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Catalysts for Religious Change: Monuments of Reformation Printing

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CATALYSTS FOR RELIGIOUS CHANGE: MONUMENTS OF REFORMATION PRINTING



An Exhibition
Organized and Described By
Jeffrey H. Kaimowitz

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CATALYSTS FOR RELIGIOUS CHANGE:

MONUMENTS OF REFORMATION PRINTING

INTRODUCTION

The Reformation is perhaps the first great historical event where printing played an essential role. Indeed, as British historian Euan Cameron has pointed out, though printing did not cause the Reformation, it “was a catalyst, a precondition,” for it made possible swift, cheap, and widespread dissemination of information.

This exhibition introduces some important aspects of the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation by displaying a variety of printed materials. On a topic so wide ranging and complex, this can only be a sketch, but it will allow the viewer to perceive something of the energy and clash of ideas that this crucial period of history generated. For the sake of simplicity, the focus is upon the religious side of the Reformation, but one must always keep in mind the profound influence that it also had on the political and social history of the times.

The show is arranged in the following manner. It begins with pre-Reformation criticism of the Catholic Church, in particular that of Savonarola, Sebastian Brant, and Erasmus. There follow cases on Luther and Lutheranism, Swiss Protestantism, especially Zwingli and Calvin, free thinkers and dissenters, the Catholic Counter-Reformation, the Reformation in England, and the English Bible from Tyndale to the Authorized Version.

CASE I: PRE-REFORMATION CRITICS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH



SAVONAROLA, IMPASSIONED REFORMER OF FLORENCE

1. Savonarola, Girolamo. *Proemio di frate Hieronymo [i.e. Hieronymo] da Ferrara dellordine de p[re]dicatori nella expositio[n]e del psalmo lxxviii tradotto in lingua fiorentina da uno suo familiare.* Impresso in Firenze: apresso a sancta Maria maggiore [i.e. Lorenzo Morgiani and Johannes Petri], a di viii di giugno 1496. Translation of *Expositio psalmi LXXVIII Qui regis* into Italian.

Criticism of abuses in the Church did not begin with Martin Luther. In the 14th century, the English theologian and philosopher John Wycliffe (ca. 1330-1384) had criticized Church doctrine and institutions on religious grounds, and in the early 14th century, the Czech priest Jan Huss (ca. 1372-1415), under the influence of Wycliffe, became a reformer highly critical of the morals of the clergy. His teaching led to an independent Hussite Church (see no. 38 in Case VIII). Much closer in time to the Reformation, in the late 15th century, the Dominican preacher Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498), prior of the monastery of San Marco in Florence, achieved great prominence with his impassioned criticisms of contemporary Florentines' depravity and the behavior of the clergy. An example is his exposition of Psalm 80 (79 in the Vulgate's numbering), first published in April 1496, allowing him to present his critical views, when he had been banned by the Pope from public preaching. By the time the edition on display was published [1], Savonarola had returned to the pulpit and continued his denunciation of church abuse, which led to his excommunication in 1497 and execution in 1498.



SEBASTIAN BRANT AND HIS IMITATORS

2. Brant, Sebastian. *Stultifera nauis: Narrago[n]i[c]e profectionis nunq[uam] satis laudata nauis p[er] Sebastianum Brant . Vernaculo vulgariq[ue] sermone [et] rhythmo ... nup[er] fabricata, atq[ue] iam pridem per Jacobum Locher ... in latinum traducta eloquium, [et] per Sebastianum Brant denuo seduloq[ue] reuisa felici exorditur principio.* Imp[re]ssum in imperiali urbe Augusta (=Augsburg): Per Johanne[m] Schensperger, kl. Aprilis [1 April] 1497.

3. Badius, Josse. *Nauis stultifera a domino Sebastiano Brant primu[m] edificata [et] lepidissimis teutonice lingue rithmis decorata; deinde ab Jacobo Lochero philomuso latinitate donata; [et] demu[m] ab Jodoco Badio Ascensio vario carminu[m] genere no[n] sine eorundem familiari explanatione illustrata.* Impressum Basilee: P[er] Nicolau[m] Lamparter, die 15 mensis Martij, 1507.

4. Geiler von Kaysersberg, Johann. *Nauicula siue speculu[m] fatuor[um] presta[n]tissimi sacrar[um] literaru[m] doctoris Joannis Geyler Keysersbergij: concionatoris Arge[n]tinen[sis] in sermones iuxta turmarum seriem diuisa: suis figuris iam insignita a Jacobo Othero diligenter collecta: Compendiosa vite eiusdem descriptio per Beatum Rhenanum Selestatinum. Ad Narragoniam.* Argentorati transcriptum (=Strasbourg): [Johann Prüss], XVI die Mensis Ianuarij, 1511.

Sebastian Brant (1458-1521), a native of Strasbourg, in his *Ship of fools* produced a very popular and widely imitated satire critical of all types of moral failure, including many activities of the Church. His book, originally published in German in 1494, is exhibited in a pirated Latin edition on a smaller scale than the original and with inferior illustrations [2]. In the chapter on display, Brant writes "On the Waning of Catholic faith and power," declaring:

No one is so hard, so like a stone,
That he would not mourn and weep these misfortunes.
When he sees the seat of the Church thus declining,

(Since the sacred seat is prostrate in collapse,
Rome, capital of the world, nods, trembles, and falls)
Now our fate is carried on feeble wheels ...

Brant's book was a "bestseller" in its day with many editions and translations, and it inspired a number of imitators. Perhaps most notable of these was Josse Badius (1462-1535), a Flemish scholar-printer and author, who operated a very successful press in Paris. In his version of *The Ship of fools*, Badius utilized Brant's original illustrations, but introduced his own text. On display is the chapter "On those who have contempt for poverty," the illustration portraying a fool in mendicant garb receiving a bag of money [3].

Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg (1445-1510), born in Schaffhausen on the Rhine, was in his early years an academic, teaching philosophy and theology at Basel and Freiburg, but left teaching because of his interest in reform and became a famed preacher at the cathedral of Strasbourg. Inspired by Brant's *Ship of fools*, Geiler produced a series of sermons he called *The little ship or mirror of fools*, among other topics, attacking church abuses and illustrated with images from Brant. On exhibit is the sermon dealing with preachers, where Geiler, quoting Isaiah, demands that those who preach be fearless and forthright in their sermons, like a trumpeter (*tubicen*), and display a character consonant with their words [4].

CROTUS RUBEANUS AND ULRICH VON HUTTEN SATURIZE "OBSCURE MEN"

5. *Epistolarum obscurorum virorum ad dom. M. Ortuinum Gratium, volumina omnia... Accesserunt huic editioni tractatus rarissimi.* Francofurti: Sumptibus J.A.Raspe, 1757. 2 vols. in 1.

By the early 16th century, the influence of classical humanism, entailing the study of Classical Latin and Greek often along with Hebrew, was wide-spread in Northern Europe. An outstanding figure in the movement was the German scholar Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), who won great respect for his work in Hebraic studies, particularly his writings on Kabbala. In the latter part of his life, however, his Hebraic interests brought him into conflict with a Jewish convert to Christianity, Johann Pfefferkorn, and the Dominican friars of Cologne, who were determined to burn Jewish books. A great controversy arose. In 1514, Reuchlin published a series of letters written in his defense with the title *Epistolae clarorum virorum* (Letters of Famous Men). In further defense of Reuchlin, two German humanists, Crotus Rubeanus (1486-1540) and Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523) composed and issued in 1515 a group of letters entitled *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (Letters of Obscure Men) [5]. Addressed to Pfefferkorn and Orwinus Gratius, professor of theology at Cologne, the letters were written in illiterate Latin and, in the words of Euan Cameron in his *Reformation Europe* (p. 105), "represented Reuchlin's opponents as idle, ignorant, lecherous pseudo-scholars." This ridicule had an important afterlife, for it tainted men like Gratius and the Dominicans of Cologne who were later entrusted with refuting Luther.



CASE II: PRE-REFORMATION CRITICS: ERASMUS AND HUMANISM

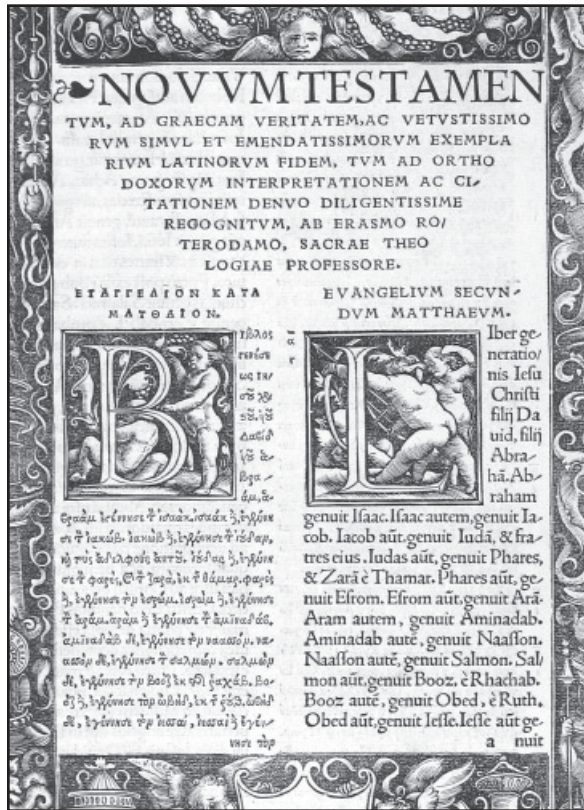
THE PRAISE OF FOLLY AND HAND-BOOK OF THE CHRISTIAN KNIGHT

6. **Erasmus, Desiderius, d. 1536.** *Erasmi Roterodami Mōrias enkōmion, i[d est], Stulticiae Laus, libellus uere aureus, nec minus eruditus, & salutaris q[uam] festiuus, nuper ex ipsius autoris archetypis diligentissime restitutus, tum Gerardi Listrij, Rhenensis, Romanae, Graecae, & Hebraicae literaturae, adprime periti, ad haec medicae rei non uulgariter edocti, nouis & exquisitissimis co[m]mentarijs explanatus.* [Basel]: Io. Fro[ben], [1515?].

7. **Erasmus, Desiderius.** *Enchiridion Erasmi Roterodami Germani de milite Christiano in quo taxatis vulgi sup[er]stitionib[us], ad priscae religio[n]is puritate[m], veteris eloquentiae lituo nos prouocat; Epistola eiusde[m] ad loa[n]nem Coletu[m] theologum.* Lipsiae: Ex aedibus Valentini Schuman[n], 1519.

