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The Use of Hebrew in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible

School of Advanced Studies

Institute of English Studies

University of London

MA History of the Book

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Introduction

I intend, and will have it so, that thou learn the languages perfectly, first of all, the Greek, as Quintilian will have it, secondly, the Latin; and then the Hebrew, for the Holy Scripture-sake, and then the Chaldee and Arabic likewise, and that thou frame thy style in Greek in imitation of Plato; and for the Latin, after Cicero. ... Then fail not most carefully to peruse the books of the Greek, Arabian, and Latin physicians, not despising the Talmudists and Cabalists, and by frequent anatomies get thee the perfect knowledge of that other world, called the microcosm, which is man. And at some of the hours of the day apply thy mind to the study of the Holy Scriptures; first, in Greek, the New Testament, with the Epistles of the Apostles; and then the Old Testament in Hebrew. In brief, let me see thee an abyss, and bottom-less pit of knowledge'¹

The sixteenth century, and that period which has come to be known as the Renaissance, is a period where the label early modern history becomes truly relevant. The above quote from Rabelais' *The Life of Gargantua* — first published in 1532 — in which Gargantua writes with good advice to his son Pantagruel, is both a parody of the universal spirit that imbued many scholars of that time and also a reflection of the very nature of the new type of individual that was beginning to emerge from the late Middle Ages. Gargantua lists other virtues and learning he would like his son to have, but what interests us here is his mention of Hebrew and Jewish learning.

As one writer has noted: 'de l'avis général, la Renaissance représente un âge d'or pour les études Hébraïques, un moment privilégié pour le renouveau d'une langue jusque-là négligée, et le point de départ d'une exégèse en contact direct avec le texte sacré.'²

Yet the sixteenth century, as another writer on the period has observed, was 'probably the most intolerant period of Christian history, marked not only by violent conflict between contending Christian denominations, but by an upsurge of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism in western Europe. When Martin Luther, John Calvin and other outstanding religious reformers undertook their successful revolt against the Catholic Church and established their own Protestant Churches, the latter showed themselves to be no

¹ François Rabelais, *The Life of Gargantua and the Heroic Deeds of Pantagruel*, ed. by (Trs.), Sir Thomas Urquhart, *Morley's Universal Library* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1887), p. 220.

² Marie-Luce Demonet-Launay, 'La Désacralisation de L'Hébreu au XVIe Siècle', in *L'Hébreu au Temps de la Renaissance*, ed. by Ilana Zinguer (Leiden: Brill, 1992), p. 154.

less intolerant of heretics and dissenting Christians than was the Catholic Church.³

The very intolerance exhibited during the sixteenth century and, yet the Humanist strivings towards greater knowledge of the original Biblical text, is epitomised by the fate of William Tyndale, the translator of the first printed English Bible. In 1535 Tyndale was captured in Antwerp and sentenced to death for heresy. He was strangled and burnt at the stake in September 1536. There is one surviving letter in his hand from his prison days. 'In it he asks for a warmer hat and warmer clothes, and above all for his Hebrew grammar and dictionary, and his Hebrew Bible'.⁴ Tyndale's fate and the dangers inherent in that time in printing potentially heretical texts, would surely have been well known to Christopher Plantin, the printer and publisher of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, printed some 25 years after these events.⁵

The object of this dissertation is to examine the use of Hebrew in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, or *Biblia Real* as it was also titled, which stands as one of the most important landmarks in the history of sixteenth century printing, whether viewed from a standpoint of content, production, design, typography or relevance to book history. It has also been called 'a tribute to the foremost efforts made in the domain of scriptural studies in the sixteenth century'⁶ and is also one of the best documented productions from this period due to the well-preserved archives kept in the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp, which record the financial and business transactions, correspondence and typographical artefacts.⁷ In addition, there are nearly 250 surviving copies of the Bible, both on vellum and paper⁸ and a major secondary literature

³ Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton, N.J.; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 2.

⁴ http://museum.antwerpen.be/plantin_moretus/index_eng.html, [Accessed 06 February 2008].

⁵ The original Latin text is: 'Maxime autem omnium tuam clementiam rogo atque obsecro, ut ex animo agere velit apud dominum commissarium, quatenus dignari velit mihi concedere bibliam Hebraicam, grammaticam Hebraicam et vocabularium Hebraicum, ut eo studio tempus conteram.' See Dahlia M. Karpman, William Tyndale's Response to the Hebraic Tradition, *Studies in the Renaissance*, Vol. 14, (1967), p. 113 and G. Latré, 'William Tyndale in Antwerp: Reformer, Bible Translator, and Maker of the English Language', in *Antwerp, Dissident Typographical Centre*, (Antwerpen: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1994), p. 65.

⁶ Alastair Hamilton, 'Humanists and the Bible', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 114.

⁷ Museum Plantin-Moretus, *Inventaris van de Stempels en Matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum Punches and Matrices*. Eng. (Antwerpen: Museum Plantin-Moretus 1960). See also J. Denucé, *Inventaris op het Plantijnsch Archief. Inventaire des archives plantiniennes* (Antwerpen: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1926).

⁸ I am indebted to Theodor Dunkelgrün, fellow of the Scaliger Institute at the University of Leiden for the information that there are to date over 250 known extant copies of the Antwerp Polyglot, the latest to appear being in Mexico in the Bibliotheca Palafoxiana in Puebla, and four more copies in the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City, all from former Dominican, Augustinian and Jesuit convents throughout New Spain.

on many key aspects of the *Officina Plantiniana*,⁹ Plantin and his associates, and more recently scholarly work on the Family of Love. There is also a major literature on Benito Arias Montano and the Spanish Humanists.¹⁰

This Bible, which Leon Voet has called ‘une des plus grandes entreprises typographiques des temps modernes’¹¹ carries within it a wealth of contradictions. Not least of all, it is not at all what it appears to be. It has been said that ‘it was an irony of fate that this monument of the Counter-Reformation should be so entirely opposed, in nature and in spirit, to the principles of the Council of Trent. Almost all its collaborators were on the borderline between orthodoxy and heresy. The irony is intensified by the fact that this Bible was set up on a press originally established to print the works of the Spiritualist prophet Hendrik Niclaes, and printed with Hebrew type supplied by the Protestant exile Bomberghe.’¹² Yet another writer has claimed it for an alternative tradition and written that the ‘la ingente obra tipografica de Plantino debe entenderse como edificación de un monumento de ecumenismo humanista en la España del siglo XVI’.¹³ A more recent interpretation, by Robert Wilkinson, has thrown doubt on this last view and sets out to demonstrate ‘the continuity between the Antwerp Polyglot and the northern scholars who had been involved in the production in Vienna of the 1555 *Editio Princeps* of the Syriac NT and who are most helpfully characterised as Christian kabbalists’.¹⁴

The Rev. Thomas Dibdin, writing in 1827, foresaw many of the apparent contradictions, when he wrote that ‘the history of this splendid work, if there were space and opportunity to record it, would be among

⁹ Plantin Press or Printing House (in Latin)

¹⁰ Rafael Caso Amador, ‘Bibliografía sobre el Humanista Benito Arias Montano’, *Etiópicas*, 1 (2004-2005), 271-310.

¹¹ Leon Voet, ‘La Bible Polyglotte d’Anvers et Benedictus Arias Montanus, L’Histoire de la plus grande Entreprise Scripturaire et Typographique du XVIIe Siècle’, in *La Biblia Poliglota de Amberes: Conferencias Pronunciadas en la Fundación Universitaria Española el 2 de Marzo de 1973, con Motivo del IV Centenario de la Biblia Regia*, ed. by Federico Perez Castro and Leon Voet (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1973), p. 35.

¹² Bernard Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598* (Warburg Institute. Studies. Vol. 33) (London: Warburg Institute; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), p. 54.

¹³ Federico Perez Castro, ‘La Biblia Regia de Arias Montano, Monumento de Ecumenismo Humanista en la España del Siglo XVI’, in *La Biblia Poliglota de Amberes: Conferencias Pronunciadas en la Fundación Universitaria Española el 2 de Marzo de 1973, Con Motivo del IV Centenario de la Biblia Regia*, ed. by Federico Perez Castro, and Leon Voet (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1973), p. 12 (This major printed work of Plantin can be understood as the construction of a monument to Humanist ecumenism in Spain of the 16th century.)

¹⁴ Robert J. Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 1.

the most interesting literary histories in the world; while the veering breath of popular applause, which once lifted it to the skies, and afterwards essayed to level it with the dust, is only one of the many proofs of the fickleness of human fame'.¹⁵

What is one to make of these apparent contradictions in the Antwerp polyglot Bible? And what insight does it give us as to the use and understanding of Hebrew in this period?

The Antwerp Polyglot needs to be situated in several contexts in order to gain a fuller appreciation of its purpose and making:

1. The impact of the Protestant reformation and its impact on the Catholic Church and the ensuing Counter Reformation in Catholic circles. More specifically, the way the Reformation doctrine of *Sola Scriptura* and the Humanist idea of *ad Fontes* forced Catholicism to review its canonical texts and their authenticity.
2. The rise of Christian Humanism during the Renaissance and the concurrent development of Christian Hebraism during the same period.
3. The changes that occurred in Jewish society during the sixteenth century, a period marked by both major restrictions from Christian society and a cultural revival from within.¹⁶ A major factor is the impact of the mass conversions and subsequent expulsions of Jews from Spain and Portugal at the end of the fifteenth century and the creation of a Jewish diaspora in the countries bordering the Mediterranean and in northern European countries.
4. The impact of the first major sixteenth century Polyglot, the Complutensian, in 1519 in Spain and the Polyglot *Psalterium* in Genoa in 1516, and going further back, the model of Origen's *Hexapla* in the third century, which performed a similar function in that period.
5. Finally, the invention and crucial impact of printing using moveable type as a new technology during the fifteenth century, and the linkage of intellectual scholarship and printing which reached a peak

¹⁵ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *An Introduction to the Knowledge of Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics: Together with an Account of Polyglot Bibles, Polyglot Psalters, Hebrew Bibles, Greek Bibles and Greek Fathers, and the Latin Fathers*. 4th ed., (London: Harding and Lepard, 1827), p. 12.

¹⁶ See Jonathan Israel (*European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism*) and Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin (*The Censor, the Editor, and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century*) for their views on this change.

during the sixteenth century.

This dissertation will attempt to provide answers for the following major research questions:

1. *Chapter 1:* What were the particularities of the Hebrew Bible and the Hebrew language which would have fed into the background of the Antwerp Polyglot? What Hebrew original texts were used for the Antwerp Polyglot and what were their antecedents?
2. *Chapter 2:* What was the historical background of the sixteenth century? What was the *Zeitgeist* of the period that would have produced such contrasting movements as the Reformation, the Counter-Reformation, and Christian Humanism? What changes were taking place in Jewish society during the sixteenth century and how could the Antwerp Polyglot be said to mirror these changes? What was the reason behind the renewed interest in the original languages of the Bible during the sixteenth century, such as Hebrew, Greek and Syriac?
3. *Chapter 3:* What were the historical precedents of the Antwerp Polyglot? Why was the Antwerp Polyglot produced? What motivations might have induced Plantin to envisage such a project: economic, religious, political or perhaps reputational? What was the impact of the Family of Love in the production of the Polyglot Bible?
4. *Chapter 4:* How can Plantin's role as a printer and publisher of Hebrew books be assessed? What was the role of Benito Arias Montano in the shaping of the *Biblia Real* and in the choice of texts to be used? Was his interest in Jewish matters antiquarian, philological, religious or a combination of all of these? What models for Hebrew typefaces would have been used in the cutting of the various founts used in the Antwerp Polyglot? How did Plantin obtain these punches and matrices and what does this say about the nature of type design of the period? Finally does this tell us about the world of sixteenth century printing and publishing?
5. *Chapter 5:* What audience was the Polyglot aimed at and was there an evangelical intent with regard to non-Christians? What was the reception of this work in both the Christian and Jewish world? Did the Antwerp Polyglot have any lasting effect in the world of biblical scholarship? And what impact, if

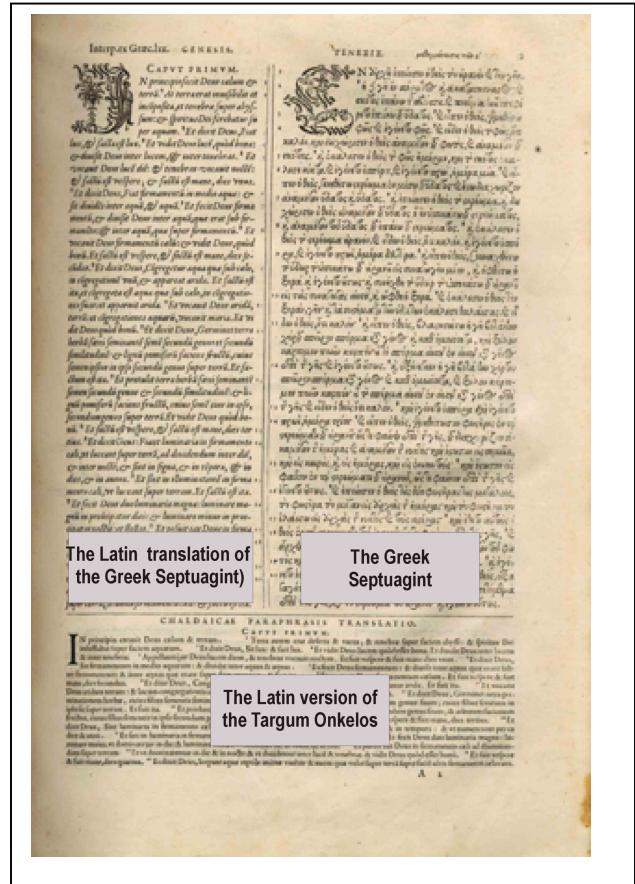
any, did it have on the various Jewish communities of the period?¹⁷

¹⁷ I would like to acknowledge the help of the following people in providing assistance in the form of support, translation, relevant articles or information, or in replies to my queries about specific points: Prof. Angel Sáenz-Badillos, Javier del Barco, Professor Michelle P. Brown, Martin Davies, Professor Albert van der Heide, Prof. dr. Paul. G. Hoftijzer, Dr. Dirk Imhof, Theodor Dunkelgrün, Dr. Andrea M. Galdy, Professor Joseph Hacker, Professor Alastair Hamilton, Giles Mandelbrote, Dr Wim Van Mierlo, Nigel Roche, Professor Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, Julianne Simpson, Ilana Tahan, Dr. Hendrik D. L. Vervliet and Dr. Robert J. Wilkinson.

Chapter 1: The development of the Hebrew Bible

The Antwerp Polyglot Bible¹⁸ contains the following language versions:

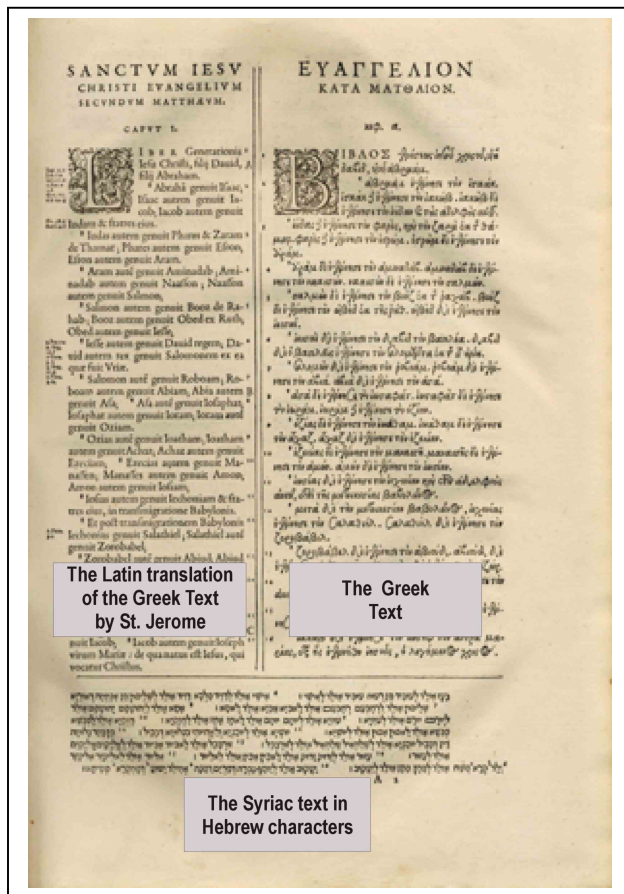
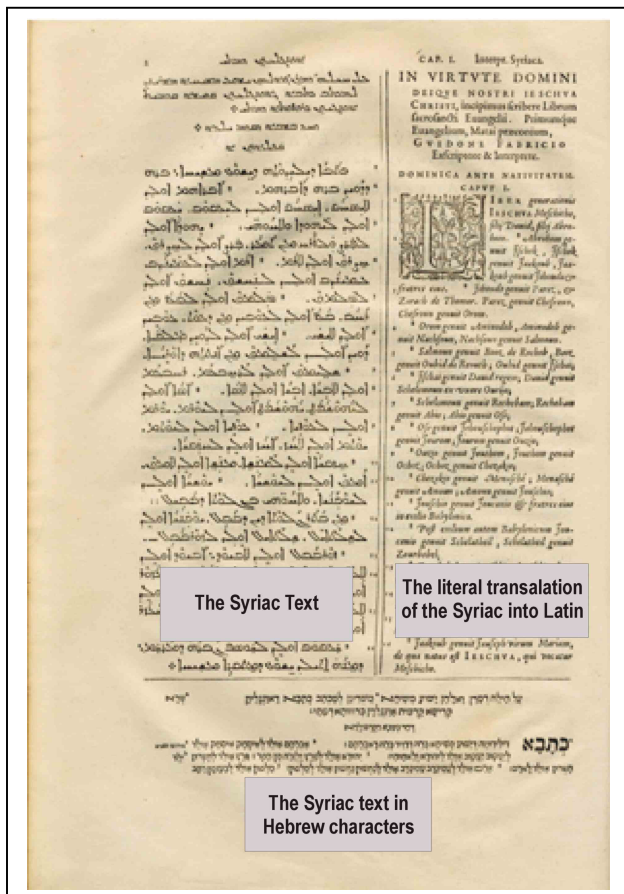
In the Old Testament: The Hebrew Old Testament) (usually known as the MT or Masoretic Testament), the Latin translation by St. Jerome, the Greek Septuagint, the Latin translation of the Greek Septuagint, the Targum Onkelos (Aramaic paraphrase), and the Latin version of the Targum Onkelos.



