

The Catholic Church and the Vernacular Bible in the Low Countries: A Paradigm Shift in the 1550s?

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Confronted with the increased biblical fervour of the 1520s, the authorities in the Low Countries did not respond with a severe and general prohibition of Bible reading in the vernacular, as sometimes has been argued. Since the late Middle Ages, the Low Countries had become familiar with semi-religious women and even laypeople in the world who nourished their spiritual life through reading the Scriptures, and this was not considered flirtation with heresy. After the spread of humanism and the Reformation, and the Bible versions that originated in their wake, the religious authorities in the Low Countries continued to tolerate Bible reading in the vernacular; nevertheless, from an early stage—in the mid 1520s—a strict ban was proclaimed on versions that contained dubious paratextual elements such as prologues, summaries above the chapters, and marginal glosses. It was also forbidden to read and comment on the Bible in all kinds of clandestine ‘conventicles’ that had come into existence at the time and in which heterodox ideas were nurtured. Bible reading in the vernacular had always to be pursued in connection with the official liturgy of the Church.¹ In the midst of the century, however, both in the Low Countries and on a Roman level, a change became apparent in the Church’s attitude. It is the aim of this essay to shed light upon what we may call a paradigm shift.

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1 François W., “Vernacular Bible Reading and Censorship in Early Sixteenth Century: The Position of the Louvain Theologians”, in Hollander A.A. den – Lamberigts M. (eds.), *Lay Bibles in Europe. 1450–1800*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 198 (Leuven: 2006) 69–96.

Trent, the Louvain Index, and the Louvain Vulgate Bible(s)

1546 was an important year for the Church's biblical policy, in the Catholic world in general and in the Low Countries in particular. On 8 April 1546, during its fourth session, the Council of Trent had declared both the Scriptures and apostolic traditions to be the channels through which evangelical faith and morals were brought to the faithful. The fathers of the Council further proclaimed the Latin Vulgate to be the authentic version of the Church, as it was considered to be completely conform to sound evangelical doctrine. In addition, they expressed a desire that a critical edition be produced as soon as possible. The fathers of the Council, however, did not pronounce any judgment regarding the permissibility of Bible translations in the vernacular, despite the lobbying work of both proponents and adversaries of a prohibition. The Council fathers in this way tacitly confirmed the prevailing customs of local churches.²

About a month later, on 9 May 1546, the Louvain theologians issued an Index of Forbidden Books, in which 42 Dutch Bible editions that were considered to be unreliable were censured, in addition to six French Bibles.³ In an

2 "Acta. 34. Sessio quarta: Decretum [...] Recipitur vulgata editio Bibliae", in *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio*, vol. v. *Actorum Pars IIa*, ed. S. Eshes (Freiburg i/Breisgau: 1911), 91–92 (henceforth abbreviated as CT 5-II1). For a recent translation of the decree, see Béchard D.P. – Fitzmyer J.A. (eds.), *The Scripture Documents: An Anthology of Official Catholic Teachings* (Collegeville MN: 2002) 4–6. On this phase of the Council of Trent, see Jedin H., *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, vol. II. *Die erste Trienter Tagungsperiode 1545/47* (Freiburg i/Breisgau: 1957) 42–82, here 76–77. On the discussion regarding Bible reading in the vernacular, see, amongst others, Cavallera F., "La Bible en langue vulgaire au Concile de Trente (IV^e Session)", in *Mélanges E. Podéchar. Études de sciences religieuses offertes pour son éméritat au doyen honoraire de la Faculté de Théologie de Lyon* (Lyons: 1945) 37–56; Lentner L., *Volkssprache und Sakralsprache. Geschichte einer Lebensfrage bis zum Ende des Konzils von Trient*, Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie 5 (Vienna: 1964) 226–264, here 237–264; McNally R.E., "The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles", *Theological Studies* 27 (1966) 204–227; Coletti V., *L'éloquence de la chaire. Victoires et défaites du latin entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, trans. S. Serventi (Paris: 1987) 199–219; Fernández López S., *Lectura y prohibición de la Biblia en lengua vulgar. Defensores y detractores* (León: 2003) 161–178.

3 *Edictum Caesareae Maiestatis promulgatum anno salutis M.D.XLVI. Praeterea Catalogus & declaratio librorum reprobatorum a Facultate sacrae Theologiae Lovaniensis Academiae, iussu & ordinatione praeominatae Maiestatis Caesareae* (Leuven, Servatius a Sassen: 1546). For the Dutch version, see *Mandament der Keyserlijcker Maiesteit wytgegeven int Iaer xlvj. Met Dintitulatie ende declaratie vanden gereprobeerde boecken gheschiedt bijden Doctoren inde faculteit van Theologie in Duniversiteit van Loeven: Duer dordonnantie ende bevel der selver*

explanatory note, the dean of the Faculty opposed those Bible editions that did not sufficiently respect the text of the Vulgate and the sense of faith endorsed in it, which is quite understandable given the decision of the Council of Trent. Furthermore, the dean forbade those Bible editions—even when they were faithful translations of the Latin Vulgate—that included prologues, marginal glosses, summaries above the chapters or registers that were either dubious or were obviously derived from the assertions of Luther and his followers. In addition, failure to give required information such as the name of the printer, the place and/or date of publication seems to have been an important criterion for the decision to ban an edition.⁴ Although the Louvain theologians dismissed the examination of the Bibles in a rather superficial way, it is clear that they wanted to do away with the vernacular Bible editions that contravened the prohibitory rules as expounded by the dean⁵ and were only prepared to continue to tolerate editions that contained the ‘naked’ text of the Vulgate, such as the 1527 New Testament of Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten (and later editions by the same), as well as the ‘good-Catholic’ editions of the Vorsterman Bible, including the New Testament of 1529 and both editions of 1530, in addition to the complete Bible of 1531, and possibly even that of 1532.⁶

The imperial government and the Faculty of Theology of Louvain, however, did not wish to only respond in a negative way, by forbidding the ‘unreliable’ Bible translations, but they had also the aim of bringing a new ‘reliable’ Vulgate translation onto the market. To that purpose, only a few weeks after the publication of the Index, they made arrangements with the Louvain publisher Bartholomeus van Grave for the publication of an authorized Latin, French and Dutch Bible. The Latin Vulgate revision made by the Louvain theologian Jean Henten was finished in late October or early November 1547. In the course of 1548, Van Grave published the Dutch Louvain Bible, a Vulgate

K.M. (Leuven, Servaes van Sassen: 1546). For an analysis: Bujanda J.M. De et al., *Index de l'Université de Louvain, 1546, 1550, 1558*, Index des livres interdits 2 (Sherbrooke – Geneva: 1986). Regarding the Bible editions that were put on the Index, see particularly: Hollander A.A. den, *Verboden bijbels. Bijbelcensuur in de Nederlanden in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: 2003) 11–21.

4 Comp. François, “Vernacular Bible Reading” 89–90. The preface as given by the dean has also been published in *Recueil des ordonnances des Pays-Bas. Deuxième série: 1506–1700. Règne de Charles-Quint, vol. v. Contenant les ordonnances du 1^{er} janvier 1543 (1544, N. ST.) au 28 décembre 1549*, ed. J. Lameere – H. Simont (Brussels: 1910) 255–257.

5 For the list of Bibles included on the Index, see Den Hollander, *Verboden bijbels* 13.

6 For these editions, see Hollander A.A. den, *De Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen. Dutch Translations of the Bible 1522–1545*, *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica* 33 (Nieuwkoop: 1997), as well as the online database <http://www.bibliasacra.nl>.

translation that was made by Nicholas van Winghe, Augustinian canon of the congregation of Windesheim in the monastery of Sint-Maartensdal in Louvain. Apart from Henten's Vulgate Bible, Van Winghe used as his sources the Delft Bible of 1477 for the Old Testament and the Vorsterman Bible for the New Testament. Furthermore, late medieval biblical language, as preserved in the numerous books providing the Epistle and Gospel lessons from Mass, resounded throughout the text. And although Van Winghe explicitly claimed to have based himself upon the German 'Korrekturbibeln'—Luther versions 'corrected' on the basis of the Vulgate—made by Johann Eck and Johannes Dietenberger, the extent to which he actually used these versions remains to be demonstrated. His claim should rather be considered as the expression of a more general wish to align himself with the well-tried German tradition of offering the Catholic faithful 'good' alternatives to the Protestant Bible editions. Van Winghe's Dutch Louvain Bible in a certain sense replaced the Bible of Willem Vorsterman, issued from 1528 onwards, as the semi-official Dutch-language Bible for the Low Countries.⁷ In 1550, Van Grave also issued a French translation of the Vulgate, which was intended to replace the previously semi-official Bible of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, edited by Martin Lempereur in 1530. It was this edition incidentally that was subject to a revision by Nicolas de Leuze, licentiate in theology, assisted by the prior at that time of the community of the Celestines in Heverlee, François de Larben.⁸ The realization of both vernacular Louvain Bibles was supervised by the Louvain theologian Pieter de Corte and the Dominican friar Godevaert Strijrode.

In his extensive prologue to the Dutch Louvain Bible,⁹ Van Winghe offers a good summary of the Louvain theologians' position regarding the relation

7 Regarding the Dutch Louvain Bible, see especially Herreweghen P. Van, "De Leuvense bijbelvertaler Nicolaus van Winghe. Zijn leven en zijn werk", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 23 (1949) 5–38, 150–167, 268–314, 357–395. See also: Bruin C.C. de, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers. Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen vanaf de Reformatie tot 1637*, rev. F.G.M. Broeyer (Haarlem – Brussels: 1993) 141–147; Gilmont J.-F., "La concurrence entre deux Bibles flamandes", in Gilmont J.-F., *Le livre et ses secrets, Cahiers d'humanisme et renaissance* 65; Temps et espaces 2 (Geneva – Louvain-la-Neuve, 2003) 151–162, here 152–155. For the Bible edition itself: *Den gheheelen Bybel [...] met grooter naersticheyt ende arbeyt nu corts in duytsche van nyews overghestelt wt den Latijnschen ouden text*, trans. Nicholas van Winghe (Leuven, Bartholomeus van Grave: 1548).

8 On the French Louvain Bible see, amongst others, Bogaert P.-M. – Gilmont J.-F., "La première Bible française de Louvain (1550)", *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 11 (1980) 275–309; Bogaert P.-M. – Gilmont J.-F., "De Lefèvre d'Étaples à la fin du xvi^e siècle", in Bogaert P.-M. (ed.), *Les Bibles en français: Histoire illustrée du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Turnhout: 1991) 47–106, here 89–91.

9 Winghe Nicolaus van, "Onderwijs van der Heylegheer Scriftueren", in *Den gheheelen Bybel* f. A1r–C2v. For an elaborate analysis, see François W., "Het voorwoord bij de 'Leuvense bijbel'

between Bible and Tradition—systematized especially by Johannes Driedo (and consecrated at the Council of Trent)—as well as concerning the legitimacy of Bible reading in the vernacular. Using the metaphor of the light and the lamp, Van Winghe stated in the first part of his prologue that the light of God's Word reached the people by way of the lamp that was the Scripture.¹⁰ Without the Scriptures and before their having been written down, God had instilled the pure light and the pure Word in the hearts of patriarchs, prophets and apostles. They had in turn handed down to later generations what God had revealed to them. And, argued Van Winghe, the Lord continued to inspire popes, bishops, pastors and doctors of the Church to teach many salutary things that are not explicitly written down in the Scriptures. Consistent with Louvain thinking with regard to this matter, he suggested that, since the Church already existed before a single letter of the Scriptures had been written, it was only through the ecclesiastical Tradition that it had become clear to the faithful which Bible books were sacred and canonical. Moreover, in the Tradition of the Church, several customs, and even teachings, that are not explicitly testified by the Scriptures, were passed down via an unbroken line of succession. Finally, the Tradition had the role of discerning the proper interpretation of obscure and difficult passages, a frequent enough occurrence in the Bible. To understand the Scriptures, especially their more obscure passages, an astute mind, acquired knowledge and God's grace were necessary requisites. People not fulfilling these requirements would do better to become acquainted with the text through the aid of the commentaries of the sacred doctors, or by listening to the sermons of competent preachers. These people were, after all, able to explain the Scriptures in the light of the traditional doctrine(s) and customs of the Church that were not explicitly mentioned in the Bible, but that had been handed down from the apostolic times via an unbroken line of succession. Van Winghe was thus very reticent to grant the illiterate masses direct access to the 'naked' text of the Bible. The danger was, after all, that they might interpret it according to their own particular opinions and inevitably fall into error and heresy.¹¹

van Nicholas van Winghe (1548). Over Schrift, Traditie en volkstalige Bijbellezing", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 79 (2005–2008) 7–50. See also Van Herreweghen, "De Leuvense bijbelvertaler Nicolaus van Winghe" 311–314 and De Bruin, *De Statenbijbel*, rev. Broeyer 143–144.