The best known and perhaps the greatest figure in the humanist movement in the North was the Dutch-born scholar Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467?-1536). Trained at Gouda and with the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer, he early evinced a passion for humanism, while becoming an Augustinian canon in 1486 and a priest in 1492. He began studies in Paris in 1495, where he published his first book, and spent time in England and Italy. Among his English friends was Thomas More (1478-1535), in whose house in 1509 he wrote his *Mōrias Enkōmion* (Praise of folly), with its witty pun on More's name [6]. Expanded

editions were published in 1511 and 1514. Though Erasmus was a loyal son of the Church and always would be, in his satire he attacked Pope Julius II, scholastic theology, and monastic orders. Also influential was his *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (Handbook of the Christian knight) [7], with its stress on lay (as opposed to monastic) piety and personal discipline committed to leading a Christian life. Both works in spirit herald the Reformation, and this led to the comment that Erasmus “laid the egg that Luther hatched.”



ERASMUS' NEW TESTAMENT IN GREEK AND ITS CRITICS

8. Bible. N.T. Greek. 1519. *Novvm Testamentvm omne: multo quam antehac diligentius ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitu[m], eme[n]datum ac translatum ...* Basileae: in aedibvs Ioannis Frobenii, mense Martio Anno 1519.

9. López de Zúñiga, Diego. *Annotationes Iacobi Lopidis Stunic[a]e contra D. Erasmu[m] Roterodamu[m] in defensione[m] tralatio[nis] Noui Testamenti. Apologia D. Erasmi in Iacobum Lopidem Stunicam, eiusdem Stunic[a]e annota[tiones] in Iacobu[m] Fab[rum] sup[er] epi[stolis] Pavli.* Luteciae (=Paris): Apud P. Vidouaeum, sumptibus Conradi Resch ..., Mense Iulij 1522.

Erasmus's other great contribution to the Reformation was his edition of the New Testament in Greek with a new translation of the text into Latin. First issued in 1516, it went through a series of editions, the second of 1519 [8] and fourth (1527) both in the Watkinson Library. Though not without its faults, being based

on inadequate manuscript sources, Erasmus's Greek New Testament was widely influential. At last, those with knowledge of Greek could confront the sacred text in its original language, not through the mediation of Latin. It was the 1519 second edition that Luther used for his translation of the New Testament into German. Erasmus's Greek New Testament did have its critics. One of its most vehement was Diego López de Zúñiga (d. 1531), a Spanish scholar with particular expertise in Greek, who had worked on the Complutensian Bible, the first polyglot Bible. In his *Notes against Erasmus of Rotterdam in defense of the translation of the New Testament* [9], first published in 1520, he defended the standard Catholic version, the Latin Vulgate.

CASE III: GERMANY: LUTHER



MARTIN LUTHER

10. Reusner, Nikolaus. *Icones sive imagines virorum literis illustrium: quorum fide et doctrina religionis & bonarum literarum studia, nostra, patrumque memoria, in Germania, praesertim, in integrum sunt restituta. Additis eorundem elogiis diversorum auctorum ex secunda recognitione Nicolai Reusneri IC.* Argentorati (=Strasbourg): Curante Bernhardo Iobino ... , MDXC [1590].

LUTHER AND THE 95 THESES

11. Luther, Martin. *Omnium operum: quae vir dei ab anno XVII, usque ad anni vicesinii aliquam partem, scripsit & edidit, quorum catalogum in fine tomi invenies.* Jenae: Rhodius, 1556-1583. 4 vols.

Martin Luther (1483-1546) [10], the central figure in the German Reformation, was the son of a miner and was trained at various German universities, joining the Augustinian hermits in 1505. The Augustinians sent him to Wittenberg to lecture at the University, where he became a doctor of theology and in 1515 was made vicar of his order. At the same time, he came more and more to question current Catholic doctrines. When the Dominican friar Johan Tetzel preached the sale of indulgences for the remission of sins in a neighboring town, Luther reacted by publishing his 95 theses [11]. The following in translation are a few of the theses:

- 6. The Pope cannot remit any sin except by declaring and approving that it has been remitted by God or indeed by remitting infractions reserved to himself to remit and, which if they were ignored, the sin would continue to remain.
- 52. Vain is confidence in salvation through letters of indulgence, even if the [Pope's] delegate, yes even the Pope himself, pledged his life for them.
- 62. The true treasure of the Church is the Holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

Clear already in these examples are Luther's view that only God, not a church, can forgive sin and his emphasis on the central importance of the Bible, and therefore Bible study—a key characteristic of Protestant belief. In the years immediately following, Luther engaged in debate with Catholic opponents, such as Johann Eck (see no. 22 in Case IV), won wide support, and refined and developed his views in a flood of writings. In 1520, he was excommunicated by the Papal bull, *Exsurge Domine*. After the Diet of Worms in 1521, at which he defended his views before the Emperor Charles V and refused to recant, his break with the Catholic Church became irrevocable.

LUTHER EXPLICATES THE LORD'S PRAYER

12. Luther, Martin. *Ausslegunge des hayligen Vatter vnsers: für die ainfeltigen Layen Doctor Martini Luthers Augustiner zu Wittenberg [et]c, item ain kurtze nutzliche Ausslegung des Vatterunsers, fürsich und hindersich, nit für die Gelerten.* Augsburg: durch Silvanum Ottmar bey Sant Ursulen Closter, 1520.

Luther's immense talent and creativity as a writer were key to his influence. Many of his works appeared in pamphlet form, and the printing press was a vital tool in airing his views, supporting his followers, and responding to critics. The examples of his pamphlets on display provide some idea of the nature and range of his writings and their popularity. In his *Exposition of the Our Father for simple Laymen* [12], which first appeared in five unofficial versions in 1518 and 1519 and in 12 official editions between 1519 and 1521, Luther provides an exposition of the Lord's Prayer and straightforward discussion on the nature of prayer in general.

LUTHER ON COMMUNION

13. Luther, Martin. *Eyn Sermon von dem neuen Testame[n]t : das ist von d[er] heyligen Messe Doct. Mar. L. Aug.* Getruckt zu Wittenbergk : Durch Ioha[n]nem Grunenbergek, 1520.

Luther's *Sermon on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass* [13] offers a concept of communion not as a sacrifice, which is the Catholic view, but as a testament of faith. At the same time, Luther emphasized that in the bread and wine of communion there was the Real Presence of Christ's body and blood simultaneous with the bread and wine—the doctrine of consubstantiation—in contrast to the Catholic view that the bread and wine became the body and blood of Christ and only had the appearance of being bread and wine—the doctrine of transubstantiation. The copy on exhibit is the third edition by the work's first printer, Johann Rhau-Grunenberg. In 1520 alone there were 11 editions of this treatise.

LUTHER CONSOLES HIS FOLLOWERS IN AUGSBURG

14. Luther, Martin. *Den auszerwölte[n] lieben Gottes, allen gelydern Chrysti zu Augspurg seinen liebe[n] Herren vnd Brudern ...* Witemberg: [s.n.], 1524.

Luther also was concerned with encouraging those who had followed him in his break with the Church. In 1523 in Augsburg, a former priest had married in a public ceremony, and the town council punished those citizens who had attended the wedding. This led Luther to write a letter of consolation in December of 1523 *To the chosen beloved of God, all members of Christ at Augsburg, his beloved gentlemen and brothers* [14], in which he emphasized, in the words of Luther-scholar Martin Brecht in his *Martin Luther* (vol. 2, p. 80), that "they were participating in the suffering of other Christians" and that "the treasure of the gospel is safe, but it is disguised under suffering." Five editions of this pamphlet, commonly known as *Ein Trostbrief an die Christen zu Augsburg* (A letter of consolation to the Christians of Augsburg), are listed as published in 1523 and 1524 in Josef Benzing's Luther bibliography, and the Watkinson copy seems to be a sixth unrecorded edition.

LUTHER APPEALS TO DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY FOR TOLERANCE

15. Luther, Martin & George, Duke of Saxony. *Ein Sentbrieff Doctor Martini Luthers an Hertzog Georg zu Sachsen Darin er jn freuntlich ermant zu dem Wort Gottes zu dretten. Ein Antwort Hertzog Georg zu Sachsen ... an Doctor Martinum.* [Nuremberg: Friedrich Peypus], 1526.

Considering the significance of his activities, it was natural that Luther would interact with major political figures of the day. Inspired by Luther's challenge to the Church, in 1524 and 1525 peasants in Swabia and Franconia revolted against the authori-

ties in what is called the Peasants' War, but were soon crushed. Though Luther condemned the peasant revolt, blame, nonetheless, was quickly laid at the door of the Lutherans. Luther tried to assuage the authorities and to promote tolerance through his writings. In an exchange of letters with George, Duke of Saxony (1471-1539), Luther requested that the Duke stop persecuting evangelical teaching, but to no avail. In his response, Duke George was firm in his demand that Luther recant and give up his opposition to the Church. As Heinrich Bornkamm points out in *Luther in mid-career* (p. 613-614), the exchange "created a sensation. Each had thrown his high reputation in the balance: Luther the intellectual status he had earned from the German public, George his princely position." This is reflected in the printing history of Luther's letter, which appeared with Duke George's response. In 1526, there were 12 High German editions and two editions in Low German.

CASE IV: GERMANY: LUTHER AND HIS CRITICS

LUTHER CATHECIZES HIS FLOCK AND ATTACKS THE POPE

16. Luther, Martin. *Betbüchlin: mit dem Calender vnd Passional, auff's new corrigiert vnd gemehret ...* [Wittenberg]: Gedruckt durch Hans Lufft, 1549.

17. Luther, Martin. [Eisleben supplement]. *Der erste Theil der Bücher, Schrifften, und Predigten des ehrwürdigen Herrn D. Martin Luthers deren viel weder in den Wittenbergischen nach jhenischen Tomis zufinden, und doch von dem Tewern Man Gottes, zum Teil im Druck aus gangen, und sonst geschrieben und geprediget worden sind, isst nach Ordnung der Jarzal, als vom MDXVI bis in das MDXXIX Jar, dem christlichen Leser zu allerley Lere und Trost, mit vleis zusammen getragen.* Eisleben: Bey Urban Gaubisch, 1564.

In addition to pamphlets for catechizing his flock, in 1522 Luther prepared a small personal prayer book [17], which during his lifetime alone went through 34 High German editions and three in Low German. The copy on display appeared three years after his death. Luther also knew that visual statements often could be as powerful as verbal statements. In 1521, he wrote the text and the distinguished German artist Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553) provided the illustrations for a Passion of Christ paralleled by a satiric "Passion of the Antichrist" in which the Pope is held up to ridicule [16].