The opening pages of the MT from Volume I of the Antwerp Polyglot. Adapted from <http://www.llb-detmold.de/ausstellungen/bibeljahr/juli.html>

¹⁸ Pick notes that ‘the Polyglot is generally called the “Antwerp Polyglot” or from the patronage bestowed on it by Philip II, “Biblia Regia”, and sometimes also after the printer “Biblia Plantiniana”.’ In this dissertation I have used the term *Antwerp Polyglot* to distinguish it from its predecessors and from the point of view of consistency of use. See B. Pick, ‘History of the Printed Editions of the Old Testament, Together with a Description of the Rabbinic and Polyglot Bibles’, *Hebraica*, 9 (1892), p. 78.

In the New Testament: The Syriac text, the literal translation of the Syriac into Latin, the Greek text, the Latin translation of the Greek text by St Jerome and the Syriac text in Hebrew characters with Masoretic punctuation.



The opening pages of the LXX from Volume 7 of the Plantin Polyglot (Adapted from <http://www.llb-detmold.de/ausstellungen/bibeljahr/juli.html>)

What is of interest from the point of view of this discussion are the texts in Hebrew characters, which include the MT, the Targum Onkelos and the Syriac text (in the NT). Colin Clair has noted that the Hebrew text 'was collated with that of the Complutensian Polyglot and also with the great rabbinical Bibles of Venice. The Hebrew text is also repeated in the *Apparatus Sacer* accompanied with the Sante Pagnini Latin translation as an interlinear version.'¹⁹

Of all the languages and biblical versions used in the Antwerp Polyglot, the Hebrew can be said to be

¹⁹ Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London: Cassell, 1960), p. 71.

the *least* problematic and the *most* codified in terms of text and format. William Chomsky has noted that ‘the divergences exhibited in the manuscripts (such as those in St Petersburg from the tenth and eleventh centuries), as well as the deviations found in the biblical quotations in the Talmud and in medieval literature, are minor and insignificant, and we may regard our masoretic text as to all intents and purposes authentic’. And he cites Professor W. F. Albright, who wrote that ‘...no comparable literary legacy from the past has come down to us so faithfully recorded and so little modified by the passage of time as the Bible’.²⁰ How can one explain the more fixed nature of the Hebrew text in relation to other versions of the Bible?

The Hebrew Bible, or Tanakh as it is termed in Hebrew, makes up at least three-fourths of the Christian Bible,²¹ and consists of three major sections: *Torah* (the five books of Moses or the Pentateuch), *Nevi'im* (the Prophets) and *Ketuvim* (Writings). Given the oral transmission of Hebrew at an early stage, and the lack of adequate information as to accurate pronunciation and key meanings for earlier versions, the masoretic tradition began to emerge. This was, in essence, a ‘system of critical notes on the external form of the Biblical text’ and included the introduction of introduction of graphic signs for pronunciation and cantillation,²² according either to the Palestinian or Babylonian systems.²³ It is widely recognised that between the writing of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the tenth century, there was ‘a gap of some eight hundred years almost without evidence of the Hebrew book, in either roll or codex form’²⁴ and that this may have allowed variant, possibly oral, readings to develop. However, by the tenth century, two rival masoretic schools had emerged, those of Aaron ben Moses ben Asher of Tiberias and Ben Naphtali, and eventually Ben Asher's codex became recognized as the standard text of the Bible. This text was further refined and fixed with the second Bomberg edition of the Bible (Venice, 1524-25), which was prepared by Jacob ben Chayim ibn Adonijah, who ‘collated a vast number of manuscripts, systematized his material and

²⁰ William Chomsky, *Hebrew: The Eternal Language* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1982), p. 141.

²¹ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Whose Bible Is It? A History of the Scriptures through the Ages* (London: Allen Lane, 2005), p.30.

²² Entry on Massorah in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, p. 365.
http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view_page.jsp?artid=246&letter=M&pid=0 [Accessed 17 June 2008].
The purpose of the cantillation marks (or Ta'amin in Hebrew) is to indicate the proper recitation of the text.

²³ See Chomsky, *Hebrew: The Eternal Language*, pp. 93-116 for a fuller discussion of this topic.

²⁴ Malachi Beit-Arié, *Unveiled Faces of Medieval Hebrew Books: The Evolution of Manuscript Production: Progression or Regression?* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2003), p.15.

arranged the Masorah'. In addition he 'introduced the Masorah into the margin, and compiled at the close of his Bible a concordance of the Masoretic glosses ..., and added an elaborate introduction—the first treatise on the Masorah ever produced'. This work has generally been acknowledged as the *textus receptus* of the Masorah.²⁵

Further confirmation of the fairly stable and continuous nature of the Hebrew biblical text came during the late eighteenth century, where the combined researches of Benjamin Kennicott and Giovanni de Rossi into some 1,346 different Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament and 342 reported editions demonstrated 'the fact that the basal Hebrew text underlying all the 1,686 manuscripts examined by these two scholars and their helpers was practically one and the same'.²⁶

The very nature of the Hebrew language makes translation very difficult and prone to errors, especially as this is regarded as a holy text, handed down from God. William Chomsky notes that Hebrew is 'solemn, noble, and majestic; it has virility and vigor; it is succinct, but rich in imagery and picturesqueness'²⁷ and another writer has commented that 'the Hebrew Bible is self-reflexive' and has 'an intentional enigma'.²⁸ 'The language is frequently ambiguous, allowing for a multiplicity of meanings. Each phrase is negotiated with the reader and a nuance hangs on nearly every word. Stylistic conventions, such as various forms of paronomasia²⁹ including assonance, etymological word play, punning, double-entendre, and chiasm³⁰ (*sic*) contribute to a textual unity. The same word, or its cognates, is frequently used to convey associations and meanings from one narrative to another.'

If one then looks at the versions through which the Hebrew Bible was transmitted to non-Hebrew

²⁵ Entry on Massorah in the Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VIII, p. 370. See also Ira Price, 'The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament', *Biblical World*, Vol. 37, 4 (April 1911), p. 251. Price wrote that 'during nearly all the first three hundred years of the printed Hebrew Bible there had been only one serious successful attempt to gather into one work the variants of all known Hebrew manuscripts. That was attempted and completed by Jacob ben Chayim in 1524-25. Every other editor and publisher had been satisfied with the use either of a few manuscripts, or of a few manuscripts and a printed text.'

²⁶ Price, 'The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament', p. 252.

²⁷ Chomsky, *Hebrew: The Eternal Language*, p.46.

²⁸ Ilona N. Rashkow, 'Hebrew Bible Translation and the Fear of Judaization', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 21 (1990), p. 224.

²⁹ Word play based on words which sound alike; an instance of this, a pun. *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://o-dictionary.oed.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/> [Accessed 17 June 2008].

³⁰ Chiasmus is a grammatical figure by which the order of words in one of two of parallel clauses is inverted in the other. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), and <http://www.drmary.com/chiasmus/definition/definition1.shtml> [Accessed 10 June 2008].

speaking Jewish populations and later to a developing Christianity, these particular characteristics become of crucial importance and perhaps can give one a pointer to the oral nature of the very early texts of the Hebrew Bible.³¹

This was no doubt of some importance to the Christian Humanists and Hebraists of the sixteenth century. The Greek Septuagint version was originally aimed at the Greek-speaking Jews of the Mediterranean diaspora³² and eventually the St Jerome's Vulgate version became the very standard by which the MT was transmitted.³³ This is reflected in the emphasis they are given in the Complutensian, the Antwerp and later polyglot Bible versions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As Jaroslav Pelikan has commented: 'most Christian biblical interpretation and Christian theological thought have been obliged to base themselves, in whole or in part, on translations of Sacred Scripture. The history of the Bible in the age of Renaissance and Reformation must therefore include attention to these translations, the Septuagint and the Vulgate – both of which, especially the Latin Vulgate, shaped the development of biblical studies and of biblical publishing. For even as they were criticizing the Vulgate, the scholars of the Renaissance saw themselves as the legitimate heirs of Jerome, emulating his scholarship even while coming to different results'.³⁴

Thus the Hebrew text used in the Antwerp polyglot is very much part of this humanist tradition, as was its chief editor, Benito Arias Montano. However it is worth noting that it was a departure in some ways from the Hebrew text used in the Complutensian Polyglot. The Spanish scholar and Hebraist Federico Perez Castro noted these major improvements, such as the addition of the full vowel and cantillation

³¹ See discussion of the oral tradition in the entry on Punctuation in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. X, pp. 268-273, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=606&letter=P&search=punctuation> [Accessed 01 July 2008].

³² Harry Y. Gamble notes that the Septuagint 'differs from the Hebrew Bible not only in language, but notably in content: beyond the 39 books of the Hebrew Bible, it offers 15 additional Jewish writings, most of which were composed in Greek rather than Hebrew'. He adds: 'For ancient Greek-speaking Jews who used the Septuagint, the Bible had a significantly different shape than for Jews who used the scripture in Hebrew'. Michelle P. Brown, ed., *In the Beginning: Bibles before the Year 1000*. (Washington: The Smithsonian Institution, 2006). p. 17.

³³ Other Jewish standards did develop, in particular the Karaite sect in the eighth century C.E. and its writings, but this sect, which rejected the Talmudic Rabbinic tradition, was not a central text in the transmission of the Bible by the Christian Hebraists. See William Chomsky, p. 120.

³⁴ Jaroslav Pelikan, 'The Other Face of the Renaissance', *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 50 (1997), p. 54.

marks, as well as a concordance with the Rabbinic Bible of Jacob Ben Chayim of 1524-25.³⁵

An important feature in the Antwerp Polyglot was the new division into numbered chapters and verse. Christian Ginsburg made the point that ‘as far as I can trace it, Arias Montanus was the first who broke up the Hebrew text into chapters and introduced the Hebrew numerals into the body of the text itself, in his splendid edition of the Hebrew Bible with an interlinear Latin translation, printed by Plantin in one folio volume in Antwerp, 1571’.³⁶ This was included in some editions of the Antwerp Polyglot in Volume VII, although Ginsburg calls these anti-Masoretic breaks a ‘pernicious practice.’ However, Ginsburg adds that ‘the Christian editors of the Complutensian Polyglot (1514-17) were the first who discarded the Masoretic sections and adopted the Christian chapters to harmonise with the Hebrew text with the Greek and Latin versions in the parallel columns. Though introducing new breaks, they give the number of chapters in Roman numerals but still in the margin’.³⁷

The Bomberg *Biblia Rabbinica*³⁸ produced a fixed and printed text of the Hebrew that became a basis for Jewish and Christian exegetes, as well as for future generations of Christian translators into the various vernacular tongues.³⁹

In summary, about seventy different Hebrew texts were published in the fifteenth century, including

³⁵ ‘El texto hebreo, que no solo apercio dotado de los signos de puntuacion vocalica y accentual que faltaban al de Alcalá, sino que ademas fue revisado a la luz del ultimo producto de los trabajos textuales de los escrituristas judios, a saber, la Biblia Rabinica de Ya’aqob Ben Hayim, 1524-25, origen de lo que despues llamariamos el *textus receptus* de A.T. hebreo.’ Federico Perez Castro, ‘La Biblia Regia de Arias Montano, Monumento de Ecumenismo Humanista en la España del Siglo XVI’, p. 19.

³⁶ Christian D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*. With a Prolegomenon by Harry M. Orlinsky: *The Masoretic Text: A Critical Evaluation* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1966), p. 107.

³⁷ Christian D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, p.25-26.

³⁸ Albert van der Heide has made a useful distinction between the polyglot principle and the idea of a rabbinic Bible. He writes: ‘the polyglot principle is fundamentally different from the idea of a Rabbinic Bible. It is concerned with the text of the Bible as it is transmitted in the various communities that studied it. It accepts the idea that the Hebrew has priority, “*Hebraica Veritas*” as Jerome put it, but it also values the contribution of the early translations to understand the Hebrew correctly. ... The Rabbinic Bible, on the other hand, reflects the idea that Jewish tradition is the best, even the sole door to the correct understanding of the word of God as revealed to Moses and the Prophet, *Rabbinica Veritas*, so to speak. ...From a modern scholarly point of view, the polyglot principle is more advanced than the Rabbinic Bible principle. But for the Christian Hebraists this was not necessarily the case. It is not difficult to see that both positions, which are not mutually exclusive, faithfully mirror the Catholic and the Protestant view on the authority of Scripture. Where Catholics believe in the authority of church and tradition, Protestants embrace the *Sola Scriptura* principle. For them the Bible is the sole and single source of religious authority.’ *Christopher Plantin and the Christian Hebraists*, unpublished paper delivered at the VIII Congress of European Association for Jewish Studies in Moscow, July 2006.

³⁹ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Whose Bible Is It? A History of the Scriptures through the Ages*, pp. 152 – 153.

biblical texts, commentaries, as well as rabbinical, linguistic, philosophical, historical and literary works. And 36 different Hebrew biblical editions had also appeared: 24 appeared in Italy and twelve survive from the Iberian Peninsula. Two-thirds of these editions consist solely of biblical texts, whilst one-third has been printed with an added commentary.⁴⁰ However, the major problem which no doubt explains the late appearance of the printed Hebrew Bible in relation to the Latin Bible first published by Gutenberg in the 1450s, was the problem of casting and setting the Hebrew vowel points and cantillation marks. There was the additional problem of finding suitably skilled typesetters, Jews or non-Jews, for this exacting work, however this issue did not cause a major problem to Plantin in his numerous Hebrew publications.

⁴⁰ A. K. Offenber, 'Hebrew Printing of the Bible in the XVth Century', in *The Bible as a Book: The First Printed Editions*, ed. by Paul Saenger and Kimberley Van Kampen (London and New Castle, Delaware: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 1999), p. 73.

Chapter 2: The Historical Background

Salo Wittmayer Baron was noted for his distinction between the 'lachrymose conception of Jewish history' and the 'non-lachrymose conception of Jewish history'.⁴¹ The former saw Jewish history in the Diaspora as little more than the result of Christian contempt, expulsions, confrontations and pogroms. The latter idea was a more measured view and saw the Jews as an often problematic, yet important part of the societies in which they lived.⁴²

The sixteenth century is a period rich in contradictory tendencies, which often make it difficult to reconcile the positions of various key figures. As an example, the main driving personality behind the Complutensian Polyglot, Cardinal Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros (1436 – 1517) was a 'a major architect of Spain's ethnic cleansing',⁴³ a key figure in the Spanish Inquisition, and was responsible for the forced conversions of both Jews and Moors, as well as mass book burnings of Arabic books.⁴⁴ Yet he was also responsible for the founding of the University of Alcalá in 1508, which represented 'all that was best in the native humanism of Spain'⁴⁵ and the *Collegium Trilinguale*, (the College of the Three Languages: Latin, Greek and Hebrew).⁴⁶ For the compilation of the Complutensian Polyglot, Ximenes employed a team that included such noted conversos as Paul Coronel, a professor of theology at Salamanca and Alphonso de Zamora.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969).

⁴² The period in which the Antwerp Polyglot appeared, needs to be seen in the light of one of the major cataclysms of Jewish history: the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and the subsequent expulsions from Portugal. Indeed, Baron himself once wrote that 'le XVIe siècle est un point culminant de l'historiographie juive', yet Robert Bonfil commented that 'for Jewish historiography, radical change could indeed be achieved only in one of two ways: by transforming the Jews into actors of political and military history, or by radically changing the very conception of history. But while the first alternative was obviously ruled out under the diaspora conditions in which the Jewish people lived, the time had not yet come for the second, and most certainly not for the rejection of the "lachrymose conception of Jewish History", as Baron would have it.' See Robert Bonfil, 'How Golden Was the Age of the Renaissance in Jewish Historiography?', *History and Theory*, 27 (1988), pp. 78, 102.

⁴³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 688.

⁴⁴ Joseph Perez, *The Spanish Inquisition: a History* (London: Profile, 2006), pp. 59, 181.

⁴⁵ Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: an Historical Revision*. [New ed.] edn (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997), p. 78.

⁴⁶ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700*, p. 84.

⁴⁷ James Lyell, *Cardinal Ximenes, Statesman, Ecclesiastic, Soldier, and Man of Letters. With an Account of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible*, (London: Grafton & Co., 1917), p. 25. See also Mariano Revilla Rico, *La Poliglota de Alcala [i.e. the Polyglot Bible printed at Alcala]. Estudio historico-critico*, Madrid, 1917, pp. THIS FOOTNOTE CONTINUES ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE.

