenth century the Ottomans seemed to present an apocalyptic threat even to the churches of the West. Those Christian communities that did not become part of the Ottoman sphere of control were to some degree cut off from the rest of the Orthodox world. When a rising Russia looked for cultural resources around 1700, it looked west. There has been an unavoidable asymmetry in this volume between West and East. That is so largely because the processes that determined the structure of the book – the rise of critical textual scholarship, the Reformation divide in the Western churches, the rise of vernacular translations to challenge the ascendancy of the Latin text – were primarily Western phenomena between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. The story of the Bible between *c*. 1450 and *c*. 1750 is the story of profound intellectual and cultural change shaped by the turmoil and upheavals of Western Europe.

After centuries in which thinking western Europeans thought unselfconsciously in Latin, from the fifteenth century onwards increasing numbers of adepts discovered the fascination of exotic languages. There had of course been scholars interested in such things in the Middle Ages, but not on such a scale. Greek turned in less than two hundred years from being a language learned by a few privileged scholars with good contacts to something that was taught to most boys (and some girls) in any reasonably well-equipped school. Enthusiasts for rare Semitic languages such as Guillaume Postel literally travelled the world to learn strange tongues and read rare texts. By the middle of the seventeenth century the study of Arabic was well established in the major universities of Europe. This quest had, from time to time, prompted conversations between Christian and Jewish scholars, and also Christians from East and West.

Appreciating languages – and therefore language – was one thing; appreciating text was another. The chapters of this book have reflected a paradoxical struggle over biblical text in the early modern period. As textual criticism had grown and established itself, the scholarly quest had focused on perfecting the text, on stabilising readings at a point that would restore the text to as close to its original form as possible. That instinct produced the *textus receptus* of the New Testament in Protestant Europe and the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate Bible in the Catholic world. However, a contrary drift became evident as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries progressed. Some scholars determined to show how variable or unpredictable the text was. Cappel's questioning of the Masoretic pointing of Hebrew Scripture, or Mill's collecting of variant readings in the New Testament, tended to pry open the biblical text and to expose areas of doubt – small areas to be sure, maybe doctrinally insignificant ones – but such movements were symbolically important where attitudes to text were concerned.

The vernacular translation of Scripture underwent a similar evolution. By the eighteenth century many of the languages of Europe had acquired a more or less standard translation, born out of the Reformation turmoil and the subsequent controversies: the Luther Bible in much of Germany, the King James Bible in England, the Geneva Bible in the reformed French-speaking world, the *Statenbijbel* in the Netherlands, the Diodati and Reina–Valera Bibles for the (mostly émigré) communities of Italian and Spanish Reformed believers respectively. Those parts of the Catholic world that needed a vernacular scripture for conversions and debate similarly acquired their received translations: Ulenberg's German Bible, the Port-Royal Bible in France, the Rheims–Douay Bible for English Catholics.

Despite the infamous 'Rule IV' of the Council of Trent, most of the Catholic churches of Europe had a vernacular Bible by the end of the eighteenth century, even in those areas where opposing Protestantism had long since ceased to be a major challenge.

Herein lies an important point. Those who read vernacular Scripture by the eighteenth century read it in a version that was confessionally identified, ideologically loaded and polemically defined. Every edition bore the stamp of a particular party. The Polish language, for instance, had Catholic Bibles, Reformed ('Calvinist') Bibles, and anti-Trinitarian Bibles. Not every reader of Scripture chose to be confined to the ideologically 'correct' version: high Anglican ceremonialists can be shown to have read and used the polemically Reformed Geneva Bible. Biblical scholarship at the highest levels crossed boundaries even more regularly. Nevertheless, for most believers, the Bible that one read identified the community where one belonged. Even the titles of translated Bibles communicated party slogans: Protestant Bibles boasted of being based on the authentic Hebrew and Greek originals; Catholic Bibles insisted that they were based on the Vulgate. The reality was often more untidy than those claims suggested.

The place of the Bible in the total picture of faith, worship and the religious life was similarly diverse, shaped by the different beliefs and political systems of the churches. In Roman Catholicism, the principle that Scripture should always be interpreted within the continuing witness of the exegetical tradition, and in conformity with the practice and polity of the hierarchy, had been assumed in various ways in the Middle Ages. In the mid-sixteenth century that principle was, after much debate, canonised as one of the decrees of the Council of Trent. In the Protestant churches, Scripture theoretically stood alone as the sole source of authority, to be interpreted with the guidance of the Holy Spirit. In practice the correct interpretation of Scripture tended to be the one that confirmed the key theological principles of the confessions – principles which themselves, it was argued, were scripturally grounded. Consequently the Reformed churches found themselves locked into somewhat elliptical arguments. The core theological principles – above all the theology of justification – depended on key passages of Scripture; but they also determined how the rest of the Bible was to be read. In all of this a kind of consensus was established through the theological faculties of academies and universities and the collective decisions of synods and conferences. At critical moments, most notably with the adoption of the Formula of Concord in Lutheranism in 1577–80 and at the Synod of Dort in Reformed Protestantism in 1618–19, differences had to be worked out formally.

However contentious its interpretation, Scripture saturated the culture of early modern Europe, its worship, its music, its arts and literature. Yet, inevitably, it did so in very different ways, reflecting the different religious tastes, styles and principles of the various traditions. One has only to think of the very different uses made of the psalms. In the Catholic tradition they remained the staple of the daily office, chanted in monastic and cathedral choirs. In the Church of England chanting of the Psalter continued: in fact, the Coverdale Psalter proved the most durable part of the 'Great Bible', sometimes still used today through its incorporation in the Book of Common Prayer. However, metrical settings proved better suited to congregational singing: the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical Psalter, especially, became the musical marker of zealous Protestant English congregations. In reformed France (with Marot's Psalter) and in Scotland the singing of psalms could summon a congregation to a procession of witness, or even prepare it for conflict. Nor should one forget that Luther's great hymn *Ein feste Burg* began as a paraphrase of Psalm 46.

The Psalter could even define the identity of a congregation thousands of miles from its home. When the Massachusetts Bay Colony settlers imported a printing press to Cambridge in the late 1630s, one of the first things that they printed was the *Bay Psalm Book*, a set of metrical psalms re-translated and set in metre by the ministers of the new colony to replace the Sternhold and Hopkins version, which they found unsatisfactory.[1] Of course, for the New England settlers there was at first no sense of cultural distance from the old world that they had left. They aspired to re-create the ideal Protestant community that political circumstances made unattainable in England. The end of the Laudian persecution from 1640 provoked a reverse migration back to England that nearly threatened the colony's existence.

However, from the 1640s onwards the New England settlers also began to take note of the native peoples among whom they lived. Some of the ministers sought to achieve their conversion to Protestant Christianity, and with it, to the social mores of seventeenth-century English people. Ministers led by John Eliot (1604–90) began to preach to the native peoples of Massachusetts from the mid-1640s onwards.[2] As so often happened, their first impressions of the impact of their preaching were extremely positive and optimistic. A stream of short pamphlets crossed the Atlantic to England, reporting the

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[1] *The Digital Bay Psalm Book: A Virtual Reconstruction of the New World's First English-Language Book*, ed. Ian Christie-Miller, Wilberforce Eames and Kevin Cattrell (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010), and available at http://site.ebrary.com/ (by subscription).

[2] For Eliot's life see www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8631?docPos=8, accessed 22 May 2015.

successes of the ministers' outreach to the native people.[3] Those pamphlets had the predictable object of obtaining funds from home: and in 1649 a charitable body, to be known variously as the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of New England, or just as the New England Company, received its first of several foundations. Under its auspices so-called praying towns, settlements of native peoples acculturated to Christianity and to English mores, were established in parts of the colony until most (but not all) were dispersed in the conflict known as King Philip's War in the mid-1670s.

Though not the only minister to learn to preach in Algonquian, Eliot proved the most determined and productive writer of all these learners. He began to translate the Bible into the local native language, and by the mid-1650s had translated and published Genesis and Matthew's Gospel. An indefatigable fund-raiser, he raised money from private benefactors, often to the irritation of the official company. In 1661 a New Testament was published in Algonquian at Cambridge, followed two years later by the complete Bible, the first Bible to be printed in North America.[4] He also published translations of Richard Baxter's *A Call to the Unconverted* and Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Pietie*.[5] No

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[3] John Wilson, Thomas Shepard and John Eliot, *The Day-breaking, if not the sun-rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England* (London: Rich. Cotes for Fulk Clifton ..., 1647); Thomas Shepard and John Eliot, *The clear sun-shine of the gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England, or, An historicall narration of Gods wonderfull workings upon sundry of the Indians, both chief governors and common-people, in bringing them to a willing and desired submission to the ordinances of the gospel and framing their hearts to an earnest inquirie after the knowledge of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world* (London: R. Cotes for J. Bellamy, 1648); Edward Winslow and others, *The Glorious progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England manifested by three letters under the hand of that famous instrument of the Lord, Mr. John Eliot, and another from Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Jun., both preachers of the word, as well to the English as Indians in New England* ... (London: Hannah Allen ..., 1649); Henry Whitfield, Thomas Mayhew and John Eliot, *The light appearing more and more towards the perfect day. Or, a farther discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England, concerning the progresse of the Gospel amongst them. Manifested by letters from such as preacht to them there* (London: T.R. & E.M. for John Bartlet, 1651).