10 Van Winghe, "Onderwijs" f. A1v–B5v. Comp. François, "Het voorwoord bij de 'Leuvense bijbel'" 17–38.

11 Van Winghe, "Onderwijs" f. B4v–B5r, amongst others: 'maer hebben willen haer selfs meesters sijn ende die heyleghe scriftuere selver lesen ende nae haer verstant uutlegghen [...] Ghelijck hier voortijts ende noch meer in onsen tijden veel dolinghen ende ketterien

Van Winghe expressed similar ideas in the second part of his prologue, where the Bible was compared to a garden full of (spiritual) food and vigorous herbs.¹² The Louvain Bible translator, however, underlined that the crucial point was to prepare, serve and consume this spiritual nourishment in the right way. In spite of the rather restrictive position he defended in his prologue, it should be remembered that it was actually Van Winghe who was responsible for the redaction of the new official Dutch Vulgate translation, and that he placed himself in line with a tradition in the Low Countries that had continued for decades, if not for centuries. In the last part of his prologue Van Winghe then contrasted his own translation with a large number of 'falsified' Bibles that were circulating at the time.¹³ He recalled that the errors of the texts resided in the fact that the Latin Vulgate was insufficiently well rendered and that mistakes had crept into the translations. In the marginal notes and the summaries above the chapters erroneous propositions were also put forward. Furthermore, Van Winghe insisted that a new 'orthodox' Bible translation, such as his, always had to function in a strict ecclesiastical setting: common people were allowed to engage in personal Bible reading as part of the spiritual process of preparing and ruminating on the sermons they would hear in church. In short, the *Lovanienses* opted for a restrictive position—since they were in no way proponents of an indiscriminate reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular (as some Reformers were)—and emphasized the ecclesiastical context and the role of priests and preachers as the mediators between God's Word and their flock [Fig. 10.1].

opghestaen sijn door dese vermetelijcheyt dat ongheleerde ende simpel menschen hen te zeer hebben willen onderwinden die scriftuere te verstaen sonder meesters ia oock teghen den ghemeynen sin der meesters ende leeraers der heylegher kercken latende hen duncken dat sij die heylighe scriftuere beter verstaen' ('but they wanted to be their own masters and to read the Holy Scripture by themselves and explain it according to their own understanding [...] Just as in former times and even more today many errors and heresies have arisen by the temerity of uneducated and simple people who aimed at understanding the Scripture without masters, even more, against the common sense of the masters and doctors of the Holy Church, being under the illusion that they understand the Holy Scripture better'; translation ours).

12 Van Winghe, "Onderwijs" f. B5v–C2r. Comp. François, "Het voorwoord bij de 'Leuvense bijbel'" 38–44.

13 Van Winghe, "Onderwijs" f. C2r–C2v. Comp. François, "Het voorwoord bij de 'Leuvense bijbel'" 44–48.



FIGURE 10.1 *Title page of the Dutch 'Louvain Bible': Den gheheelen Bybel, Inhoudende het oude ende nieuwe Testament (Leuven, Bartholomeus van Grave: 1548). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P 22.055.1/F°/Bijb 1548.*

A Louvain Censure of Erasmus's Plea for Vernacular Bible Reading (1552)

Nevertheless, there are indications that in the 1550s the Louvain theologians grew even more reticent. This becomes clear in the first place from the project, drafted at the Louvain Faculty, to censure Erasmus's works, with the intention of it being taken by the Louvain representatives in 1552 to the Council of Trent.¹⁴ This censure campaign had to be carried out discretely because Erasmus and his writings continued to enjoy the Emperor's protection (although sixteen years had already passed since the humanist's death). In the Royal Library in Brussels, a manuscript is preserved in which the aforementioned Louvain theologian Jean Henten jotted down his own statements censuring Erasmus's works, likely accompanied by remarks made by one or more of his colleagues.¹⁵

The censured statements there are carefully given in the order in which they appear in the edition of Erasmus's *Opera Omnia*, published in Basel in 1540. According to Henten, four passages, in which Erasmus pleaded candidly for all people to have access to the Scriptures and for their translation into the vernacular, needed to be censured. The reference is to a statement from the *Paraclesis* of 1516 (one of the introductory writings to the New Testament),¹⁶ one from the writing *De Vidua Christiana* (*On the Christian Widow*) from 1529,¹⁷ a large passage from Erasmus's *Apologia adversus debacchationes Petri Sutoris* (*Apology against Petrus Sutor's Furies*) from 1525,¹⁸ and, fourth, a few sentences from his *Declarationes ad censuras Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis* (*Declarations against the Censures of the Parisian Faculty of Theology*) from 1532.¹⁹ Henten's reference concerns statements that he considered unorthodox, but which he

14 These Louvain representatives were Ruard Tapper, Francis Sonnius, John-Leonard van der Eycken (or Hasselius) and Josse Ravesteyn (or Tiletanus). See Ram P.F.X. De, *Mémoire sur la part que le clergé de Belgique et spécialement les docteurs de l'Université de Louvain, ont prise au Concile de Trente* (Brussels: 1841) 31.

15 *Collectaneum eorum in quibus Erasmus Roterodamus videtur erronee aut scandalose scripsisse* [...], Brussels, KBR, Ms. II 194, f. 1–52. See also François W., "De Leuvense theologen over de bijbel in de volkstaal. De discussie tussen 1546 en 1564", *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 47 (2007) 340–362, here 348–350, and Crahay R., "Les censeurs louvanistes d'Érasme", in Coppens J. (ed.), *Scrinium Erasmianum. Historische opstellen gepubliceerd onder de auspiciën van de Universiteit te Leuven naar aanleiding van het vijfde eeuwfeest van Erasmus' geboorte*, 2 vols. (Leiden: 1969) I 221–249, here 233–237.

16 *Collectaneum* f. 23 k.

17 *Collectaneum* f. 26 c.

18 *Collectaneum* f. 45.

19 *Collectaneum* f. 46 b.

did not necessarily classify within the weighty category of openly heretical. Remarkable then is the fact that Henten did not quote any statements from Erasmus's preface to his *Paraphrases* of Matthew, the writing *par excellence* in which the humanist pleaded for vernacular Bible reading. This, however, can be easily explained: Henten did not note a single censuring statement of his own in reference to the seventh part of the *Opera Omnia*, in which Erasmus's *Paraphrases* are included, but did refer explicitly to the Parisian censure of the work dating from the year 1527 (published in 1531).²⁰ And from the preface to the *Paraphrases* of Matthew, the Parisian theologians had taken five statements concerning Bible reading that were considered highly reprehensible. We can thus assume that Jean Henten intended to join the Parisian censure.²¹ Moreover, it should be added that certain propositions expressed by Erasmus in his preface to the *Paraphrases* of Matthew were, in some way or another, again taken up by him in his 1532 reply to the Parisian censure, and this work is actually discussed by Henten, as has already been mentioned.

A second part of the manuscript from the Royal Library in Brussels is filled with censored statements excerpted from Erasmus's works by another writer.²² This author is identified as Tilman Clercx, Louvain theologian and president of the Pope's college from 1527 until 1550. In contrast to Henten, he had actually read Erasmus's *Paraphrases* and had undoubtedly also consulted the Parisian censure of the work. When Tilman Clercx addressed the issue of Bible reading and Bible translation in the vernacular, he opened his own censure with five passages taken from Erasmus's preface to the *Paraphrases* of Matthew that had already been condemned by the Parisian theologians. Clercx even augmented the Parisian censure systematically by quoting longer passages. Furthermore, he also quoted extensively from the plea that Erasmus made in the *Paraclesis* in favour of vernacular Bible reading, in addition to other passages from the humanist's works.

In any event, the Council of Trent did not accept the Louvain censures. But the dossier was possibly used again in the years of 1570–1571, when the *Index*

20 *Collectaneum* f. 41r.

21 *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus* [...] *Censoria etiam iudicia insignium academiarum* [...], vol. 11. In quo exquisita monumenta ab anno 1521 usque ad annum 1632 continentur, ed. C. du Plessis d'Argentré (Paris, Andreas Cailleau: 1728) 60–62. For a discussion of the Parisian censure, see François W., "La condamnation par les théologiens parisiens du plaidoyer d'Érasme pour la traduction de la Bible dans la langue vulgaire (1527–1532)", *Augustiniana* 55 (2005) 357–405, here 377–387.

22 *Collectaneum* f. 53r–100r. Comp. Crahay, "Les censeurs louvanistes d'Érasme" 241–248.

Expurgatorius was drafted, although its influence on the Index's stance towards Bible translation in the vernacular remains to be investigated.

A Louvain Recommendation for an Imperial Prohibition of Vernacular Bibles (1552–1553)

Another significant event proves that the position of the Louvain theologians became more constrained in the 1550s. In the second half of 1552, or perhaps in the course of 1553, a dramatic meeting took place at the Faculty of Theology with the vernacular translation of the Bible at stake. The first and foremost source for this event can be found in the Louvain Faculty of Theology's Book of Letters (the *Liber <Literarum> Facultatis sacrae theologiae in Universitate Lovaniensi*).²³ From this source we learn that the Emperor (or his administration) asked the Faculty for its advice concerning the question of whether or not an edict should be issued in the Low Countries to completely prohibit the reading of the Bible in vernacular. The consultation came about as a result of the Magistrate of (the Flemish town of) Kortrijk (English: Courtray) having called the Emperor's attention to the fact that reading the Scriptures in the vernacular had encouraged the resurgence of the Anabaptist movement in the town.²⁴ The town's Magistrate was convinced that the more the people read the Bible in vernacular, the more they became alienated from the doctrine of the Church and its holy ceremonies, and the more they became enmeshed in errors and heresies (such as those of the Anabaptists). The Magistrate's opinion was said to be supported by several pastors, who had come to the same conclusion as a result of their confessional experiences.²⁵

In its answer to the Emperor, which takes up six pages, the Faculty aligned itself with the request of the Courtray city Magistrate, and showed itself to be an advocate of a general prohibition of Bible translations in the vernacular. To underpin this prohibition, the Louvain theologians first appealed to several

23 *Liber Literarum Facultatis sacrae theologiae in Universitate Lovaniensi* (Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology), Leuven, State Archives in Belgium, Collection Old University of Louvain, 443, f. 21r–23v. See also François, "De Leuvense theologen over de bijbel" 350–354, and Bogaert – Gilmont, "La première bible française de Louvain" 291–297.

24 On the resurgence of the Anabaptist movement in Courtray in that period, and the activity of the inquisitor Pieter Titelmans, see Decavele J., *De dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België: Klasse der Letteren 76, 2 vols. (Brussels: 1975) I 469–472.

25 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 23v.

passages, taken from the Epistles of Paul, which were invoked to corroborate that the Scriptures were good, sacred and salutary, and by their very nature in no way obscure. The reading of the Scriptures did not, however, automatically bring salvation; moreover, such reading could even be a source of perdition for those who did not properly interpret their words. By way of comparison, the *Lovanienses* referred to the people of Israel who, although familiar with the Scriptures, did not recognize its Lord and Saviour.²⁶ In the same vein, the theologians called attention to the testimony of Peter, who in his second Letter²⁷ had stated that in Paul's Epistles a number of difficult passages were included, which ran the risk of being distorted by ignorant and unstable people, to their own perdition.²⁸

From these basic insights, the Louvain theologians subsequently went on to the testimony of the Church fathers. The Fathers had argued that the Scriptures could only be read (and interpreted) in a salutary way if two conditions were fulfilled. Firstly, the readers of the Scriptures should be sufficiently instructed in the 'sententiae et regulae fidei', by which are meant the teachings of the Church as they had been handed down by the fathers and authoritatively established by the *magisterium*. Secondly, according to the Fathers, the reader had to give proof of piety, which the theologians interpreted as the spiritual preparedness to subject one's own interpretation to the 'regulae fidei'. Those who did not observe both conditions ran the risk of distorting the meaning of the Scriptures to their own perdition, a warning the Louvain theologians repeated time and time again, undoubtedly with the Protestants in mind.²⁹ It would lead us too far astray to enumerate all the patristic references included in this part of the Letter, but we find references to the *Recognitiones*—which were still uncritically ascribed to the 'apostolic father' Clement Romanus or Pope Clement I—as well as to Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, and of course to Augustine, Jerome and Chrysostom.

The Louvain theologians subsequently also referred to the testimony of Erasmus.³⁰ From their perspective, this may appear surprising, but they realized all too well that the Rotterdam humanist was held in high esteem by the Emperor. In this regard, they drew, in a rather selective way, from a few passages taken from Erasmus's *Declarations against the Censure of the Parisian*

26 Romans 15:4; 11:7–10; 2 Corinthians 2:15–16; 1 Corinthians 11:29.

27 2 Peter 3:16.