Erasmus, yet another example, was perhaps the greatest Christian Humanist of the sixteenth century. Yet he was a ‘notable hater of Jews’ and said on one occasion that ‘I see the Jews as a nation full of most tedious fabrications who spread a kind of fog over everything: Talmud, Cabala, Tetragrammaton, Gates of Light – words, words, words. I would rather have Christ mixed up with Scotus rather than with that rubbish of their’. Finally, Martin Luther partook of the general Humanist atmosphere to compile his German translation of the Bible from the Hebrew, yet is equally well known for his infamous treatise *On the Jews and their Lies* of 1543.⁴⁸

The same contradictory tendencies were evident in the Antwerp Polyglot, however with less vehemence, where the influence of the Family of Love sect⁴⁹ on some of its contributors was a constant undercurrent in a work dedicated at least on the surface to the ideals of the Catholic Counter Reformation.⁵⁰

In his dedication to Pope Leo X in the first volume of the Complutensian Polyglot, Cardinal Ximenes set out a reasoning and set of objectives which, it can be argued, are still very relevant to the Antwerp Polyglot and have a direct relevance to the renewed interest in the study of the Hebrew original text.⁵¹

20-24: ‘The learned qualification of the three Converso editors who worked on the compilation of the Biblia Complutensis makes it an especially important version for its time. Alfonso de Zamora was, according to one writer, a ‘gramático, filósofo, y Talmudista insigne entre los suyos, y persona docta en el latín, griego, hebreo y caldeo’ and Pablo Coronel, also showed a ‘grande erudición’ in these languages.’

⁴⁸ MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700*, pp.132-33, pp. 689 –690.

⁴⁹ For more detailed discussion of the role of the Family of Love in the Antwerp Polyglot and in Plantin's production more generally, see works by Alastair Hamilton and Jean Moss Dietz listed in the bibliography. Robert Wilkinson argues against the claim that the Antwerp Polyglot was a Family of Love ‘project’ (Robert J. Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 28-33.

⁵⁰ The Family of Love (or Familism), first under the guidance of Henrik Niclaes and later Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt (known as Hiël), does not appear to have had a political agenda, but a more purely mystical goal, which saw no contradiction between the needs of an established church (whether Catholic or Protestant) and a deeper personal religious observance. For further discussion about Plantin's mystical philosophy and a reported conversation about Plantin's views on established religions, see Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp, Etc. Vol. 1. Christophe Plantin and the Moretuses: their lives and their work*, (Amsterdam: Vangendt & Co, 1972), pp. 26-30.

⁵¹ The original text reads: ‘No translation can fully and exactly represent the sense of the original, at least in that language in which our Saviour himself spoke. The Mss. of the Latin Vulgate differ so much one from another that one cannot help suspecting some alterations must have been made, principally through the ignorance and negligence of the copyists. It is necessary, therefore (as St Jerome and St Augustine desired), that we should go back to the origin of the sacred writings, and correct the books of the Old Testament by the Hebrew text, and those of the New Testament by the Greek text. ...Every theologian should also be able to drink of that water which springeth up to eternal life, at the fountainhead itself. This is the reason, therefore, why we have ordered the Bible to be printed in the original language with different translations. ...To
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Two key movements of the sixteenth century lay behind the production of the great Polyglot Bibles: Christian Humanism and Christian Hebraism.⁵² The Humanism that arose in the Renaissance has been defined as a ‘refocusing of old learning, a new concentration on and a new respect for sections of traditional scholarship which medieval universities considered of secondary importance ... and a love of words which could be used to change human society for the better’.⁵³ The link to Hebrew and Jewish learning, especially the study of the Kabbalah, is seen in the writings of important Christian Hebraists from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries and with all of these scholars the link to the Antwerp Polyglot runs directly from Ficino down to Guillaume Postel, who played a key role in the inclusion of the Syraic text in the New Testament sections of the Polyglot.⁵⁴

Four main motives have been identified as contributing to the growth and interest in Hebrew studies in the sixteenth century: firstly, a growing interest in the Kabbalah, ‘which encouraged Christians to learn from Jews’; secondly, the desire of Renaissance humanists to bring about a *restitutio christianismi* and the development of sound learning based on an appeal to *ad fontes*; thirdly, the demand of the Protestant reformers for vernacular translations of the Bible made from the original languages; and finally the discovery that rabbinic expositions of key scriptural passages could be quoted in support of doctrinal disputations with the papal authorities. All These reasons ... led to closer contact between Jews and some Christians, and a greater understanding of rabbinic scholarship.⁵⁵

The role of the Christian Kabbalists⁵⁶ in the genesis of the Antwerp Polyglot was quite decisive. Robert Wilkinson maintains that ‘much of the work ... was a continuation of the work of a small group of northern oriental scholars who previously worked on similar biblical projects’. He deals in particular with

accomplish this task we have been obliged to have recourse to the knowledge of the most able philologists, and to make researches in every direction for the best and most ancient Hebrew and Greek MSS. Our object is to revive the hitherto dormant study of the sacred Scriptures.’ Cited in James Lyell, *Cardinal Ximenes, Statesman, Ecclesiastic, Soldier, and Man of Letters. With an Account of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible* (London: Grafton & Co., 1917) p. 25.

⁵² For further discussion of these two movements, see Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff, Judaism through Christian Eyes*.

⁵³ MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided: 1490-1700*, p. 77.

⁵⁴ For example Marsilio Ficino (2nd half of fifteenth century), Count Giovanni Pico de Mirandolo (ca. 1463-1486), Johannes Reuchlin (1455 – 1522) Francesco Giorgio (1460-1541), Guillaume Postel (1510-1581), Sebastian Münster (1489-1512) and Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (seventeenth century).

⁵⁵ Gareth Lloyd Jones, ‘Book Review of Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (Eds), ‘Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe’, *Renaissance Studies*, 20 (2006), p. 97.

⁵⁶ This is Robert Wilkinson’s description. See *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, p.x.

the contributions of Andreas Masius, Guillaume Postel, Jean Boulaese, and Guy Lefèvre de la Broderie, all with the exception of Boulaese, being major contributors to the Antwerp Polyglot. Wilkinson describes their basic motivation as being ‘interested in reading not only Hebrew, but also other oriental languages like Syriac, in a mystical fashion to discover deep hidden truths’.⁵⁷

There may be a further historical connection between the Jewish Kabbalistic tradition and the Christian interpretative tradition of the Scriptures. In Jewish Kabbalistic thought there is the conception of *Pardes* (literally meaning orchard or paradise) in which ‘P stands for *peshat* or the literal meaning, R for *remez* or the allegorical meaning, D for *derasha* or the Talmudic and Aggadic interpretation, and S for *sod* or the mystical meaning’.⁵⁸ The equivalent Christian fourfold exegesis was that put forward by the fourteenth century biblical exegete Nicholas of Lyra (ca. 1270-1349).⁵⁹ Gershom Scholem maintains that the Kabbalists probably derived this conception from Christians and that ‘the simultaneous appearance of the idea in three Kabbalistic authors ...suggests that they had somewhere come across this idea of four meanings and adopted it. One is almost forced to conclude that they were influenced by Christian hermeneutics. The *Zohar*’s account of the four levels shows a striking resemblance to the Christian conception.’⁶⁰

This was the interpretation used by Cardinal Cisneros in the Complutensian Bible⁶¹ and it seems likely that the scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot were not overly eager to replace the authority of the Vulgate, but more interested in *improving* on it by using more recent translations such as the Sancte Pagnino. Robert Wilkinson argues that ‘the Polyglot and specifically the Syriac New Testament are to be seen as a continuation of the type of Orientalism that was characteristic of early sixteenth-century Catholic scholars and is marked by a developed kabbalism far more pronounced than that brought from Spain by Montano.

⁵⁷ Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, p. x.

⁵⁸ Gershom Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 57.

⁵⁹ In *Postilla Literalis in Vetum et Novum Testamentum: Quo tendas anagogia/Littera gesta docet/Quid credas allegoria/ Moralis quid agis/ Quo tendas anagogia* or *The Literal teaches us what happened, the Allegorical what you believe, the Moral how to behave and the Anagogic about the last things*. Cited by Robert J. Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, p. 8.

⁶⁰ Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, p. 61.

⁶¹ Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1992) p. 8.

... He (Montano) had a high view of the Hebrew text and a disposition to interpret it both literally and mystically'.⁶²

A sign of the growth of Christian Hebraism from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century can be seen in the list of some 1300 works in Latin on matters relating to Judaism compiled by Carlo Giuseppe Imbonati in 1694.⁶³ Pelikan has noted that 'it was a major and abiding achievement of the biblical humanism of the Renaissance to make it mandatory for Christian interpreters of the Bible ... to learn to read it in the original languages. This meant more and more that Western exegetes, who had known the Bible only in Latin Vulgate, had to learn Greek. Thanks to Reuchlin and his associates, many of them also had to learn Hebrew and thanks to him they were able to do so.' He is referring here, of course to Reuchlin's key work, *De rudimentis hebraicis* (1506), which became 'the instrument of the Biblical Humanists'.⁶⁴

Three key concepts – *Hebraica Veritas*, *ad Fontes* and *Sola Scriptura* – can be said to have contributed to the growth of Christian Humanism, Christian Hebraism and what Robert Wilkinson has called Christian Kabbalism.⁶⁵ They also informed the background to the Antwerp Polyglot Bible.

The first of these concepts, *Hebraica Veritas*, dates from the period when St. Jerome was undertaking his translation of the MT into Latin and can be rendered as 'the truth in Hebrew'.⁶⁶ It was 'an idea especially promoted by St. Jerome, and often against fierce opposition, from those...who saw the Septuagint as the only true and legitimate, indeed divinely inspired version of the Old Testament'.⁶⁷

The idea of *Hebraica Veritas* only took root in the sixteenth century when 'printing, Protestantism, and humanism helped many scholars overcome these factors and limitations – the unavailability of Hebrew written materials outside the Jewish community, a curious lack of interest in grammar and philology also hampering Greek and Latin studies, and the enormous veneration for Jerome's Vulgate though many Hebraists continued to boast of the difficulties endured in learning Hebrew'.⁶⁸

⁶² Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, pp. 11, 37.

⁶³ The Bibliotheca latino-hebraica. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes*, p. 66

⁶⁴ Pelikan, *Whose Bible Is It? A History of the Scriptures through the Ages* pp. 152, 158-59.

⁶⁵ Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, p. x.

⁶⁶ Pelikan, *Whose Bible Is It? A History of the Scriptures through the Ages* p. 124.

⁶⁷ 'Jerome Rebenich, "The "Vir Trilinguis" and the "Hebraica Veritas"', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 47 (1993), p. 52.

⁶⁸ Jerome Friedman 'Sixteenth Century Christian-Hebraica: Scripture and Renaissance Myth of the Past', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 11 (1980), p. 68.

The second critical concept, *ad Fontes*,⁶⁹ achieved a new status in the Renaissance, for as one writer has commented, ‘with *ad fontes* as the battle cry of Renaissance humanism, it was necessary for biblical translators to return to the original texts and ... Hebrew biblical translation was an important aspect of humanism’.⁷⁰

The third concept, *Sola Scriptura*, belongs very much to the ethos of the Reformation and the idea ‘that the Bible should itself be its own interpretative authority’.⁷¹ This was certainly a continuation of the educational reforms advocated by the Renaissance Humanists and ‘emphasized the supreme (or even sole) authority of the Scriptures and the central importance of the Old Testament in Hebrew and the New Testament in Greek’.⁷² This concept would no doubt have been viewed as heresy by the Catholic Church.⁷³

And it follows that to reach the true word of God, the Protestant reformers would have shared the idea with other Christian Humanists that one must know and understand what God said in the first place, and that in the original language of the text – Hebrew. It is indicative that Luther is said to have exclaimed: ‘Dear God, it is such hard work to make the Hebrew writers speak German!’⁷⁴

What, then, was the state of Jewish society during this early modern period in western Europe?

Jonathan Israel has characterized the period beginning about the middle decades of the sixteenth century as a turning point and a period of ‘radical transformation of Jewish culture’, – ‘a historical phenomenon of the first significance.....which marks the real beginning of modern Jewish history’. One characteristic of this new period was the beginning of a ‘tentative readmission of Jewry into western and central Europe’ and the development of ‘an altogether more rounded, complete, and coherent Jewish culture’.⁷⁵ This new Jewish culture, as opposed to the older Talmudic-based culture, was both inward and outward looking:

⁶⁹ Literally, Return to the Sources.

⁷⁰ Rashkow, ‘Hebrew Bible Translation and the Fear of Judaization’, p. 219.

⁷¹ Kermode, ‘Wars over the Printed Word’, *The New York Review of Books*, LIV (2007), p. 50.

⁷² Pelikan, *Whose Bible Is It? A History of the Scriptures through the Ages* p. 159.

⁷³ Patrick Collinson has commented that ‘the formulation “Word of God”, which among Protestants especially became a synonym of the Bible, made the elusive abstraction “the Word” hard and fast, more concrete, anchoring it in biblical texts, which were given a new and absolute authority: *sola scriptura*. The Church was to be validated by the Bible, not the Bible by the Church’. Patrick Collinson, *The Reformation* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003), p. 27.

⁷⁴ Collinson, *The Reformation*, p. 36.

⁷⁵ Jonathan Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*. 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 35.

From around 1550, by contrast, Jewish scholars, in Italy and all parts of Europe, lived and worked in a cultural atmosphere increasingly removed from that of their neighbours, even though, and here is the central paradox, in close touch and constantly interacting with it. (my emphasis).⁷⁶

The context of these major changes was ‘the near-destruction of Jewish religion, learning, and life in western and central Europe’ during the period 1470 to 1580 and a situation in which ‘...in Germany and Italy, where the last remnants persisted, Jewish life had suffered a drastic contraction. Economically, the role of the Jews had been reduced to an extremely narrow span of functions’.⁷⁷

Israel also notes the ‘tentative readmission of Jewry into western and central Europe from the 1570s onward’ and that the ‘transformation in European Jewry’s status was rapid, dramatic and profound’, and ‘was merely a symptom of the more general revolution which convulsed and renewed western life and thought at the close of the sixteenth century’.⁷⁸

Antwerp was thus situated at one of the fault lines between the developing Protestant and Catholic worlds, between the spheres of influence demarcated by the Protestant-leaning northern Netherlands and the southern portion strongly held by the Catholic Philip II of Spain and thus was very much prone to influences and pressures from both sides. This was evident in the treatment of William Tyndale earlier in the century, and in the fact that Antwerp became a major centre for the printing of dissident printing during the sixteenth century.⁷⁹ It was not entirely by accident that Plantin chose to come to Antwerp in the 1540s,⁸⁰ as it was then at its height of commercial success.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*, p. 71.

⁷⁷ Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*, p. 23.

⁷⁸ Jonathan Israel also argues that ‘the whole sixteenth century was an age of turmoil’ and that ‘pre-1570 western Europe was a Christian world. All its more articulate minds were filled with a total and sufficient sense of possessing truth and the true explanation of things. ... During the final third of the sixteenth century, however, Israel maintains that ‘both Reformation and Counter-Reformation lost their former momentum and the hitherto universal Christian foundations of western culture began to crack and contract’. Jonathan Israel, p. 35-36.

⁷⁹ For further discussion of Antwerp and its role in the sixteenth century, see Plantin-Moretus Museum, *Antwerpen, Dissident Drukkerscentrum: De Rol van de Antwerpse Drukkers in de Godsdienstsrijd in Engeland (16de Eeuw)*, Publikaties van het Museum Plantin-Moretus en het Stedelijk Prentenkabinet; Nr. 31. (Antwerpen: Stad Antwerpen: Museum Plantin-Moretus: Stedelijk Prentenkabinet: Snoek-Ducaju & Zoon, 1994). See also Guido Marnef, ‘Protestant Conversions in an Age of Catholic Reformation: The Case of Sixteenth Century Antwerp’, in *The Low Countries as a crossroads of religious beliefs* edited by Arie-Jan Gelderblom, Jan L. de Jong, Marc van Vaecck. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004.), pp. 33-47.

⁸⁰ Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 12. Clair notes that Plantin became a ‘poorter or burgess of the city in 1550’.

⁸¹ See John Murray, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Brueghel*, (Centers of Civilization Series) Norman: THIS FOOTNOTE CONTINUES ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE.

There was indeed a Jewish presence in Antwerp during the sixteenth century, as mainly Spanish and Portuguese ‘New Christians’ had settled in Antwerp.⁸² It was often quite difficult to distinguish between old Christians and new Christians, as both Catholics and Jews were classified as belonging to the Portuguese ‘nation’. It does appear, however, that most of the Portuguese doctors were Marranos and that several notable families — such as the Nuñez or de Castro, took a more openly Jewish identity once settled in Antwerp. Another family, the Ximénes, are known to have had connections with Plantin and to have loaned him money.⁸³ The Spanish merchant Luis Perez, probably of New Christian origin,⁸⁴ helped Plantin out financially on numerous occasions and most notably with the purchase of 400 copies of the Polyglot Bible for 16,800 florins in 1572. Luiz Perez also assisted Plantin and his family during the Spanish Fury of November 1576, when he ‘advanced the ransom money to pay off the marauding Spanish troops for the ninth time, which ‘saved his (Plantin’s) life and possibly that of his family’.⁸⁵ The various upheavals, such as the sack of Antwerp of 1576, ‘caused most of the Antwerp Portuguese to disperse’.⁸⁶ Thus it can be said with some certainty that Plantin had little direct contact with the orthodox Jewish community, but it is clear that he *did* have contact with many Spanish and Portuguese conversos or New Christians for business purposes, as well as some converted Jews, such as Isaac Johann Levita, the author of the first Hebrew book published by Plantin in 1564, the *Grammatica Hebraea*.⁸⁷ Of even greater interest is the fact that Levita spent a year as a house guest of Plantin during the period 1563 to 1564,

University of Oklahoma Press, 1970).