[4] *Wusku Wuttestamentum Nul-Lordumun Jesus Christ Nuppoquohwussuaeneumun / The New Testament of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*, trans. John Eliot (Cambridge [MA]: Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1661; 2nd edn. Cambridge [MA]: [Samuel Green] for the Right Honourable Corp. in London, for the Propogation [*sic*] of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England, 1681); *Mamusse wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God ... The Holy Bible containing the Old Testament and the New*, trans. John Eliot (Cambridge [MA]: Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1663; 2nd edn. Cambridge [MA]: Samuel Green, 1685).

[5] Richard Baxter, *Wehkomaonganoo asquam peantogig Kah asquam Quinnuppegig, Tokonogque mahche woskeche Peantamwog : onk woh sampwutteahae Peantamwog : wutanakausuonk wunneetou nohtompeantog / ussowesu Mr. Richard Baxter; kah Yeuyeu quishkinnumunen Indiane Wuttinnontoqwaonganit: wussohsumoowontamunat oowesuonk God ut Christ Jesus ut, kah ooneneheonat Indiansog*, trans. John Eliot (Cambridge [MA]: Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1664); Lewis Bayly, *Manitowompae Pomantamoonk: Sampwshanau Christianoh Uttoh woh an Pomantog Wussikkitteahonat God*, trans. John Eliot (Cambridge [MA]: [Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson], 1665).

greater evidence could be found of the assumption that seventeenth-century Puritan piety was a universal goal appropriate for all peoples. Unfortunately even at the time opinions were divided as to the effectiveness of Eliot's translations, which must have entailed a formidable amount of neologisms. Cotton Mather, Eliot's biographer and hardly unsympathetic to the project, wrote in later years:

> Their Indian tongue is a very penurious one (though the words are long enough!) and the great things of our Holy Religion brought unto them in it, unavoidably arrive in terms that are scarcely more intelligible to them than if they were entirely English … A discreet person that we lately employed in a visitation of the Indian villages [reports] about this particular matter: 'There are many words of Mr Eliot's forming which they never understood. This they say is a grief to them. Such a knowledge in their Bibles as our English ordinarily have in ours, they seldom any of them have.'[6]

Notwithstanding these uncertain outcomes, the Algonquian New Testament and Bible were reprinted in 1681 and 1685, and Eliot continued resolute in pursuing this evangelising project until his death. His approach may have lacked sufficient awareness of or curiosity into the values and principles of native culture and ethics; however, it would subsequently be superseded by something much worse, the systematic displacement and marginalisation of the native peoples by the ever-growing settler communities.[7]

The New England experiment in translating Scripture across vast gulfs of cultural difference draws attention to an underlying assumption in Western culture in the early modern period. Christianity had, it was thought, become the peculiar and special property of the peoples of Europe. The early seventeenth-century travel writer Samuel Purchas expressed more bluntly and boldly what many Europeans seem to have assumed at the time: 'Europe is taught the way to scale Heaven, not by Mathematicall principles, but by Divine veritie. Jesus Christ is their way, their truth, their life; who hath long since given a bill of Divorce to ingratefull Asia where he was borne, and Africa the place of his flight and refuge, and is become almost wholly and only European … God himself is our portion, and the lot of Europe's inheritance.'[8]

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[6] George Parker Winship (ed.), *The New England Company and John Eliot* (Boston: Plimpton Press, 1920) pp. xlviii–xlix.

[7] There continues to this day a 'praying Indian' community in New England, based in Natick, MA which maintains and revives the heritage of Eliot's missions.

[8] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes: contayning a history of the world in sea voyages and lande travells by Englishmen and others*, 20 vols. (Glasgow and New York: James MacLehose and Sons/The Macmillan Company, 1905–1907), vol. 1, p. 251.

This claim was substantially false even in 1625; it was destined to become even more untrue with the expansion of world Christianity in succeeding centuries. However, it faithfully reflects the assumptions that underlay the colonising enterprise, and helps to explain how seventeenth-century Europeans, in all their religious diversity, did not distinguish between their faith and their cultural presuppositions.

That assumption – that all peoples ought to conform to European religion and European manners as part of their acceptance of Scripture and true religion – began to fade towards the end of the eighteenth century. Philosophers reasoned that peoples were not all alike, nor were they engaged on a single and continuous journey. Peoples were diverse in their temperaments, customs and manners, determined by their history, culture and climate. In the short term this approach was hardly an improvement on early modern universalism: it could encourage the racial theories that would become dismally characteristic of social Darwinism. As the influence of romanticism reached Christian thought, theologians especially in mid-nineteenth-century Germany adjusted to the notion that the gospel was one thing, its cultural wrappings and setting were another. The Christian Bible, as we have it, had come into being in the profoundly alien cultural worlds of Second Temple Judaism, eastern Mediterranean Hellenism and the early Roman Empire. Those settings were not (and must not be!) intrinsic to or inseparable from its message, any more than was the context of nineteenth-century Europe. With this insight, the best-prepared of missionary teachers would learn to saturate themselves in the traditions and languages of the peoples among whom they worked before attempting to share the gospel. That approach to the relationship of Bible and culture had already enjoyed a first flowering in the missionary efforts of the Jesuits in China and Japan in the late sixteenth century. Catholic missionaries had translated devotional texts into the native languages of Peru with a care and thoroughness beyond that seen in New England.[9] All these struggles testify that the Bible, wherever it was brought and however it was presented, confronted its hearers and its readers with deep challenges in faith and ethics. Many then and since have found themselves compelled to respond to those challenges.

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[9] See Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550–1650* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007). The Catholic translation enterprise was focused on works of piety and devotion.

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# Select Bible bibliography

## Principal editions of the Bible discussed in the text

For convenience of reference, the most significant editions discussed in the text of this volume are listed here, organised by language broadly following the structure of the volume. Within each subsection, editions are listed in order by date, earliest first. Note that many of these editions were printed multiple times, and only some of the most significant editions or printings are included. Further details may be found in Darlow and Moule's catalogues or in the major bibliographic databases.

## Editions of the Bible in ancient languages, with or without Latin

### *Old Testament*

[חמשה חומשי תורה נביאים ראשונים ארבעה נביאים אחרונים ספר כתובים]: [*Ḥamishah ḥumshe Torah, Neviim rishonim, arba'ah Nevi'im aḥaronim, sefer Ketuvim*], ed. Felice of Prato, 4 vols. (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1517) [Bomberg's rabbinic Hebrew Bible]; Darlow and Moule 2403, 5083

Πάντα τὰ κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν καλούμενα Βιβλία θείας δηλαδὴ Γραφῆς παλαιᾶς τε, καὶ νέας= *Sacrae Scripturae veteris, novaeque Omnia*, ed. Andrea Torresano d'Asola (Venice: in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri, 1518) [whole Bible in Greek including the LXX Old Testament]; Darlow and Moule 4594

Ἡ Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς Ἑβδομήκοντα … *Vetus Testamentum Iuxta Septuaginta Ex Auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max. Editum* (Romæ [Rome]: Francescus Zannetti, 1586–7); Darlow and Moule 4647

Johannes Buxtorf (ed.), *Biblia sacra Hebraica & Chaldaica: cum Masora*, 4 vols. (Basel: Ludovicus König, 1618–19); Darlow and Moule 5120

### *New Testament*

*Novum Instrumentum Omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum [et] emendatum, non solum ad graecam veritatem, verumetiam ad multorum utriusque linguae codicum, eorumque veterum simul [et] emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem [et] interpretationem praecipae, Origenis, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Vulgarij, Hieronymi, Cypriani, Ambrosij, Hilarij, Augustini, una cum Annotationibus, quae lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit* (Basel: Froben, 1516); Darlow and Moule 4591

925

*Novum Testamentum omne: multo qum antehac diligentius ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum, emendatum ac translatum, non solum ad Graecam veritatem, verum etiam ad multorum utriusque linguae codicum, eorumque veterum simul & emendatorum fidem* (Basel: Froben, 1519); Darlow and Moule 4597

*Novum Testamentum Omne, tertio iam ac diligentius ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum . . .* ([Basel: Froben], 1522); Darlow and Moule 4599