28 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 21r.

29 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 21r–v.

30 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 21v–22r.

Faculty of Theology (1532).³¹ The *Lovanienses* had to recognize that Erasmus, 'before having experienced the audacity and brutality of the uninstructed people',³² had defended the statement that nobody was to be withheld from the reading of the Scriptures.³³ But at the same time they underlined that the humanist regarded the reading of the Scriptures only as salutary if the people were prepared beforehand, through the instruction of a number of rules and statements ('regulis et sententiis'). Furthermore, Erasmus had stated that the people had to withhold themselves from more daring interpretations.³⁴

The *Lovanienses* were convinced that the requirements set forth by the said authorities were no longer being met in their own time. The illiterate populace did not see any problem in ignoring the ancient rules of the faith ('regulae fidei') or in despising the preaching and teaching of pastors or doctors. On the contrary, the people arrogated to themselves the right and competence of understanding the Scriptures according to their own insights; yes, even of being able to explain it to others. In their recklessness they even ventured to explain the Epistles of Paul to the Romans, Galatians and Ephesians, which eminent doctors of the Church, in the wake of Peter himself, deemed as extremely difficult to understand.³⁵

In conclusion of the aforementioned considerations, the Louvain theologians solemnly advised the Emperor Charles, given the circumstances of the times, to issue a general edict prohibiting the reading of the Bible, both the Old and the New Testament, by uneducated and unstable people.³⁶

31 Erasmus Desiderius, *Ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas sub nomine Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis*, in *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia* [...], vol. IX. *Qui apologiarum partem primam complectitur*, ed. I. Clericus (Leiden, Petrus Vander Aa: 1706; anast., London: 1962), c. 813–928 (henceforth abbreviated as LB IX).

32 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 21v.

33 See, amongst others, Erasmus, *Ad Censuras Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis*, LB IX, c. 873B.

34 Clear reference to Erasmus, *Ad Censuras Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis*, LB IX, c. 871C.

35 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 22r: 'indocta et imperita multitudo abiectis antiquis fidei regulis et contempta petulanter pastorum et doctorum viva voce et enarratione presumat sacras literas suo mente suoque ingenio intelligere, interpretari, ire demum aliis tradere et exponere, secundum sensum quemdam etiam antiquis fidei regulis prorsus contrarium' ('the uneducated and inexperienced multitude, having thrown off the ancient rules of the faith, and in impudent contempt of the public speech and exposition by pastors and teachers, arrogates to itself to understand the Sacred Scriptures through its own intellect and insights, to interpret them and even to go passing them on and explaining them to others, even according to a sense that is completely contrary to the ancient rules of faith'; translation ours).

36 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 22r: 'postulare sane nobis ratio horum temporum imo et rogare clementissimum et religiosissimum principem caesarem semper

The *Lovanienses* declared that they aimed to go further than the measures of 1546, when the Emperor had put those vernacular Bibles on the Index that were judged to be corrupted and contaminated by heresy, but at the same time had allowed a number of orthodox editions (that had been translated and approved by scholarly men). According to the theologians, this leniency did not have the desired effect: instead of reading these 'good' Bibles with due reverence, religiousness and piety, laypeople had taken advantage of their lecture to aggravate the situation negatively. There was then no other solution than to deny the Christian people the reading of the Scriptures and the divine Word, which was said to be their most precious possession.³⁷ In light of this position, it must be taken for granted that the Louvain professors who, from 1546 on, had collaborated with the publication of the vernacular Bibles, had willingly or unwillingly sided with this more severe viewpoint. In this regard Pieter de Corte in particular comes to mind.

The Louvain theologians were prepared to admit that the reading of the Scriptures was indeed salutary for certain people. But the possible benefits that some could draw from reading the Scriptures did not make allowance for the dangers it constituted to the masses. Those who remained strong in their faith, had, like members of the same body, to undergo the same prohibition, 'until the time when it would please the Lord to restore the tranquility in his Church'.³⁸ In other words, notwithstanding the fundamental objections that they had formulated against Bible reading in the vernacular, the Louvain theologians did contemplate the possibility of a relaxation of the proposed measures, if the circumstances 'on the field' should change for the better.

The *Lovanienses* voiced the opinion that was to increasingly win adherence in the Catholic Church, according to which common people would not have

Augustum videtur ut ad extremum remedium confugiat et publico edicto imperite et indocte ac instabili multitudini [...] lectionem tam veteris quam novi testamenti prorsus interdicat' ('the way the times are now seems to us reason enough to beg, even to ask the most clement and pious prince, the ever August Emperor, that he may resort to the last remedy and through a public edict may forbid completely the reading of both the Old and the New Testament to the inexperienced, uneducated and instable multitude'; translation ours).

37 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 22r: 'Vehementer sane dolendum est eo malitie prolapsam esse christianam plebem ut quod optimum habet christianus populus sacrorum voluminum et divini verbi lectionem necesse sit ei subtrahere' ('Intensive regret is justified since Christian folk have lapsed into such maliciousness that it became necessary to take away from them the best thing the Christian people has, viz. the reading of the Sacred Scriptures and the Word of God'; translation ours).

38 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 22v–23r.

immediate access to the Scriptures in the vernacular, but would have to be content with a simple and clear instruction of the faith, which they could receive through the preaching given by their parish priests and preachers.³⁹ More and more, the role of the clergy as the necessary mediators between God's Word and the flock was emphasized. Biblical passages from both the Old and the New Testament were even invoked to underpin the belief that the Scriptures were not meant for immediate reading by laypeople, but had to be mediated via the preaching by prophets and priests.⁴⁰ The Louvain theologians were indeed concerned with the quality of the preaching in the churches. In order to guarantee this quality, they also requested that the Emperor urge the bishops to make a thorough visitation of their diocese.⁴¹ Regarding this point, the Louvain theologians asked for exactly that which the Council of Trent had stated during its fifth session of 17 June 1546. The Council had entrusted the bishops with the mission of organizing the preaching in a convenient manner, and had threatened those ministers who refused to preach with canonical punishments.⁴² With regard to the sermons, the Council specified that they had to be 'short and simple', and should restrict themselves to proclaiming 'what is necessary for salvation'.⁴³

To sustain its proposal to promulgate a general prohibition on reading the Bible in the vernacular, the Louvain Faculty further referred, amongst other prohibitions, to a similar ban that had been proclaimed twenty years earlier

39 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 22v.

40 *Deuteronomy* 31,9; *Nehemiah* 8:7; *Ephesians* 4:11–14.

41 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 23r.

42 For the text of the decree see: "Sessio quinta: Decretum de lectione et praedicatione", CT 5-III 241–243. For a recent translation see Béchard – Fitzmyer (eds.), *The Scripture Documents* 6–10. On the origin of the Tridentine decree on Bible study and preaching, and particularly the influence of Erasmus's *Ecclesiastes sive de ratione concionandi* (1535) see especially McGinness F.J., "An Erasmian Legacy: Ecclesiastes and the Reform of Preaching at Trent", in Delph R.K. – Fontaine M.M. – Martin J.J. (eds.), *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations*, Sixteenth century essays and studies 76 (Kirkville MO: 2006) 93–112. See also: Rainer J.E., "Entstehungsgeschichte des Trienter Predigtreformdekretes", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 39 (1915) 255–317 and 465–523; Allgeier A., "Das Konzil von Trient und das theologische Studium", *Historisches Jahrbuch im Auftrage der Görres-Gesellschaft* 52 (1932) 313–339; Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* II 83–103; Lentner, *Volkssprache und Sakralsprache* 264–274; Larios A., "La reforma de la predicación en Trento (Historia y contenido de un decreto)", *Communio* 6 (1973) 22–83; Byrne A., *El ministerio de la palabra en el concilio de Trento*, Diss. Doct. (Pamplona: 1975) 58–92.

43 "Sessio quinta: Decretum de lectione et praedicatione", CT 5-III 241–243.

by the Parisian Faculty of Theology.⁴⁴ They also referred to the work of the famous Spanish Franciscan theologian Alphonso de Castro who, in his work *Adversus omnes haereses* (*Against all Heresies*) of 1534, had called the reading of the Bible in the vernacular a breeding ground for heresies. In the same book he had also recalled how King Ferdinand of Spain had once proclaimed a ban on Bible reading in the vernacular for his empire.⁴⁵ Several studies, however, have proven that this prohibition was not as absolute as De Castro has insinuated in his book.⁴⁶

It is important to note that the Emperor and his administration in the Low Countries did not implement the prohibition on vernacular Bible translations as recommended by the *Lovanienses*, and that the latter should, for the time being, be perceived as a testimony of the growing reticence in theological milieus concerning vernacular Bible reading.

Giovanni a Bononia and the Rejection of Vernacular Bible Reading

In the context of a growing rejection of vernacular Bible reading in Louvain theological circles, the name Giovanni a Bononia emerges, a Sicilian aristocrat and theologian whose brief, but not unimportant, role at the Faculty

44 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 23r. With regard to the Parisian theologians' condemnation of Bible reading in the vernacular, see François W., "The Condemnation of Vernacular Bible Reading by the Parisian Theologians (1523–31)", in François W. – Hollander A.A. den (eds.), *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment? The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 221 (Leuven: 2009) 111–139. See there for further literature.

45 *Book of Letters of the Louvain Faculty of Theology* f. 23v.

46 The prohibition obviously was aimed at the Jews and especially at the *conversos*, the newly converted Christians of Jewish origin. The risk was that they would interpret the translations in the vernacular in an uncontrolled way, on the basis of their own religious backgrounds, in which a Christological reading of the Scriptures would be absent. It was feared that they might clandestinely initiate their children in the Mosaic Law and the doctrines of their forefathers. In the same vein, Spanish translations had been targeted that went directly back to the Hebrew Bible and thus disregarded the doctrines of the faith that found expression in the Vulgate. It is clear, however, that tolerated biblical material, such as Epistle and Gospel books, continued to be translated and read. See amongst others: Fernández López, *Lectura y prohibición de la Biblia* 96–111; Bujanda J.M. De et al., *Index de l'Inquisition espagnole 1551, 1554, 1559*, Index des livres interdits 5 (Sherbrooke – Geneva: 1984) 33–34; Enciso J., "Prohibiciones españolas de las versiones bíblicas en romance antes del Tridentino", *Estudios bíblicos* 3 (1944) 523–554, here 537–541.

has almost completely disappeared from historical consciousness.⁴⁷ Bononia was present at the aforementioned meeting of the Faculty, and apparently he stood out as one of the most vehement opponents of Bible translation in the vernacular in Louvain during the years under consideration.⁴⁸ Bononia was elected rector of the University of Louvain on 31 August 1554, in those days a largely administrative function. The very same year, his most important work was published by the Louvain publisher Anthonis-Maria Bergaigne: *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione et reprobatione* (*On God's Eternal Predestination and Reprobation*, 1554).⁴⁹ In a short appendix to his book, however, Giovanni a Bononia devotes ten octavo pages to the question of whether the Scriptures should be translated into the vernacular and whether they should be made available for all and sundry to read.⁵⁰ In this way, he returned to the discussion that had preoccupied him and the other members of the Faculty of Theology only a few years earlier [Fig. 10.2].

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- 47 Scarce information on the life and the work of Bononia is to be found in, amongst others, Paquot J.N., *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, 18 vols. (Leuven: 1763–1770) xviii 37–41; Mazzuchelli G., *Gli scrittori d'Italia cioè notizie storiche, e critiche intorno alle vite, e agli scritti dei letterati italiani*, 6 parts in 2 vols. (Brescia: 1762), II/III 1486–1487; Bayle P., *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, rev. and augm. P. Des Maizeaux, 4 vols. (Amsterdam – Leiden: 1730) I 607; Pirri R., *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus, et notitiis illustrata* [...], rev. and augm. A. Mongitore and V.M. Amico, 2 vols. (Palermo: 1733), I c. 280 and 287; II c. 892B and 1023AB.
- 48 Bononia's presence is attested by, amongst others, the second important source giving testimony to the Louvain meeting, namely Furió Ceriol Fadrique, *Bononia*, in *Obra completa, vol. 1. El Concejo y consejeros del Príncipe! Bononia*, ed. H. Méchoulán – J. Peréz Durà (Valencia: 1996) 245–621, here 344–345: 'Nam cum literas a Carolo quinto Caesare accepissemus (eram enim et ego una) quibus significabat gratissimum sibi futurum si diligenter examinaremus utrum esset rationi consentaneum sacras literas in nativam certae cuiusdam prouinciae, quam honoris causa nominatim non appello, ad eius nationis usum quae iam erant uersae, retineri necne' ('Because we had received a letter from the Emperor Charles V (I was actually one of them) through which he expressed that he would be immensely grateful if we would diligently examine whether it makes sense to the reason that the Sacred Scriptures translated in the vernacular of a certain province—which for reasons of honour I will not mention—for use of this nation can be kept or not'; translation ours). Comp. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, rev. and augm. Des Maizeaux I 607: 'Bononia étoit des plus échauffez contre les Versions de l'Ecriture en Langue vulgaire'.
- 49 We use the second edition: Bononia Joannes a, *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione, et reprobatione ex scripturis, & Patrum autoritatibus deprompta sententia* (Leuven, Antonis-Maria Bergaigne: 1555).
- 50 Bononia Joannes a, "Brevis appendix de Bibliorum versione", in Bononia Joannes a, *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione* 528–541, here 528–538.