⁸² Steven Nadler has commented that ‘by the 1570s, Antwerp had a converso community numbering around 500. Most of the Portuguese in Antwerp were probably not Judaizers, but many undoubtedly were’. Steven M. Nadler, *Spinoza: a Life*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 5.

⁸³ Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen: (1567-1648): Zur Geschichte E. Minderheit*. 1. Aufl. edn, Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Beihefte; Nr. 63. (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), p. 194, 343, and 351.

⁸⁴ Raymond B. Waddington, ‘Graven Images: 16th Century Portrait Medals of Jews’, in *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After*, ed. by Raymond B. Waddington and Arthur H. Williamson (New York and London: Garland Pub, 1994), p. 99. Waddington mentions that Luiz Perez’ son (Marcus Perez) married Ursula Lopes (daughter of Martin Lopes, ‘a wealthy New Christian merchant from Antwerp’). Another cousin married Pierre Eyquem de Montaigne in 1529 and became the mother of Michel de Montaigne (b. 1533). There is a medal of Ursula in her 18th year when she married Marcus Perez. ‘Such an alliance of wealthy Marrano families suggests a financial merger more than a romance, but the primary attractions may have been religious sympathy. Ursula’s brother Martin and Marcus Perez soon would distinguish themselves in the Antwerp Calvinist community’.

⁸⁵ Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 75, p. 133.

⁸⁶ Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*, p. 50.

⁸⁷ Levita was a ‘German professor of Hebrew (1515 – 1577). In 1556 he wrote a Hebrew grammar, the last of the five editions of which was published at Antwerp in 1570’. Article on Isaac Levita in *the Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, pp.46-49, and Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, Vol I, p. 367.

while overseeing the printing of his own *Grammatica Hebraea Absolutissima*, and a new edition of Santes Pagninus's *Thesaurus linguae sanctae*.⁸⁸

The group which Plantin gathered around him for the production of the Antwerp Polyglot were not Jews, but in many cases had a profound affinity for Judaism and Jewish literature.⁸⁹ Franciscus (or Frans) Raphelengius, his future son-in-law and proofreader at the Golden Compasses where he had worked since 1564, was an outstanding linguist and helped to supervise the Polyglot project.⁹⁰ Raphelengius had produced the Hebrew bibles of 1566⁹¹ and later became professor of Hebrew at the University of Leiden⁹² where he devoted himself mainly to Arabic.⁹³ As another example, Andreas Masius (Andreas van Maes) was an influential German Hebraist and a direct link to the highly controversial Guillaume Postel, an important figure in the genesis of the Antwerp Polyglot.⁹⁴

Voet notes that 'Plantin's circle was ... predominantly Catholic' and 'until 1576 the Protestants among his acquaintances could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and naturally they were almost exclusively foreigners or fellow countrymen abroad'.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ Stephen Burnett, 'Christian Hebrew Printing in the 16th Century: Printers, Humanism and the Impact of the Reformation', *Helmantica* 51 (2000), p. 28.

⁸⁹ For a more comprehensive discussion of the intellectual and spiritual contact surrounding the Plantin Press, see Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantinana at Antwerp, Etc.* Vol. 1. Christophe Plantin and the Moretuses: their lives and their work, (Amsterdam: Vangendt & Co, 1972), pp. 362-395.

⁹⁰ Raphelengius' abilities in Hebrew and other languages was confirmed by Plantin himself in March 1576 when, in his role as Prototypographus, he approved a *Certificat delivrés aux Maîtres* to 'François de Raphlenghien, natif du Launay, en Flandres, aagé d'environ 37 ans, ...et de ma part je tesmoigne qu'il a aprins l'art d'imprimerie, par l'espace de treize ans ou environ, m'ayant servi de correcteur en mon imprimerie, et gouverné mesmes les ouvriers, et de fait, il y est fort expert et sçavant ès langues latine, grecque, hébraïcque, chaldée, siricque, arabe, François, flamenghe et autres vulgaires'. Ph. Rombouts, 'Certificats delivrés aux Imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin', *Antwerpsche Bibliophile Uitgaven*, Vols. 10-12, 1881, p. 42.

⁹¹ Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, p. 67.

⁹² Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 160.

⁹³ Eva Hanebutt-Benz, Dagmar Glass, Geoffrey Roper, and Theo Smets, eds., 'Type Specimens of Oriental Scripts' in *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter: A Catalogue and Companion to the Exhibition/Sprachen des Nahen Ostens und die Druckrevolution* (Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002.), p. 20.

⁹⁴ William J. Bouwsma, 'Postel and the Significance of Renaissance Cabalism', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 15 (1954), p. 220.

⁹⁵ Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantinana at Antwerp, Etc.* Vol. 1. p. 386.

Chapter 3: The Antwerp Polyglot and its Precedents

The Antwerp Polyglot is generally thought of as the second of the great Polyglot Bibles, coming some fifty years after the Complutensian Polyglot. However there were several prior attempts to create such a work, some dating back to the early Christian era.

The first attempt, and the one that was surely known to Benito Arias Montano from his studies both at the Universities of Seville and Alcalá,⁹⁶ was the *Hexapla*, compiled by Origen of Alexandria in the early third century. This was in effect a comparative version of the Septuagint, itself dating from the third century BCE,⁹⁷ which contained the Hebrew text, a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew text, and four Greek translations, including the Septuagint. Although the *Hexapla* only survived in fragments, Pelikan maintains that ‘it served as a model that became more practicable with the invention of printing, leading to one of the towering achievements of biblical scholarship and sacred philology in the Spanish Renaissance: the Complutensian Polyglot’.⁹⁸ It also was highly influential in St Jerome’s translation of the Old Testament.⁹⁹

The *Septuagint* was written for ‘the Jews of Alexandria and other centres in Egypt who had so forgotten their mother tongue Hebrew that, already in the third century BCE, they could no longer read or study the Bible in the original. In the course of the next century or so a Greek translation of the Old Testament, the Septuagint, was made for them, and they used it in study and in prayer much the same way as the preceding generations had used the Hebrew original’. When Origen came to create the *Hexapla*, he faced a different problem as the ‘Christians from the very beginning adopted the Septuagint as their own, thereby compelling the Jews to fall back upon the Hebrew Bible, which they were no longer able to read in the original ... But for the Christians the task had just begun, for not only did their Bible, the Septuagint, differ from the current Hebrew text, or as they called it, the *veritas hebraica*, but the very term “Septuagint” had become meaningless in that hardly any two of the numerous Greek Mss. of the Old

⁹⁶ Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598*, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁷ Brown, *In the Beginning*, p. 10.

⁹⁸ Pelikan, ‘The Other Face of the Renaissance’, p. 61.

⁹⁹ Rebenich, ‘Jerome: The “Vir Trilinguis” and the “Hebraica Veritas”’, p. 52.

Testament, each one claiming to represent the original Greek translation, agreed with each other'.¹⁰⁰

Orlinsky argues that 'Origen devoted a goodly portion of time and energy to developing a system whereby the Hebrew could be reproduced through the medium of Greek consonants and vowels as perfectly as was possible. That he wished to preserve the current pronunciation of the Hebrew is quite clear'. Furthermore, Orlinsky maintains that 'the only reason for which the order of the six columns was drawn up, was the desire of Origen to provide his fellow Christians with a textbook wherewith to learn Hebrew'.¹⁰¹ Thus one can view the *Hexapla* as a model for subsequent Polyglots and one which demonstrated the need to transmit the original Hebrew biblical texts to a new audience.

With the advent of printing in the fifteenth century, and the resolution of the technical problems regarding the setting of non-Latin languages such as Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac, the way was open for multilingual printed versions of the Bible. The first of these is the sample page produced by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1501. (See illustration 24 in Appendix C.) Aldus was the first Christian printer in Venice to use Hebrew characters in print, and specimens occur in a 1498 edition of Angelus Politanus' *Opera* and in the 1499 edition of the well-known *Hypertomachia Poliphili* of Francesco Colonna. These same Hebrew founts were most likely used in the Polyglot sample and it appears to have been Aldus' intention to issue a Pentateuch and an Old Testament in this format.¹⁰²

In 1516 the Christian Hebraist Agostino Giustiniani published his *Psalterium Hebraecum, Graecum, Arabicum & Chaldaeum, cum tribus latinis interpretationibus & glossis* in Genoa. (See illustrations 20 and 21 in Appendix C.) This Psalter contained the Psalms in five languages, the Hebrew text,¹⁰³ a Latin

¹⁰⁰ Orlinsky, 'The Columnar Order of the Hexapla', pp.136-139.

¹⁰¹ Orlinsky, 'The Columnar Order of the Hexapla', p. 148.

¹⁰² Bloch, *Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books*, p. 72 and 73, See note 8. Delaveau, *Bibles Imprimées du XVe au XVIIIe Siècle Conservées à Paris: Catalogue Collectif* p. 18 The only extant copy of this specimen is to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF MSS Grec 3064, f. 86), where it is described as 'Spécimen impr. en vue de la publication d'une bible polyglotte qui n'a jamais paru. Sur 3 col., texte hébreu, grec et latin des 14 premiers versets de la Genèse'.

¹⁰³ David Amram notes that 'no Jew was permitted to participate in the publication of this edition' and, 'although Hebrew letters were ardently cultivated by educated Genoese, the Doge Ottaviano Fregoso was decreeing the exile from Genoa of all its Jewish residents'. However it does not appear that the Hebrew founts in this edition were ever reused and they appear less polished than those Hebrew founts later used by Aldus, and eventually those used by Plantin in the Antwerp Polyglot. See Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy: Being Chapters in the History of the Hebrew Printing Press*, p. 227.

translation, the Vulgate, the Greek Septuagint, an Arabic text, the Targum and a Latin translation of it,¹⁰⁴ plus marginal scholia based largely on rabbinic sources.¹⁰⁵ This edition, being ‘a monument to Renaissance typography’¹⁰⁶ can be seen as a major predecessor and is notable for the appearance of Arabic and a first description of the discovery of America, as well as playing a considerable role in spreading the knowledge of Arabic.¹⁰⁷

There were yet other abortive attempts at a Polyglot Bible in the sixteenth century, notably those of the Lutheran theologian Johannes Draconites in Wittenberg and that of Antoine Rodolphe Le Chevalier, professor of Hebrew at Strasbourg and Genoa.¹⁰⁸

The immediate predecessor to the Antwerp Polyglot was the Alcalá Complutensian (*Biblia Complutensis*),¹⁰⁹ the first major printed Polyglot Bible, and it was in fact Plantin’s original idea to produce a slightly revised version of this Bible in six volumes and in four languages (Hebrew, Chaldaic/Aramaic, Greek and Latin).¹¹⁰ The Complutensian had become extremely scarce since its publication in 1517, due to a low print run and the loss of a large number of copies when sent by sea to Italy.¹¹¹ One rather curious aspect of the *Biblia Complutensis* is that the Vulgate Latin text occupies a central position between the Hebrew text (left hand column) and the Septuagint Greek version (with interlinear Latin translation). This position has a particular Christological significance as ‘just as Christ was crucified between two thieves, so the Roman Church, represented by St. Jerome’s version, is crucified between the synagogue represented by the Hebrew text, and Eastern Church, denoted by the Greek version’.¹¹² The Hebrew text itself does have vowel points (*nikkud* in Hebrew), however it does not

¹⁰⁴ Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation*, (Boston and Leiden: Leiden, 2007), p. 55.

¹⁰⁵ Valmadonna Trust, *Hebraica, saec. X ad saec. XVI: manuscripts and early printed books from the Library of the Valmadonna Trust: an exhibition at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York*, item 18

¹⁰⁶ Valmadonna Trust, *Hebraica, saec. X ad saec. XVI*, op. cit.

¹⁰⁷ Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁸ Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 62.

¹⁰⁹ For full description of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, see Revilla Rico (*La Poliglota de Alcalá [i.e. the Polyglot Bible printed at Alcalá]. Estudio historico-critico*), Lyell (*Cardinal Ximenes, Statesman, Ecclesiastic, Soldier, and Man of Letters. With an Account of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible*), Abad (*The Printing Press at Alcalá de Henares*) and Wilkinson (*The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*).

¹¹⁰ Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, Vol I, p. 60.

¹¹¹ Abad, ‘The Printing Press at Alcalá de Henares’, p. 106.

¹¹² Pick, ‘History of the Printed Editions of the Old Testament, together with a Description of the Rabbinic and Polyglot Bibles’, pp. 56-57 also noted by Dickens, *Counter Reformation*, p. 46. The crucifixion between the
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represent the traditional masoretic use of nikkud.¹¹³ There are no cantillation marks used, with the exception of the *atnah*, which indicates a main pause in the verse.¹¹⁴ The Hebrew text is accompanied by the roots of some Hebrew verbs, following the *Masora Parva* style in the margin, with a small superscript letter corresponding to the relevant Hebrew word. Yet another interesting feature of the Hebrew text, and one indicating its didactic purpose of encouraging the greater understanding of the original Biblical text, was the addition of a small angled sign above the letters lamed (ל), Kopf (כ), bet (ב), mem (מ), heh (ה) and shin (ש), where they act as prefixed particles and indicate that they do not belong to the basic word root.¹¹⁵

Some of the Hebrew manuscript sources used for both the Complutensian and later in the Antwerp Polyglot have been identified. There is a fifteenth-century *Biblia Hebraea* in the Escorial library,¹¹⁶ which was first used by Alfonso de Zamora and later by Benito Arias Montano, and contains a number of codicological and textual irregularities. For example, Zamora followed the scribal practice and wrote the Latin names of the books of the bible in the top margins all the folios, and the corresponding chapter numbers in the side margin. He also inserted the chapter divisions which appear in the Polyglot Bible, as well as changing the Hebrew Books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles to the Latin titles Kings I & II, Kings III & IV, and I & II of Paralipomena. In addition, there is a copy of the *Variae lectiones bibliorum hebraicorum* in the Bibliotheca Nacional in Madrid. This is ‘una lista de variantes en lecturas de la Biblia, hecha por Francisco Rafaelengio y fechado en el siglo XVI’.¹¹⁷ No doubt a closer comparison of this

two thieves has also been related in exegesis to a possibly misinterpreted passage in the Old Latin version of Habbakuk 3:2 ‘In medio duorum animalium cognosceris’ (between two beasts you will recognise him – Christ), and has also been seen in the images of two sea beasts (hippocamps) on the reverse side of the Kilduncan stone discovered in 2003. See Douglas A. Spiers, ‘Unravelling the Secret of Scotland’s newest Early Christian Stone’, <http://www.historyscotland.com/features/earlychristianstone.html> [Accessed 13 June 2008] and Benedicta Ward, ‘In medium duorum animalium’: Bede and Jerome on the Canticle of Habakkuk.’ *Studia Patristica* 25 (1993), 189-193. It is curious to note that the alternate translation with the ‘beast reference’, is used in the Latin translation of the Greek Septuagint in the Antwerp Polyglot, Vol. IV in the Book of Habakkuk.

¹¹³ There are many instances of mixed usage between, for example, the *patah* and *qamats* (equivalent to the vowel sound *a*), or between the *tsere* and *segol* (equivalent to the vowel sound *e*).

¹¹⁴ I am indebted to Dr. Javier del Barco of the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales for this information.

¹¹⁵ Spottorno, ‘The Textural Significance of Polyglot Bibles’, *Sefarad*, 62/2002, pp. 371 and 381.

¹¹⁶ Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, G.II.8.

¹¹⁷ This attribution is confirmed by Teresa Ortega Monasterio, who writes that ‘en la biblioteca de El Escorial existe otra biblia completa, el manuscrito G-II-8, que comparte algunas de las características de las dos anteriores, en cuanto a escritura, masoras y utilización, ya que procede de la colección personal de Arias Montano y fue utilizada para la composición de la Políglota de Amberes o Biblia Regia. También tiene las características anotaciones en tinta roja de numeraciones y títulos de libros de la mano de Alfonso de Zamora. Las masoras parva y magna aparecen solamente en el Pentateuco, pero tienen la misma apariencia que las masoras de los dos manuscritos anteriores’. She also notes that ‘el manuscrito, dado su contenido y
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manuscript with the Antwerp Polyglot would provide further useful information as to the sources and motivation of Arias Montano and his collaborators.

autor, parece tener relación con la composición de la Políglota de Amberes. Es fácil que fuera utilizado en esa ciudad y que fuera traído por Arias Montano o por uno de sus colaboradores'. Teresa Ortega Monasterio, *Manuscritos Bíblicos Hebreos en Bibliotecas Españolas*, *MEAH*, sección Hebreo 53 (2004), pp. 218-219, 22.



Page from the Complutensian Polyglot Bible from Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible*, (London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 2001), p. 222 .

Turning now to the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, the main impulses behind its production can be summarised in the following major themes.