*En Novum Testamentum: ex Erasmi Roterodami recognitione, iam quartum damus studiose lector, adiecta vulgata translatione, quo protinus ipsis oculis conferre possis, quid conueniat quid dissideat* (Basel: [Froben], 1527); Darlow and Moule 4603

Τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης ἅπαντα: *Novum Iesu Christi D.N. Testamentum: ex Bibliotheca Regia* (Lutetiae [Paris]: Ex Officina Roberti Stephani . . ., 1550) [the 3rd edn. of Estienne's NT, and the most historically important version of the text]; Darlow and Moule 4622

Ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης: *Novum Iesv Christi D.N. Testamentum. Cum duplici interpretatione, D. Erasmi, et veteris Interpretis: Harmonia item Euangelica et copioso indice* [ed. Robertus Stephanus] ([Genevæ [Geneva]]: Ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1551) [the first edn. of the NT to include the now standard verse divisions of the text]; Darlow and Moule 4623

*Ketaba de'wangeliwan qadisha' demaran wa'lahan yeshu' . . . : Liber sacrosancti evangelii de Iesv Christo Domino & Deo nostro. Reliqua hoc codice comprehensa pagina proxima indicabit. Div. Ferdinandi rom. imperatoris designati iussu & liberalitate, characteribus & lingua Syra, Iesv Christo vernacula, diuino ipsius ore cōsecrata, et à Ioh. Euangelista Hebraica dicta, scriptorio prelo diligenter expressa . . .*, ed. Guillaume Postel and Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter ([Vienna]: [Michael Cymermannus], 1555) [edn. of the NT in the Syriac Peshitta version]; Darlow and Moule 8947

*Hē Kainē Diathēkē: Testamentum Novum. DIYATIKA KHADATAA. Est autem interpretatio Syriaca Novi Testamenti, Hebraeis typis descripta, plerisque etiam locis emendata. Eadem Latino sermone reddita. Autore Immanuele Tremellio, theologiae doctore & professore in schola Heidelbergensi, cuius etiam Grammatica Chaldaica et Syra calci operis adiecta est*, ed. Immanuel Tremellius ([Geneva]: Henri Estienne, 1569); Darlow and Moule 8949

العهد الجديد لربنــا يســوع المســيح: *al-'Ahd al-jadīd li-Rabbinā Yasū' al-Masīḥ = Novum D.N. Iesu Christi Testamentvm arabice: ex Bibliotheca Leidensi*, ed. Thomas Erpenius (Leiden: In typographia Erpeniana linguarum orientalium, 1616); Darlow and Moule 1642

*Novum Testamentum Graece: Textum ad fidem codicum versionum et patrum*, ed. Johann Jakob Griesbach, 2 vols.,2nd edn. (Halle and London: heirs of J.J. Curtius / P. Elmsly, 1796–1806); Darlow and Moule 4782

## Polylglot Bibles

*Psalterium Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum, & Chaldaeum: cum tribus Latinis interpretationibus & glossis*, ed. Agostino Giustiniani (Genoa: Nicolaus Justinianus Paulus, 1516); Darlow and Moule 1411

[*Biblia polyglotta*], 6 vols., ed. Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, Diego López de Zuñiga et al. ([Alcalá de Henares]: Arnaldus Guillelmus de Brocar, printed 1514–17, published 1521–2) [different vols. have their own titles]; facsimile edns., 6 vols. ([Rome]: [Gregorian University Polyglott Press], 1983–4); *Biblia Políglota Complutense* (Valencia and

Madrid: Fundación Bíblica Española / Universidad Complutense, 1987); Darlow and Moule 1412

*Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine: Philippi II. Reg. Cathol. pietate, et studio ad Sacrosanctae Ecclesiae usum*, 8 vols. (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1569–73); Darlow and Moule 1422

*Biblia: 1. Hebraica, 2. Samaritana, 3. Chaldaica, 4. Græca, 5. Syriaca, 6. Latina, 7. Arabica, quibus textus originales totius Scripturæ Sacræ, quorum pars in editione complutensi, deinde in antverpiensi . . . extat, nunc integri . . . exhibentur . . .*, 10 vols., ed. Guy Michel Lejay, Jean Morin et al. (Paris: A. Vitré, 1629–45); Darlow and Moule 1442

*Biblia Sacra polyglotta, complectentia textus originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Graecum; versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanae, Graecae LXXII Interp., Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae, Persicae, Vulg. . . .*, 6 vols., ed. Brian Walton (London: T. Roycroft, 1654–60); Darlow and Moule 1446

# Bibles in Latin only

## *Vulgate editions and revisions*

*Biblia* (Parisiis [Paris]: Ex Officina Roberti Stephani . . ., 1528); Darlow and Moule 6109

*Biblia: Breves in eadem annotationes, ex doctiss. interpretationibus, & Hebræorum commentariis, Interpretatio propriorum nominum Hebraicorum . . .* (Parisiis [Paris]: Ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1532); Darlow and Moule 6112

*Biblia: Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca & Latina Nomina virorum, mulierum, populorum, idolorum, urbium, fluviorum, montium, caeterorúmque locorum quae in Bibliis leguntur, restituta, cum latina interpretatione. Locorum descriptio è cosmographis. Index praeterea rerum & sententiarum quae in iisdem Bibliis continentur*, 4 vols. in 1 (Parisiis [Paris]: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi regii, 1538–40); Darlow and Moule 6117

*Noui Testamenti Vulgata quidem æditio: sed quæ ad vetustissimorum utriusque linguæ exemplarium fidem, nunc demum emendata est diligentissime, ut nova non desideretur, adiectis scholijs, et doctis, et pijs: & quibus opus est locis, ita locupletibus, ut pro comentarijs sufficere possint* [ed. Isidoro Chiari] (Venetiis [Venice]: Apud Petrum Schoeffer, 1541)

*Vulgata aeditio Veteris ac Noui Testamenti: quorum alterum ad Hebraicam, alterum ad Græcam ueritatem emendatum est diligentissimè, ut noua æditio non facilè desyderetur, & uetus tamen hic agnoscatur: adiectis ex eruditis scriptoribus scholijs, ita ubi opus est, locupletibus, ut pro commentarijs sint . . .* [ed. Isidoro Chiari] (Venetiis [Venice]: Apud Petrum Schoeffer, 1542); Darlow and Moule 6121

*Biblia: Quid in hac editione praestitum sit, vide in ea quam operi praeposuimus, ad lectorem epistola*, ed. Robert Estienne (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani, typographi Regij, 1545) [the 'Vatable Bible']; Darlow and Moule 6127

*Biblia ad vetustissima exemplaria nunc recens castigata: Hebræa, Chaldæa, Græca & Latina nomina virorum, mulierum, populorum, idolorum, vrbium, fluuiorum, montium, cæterorumque locorum quæ in Biblijs leguntur, restituta, cum Latina interpretatione, ac locorum è cosmographis descriptione . . .* [ed. Johannes Hentenius] (Louvain: Bartholomæus Gravius [Barthélemy de Grave], 1547); Darlow and Moule 6129

*Biblia sacra: Quid in hac editione à theologis Lovaniensibus praestitum sit, paulo pòst indicator* (Antverpiae [Antwerp]:Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1580)

*Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis ad Concilii Tridentini Praescriptum emendata et a Sixto V.P.M. recognita et approbata*, 3 vols. (Rome: Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1590); Darlow and Moule 6181

*Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis: Sixti Quinti pont. max. jussu recognita atque edita* (Romae [Rome]: Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1592) [many subsequent edns.: the first authoritative Sixto-Clementine Vulgate];Darlow and Moule 6184

*Biblia sacra variarum translationum*, 3 vols., ed. Laurentius Beyerlinck (Antwerp: Ioannes Keerbergius, 1616) [subsequent edn. was published at Venice in 1747]

*Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti V. & Clementis VIII. pont. max. autoritate recognita. Editio nova, notis chronologicis et historicis illustrata. Una cum sacra chronologia atque geographia*, ed. Claude Lancelot (Paris: Antonius Vitré, 1662)

*Biblia Sacra: cum universis Franc. Vatabli, regii Hebraicae linguae quondam professoris et variorum interpretum, annotationibus. Latina interpretatio duplex est: altera vetus, altera nova. Editio postrema multò quam antehac emendatior & auctior* (Parisiis [Paris]: Sumptibus societatis, 1729)

# New translations

## Roman Catholic

*Quincuplex Psalterium, Gallicum, Romanum, Hebraicum, Vetus, Conciliatum*, ed. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Paris: Stephanus/Estienne, 1509) [multiple versions of the Psalter in Latin, with annotations]

*Psalterium ex hebreo diligentissime ad verbum fere tralatum: fratre Felice ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Augustini interprete per summum pontificem Leonem decimum approbatum*, ed. Felice da Prato (Venice: Peter Liechtenstein and Daniel Bomberg, 1515)