FIGURE 10.2 Title page of Giovanni a Bononia, *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione et reprobatione* (Leuven, Anthonis-Maria Bergaigne: 1555). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P 234.9 BONO.

While Bononia insisted that he intended to respond to the question in an unbiased fashion, he nevertheless began by reacting against those who, inspired by a spirit of dissent, wanted to force the reading of the Bible on everyone ('obtrudere volunt'), even the unlettered and vineyard keepers. Such individuals give the impression that the reading of the Scriptures is a divine right ('iuri divino') and that they are free to counteract every positive decree that prohibited the reading of the Scriptures by the ordinary people, even if it came from the bishops or indeed the pope. Bononia's response clearly did not intend to imply that the Bible in the vernacular was wrong in itself, but, just as no right-minded person would argue that wine was bad *in se*, he declared, it could be considered damaging nonetheless for those suffering from fever. He emphasized, by analogy, that the temporal circumstances were so unfortunate and corrupt that the Church authorities were completely justified in forbidding the private reading of the Scriptures by whatever nation. The primary problem for Bononia was that the ordinary people of his day were strongly inclined to error, an observation that he claimed had the support of a considerable number of pastors. People who were receptive to such flawed ideas, he insisted, would also be inclined to interpret the Scriptures in an entirely erroneous manner, especially since the Scriptures are obscure, and complicated on account of their many metaphors, figurative language and enigmas.⁵¹ Such people consciously ignored the interpretations of the Church and the explanations of the Fathers, the doctors and the pastors and threw themselves with unclean hands ('illotis manibus'—irreverently and without due preparation) upon the Scriptures. Because of such reading Bononia argued, profane people should be kept away from the Scriptures.⁵² He quoted the often-read verse *Matthew* 7:6

51 Bononia, "Brevis appendix" 529–530: 'quae [scripturae] perobscurae sunt, et multis figuris, tropis, et enigmatibus involutae [...] Unde modus iste discendae fidei [=privata lectio] hoc pernicioso tempore alicui populo, aut provinciae iure optimo per Ecclesiae praefectos interdicatur, quum eos experientia doceat, ex plebe quosdamnimis arroganter evolvere scripturas, qui vel receperunt nova haec quorundam haereticorum perversa dogmata, vel eis faveat' ('and these [Scriptures] are thoroughly obscure, and packed in figurative language of all kind, tropes and enigmas [...] Therefore the authorities of the Church rightly forbid in these dangerous times this way of being instructed in the faith [= private reading of the Scriptures] to one or another people or province, since experience has taught them that several members of the populace arrogantly explain the Scriptures, viz. those who have embraced the new perverse dogmas or at least have a favourable attitude towards them'; translation ours).

52 Bononia, "Brevis appendix" 531–532: 'Simili modo rude et indoctum vulgus magna et intoleranda superbia, reiectis Ecclesiae interpretamentis, contemptis Patribus, Doctoribus, et Pastoribus ad Bibliorum lectionem illotis (quod aiunt) manibus

in this regard: 'Give not that which is holy to dogs; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest perhaps they trample them under their feet, and turning upon you, they tear you' [Douay-Rheims Version]. This New Testament verse was indeed a standard reference among the adversaries of free Bible reading.

Having expounded from the very beginning his fundamental objections to the unrestricted reading of the Bible by all, Bononia insisted that it was of course important for everyone to be well informed about the Catholic faith and the mysteries of religion, including those (explicitly) described in the Scriptures. Bononia stressed, however, that the faith should not be gleaned directly from the biblical books, but rather acquired through the teaching of the Church. The Church, he reminded his readers, enjoyed the same infallibility in matters of faith and morals ('fide et moribus') as the Scriptures themselves. He aligned himself with the abovementioned conviction of the theologians of his day, arguing that, since the Church already existed before a single letter of the Scriptures had been written, it was she that had been responsible for determining which books were to be included in the biblical canon and which were to be rejected. Furthermore, it was also the Church that determined and preached matters that could not be explicitly deduced from the Scriptures, since the Church was, after all, inspired in the same way by the Holy Spirit.⁵³

Following on from this, Bononia also developed another interesting line of thought, asking himself whether the Church was permitted to include 4 *Esdras* (the authority of which Ambrose had also employed) among the canonical books. 4 *Esdras* was usually printed in the appendix to the editions of the Vulgate. Bononia was clearly inclined to give a positive answer to this question since he considered 4 *Esdras* 14:45–46 to be a fitting passage in which God prescribed to Ezra the names of the biblical books that are open to all, both the unschooled and schooled, and the names of those restricted to scholars only.⁵⁴ He juxtaposed these words with *Joshua* 1:8: 'Let not the book of this law

impudenter, et perquam temere convolant [...] Atque ideo fit, ut tales frequenter inveniantur in scripturam sacram blasphemi ac propterea ab eius lectione, tanquam profani homines, sunt arcendi' ('In the same way the rude and uneducated populace who, with immense and intolerable pride, rejecting the interpretations of the Church, and disdaining Fathers, Doctors, and Pastors, launch themselves shamelessly with unclean hands and in a temerarious way upon the reading of the books of the Bible [...] And thus it happens that such blasphemers are frequently to be found in the Scriptures, and therefore they should, as profane men, be kept from reading it'; translation ours).

53 Bononia, "Brevis appendix" 532–533.

54 4 *Esdras* 14:45–46 [VUL]: 'priora quae scripsisti in palam pone, et legant digni et indigni. novissimos autem septuaginta conservabis, ut tradas eos sapientibus de populo tuo'; [Douay Rheims Version]: 'The former things which thou hast written, set abroad, and let

depart from thy mouth: but thou shalt meditate on it day and night, that thou mayst observe and do all things that are written in it: then shalt thou direct thy way, and understand it'. This Bible verse was often to be found on the title page of vernacular Bible editions, encouraging people to read and meditate on the Scriptures. According to Bononia, however, Joshua did not insist on the reading of the Scriptures in the strict sense. In his view, Joshua required only that the Law of the Lord be observed, but this can and ought to be done in a more effective manner, namely through the doctors who pass on what they read to the people and teach them what is fitting and what is not.⁵⁵

In short, while Bononia considered the Scriptures to be good and holy in themselves, he was convinced that the chaotic times in which he lived made it inopportune for laypeople to read the Bible in the vernacular, aware as he was of the danger that the Scriptures would then be subject to an idiosyncratic, or even erroneous, interpretation. He also emphasized the intermediary role of the Church and its doctors and pastors in transmitting the true faith. For further support of his argument, Bononia referred his readers to the book *Adversus omnes haereses*, first published by Alfonso de Castro in 1534. Reference to the book is also to be found in the abovementioned recommendation issued by the Louvain theologians to the Emperor. De Castro's book would, incidentally, be reprinted in Antwerp in 1556, giving testimony to the relevance of the topic in the Low Countries.

Furió Ceriol versus Bononia on Vernacular Bible Reading

Bononia had undoubtedly become the face of those within the Faculty of Theology who advocated an utter prohibition of vernacular Bible reading. Not only was he manifestly present at the famous meeting where the Faculty

the worthie and vnworthie reade: but the last seuentie bookes thou shalt keepe, that thou mayest deliuer them to the wyse of thy people'; [RSV]: 'Make public the twenty-four books that you wrote first, and let the worthy and the unworthy read them; but keep the seventy that were written last, in order to give them to the wise among your people'.

55 Bononia, "Brevis appendix" 534: 'Non autem video, quibus verbis scripturae lectio mandetur; iubetur quidem meditari in lege domini, sed hoc interdum commodius fieri et potest et debet, cum doctores ea, quae ipsi legunt, populis tradunt; docentes eos, quid dextrum sit, quidve sinistrum' ('For I do not see by which words the reading of the Scriptures is ordered: what is actually commanded is to meditate upon the Law of the Lord, but this can and should happen in a more proper way, viz. when the doctors the things they read by themselves, hand down to the people, and teach them what is right and what is wrong'; translation ours).

issued its advice to the Emperor to promulgate a general ban on Bible reading in the vernacular, and had written down his ideas in an appendix to his book *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione et reprobatione*, but he had clearly also entered into a debate with the propagators of such reading resident in Louvain. Among them was the Spanish biblical humanist Fadrique Furió Ceriol, who published in 1556 in Basel, with the publisher Johannes Oporinus, a book that was given the revealing title *Bononia*, with as a subtitle *Two Books on the Translation of the Bible into the Vernacular*.⁵⁶ In the dedication of the book to Don Francisco Mendoza de Bobadilla, Cardinal and Bishop of Burgos, Furió Ceriol presents his work as the report of a more or less organized debate that had taken place between himself and rector Giovanni a Bononia in the presence of a considerable audience consisting mainly of Spanish students, apparently during the winter months of 1554–1555.⁵⁷ In the epilogue of the book, also dedicated to Don Francisco Mendoza de Bobadilla, Furió again alludes to ‘the much attended meeting’, although he concedes that its written reflection also has to be considered as a literary construction, a ‘literaria disputatio’⁵⁸ [Fig. 10.3].

Focusing on the content of the work, we see how its first book offers a detailed explanation of Bononia’s arguments against vernacular Bible reading, while in the second book, Fadrique Furió Ceriol assumes the position of defender of vernacular Bible reading. While it would be impossible to

56 See Furius Caeriolanus valentini Fridericus, *Bononia, sive de Libris sacris in vernaculam linguam convertendis, Libri duo* (Basel, Johannes Oporinus [In colophon: Basel, Michael Martin Stella]: 1556–1557). We refer to the aforementioned edition of Furió Ceriol, *Bononia*, in *Obra completa*, ed. Méchoulán – Pérez Durà 245–621. For a discussion of the content, see especially Agten E., “Fadrique Furió Ceriol, Giovanni di Bononia et la traduction de la Bible en langue vernaculaire: Analyse du *Bononia* (1556)”, in François W. – Hollander A.A. den (eds.), *‘Wading Lambs and Swimming Elephants’: The Bible for the Laity and Theologians in Late Medieval and Early Modern Era*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 257 (Leuven: 2012) 219–252. Also Bedouelle G., “Le débat catholique sur la traduction de la Bible en langue vulgaire”, in Backus I. – Higman F. (eds.), *Théorie et pratique de l’exégèse*, Etudes de philologie et d’histoire 43 (Geneva: 1990) 39–59, here 48–59; Fernández López, *Lectura y prohibición de la Biblia* 203–210; Bleznick D.W., “Furió Ceriol y la controversia sobre la traducción de la Biblia”, *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 34 (1968) 195–205.

57 See, amongst others, the dedication of the book to Don Francisco de Bobadilla: Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 260–262. In the transition from the first to the second of the two parts of the disputation, Furió obviously aims at dissolving the meeting, since it is four hours into the afternoon and plainly wintertime (‘bruma est’), but the audience present wishes to continue, since they have nothing special to do. See Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 362–364.

58 ‘In frequenti illo consessu’. See Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 618. Comp. Wilke C.L., “*Bononia* en su contexto histórico”, in *Obra completa*, ed. Méchoulán – Pérez Durà 145–214, here 199–200.