- Plantin's status as a scholarly publisher, humanist and businessman: As he wrote in a letter to the Flemish orientalist and scholar, Andreas Maes (Masius) on the 26 February 1565, 'Quant à la Bible en Hébreu avec le Targum j'ay pourparlé avec aucuns d'imprimer Biblia Complutensia et d'y adjouster led[ite] Targum sur le total at desjà ay je trouvé qui veulent y employer 3000 ecus, ...' He then added 'Quant à moy je m'estimerois heureux pouvoir estre (l'imprimeur) en oeuvre de si grande importance pour la religion Chrestienne et à laquelle favorisans les princes de ce temps, ils s'aquerroyent plus d'honneur solide que de choses qu'ils se pourroyent adviser. Car quiconques y aideroit ne nous trouveroit jamais ingrats à faire honneste mention de leur faveur envers nous'.¹¹⁸ This is in fact the first mention by Plantin of his plan to print the Antwerp Polyglot, and emphasizes the risks Plantin was prepared to take over a wide variety of projects and his scholarly ambitions for the Officina Plantiniana.

- Plantin's interest in publishing more Hebrew works and establishing himself in this type of production: There is good evidence that Plantin saw this as part of his humanistic creed.¹¹⁹ Guillaume Postel had written to him in 1563 suggesting that he (Plantin) 'establish a Hebrew press like Bomberg's in Venice'.¹²⁰ Postel's interest was however in printing in Arabic, and quite possibly this suggestion, coupled with the use Plantin obtained of the Bomberg Hebrew matrices,¹²¹ might 'have been instrumental in bringing Plantin to print oriental scripts'.¹²² This in fact appears to have the case, with Levita's *Grammatica Hebraea* which appeared in 1564 and the Hebrew Bible of 1566. A further examination of Plantin's Hebrew printing will show that he indeed became one of the more important printers of Christian Hebraica during the period 1501-1600.¹²³

- His allegiance to the Family of Love and its humanist non-sectarian principles: Much has been written

¹¹⁸ Plantin, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, Vol III, p. 1-2.

¹¹⁹ Plantin's *Catalogus Librorum Typographiae Plantini* of 1579 lists some 23 works in the category Hebraici, Chaldaici et Syri. This is roughly five per cent of the total 450 works listed. See Voet Vol II, plate 76 for a reproduction of this catalogue. Stephen Burnett lists the officina Plantiniana as number two in the list of the most important Hebrew printing firms for this period.

¹²⁰ Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation*, p. 67.

¹²¹ Ortroy, *Contributions à l'histoire des imprimeurs et des libraires belges établis à l'étranger*, p. 139-141.

¹²² Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation*, p. 67.

¹²³ Burnett, 'Christian Hebrew Printing', p. 22.

on the relations between Plantin and this sect. Rekers, in his study of Arias Montano maintained that Plantin was able to set up his printing business initially with the aid of merchants who were disciples of the prophet Hendrik Niclaes and that ‘initially the Plantin press was intended to serve the diffusion of the writings of the leader of the sect’. Rekers also argued that the Antwerp Polyglot ‘was to be in the service of the *unio christiana*, an ideal which found support among progressive biblical scholars as well as those merchants who considered religious tolerance to be beneficial to international trade in the port of Antwerp’.¹²⁴ Robert Wilkinson has questioned this thesis and disputes the theory that Benito Arias Montano ‘was converted totally to the Family of Love’ and argues that ‘it would be quite wrong to consider the Antwerp Polyglot, even before the arrival of Montano, as Familist project’.¹²⁵

- The dangerous atmosphere at that period with the iconoclastic fury of the anti-Catholic and Spanish sects in 1566, the suppression of these tendencies and the arrival of the Duke of Alba in the southern Netherlands in 1567: Plantin clearly had some kind of involvement in the establishment of a clandestine anti-Spanish press in Vianen and he urgently needed to prove his Catholic orthodoxy to the Spanish Authorities.¹²⁶ Plantin’s earlier company set up in 1563 with his staunchly Calvinist partners Karel and Cornelis van Bomberghen, Goropsius Becanus and Fernando de Bernuy, had come to an end in 1567, and he may well have seen the patronage of a Catholic monarch a necessary insurance policy.¹²⁷

- The possible desire to evangelise both Moslems and Jews with the text of the New Testament set in Hebrew characters: Jean Boulaese, Guillaume Postel’s secretary, wrote in a little known pamphlet published in 1576, *Hebraicum Alphabetum* that ‘on 5 May 1567 in Madrid we sought as supplicants by word and writing 30,000 gold coins from the good Catholic King Philip of Spain for an edition of the Complutensian Polyglot with an Arabic version and we obtained from his lips this which Montanus, sent by the same king for this fine purpose, Raphelengius and the brothers Guy and Nicolas Lefèvre have

¹²⁴ Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598*, pp. 70-71.

¹²⁵ Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, pp. 29, 31.

¹²⁶ Voet maintains that Plantin set up Augustijn van Hasselt to print clandestine Family of Love publications in Vianen, (a small town in South Holland, south of Utrecht). Hasselt had been a journeyman printer with Plantin until November 1566. And that Plantin was forced into this adventure (in Vianen) against his will by Calvinist elements. Voet suspects that the van Bomberghen family (fierce Calvinists) were ‘the real culprits’ and ‘that Plantin followed them only reluctantly’. (p. 51-53).

¹²⁷ Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, pp. 37 – 56.

achieved by common endeavour in bringing out that Bible chez Plantin' (*original in Latin*).¹²⁸

Robert Wilkinson regards this as crucial evidence 'that Jean Boulaese's trip to Spain was instrumental in interesting Philip II in what was obviously presented to him as an improved re-edition of the Complutensian Polyglot'.¹²⁹ Boulaese later recounted the same story to Pope Gregory XIII in the preface to another work published in 1578,¹³⁰ and added that the purpose of the printing of the Complutensian Bible with an Arabic version was 'for the conversion of the Moors or Turks (who are Hamites or Ishmaelites)'.¹³¹

One may view all these themes as being quite distinct and unrelated, or possibly more subtly related in the very nature of the times. As one writer has observed, one cannot 'attribute a well planned ideology' to Plantin's intentions, and that 'the Antwerp polyglot became what it was mainly due to the accidents of history'.¹³² There is little doubt that the Antwerp Polyglot had some conversionist intent, yet the evidence from Plantin's life and actual words seems to contradict that express purpose. His goals appear to have been more widely humanistic and aimed at tolerance of other beliefs rather than conversion to the Catholic faith. Plantin was very much a businessman with a large and successful business to run. The Antwerp Polyglot was a very costly enterprise for him and he was not able to recoup all his expenses on the project: 'It left him (Plantin) burdened with crippling debts which were covered neither by the sales nor by the King of Spain'.¹³³

Benito Arias Montano's role in the production of the Antwerp Polyglot has been already mentioned. It has been argued that Arias Montano was a descendant of New Christians and, if true, his Jewish origins would add an additional motivation to his involvement in the Antwerp Polyglot project and perhaps

¹²⁸ British Library Catalogue: *Graecum alphabetum de potestate literarum, ac diuisiones earundem. Abbreviationes, quibus Graeci frequentissime vtuntur. Oratio Dominica, cum aliis quibusdam praecatiunculis Graece, versione Latina e regione posita. Quibus adiectum est Hebraicum Alphabetum, & de pronunciatione punctorum*, Venetiis: apud Hæredes Melchioris Sessæ, 1576.

¹²⁹ Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, pp. 57, 58.

¹³⁰ The British Library has the following copy of this work: Jean Boulaese, *Le Tresor et entiere histoire de la triomphante victoire du corps de Dieu sur l'esprit maling Beelzebub, obtenue à Laon l'an mil cinq cens soixante six, etc.* (N. Chesneau: Paris, 1578), Shelfmark 1123.f.44.(1.)

¹³¹ Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, p. 58.

¹³² van der Heide, *Christopher Plantin and the Christian Hebraists*, 'The Antwerp polyglot ... also became a beacon in ensuing struggles over the authority of the Bible and the place of Hebrew in the academic curriculum.'

¹³³ Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, pp. 83-85.

explain his keen interest and involvement in Hebrew texts and literature.¹³⁴ These claims were made, however, without any clear proof and have been denied by Rekers¹³⁵ and more recently by the Spanish scholar Angel Sáenz-Badillos Perez.¹³⁶

Arias Montano had been educated in the Spanish Christian Hebraist tradition, one of his teachers being Cipriano de la Huerga (1514 –1560), a noted teacher of the Bible in Alcalá and author of various commentaries and translations into Latin from the Hebrew.¹³⁷ There is no doubt that Arias Montano was a polymath, a linguist,¹³⁸ a respected theologian in his day and certainly uniquely trusted by Philip II and his court. He was admitted to the military Order of Santiago in 1560, and his appointment by Philip II to edit and supervise the work on the Polyglot Bible clearly instilled some fear in Plantin at the outset. However, this impression soon changed and the two men established a very close sympathy and working relationship.¹³⁹ It has been suggested that Plantin convinced Arias Montano to convert into the Family of Love sect, but more recent scholarship has cast doubt on this interpretation.¹⁴⁰

It is debatable whether Arias Montano can be categorized as a Christian Hebraist, an eclectic

¹³⁴ Henry Kamen stated that three ‘of the victims (of the Inquisition) Luis de leon, Gaspar de Grajal and Alonso Gudiel were all Conversos by origin, and that Arias Montano was probably one. ‘Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, p. 93). Jerome Friedman maintained that ‘financial and social considerations notwithstanding, New Christians also made enormous spiritual and intellectual contributions to their new faith. St. Teresa, St John of the Cross, Alphonso and Juan de Valdez, Fray Luis de Leon, Juan Luis Vives, Arias Montano, Alphonso de Zamoro, and the many conversos at the University of Alcalá were all of Jewish ancestry and have come to represent the flower of Spanish Renaissance spirituality’. (Jerome Friedman, *New Christian Religious Alternatives*, p. 23)

¹³⁵ Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598*, Footnote 3, p. 3.

¹³⁶ Prof. Dr. Angel Sáenz-Badillos Perez, *Benito Arias Montano, Hebraísta*, p. 346. The relevant passage reads: ‘Todavía se debate sobre su posible marranismo, defendido en tiempos por prestigiosos historiadores con argumentos tan curiosos como su poca afición por el jamón (era vegetariano); sin embargo, no se han aportado pruebas definitivas en favor de esa hipótesis ... Que sepamos, no hay documentación que demuestro que alguno de sus antecesores directos fuera cristiano nuevo; el modo de referirse al pueblo judío y la manera de hablar de Arias Montano parecen más propias de un cristiano viejo’. However Theodor Dunkelgrün has also argued that ‘what keeps me from ruling out Montano’s partial converso origin is that the fact that the certification of *limpieza de sangre* granted him before his admission to the order was only for his father’s side of the family, and that on his deathbed he chose to die in the house of a prominent New Christian in Seville. It does not constitute evidence, but nor is it proof of the contrary.’ [Personal communication 4 March 2008]

¹³⁷ Klaus Reinhardt, ‘Biblische Autoren’, pp. 91, 195-196.

¹³⁸ Angel Sáenz-Badillos Perez mentions that he spoke at least ten languages. *Benito Arias Montano, Hebraísta*, p. 346.

¹³⁹ Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 48.

¹⁴⁰ See Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598*, p. 80 and Wilkinson *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*. See also Hamilton in ‘The Apocalypse within: Some inward interpretations of the Book of Revelations from the 16th to the 18th century’, in *Tradition and re-interpretation in Jewish and early Christian literature: essays in honour of Jürgen C.H. Lebram* edited by J.W. van Henten ... [et al.]. pp. 274-276.

antiquarian or a perhaps a combination of these two. Yet he does seem to fit into the Renaissance Humanist category of ‘recognizing the need for putting these sources into their proper context and acquiring an understanding of the cultural milieu in which they had been composed’ and he most certainly advocated ‘the development of philological and text-critical methods for the three languages that were of historical importance to Christianity: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.’¹⁴¹

It is worth looking briefly at the maps in Volume VIII of the Antwerp Polyglot and the way they reflect Arias Montano’s ‘profound interest in antiquarianism and geography, and how he visualised and tabulated knowledge’. In this regard Arias Montano can be said to be very close in spirit to his friend Abraham Ortelius, the noted Antwerp cartographer and author of the celebrated *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, with whom he remained in contact even after his return to Spain.¹⁴² While attending the Council of Trent in 1562, Arias Montano ‘was able to examine ancient coins, buy and translate Hebrew books from Istanbul and obtain a map of Canaan’. The maps in Volume VIII of the *Apparatus Sacer* ‘served him as a means of conveying antiquarian knowledge’ and ‘are a product of the encounter between Montano’s training in scholastic theology and Oriental philology and his deep humanist interest in visualizing knowledge, tabulation and measurement’.¹⁴³ This interest was no doubt part of the ‘battle between the grammarians and the theologians’ that was characteristic of the period.¹⁴⁴

Arias Montano’s preferences lay very much with the philological side of the dispute and he was ‘declared by his critics to be a good theologian but rather too much of a grammarian (*muy gramatico*)’, an approach which was echoed in his dismissal of his critics as ‘lacking the most elementary knowledge of Hebrew’ in his report to King Philip II of December 1572 on the negotiations with the Vatican to gain approval for the Polyglot.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, it appears that Arias Montano followed quite closely the Ben Chayim Rabbinic text of the Bible, as opposed to using the text from the Tiberian textual tradition, or the

¹⁴¹ Erika Rummel, ‘Humanists, Jews and Judaism’, in *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, ed. by Bell, Dean Phillip and Stephen G. Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 3.

¹⁴² For further discussion of Ortelius, his life and his links to the Officina Plantiniana, see Paul Binding, *Imagined Corners – Exploring the World’s first Atlas* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2003) and *Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) cartograaf en humanist* (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1998).

¹⁴³ Zur Shalev, ‘Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible’, *Imago Mundi*, 55 (2003), pp. 56, 59.

¹⁴⁴ Perez, *The Spanish Inquisition: A History*, p. 193.

¹⁴⁵ Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598*, p. 57, citing a letter from Montano to the King, in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, Madrid, 1842-1895, Vol 41, p. 273.

manuscripts used in the Complutensian Polyglot.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ See Maria Teresa Ortega-Monasterio, 'Arias Montano list of QERE, KETIV and YATTIR readings, (in Masoretic Studies 7), *VIII International Congress of the International Organization for Masoretic Studies*, Chicago 1988 / edited by E.J. Revell. pp. 71-84 and Emilia Fernández-Tejero, 'Benedicti Ariae Montani .. De Mazoreth Ratione Atque usu' in *VIII International Congress of the International Organization for Masoretic Studies*, Chicago 1988 /edited by E.J. Revell, (in Masoretic Studies 6) pp. 65-70. I am grateful to Theodor Dunkelgrün for this reference and clarification.

Chapter 4: Plantin's Hebrew Types and his Hebrew Publishing

The Antwerp Polyglot of 1568-1573 is by no means the only publication in Hebrew that was published by the Officina Plantiniana. During the years 1564 to 1642, 42 works or different editions of the same work were printed wholly or partly in Hebrew in the Antwerp press alone.¹⁴⁷ (See Appendix A for a list of the books produced in Hebrew by Plantin in Antwerp and Leiden.) These cover editions of the Bible, Hebrew grammars, commentaries, lexicons and alphabets, including of course the Polyglot Bible. For the years up to 1600, the total is 58 items, and this figure represents three per cent of the total output of 2,057 works.¹⁴⁸ This may seem small when compared to the other major producers of the period, such as Johann Crato & Heirs of Wittenberg, Robert I Estienne (or Stephanus) of Paris and Geneva, Heinrich Petri of Basle, Martin Le Jeune of Paris, Johan Froben (Frobenius) of Basel, Chrétien Wechsel of Paris and Charles Estienne (or Stephanus) of Paris.¹⁴⁹ However, their total output was much smaller than that of the Officina Plantiniana, and their output of Hebrew on the whole much smaller.¹⁵⁰

The Plantin Hebrew output is second only to Johann Crato & Heirs of Wittenberg, which was 75 editions for the same period.¹⁵¹ Thus the Plantin achievement becomes even more impressive, especially given the various political and economic upsets that occurred during the 1560s and 1570s: the Iconoclasm of 1566/67, the episode of the *Watergeuzen* or Sea Beggars of 1572 and the Spanish Fury of 1576. These events were a severe trial to Plantin and his press, yet he managed to overcome these adversities and move forward to a phenomenal expansion of his presses and output during the period 1586 to 1576.¹⁵² He was no doubt accustomed to surviving difficult times, as in 1563 he had been forced to flee Antwerp for some two years due to a charge of heresy, a charge probably connected to his association with the Family

¹⁴⁷ Voet *The Plantin Press*, Vol VI, pp. 2552-2553.

¹⁴⁸ Thirty two editions were printed by the *Officina Plantiniana* in Leiden for the years 1585 to 1616. See the list in Appendix A. The output of this branch has been studied by Lajb Fuks and R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands, 1585-1815*, and is also discussed in the recent *Hebraica Veritas* catalogue published by the Plantin-Moretus Museum, 2008.

¹⁴⁹ Hebrew printing in Paris in the sixteenth century has been studied by Lyse Schwarzfuchs. Her dates for the Paris printers mentioned above are: Robert I Estienne (active 1528-1550), Charles Estienne – his brother – (active 1551 – 1559), Robert II Estienne – Robert's nephew – (active 1560 – 1570), Chrétien Wechsel (active 1531-1553), and Martin Le Jeune (active 1549-1584). See Lyse Schwarzfuchs, *Le Livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe Siècle*. The Hebrew output of Froben and others in Basle has been studied by Joseph and Bernhard Prijs. Stephen Burnett's article cited below contains a useful listing of works on Christian Hebraist sources.