*Biblia: habes in hoc libro prudens lector vtriusq[ue] instrumenti nouam tran[s]latione[m] æditum / à reuerendo sacr[a]e theologiae doctore Sancte Pagnino Luce[n]si concionatore apostolico prædcatorii, ordinis, necnon & librum de interpretamentis Hebraicorum Aram[a]eoru[m] Græcorumq[ue] nominum, sacris in literis contentoru[m], in quo iuxta idioma cuiuscu[m]q[ue] linguæ. . . .* ([Lugduni [Lyons]: Per Antonium du Ry], 1528); Darlow and Moule 6108

## Protestant Latin Bibles

*En tibi lector Hebraica Biblia Latina planeque noua Sebast. Munsteri tralatione, post omneis omnium hactenus ubiuis gentium aeditiones euulgata, & quoad fieri potuit, hebraicae ueritati conformata: adiectis insuper è Rabinorum co[m]mentarijs annotationibus haud poenitendis, pulchre & uoces ambiguas & obscuriora quaeq[ue] elucidantibus . . .* ed. Sebastian Münster, (Basileae [Basel]: Ex officina Bebeliana, impendiis Michaelis Isingrinii et Henrici Petri, 1534[–5]); Darlow and Moule 6115

*Biblia sacrosancta Testame[n]ti Veteris & Noui: è sacra Hebraeorum lingua Graecorumque fontibus, consultis simul orthodoxis interpretib. religiosissime translata in sermonem Latinum: authores omnemq[ue] totius operis rationem ex subiecta intelliges praefatione* (Tiguri [Zurich]: Excvdebat C. Froschovervs, Anno M. D. XLIII. [1543]); Darlow and Moule 6124

*Biblia, interprete Sebastiano Castalione: una cum eiusdem annotationibus: totum opus recognouit ipse, & adiecit ex Flauio Iosepho historiae supplementum ab Esdrae temporibus usq[ue] ad*

*Machabaeos, itemq[ue] a Machabaeis usq[ue] ad Christum: accessit quoq[ue] rerum & uerborum tam in ipsis Biblijs, quam annotationibus & historiae supplemento praecipue memorabilium index* (Basileae [Basel]: Per Ioannem Oporinum, 1551) [subsequent edns. in 1554 and 1556]; Darlow and Moule 6131, 6137

*Novum D.N. Iesu Christi Testamentum*, ed. Théodore de Bèze (Geneva: Oliva Roberti Stephani, 1556)

*Iesu Christi D.N. Nouum Testamentum, siue, Nouum foedus: cuius Graeco textui respondent interpretationes duae: vna, vetus: altera, noua, Theodori Bezae, diligenter ab eo recognita: eiusdem Th. Bezae annotationes, quas itidem hac secunda editione recognouit & accessione non parua locupletauit; indices etiam duo, theologis (praesertim Hebraicae, Graecae & Latinae linguae studiosis) multum profuturi, adiecti sunt: responsio eiusde[m] ad Seb. Castellione[m], in qua multi N. Testamenti & haru[m] in ipsum annotationum loci accuratissime excutiu[n]tur, seorsum excusa prostat* ([Geneva]: Excudebat Henricus Stephanus, illustris Hulrici Fuggeri typographus, 1565); Darlow and Moule 6147

*Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, sive, Libri canonici, priscae Iudaeorvm ecclesiae a Deo traditi: Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, brevibusq[ue] scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio & Francisco Iunio: accesserunt libri qvi vulgo dicuntur Apocryphi, Latine redditi & notis quibusdam aucti a Francisco Junio*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Wechel, 1579); Darlow and Moule 6165

*Testamenti veteris Biblia sacra sive libri canonici: priscæ Iudæorum Ecclesiae a Deo traditi, Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, brevibúsque scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio & Francisco Iunio: accesserunt libri qui vulgo dicuntur apocryphi, Latinè redditi & notis quibusdam aucti a Francisco Junio, multo omnes quam ante emendatius editi, numeris locisq[ue] citatis omnibus capitum distinctioni quam hæc editio sequitur, exactiùs respondentibus: quibus etiam adjunximus novi Testamenti libros ex sermone Syriaco ab eodem Tremellio in Latinum conversos*, ed. Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius (London: Henry Middleton, T. Vautrollier, and J. Harrison, 1580); Darlow and Moule 6166

# Translations into the vernacular languages of Europe

## High and Low German

### Pre-Reformation editions

*Biblia Germanica* (Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, 1466); Darlow and Moule 4176

*Biblia Germanica* (Augsburg: [Günther Zainer], 1475); Darlow and Moule 4181

*Select key early editions of the Luther Bible:*

*Das Newe Testament Deutzsch* (Wittenberg: Döring and Cranach, 1522); Darlow and Moule 4188

*Dat Nyge Testament tho dude / Martin Luther* (Wittemberch [Wittenberg]: Dorch Melchior Lotter den jüngern, 1523)

*Das Allte Testament deutsch. M. Luther* (Wittenberg: Melchior Lotter, 1523) [first printing of Luther's translation of the Pentateuch]; Darlow and Moule 4189 describes this and the next three items

*Das ander teyl des alten testaments* (Wittenberg: Döring and Cranach, 1524) [Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra–Nehemiah and Esther]

*Das Dritte teyl des allten Testaments* (Wittenberg: [Melchior Lotter], 1524) [Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs]

*Das Newe Testament Deudsch. Mart. Luther* (Wittenberg: Michel Lotter, 1527) [revision]

*Biblia beyder Allt und Newen Testame[n]ts Teutsch: Zum Christenlichen leser . . . sampt angehenck-ter außlegung der schweristen örter . . .*, (Worms: Schöffer, 1529) [composite Bible combining the first three parts of the OT and the whole of the NT by Luther with the Hätzer and Denck translation of the Prophets, and Leo Jud's version of the Apocrypha]

*Das Newe Testament M. Luthers* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1530) [revision]

*Der Prophet Daniel Deudsch Marti. Luther* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1530)

*Der Deudsch Psalter D. Luthers* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1531) [revision]

*Die Propheten alle Deudsch. D. Mart. Luth,* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1532); Darlow and Moule 4197

*Jesus Syrach zu Wittenberg verdeudscht Marti. Luther* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1533)

*Biblia, das ist, Die gantze Heilige Schrifft deudsch / Mart. Luth,,* 2 vols. (Wittenberg: Gedruckt durch Hans Lufft, 1534); facsimile edition, with a separate introduction by Stephan Füssel (Cologne: Taschen, 2003) [the first complete official Luther Bible]; Darlow and Moule 4199

*De Biblie vth der vthleggunge Doctoris Martini Luthers yn dyth düdesche vlitich vthgesettet mit sundergen vnderrichtingen alte men seen mach* (Lübeck: Ludowich Dietz gedrüket, 1534); Darlow and Moule 4198

## German Bibles from the non-Lutheran Reformed tradition

*Das Alt Testament dütsch: der ursprünglichen ebreischen waarheyt nach uff das allertrüwlichest verdütschet* (Zurich: Froschouer, 1525) [a partial adaptation of Luther's Bible]

*Das Neuw Testament grüdtlich vnd recht verteütscht: Zuo Zürich: Getruckt . . . bey Christoffel Froschouwer* (Zurich: Froschauer, [1527])

*Das Vierde teyl des alten Testaments: alle Propheten, vss Ebraischer spraach, mitt guotten trüwenn vnnd hohem flyss, durch die Predicanten zuo Zürich, in Tütsch vertolmätschet* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1529)

*Die gantze Bibel der ursprünglichen Ebraischen und Griechischen waarheyt nach auffs aller treüwli-chest verteütschet* (Zurich: Christoffel Froschouer, 1531); Darlow and Moule 4196

*Die gantze Bibel: das ist alle Bücher allts vnnd neuws Testaments den vrsprünglichen Spraachen nach auffs aller treüwlichest verteüschet. Darzu sind yetzund kom[m]en ein schön vnd volkom[m]en Register od[er] Zeyger über die gantzen Bibel. Die Jarzal vnnd Rächnung der Zeyten von Adamen biss an Christu mit sampt gwüssen Concordantzen, Argumenten, Zalen vn[nd] Figuren* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1536)

*Die gantze Bibel, das ist, Alle Bücher allts vnnd neüws Testaments: den vrsprünglichen Spraachen nach, auffs aller treüwlichest verteütschet: darzu sind yetz und kommen ein schön vnd volkom[m]en Register oder Zeyger über die gantzen Bibel: die Jarzal vnd Rächnung der Zeyten von Adamen biss an Christum, mit sampt gwüssen Concordantzen, Argumenten, Zalen vnd Figuren* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1540) [with preface by Heinrich Bullinger]