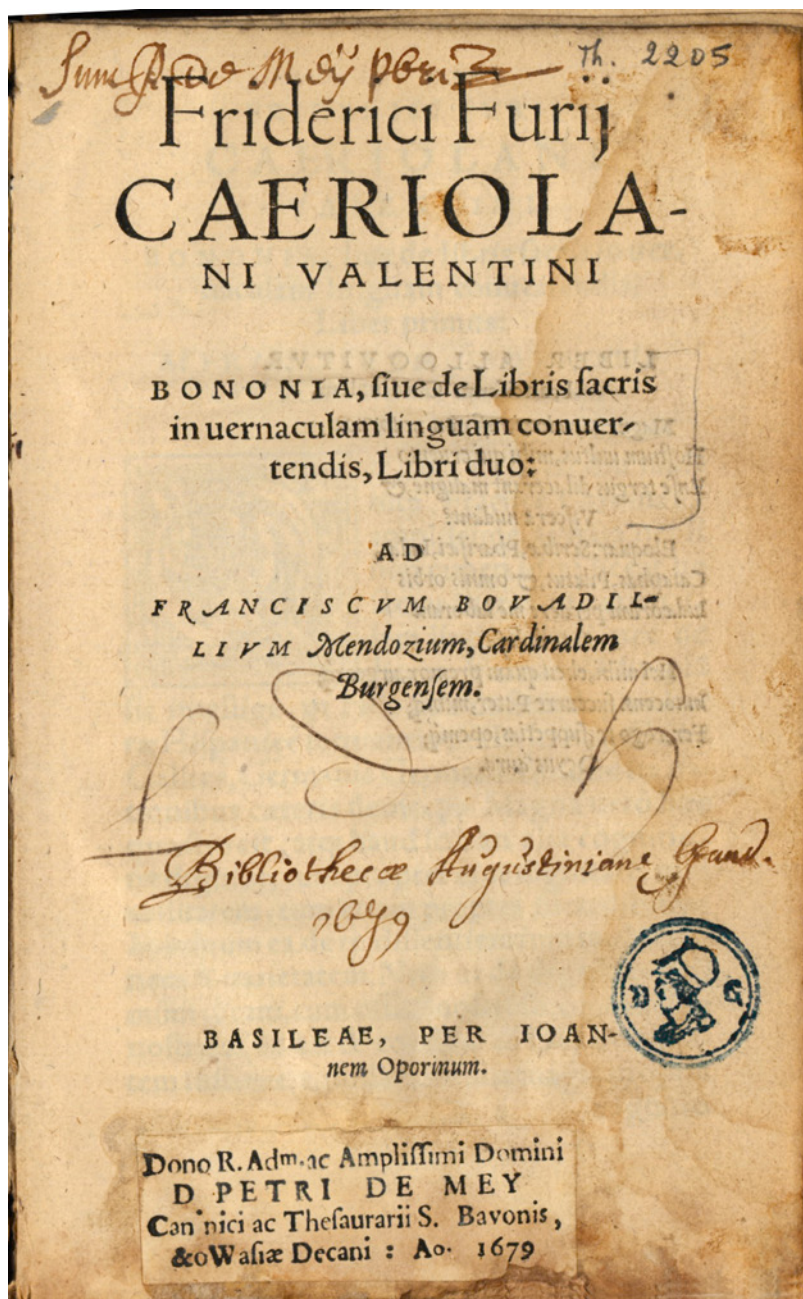


FIGURE 10.3 Title page of Fadrique Furió Ceriol, Bononia, siue de Libris sacris in vernaculam linguam convertendis (Basel, Johannes Oporinus [In colofon: Basel, Michael Martin Stella]: 1556–1557). UGent, University Library, BIB.TH.002205.

summarize the contents of a 365-page book in a few short paragraphs—in spite of its octavo format—an outline of the main standpoints of both protagonists will be offered here, focusing a little more attention on the responses formulated by Fadrique Furió Ceriol to Bononia's reservations with respect to vernacular Bible reading.

Bononia underlines the role of 'praeceptores' or instructors—in other words, theologically trained preachers—as necessary mediators between God's Word and the unlettered masses, the same mediated access to the Scriptures also having constituted one of the main arguments of his appendix on vernacular Bible translations.⁵⁹ Furió Ceriol argues in response that while it was indeed necessary to appeal to human instructors on human affairs, it is necessary to turn directly to God, the instructor par excellence, in order to learn of God's Word and God's will. The Lord made his Word known through Moses, David and the prophets, in a language understood by the people of the time. Jesus likewise addressed the people of his time in the language with which they were familiar, namely Syriac. Furthermore, the evangelists and apostles wrote in Greek in order to introduce their readers to Christ. In like fashion, the Church—both Latin and Greek—had always tolerated the circulation of translations of the Scriptures because they helped people to understand them better. Furió Ceriol was thus fundamentally convinced that men, women, children, slaves and the free ought to be granted 'unmediated' access to God and his Word.⁶⁰

59 This basic argument of Giovanni a Bononia is to be found in, among other places, Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 264–272 and 282–284, o.a. 268: 'Quod si a magistris accipere nos Theologiam decet, parum profecto interest, imo nullo modo est opus, ut sacra scriptura in uulgarem linguam traducatur, nam semper tu ex magistri institutione intelliges ea, quae ad salutem fuerint necessaria, sicque superuacanea traductio uideretur' ('For, if we should hear about theology through the mediation of masters, it is of little interest, even more, there is no necessity at all that Sacred Scripture be translated into the vernacular tongue, since you have always to understand through the instruction of a master that which is necessary for salvation, and in this sense a translation seems to be superfluous'; translation ours) (on 282 we find an exegesis of *Joshua* 1:8). In the second part of the first book, Bononia more or less resumes the argument on 308–324.

60 See amongst others Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 366–390, e.g. 390: 'Scripsit autem Deus uernacula lingua, scripserunt Vates uernacula lingua, concionatus est Christus uernacula lingua, et Apostoli scripserunt et praedicauerunt uernacula lingua, Ecclesia Graeca scripsit uernacula lingua, D. Hieronymus Sacras Literas facit loquentes uernacula lingua, cur igitur nobis aut non liceat aut uitio dabitur, si Sacram Scripturam uernacula lingua loquentem in apertum demus?' ('God wrote in the vernacular language, the prophets wrote in the vernacular tongue, Christ spoke in the common language, and the apostles wrote and preached in the vulgar tongue; the Greek Church wrote in the vernacular language, St. Jerome made the Sacred Scriptures speak in the vernacular language:

According to Bononia, moreover, the need for ‘mediated’ access to the Scriptures was also intrinsically related to their obscure and difficult content, and not only with the complexity of their speech. Translations, in his opinion, did not make the biblical text any more accessible.⁶¹ Furió Ceriol countered this argument by insisting that a good vernacular translation was already an important aid in making the content of the Scriptures clear, which was most required with respect to the points of faith necessary for salvation. He conceded, nevertheless, that the Bible did contain more difficult passages, particularly in the prophetic and apocalyptic books. Such difficulties were to be solved in the first instance with human assistance, including quality catechesis and good preaching, which, as Furió clearly admitted, continued to be of the utmost importance. In addition, however, Christians could rely on the help of the Holy Spirit and primarily of God himself. Every Christian was thus called to familiarize him- or herself as much as possible with God, Christ and the rule of faith. It was thus appropriate to refer to all Christians as ‘theo-logians’, in the literal sense of the word.⁶²

why should we not be permitted or why should it even be counted to us as a vice, if we published the Sacred Scripture expressing itself in the vernacular; translations ours). Furió resumes pieces of the argumentation in the second part of the second book, such as on 482–488, 494–496, 544 and in an interesting summary on 614.

- 61 Giovanni a Bononia’s argument in Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 272–278 and 308, such as 274–276: ‘Sed difficultas non in uerbis sita est, sed in rebus ipsis. Quae fuerit ex se res difficilis, haec utcunque aliis uel aliis uerbis explicent, res eadem manet, eadem ergo difficultas’ (‘The difficulty is not situated in the words, but in the matters itself. If a matter is difficult in itself, whether it is explained in these or other words, this matter remains the same, and also thus the difficulty’; translation ours).
- 62 See Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 432, 452–454, 518–526, among others 454: ‘Itaque omnium rerum quae oratione explicantur, duplex difficultas esse solet: altera uerborum, altera ac praecipua rerum uerbis subiectarum. Quapropter si (ut alias dictum est, quod nemo negat) patrius sermo cuique est notissimus, diuinae literae in plebeium sermonum uersae, non in uerbis, sed in rebus facessent nobis negotium. Quid igitur facilius? quod una ne, an quod dabus difficultatibus teneatur? nimirum quod duabus. Ergo Scriptura Sacra in uernaculam linguam expressa, facilius erit intellectui’ (‘To all things that are explained by speech, a double difficulty used to be connected: the first has to do with the words, the second and most principal with the matters that underlie the words. Therefore, if (as is said elsewhere, which nobody denies) the paternal language is most familiar to everyone, the Sacred Scriptures translated into the vulgar tongue cause us difficulty not as regards the words, but as regards the matters. What is more easy? That someone is bound by one or by two problems? Undoubtedly that he is bound by two problems. Thus the Sacred Scripture translated into the vernacular tongue is much easier to understand’; translation ours).

According to Bononia, conversely, not everyone was a theo-logian and there was a genuine danger that everyone would attempt an arbitrary interpretation of the Bible in the light of his or her own preferences. Vernacular Scripture reading thus facilitated error and heretical interpretation. As Bononia points out by way of example, this is precisely what happened in Courtray: the people read the Bible in the vernacular and this rekindled their enthusiasm for Anabaptism. It was for this reason that the city Magistrate had asked the Emperor to forbid vernacular reading of the Bible.⁶³ According to Bononia, the pastors in Courtray had come to the same conclusions through what they had heard in private confession, but in order not to betray the secret of confession, they had confirmed 'per nutum', that is 'by nodding', what the magistrate had openly declared.⁶⁴ The danger of an idiosyncratic and thus erroneous reading of the Bible was one of the most commonly employed arguments against the publication of vernacular Bibles and Furió Ceriol was obliged to agree that it was indeed the most consistent argument. He nevertheless pointed out that it was not the vernacular Scriptures that had led to heresy, but the sinful and unsound attitude of the people who read them. Historically speaking, moreover, heretical movements tended for the most part to be generated by scholars and not so much by ordinary (Bible reading) folk. In a rather sarcastic way, Furió Ceriol also went into Bononia's point that the Courtray Magistrate's request was supported by what parish priests had heard in confession and that they had therefore nodded their assent. The implication was that, if they had used words, this would have been a betrayal of the secret of confession. For Furió, however, the content of this wordless communication could only be a conjecture ('coniectura') and was insufficient to require the imposition of such drastic measures.⁶⁵

63 Giovanni a Bononia's argument in Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 308–310 and 340–350, among others 346: 'Quare dubitare nemo potest quin ex uernacula Bibliorum traductione ingentes in Republica errores procreentur. Ventum est ad grauissimum omnium argumentorum locum, Caeriolane: non est quo fugias, hic te teneo; quandoquidem concedis ex Sacrorum Librorum lectione uernacula haereses tum esse ortas tum etiam posse oriri' ('Therefore, nobody can doubt that from the vernacular translation of the Scriptures gross errors may be produced in society. Here we have arrived at the most serious element of all the arguments, Ceriol. This is not something that you can escape from—I hold you to that; for you cannot but admit that from the reading of the Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular heresies both have originated and also can originate; translation ours).

64 Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 344.

65 Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 594–606, e.g. 594: 'Sunt loci qui facile possunt decipere, praesertim illiteratam plebem; perge. Fefellerunt multos, non solum illiteratos, sed etiam doctos' ('There are passages that may easily deceive, especially the uneducated populace; but go

The value of the biblical languages enjoyed a significant place in the discussion between Bononia and Furió. Bononia drew attention to the divine, elevated and refined character of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, arguing that the three biblical languages were particularly appropriate for rendering the Word of God. A knowledge of these biblical languages required considerable effort and only professional theologians had the time and dedication to acquire it. He argued furthermore that Hebrew, Greek and Latin could not be adequately translated into the vernacular. The languages of the peoples were coarse and barbaric, subject to degeneration into a multitude of dialects, and were thus unfit to render the Word of God.⁶⁶ Furió Ceriol sought to counter this by insisting that biblical Hebrew had a rough accent ('horridus') and was full of borrowed words, that the Greek of the apostles was unrefined and full of mistakes, and that Jerome's translation of the Bible had been written in barbaric Latin. Many of the Church fathers and doctors, he continued, were unfamiliar with Greek or Hebrew, but this did not prevent them from being expert theologians and Bible commentators. In his opinion, the vernacular languages were perfectly suitable to faithfully render the Word of God and were even capable of improving the style in which God's message was communicated.⁶⁷

also a step further. They brought many into error, not only uneducated, but even learned; translation ours).

66 Giovanni a Bononia's argument in Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 278–282, 318–320, 326–340, e.g. 278: 'Sed fac inania esse, quae a me nunc disputantur, fac uana esse, fac omnes linguas esse inter se aequales et pares, nec quicquam his tribus prae caeteris tribuatur; hoc abs te peto: quid ornamentum, quae elegantia, qui cultus magis ornabit Sacram Scripturam, in uulgares linguas interpretatam, quam ex Hebraeca, Graeca, Latina? Nullum profecto ornamentum, nulla elegantia, nullus cultus. Ergo, neque uertenda est sacra scriptura in uulgares linguas, ut sit ornatior et cultior' ('But suppose that it is nonsensical, what I have discussed, suppose that it is inconsistent, suppose that all languages are equal and the same among each other, and that nobody may rank these three [sacred languages] before the other languages; I beg you: what kind of ornament, which elegance, which stylistic refinement will decorate Sacred Scripture translated into the vernacular tongues more than Scripture in Hebrew, Greek and Latin? Not a single ornament, elegance or stylistic refinement! Therefore, Sacred Scripture should not be translated in the vulgar tongues, to become more ornate and stylistically refined'; translation ours).