¹⁵⁰ Burnett, 'Christian Hebrew Printings', pp. 23-24.

¹⁵¹ Burnett, 'Christian Hebrew Printings', pp. 22.

¹⁵² Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, Vol I, p. 73, 74.

of Love and its leader Henrik Niclaes.¹⁵³ Plantin was only able to restore his press and prosperity due the partnership with Cornelis van Bomberghen and others, which lasted from 1653 to 1567. This partnership also brought to him several of the Hebrew typefaces from the Bomberg Press in Venice.¹⁵⁴

The Officina Plantiniana therefore needs to be viewed as a major Christian printer of Hebrew books during the latter part of the sixteenth century. There were of course *Jewish* printers of Hebrew books during the sixteenth century, notably the Soncino family, which was active from the third quarter of the fifteenth century until the middle of the sixteenth century in various locations in Italy and the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵⁵ The interesting phenomenon is that of Christian printers who became notable producers of Hebrew books, and the major example here is Daniel Bomberg or van Bomberghen, who became known as the ‘Aldo (Aldus Manutius in Hebrew books’.¹⁵⁶ Bomberg’s main period of activity in Venice was from about 1516 to 1549, and he is best known for his three editions of the rabbinical Bible and various editions of the Palestinian Talmud. The eighteenth century Christian Hebraist and Bibliographer Johann Christian Wolf eulogised Bomberg for his productions of Hebrew and Rabbinical works, and this legacy could be said to apply to Plantin as it did to Bomberg, but the direct legacy and connection from Bomberg to Plantin were his types.¹⁵⁷

The van Bomberghen family appears to have originated in the northern Netherlands, and the first of the dynasty of note was Cornelius I, who was active in the period 1474 to the 1490s, and was a printer and

¹⁵³ Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, pp. 23-36; See also Articles by Alastair Hamilton and Jean Dietz Moss.

¹⁵⁴ For a more detailed discussion of Plantin’s acquisition of the Bomberg Hebrew founts, see Marvin J., Heller, *Printing the Talmud, A history of the earliest printed editions of the Talmud*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Im Hasefer, 1992), pp. 172-175.

¹⁵⁵ Jean-Pierre Rothschild has pointed out that, in general, ‘les imprimeurs chrétiens sont spécialisés dans les deux Testaments ... et les bibles polyglottes, les grammaires, alphabets et dictionnaires. Les imprimeurs juifs sont plus orientés vers les commentaires rabbiniques et ce serait par leurs éditions que les petits nombres des kabbalistes chrétiens accéderait à certains d’entre eux’. Jean-Pierre Rothschild, ‘Quelles notions le “grand public” des lettres chrétiens dans la France du XVI siècle eût-il de l’hébreu? Enquête parmi les inventaires de bibliothèques’, in *L’Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance*, pp. 185-186.

¹⁵⁶ Amram, *The makers of Hebrew books in Italy*, pp. pp.139-145, 148.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Daniel Bombergus, Antwerpianus, multis Hebraeorum Rabbinicorumque voluminum editionibus, earundum accurate correctione, eleganti typorum forma, nitore solidae chartae purissimo, per annorum fere quadraginta spatium omnium iis temporibus artificum princeps; nec minus famae in Hebraicis, quam Aldus in Graecis, consecutus’. The English translation reads: ‘Daniel Bomberg: for the space of nearly forty years first among all the craftsmen of his time in his many editions of Hebrew and Rabbinical works, in the accuracy of the revision, in their beauty of type and strength of paper. Rewarded by fame not less in Hebrew than Alda in Greek’. Amram, *The makers of Hebrew books in Italy*, p. 216.

publisher and made ‘une grosse fortune’ with important commercial connections in Venice.¹⁵⁸ His son Daniel II van Bomberghen (1483-1549) established himself in Venice in the early sixteenth century, and there made the acquaintance of a Jewish convert to Christianity, Felice da Prato, also known as Felix Pratensis,¹⁵⁹ who ‘obtint du Pape Leon X l’authorisation de publier une nouvelle traduction latine de la Bible’ and also prepared a new translation of the Psalms, which Bomberg published in 1515.¹⁶⁰ Bomberg then devoted himself for the next 30 years to the publication of mainly, but not wholly, works in Hebrew.¹⁶¹ (See illustrations 18 and 19 in Appendix C.) Such was the success and reputation of Bomberg’s press, that he is viewed almost as a *Jewish* press.¹⁶² The renowned Jewish grammarian, Masorite (biblical scholar) and poet, Elijah (Eliahu) Levita (1469-1549)¹⁶³ had an association with the Bomberg press, where he may have worked as a corrector during the years 1528 to 1540, and later in a similar role with Bomberg’s successor, Cornelio Adelkind.¹⁶⁴

After Bomberg ceased his printing activity in the late 1540s,¹⁶⁵ many of his Hebrew types came into the

¹⁵⁸ Fernand van Ortroy, *Les van Bomberghen d’Anvers: Imprimeurs, Libraires et Editeurs* (Antwerp: De Gulden Passer, 1924), pp. 131-132.

¹⁵⁹ Heller, *The sixteenth century Hebrew book: an abridged thesaurus*, (Leiden: Brill 2004), [Brill’s series in Jewish studies; vol. 33.], p. xvii.

¹⁶⁰ Van Ortroy, *Les van Bomberghen d’Anvers*, pp. 133. Amram (p. 217) dates this to 1518).

¹⁶¹ Amram lists over 200 works and editions produced by Bomberg during the years 1516 through 1549. (Amram pp. 217-224).

¹⁶² Burnett, ‘Christian Hebrew printing in the 16th century: Printers, Humanism and the impact of the Reformation’, Curiously enough, Stephen Burnett does not include him in his discussion of Christian Hebrew printing of the sixteenth century. Professor Anthony Grafton of Princeton University in a recent lecture on the Jewish book in a Christian World, mentioned that Bomberg became a ‘strange sort of Christian’ and that he ‘seems to have become somewhat judaized’. (Keynote lecture on ‘The Jewish Book in a Christian world’ in Antwerp, 25 June 2008).

¹⁶³ Article on Elijah Levita in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, pp. 46-49, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=298&letter=L&search=Levita> [Accessed 18 June 2008].

¹⁶⁴ I am indebted for this information to a paper delivered by Jean Baumgarten of the CNRS-EHESS in Paris, at the conference held at Yarnnton Manor on Elijah (Bocher) Levita in December 2007. However, Professor Joseph Hacker of the Hebrew University in his presentation at the conference argued that there is no reliable source to prove that Levita was employed as an editor by Bomberg.

¹⁶⁵ Fernand van Ortroy suggests that this decline may have been due to a number of causes: commercial competition from other printers, the open hostility of the Venetian Senate, and ‘decrets de l’Inquisition, qui sévit de façon particulièrement rude sous le pontificat de Jules II; grace à eux, les livres du Talmud et d’autre livres hébreux, imprimés en partie chez Daniel, furent livré aux flammes’. (*Les van Bomberghen d’Anvers*, p. 134). It is possible that Bomberg’s near monopoly on the printing of Hebrew books in Venice during his period of greatest activity may have been a cause for Gerson Soncino’s move to Constantinople and the subsequent printing of the Soncino polyglot bible. See David Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy*, pp. 174-179 and paper delivered by Bruce Nielsen at the Jewish Book in a Christian World conference in Antwerp, 26 June 2008: *Daniel van Bomberghen, A Man of Two Worlds*.

possession of the Venetian Hebrew printer Giovanni di Gara.¹⁶⁶ Some of the types, however, did come into the possession of Daniel II's son Karel, his brother Anthony and his nephew, Cornelius II. On 26 November 1563, an agreement was signed in Antwerp between Jean Goropius Becanus (Becanus), Charles de Bomberghe, Cornille de Bomberghe, Jacques de Scotti and Plantin, which established a 'compagnie dimprimerie' whose aim was to be an 'imprimerie des livres latins, grecqs, hebrieux, francoix, italiens'. This agreement effectively re-established Plantin as a printer after his period of exile in Paris. What is of interest are the clauses in this contract dealing with the Bomberg Hebrew types. One clause specified that 'seront imprimez tous les livres, en toutes langues eccette lebrieu au nom dudit Plantin, mais les livres hebrieux simprimeront au nom des Bomberghe sans contrediction quelqonque'. A further clause stipulated that Plantin would have use of the Hebrew matrices during the period of the partnership, but that he would need to return them to Cornelius at the end of the contract, 'mais les matrices debrieu retourneront audit de Bomberghe sans que la compagnie en ait part quelqueconque'.¹⁶⁷

This part of the agreement was not in fact implemented and whether Plantin purchased the Hebrew matrices or simply retained them is not clear. Cornelius de Bomberghe, like many of his family, were staunch Calvinists and he was forced to flee the southern Netherlands for Venice in 1567, where he died in 1577.

Plantin's first Hebrew productions after the initiation of the partnership in 1563 was the *Grammatica Hebraea* of Isaac Levita (1564) and the *Nomina: Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca et Latina nomina ... quae in Bibliis ... leguntur* (1565), but the work which raises the most interesting questions is his Hebrew Bible of 1566. (See illustration 17 in Appendix C.) This is a complete Hebrew edition of the Pentateuch and 'the first edition was published in three different sizes, in 4to (1 volume), in 8vo (2 volumes) and in 16mo (4 volumes)'.¹⁶⁸ The title page contains, in Hebrew in Rashi characters, the following inscription: 'Five books of the law carefully printed by and in the house of Christopher Plantin, to the order of master Bomberg, whom God may keep and preserve, in the year 326 of the minor complutus here [at] the famous city of Antwerp'. On the last page of each volume the following postscript is printed, also in Hebrew in Rashi characters: 'Printed by and in the house of Christopher Plantin, with the founts and letters of Bomberg,

¹⁶⁶ Heller, *The sixteenth century Hebrew book: an abridged thesaurus*, p. xxii.

¹⁶⁷ Ortroy, *Histoire des Imprimeurs et Libraires Belges à l'Étranger*, pp. 139-143.

¹⁶⁸ Pick, 'History of the Printed Editions of the Old Testament, together with a Description of the Rabbinic and Polyglot Bibles', p. 69.

and completed in the month of Tebeth [December] in the year 326 (=December 1565/January 1566). Blessed be the Lord, who has not removed his mercy from us and has enabled us to finish this book without any misfortune or adversity'.¹⁶⁹

This was then a Bible clearly intended for a *Jewish* audience, and was in fact a new edition of the second *Biblia Rabbinica* of Bomberg of 1524/25. Voet notes that 3,900 copies of the 4to edition were printed, and of the 8vo and 16mo 2,600 copies were produced of each, making a total edition of over 9,000 copies, an enormous print run even for that period!¹⁷⁰ Some of the copies, Voet adds, were sent to the Frankfurt book fairs, and another part 'was intended for the Jewish colonies in North Africa, or what was then called 'Barbarie'. The Antwerp merchant Jehan Rademaker took 200 of the 4to edition 'pour les envoyer a commune risqué au Barbarie', and was apparently was so successful in this venture that two other Antwerp merchants, Gaspar van Zurich and Gillis Hooftman,¹⁷¹ were eager to get involved in this lucrative business as well.¹⁷²

The conclusion to be drawn from this edition are that Plantin and his backers – and they most likely included Hendrik Niclaes of the Family of Love ¹⁷³ – were well aware of the large potential Jewish market in countries such as Morocco, where many of the exiles from Spain and Portugal had gathered after the expulsions of the late fifteenth century. Given the extensive commercial connections of Antwerp with this part of the Mediterranean, there was much competition to get involved where copies of the Hebrew Bible 'were sold at high profit to the Jewish community'.¹⁷⁴ One might well imagine that Plantin saw himself as heir to the Bomberg publishing reputation and, as an astute businessman, saw a market worth exploiting. Perhaps Plantin also recognised in this production the germ of the *Biblia Regia*, a Bible that would truly embrace the principles of his humanist faith.

There is also an interesting hint of Plantin's reputation and renown as a printer of Hebrew books in

¹⁶⁹ Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589)*, Vol I, pp. 323. 'Master Bomberg' here refers no doubt to Karel or Cornelius van Bomberghen, whereas the reference to the founts is to Daniel II van Bomberghen, the printer.

¹⁷⁰ Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589)*, Vol I, pp. 323–324.

¹⁷¹ Denucé, *L'Afrique au XVIe siècle et le commerce anversoïis*, pp. 13-15.

¹⁷² Some 100 copies were also shipped to Gaspar Habetius, 'alleman, lector à Londres en Hebrieu'. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589)*, Vol I, pp. 325-326.

¹⁷³ Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589)*, Vol I, p. 24.

¹⁷⁴ Leon Voet, *Antwerp: The Golden Age: the rise and glory of the Metropolis in the Sixteenth Century* (Antwerp: Mercator, 1973), pp. 32, 330.

this period. The Basel printer Johann Oporin printed a small volume entitled *Prophetae Minores* in 1567, which contained an introduction in Latin by the German Lutheran theologian David (Kochhaffe) Chytraeus (1530 –1600)¹⁷⁵ and 12 books of the OT set in Hebrew. (See illustration 26 in Appendix C.) Joseph Prijs maintains that the Hebrew text was printed by Plantin using the Bomberg Hebrew types and this indeed seems to be the case from a visual inspection, although there is no sign in the British Library copy that the setting was carried out by Plantin in 1566.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, there does not appear to be any extant correspondence regarding this edition in the Plantin archives. If this hypothesis is correct, it poses interesting questions as to the collaboration between Plantin and other printers, as well as Plantin's ambitions to enter into the field of Hebrew Hebraist editions.¹⁷⁷ Prijs also makes the intriguing suggestion that Plantin had at one time considered producing a censored edition of the Talmud, possibly in collaboration with the German-Jewish merchant and Talmudist Simon Ben Eliezer Günzburg-Ulma (1506-1585).¹⁷⁸ Again, there appears to be no correspondence on this matter between Plantin and Günzburg-Ulma, but further research might bring up more information on Plantin's intentions in this area.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ John Henry Augustus Bomberger, Johann Jakob Herzog, *The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia*, (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1860), p. 714.

¹⁷⁶ British Library copy. Shelfmark 1904.a.8.

¹⁷⁷ Joseph Prijs and Bernhard Prijs, *Die Basler hebräischen Drucke, 1492-1866*, (Basel: Olten & Freiburg i. Br., 1964.), pp. 167-168.

¹⁷⁸ Entry on Simon Ben Eliezer Günzburg-Ulma, in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol VI, p. 113, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=512&letter=G&search=Simon%20Ben%20Eliezer%20Günzburg-Ulma> [Accessed 18 June 2008]. See also Peter Stein, 'Der Basler Talmuddruck 1578-1580', *Jahrbuch Familienforschung Schweiz*, Jahrgang 2002, pp. 119-137..

¹⁷⁹ Fausto Parente notes that Arias Montano wrote a letter to Cardinal Sirleto in December 1574 in which he 'declared himself willing to seek out the copies of the Talmud still surviving in Flanders and Germany to indicate the passages to be expurgated'. Arias Montano's offer was not taken up and the expurgation was in fact undertaken by Marco Martini, a canon of the Congregation of S. Salvatore in San Giovanni in Brescia. 'Marini completed his work in 1578 and, Simon Jud zum Gembs, a Jew from Frankfurt am Main, decided to arrange for the printing of the Talmud thus expurgated, with a view towards selling it to the Jews in Poland. Under the terms of the contract, Froben undertook to print within three years 'den Judischen Dalmuth' printed in Venice by Marco Antonio Giustiniani in 1547. The contract stipulated that everything was to be removed from Giustiniani's text that, according to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent was contrary to the Christian religion in the judgement of Marco Martini acting as inquisitor. The edition was to come out in 1,100 copies ...' Fausto Parente, 'The Index, the Holy Office the condemnation of the Talmud and publication of VIII's Index', in *Church censorship and culture in early modern Italy* /edited by Gigliola Fragnito; translated by Adrian Belton. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 169-173. See also Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, *The Censor, the Editor, and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. 68-73 and 78-80. It is more than likely that Simon Jud zum Gembs and Simon Ben Eliezer Günzburg-Ulma were one and the same person and that further investigation could bring up further evidence for or against Prijs' hypothesis.