LUTHER'S TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE INTO GERMAN, PRIME MONUMENT OF THE MODERN GERMAN LANGUAGE

18. Bible. N.T. German. Luther. 1524. *Das Neue Testament deutzsch.* Wittenberg: Melchior vnd Michel Lotther, 1524.

19. Bible. German. Luther. 1534. *Biblia, das ist, die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deutsch Mart. Luth. Wittenberg. Begnadet mit kürfürstlicher zu Sachsen Freiheit. Gedruckt durch Hans Luiff,* 1534. Köln: Taschen, 2003. 2 vols. Facsimile edition.

It was, however, as translator that Luther had his greatest impact as an author. Following the Diet of Worms in 1521, after which Luther was put under ban, Frederick “the Wise” (1463-1525), Elector of Saxony, a key supporter of the reformer, hid him at the Wartburg, a castle near Eisenach. While there, Luther completed his translation of the New Testament into German [18] directly from the Greek, using Erasmus’s 1519 second edition (see no. 8 in Case II). It first appeared in print in 1522 and went through many editions. Over the next 12 years, Luther completed his German version of the Old Testament, and his complete German Bible was first published in 1534 [19]. It was an immediate success. Luther was a brilliantly talented writer, and his translation of the Bible came to have the same place in German culture as the Authorized Version (the “King James Bible”—see no. 71 in Case XIV) did in the English speaking world. It has had a profound influence on the development of modern German. Obviously too, it more than well served Luther’s cause of putting the reading of the Bible at the center of Christian devotion.

POPE ADRIAN VI ASKS FREDERICK OF SAXONY TO ABANDON LUTHER

20. Catholic Church. Pope Adrian VI (1522-1523). *Breue Sanctissimi Domini Nostri, Domini Adriani divina providentia Papae VI. ad Fridericum Saxoniae Ducem adversus Lutherum.* [Basel: Andrea Cratander, 1523].

Luther, of course, was not without his opponents and critics, especially from the Catholic side. Late in 1522 or early in 1523, Pope Adrian VI wrote a formal letter (in Latin, *breve*) to Luther’s protector, Frederick “the Wise,” Elector of Saxony (addressed here as “Duke”), declaring [20]:

Let the example of others move you, and think what you must expect who would attempt to betray the venerable chorus of God into profane hands, just as the Lord through Moses taught the whole people of Israel to separate from Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, lest they touch anything which pertained to them, lest they be enveloped in their sin. This to your people and moreover especially to you, beloved child, we teach by the authority of our same Lord and beg in [the name of] Jesus Christ, that you separate yourselves from Martin Luther, that you bear away from you that rock of scandal and not touch what it is of him, lest divine retribution envelope you [all] in his sin. (B3)

BISHOP JOHANNES FABER FINDS LUTHER CONTRADICTING HIMSELF

21. Faber, Johannes. *Antilogiarum Martini Lutheri Babylonia, ex eiusdem libris, per D. Ioannem Fabri excerpta.* Augustae Vindellicorum (=Augsburg): In officina Alexandri Weysenhorn, 1530.

In addition to the Pope, a number of clerics in the German-speaking world attacked Luther and his works directly. Johannes Faber (1478-1541) wrote actively against the reformer, and in 1530, the year Faber became Bishop of Vienna, *The Babel of Martin Luther’s contradictions, excerpted from his books by Bishop Johannes Faber* was published in Augsburg. In this book, contradictory quotations on different church topics from Luther’s writings are set side by side, holding him up to ridicule. Three examples will suffice:

On the Sacraments in General:

Luther:

“There are three Sacraments of the Church of God, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance.” (*On the Babylonian Captivity*)

Antiluther:

“If we wish to speak strictly, there are only two Sacraments in the Church of God, Baptism and the Bread [of Communion].” (*On the Babylonian Captivity*)

On Marriage:

Luther:

“Marriage is a sacrament, not divinely instituted, but invented by men in the Church, led by ignorance of the matter as much as of the Word.” (*On the Babylonian Captivity*)

Antiluther:

“Paul proves in Ephesians 5 that marriage is truly a sacrament and divinely instituted.” (*Sermon on Marriage*)

On the Saints:

Luther:

“There is nothing more dangerous under heaven than the deeds of the Saints not strengthened by the testimony of written texts.” (*On the Canon of the Mass*)

Antiluther:

“The festivals of the sainted Apostles and others ought to be celebrated.” (*On the 10 Precepts*)

JOHANN ECK, LUTHER’S GREATEST GERMAN OPPONENT

22. Eck, Johann. *Quinta pars operum Iohannis Eckii, contra Lutherum et alios declamatoria; continet homilias de tempore, sanctis ac sacramentis ...; textus Evangelio[rum] ad editionem Compluten. iuxta exemplar Vaticanum emendatus.* [Augustae Vindellicorum [i.e. Augsburg]: Per Alexandrum Vuesyssenhorn; [Ingolstadt: Georg Krapff], 1533-1536, 1540. 4 vols. (vols. 1-3 in WL). Latin translation of Eck’s *Christenliche Auslegung der Evangelien*, first issued in 1530.

Luther’s greatest opponent among the Catholic clergy in Germany was the theologian Johann Eck (1486-1543), professor of theology at Ingolstadt from 1510 until his death. In 1519, he debated Andreas Karlstadt (see no. 24 in Case V) and Luther at a public debate in Leipzig and in 1520 played the major part in having Luther excommunicated. Throughout the rest of his life he opposed Luther and defended the Catholic cause. In the fifth part of his collected sermons on display, he attacks Luther as precursor of the Antichrist, for blaspheming the Virgin Mary, and because he condemned Christian peasants to be cut down and slaughtered (a reference to Luther’s approval of crushing the revolt of the peasants during the Peasants’ War of 1524-1525—see no. 15 in Case III), although at the same time he was against war with the Turks.

CASE V: GERMANY: FOLLOWERS OF LUTHER

THE FIFTEEN COMRADES OF JOHANN EBERLIN VON GÜNZBURG

23. Eberlin von Günzburg, Johann. *Fünfzehn Bundesgenossen.* [Basel : Pamphilus Gengenbach, 1521]. The Watkinson copy has all but the 2nd and 14th of the 15 *Bundesgenossen*.

Many notable individuals followed Luther in his break with the Church. A member of the older generation was Johann Eberlin von Günzburg (ca. 1470-1533), originally a Franciscan and famous as the author of a group of fifteen pamphlets known as the *Bundesgenossen* (Comrades) [23]. The titles give a flavor of the contents of these essays: “A plaintive plaint to the Christian Roman Caesar Charles on behalf of Doctor Luther and Ulrich von Hutten ...” (no. 1), “An admonition to all Christians to have pity on nuns ...” (no. 3), “An admonishment to all the authorities of the German Nation that they reform the prayer stool or the pulpit” (no. 5), “To all and every believing Christian person an urgent warning that they keep away from damaging teachings” (no. 15), etc.

ANDREAS KARLSTADT PERFORMS THE FIRST REFORMED EUCHARISTIC SERVICE

24. Karlstadt, Andreas Rudolff-Bodenstein von. *Predig Andresen Boden. von Carolstatt tzu Wittenberg: Von emphabung des heiligen Sacraments.* Wittenberg: [Nickell Schyrlentz, 1522].

Andreas Rudolff-Bodenstein von Karlstadt (ca. 1480-1541), a colleague of Luther at Wittenberg, was one of his earliest supporters in fighting for reform and participated with him in the Leipzig disputation of 1519 and along with him suffered excommunication in 1520. However, where Luther tended to proceed with some caution, Karlstadt was more impetuous. While Frederick the Wise hid Luther in Wartburg castle for his own safety, on Christmas day in 1521 in Wittenberg, Karlstadt boldly celebrated the first public reformed communion service. It was in German and, contrary to then Catholic tradition, the communicants not only received the bread but also the wine. A contemporary edition of the sermon, *Prayer of Andreas Boden[stein] von Karlstadt at Wittenberg concerning acceptance of the Holy Sacrament*, that he gave on that occasion is on display [24]. In it, Karlstadt, following Luther, preached that salvation came through faith alone (justification by faith), not by works, and emphasized the primacy of Scripture for attaining grace. This episode, nonetheless, offended Luther, and he abrogated many of Karlstadt’s innovations when he returned to Wittenberg. Ultimately, the two became enemies, and Karlstadt ended his career as professor of Old Testament at Basel.

MEISTERSINGER HANS SACHS ON THE ATTACK

25. Sachs, Hans. *Ain Gesprech von den Scheinwercken der Gaystlichen, vnd jren Gelübden: damit sy zü Verlesterung des Bliüts Christi vermayne[n] selig zü werden [von] Hanns Sachs Schüchmacher.* [Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart,] Anno 1524.

The shoemaker and author Hans Sachs (1494-1576), whose name is well-known to opera lovers from Richard Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, was a real person and an active supporter of Luther. A prolific writer, he wrote hymns and poems, plays and dialogues in support of the Lutheran cause. He was unflinching in his approach as the title to the dialogue that is on display indicates: *A conversation concerning the phony works of the clergy and their vows in that they believe blasphemy of the Blood of Christ is blessed* [25].



PHILIPP MELANCTHON, LUTHER'S KEY THEOLOGICAL SUPPORTER

26. Melancthon, Philipp. *Omnium operum reverendi viri Philippi Melanthonis, pars prima [- quarta].* Wittebergae: Excudebat I. Crato, 1562-64. 4 vols.

Luther's most important theological ally was Philipp Melancthon (1497-1560), a man of unusual talent—a humanist, educator, philologist, theologian, neo-Latin poet, and textbook author. He was a prodigy and became professor of Greek in Wittenberg at age 21 in 1518. His strong commitment to humanism, his moderation, and his ordered approach to theology were of great service to the Lutheran cause. In 1521 he published his book *Loci communes* (Common topics), which was revised and expanded a number of times during his lifetime as his ideas developed.

In this work Melancthon presented an account of Reformation doctrine, which proved very influential and which he translated into German in 1555. There were also translations into Croatian, Dutch, French, and Italian. With Luther outlawed, Melancthon was the major reform representative before Emperor Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Here he presented what is now called the "Augsburg Confession," a summary of basic Lutheran doctrine. Melancthon, as was his way, framed the Confession in as moderate a fashion as possible, hoping to bring the opposing parties together. The "Augsburg Confession," somewhat revised, continues to be the standard statement of faith for the Lutheran Church and, in its more radically revised 1540 form, is recognized today by certain Calvinist churches in Germany. The volume on display contains the final edition, first issued in 1543, of the *Loci communes* and two versions of the "Augsburg Confession" [26].