67 Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 454–458, 548–552, 578–590, among others 552: 'Tresne istas linguas iudicas necessarias esse ad theologiam, quod eius tanquam thesauro quodam diuinae literae contineantur, an non? uertantur igitur in uernaculas linguas, nec illarum usu indigebimus quoniam quod illae ad humanam intelligentiam faciunt, idem uernaculae linguae praestabunt' ('Are you judging these three languages necessary to theology, since the divine letters are contained in them as in a kind of treasure-chest, or not? Let them [the divine letters] be translated into the vernacular tongues, and we will not need to use

The use of the argument of language remains unusual in itself. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there is evidence that it was precisely the more 'conservative' theologians who fulminated against the use of Hebrew and Greek in biblical studies, while Giovanni a Bononia clearly underlined the unique value of the biblical languages in his argumentation in order to condemn vernacular Bible translations. At the same time, we can read how a biblical humanist such as Furió Ceriol was capable of relativizing the significance of Hebrew and Greek in order to stress the equal merits of the vernacular languages. This illustrates how arguments could be manipulated 'pour le besoin de la cause' in the context of such discussions.

One aspect should certainly draw our attention: in his praise of possibilities of 'the vernacular languages', Furió insisted that the Church had always implicitly recognized the principle of translation, reminding his readers in this context that the universities of Paris and Louvain had permitted translations of the Sacred Scriptures into the language of the French- and the German-speaking people. And it was not as if the Louvain (and Parisian—dixit Furió) Faculty turned a blind eye and tolerated the practice. No, the theologians had explicitly given their consent to those vernacular Bible versions, on the condition that they be faithfully rendered. What troubled the Louvain theologians—as was evident from their famous negative recommendation—was that the common folk, in this case in Courtray, had, on the basis of these translations, pursued errors of every kind. Such circumstances of place or time might even have induced the said theologians to the promulgation of a (limited) prohibition.⁶⁸ Already in the first pages of the first book, Furió had stressed the 'intermediary' position of the mentioned universities in relation to Bible translations in the

these [languages] anymore, since what they mean for the human intellect, can also be supplied by the vernacular languages'; translation ours).

- 68 Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 588: 'An non et Schola Sorbonia et tua Louaniensis, uidet diuinos libros in uulgares linguas Gallorum et Germanorum esse translatos? Quid istae duae scholae? Reprobantne huiusmodi translationes? Minime; uerum non solum conuiuent, sed etiam ipsimet approbant tales translationes fideliter esse expressas, in quibus hoc unum ipsis displicet, quod sumat infinita multitudo per eas occasionem errandi, et non quod male ac infideliter uersae sint' ('And do not both the Faculty of the Sorbonne and your Faculty, that of Louvain, see the divine books translated into the languages of the French and the Germans? And what about these two faculties? Do they condemn translations of this kind? Not at all; and it is not that they merely tolerate [these translations], they even approve such versions that are truthfully translated. There is only one thing that displeases them, viz. that the undefinable masses draw from them the occasion to err, and not that they may badly or not truthfully be translated'; translation ours).

vernacular,⁶⁹ a position that was thus more nuanced than could be deduced from the one drastic proposition, which had co-inspired Bononia's rejection of such translations. Furió's representation could indeed be substantiated to a certain degree with regard to the University of Louvain, but it was a misrepresentation in the case of Paris, since the latter is known to have had a very restrictive tradition on the question of the new vernacular Bible translations that were published from the 1520s onwards. Furió added to his argument that if one recognizes the principle of oral explanation of the Scriptures, one could not do otherwise than also accept the principle of vernacular translations.⁷⁰

This selection of the main arguments of Furió's book makes it immediately obvious that the author could not have expected the applause of the orthodox Catholic circles in Louvain. If we are to believe the dossier put together a few years later by Baltasar Pérez—Dominican and informant to the Spanish Inquisition—on Furió Ceriol and his contacts, the latter even spent a period in the city's jail in 1556, a penalty that was largely due to the publication of his *Bononia*.⁷¹ Furió's *Bononia* was prohibited by the third edition of the Index of Louvain (1558), and by other European indices in its wake. He even spent a second period in Louvain's prison in 1559, from which he is said to have been released in 1560. He was rehabilitated after an investigation by the rector of the University, a process followed closely by Margaret of Parma, the governess of the Low Countries.⁷²

It is further striking that Giovanni a Bononia, some months after the publication of the book carrying his name, returned to Sicily for good, after a little more than ten years in Louvain. The man did not return to Sicily empty-handed, however. Charles V appointed him abbot of the Sicilian monastery of Sant' Angelo di Brolo on his return, a position that also entitled him to an annual emolument from the incomes of the dioceses of Patti and Mazara del

69 Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 259–260.

70 See e.g. Furió Ceriol, *Bononia* 588.

71 For the complete text of the Spanish report of Pérez, see Tellechea J.I., "Españoles en Lovaina en 1551–8: primeras noticias sobre el bayanismo", *Revista Española de Teología* 23 (1963) 21–45, here 38, copied in "Información de Fray Baltasar Pérez, O.P. Sevilla, 26 de mayo de 1558", in Méchoulán H. (ed.), *Raison et altérité chez Fadrique Furió Ceriol philosophe politique espagnol du XVI^e siècle* (Paris – The Hague: 1973) 220–221; comp. Méchoulán H. – Almenara M., "Elementos históricos y cronológicos para una biografía", in Furió Ceriol, *Obra completa*, ed. Méchoulán – Pérez Durà 15–43, here 21–23.

72 Brussels, KBR, Ms. II. 187, vol. I, f. 30, 32, 34–37, 41–45, 47, 67, 68, 188. These documents are reproduced in Méchoulán (ed.), *Raison et altérité chez Fadrique Furió* 259–271. For a discussion, see Méchoulán (ed.), *Raison et altérité chez Fadrique Furió* 32–36 and Méchoulán – Almenara, "Elementos históricos y cronológicos" 27–30.

Vallo, both located in Sicily. This appointment does raise the question whether Bononia was not simply kicked upstairs: having manifested himself on the public forum as an opponent of vernacular Bible reading, he publicly ran counter to the official policy of tolerance the Emperor had confirmed, notwithstanding the contrary advice of the Faculty. Whatever the case may be, in the course of 1556, both fierce antagonists in the Louvain controversy on vernacular Bible reading of the preceding years were neutralized.

A Parallel Evolution in Rome

We cannot ignore that a paradigm shift occurred during the years of 1552–1553, when the position of the Louvain theologians altered from toleration to an outspokenly unfavourable attitude to Bible reading in the vernacular. It was a response to the specific evolutions ‘on the field’, exemplified by what happened in Courtray, where the toleration of vernacular Bibles had not taken the wind out of the Protestants’ sails, as the theologians had hoped, but, in contrast, had contributed to the resurgence of dissident religious movements. The intellectual evolution evident among theologians in the Low Countries cannot, however, be isolated from what was going on in Rome, where the adherents of a restrictive approach had likewise gained an increasing influence.⁷³ Among them was Gian Pietro Carafa, former head of the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition, who, as Pope Paul IV, had ascended to the throne of Peter in 1555.⁷⁴ In 1559, during the ‘unfortunate recess’ of the Council that lasted for ten years,⁷⁵ he had published, through the intermediary of the Inquisition, an Index of Forbidden Books that was applicable to the entire Church.⁷⁶ In this

73 On the evolution of the Roman standpoint after the Council of Trent, see also François, “De Leuvense theologen over de bijbel” 356–357. For a more elaborate discussion of the matter, see Fragnito G., *La Bibbia al rogo. La censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura (1471–1605)*, Saggi 460 (Bologna: 1997) 75–109; Fragnito G., “Il ritorno al Latino, ovvero la fine dei volgarizzamenti”, in Leonardi L. (ed.), *La Bibbia in Italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Firenze: 1998) 395–407, here 396–398; also Prosperi A., “Bibbia”, in Prosperi A., *Dizionario storico dell’Inquisizione*, 4 vols. (Pisa: 2010) 1 185–187, and Frajese V., “La politica dell’Indice dal Tridentino al Clementino (1571–1596)”, *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 11 (1998) 269–345.

74 Santarelli D., “Paolo IV, papa (Gian Pietro Carafa)”, in Prosperi (ed.), *Dizionario storico dell’Inquisizione* III 1164–1166.

75 McNally, “Trent and Vernacular Bibles” 226.

76 Bujanda J.M. De et al., *Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564: Les premiers index romains et l’index du Concile de Trente*, Index des livres interdits 8 (Sherbrooke – Geneva: 1990) 37–39, 128–131,

document, we read the general stipulation that no edition of the Bible in the vernacular, nor any edition of the New Testament, should in any way whatsoever be printed, purchased, read or possessed without the written permission of the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition.⁷⁷ It is clear that the Roman Inquisition sought to reserve judgment for itself. The aforementioned general stipulations were preceded by what was considered a 'non-exhaustive' list, containing specific forbidden editions of the Bible and the New Testament. The list even includes a reference to the Dutch New Testaments printed by the Antwerp printers Adriaen van Berghen, Christoffel van Ruremund and 'Zeel'—the latter having been accepted as a reference to Jan van Ghelen—as well as to the French Bible of Martin Lempereur, amongst other editions.

The extremely severe Index gave rise to great concern and received no application whatsoever in the Church (let alone in the Church of the Low Countries). Therefore, the Holy Office felt obliged to issue, as early as February 1559, a so-called *Instructio circa indicem librorum prohibitorum*. In the document, the stipulations with regard to Bible reading were, to a certain degree, moderated. An absolute prohibition was maintained on Bibles provided with heretical commentaries and marginal glosses. Religious men, non-priests, and even pious and devout laypeople (but in no case women, not even sisters of female monastic orders) could obtain permission to read so-called 'good' Catholic Bibles in the vernacular. Priests, deacons and sub-deacons should only appeal to the Latin Bible and should by no means read Bibles in the vernacular. Permission to read books containing the Epistles and Gospels from Mass could easily be gained by those requesting such permission. It is important to note that these authorizations could be given by the inquisitors and their deputies, but in addition, 'in places where these were absent' ('ubi ipsi non sunt'), also by the local bishops, and this was a significant opening in comparison to the centralizing dispositions anticipated by Paul IV.⁷⁸

Confronted with the opposition Paul IV's Index evoked, Pope Pius IV, his successor from the end of 1559, created a commission that would draft a

137, 307–331, here 325 and 331. Also Caravale G., *Forbidden Prayer: Church Censorship and Devotional Literature in Renaissance Italy*, trans. P. Dawson (Farnham: 2011) 71–73.

77 Amongst others: 'Biblia omnia vulgari idiomate, Germanico, Gallico, Hispanico, Italico, Anglico sive Flandrico, etc. conscripta nullatenus vel imprimi vel legi vel teneri possint absque licentia sacri Officii S. Ro. Inquisitionis' ('All Bibles, translated into the vulgar tongue, be it German, French, Spanish, Italian, English or Flemish, etc. may by no means be printed, read or held in possession without the permission of the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition'; translation ours). See De Bujanda et al., *Index de Rome* 325 and 331, comp. 785.

78 De Bujanda et al., *Index de Rome* 46–49, 100–104, 138–140.

new, more lenient index. As early as 1561, the commission issued a so-called *Moderatio indicis librorum prohibitorum*. As far as Bibles in the vernacular were concerned, the *Moderatio* referred to the conditions that were included in the *Instructio* of 1559. The only difference was that even more authority was granted to the local bishops in making decisions regarding the printing, reading and possession of Bibles.⁷⁹ The drafting of a new index was eventually delegated to the Council fathers at Trent.

The Index of Trent, which was ultimately promulgated by Pius IV in 1564, has to be considered as a landmark in the Catholic Church's position with regard to vernacular Bible reading.⁸⁰ The fourth of the famous ten *Regulae* or *Rules* that were included in the Index, put forward, amongst other statements, that the unrestricted authorization to read the Bible in the vernacular had more disadvantages than advantages. When, however, no detriment but only an increase in faith and devotion was to be expected from Bible reading, an individual dispensation could be granted by the bishop or the inquisitor, who had to seek the prior advice of the parish priest or the father confessor. The translation had to be made by a Catholic author. The authorization, furthermore, had to be in writing.⁸¹ Booksellers who sold Bibles to people who were not in possession of the requested permission had to forfeit the received payment to the bishop and exposed themselves to additional punishments. Members of religious orders and congregations could, however, purchase and read Bibles, after having received a simple authorization from their superiors.

79 De Bujanda et al., *Index de Rome* 51–54, 105–106, 141–142. Also Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer* 73–74.

80 De Bujanda et al., *Index de Rome* 91–99, 143–153, 814–815. Also Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer* 75.