*Bibell: Das ist alle Bücher Allts und Neüws Testaments auss hebreischer und griechischer ihren ursprünglichen Sprachen mit allem Fleiss und auffs aller treüwlichest verteütschet. Auch*

*eyn schön unnd vollkommen Register oder Zeyger über die gantzen Bibel mit sampt gwüssen Concordantzen Argumenten unnd viel hüpschen Figuren* (Basel: Niclaus Bryllinger, 1552)

*Biblia, das ist, Die gantze Heilige Schrifft des Alten vnd Newen Testaments durch D. Martinum Lutherum verteutschet: jtzt ordenlich in gewisse versickel abgetheilet: darzu mit nusslichen Concordantzen, Sum[m]arien auch schoenen Figuren vnnd Landtaffeln nach nodturfgezieret* (Heydelberg [Heidelberg]: Durch Martinum Agricolam und Johannem Mayer, 1569)

*Biblia, das ist, Alle Bücher Alts und Neüws Testaments* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1589) [revision of the Zurich Bible with material by David Pareus]

*Biblia, das ist, Die gantze heilige Schrift Teutsch: Doct. Martin Luther: mit den Summarien, Versiculn, Concordantzen, Chronologi: auch verschiedenen Registern der historien vnd Hauptlehren: endlich dem Gesangbuch vnd Catechismo verbessert vnd geziert* (Herborn: [Christof Raben], 1595)

*Biblia: Das ist: Alle bûcher der H. Schrift 1604–1606 das alten und newen Testaments [...]*, ed. Johann Piscator (Herborn: Christoff Raben, 1604)

*Biblia, das ist alle Bücher der Heiligen Schrift auss den Grundsprachen treulich und wol verteutschet...* (Zurich: Bodmer, 1667)

## Roman Catholic German Bibles

*Das naw testament nach lawt der Christlichen kirchen bewerten text, corrigirt, und widerumb zu recht gebracht*, ed. Hieronymus Emser (Dresden: Stöckel, 1527); Darlow and Moule 4191

*Biblia, beider Allt unnd Newen Testamenten*, ed. Johann Dietenberger (Mainz: Peter Jordan and P. Quentel, 1534); Darlow and Moule 4200

*Bibel: Alt und new Testament, nach dem Text in der hailigen kirchen gebraucht*, ed. Johann Eck (Ingolstadt: [Görg Krapffen], 1537); Darlow and Moule 4203

*Sacra Biblia: Das ist die gantze h. Schrifft, Alten und Newen Testaments, nach der letzten römischen sixtiner edition auss Befehl des hochwirdigsten, durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und Herren, Herren Ferdinanden, Ertzbischoffen zu Cöln und Churfürsten...*, ed. Kaspar Ulenberg (Cologne: J. Kreps, 1630) [see Darlow and Moule, vol.11, p. 500, note]

## *Dutch*

*Deese ieghenwoerdighe bible met horen boecken, ende elc boeck met alle sijne capitelen bi ene notabelen meester wel ouergheset wt den latine in duytsche ende wel naerstelic gecorrigeert ende wel ghespelt: was gemaect te delf in hollant mitter hulpen gods ende bij ons iacob iacobs soen en mauricius yemants zoen van middelborch ter eeren gods, ende tot stichticheit ende lerijnghe der kersten ghelouighe mensche...*, 2 vols. (Delft: Iacobs, 1477); Darlow and Moule 3271

*Dat Nyeuvve Testament ander werf met grooter neersticheyt gecorrigeert* (Antwerp: Adriaen van Berghen, 1524); Darlow and Moule 3277

*Dat Oude ende dat nieuwe testament...*, (Antwerpen [Antwerp]: Jac. van Liesvelt, 1526); Darlow and Moule 3280

*Tgeheele Oude ende Nieuwe Testament met grooter naersticheyt naden Latinjnschen text gecorrigeert, eñ opten cant des boecks die alteratie die hebreeusche veranderinge, naerder hebreeuscer waerheyt der boecke die int hebreus zijn, eñ die griecsce der boecke die griecs zijn, eñ dinhout voor die capittelen gestelt, Met schoonen figueren ghedruct, eñ naerstelijc weder ouersien. Cum Gratia et Priuilegio*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: Willem Vorsterman, 1528); Darlow and Moule 3282

*Den gheheelen Bybel, inhoudende het Oude ende Nieuwe Testament met grooter naersticheyt ende arbeyte nu corts in duytsche van nyews ouerghestelt wt den Latijnschen ouden text: die ouer duysent iaren in die heylighe Roomsche kersten kercke ghehouden is ghe weest: onlancs te Loeuen by sekeren gheleerde wt beuel der Keyserlijcker Maiesteyt ghecorrigeert ende aldaer ghedruct*, ed. Nicolaas van Winghe (Louvain: Barthélemy de Grave, 1548); Darlow and Moule 3287

*Den Bibel inhoudende dat Oude ende Nieuwe Testament* ([Emden]: Nicolaes Biestkens, 1560)

*Biblia, dat is, De gantsche Heylighe Schrift grondlelick ende trouvvelick verduydtschet: met verklaringhe duysterer woorden, redenen ende spreucken, ende verscheyden lectien, die in andere loflicke ouersettinghen gheuonden, ende hier aen de kant toe ghesettet zijn . . .*, ed. Govaert van Wingen and Johannes Dyrkinus (Emden: Gilles van der Erven, 1562); Darlow and Moule 3293

*Biblia, dat is: De gantsche H. Schrifture, vervattende alle de Canonijcke Boecken des Oud en des Nieuwen Testaments: Nu eerst, door last der Hoogh-Mog: heeren Staten generael vande Vereenighde Nederlanden, en volgens het besluyt van de Synode Nationael, gehouden tot Dordrecht, inde Jaeren 1618. ende 1619. Uyt de Oorspronckelijcke Talen in onse Neder-landtsche Tale getrouwelijck over-geset . . .*, (The Hague: Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw, printer to the States General, 1637); simultaneous edn. (Leiden: Paulus Aertsz. van Ravesteyn, 1637); Darlow and Moule 3307

## Danish

*Thette ere thz Nøye testamenth paa Danske ret effter latinen vdsatthe*, ed. Hans Mikkelsen ([Leipzig]: [Melchior Lotter], 1524); Darlow and Moule 3149

*Det Ny Testamente Jhesu Christi egne ord oc Evangelia som han selff predickede oc lærde her paa Jorden, Hwilke han heilige Apostle och evangelister*, ed. Christiern Pedersen (Antwerp: [Willem Vorsterman], 1529); Darlow and Moule 3151

*Biblia, Det er den gantske Hellige Scrifft, vdsät paa Danske . . .*, ed. Christiern Pedersen, Peder Palladius, Erhard Altdorffer et al. (Copenhagen: Ludwig Dietz, 1550) ['Christian III's Bible']; Darlow and Moule, 3155

*Biblia, paa Danske: den gantske hellige scriftis bøgger igeñem seete med flijd effter den Ebræeske oc Grækeske text . . .*, ed. Hans Poulsen Resen (Copenhagen: N. Michelsøn, 1607); Darlow and Moule 3159

*Biblia: det er Den gantske Hellige Scrifft paa Danske igien offverseet oc prentet effter vor allernaadigste Herris oc Kongis K. Christian den IV. Befaling. Mett Register, alle Lutheri Fortaler, Hans Udlegning i Braedden oc Viti Theodori Summarier*, ed. Poul Madsen (Copenhagen: Melchior Markan, 1633); Darlow and Moule 3160

## Icelandic

*Biblia: það er Øll Heilög Ritning vtlögð a Norraenu: með formalum Doct. Martini. Lutheri*, ed. Guðbrandur Þorláksson, Bishop of Hólar, et al. (Holum: Af Jone Jons Syne, 1584); Darlow and Moule 5489

## Swedish

*Jesus. Thet Nyia Testamentit på swensko*, ed. Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae (n.p.: n.p., 1526); Darlow and Moule 8806

*Biblia: Thet är, All then Helgha Scrifft, på Swensko*, ed. Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae (Uppsala: Georg Richolff, 1541); Darlow and Moule 8808

*Biblia: Thet är: All then helgha scrifft, på swensko Effter förre bibliens text, oförandrat: medh förspråk på the böker ther förr inge woro, medh summarier för capitelen, marginalier, flere concordantier, samt nyttighe förklaringar och register, etc. formerat . . .*, (Stockholm: Olof Oloffson, 1618); Darlow and Moule 8810

## Finnish

*Se wsi testament*, ed. Michael Agricola (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1548); Darlow and Moule 3637

*Biblia, se on: Coco Pyhä Ramattu/ suomexi: Pääramattuin/ hebrean ja grecan jälken: esipuhetten/ marginaliain/ concordantiain/ selitösten ja registerein cansa*, ed. Eskil Petraeus, Martin Henriksson Stodius et al. (Stockholm: Henrik Keyser, 1642); Darlow and Moule 3639