CASE VI: SWITZERLAND: ZWINGLI, BULLINGER, AND ROBERT ESTIENNE



ULRICH ZWINGLI, INITIATOR OF REFORM IN SWITZERLAND

27. Bèze, Théodore de. *Les vrais pourtraits des hommes illustres en pieté et doctrine, du travail desquels Dieu s'est serui en ces derniers temps, pour remettre sus la vraye religion en diuers pays de la Chrestienté: avec les descriptions de leur vie & leurs faits plus memorables.* Plus quarantequatre emblemes Chrestiens. Traduits du Latin de Theodore de Besze. [Geneve]: Par Jean de Laon., MDLXXXI [1581].

ZWINGLI PRESENTS HIS VIEWS ON COMMUNION

28. Zwingli, Ulrich. *Ad Mathaeum Alberum Rutlingensium ecclesiasten, De coena Dominica Huldrychi Zuinglij epistola.* Tiguri (=Zurich): in aedibus Christophori Froschouer, 1525.

Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) [27], Swiss-born in the canton of St. Gall, was the key reformer in establishing Protestantism in Switzerland and founder of the Reformed tradition which many Protestant churches follow today. He studied at Basel, Bern, and Vienna and was a great admirer of Erasmus. An outstanding preacher and brilliant theologian, in December of 1518 he was elected "People's Priest" at the Old Minster of Zurich and with his sermons in 1519 began to introduce his Reform ideas. These ideas differed in significant ways from Luther. An example can be found in his letter to the supporter of Luther, Matthäus Alber (1495-1570), reformer of Reutlingen in South Germany, concerning the nature of communion [28]. In this tract, Zwingli argues for his position that there is no Real Presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of communion, either in the form of transubstantiation as propounded by the Catholics or in the consubstantiation favored by Luther, but that the sacrament of communion is only symbolic—an expression of the faith of the communicants. This concept of the nature of communion became very influential and was championed by many Protestant churches as they developed their theology.

HEINRICH BULLINGER, ZWINGLI'S SUCCESSOR IN ZURICH

29. Bullinger, Heinrich. *Fiftie godlie and learned sermons, diuided into fiue decades: conteyning the chiefe and principall pointes of Christian religion written in three seuerall tomes or sections, by Henrie Bullinger ...* Translated out of Latine into English by H.I., student in Diuinitie. Imprinted at London: By [Henry Middleton for] Ralphe Newberrie, 1577.

Zwingli led the Zurich church until he was killed in a battle with the neighboring Catholic Forest Cantons in October of 1531. Aply taking up his mantel was Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575), a Swiss trained at Cologne where he had read the works of Luther and Melancthon and decided to embrace Reformation ideas. Bullinger had wide influence. He was responsible for the second Helvetic Confession of 1566, a statement of faith, predominantly Calvinist, that was accepted by all the Swiss Reformed churches but Basel and by the Reformed churches in France, Germany, and Eastern Europe. In England, too, he was influential, corresponding with Henry VIII and Edward VI. During the reign of Henry VIII and the reversion to Catholicism during the reign of Mary, many reformers from England found hospitality with him in Zurich. Bullinger proved particularly popular during the reign of Elizabeth I, and this is reflected in the publication of 50 of his sermons in English translation [29].



INNOVATIVE SCHOLAR-PRINTER ROBERT ESTIENNE AND THE BIBLE

30. Bible. N.T. Greek. 1550. [*Tes Kaines Diathekes hapanta ... = Nouum Iesu Christi D.N. Testamentum, ex Bibliotheca Regia.*] Lutetiae (=Paris): Ex Officina Roberti Stephani ..., xvii cal. Iul. [i.e., June 15] 1550.

France in the mid-16th century could be a difficult place for free-thinking humanists. One of the greatest humanists of the period was the talented printer-publisher, Biblical scholar, and lexicographer Robert Estienne (1503?-1559), often known by the Latin form of his last name "Stephanus." Estienne made enduring contributions to the study of Latin through publication of his *Thesaurus of the Latin language* and to the French language by issuing his ground-breaking Latin-French and French-Latin dictionaries. As a Bible editor, Estienne was a notable innovator, one innovation being the introduction of verse divisions into the Biblical text. Some of his innovations, however, brought him into difficulties. His editions of the Latin Vulgate often included summaries and headings which were found objectionable to the Theological Faculty at the University of Paris. In 1550, he issued a pioneering critical edition of the New Testament in Greek [30], which in its inner margins included the first critical apparatus in a Biblical text. That same year, having decided it was too dangerous to remain in France, Estienne settled in Geneva and gave up Catholicism to become a follower of Calvin. In Geneva, he established his press, printing both Bibles and the works of Calvin and his followers.



CASE VII: SWITZERLAND: CALVIN

JEAN CALVIN, REFORMER IN GENEVA

31. Bèze, Théodore de. *Icones, id est verae imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium, quorum praecipue ministerio partim bonarum literarum studia sunt restituta, partim vera religio in variis orbis Christiani regionibus, nostra patrumque memoria fuit instaurata: additis eorundem vitae & operae descriptionibus, quibus adiectae sunt nonnullae picturae quas emblemata vocant.* [Genevae]: apud I. Laonium, 1580.

CALVIN'S KEY WORK, *THE INSTITUTES*

32. Calvin, Jean. *Institutio Christianae religionis ...* [Genevae]: Oliua Roberti Stephani, 1553.

Jean Calvin (1509-1564) [32] was born in Noyon, Picardy, in France and originally studied to be a priest. Eventually, under the influence of the writings of Luther, he turned away from the Catholic Church and towards reform. The earliest fruit of his new found beliefs was the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* published in Latin in March of 1536 and reflecting his reading of Luther. As he developed his ideas throughout his life, he published further expanded editions of the *Institutes* [32], the final definitive version appearing in 1559. In his book, Calvin treats such topics as the knowledge of God, penance, justification by faith, predestination, providence and the salvation of the elect, prayer, baptism, communion, and faith. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (3rd ed., p. 838), "The highly systematic structure of the work, its clarity of presentation, its lucid prose and pithy style (esp. in the French editions), its constant appeal to Scripture, and its logical rigour led to its becoming the most important theological text of the Protestant Reformation." One should note that in the

imprint of this edition of the *Institutes*, the place of publication, Geneva, is not indicated, but is able to be supplied by the cataloguer, since we know that the press of Robert Estienne, *Oliua Roberti Stephani* ("The Olive Tree of Robert Estienne") was at this time in Geneva. The omission of Geneva in the imprint made the book more acceptable in Catholic countries such as France and Italy where the city of Calvin's reforms was anathema.

CALVIN'S COMMENTARIES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

33. Bible. N.T. Gospel. Latin. 1563. [*Harmonia ex tribus evangelistis composita, Matthaeo, Marco et Luca, adiuncto seorsum Iohanne, quod pauca cum aliis communia habeat. Cum Iohannis Calvini commentariis.*] [Genevae]: excudebant N. Barbirius & T. Courteau, 1563.

With: **Bible. N.T. Acts. Latin. 1563.** *Ioannis Calvini commentarii integri in Acta apostolorum: Horum commentarium utilitatem commonstrabunt duo indices ad calcem operis adiecti, prior rerum & verborum: posterior locorum utriusque testamenti, quos author apposite ad sensum suae interpretationis accomodauit.* [Genevae]: excudebant N. Barbirius & T. Courteau, 1564.

Calvin first settled in Geneva in 1536, through the encouragement of another reformer, Guillaume Farel (1489-1565), but the two were expelled in 1538 for trying to impose their strict view of ecclesiastical discipline, including a confession of faith and excommunication for the opposition. Calvin then went to Strasbourg, but in 1541 the city council of Geneva invited him to return. There he was to remain for the rest of his life and worked to establish a strict theocracy in the city. Reflecting the Reformed view of the centrality of Bible study, Calvin prepared commentaries on both the Old and New Testament. An example is his harmony of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, along with commentary and a separate commentary on the Gospel of John, bound with his commentary on the Acts of the Apostles [33].

CALVIN AND BÈZE COMBAT HERESY

34. Calvin, Jean. *Defensio orthodoxae fidei de sacra Trinitate, co[n]tra prodigiosos errores Michaelis Serueti Hispani: vbi ostenditur haereticos iure Gladii coercendos esse, & nominatim de homine hoc tam impio iuste & merito sumptu[m] Genevae fuisse supplicium per Iohannem Caluinum.* [Genevae]: Oliua Roberti Stephani, 1554.

With: **Théodore de Bèze.** *De haereticis a civili magistratu puniendis Libellus, adversus Martini Bellii farraginem, & nouorum academicorum sectam.* [Genevae]: Oliua Roberti Stephani, 1554.

Naturally, Calvin's views were not unopposed. Perhaps the most notable individual to come in conflict with him, outside the Catholic Church, was the Spanish physician and anti-Trinitarian writer, Michael Servetus (ca. 1511-1553), who had settled in France. Servetus had argued in print that there was no Biblical basis for the Trinity and propounded his own system of Christianity in his 1553 book, *Christianismi Restitutio* (Restitution of Christianity). After being arrested by the Inquisition and escaping to Geneva, Servetus, refusing to renounce his views, was

burnt at the stake on October 27, 1553. In 1554, Calvin issued a defense of his execution of Servetus, which today seems thoroughly reprehensible [34]. The title of the book says it all: *Defense of the Orthodox Faith concerning the Sacred Trinity against the huge errors of Michael Servetus, a Spaniard, where it is shown that heretics must be punished by the law of the sword and particularly concerning this so wicked a man that his punishment in Geneva was justly and deservedly exacted.* It is interesting to note that the killing of Servetus undermined the city council of Geneva, strengthening Calvin's hand, and was approved by other Protestant cities in Switzerland and even by Melancthon. Nonetheless, the slaying of Servetus did elicit reaction from reformers of more liberal views. Sébastien Castellion (1515-1563), a French humanist scholar, Protestant theologian, and advocate of tolerance, under the pseudonym of Martinus Bellius, compiled in 1554 *De haereticis an sint persequendi* (Concerning heretics, whether they must be persecuted) with quotations from early Christian writers and 16th-century authors in criticism of Calvin's action. In reply that same year, Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605), then professor of Greek in Lausanne and a strong supporter of Calvin, wrote his *Short book concerning punishment of heretics by the civil magistracy against the hotchpotch of Martinus Bellius and the school of new academics.* The Watkinson copy is bound with Calvin's book against Servetus [34].

THE BIBLE IN FRENCH IN CALVIN'S GENEVA

35. Bible. French. 1563. *La Bible, qui est toute la sainte esriture: ascavoir, le vieil & nouveau Testament. Rev. & cor. sur le Grec par les ministres de Geneue.* [Geneva]: Par Nicolas Barbier & Thomas Courteau, 1563.