81 'Cum experimento manifestum sit, si sacra Biblia vulgari lingua *passim* sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde, ob hominum temeritatem, detrimenti, quam utilitatis oriri; hac in parte iudicio Episcopi, aut Inquisitoris stetur; ut cum consilio Parochi, vel Confessarii Bibliorum, a Catholicis auctoribus versorum, lectionem in vulgari lingua eis concedere possint, quos intellexerint ex huiusmodi lectione non damnum, sed fidei, atque pietatis augmentum capere posse: quam facultatem in scriptis habeant' ('We have learned by experience that if the sacred books, translated into the vernacular, are indiscriminantly circulated, there follows because of the weakness of man more harm than good. In this matter the judgment of the bishop or the inquisitor must be sought, who on the advice of the pastor or the confessor may permit the reading of a Bible translated into the vernacular by Catholic authors. This may be done with the understanding that from this reading no harm, but an increase of faith and piety, results. The permission must be in writing'). See De Bujanda et al., *Index de Rome* 814–815; for the English translation, see McNally, "Trent and Vernacular Bibles" 226–227.

The list containing forbidden Bibles and New Testaments that was to appear in the Index of 1559 had been removed from this new Index of 1564.

Only seven years after the promulgation of the Tridentine Index, the new pope, Pius v, formerly a member of the inquisitorial apparatus, was already considering a revision of the Index. To that aim, he appointed, on 5 March 1571, a committee of cardinals, which a year later (13 September 1572) was converted into a genuine Roman congregation by Gregory XIII. During the first fifteen years of its existence, the Congregation of the Index collaborated with the powerful Congregation of the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition in order to implement a blunt prohibition of Bible reading in the vernacular. From 1587 onwards, however, a tussle arose between the Congregation of the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index, whereby the former defended a Rome-centred restrictive approach (the '1559 model') and the latter—in its new composition—was prepared to grant the right of discretion to the local bishops (the '1564 model'), whereas subsequent popes tended to the one or the other side, depending on their personal convictions. After a quarter of a century of debates, Pope Clement VIII was able to promulgate a new Index on May 1596, as we will see further on.⁸²

Decreasing Bible Production in the Low Countries

Returning to the Low Countries, we must conclude that the Emperor, faithful to his longstanding biblical humanist principles and as a Bible reader himself,⁸³ did not implement the prohibition on vernacular Bible translations recommended by the *Lovanienses*, either in person or through his government. It is, furthermore, highly debatable whether the increasing reticence on the part of the Roman authorities had any impact at all on the production

82 For the evolution from the Tridentine (1564) until the Clementine Index (1596), see Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo* 111–198, among others 119; comp. Frajese, "La politica dell'Indice" 272–276, 284–288, 300–301, 316–320, 329, 339–341. A survey also in François W., "La Iglesia Católica y la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula, antes y después del Concilio de Trento", *Mayéutica* 39 (2013) 245–273, here 262–268.

83 See e.g. Brandi K., *The Emperor Charles v: The Growth and Destiny of a Man and of a World-Empire*, trans. C.V. Wedgwood, Jonathan Cape Paperback 34 (London: 1965) 639: Dealing with Charles v's last years of life, in San Jeronimo de Yuste, Brandi writes that he 'had persuaded the Inquisition to give him permission to read a French translation of the Bible, as its study in the vernacular was otherwise not allowed'.

of Bibles in the Low Countries.⁸⁴ The Louvain theologians were nevertheless able to push through their standpoint in their own backyard. It must be said that in 1553, in the period of the aforementioned notorious meeting of the Louvain theologians, the sworn University printer Anthonis-Maria Bergaigne, one of the earliest partners of Bartholomeus van Grave, was able to re-edit the Dutch Louvain Bible, as it had been revised by the Dominican friar Jan van der Haghen and provided, by the same, with biblical cross-references and chapter-headings. But this edition was the very last that was published in the University town itself.

Given the fact that neither under the administration of the Emperor Charles, nor under that of his successor from 1555 onwards, Philip II, had any general prohibition on vernacular Bible translations been promulgated, and that the Index of 1558 continued the imperial Bible policy as it had been implemented since 1546, the production of vernacular Vulgate Bibles simply continued for some years.⁸⁵ This was at least the case in Antwerp, where five more editions of the Dutch Louvain Bible were published in the 1550s and 1560s, with as its apogee the prestigious Plantin Bible of 1566 [Fig. 10.4].⁸⁶ In Cologne, Arnold Birckmann published two attractively illustrated versions of the Louvain Bible in 1565 and 1566. And although the intensive publication activity in the years 1565–1566 may have been inspired by a renewed optimism, created by the Fourth Rule of Trent, the production of vernacular Bibles in Antwerp came to an end not soon thereafter: for more than thirty years to come, no more complete Dutch Bibles were published in the Catholic part of the Low Countries (until the publication of the Moerentorf Bible in 1599). No legal measure seems to explain this sudden standstill, but it was most likely due to the turbulent

84 For these editions, see the online databases: <http://www.bibliasacra.nl>; *Short Title Catalogue Netherlands* (<http://picarta.pica.nl/DB=3.11>); *Short Title Catalogus Vlaanderen* (<http://www.database.stcv.be>). Further Cockx-Indestege E. – Glorieux G. – Op de Beeck B., *Belgica Typographica 1541–1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, Collection du Centre national de l'archéologie et de l'histoire du livre 2, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop: 1968–1994); Valkema Blouw P. – Schuytvlot A.C., *Typographia Batava 1541–1600. A Repertorium of Books Printed in the Northern Netherlands between 1541 and 1600*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop: 1998); Pettegree A. – Walsby M., *Netherlandish Books: Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Published Abroad Before 1601* (Leiden – Boston: 2011).

85 De Bujanda et al., *Index de l'Université de Louvain* 55, 334–335, 345–346, 475–478.

86 With regard to the Bible editions of Plantin, see Voet L., *The Plantin Press (1555–1589): A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam: 1980–1983) 1 381–391; also Clercq C. de, “Les Éditions bibliques, liturgiques et canoniques de Plantin”, *De Gulden Passer* 34 (1956) 157–192, here 158–170.



FIGURE 10.4 *Title page of Plantin's edition of the Dutch 'Louvain Bible': Den Bibel inhoudende het Oudt ende Nieu Testament (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1566). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P 22.055.1/F°/Bijb 1566.*

events of the so-called 'Wonder Year', which saw the emergence of Calvinist preachers, the iconoclastic riots, and the start of the revolt against the Spanish Catholic monarch, as well as the staunch reaction of the Duke of Alba, who was sent to the Low Countries to restore order and sustained, without wavering, the attempts to re-Catholicize the country according to strict lines.⁸⁷ Silent testimony to the climate of fear and self-censorship is a New Testament in folio format that the daring Antwerp printer Johann Gymnich printed in 1567: since this is a highly unusual format for a single New Testament, it should be considered as the first part of what was to become a complete Bible edition. The printer, however, did not manage to continue the project, obviously because of the changed politico-religious circumstances.

The production of Catholic Dutch New Testaments, however, continued. Near to fifty editions containing the text of the Louvain New Testament are known to have been published from the 1550s until the 1570s, the large majority of them in Antwerp. This clearly testifies to the continuous demand for such literature in the Low Countries. These editions were made in a more popular octavo, duodecimo or sexto-decimo format. As had been the case for several decades already with New Testaments destined for the Catholic market, the Vulgate translation included a liturgical calendar that preceded the text, and it was followed by the text of the Epistle readings taken from the Old Testament that were read during Mass; it concluded with a table indicating which Epistles and Gospels were to be read on each Sunday or feast-day, as well as the most important saints' days. This arrangement of the material made the New Testaments suitable for following the Scripture readings at Mass, a link with the official liturgy of the Church that had always been considered a prerequisite for allowing Catholics to read the Bible in the vernacular. This series of Catholic New Testament editions was, however, concluded by Plantin's New Testament of 1577, which was, with the exception of two anonymous reprints based on it (one of them having been obviously printed in Delft, in the northern part of the Low Countries), the last Dutch Catholic edition of the sixteenth century [Fig. 10.5].

87 Pollmann J., *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1520–1635* (Oxford: 2011) 92–121; Benedict Ph. et al., *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555–1585*, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Verhandelungen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks 176 (Amsterdam: 1999), among others the contribution of González de León F. – Parker G., "The Grand Strategy of Philip II and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1559–1584" 215–232; Goosens A., *Les inquisitions modernes dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux 1520–1633, vol. 1. La législation* (Brussels: 1997) 92–121; Parker G., *The Dutch Revolt* (rev. and repr. London: 1990) 68–117.



FIGURE 10.5 Het nieuwe testament ons Heeren Jesu Christi (Antwerp, *M. van Roye* for *H. Wouters*: 1576). *KU Leuven*, Maurits Sabbe Library, P225.055.1 *BIJB* 1576.

As regards the French New Testament, the situation is even more remarkable.⁸⁸ The French Louvain Bible of 1550 was not reprinted, but in the decade between 1552 and 1561 some four editions of the New Testament were issued in Antwerp, all of which provided a more or less independent, albeit largely Catholic, revision of Lefèvre d'Étaples' version (three of them even included elements from the 'Protestantizing' version of Pierre-Robert Olivetan). The first of this series, Johann Gymnich's New Testament of 1552, would eventually end up on the Index of 1570.⁸⁹ Between 1563 and 1567 three editions of the New Testament that were based upon the text of the Calvinist Geneva Bible were published in Antwerp. While the usual delicate passages were adapted to the Vulgate, the editions nevertheless preserved the 'Protestant' summaries above the chapters and marginal notes in a similar vein.⁹⁰ Guillaume Sylvius—the king's typographer since 1560—who was responsible for printing one of the editions (during the turbulent year of 1566) was, for these reasons, jailed from March to May of 1568 during the regime of the Duke of Alba, and his New Testament would also be put on the Index of 1570.⁹¹

In 1567 Plantin eventually published the New Testament version translated by the Parisian theologian René Benoist—the openings that the Tridentine Index had still left for Bible reading in the vernacular may have also been a decisive impetus in this case.⁹² Benoist had based his version of the Bible on

88 For bibliographical data, specifically for French Bible editions, see: Chambers B.T., *Bibliography of French Bibles, vol. 1. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French-Language Editions of the Scriptures*, Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance 192 (Geneva: 1983); Pettegree A. – Walsby M. – Wilkinson A., *French Vernacular Books: Books Published in the French Language Before 1601*, 2 vols. (Leiden – Boston: 2007).

89 It concerns a Lefèvre version, but obviously revised on the basis of the version made by Pierre-Robert Olivetan (?) and printed by Pierre de Wingle in Neuchâtel 1534—a 'Protestantizing version'—as well as containing elements of the version made by Nicolas de Leuze included in the Louvain Bible of 1550 (Chambers, *Bibliography* n° 166).

90 Comp. Goosens, *Les Inquisitions modernes* 1 96–106.

91 Voet L., *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp in two volumes, vol. 1. Christophe Plantin and the Moretus: Their Lives and their World* (Amsterdam: 1969) 59; comp. Rouzet A., *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des xv^e et xvi^e siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle*, Collection du Centre national de l'archéologie et de l'histoire du livre 3 (Nieuwkoop: 1975) 201.

92 For an account of the publication history of Benoist's Bible in Louvain, see especially Clercq C. de, "La Bible française de René Benoist", *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 32 (1957) 168–174; Bogaert – Gilmont, "De Lefèvre d'Étaples à la fin du xvi^e siècle" 91–101; Ingram E.M., "Dressed in Borrowed Robes: The Making and Marketing of the Louvain Bible (1578)", in Swanson R.N. (ed.), *The Church and the Book. Papers Read at the 2000 Summer Meeting and*

the Geneva Bible, but had 'corrected' suspect words and phrases on the basis of the Vulgate, while at the same time adding explicatory annotations to corroborate a Catholic, rather than a Calvinist, reading. Benoist's work, which was published for the first time in Paris at the end of 1566, was condemned by the Faculty of Theology there on 15 July 1567. This condemnation was connected in particular to several annotations to the Old Testament, in which Protestant theology was considered to still be all too evident. In the meantime, however, the Bible had been reviewed and approved in Louvain by no less than Jean Henten, the theologian who in 1547 had edited a revision of the Vulgate (but who had also had the intention of censuring some of Erasmus's over-enthusiastic declarations in favour of the vernacular Bible), together with three more members of the Louvain Faculty.⁹³ And although Plantin had the privilege of publishing the entire Bible, the severe judgment of the Paris theologians with regard to the Old Testament obviously induced him to put only the New Testament onto the market; the colophon has as its date 20 July 1567.