The Bomberg Hebrew types were only a small part of the Hebrew and other founts acquired by Plantin during his lifetime. (See Appendix B for a list of the Hebrew typefaces used by Plantin.) The names of those punchcutters whose founts he held or with whom he did business, read like a veritable history of sixteenth century type design: François Guyot, Aimé (or Ameet) Tavernier, Jacques Sabon¹⁸⁰, Laurent van Everbergh (or van Everbroek), Pierre Huys, Arnold Nicolaï, Pierre Haultin, Guillaume I Le Bé, Corneille Muller, Jean Guillard, Robert Granjon, Henrik van der Keere (or du Tour), and Claude Garamond, to list but a few of the more prominent names known to us.¹⁸¹

It is worth noting that Plantin began assembling a collection of Hebrew punches and matrices well before the production of the Polyglot began.¹⁸² These included, for example, a ‘grande lettre hebraïque’ from François Guyot in 1563,¹⁸³ a ‘Hébreu taillé par Le Bé pour Garamond’ and a ‘très gros Hébreu de Guillaume Le Bé, an ‘Augustine Hébraïque’ and ‘une lettre Hébraïque de deux points’ bought from François Guyot in 1564, an ‘alphabet Hébreu orné’ (engraved in wood) from Corneille Muller in 1564, and in 1565 Plantin bought from Robert Granjon then in Antwerp ‘quatre matrices et autant de poinçons hébreux’ as well as 200 punches for Greek which he later used in the Polyglot Bible.¹⁸⁴ Granjon also supplied Plantin with 198 punches and matrices for the Syriac fount in November 1659 which were used in the Polyglot Bible in the New Testament.¹⁸⁵ (See illustrations 1 to 15 in Appendix C.)¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰ Sabon worked for Plantin from 1565 to 1567 and is without doubt the same ‘Jacques Sabon, fondateur de caractères à Francfort qui acquit à la mort de Claude Garamond une partie de son fonds de commerce. Il est également possible que Sabon ait récupéré ces caractères de son passage à Anvers à l’atelier de Christophe Plantin. Toujours est-il qu’il s’associa en 1555 avec la veuve de Christian Egenolff, un imprimeur et fondateur de caractères de Francfort.’ (<http://www.typographie.org/histoire-caracteres/s/sabon.html> [Accessed 03 March 2008]. The 20th century typographer Jan Tschichold based his Sabon typeface (released in 1967) on various sixteenth century models. See Christopher Burke, *Active Literature: Jan Tschichold and New Typography*, (London: Hyphen Press, 2007).

¹⁸¹ For a more complete description of 16th century punchcutters, see Harry Carter (ed.), *Sixteenth-century French typefounders: the Le Bé memorandum*, 1967.

¹⁸² See Mike Parker, K. Melis, and Hendrik D.L. Vervleit, ‘Typographica Plantiniana. II. Early inventories of punches, matrices, and moulds, in the Plantin-Moretus Archives’, *De Gulden Passer*, 39, 1960, pp. 1-139.

¹⁸³ It is not clear what exactly François Guyot supplied to Plantin, whether it was punches, matrices or simply type. Guyot was registered in the Guild of St Luke in Antwerp as ‘François de Lettergieter’ in 1561, but in the context of the late sixteenth century it is difficult to establish with certainty the degree of specialisation in type founding. See Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *French Renaissance Printing Types*, (London: The Bibliographical Society, to be published 2008), pp. 23-26.

¹⁸⁴ Hendrik Vervliet notes that ‘as a cutter of exotic types, he (i.e. Granjon) made possible the Polyglot of Plantin (1568 – 1572) and the Stamperia Medicea Orientale (ca. 1590-1614). See Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *Cyrillic & oriental typography in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century: an inquiry into the later work of Robert Granjon (1578-90)*, (Berkeley, California: Poltroon Press, 1981), p. 2.

¹⁸⁵ *Index characterum architypographiæ Plantinianaë. Proeven der lettersoorten gebruikt in de Plantijnsche*
THIS FOOTNOTE CONTINUES ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE.

Perhaps the most prominent of those who supplied Plantin with Hebrew founts was the punchcutter Guillaume I Le Bé (1545-1592),¹⁸⁷ who is known to have cut some 17 Hebrew typefaces from 1545 to 1591, in addition to two Greek founts, two Latins and three musical characters.¹⁸⁸ He was apprenticed to Robert Estienne the Elder and, at the age of 20, moved to Venice, where he produced several Hebrew typefaces which were used by the Hebrew press of the Venetian nobleman Marco Antonio Giustiniani.¹⁸⁹ Le Bé left a document and samples of these Hebrew typefaces, which was passed down to his son, and eventually to the eighteenth century French punchcutter, Fournier le Jeune.¹⁹⁰ The various inventories of Plantin's types show some nine of Le Bé's Hebrew typefaces (See Appendix C).

The critical appreciation with which Le Bé's types were held can be judged by the comment by Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), the classical scholar and ecclesiastical historian,¹⁹¹ who wrote in 1610 that 'Le Bé has cut the most elegant of all Arabic and Hebrew types, the product of his own skill and pains and done at his own expense'.¹⁹²

Plantin's relationship with Le Bé was obviously quite close, as evidenced by a request made by Plantin to Le Bé to produce a new Hebrew type. Plantin wrote above a printed specimen, which is probably the Garamond or Bible size of one of Bomberg's Hebrew types: 'Ceci est la sorte de lectre dont ie voudrois

drukkerij, met eene inleiding door Max Rooses. Spécimen des caractères employés dans l'imprimerie plantinienne, etc. Dut. & Fr, pp. 3-5. a 'Hébreu taillé par Le Bé pour Garamond' and the 'très gros Hébreu de Guillaume I Le Bé were listed in the inventory compiled by Plantin of his matrices at the end of 1563. See also J. F. Coakley, *The typography of Syriac: a historical catalogue of printing types, 1537-1958*, (London: British Library, 2006).

¹⁸⁶ For a description of the Hebrew types used in the Officina Plantiniana in Leiden, which Plantin established in 1583, see Lajb Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew typography in the Northern Netherlands, 1585-1815: historical evaluation, and descriptive bibliography*, (Leiden: Brill, 1984), pp. 11-18. Fuks lists eight different Hebrew founts which Plantin brought with him and of which three were 'widely used in the Hebrew books printed in Leiden', as carried on by Franciscus Raphelengius, Plantin's son-in-law, from 1578. (pp. 11-12).

¹⁸⁷ Harry Carter (Ed.), *Sixteenth-century French typefounders: the Le Bé memorandum*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁸⁸ Omont, *Spécimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, Latins, et de musique gravés à Venise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592*. Publiés par H. O. (Extrait des Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, t. XV.), pp. 6-7 and 13.

¹⁸⁹ Amram, *The makers of Hebrew books in Italy: being chapters in the history of the Hebrew printing press*, pp. 252-276. Giustiniani was at one time one of the major rivals to the Bomberg press and produced some 80 editions over the period 1545 to 1552.

¹⁹⁰ Omont, *Spécimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, Latins, et de musique gravés à Venise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592*, p. 6.

¹⁹¹ Entry from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* by John Considine <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/4851?docPos=1> [Accessed 26 February 2008]

¹⁹² John Dreyfus et al, *Type Specimen Facsimiles II*, nos. 16-18, p. 15. Hendrik Vervliet maintains that Casaubon confused the work of Guillaume I Le Bé with Guillaume II Le Bé. However this does not lessen the reputation with which the Le Bé family was held by their contemporaries.

avoir les poinçons tant de lectres de differentes largeurs comme ... etc. que de toutes les sortes de points et accents accordants sur ladicte lectre etc.’ (See illustration 16 in Appendix C.) Le Bé noted that he had cut ‘lettres communes, lettres larges, demy larges et estroittes pour faciliter la composition en la contraincte [d]es des lignes dautant que les Hebr. nusent point de division et separation des motz en la fin de ligne. Les imprimeurs ont indifferment mesle lesd. lettres en la besogne faisant servir a toutz rencontres celles qui ne se doibvent mettre que en fin de lignes et menbrousilant et meslant le tout’.¹⁹³ This point is indeed correct and accords with traditions in Jewish scribal history, where extended letters (*litterae dilatibiles*) were used to fill out a line.¹⁹⁴ This exchange is not dated, but Harry Carter suggested that the type could be the ‘Hébreu sur la facon de Venise’, (MA72) which is dated to 1551.¹⁹⁵

Le Bé’s Hebrew typefaces can be seen to their best effect in Plantin’s small octavo publication of 1569, the *Alphabetum Hebraicum*. (See illustrations 22 and 23 in Appendix C.) This was a genre of publication quite common in the sixteenth century, whose aim was to provide the essential elements of the classical and oriental languages. There are some ten editions of an *Alphabetum Hebraicum* known, however not always identified by the name or the place of the printer.¹⁹⁶ Manuel Veiga Diaz maintains that the Plantin edition is based on the Robert Estienne edition of 1544 and that the author is most probably Guillaume Postel, as he was engaged at this very time in the Antwerp Polyglot. The Plantin *Alphabetum Hebraicum* has the advantage for type history of showing complete alphabets with vowels and cantillations accents, (most probably Le Bé’s MA 40, MA 34, MA 24 and a sample of Rashi script).¹⁹⁷

Who then would have been involved in the production of these Hebrew books, given the restrictions and difficult conditions under which most Jews lived in the sixteenth century? Stephen Burnett notes that ‘for the vast majority of Christian Hebrew presses it was non-Jewish typesetters and compositors who

¹⁹³ Harry Carter, ‘A Message from Plantin to Guillaume Le Bé’, pp. 59 –62.

¹⁹⁴ Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Medieval Manuscripts* (Paris: Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique, p. 87.

¹⁹⁵ Harry Carter, ‘A Message from Plantin to Guillaume Le Bé’, pp. 60.

¹⁹⁶ Four editions were produced by Robert Estienne in Paris between the years 1528 and 1550, one edition by Henri Estienne in Geneva in 1566, an edition by Matias Gast in Salamanca in 1569, and Plantin’s edition of the same year. See Manuel Veiga Diaz, ‘De Paris a Salamanca: Los Alphabetum Hebraicum Publicados por los Etienne’, *Helmantica* 51 (2000), p.43-50.

¹⁹⁷ Christopher Plantin, *Alphabetum Hebraicum* (Ex Officina Christophori Plantini: Antverpiæ, 1569), BL shelfmarks 621.a.43.(2.), 1568/2861.(5.) and 1568/3061.(3.).

manufactured Hebrew books'.¹⁹⁸ In the case of Bomberg's press it is known that he *did* employ Jews as workmen, since Fra Felice da Prato had to apply to the Venetian Senate to obtain permission 'to keep Hebrew compositors and readers' and that 'it was necessary to have four Jews to superintend the printing, but that it would be impossible to induce them to come if they were obliged to wear the yellow cap, as they would be molested and insulted in the streets'.¹⁹⁹ It is also known that the well-known Basle printer Johan Froben also had to obtain special permission from the Basle city council for a Jew (the printer Israel ben Daniel Zifroni) to supervise the edition of the expurgated Talmud, as Jews were not permitted to reside in Basle.²⁰⁰

In the Officina Plantiniana the archives show no obviously Jewish names among the workmen. A compositor named Laurent Soter was employed from April 1564 on the setting of the Hebrew grammar of Isaac Levita and on an edition of Prudentius. In 1565 and 1566 the same Laurent Soter worked on the composition of Hebrew bibles, and later worked on an edition of the Prophets in Hebrew and on an edition of Virgil until 1568. There was also a composer named Jan Pasch²⁰¹ who is to have worked on the composition of a Hebrew Bible in 1565.²⁰² We do know that Franciscus Raphelengius, later Plantin's son-in-law, was deeply involved in the Polyglot Bible project,²⁰³ as were Guy Le Fèvre de la Broderie and his brother Nicholas. They were responsible for the Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac texts. Plantin's proofreaders Cornelis Kilianus, Thedoor Kemp and Antoon Spitaels were also involved in the production of the Polyglot, mainly in the correction of the Latin and Greek texts.²⁰⁴ The role of Benito Arias Montano was however critical in the production and, as he reported to Philip II's secretary, Gabriel de Zayas: 'I, thanks

¹⁹⁸ Burnett, 'Christian Hebrew printing in the 16th century: Printers, Humanism and the impact of the Reformation', p. 26.

¹⁹⁹ Horatio F. Brown, *The Venetian printing press: An historical study based upon documents for the most part hitherto unpublished, with twenty-two facsimiles of early printing*, p. 105.

²⁰⁰ Heller, *The sixteenth century Hebrew book: an abridged thesaurus*, p. xxxii.

²⁰¹ In an certificate dated 9 November 1571 issued by Plantin in his official role as Prototypographus, a certain Jan Pasch, then aged 33 and 'natif au quartier Cologne', was examined and found 'expert audict art autant qu'il appartient'. However there is no mention of his being able to set type in Hebrew, only in 'son language maternelle, aucunnement le latin et le françois'. Ph. Rombouts, 'Certificats delivres aux Imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin', *Antwerpsche Bibliophile Uitgaven*, 1881, Vols. 10, pp. 33-34.

²⁰² I am indebted to Dr. Dirk Imhof of the Plantin Moretus Museum for this information. Email correspondence dated 08 October 2007.

²⁰³ Eva Hanebutt-Benz, *Type Specimens of Oriental Scripts*, pp. 20. Franciscus Raphelengius, Plantin's son-in-law and proof reader at the publishing house where he had been employed since 1564, was an outstanding linguist and had helped to supervise the Bible project. From 1570, he devoted himself mainly to Arabic.

²⁰⁴ Voet, *The Plantin Press, Vol I*, pp. 312-315 and Clair pp. 70-71.

be to God, although at times indisposed, have never ceased for a single day – weekdays and feast-days alike – to do some writing, translating, sorting out whatever is suitable for the great work, as well as replying to letters sent to me about it from all parts to the observations and advice given to me ...’²⁰⁵ A rather charming note is recorded that Plantin’s eldest daughter Madeleine ‘carried the proofs of a folio Polyglot Bible to the home of the scholar Montanus and read from the originals in Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, Greek, and Latin. When one scholar asked a friend of the Plantin family about Madeleine’s astonishing linguistic abilities, he was told that she could read the works but did not understand their content.’²⁰⁶

Despite the obvious skills and scholarship of those involved in the Polyglot project, it still remains a remarkable achievement to have produced such a complex work, with so high a standard and in such a short period of time. Stephen Burnett comments that ‘while the challenge of printing Hebrew books without using Jewish printers might seem daunting, for the largest and most successful of these firms, it was all in a day’s work’.²⁰⁷

Nonetheless, the complexities of setting Hebrew are not to be underestimated.²⁰⁸ There are three elements involved in a fully vowelised setting in Hebrew: the basic letter, the vowel points which are placed mainly below, but also above the x-height, and finally the cantillation accents which indicate intonation.

²⁰⁵ Letter from *Documentos ineditos para la historia de España*, Vol, XLI, cited by Colin Clair, Christopher Plantin, p. 73.

²⁰⁶ Deborah Parker, ‘Women in the Book Trade in Italy 1475-1620’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 3 (Autumn, 1996), p. 515.

²⁰⁷ Burnett, ‘Christian Hebrew printing in the 16th century: Printers, Humanism and the impact of the Reformation’, pp. 27-28. The *apologia* by Avraham the son of Eliezer Brunschwig, which was appended to the Rabbinical Bible printed by Johannes Buxtorf in Basle in 1618, makes very clear the difficulties encountered in producing Hebrew books in the seventeenth century (and earlier). The author laments the total ignorance of compositors who ‘ne sont pas Israélites’ and who ‘n’ont pas vu l’oeuvre de Dieu dès l’enfance et sont hors d’état de lire ou de reconnaître même une lettre de notre langue sacrée’. Derenbourg argues that this ignorance and the resulting errors were often interpreted as authentic variant readings, but were in fact typographical errors. I am grateful to Professor Anthony Grafton for this important reference. J Derenbourg, ‘L’Édition de la Bible Rabbinique de Jean Buxtorf’, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, Vol. 30, 1895, pp. 70-78,

²⁰⁸ Hieronymus Hornschuch in *Orthotypographia* (1608), which provides an accurate depiction of sixteenth and seventeenth printing and composition practices, wrote that ‘I know indeed that most people have the idea firmly fixed in their minds that, since Latin, Greek, Hebrew &c. issue forth from the printers, therefore the men working there who practice the art must be educated. But as I have said, the situation is quite different. For if that were the case, most of them would be off like a shot from this sweat shop, to earn their living by their intelligence and learning, and not by their hands. Indeed, hired printers seldom live in fine houses, they say’. *Hornschuch’s Orthotypographia ...* Edited and translated by Philip Gaskell and Patricia Bradford. (Cambridge: University Library, 1972), p. 27.

They are generally placed above and below the letter, although some are placed within the body of the letter.

In Italy during the Incunabula period, the following procedure appears to have been common for the composition of vowelised Hebrew text:

1. The 26 consonants were first set – including the final letters for Kopf (ך), mem (מ), nun (נ), peh (פ) and Tsadde (צ);
2. Those consonants containing the vowel point, called *Dagesh Hazak* in Hebrew, and the vowel *Holem* of which there are roughly 40 depending on which are included in the fount. These accents are generally attached in the body, on the top or side of the main consonant.
3. The ten vowels points are then added, positioned underneath the consonants.
4. Finally the 27 vocalisation accents (or cantillation marks) are added, generally below the consonants. These are called *Simonei Ta'amin* in Hebrew, the word *Ta'am* meaning taste or flavour.

The same writer has noted that 'l'incisione e la fusione dei indicati ai numeri 2-4, essendo assai piccole le dimensioni dell'occhio, costituivano senz'altro un'operazione assai delicata che richiedeva un'estrema precisione'.²⁰⁹

It is also possible, although there is no direct evidence for it, that the compositor would have needed to rotate each line of type 360° in order to insert the vowel points and accents and justify them from line to line.

More evidence for manual typesetting of Hebrew comes from the Pierre Simon Fournier's *Manuel Typographique* of 1764-66. Fournier wrote that, for pointed (vowelised) Hebrew, 'this letter is called pointed because the characters have points within and over them and, besides that, first and third lines of signs called vowel points are often added'. He then confirms Tamani's notion of setting Hebrew in three lines, '...which is composed in three lines, the letters in the middle and points above and below them.'

²⁰⁹ Giuliano Tamani, 'Dall'amanuense al tipografo', in *I tipografi ebrei a Soncino 1483-1490: atti del convegno, Soncino, 12 giugno 1988*, pp. 46. I have used Tamani's basic scheme, but amended some of the numbers of characters, as set out more precisely in Gershon Zilberberg, *Torat HaDefus (The Principles of Printing)*, (Tel Aviv: The Union of Printing Workers in Israel, 1968), pp. 56-57.