In France, unlike in Germany and the English speaking world, there was no Luther or Authorized Version of the Bible that attained universal prestige and recognition. Not surprisingly, however, in Calvin's Geneva a version sanctioned by the ecclesiastical authorities became standard. This French translation was based on the version first published in Neuchâtel, Switzerland in 1535 by Biblical scholar and Calvin's relative Pierre Robert Olivétan (ca. 1506-1538), who had relied heavily on the translation of the Bible by French humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1460?-1536). Olivétan's version, in turn, underwent continuous revision by the "Ministers of Geneva." The Watkinson copy is enhanced with copious marginal notes, illustrations, and musical settings of the Psalms [35].

CASE VIII: FREE THINKERS AND DISSENTERS

SEBASTIAN FRANCK, GERMAN FREE THINKER

36. Franck, Sebastian. *Chronica, Zeytbuch und geschycht bibel von anbenen biss inn diss gegwertig M D xxxi jar ...* Getruckt zu Strassburg: Durch Balthasser Beck, 1531.

37. Franck, Sebastian. *Paradoxa ducenta octoginta, das is, cclxxx wo[n]derreden, ende recht als raetselen, wt de heylige Schrift, wie voor all vleesch ongelooftic ende onwaer ziin ...* [s.l., s.n., ca. 1535]. Translation from German into Dutch.

The Reformation was a time when many people began thinking religious ideas afresh. Gradually, new orthodoxies emerged, as, for example, in the case of Luther and Calvin. Some individuals, however, like Servetus, always remained independent of the mainstream. One of the most compelling of these was Sebastian Franck (1499-1542), born in Southern Germany and trained originally as a priest. He was first drawn towards Luther, but soon developed his own ideas, deeply spiritual in content and opposed to any institutional forms of religion. His iconoclastic approach forced him to move from city to city, living in, among others, Strasbourg, Kehl, Esslingen, Ulm, and finally settling in Basel, where he died. He articulated his views in his *Chronica*, a huge narrative first published in Strasbourg in 1531 [36]. "[I]n discussing the actions of political rulers, the events of church history, and the history of heresy and heretics ..., Franck found in the beliefs of many heretics anathematized by the Roman Catholic church evidence of God's indwelling word" (Patrick Hayden-Roy in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 2, p. 134). The most rigorous account of his spiritual theology is his *Paradoxa ducenta octaginta* (Two hundred eighty paradoxes), where he presents contradictory statements from authoritative sources and then demonstrates how they can be reconciled through a spiritual, non-literal reading of the texts. The edition of his book in the Watkinson, a translation from German into Dutch, is indicative of the breadth of his popularity, but by its lack of a place of publication or publisher reveals the controversial nature of his writing [37].

THE BOHEMIAN BRETHREN, PRE-REFORMATION DISSENTERS

38. Bohemian Brethren. *Confessio fidei ac religionis, baronum ac nobilium regni Bohoemiae, Serenissimo ac inuictissimo Romanorum, Bohoemiae &c. Regi, Viennae Austriae, sub anno Domini 1535 oblata.* VViterbergae: In officina Georgii Rhavv, [1538?]. With: [Jan Augusta]. *Apologia verae doctrinae eorum qui vulgo appellantur VValdenses vel Picardi. Retinuerunt enim Ioannis Hussitae doctrinam, cum scripturis sanctis consencientem.* Oblata d. Georgio Marchioni Brandenbergensi. Nunc demum multis in

locis aucta & recognita. Impressum Viteberg[a]e : Per Georgium Rhauu, [1538].

Separation from the Catholic Church did not begin with Luther. In the mid-15th century, in what is today the Czech Republic, independent forms of Christianity developed, inspired by the martyred Jan Huss (ca. 1372-1415), one of whose beliefs was that in communion the laity should be able to take both the bread and wine, not the bread alone. This doctrine is called Utraquism, literally meaning “both-ism.” The majority of Utraquists, as they came to be known, though rejecting papal authority, maintained much of Catholic doctrine and enjoyed legal protection, but there were dissidents who went even farther. Among these were the Bohemian Brethren (later known as the Moravian Brethren) who wished to reform the church on the basis of Biblical interpretation and broke from the mainstream Utraquists in 1467. They lived a simple, ascetic communal existence, rejecting oaths, military obligations, and private property. A people apart and always in fear of persecution, in the 1530s they looked for support in the budding Lutheran movement. In 1538, with a preface by Martin Luther, their *Confession of faith and religion* was printed in Wittenberg, as was *A defense of the true doctrine of those who were commonly called Waldensians or Picards*, another name for the group being the Waldensian Brethren. The Watkinson copies of both titles are bound in one volume [38].

MARTYRDOM AND ANABAPTISTS

39. Braght, Thieleman J. van. *Der blutige Schau-platz oder martyrer Spiegel der Tauffs gesin[n]ten oder wehrlosen-Christen, die um des zeugnuss Jesu ihres Seligmachers willen gelitten haben, und seynd getödtet worden, von Christi zeit an bis auf das Jahr 1660. Vormalis aus unterschiedlichen glaubwürdigen Chronicken, Nachrichten und Zeugnissen gesam[m]let und in holländischer Sprach heraus gegeben von T.J.V. Braght. Nun aber sorgfältigst ins Hochteutsche übersetzt und zum Erstenmal ans Licht gebracht.* Ephrata in Pensylvanien: Drucks und Verlags der Brüderschafft, anno MDCCXLVIII-MDCCXLIX. 2 vols. in 1.

One of the largest groups not in the mainstream was the Anabaptists, which literally means “rebaptizers.” They believed that children were not ready to be baptized and that baptism was only appropriate for mature adults. In addition, Anabaptists advocated a return to the individual simplicity and humility of early Christianity as described in the New Testament and rejected clerical and governmental control of religion. There were many Anabaptist groups—Swiss Brethren, Hutterites, Melchiorites, Mennonites, and others. All experienced persecution. The Mennonites, followers of Menno Simons (1496-1561), a former priest who renounced the Catholic Church in 1536, are among the most important. On display is the widely read Mennonite book of martyrs, Thieleman J. van Braght’s (1625-1664) *The bloody scene or martyrs’ mirror of those wishing to be baptized or pacifist Christians who for the sake of witness of Jesus their Savior have suffered and been killed from the time of Christ up until the year 1660*. It is the first German edition, the book originally having been written in Dutch. In appearance, it is very similar to 16th century

publications with its black letter type and heavy leather binding, but it actually was published in the German community of Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in 1748 and 1749. It has the distinction of being the largest book published in colonial America and is still read today by Mennonites and their more conservative brethren, the Amish.

CASE IX: THE CATHOLIC COUNTER-REFORMATION



NEW RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND REFORM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

40. Ignatius, of Loyola, Saint. [*Exercitia spiritualia*]. *Vera effigies: S. Ignatius Soc. Iesu fondator, autor Exercitior[um] spiri[tuali]um.* P[ap]a Greg. XV. [Rome: s.n., 1622?].

41. Jesuits. *Regulae Societatis Iesu.* Cum facultate superiorum. Dilingae (=Dillingen, Germany): Excudebat Ioannes Meyer, [ca. 1580].

As has been noted, criticism of abuses in the Catholic Church did not begin with the Reformation (see Case I). Efforts toward Reform of the Church were underway before Luther, and Luther himself, in the beginning, only saw himself as a reformer, not the founder of a new church. The establishment of new Catholic religious orders, such as the Capuchins and Theatines founded in 1520s, is a reflection of this movement towards reform. Most notable of the new orders looking to repair the Church was the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits, initiated by a Basque noble, Ignatius

Loyola (ca. 1491-1556), with six followers in 1534 and formally recognized by Papal bull in 1540. Loyola, a former soldier, after being wounded and leaving military life, during 1522 and 1523 experienced a period of deep spiritual awakening that led to his mission of founding the Jesuits. Many of his insights are embodied in his manual for spiritual retreats, the *Spiritual Exercises* [40], which continues to be read and studied. Loyola's military background is reflected in the order he founded. Obedience, self-abnegation, humility, and austerity were hallmarks, but also an emphasis on living in the world and on humanistic and secular education and training which enabled Jesuits to confront the enemies of the Church on equal terms. The Jesuits quickly became famed as preachers and teachers. The *Rules of the Society of Jesus* [41], the first German edition of which is on display, summarizes the basic tenets of the order. Characteristic is the second rule: "The purpose of this Society is not only to be free for the salvation and perfection of our own souls through Divine Grace, but through this same Grace to strive earnestly for the salvation and perfection of those nearest."

THE POPE TRIES TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

42. Catholic Church. Pope Paul III (1534-1549) and Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor. *Pauli Tertii Pontificis Maximi ad Carolum Quintum Romanorum Imperatorem per Legatum Cardinalem Visensem missa epistola hortatoria ad pacem, ac ipsius Augusti ad eam responsio XVIII die Octobris anno MDXXXII.* [s.l.: s.n., 1542?].

The Pope as head of the Roman Catholic Church was concerned that all Catholic monarchs work in concert to oppose Luther and other Protestants and avoid being embroiled in conflicts with each other. Unfortunately, in the early 1540s, France, led by her King Francis I (1494-1547), and the Holy Roman Empire under Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) were at war over the investiture of Charles's son, Philip, with the duchy of Milan. Indeed, Francis had even allied himself with the Ottoman sultan, Suleiman I (1496?-1566). An exchange of letters between Pope Paul III and Charles reflects the Pope's attempt to secure the peace.

EMPEROR CHARLES V ASKS POPE PAUL III FOR A GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCH

43. Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor. *Römisch Kaiserlicher Maiestat Caroli des V. Antwort auf Bapst Pauli des III. jüngstes Ausschreiben, ein gemain concitium, so zu Trient soll gehalten werden, belangend.* Aus dem Latin verteücht ... [s.l.: s.n.,] Anno 1543.

Since the 1520s there had been calls, most prominently from Emperor Charles V, for a general church council to bring reformers like Luther back to the Church. *The answer of His Majesty*

the Roman Emperor Charles V to the most recent declaration of Pope Paul III, concerning that a general council of the Church be held at Trent [43] was originally written on August 25, 1542, and is an example of Charles's effort to get a council under way, which bore fruit in December of 1545.

A SUMMARY OF THE DECISIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

44. Council of Trent (1545-1563). *Canones, et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici et Generalis Concilii Tridentini sub Paulo III, Julio III, et Pio IIII, Pontificibus max.* Index dogmatum, & reformationis. Romae: Apud Paulum Manutium, Aldi F. in aedibus Populi Romani, 1564.