In 1573, Plantin published a second edition of Benoist's French New Testament, three years after printing had actually been completed. On the title page it was mentioned that the edition had been 'translated by the theologians of Louvain', without further mentioning the name of René Benoist, as a precaution. All marginal glosses were removed. In 1578 Plantin finally brought the complete French Bible onto the market, once again three years after its having left the Antwerp presses. The edition bore no name on the title page, but included a foreword from the hand of the Louvain theologian Jacques de Bay, thus providing the assurance that the edition was issued with the blessing of the very same corps that, a quarter of a century earlier, had expressed serious reservations with regard to vernacular Bibles. Marginal glosses had evidently also been removed from the Bible edition. Plantin's circumspection was dictated by a renewed condemnation of Benoist's biblical editions in both Paris and Rome [Fig. 10.6].⁹⁴

A year later than the last Dutch New Testament had been printed, Plantin's French Bible was the very last Catholic Bible edition printed in Antwerp for more than two decades to come. In the following two decades, no vernacular

the 2001 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, Studies in Church History 38 (Woodbridge: 2004) 212–221; Carter A., "René Benoist: Scripture for the Catholic Masses", in Racaut L. – Ryrie A. (eds.), *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: 2005) 162–177.

93 Comp. Ingram, "The Making of the Louvain Bible" 218.

94 De Clercq, "Les Éditions bibliques, liturgiques et canoniques" 169–170; Ingram, "The Making of the Louvain Bible" 219–220.

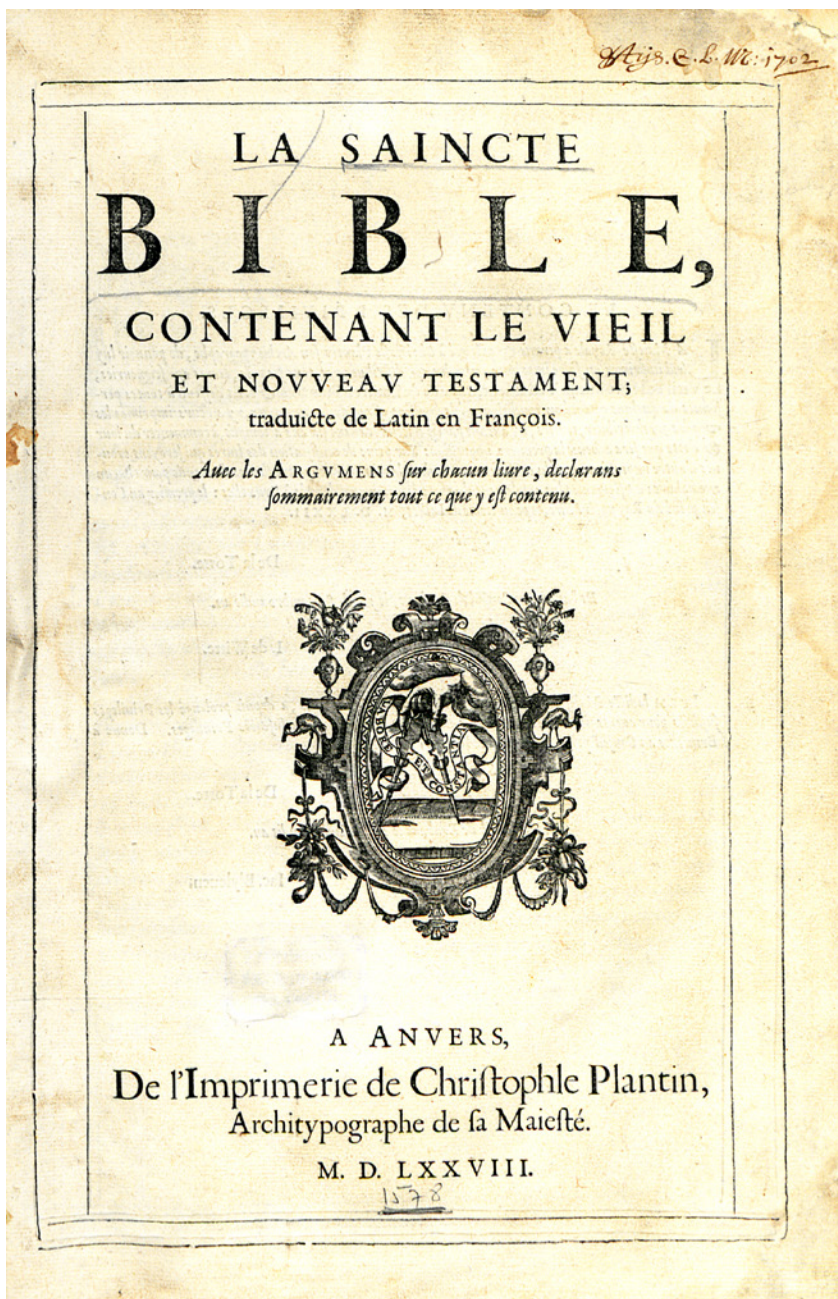


FIGURE 10.6 *Title page of Plantin's edition of the French 'Bible des Théologiens de Louvain': La saineſte bible, contenant le vieil et nouveau testament (Antwerp, Chriſtopher Plantin: 1578). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P 22.056.1/F^o/Bijb 1578.*

Bible editions were printed in the southern part of the Low Countries. At the close of 1577, Antwerp had experienced the establishment of a Calvinist republic,⁹⁵ and after the re-conquest of Antwerp by the Spaniards in 1585, the printing of Catholic vernacular Bibles was not resumed. It is evident that an even more Counter-Reformational reflex inspired the re-Catholicization of the Spanish part of the Low Countries⁹⁶ than had been the case subsequent to the Wonder Year 1566, with the implication that the laity ought to be withheld from reading the Bible in the vernacular. Bible reading in the vernacular was increasingly frowned upon, so that no market remained for additional Bible editions.

The above-sketched dramatic decrease in vernacular Bible production has, until now, not been explained by any general prohibitive intervention of the authorities. The indices of 1569 and 1570, as well as the *Index Expurgatorius* of 1571, which were edited in the Low Countries in the wake of the Council of Trent by Benito Arias Montano with the help of the Louvain theologians, sustained the Bible policy as it had been developed since the last quarter of the century. The very same Bibles were explicitly forbidden as those prohibited since the Index of Louvain of 1546, with a few additions in the Index of 1570, comprising Protestant Dutch Bibles printed in Emden, as well as the French Bibles of Sebastien Castellion (1555), the Geneva Bibles (from 1540 onwards), the Bibles published by Sebastien Honoré (1558) and by Jean de Tournes (from 1551 onwards), and French New Testaments published by Gymnich (perhaps a reference to his editions of 1552, 1554 and/or 1567) and Silvius (undoubtedly his edition of 1566 is meant).⁹⁷ The Index of Antwerp of 1570, as well as that of Liège from 1569 did include the Tridentine Rules, whereas respect for these

95 During the Calvinistic Republic in Antwerp, Dutch Calvinist *Deux Aes* Bibles were sold in the town by Jasper Troyens. From a *Deux Aes* Bible edited in 1583–1584, the printer-publisher had most likely even printed the first part of the Old Testament in Antwerp (*Biblia, dat is De gantsche Heylighe Schrift, grondelijck ende trouwelijck verduytschet*, Antwerp, J. Troyen [=seller]—Dordrecht, Jan Canin and Peter Verhaghen [=printers]: 1583–1584). The same Jasper Troyens also published, in a co-edition with Arnout Coninx, in 1582, a French edition of the New Testament in the Geneva version (*Le Nouveau Testament*, Antwerp, Jasper Troyen: 1582, and *Le Nouveau Testament*, Antwerp, Arnout Coninx: 1582).

96 Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt* 125–158; Goosens, *Les Inquisitions modernes* 1 125–130; Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* 199–224.

97 Bujanda J.M. De et al., *Index d'Anvers. 1569, 1570, 1571, Index des livres interdits* 7 (Sherbrooke – Geneva 1988) 74–77, 251–256, 259–268, 567, 672–673. Some of these editions had already been prohibited by earlier edicts, such as the Bible of Sébastien Honorat through an edict of 22 October 1561 (*Recueil des ordonnances des Pays-Bas. Deuxième série*:



FIGURE 10.7 Index librorum prohibitorum (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1570). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P 348.416.4 EDIC).

rules was also required by the important edict that Philip II had issued on 19 May 1570,⁹⁸ with the aim of regulating the book trade. Obedience to the *Regula Quarta* further appeared in the legislation of the provincial councils and synods of the Low Countries (first at the Provincial Council of Cambrai in 1586, and only from the seventeenth century onwards also at the diocesan synods of the Church province of Malines) [Fig. 10.7].

Concluding Remarks

The conclusion for the present is that the dramatic decline in Bible production in the last three decades of the sixteenth century seems in the first place to have been provoked by the politico-religious turbulence of these years, with the most important turning points being the restoration of the Catholic Spanish rule under the Duke of Alba after 1566 and the reconquering of the southern part of the Low Countries by the Duke of Parma in the 1580s. Catholicism in the Southern Low Countries increasingly developed along anti-Protestant lines and, in these turbulent years, Bible reading in the vernacular was, to put it mildly, not considered the most adequate means of spiritual edification. Another question that remains unresolved is who the owners and readers were of the Bibles that had been spread in the previous decades and continued to circulate in the second part of the sixteenth century. Is there reason to assume that, in this regard also, a paradigm shift occurred, in the sense that there was an alteration in the reading public, from laypeople in the world to religious men (and women) in monasteries, and especially to parish clergy looking for help in the preparation of their homilies? It is in any case certain that, in theoretical theological texts, a huge emphasis was put on the role of the clergy as necessary mediators between God's Word and his flock; they were in a position to explain the basic truths of the faith and to interpret the Epistle and Gospel readings of Mass in the light of the ecclesiastical Tradition. Whatever the case may be, the Catholic laity in the Low Countries were not deprived of spiritual literature, but were provided with other kinds of devotional, catechetical and otherwise edifying books, which were often attractively edited.

1506–1700. *Règne de Philippe II*, vol. II. *Contenant les ordonnances du 7 septembre 1559 au 31 décembre 1562*, ed. Ch. Terlinden – J. Bolsée [Brussels: 1978] 276–277).

98 Enno van Gelder H.A., *Vrijheid en onvrijheid in de Republiek: geschiedenis der vrijheid van drukpers en godsdienst van 1572–1798* (Haarlem: 1947) 17–19.

In 1599 a new version of the Dutch Louvain Bible appeared in Antwerp from the press of Jan Moerentorf (Moretus), 33 years after the publisher's father-in-law Christopher Plantin had published the previous Dutch Bible, and 22 years after the most recent Dutch New Testament. The so-called 'Moerentorf Bible' was revised on the basis of the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate that had been released in 1592 and, more importantly, its publisher felt unintimidated by the Clementine Index that had been promulgated in May 1596. At the instigation of the Inquisition, the Pope had included a so-called *Observatio circa quartam regulam [Tridentinam]* (*Observation Regarding the Fourth Rule [of Trent]*), which, amongst other measures, bluntly revoked the local bishops' and inquisitors' right to allow the purchasing, reading or possession of vernacular versions of the Bible or parts of it by individual laypeople requesting that favour.⁹⁹ That such a restrictive approach to vernacular Bible reading was inapplicable in the countries of Northern and Central Europe, where Catholics had to coexist with 'Bible-centred' Protestants, was also understood by the papal nuncios in the countries concerned. Bible translations continued to be published, with or without special Roman approval, and in the years 1603–1604 the Roman authorities recognized in principle that the Catholics of the countries under consideration were not subject to the *Observatio* but to Trent's Fourth Rule. It seems that even the Congregation of the Inquisition had accepted the *fait accompli*, since it decreed at a meeting on 25 April 1608 that the 'abuse' of Bible translations in the vernacular should also be tolerated in Flanders—probably the entire Low Countries are meant here—since it was stated that the 'abuse' was already widespread there and that the presence of heretics in the country demanded such toleration. Again, this should not be considered as an authorization of completely free reading of the Bible in the vernacular, but rather a return to the regime imposed by the Fourth Rule of the Tridentine Index, which left it up to the local bishop or the inquisitor to grant consent in individual cases. At the start of the seventeenth century, vernacular Bible reading among Catholics in the Low Countries entered into a new phase.¹⁰⁰

99 Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo* 178–197; comp. Frajese, "La politica dell'Indice" 339–341; Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer* 211–214.

100 See Fragnito G., "Per una geografia delle traduzioni bibliche nell'Europa cattolica (sedicesimo e diciassettesimo secolo)", in Quantin J.-L. – Waquet J.-C. (eds.), *Papes, princes et savants dans l'Europe moderne: Mélanges à la mémoire de Bruno Neveu*, Ecole pratique des hautes études. 4e section: Sciences historiques et philologiques 5; Hautes études médiévales et modernes 90 (Geneva: 2007) 51–77, here 65–77 (for the Low Countries, see 71, no. 59).

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