## French
### Protestant Bibles

*La Bible: qui est toute la Saincte Escripture, en laquelle sont contenus le Vieil Testament et le Nouveau, translatez en francoys. Le Vieil de lebrieu: & le Nouveau du grec. Aussi deux amples tables . . .* trans. Pierre Robert Olivétan [et al.] (Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle dict Pirot Picard, 1535); Darlow and Moule 3710

*La Bible en laquelle sont contenus tous les livres canoniques, de la saincte escriture, tant du vieil que du nouueau Testament: & pareillement les Apocryphes: le tout translaté en langue françoise, auec diligente collation: non seullement aux anciens & fideles exemplaires, mais aussi à l'original & signamment des canoniques* [with notes by Nicolas Malingre] (Geneva: J. Gerard, 1540); Darlow and Moule 3713

*La Bible, qui est toute la saincte Escriture, en laquelle sont contenuz, le Vieil Testament & le Nouveau, translatez en francois, & reveuz le Vieil selon l'ebrieu, & le Nouveau selon le grec. . .*, ed. Jean Calvin (Geneva: Jehan Girard, 1546); Darlow and Moule 3716

*Le Nouueau Testament, c'est à dire, La nouuelle Alliance de nostre Seigneur & seul Sauueur Iesus Christ, translaté de grec en francois, reueu par M. Iehan Caluin* ([Geneva]: [Jean Gérard], 1546)

*Le Nouveau Testament: C'est a dire, La Nouvelle alliance de nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ, Tant en Latin, qu'en Fra[n]cois; les deux translations traduictes du Grec, respondantes l'vne a l'autre, verset, notez par nombres* ([Geneva]: De l'imprimerie de Robert Estienne, 1552); Darlow and Moule 3718

*La Bible, qui est toute la saincte Escripture contenant le Vieil et Nouveau Testament, ou Alliance* ([Geneva]: L'Olivier de Robert Estienne, 1553); Darlow and Moule 3719

*La Bible nouuellement translatée auec la suite de l'histoire depuis le tems d'Esdras iusqu'aux Maccabées: e depuis les Maccabées iusqu'a Christ: item auec des annotacions sur les passages difficiles*, trans. Sébastien Castellion (Basel: Iehan Heruage, 1555); Darlow and Moule 3720

*La Bible, qui est toute la saincte Escriture du Vieil & du Nouveau Testament: autrement l'anciene & la nouvelle alliance. Le tout reveu & conferé sur les textes hebrieux & grecs par les pasteurs & professeurs de l'Église de Genève* (Geneva: [Jérémie Des Planches], 1588); Darlow and Moule 3737

*La Sainte Bible: Interpretee par Jean Diodati* (Geneva: Pierre Chouet, 1644); Darlow and Moule 3750

*La Sainte Bible, qui contient le Vieux et le Nouveau Testament: edition nouvelle, faite sur la version de Genève, reveuë et corrigée, enrichie, outre les anciennes notes, de toutes celles de la Bible flamande, de la plus-part de celles de M. Diodati, et de beaucoup d'autres, de plusieurs cartes curieuses, et de tables fort amples, pour le soulagement de ceux qui lisent l'Escriture sainte*, ed. Samuel des Marets, Henri des Marets [et al.] (Amsterdam: Louys and Daniel Elzevier, 1669); Darlow and Moule 3761

*La Sainte Bible, qui contient le Vieux et le Nouveau Testament, expliquez par des notes de théologie & de critique sur la version ordinaire des églises réformées, revûe sur les originaux, & retouchée dans le langage: avec des préfaces particulieres sur chacun des livres de l'Ecriture sainte, et deux préfaces générales sur l'Ancien & sur le Nouveau Testament*, ed. David Martin (Amsterdam: Henry Desbordes, Pierre Mortier, Pierre Brunel …, 1707); Darlow and Moule 3784

*La Sainte Bible, qui contient le Vieux et le Nouveau Testament, avec les argumens et les réflexions sur les chapitres de l'Ecriture Sainte et des notes par J.F. Ostervald* (Neuchâtel: Abraham Boyve, 1744); Darlow and Moule 3814

## Catholic Bibles including the Port-Royal editions

*La Saincte Bible en Francoys, translatee selon la pure et entiere traduction de Sainct Hierome: conferee et entierement reuisitee selon les plus anciens et plus correctz exemplaires: ou sus vng chascun chapitre est mis brief argume[n]t …* trans. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Antwerp: Martin Lempereur [=Martin de Keyser], 1530; repr. Antwerp: de Keyser, 1534); Darlow and Moule 3708, 3709

*La Bible*, ed. René Benoist (Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, 1565); Darlow and Moule 3729

*La Saincte Bible, Contenant Le Vieil Et Nouveau Testament: traduicte de Latin en François; Auec les Argumens sur chacun liure, declarans sommairement tout ce que y est contenu* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1578) [numerous reprintings]

*Pseaumes de David: Traduction nouvelle selon l'hebreu, & la Vulgate*, trans. Antoine Lemaistre and Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, 1666)

*Le Nouveau Testament De Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ: Selon l'edition Vulgate, avec les differences du Grec* (Mons: Gaspard Migeot, 1667); Darlow and Moule 3756

*La Sainte Bible traduite en francois le latin de la Vulgate a côté: avec de courtes notes tirées des Saints Peres & des meilleurs intreprétes, pour l'intelligence des endroits les plus difficiles; et la Concorde des quatre evangelistes, en latin & en francois. Nouvelle edition, enrichie de cartes geographiques et de figures; avec les traitez de cronologie & de geographie; les sommaires … & toutes les tables tirées de la grande Bible latine d'Antoine Vitré. De plus une Idée générale de l'Ecriture sainte …*, 3 vols., ed. Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy, Pierre Thomas Du Fossé, Charles Huré, Henri-Charles de Beaubrun, Thierry de Viaixnes et al. (Liège: Jean-François Broncart, 1702) [the complete 'Sacy' Bible, preceded by individual volumes with similar references to 'notes tirées des Saints Peres', from 1672 onwards]; Darlow and Moule 3779

*Le Nouveau Testament de nôtre Seigneur Jesus-Christ: traduit sur l'ancienne édition latine. Avec des remarques literales & critiques sur les principales difficultez*, trans. Richard Simon (Trévoux: E. Ganeau, 1702); Darlow and Moule 3781

## English
## Bibles of the English Reformation

*The Newe Testamente*, [trans. William Tyndale] (n.p.: n.p., 1526); facsimile edn. as *The New Testament: A Facsimile of the 1526 edition, translated by William Tyndale*, intro. by David Daniell (London and Peabody, MA: British Library/Hendrickson Publishers, 2008); Darlow and Moule 2

*The Newe Testament*, trans. William Tyndale ([Antwerp]: [M. De Keyser for G. van der Haghen], 1534); Darlow and Moule 5

*Biblia the Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe* [ed. Miles Coverdale] (n.p.: n.p., 1535); STC (2nd edn.), 2063; Darlow and Moule 7

*The New Testament of oure Sauyour Jesu Christ faythfully translated & lately correcte, wyth a true concordance in the margent, & many necessary annotations declarynge sondry harde places conteyned in the text*, [ed. Miles Coverdale] (n.p.: n.p., 1538). STC (2nd edn.), 2836

*The Byble which is all the holy Scripture in whych are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament*, ed. and trans. 'Thomas Matthew' [?=John Rogers] ([Antwerp]: R. Grafton and E. Whitchurch, 1537); Darlow and Moule 17

*The newe testament both in Latine and Englyshe eche correspondente to the other after the vulgare texte, communely called S. Ieromes*, trans. Miles Coverdale and John Hollybush (Southwark: James Nicolson, 1538); Darlow and Moule 19

*The most sacred Bible, whiche is the Holy Scripture conteyning the Old and New Testament*, ed. Richard Taverner (London: John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlet, 1539); Darlow and Moule 24

*The Byble in Englyshe: that is to saye the content of all the holy scrypture, both of ye olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by ye dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges* ([Paris]: [Francis Regnault]; London: Rychard Grafton [and] Edward Whitchurch, 1539) [the first complete edition of the 'Great Bible']; Darlow and Moule 25

*The Byble in Englyshe: that is to saye, the content of all the holye scrypture, bothe of the olde and newe Testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by the diligent studye of dyuers excellent lerned men experte in the foreside tongues* (London: Thomas Petyt and Robert Redman, for Thomas Berthelet, 1540); Darlow and Moule 29

*The Nevve Testament of our Lord Iesus Christ* [ed. William Whittingham] (Geneva: Conrad Badius, 1557); Darlow and Moule 76

*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 divers langues. With moste profitable annotations upon all the hard places . . .*, trans. William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson et al. (Geneva: Printed by Rouland Hall, 1560); Darlow and Moule 77