The Council of Trent, initiated under Pope Paul III (1534-1549), under whom the first sessions took place, meeting between 1545 and 1547, sorted out procedural matters and then affirmed matters critical to the Church's integrity: the Nicene Creed, the canon of the Bible, the authority of not only Scripture but also Church traditions (thus rejecting the Protestant principle of Scripture alone), and the authority of the Latin Vulgate. Contrary to the Protestant view, both justification by faith and merit were affirmed for salvation as were the seven traditional Sacraments. The second group of sessions in 1551 and 1552, convened by Pope Julius III (1550-1555), dealt with the Sacraments and reaffirmed transubstantiation, rejecting Protestant doctrines on communion. The third and final group of sessions between 1562 and 1563 took place under Pope Pius IV (1559-1565) and dealt with various doctrinal matters and regulations relating to creation of seminaries, appointment of cardinals and bishops, and the holding of yearly diocesan synods and provincial councils every three years. A summary of the accomplishments of the Council was published in Rome in 1564 [44].

CATHOLIC CENSORSHIP OF HERETICAL MATERIALS

45. Philippi II Regis Catholici edictum de librorum prohibitorum catalogo osbseruando. Antwerpiae: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1570.

46. Index librorum expurgatorum, illustrissimi ac reverendis[simi] D[octoris] D[ivinitatis] Gasparis Quiroga, Cardinalis & Archiep[iscop]i Toletani Hispan[iae] generalis Inquisitoris iussu editus ... Madriti: Apud Alfonsum Gomezium Regium Typographum, 1583.

One way that a state or church could control unapproved ideas was censorship. The first list or *Index of prohibited books* authorized by the Catholic Church was issued in 1559 by Pope Paul IV (1555-1559) and was very harsh and restrictive, drawing wide criticism. In 1564, Pope Pius IV published a revised, less severe version prepared by the final sessions of the Council of Trent. Even in Catholic lands, imposition of the *Index* depended on local acceptance. Both France and Spain insisted on their autonomy in this regard, and thus in lands controlled by Spain, King Philip

II issued his own version of the *Index*, though it closely followed that of Rome. The example on display was issued in the Spanish Netherlands in 1570 [45]. Another problem was that some books, which were generally acceptable, had heretical sections. This was dealt with by issuing an *Index of expurgated books*, which informed readers which sections were to be deleted. The edition on display was published in Madrid in 1583 [46].

AN AUTHORITATIVE EDITION OF THE VULGATE IS ISSUED

47. Bible. Latin. 1603. *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis, Sixti Quinti Pont[ificis] Max[imi] iussu recognita et edita.* Venetiis: Apud Damianum Zenarum, 1603.

Though the Council of Trent had reaffirmed the authority of the Vulgate, Catholic scholars were well aware that current editions of the Latin Bible were defective and a new edition was necessary. During his reign, Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590) appointed a commission to edit such an edition. It was completed in 1590 and published in 1592 by his successor Clement VIII, and thus is called the Sixto-Clementine edition. On display is a handsome early 17th century printing [47].

CASE X: ENGLAND: HENRY VIII & EDWARD VI

THOMAS MORE AND WILLIAM TYNDALE SPAR IN PRINT

48. More, Thomas, Sir, Saint. *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More knyghte ... wherin be treatyd dyuers maters, as of the veneration & worship of ymagys & relyques, prayng to sayntys, & goyng o[n] pylgrymage. Wyth many othere thyngys touchyng the pestylent sect of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone bygone in Saxony, and by the tother laboryd to be brought in to Englonde.* Enpryntyd at London: Johannes Rastell, 1529.

49. Tyndale, William. *The whole workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn Frith, and Doct. Barnes, three worthy martyrs, and principall teachers of this Churche of England, collected and compiled in one tome together...* [Edited by John Foxe]. London: Iohn Daye, 1573.

In England, the Reformation took a different course. King Henry VIII (1491-1547), who was married to a Spanish princess, Catherine of Aragon, at first was a firm defender of the Catholic Church. His writing against Luther on the Seven Sacraments won him from the Pope the title of “Defender of the Faith” in 1521. There were, of course, Englishmen who were positively disposed to reform. One of the most notable was William Tyndale (1494?-1536), a university scholar, who conceived the

project of translating the Bible into English. Tyndale also tangled in print with Henry VIII’s staunchly Catholic Lord Chancellors, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (1472?-1530) and Thomas More (1478-1535), who strongly defended the Catholic position. In 1529, More issued his first controversial work in English, a *Dialogue* [48], in which he dealt with Tyndale’s Lutheranism, attacking his views on justification by faith, communion, worship of images, praying to Saints, pilgrimages, etc. In reply, Tyndale wrote in 1530 his *Aunswere unto Syr Thomas Mores Dialogue*, here printed in Tyndale’s posthumous collected works of 1573 [49]. This elicited another salvo from More. Tyndale, who had left England permanently in 1524, was martyred in the Spanish Netherlands in 1535.

ENGLISH PROTESTANTS ARE FORCED TO PUBLISH ABROAD DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII

50. Hooper, John. Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester. [*A declaracion of Christe*]. Prynted in Zurych: By Augustyne Fries, 1547.

When Queen Catherine could not produce a male heir (she did give birth to a daughter, the future Queen Mary), Henry VIII sought from the Pope an annulment of his marriage but was unable to obtain it. Henry then took as his wife Anne Boleyn, who became the mother of the future Queen Elizabeth I, and broke with the Catholic Church. Henry’s differences with the Church ultimately brought him into conflict with his Catholic Lord Chancellors and led to the dismissal of Cardinal Wolsey in 1529 and the beheading of Thomas More in 1535; More was canonized a Saint by the Catholic Church in 1935. However, even after breaking with the Church, Henry retained a conservative view of theology and refused to countenance Lutheran ideas, introducing only limited reforms. As a result, English Protestant authors often operated outside of England. John Hooper (d. 1555) was a prominent English reformer who settled in Zurich during Henry’s reign, where he published *A declaracion of Christe* in 1547 [51] and a work on the Ten Commandments in ca. 1549. He returned to England in 1549 during the reign of King Edward VI and became Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, but was martyred under Queen Mary in 1555.

THE EARLIEST EXAMPLE OF PROTESTANT PROSE IN THE SCOTS LANGUAGE

51. Pedersen, Christiern. [*The richt vay to the kingdome of heuine is techit heir in the x co[m]mandis of God, and in the creid, and Pater noster, in the quhilk al christine me[n] sal find al thing [th]at is neidful and requirit to onderstand to the saluation of the saul*]. Prentit in Malmoo: Be me Jhone Hochstraten, the xvi day of October, 1533. The Watkinson copy consists of 47 leaves out of an original 120 and includes signatures D, I (?), K, M, P and parts of at least two other signatures. The leaves are unopened and were removed from a binding.

Already in the 1520s, Luther's views began to reach Scotland. Nonetheless, Scotland remained a Catholic country, where the publication of Protestant works was forbidden. Thus Scottish reformers, like English reformers, arranged for printing of their works abroad. Very curious and rare is a fragment of *The richt way to the kingdome of heuine*, a translation by Scottish reformer John Gaw (d. ca. 1553) of a work written in Latin by the Danish humanist and Lutheran Christiern Pedersen (1480?-1554) [50]. Pedersen's work in turn is largely based on Urbanus Rhegius's *Die zwölff Artikel unsers christliche Glaubens* (The twelve articles of our Christian belief), first published in 1523. The book was printed in Malmo, Sweden, then a part of Denmark, and is the earliest work of Protestant prose in the Scots language.



PROTESTANTISM FINDS OFFICIAL APPROVAL IN ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI: THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

52. Church of England. *The Boke of common prayer, and administracion of the sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies in the Churche of Englande. Londini, in officina Edvvardi Whytchurche. Cum priuilegio ad im primendum solum. Anno. 1552...* London: William Pickering, 1844. Facsimile reprint.

With his third wife, Jane Seymour, Henry VIII finally fathered a male heir. When Henry died in 1547, his son came to the throne as Edward VI (1537-1553), but he was only 10 years old and was very much under the control of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and, after 1549, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, later Duke of Northumberland. Edward was raised as a Protestant and was bright and scholarly. Unfortunately, he was also sick with tuberculosis and died prematurely in 1553. During Edward's brief reign, however, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), with the cooperation of the King's advisers, introduced a full range of Protestant reforms, reflecting the influence of reformers from continental Europe. These reforms included condemnation of images, limiting the Sacraments to

Baptism and Communion, reading of the Gospel and Epistle in English at High Mass, Communion with both bread and wine, and recognition of clerical marriage. Also, a new prayer book in English, *The Book of Common Prayer*, was introduced in 1549 and in more radical form in 1552, which became standard for the rest of the 16th century [52].

THE WORKS OF ERASMUS FIND FAVOR IN EDWARD'S REIGN

53. Erasmus, Desiderius. *The praise of folie. Moriae encomium, a booke made in latine by that great clerke Erasmus Roterodame.* Englished by Sir Thomas Chaloner, Knight. [London: T. Berthelet] 1549.

A reflection of the different atmosphere during the reign of Edward VI is the attitude towards Erasmus. One of the new requirements introduced in 1547 was that every Church have a copy of the Bible in English (the Great Bible—see no. 66 in Case XIII), a *Book of Homilies* compiled by Archbishop Cranmer, and the *Paraphrases of the New Testament* by Erasmus. It is not surprising then that Edward's reign saw the first publication of *The praise of folly* in English [53].

CASE XI: ENGLAND: FROM MARY TO ELIZABETH

CARDINAL POLE PLANS THE RESTORATION OF ENGLAND TO CATHOLICISM

54. Pole, Reginald. *Reformatio Angliae ex decretis Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis, Sedis Apostolicae legati, anno M.D.LVI.* Romae: Apud P. Manutium, 1562.

With the death of Edward VI in 1553, his designated successor, his young Protestant cousin, Lady Jane Grey (1537-1554), attempted to ascend to the throne, thus displacing Edward's sisters, Mary and Elizabeth Tudor. In this, she failed, as Mary Tudor (1516-1558), who was Catholic, became Queen with much popular support. Mary was resolute in her Catholicism and firmly determined on restoring England to Papal authority. At the end of 1554, Reginald Pole (1500-1558), an Englishman with close ties to the Papacy came to England as Archbishop of Canterbury and Papal legate. In 1556 in his *Reform of England*, he summarized what needed to be done to restore the English church to conformity with Rome [54]. He and Mary had at first the support of much of the English Church hierarchy and the people, but this would soon change.

REPRESENTATION OF THE EXECUTION OF CHURCH OF ENGLAND BISHOPS LATIMER AND RIDLEY AS HERETICS IN JOHN FOXE'S 'BOOK OF MARTYRS'

55. Foxe, John. *Acts and monuments of matters most special and memorable, happening in the church, with a universal historie of the same. Wherein is set forth at large, the whole race and course of the church, from the primitive age to these later times of ours ... especially in this realme of England and Scotland. Now again, as it was recognised, perused, and recommended to the studious reader, by the author, Mr. John Foxe, the eight time newly imprinted. Whereunto are annexed certain additions of like persecutions, which have happened in these latter times.* London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1641. 3 vols.

In restoring England to Catholicism, Mary at first tried a gentle approach, but a revolt in 1554 by Thomas Wyatt led her to crack down on Protestant sympathizers, including the execution of Lady Jane Grey and her husband. During her reign, hundreds were burnt as heretics, among them, former archbishop Cranmer and former bishops John Hooper (see no. 50 in Case X), Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley. The harsh treatment of Protestants, her marriage to Philip II of Spain, and her inability to produce an heir eventually led to her general unpopularity. She and Cardinal Pole died hours apart in November of 1558, and her sister, Elizabeth, came to the throne. Mary's persecution of Protestants was the central subject of John Foxe's (1516-1587) *Acts and monuments of matters most special and memorable, happening in the church*, usually known as 'Foxe's Book of Martyrs,' first published in 1563. Foxe had escaped to the continent during Mary's reign, and his book, a bestseller in its day, did much to perpetuate Mary's negative image, which continues to this day.

PORTRAIT OF ELIZABETH IN RICHARD DAY'S *BOOKE OF CHRISTIAN PRAYERS*

56. Day, Richard. *A booke of Christian prayers, collected out of the ancient writers, and best learned in our time, worthy to be read with an earnest mind of all Christians, in these dangerous and troublesome daies, that God for Christes sake will yet still be mercifull vnto vs.* London: Printed by R. Yardley, and P. Short, for the assignes of Richard Day, 1590.

When Elizabeth Tudor (1533-1603) came to the English throne in 1558, she was faced with a series of challenges. As a Protestant, she was determined to restore reformed Christianity to England. This was a tricky task. Many, in spite of Mary, sympathized with the Catholic Church. Elizabeth proceeded slowly, working for royal supremacy in the matter of religion and reintroducing Edward VI's 1552 *Book of common prayer* [57]. The *Thirty-Nine Articles* issued at a 1563 Convocation provided a definitive statement of doctrine for the Church of England, but in being broadly drawn constituted a basis for conciliation with other religious positions. After her excommunication by the Pope in 1570, Elizabeth adopted harsher methods, but still her conservative



approach to religious change rankled more radical Protestants such as Puritans and Presbyterians. But it was this same approach that in the long run gave ultimate shape to the developing Anglican Church.

OLDEST BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER IN THE WATKINSON LIBRARY

57. Church of England. *The Booke of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.* Imprinted at London: By Robert Barker, 1607. Bound in elaborately embroidered silk.

CASE XII: ENGLAND: RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY DURING ELIZABETH'S REIGN

JOHN JEWEL, EARLY DEFENDER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

58. Jewel, John. *Operum theologicorum Ioan. Ivelli sarisburiensis episcopi, tomi duo.* [Heidelberg]: Apud Heredes Hieronymi Comelini, 1600. 2 vols. in 1.

Elizabeth had major allies in her clergy. One of the most important at the beginning of her reign was John Jewel (1522-1571). Jewel, who fled England during the reign of Mary, returned on Elizabeth's accession and was made Bishop of Salisbury. In 1562, he published his *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, and that same year it was published in a lively translation by Francis Bacon's

mother, Lady Ann Bacon (1528-1610), as *An apologie or aunswer in defence of the Church of England*. In his book, Jewel contested the original bases of key Catholic doctrines and denied that the Roman Church could be reformed. He was answered in print by Thomas Harding, former canon of Jewel's own Salisbury cathedral, now in exile. Jewell in turn replied to Harding. Jewell's original *Apologia* and his reply to Harding are contained in the volume on exhibit [58].

RICHARD HOOKER'S *LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITIE*

59. Hooker, Richard. *Of the lawes of ecclesiastical politie* London: Printed by Will: Stansby, and are to be sold by Mat: Lownes, 1617.

The most authoritative and influential defense of the Church of England, *Of the lawes of ecclesiastical politie*, was composed by Richard Hooker (1554-1600). Hooker, a protégé of John Jewel, attended Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he received a humanistic as well as theological education and pursued a career as a minister. In 1593, he published the first four books of the *Lawes*, followed in 1597 by the fifth book, all that was to appear during his lifetime. The copy on display is the five-book version [59]. The first edition of the complete work, in eight books, was only published in 1662, and a copy of it is also in the Watkinson Library. In his book, Hooker refuted Calvinists, Anabaptists, and other Protestant groups, as well as Catholics, whom he treated more gingerly in the hopes of conciliating them. Crucially, in contradiction to the Calvinist Puritans, who wished to base law on a literal reading of the New Testament, Hooker stressed the right of a human community, through natural law and reason, to legislate for itself and "How Lawes for the Regiment of the Church may bee made by the advice of men, following therein the light of reason, and how those Lawes being not repugnant to the Word of God are approved in his sight" (*Laws* III.9). In so arguing, Hooker defended the episcopal structure of the Church of England and its ritual practices, both of which were rejected by Puritans and other Protestant groups.

TRANSLATIONS OF CONTINENTAL REFORMERS PUBLISHED IN ELIZABETH'S ENGLAND

60. Luther, Martin. *A Commentarie of M. Doctor Martin Luther upon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Galathians: first collected and gathered vword by vword out of his preaching, & novv out of Latine faithfully translated into English for the vnlearned. VVherein is set fourth most excellently the glorious riches of Gods grace and pouver of the Gospell, vvith the difference betvvene the lavve and the Gospell, and strength of fayth declared; to the joyfull comfort and confirmation of all true Christian belevvers ...* With a table in the ende of all things here necessary to be knowne. Diligently reuised, corrected, and nevvly imprinted againe. [London]: Thomas Vautroullier dvvelling vvithin the Blacke friers by Ludgate, 1577.

61. Calvin, Jean. *The institution of Christian religion, written in Latine by M. Iohn Calvine, and translated into English according to the authors last edition, by Thomas Norton. Whereunto are newly added in the margent of the booke, notes conteyning in briefe the substance of the matter handled in each section.* London: Printed by H. Middleton for W. Norton, 1587.

A reflection of how continental Protestantism was readily received in the England of Queen Elizabeth I is the publication of translations of major works by leading reformers, such as Luther's *Commentary upon the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Galatians* [60] and Calvin's *Institutes* [61].

TRIAL OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARY, EDMUND CAMPION

62. Nowell, Alexander. *A true report of the disputation, or rather, private conference had in the Tower of London, with Ed. Campion, Iesuite, the last of August, 1581. Set downe by the reuerend learned men them selues that dealt therein; whereunto is ioyned also a true report of the other three dayes conferences had there with the same Iesuite, which nowe are thought meete to be published in print by authoritie.* London: Christopher Barker, 1583.

Catholics in England, however, did not give up hope of returning England to Rome. Notable in this regard is Edmund Campion (1540-1581), the talented Oxford-trained son of an English bookseller, whose theological studies led him to abandon the Church of England in 1570. Traveling to France in 1571, he was trained at the English College at Douai and became a Jesuit in 1573. In 1580, he and Robert Parsons (see items nos. 63 & 64) traveled to England to begin a missionary ministry, and in 1581, Campion published his *Ten reasons* in favor of Catholicism. In July of that year, Campion was captured by the authorities, and Parsons escaped to the Continent. After being taken prisoner, Campion was forced to participate in a series of disputations with leading Anglican controversialists, one of whom, Alexander Nowell (1507?-1602), prepared an account of the discussions [62]. In the fall, Campion was put on trial for high treason and executed. He was canonized a Saint of the Catholic Church in 1970.

ROBERT PARSONS CONTINUES THE STRUGGLE ON BEHALF OF ENGLISH CATHOLICISM

63. Parsons, Robert. *A Christian directorie guiding men to their salvation, divided into three bookes: the first whereof apperteyning to resolution, is only contained in this volume, deuided into two partes, and set forth now againe with many corrections, and additions by th'authour him self; with reprove of the corrupt and falsified edition of the same booke lately published by M. Edm. Buny. Ther is added also a methode for the vse of al; with two tables, and a preface to the reader, which is necessarie to be reade.* [Rouen: s.n.], 1585.

64. Parsons, Robert. *Elizabethae Angliae Reginae haeresim Calvinianam propugnantis saevissimum in Catholicos sui Regni edictum, quod in alios quoque reipublicae Christianae principes contumelias continet indignissimas. Promulgatum Londini 29. Novembris M.D.XCI. Cum responsione ad singular capita, qua non tantum saevitia & impietas tam iniqui edicti, sed mendacia quoque & fraudes & imposturae deteguntur & confutantur.* Romae: Ex Typographia Aloysii Zannetti, 1593.

Campion's fellow Jesuit missionary, Robert Parsons (1546-1610), after fleeing to the Continent, continued his activities to restore Catholicism to England. Most influential was his spiritual work *The first book of Christian resolution*, first published in 1582 and subsequently called *A Christian directorie* [63]. Ironically, it was later edited for use in the Church of England. Parsons was also active as a polemicist. In 1591, Elizabeth issued an edict against priests and Jesuits and condemned seminaries as places of sedition, calling for their investigation. Parsons replied with a detailed rebuttal: *The most cruel edict of Elizabeth Queen of England (fighting in defense of the Calvinist heresy against the Catholics of her kingdom), which contains the most unworthy slanders also against the princes of the Christian polity. Promulgated in London on 29 November 1591. With a response to each chapter, where not only the cruelty and impiety but also the lies & deceits & deceptions of so wicked an edict are uncovered and refuted.* [64]. With Elizabeth now at an advanced age, Parsons also raised the issue of a Catholic successor in his *Conference about the next succession to the Crown of England* (1595).

CASES XIII-XIV: THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN THE REFORMATION

FIRST PAGE OF GENESIS IN MILES COVERDALE'S ENGLISH BIBLE

65. Bible. O.T. Genesis. English. 1535. *The first booke of Moses, called Genesis.* [Marburg? Eucharius Cervicornus and Johannes Soter?], 1535. Leaf 1 from the first edition of the Coverdale Bible, containing text from Genesis chapter 1, verse 1 through chapter 2, verse 16.