*The holie Bible: conteynyng the olde Testament and the newe*, ed. Matthew Parker et al. (London: Richarde Jugge, 1568) [the first 'Bishops' Bible': many subsequent edns.]; Darlow and Moule 89

*The Holy Bible, conteining the Olde Testament and the Newe, authorised and appointed to be read in churches* (London: Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1585) [a re-edition of the Bishops' Bible]; Darlow and Moule 144

*The Bible, that is, the Holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament: translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages. With most profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance*, with notes by Laurence Tomson and Franciscus Junius (London: Deputies of Christopher Barker, 1599) [the 'Geneva–Tomson–Junius' Bible]; Darlow and Moule 188

*The Holy Bible: conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: newly translated out of the originall tongues: & with the former translations diligently compared and revised, by His Maiesties speciall comandement: appointed to be read in churches*, ed. Miles Smith, Thomas Bilson et al. (London: Robert Barker, 1611) [the first King James Version]; Darlow and Moule 240

## Roman Catholic English Bibles

*The New Testament of Iesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred vvith the Greeke and other editions in diuers languages; vvith arguments of bookes and chapters, annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better vnderstanding of the text, and specially for the discouerie of the corruptions of diuers late translations, and for cleering the controuersies in religion, of these daies . . .*, trans. Gregory Martin, with annotations by Allen, Bristow and Worthington (Rheims: John Fogny, 1582) STC (2nd edn.), 2884; Darlow and Moule 134

*The text of the Nevv Testament of Iesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar Latine by the papists of the traiterous seminarie at Rhemes. With arguments of bookes, chapters, and annotations, pretending to discouer the corruptions of diuers translations, and to cleare the controuersies of these dayes. VVhereunto is added the translation out of the original Greeke, commonly used in the Church of England, with a confutation of all such arguments, glosses, and annotations, as conteine manifest impietie, of heresie, treason and slander, against the catholike Church of God, and the true teachers thereof, or the translations used in the Church of England . . . By William Fulke, Doctor in Diuinitie* (London: Deputies of Christopher Barker, 1589) [this highly critical edition of the Rheims NT was edited by the Protestant William Fulke to rebut the editorial comments of the Rheims editors]; STC (2nd edn.), 2888; Darlow and Moule 156

*The Holie Bible faithfully translated into English, out of the authentical Latin: Diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and other editions in divers languages. With Arguments of the bookes, and chapters: annotations: tables: and other necessarie helps, for better understanding of the text, for discoverie of corruptions in some late translations: and for clearing controuersies in religion. By the English College of Doway . . .*, 2 vols., ed. Gregory Martin, William Allen, Richard Bristow and Thomas Worthington (Douai: Laurence Kellam, 1609–10); Darlow and Moule 231

*The Holy Bible, translated from the Latin Vulgate, diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and other editions, in divers languages. The Old Testament; first published by the English college at Douay, A.D. 1609; and the New Testament, first published by the English college at Rheims, A.D. 1582; with annotations by the Rev. Dr. Challoner, together with references, and an historical and chronological index. The whole revised and carefully compared with the Latin Vulgate*, ed. Richard Challoner (London: Richardson and Son, 1750); Darlow and Moule 824

## *Czech*

*Biblia* ([Prague]: [Johann Kamp for Johann Pytlik et al.], 1488); Darlow and Moule 2177

*Biblia* ([Kutná Hora]: [Martin of Tischniowa], 1489); Darlow and Moule 2178

*Biblij Czeská*, ed. Jiří Melantrich z Aventina (Prague: Bartoloměj Netolický, 1549)

*Biblj Swatá, to gest, Kniha, w niz se wssecka Pjsma Swatá Starého y Nowého Zakona zdrzugj: w nowé wytissténa a wydána* ([Kralice]: Unity of Brethren, 1596; new edn. 1613); Darlow and Moule 2187 and 2191

*Biblí czeská: to gest, Swaté pjsmo podlé starozitného a obnecného latinského od wsseobecné cýrkwe swaté rzjmské potwrzeného a vzjwaného prelozenj . . .* (Prague: Jesuit College, J. J. Kameniecki, 1715) [the 'St Wenceslaus Bible']; Darlow and Moule 2193

## Polish

*Biblia, to iest, Kxiegi Stharego y Nowego Zakonu, ná Polski iezyk z pilnoscia wedlug Lacinskiey Bibliey od Kosciolá Krzesciánskiego powssechnego przyiethey, nowo wylozona* [ed. Jan Lwowczyk] (Cracow: Mikołaj Szarffenberg, 1561) [Roman Catholic]; Darlow and Moule 7383

*Biblia swieeta, tho iest, Ksiegi Stárego y Nowego Zakonu wlasnie z Zydowskiego, Grieckiego y Lácinskiego, nowo na Polski iezyk z pilnoscia y wiernie wylozone*, ed. Jakub Lubelczyk et al. (Brześć: [Bernhard Wojewódka], 1563) [the 'Brest Bible']; Darlow and Moule 7384

*Biblia, to iest ksiegi starego y nowego przymierza znowu z iezyka Ebreyskiego, Grecskiego y Lacinskiego na Polski przelozone*, ed. Szymon Budny (Nieśwież: n.p., 1572) [Antitrinitarian]; Darlow and Moule 7385

*Biblia To Iest Ksiegi Starego Y Nowego Testamentv, Welvg Lacinskiego przekladu stárègo, w kosciele powszechnym przyietègo, ná Polski iezyk z nowu z pilnoscia przelozone, Z Dokladaniem Textv Zydowskiego y Gréckiégo, y z wykládem Kátholickim, trudnieyszych mieysc . . .*, ed. Jakub Wujek (Cracow: W Drukárni Lázárzowéy, 1599) [Roman Catholic]; Darlow and Moule 7389

*Biblia swieta, to jest Ksiegi Staregoy Nowego Przymierzaz Zydowskiego y Greckiego Jezykáná Polski pilnie y wiernie przetlumáczone*, ed. Daniel Mikołajewski (Gdańsk: Andrzej Hunefeld, 1632) [Reformed]; Darlow and Moule 7392

## Hungarian

Komjáti, Benedek, *Epistolae Pauli lingua Hungarica donatae* (Cracow: [Hieronimus Vietor], 1533); Darlow and Moule 5404

Pesti, Gábor, *Novum Testamentum seu quattuor evangeliorum volumina lingua Hungarica donata* (Vienna: n.p., 1536)

Sylvester, János, *Új Testamentum* (Újsziget: Benedek Abádi, 1541); Darlow and Moule 5405

Heltai, Gáspár, *A Bibliannac elsö része* (Kolozsvár: Heltai & Hoffgreff, 1551)

Heltai, Gáspár, *A Biblianac negyedic része* (Kolozsvár: Heltai & Hoffgreff, 1552)

Heltai, Gáspár, *A Biblianac második része* (Kolozsvár: Gáspár Heltai, 1565)

Méliusz Juhász, Péter, *Ujszövetség* (Nagyvárad: Raphael Hoffhalter and Mihály Török, 1567)

Félegyházi, Tamás, *Az mi Uronc Iesus Christusnac Uy Testamentoma avvagi frigie* (Debrecen: Rodolphus Hofhalter, 1586)

*Szent Biblia az az: Istennec o es wj testamentumanac prophétác esapostoloc által meg iratott szent könyvei*, trans. Gáspár Károlyi (Vizsoly: Mantskovit Balint, 1590); Darlow and Moule 5406

*Szent Biblia az az: Istennec O es Uy Testamentomanac Prophetac es Apastaloc által megiratott szent könyvei*, ed. Albert Szenczi Molnár (Hanau: Levinus Hultzius, 1608)

*Szent Biblia az az: Istennec O es Uy Testamentomanac foglaltatott egész szent Irás*, ed. Albert Szenczi Molnár (Oppenheim: Hulszius, 1612); Darlow and Moule 5407

*Az mi Urunk Jesus Christusnak Uy Testamentoma* (Lőcse: [Lörintz Brever], 1644)

*Szent Biblia*, ed. Gáspár Károlyi (Amsterdam: Iansónius, 1645)

*A mi Urunk Iesus Christus Uj Testamentoma* (Amsterdam: Iansónius, 1646)

*Szent Biblia*, ed. Gáspár Károlyi (Várad: Ábrahám Szenci Kertész, 1661)

*Magyar Biblia*, ed. György Komáromi Csipkés (Leiden: n.p., 1719); Darlow and Moule 5410

## Romanian

*Noul Testament, sua, Împacarea au leagea noao a lui Iisus Hristos Domnului …*, ed. Simion Stefan, Metropolitan of Transylvania (Bălgrad [Alba Iulia, Transylvania]: n.p., 1648) [printed in Romanian in Cyrillic characters]; Darlow and Moule 7724