One of the most enduring results of the Reformation was production of new and profoundly influential vernacular translations of the Bible, most notably in Germany (see Case IV) and England. William Tyndale (d. 1536—see also no. 49 in Case X) was the pioneer translator of the Bible into English during the Reformation. Learned in Greek and Hebrew, Tyndale translated directly from the original languages in a clear and vigorous style that influenced all subsequent translations. His New Testament appeared in 1525, his Pentateuch in 1529-1530, and his Jonah in 1531. He also left unpublished his translations of the historical books Joshua through Second Chronicles. Miles Coverdale,

not so learned in ancient languages as Tyndale, published the first complete English Bible in the Reformation, using Tyndale where available, but for much of the Old Testament relying on German versions, which affected his style, and the Vulgate. S. L. Greenslade in *The Cambridge history of the Bible* (Vol. 3, p. 149) declares “[h]is English style is commonly judged by his Psalms, where it is at its best: abounding in music, beautifully phrased. Elsewhere he is generally smoother and more melodious than Tyndale, less given to variation, missing something of his swiftness and native force, but often finding a better phrase.” The first edition of Coverdale's Bible was printed in Germany in 1535 [65], but it was reprinted in London in 1537.

THE ‘GREAT BIBLE,’ THE FIRST OFFICIAL ENGLISH BIBLE

66. Bible. English. Great Bible. 1541. *The Byble in Englyshe: that is to saye the content of all the Holy Scrypture, both of the Olde & Newe Testament w[i]t[h] a prologe therinto made by the Reverende Father in God, Thomas [Cranmer] Archebysshop of Cantorbury.* [London]: Printed by Edw[ard] Withchurch [sic], An. do. 1540 [i.e. 1541]. Imperfect copy: text on 1st t.p. is pen facsimile; wanting several leaves, including preliminaries, t.p. for Apocrypha (4th t.p.) and leaf with colophon; some errors in pagination.

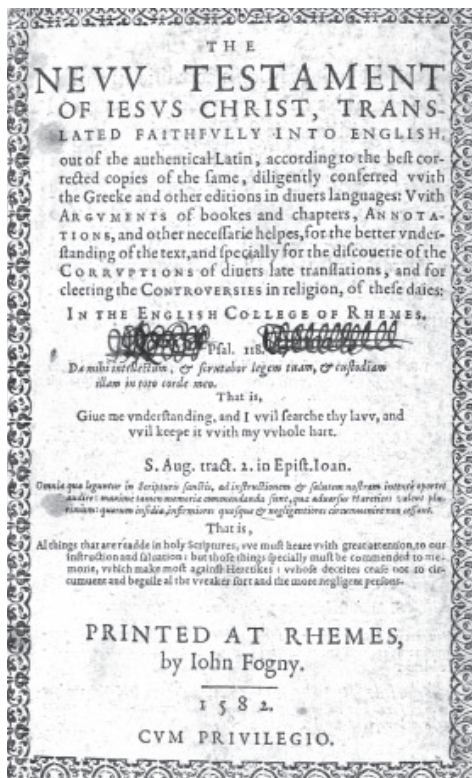
Coverdale was also editor of the first official English Bible, the ‘Great Bible,’ published under the patronage of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer in 1539 and printed in Paris. It encompassed the work of Tyndale, and, for the Old Testament portions not translated by Tyndale, it was based on ‘Matthew's Bible’ originally edited by Tyndale's friend, John Rogers (ca. 1500-1555). However, Coverdale corrected ‘Matthew's Bible’ in the light of contemporary scholarship. The ‘Great Bible’ reveals less influence of German idioms and displays a more Latinate style. It was reissued in 1540 with a notable preface by Cranmer (hence also the name ‘Cranmer's Bible’) and five more editions were published in 1540 and 1541 [66].

THE GENEVA OR ‘BREECHES’ BIBLE

67. Bible. English. Geneva. 1560. *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages, with moste profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the reader.* Geneva: Printed by Rovland Hall, 1560.

During the reign of Mary, Protestants living in Geneva, led by William Whittingham (ca. 1524-1579), began publishing their own version of the Bible. The New Testament appeared in 1557, the Psalms in 1559, and the whole Bible in 1560 [67]. This translation owed much to the ‘Great Bible’ as well as to many works of continental scholarship, for example Robert Estienne's 1550 Greek New Testament (see no. 30 in Case VI), Santi Pagnini's (1470-1536) Hebrew-Latin Bible, and for commentary, the annotated French Bibles of Geneva (see no. 33 in Case VII). This Bible has a number of features that make it more ‘user-

friendly' and support the translators' position doctrinally. These include maps and illustrations, introductory notes (some strongly Calvinist) for each book and chapter, and extensive marginal annotations. Also, it introduces verse divisions in the Biblical text, which were lacking in all English Bibles up to this time, and it is printed in roman type in the smaller, more manageable quarto format. Translations of the Biblical text, new to this version, proved influential and found their way into the Authorized version of 1611 (see no. 71 in Case XIV), though not the rendering of Genesis 3.7, where it is described that Adam and Eve "made themselves breeches," thus giving the alternate name 'Breeches Bible' to this version. Overall, the Geneva proved more popular than the later official 'Bishops' Bible' (see no. 70 in Case XIV).



THE DOUAI-RHEIMS BIBLE, THE CATHOLIC VERSION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE

68. Bible. N.T. English. Rheims. 1582. *The Nevv Testament of Iesus Christ: translated faithfully into English out the the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same ... vwith 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 clearing the controuersies in religion, of these daies: in the English College of Rhemes.* Printed at Rhemes: By Iohn Fogny, 1582.

69. Bible. O.T. English. Douai. 1609. *The Holie Bible faithfully translated into English, out of the authentical Latin, diligently con-*

ferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and other editions in diuers languages. With arguments of the bookes, and chapters, annotations, tables, and other helpes, for better vnderstanding of the text, for discouerie of corruptions in some late translations, and for clearing controversies in religion by the English College of Doway. Doway: Printed ... by Lawrence Kellam ..., 1609-1610. 2 vols.

Though it was not Catholic practice at this time for the laity to read the Bible, Catholic authorities felt it important that priests have available an official version in English to counter Protestant challenges. Thus in 1578, William Allen (1532-1594), founder of the College for English Catholics in Douai, France, initiated the project, beginning with the New Testament. The translator was Gregory Martin (d. 1582), who used the Latin Vulgate as his primary text, though he also consulted the Greek. The version was published in 1582 in the French city of Rheims, where the English College had moved temporarily, and includes extensive introductory and marginal notes, supporting the Catholic position by Richard Bristow (1538-1581), prefect of studies at the English College. The Old Testament translation was begun by Gregory Martin and completed by Allen and probably Bristow. For lack of funding, it was only published in 1609-1610 at Douai, with notes by Thomas Worthington (ca. 1548-1626), then head of the English College now back at Douai.

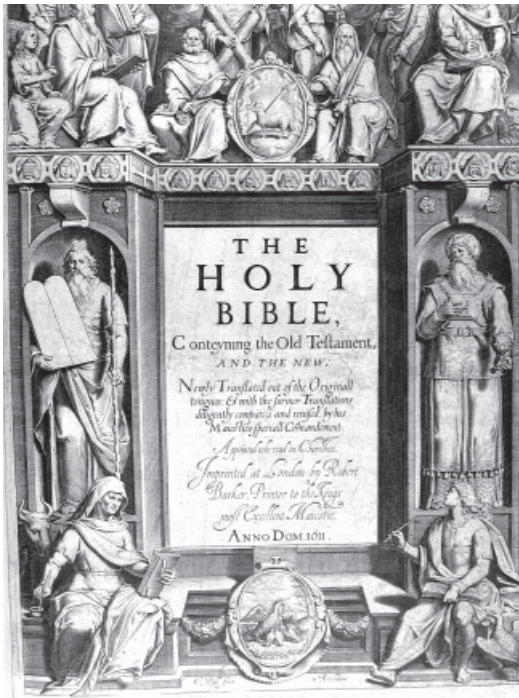
THE 'BISHOPS' BIBLE,' OFFICIAL BIBLE UNDER ELIZABETH I

70. Bible. English. Bishops. 1585. *The Holy Byble, conteyning the Olde Testament and the Newe, authorised and appointed to be read in churches.* Imprinted at London: Christopher Barker, 1585.

Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker (1504-1575), a strong ally of Queen Elizabeth for Protestant reform, directed that there be a revision of the 'Great Bible' as the official Bible of the Church of England. Most of those doing the revisions were bishops, and thus the name. Adopting verse numbering and interpretations from the Geneva Bible, the 'Bishops' Bible' was textually based on the 'Great Bible,' but represented an improvement in its scholarship [70]. It included introductory notes and marginal annotations, but the doctrinal notes were more limited than in the Geneva Bible and harsh attacks on the Catholic hierarchy were dropped. The 'Bishops' Bible' was first published in 1568, revised in 1572, and formed the official working basis for the Authorized version.

FIRST EDITION OF THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OR KING JAMES BIBLE

71. Bible. English. Authorized. 1611. *The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: newly translated out of the originall tongues & with the former translations diligently compared and reuised, by His Maiesties speciall comandement.* Appointed to be read in churches. Imprinted at London: By Robert Barker, printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie, Anno Dom. 1611.



The Geneva Bible proved far more popular than the official ‘Bishops’ Bible,’ and interest grew in a new official edition of the sacred text. In addition, while trying to cast a negative light on the Book of Common Prayer, which incorporated translations of the Bible from the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, influential Puritan divine John Reynolds (1549-1607) suggested that a new translation was needed, perhaps hoping the Geneva Bible would be approved officially. Elizabeth’s successor, James I (1566-1625), regarded comments in the Geneva Bible as seditious and supported new Archbishop of Canterbury Richard Bancroft’s (1544-1610) opinion that there should be no marginal notes. He then went on to appoint 45 learned men to translate the Bible, whose labors were fundamentally facilitated by the availability of printed texts. They worked in six teams and divided up the text of the Bible, meeting at London, Cambridge, and Oxford. In their revisions of the text of the ‘Bishops’ Bible,’ they employed the translations of Tyndale, Coverdale, ‘Matthew’s Bible,’ the ‘Great Bible,’ the Geneva Bible, and the Rheims New Testament, as well as a host of scholarly works developed in Europe in the last hundred years. Each member of each team provided a translation of the text for which the team was responsible, and then the team as a group compared their translations. Next, 12 men (two from each team) went over the translation and lastly two individuals, Thomas Bilson and Miles Smith, provided final revisions. In the Authorized Version, the influence of both the Calvinist Geneva Bible and the Catholic Rheims New Testament on the translators was significant. According to *The Cambridge history of the Bible* (Vol. 3, p. 167), “Geneva contributed clarity and precision, Rhemes [sic] (besides its share of improvements in scholarship) affected their vocabulary, which is more Latin than that of their other predecessors.” The Watkinson copy is the first edition, first issue of the Authorized Version sometimes called the “Great He Bible” (Ruth 3:15: “he went into the citie.”) [71]. In the second issue of 1611, called the “She Bible,” and in following editions, this passage reads “she went”

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