## Italian

*Biblia vulgarizata per me don Nicolo di Malherbi* (Venecia [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1471); Darlow and Moule 5574

*Biblia vulgare istoriata*, trans. Nicolò Malermi (Venice: Lucantonio di Giunta, 1490)

*Il Nuovo Testamento di Christo Giesu Signore, et Salvator nostro, di Greco nuovamente tradotto in lingua Toscana per Antonio Brucioli* (Venetia [Venice]: Lucantonio Giunti, 1530); Darlow and Moule 5577

*Psalmi di David nuovamente dalla Ebraica verità tradotti in lingua per Antonio Brucioli* (Vinegia [Venice]: Luc' Antonio Giunta [*sic*], 1531)

*La Biblia quale contiene i sacri libri del Vecchio Testamento tradotti nuovamente de la hebraica verità in lingua toscana per Antonio Brucioli. Co' divini libri del Nuovo Testamento di Christo Giesu … Tradotti di Greco in lingua Toscana pel medesimo …* (Venetia [Venice]: Lucantonio Giunti, 1532); Darlow and Moule 5578

*Il Nuovo Testamento tradotto in lingua toscana, nuovamente corretto dal R. Padre fra' Zaccaria da Firenze dell'ordine de' Predicatori …* (Vinegia [Venice]: Lucantonio Giunti, 1536)

*La Bibia tradotta in lingua Toscana, di lingua Hebrea, quanto al testamento vecchio, et di lingua Greca qua[n]to al nuovo, oltra le precedenti stampe, di nuovo riveduta, corretta, et emendata da molti errori, et mutati alquanti vocaboli non rettamente tradotti, et limati con diligentia secondo il commune parlar consueto a tempi nostri, seguendo la propria verita …*, ed. Sante Marmochino (Vinegia [Venice]: heirs of Luc' Antonio Giunti, 1546 (but dated June 1545 in the colophon)); Darlow and Moule 5582

*Il Nuovo ed Eterno Testamento di Giesu Christo: Nuovamente da l'original fonte Greca, con ogni diligenza in Toscano tradotto*, trans. Massimo Teofilo (Lione [Lyons]: [publisher not stated but possibly J. Frellon], 1551); Darlow and Moule 5586

*Del Nuovo Testamento di Jesu Christo nostro Signore. Nuova e Fedel traduttione dal testo Greco in lingua volgare italiana … stampata di nuovo in compagnia d' un'altra buona traduttione in lingua Francese, et amendue partite per versetti* ([Geneva]: Per Giovan Luigi Paschale, 1555)

*Il Nuovo ed eterno Testamento di Giesu Christo*, trans. Massimo Teofilo (Lione [Lyons]: Giovanni di Tornes, e Guillemo Gazeio, 1556); Darlow and Moule 5590

*La Bibia, che si chiama il vecchio Testamento, nuovamente tradutto in lingua volgare secondo la verita del testo Hebreo, con molte et utili annotationi e figure e carte per più ampia dichiaratione di molti luoghi, edificii e supputationi. Quanto al nuovo Testamento è stato riveduto e ricorretto secondo la verità del testo Greco, e di molte et utili annotazioni illustrato, con una semplice dichiarazione sopra l'Apocalisse* ([Ginevra = Geneva], Francesco Durone, 1562) [the 'Duronian' Bible]; Darlow and Moule 5592

*La Bibbia. Cioè i libri del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento. Nuovamente traslatati in lingua italiana da Giovanni Diodati di nation Lucchese* ([Geneva]: [no publisher given, but some copies attr. to Jean de Tournes], 1607); Darlow and Moule 5598

*La Sacra Bibbia, tradotta in lingua Italiana, e commentata da Giovanni Diodati, di nation Lucchese. Seconda Editione, migliorata, ed accresciuta. Con l'aggiunta de' Sacri Salmi, messi in rime per lo medesimo* (Geneva: Pierre Chouet, 1641); Darlow and Moule 5600

*I Sacri Salmi di David messi in rime volgari italiane da Giovanni Diodati, di nation Lucchese, et composti in musica da A. G.* (Haarlem: Jacob Albertz, 1664)

*Sacra Bibbia volgarizzata da Niccolo Malermi, approvata dalla Sacra Congregazione dell'Inquisizione l'anno 1567. Ridotta allo Stile Moderno, e arricchita di Note. Edizione xxix veneziana* (Venice: heir of Niccolo Pezzana, 1773); Darlow and Moule 5605

*Sacra Scrittura giusta la Vulgata latina, e volgare colla spiegazione del senso litterale, e del senso spirituale tratta dai Santi Padri e dagli autori ecclesiastici* …, 46 vols. (Venice: Lorenzo Baseggio, 1773–9) [the Italian translation of the Port-Royal Bible]

*Vecchio Testamento secondo la Volgata tradotto in lingua italiana*, 17 vols., ed. Antonio Martini (Florence: Stamperia arcivescovile, 1782–7); Darlow and Moule 5606

*Sacra Scrittura, giusta la Volgata in latino e italiano, colle spiegazioni letterali e spirituali tratte da' Santi Padri e dagli autori ecclesiastici* …, 25 vols. (Genova [Genoa]: Olzati, 1787–92)

*Nuovo Testamento del Signor Nostro Gesù Cristo secondo la Volgata, tradotto in lingua italiana e con annotazioni* …, 6 vols., ed. Antonio Martini (Florence: Stamperia arcivescovile, 1788–92)

## Spanish

*El Nuevo Testamento de nuestro Redemptor y Salvador Jesu Christo, traduzido de Griego en lengua Castellana por Francisco de Enzinas* (Antwerp: En casa de Esteuan Mierdmanno [=Steven Mierdman], 1543); Darlow and Moule 8465

*Biblia en lengua Española traduzida palabra por palabra de la verdad Hebraica por muy excelentes letrados, vista y examinada por el officio dela Inquisición* ([Ferrara:] [Duarte Pinel [alias Abraham Usqae] for Jeronimo de Vergas [alias Tob Athias], 1553 (5313 according to the Jewish calendar); Darlow and Moule 8467

*El Testamento Nuevo de Nuestro Señor y Salvador Jesu Christo, Nueva y fielmente traduzido der original Griego en romance Castellano* (Venice [= Geneva]: at the printing house of Iuan Philadelpho [= Crespin], 1556) [ed. Juan Pérez de Pineda]); Darlow and Moule 8468

*Los Psalmos de David con sus sumarios en que se declara con brevedad lo contenido en cada Psalmos agora nueva y fielmente traduzidos en romançe Castellano por el doctor Ian Peörez, conforme a la verdad dela lengua sancta* (En Venecia [=Geneva]: En casa de Pedro Daniel [=Jean Crespin], 1557); Darlow and Moule 8470

*La Biblia, que es, los sacros libros del Viejo y Nuevo Testamento* ([Basel]: [Samuel Apiarius for Thomas Guarinus], 1569) [The 'Biblia de Oso' ('Bible of the Bear'), trans. Casiodoro de Reina]; Darlow and Moule 8472

*El Testamento nuevo de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo . . .* (London: En Casa de Ricardo del Campo [=Richard Field], 1596). STC (2nd edn.), 2959; Darlow and Moule 8473

*La Biblia . . . Segunda Edicion, revista y conferida con los textos Hebreos y Griegos y con diversas translaciones, por Cypriano de Valera* (Amsterdam: En casa de Lorenço Iacobi, 1602) [the first 'Reina-Valera' Bible]; Darlow and Moule 8475

*La Biblia Vulgata Latina traducida en Español*, 10 vols., trans. Felipe Scio de San Miguel (Valencia: Joseph y Thomas de Orga, 1790–3); Darlow and Moule 8488

## *Vernacular polyglot Bibles*

*Biblia Sacra: Ebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, Latine, Germanice, Sclavonice*, ed. Elias Hutter et al. (Noribergae [Nuremberg]: [Alexander Philipp Dietrich], 1599) [Genesis–Ruth appeared in 1599; parts of the NT in 1599-1600, and the Psalter in 1602]; Darlow and Moule 1430

## Native American vernacular

*Wusku Wuttestamentum Nul-Lordumun Jesus Christ Nuppoquohwussuaeneumun / The New Testament of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*, trans. John Eliot (Cambridge [Mass.]: Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1661) [NT in Algonquian]; Darlow and Moule 6736; 2nd edn. (Cambridge [Mass.]: [Samuel Green] for the Right Honourable Corp. in London, for the Propogation [sic] of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England, 1681)

*Mamusse wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God . . . The Holy Bible containing the Old Testament and the New*, trans. John Eliot (Cambridge [Mass.]: Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1663) [full Bible in Algonquian]; Darlow and Moule 6737; 2nd edn. (Cambridge [Mass.]: Samuel Green, 1685); Darlow and Moule 6738

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