Points over letters are rare, but since they are necessary, the manner of aligning them is as follows:

*The final mem is first cast in the centre of the body in a mould, which is a little too small for the letter. The equality of the beards is tested by turning one letter over ...When this is found to be correct, the range of the other letters is guided by the head, as I have just said. It remains to align the points, which are cast separately on a small body such as pearl or nonpareil, the size depending on that of the letters. These points are lined by the head ... Quadrats and spaces of the same body are also cast to separate the points and set them in the required position.*²¹⁰

Fournier is of course speaking of typefounding in a hand mould and is not describing hand composition, but he does indicate that techniques had been developed to produce both the consonants and vowels on the same body.²¹¹

Arabic posed similar, if not more complex problems, of typefounding and setting. The base forms and dots could either be cast on separate pieces of type or, alternatively, the base forms could be cast with all possible dot configurations and then cutting away those dots not required for the character.²¹² The cost and time involved in these procedures goes some way to explaining the Plantin's reluctance to include Arabic among the languages of the Antwerp Polyglot.

A nineteenth-century American publisher of Hebrew texts, Moses Stuart, also wrote of the technical problems involved in setting pointed Hebrew text. In the introduction to his *Hebrew Chrestomathy*, a grammar first published in 1829, he complained that 'the expense ... of printing Hebrew, is a thing that is yet but very imperfectly understood in our country.' He added that 'the labour of correcting a printed sheet of Hebrew, with the accents, is at least twenty-five times as much as that of correcting English

²¹⁰ Pierre Simon Fournier, *Fournier on Typefounding* ... ed. Harry Carter (London: Soncino Press, 1930) p. 151.

²¹¹ In the old days foundry had another method of aligning Hebrew with points, but it was more expensive and troublesome than that which I have described. Having dressed a mould for casting the letter on a body rather smaller than the face... they prepared a second which had a body equal to that of the letter added to that of the points, so that if one were pica and the other nonpareil, their second mould was great primer, which is the size of nonpareil added to a pica. In these two moulds, one pica and the other great primer, they cast all the letters of the alphabet, making the characters range at the feet. Those cast on a pica were intended to take an accent over them held in position and justified by means of spaces between the letters of great primer body. The accents cast in the small mould filled the intervals caused by the disparity of the bodies over the letters, but formed a third line beneath them. Pierre Simon Fournier, *Fournier on Typefounding*, p. 151.

²¹² R. Breugelmanns, John A. Lane, J. J. Witkam, Eds. *The Arabic type specimens of Franciscus Raphelengius's Plantinian Printing Office*, p. xi and Note 6.

printed with a type of the like size; and that the labour of the printer in setting up and correcting such a sheet, is at least six times as much as that of executing a sheet in English. Then the labour of the original writing or composition, where so many Hebrew words are to be written as occurs in the notes to this volume, is, at least, four times as much as that of composing a like quantity in mere English. Besides all this, no sheet is contained in the present volume, which has not, in the printing, gone through at least five several corrections or revisals, besides the corrections of the printers.²¹³

If such were the problems encountered in the nineteenth century in setting vowelled Hebrew, how much more impressive is the achievement of Plantin in the late sixteenth century!

²¹³ Maxwell Whiteman, 'The Introduction and Spread of Hebrew Type in the United States', *Printing History*, XIII, (1991), p. 46.

Chapter 5: The Antwerp Polyglot and its Reception

The total printed edition of the Antwerp Polyglot was 1231 copies, of which were printed on paper and 13 on vellum. Of the paper edition, 10 were printed on ‘grand papier impérial d’Italie’, 30 on ‘papier imperial à l’aigle’,²¹⁴ 200 on ‘papier fin royal au raisin’ (from Lyon), and 960 on ‘papier grand royal de Troyes’.²¹⁵ The vellum copies, of which one is to be found in the British Library,²¹⁶ were specially ordered by Philip II, and ‘only the first five volumes of each set were so printed’.²¹⁷ The prices of the period ranged from 200 florins for the ‘grand papier impérial d’Italie’ edition to 60 (for booksellers) to 70 florins for the ‘papier grand royal de Troyes’ edition. Voet notes that ‘the Polyglot Bible ...required no less than 1,600 sheets per copy, making an impressive total of 1,920,000 sheets or 3,840 reams for the entire printing of 1200 copies’.²¹⁸ A measure of the relative cost can be seen when one compares the daily wage of an unskilled labourer in Antwerp for 1570, which was six stuivers or patars, when there were 20 stuivers to the florin.²¹⁹ Thus an annual labourer’s wage would roughly equal the cost of one set of the Polyglot Bible on the very cheapest paper.

The print run for the Polyglot Bible was about the average for Plantin during the 1560s, when print runs could be as low as 600 (the folio *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani* of Vesalius-Valverde), to as many as 2,500 (the 16mo edition of *Virgil*). More typical was a print run of 1,250.²²⁰ The print run for the *Biblia Hebraica* of 1566, as previously noted, was extremely high and atypical.

The origin of the paper used in the Polyglot underscores the very international scale of the Officina Plantiniana and its publications. The main suppliers for paper in the sixteenth century were in Italy, France and Germany, whereas the parchment was supplied by *parchiminiers* in the Netherlands. Voet

²¹⁴ Colin Clair *Christopher Plantin*, (p. 75) notes that 10 sets were printed on ‘*grand papier impériale*’ (*hors de commerce*).

²¹⁵ Voet, *The Plantin Press*, Vol I, pp. 314-315.

²¹⁶ From British Library Integrated Catalogue: Humanities C.17.d.1-13. [Another copy.] A duplicate of the preceding. Imperfect; tom. 1 wanting six preliminary leaves, tom. 2 one leaf, and tom. 5 two leaves, all containing epistles of St. Jerome; tom. 8 wanting *Tabula Evangelicarum Lectionum*, *Loca restituta*, and *Actorum publicorum ... exempla*. On vellum, except for tom. 6 and 8. It is doubtful whether any copies of tom. 6 and 8 were printed on vellum. This copy has a leaf prefixed to the titlepage bearing a printed inscription dated 1571, stating that it was presented by Benedictus Arias Montanus, at the command of Philip II. King of Spain, to the Duke of Alva in recognition of his services in the Netherlands.

²¹⁷ Voet, *The Plantin Press*, Vol I, pp. 314.

²¹⁸ Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, Vol II, p. 20.

²¹⁹ Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, Vol I, pp. 440-443.

²²⁰ Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, Vol II, p. 389.

notes that the 13 vellum copies of the Polyglot Bible used over 16,000 sheets of parchment, and would have required at least 8,000 sheep.²²¹

The Plantin archives contain quite detailed records of the sales and distribution of the Polyglot Bible for the period 1571 through 1604.²²² With the exception of the years 1572 and 1573, sales were in the region of five to 20 copies per year. As mentioned earlier, the Antwerp merchant Luis Pérez²²³ 'bought' some 400 copies from Plantin in 1572, but it seems likely that this sale was part of a financial transaction to allow Plantin to complete the printing of the remaining full edition.²²⁴ Aside from this transaction, the main sales took place at the Frankfurt Book Fair (150 copies), or via the Parisian bookseller Michel Sonnius (nearly 100 copies), the Venetian-born London bookseller Ascanius de Renialme (40 – 50 copies),²²⁵ via Plantin's Paris branch (60- 70 copies), with the booksellers Martin de Varron (60 copies) and the Augsburg bookseller Georg Willer (40 copies).²²⁶

Although copies of the Bible were on sale from 1571,²²⁷ the Polyglot Bible had to be approved by the Vatican and this proved to be lengthy process, involving two trips by Arias Montano to Rome to make a personal defence of the contents of the Bible. Many of the objections arose from the very conception of the

²²¹ Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, Vol II, pp.20-22, 45-46. The Italian paper was supplied by Antoine Ciardi, an Italian bookseller resident in Antwerp. Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, Vol II, p. 23.

²²² I am indebted to Julianne Simpson, Rare Books Librarian at the Wellcome Library in London for these details. She presented the results of her research in the Plantin Moretus archives at a meeting of the Oxford seminar on the History of the Book 1450-1800 in February 2008.

²²³ Vicente Bécarea Botas writes that Luis Pérez 'era éste hermano de Marcos Pérez, figura importante del comercio del libro clandestino dirigido a España y en las revueltas calvinistas de Amberes en 1566, descendientes ambos de judíos originarios de Aragón...'. *Arias Montano y Plantino: el libro flamenco de la España de Felipe II*, p. 59.

²²⁴ Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin* p. 75 'When he (Plantin) had reached the last two volumes of the *Apparatus* he could print only 600 of the 1213 needed. He managed to obtain the money for the remaining copies through the good offices of his friend, the merchant Luis Perez, who bought from him 400 copies of the Bibles he had completed (360 of the ordinary edition and 40 on papier au raisin) for the sum of 16,800 florins. Because of the shortage of ready money, only one volume of the *Apparatus* was printed on vellum; the other two volumes belonging to the vellum sets were instead printed on *paper royal d'Italie*, and the thirteenth set was never actually completed'.

²²⁵ Article by R. Julian Roberts on Ascanius de Renialme in the ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue.urls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/47036> [Accessed 11 March 2008].

²²⁶ ... the bookseller Georg Willer (Augsburg in Franconia) Georg Willer sr. (1514 - 1593) established his bookselling business around 1548. He was the first bookseller to publish a catalogue of the books ... at the Frankfurt book fair, the first comprehensive book catalogue issued in Germany. It listed 256 titles, which were offered at the autumn 1564 edition of the fair. Willer's bookshop was among the most important ones in Southern Germany during the second part of the XVI century and the initial decades of the XVII century. <http://www.abooks.de/TFo6/deu/Kat/Freiburg.html> [Accessed 11 March 2008]. See also Henri Estienne, *Francofordiense Emporium. Der Frankfurter Markt. The Frankfort fair, La foire de Francfort.*, pp. 29 and 82.

²²⁷ Julianne Simpson, Graph showing sales recorded 1571 through 1604. See reference above.

Polyglot and Arias Montano's insistence on using certain Jewish sources and translations. For example, Philip II had specifically directed that the Sancte Pagnino Latin translation should not replace the Vulgate, and yet Arias Montano found a way around this and used the Sancte Pagnino version in the interlinear version found in Volume VII.²²⁸ In addition, Montano has made use of the work of such unorthodox scholars as Guillaume Postel and Andreas Masius, whose work was suspected of being heretical and cabbalistic and who was 'not *persona grata* in Rome'.²²⁹ As Robert Wilkinson has pointed out, 'Montano had now to defend the Polyglot against the reactionary theologians in Spain headed by León de Castro Under such heavy fire, it was understandable that the association of Postel and Masius with the project should be a source of potential embarrassment'.²³⁰ León de Castro was a theologian and Professor of Greek at the University of Salamanca, and a 'feroz opositor con respecto a la fuente lingüística primigenia hebraica de los textos sacros',²³¹ as well as being known for his denunciations to the Inquisitional tribunal.²³²

The first decision by the Papal Commission on the Polyglot, delivered in February 1572, ruled against an unconditional privilege due to various objections to the text, among them that 'much of the contents written by Montano, especially *De Arcano Sermone* and *De Ponderibus et Mensuris*, were suspected of being cabalistic', that the Talmud and Sebastian Münster, both on the Index, were quoted as authorities, and that there were contributions by Andreas Masius'.²³³ The final Papal judgement on the Antwerp Polyglot, delivered by the more liberal Jesuit theologian Juan de Mariana in August 1576, 'found no grounds for prohibiting the work',²³⁴ and in fact defended it in many aspects. Yet, Mariana found that 'although Montano was an outstanding Hebrew scholar, inaccuracies and mistakes had not yet been eliminated'.²³⁵

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that some of the Iberian Indices, such as the *Index Lisbon* of 1581,

²²⁸ Letter from Philip II to Montano dated 25 March 1568 and cited in Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598*, pp. 141-142.

²²⁹ Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 77.

²³⁰ Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, p. 72.

²³¹ Delfín Ortega Sánchez, 'El enfrentamiento entre arias montano y león de castro en la correspondencia privada del humanismo cristiano: ¿límites filológicos o divergencias humanísticas?' <http://www.tonosdigital.com/ojs/index.php/tonos/article/view/22/29>, [Accessed 18 June 2008].

²³² Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598*, p. 49.

²³³ Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598*, p. 55.

²³⁴ Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 80.

²³⁵ Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598*, p. 63.

prohibited a whole series of Bible editions containing the Hebrew text, ‘including Benito Arias Montano’s Polyglot edition’. This illustrates the hardening of the intellectual climate in Spain from the period of the production of the Complutensian Bible. Paradoxically, Benito Arias Montano had been involved in the production an *Index expurgatorius* in 1571 in Antwerp, and this ‘reflects the ambivalence of the censorial discourse, in which censors were frequently censored’.²³⁶

Amongst the Christian Hebraists of the following generations, the Antwerp Polyglot was apparently a major reference work. Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629), the influential Christian Hebraist of the early seventeenth century, made extensive use of a copy now in the Basle University Library in his work on the Targums.²³⁷ The Flemish-born theologian and Hebraicist, Constantijn L’Empereur (1591-1648), who was a Professor at Leiden, had the Plantin Hebrew Bible of 1566 in his library, as well as various other Hebrew Bibles, however, ‘the work he used most in his studies was the edition of the Hebrew Bible edited by Arias Montanus with the interlinear translation of Pagninus ... and was much used in the teaching of Hebrew in the French cultural area’.²³⁸ Finally, the much travelled Egyptian Copt, Josephus Barbatus or Abudacnus the copt (born ca. 1570), when he was Professor of Hebrew at the University of Louvain in the early seventeenth century, ordered at least seven Hebrew Bibles for his students of Hebrew from Plantin’s grandson Balthasar Moretus, which may well have included the 1566 Hebrew Bible.²³⁹

The reception of the Polyglot in the Christian world, despite the initial opposition by the Papal authorities, was not wholly negative and showed that the work *could* be used and interpreted according to individual taste. A set presented to the Indian Mughal emperor, Akbar the Great (1542 –1605) by a Jesuit mission in 1580, with the aim of converting him to Christianity, was not a success, but ‘but they certainly caused a sensation with their gifts to the emperor.’²⁴⁰ It is reported that the Emperor ‘treated the sacred

²³⁶ Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, *The censor, the editor, and the text: the Catholic Church and the shaping of the Jewish canon in the sixteenth century*, pp. 74, 79-80.

²³⁷ Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 272.

²³⁸ Peter T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L’Empereur (1591-1648) Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden*, (Leiden, New York, København and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1989), p. 44.

²³⁹ Alastair Hamilton, ‘An Egyptian Traveller in the Republic of Letters: Josephus Barbatus or Abudacnus the Copt’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 57. (1994), p. 134.

²⁴⁰ Sheila Canby, ‘Europe in India—Paintings, Drawings and Ivories from the British Museum’, *Eastern Art Report*, IV/3, 1996.

text with the profoundest reverence, removing his turban, placing each volume on his head and kissing it devoutly'.²⁴¹

A cursory examination of the provenance of extant surviving copies of the Polyglot Bible shows that they were owned chiefly by a variety of individuals, clerics, scholars and members of the aristocracy, as well as presentation copies. A study of personal library inventories from France in the sixteenth century notes that 'parmi ce grand public chrétien (and the *litterati*)...rars sont ceux qui possèdent même un ouvrage d'hébreu de base'. Furthermore, it appears that those who owned Hebrew books, or books containing Hebrew belonged to the category of 'hommes de métier ...un membre de clergé catholique ou protestant'. The author concludes that 'l'intérêt pour l'hébreu reste très rare parmi les gens cultivés et tout à fait exceptionnel par rapport à l'ensemble des hommes possédant des livres'.²⁴²

The reception of the Antwerp Polyglot, however, among Jews and in the Jewish world is more complicated and elusive. The Jewish world of this period can be divided into two spheres. There were those more observant and traditional Jews with little exposure to the non-Jewish world and who were cut off by tradition, language or prejudice. On the other hand, there were those Jews, mainly of Spanish or Portuguese origin, who had been forced to convert to Christianity and been forced into exile. These Jews were sometimes labelled as New Christians, conversos²⁴³ (descendants of baptized Jews in the Iberian Peninsula) crypto-Jews, marranos²⁴⁴ (initially a pejorative term but one later changed to a 'badge of pride') or 'Men of the Nation'.²⁴⁵ However they were called, either by Christians or by fellow Jews, and whatever their cultural and linguistic identity, they tended to inhabit a position poised somewhere between the Christian and Jewish worlds.

If one looks at the orthodox or traditional Jewish world, certain common characteristics appear to stand out.

Firstly, due to the very dispersed nature of Jewish life, there was no centralised controlling body, as

²⁴¹ Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919), cited by Colin Clair, p, 86

²⁴² Jean-Pierre Rothschild, 'Quelles notions le "grand public" des lettres chrétiens dans la France du XVI siècle eût-il de l'hébreu? Enquête parmi les inventaires de bibliothèques'. In *L'Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance*, pp. 173, 185-186.

²⁴³ Miriam Bodian, 'Men of the Nation: The Shaping of Converso Identity in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present*, Vol 143, (May, 1994), p. 49.

²⁴⁴ See Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (1932).

²⁴⁵ I am grateful to Theodor Dunkelgrün for his clarification on this point. Personal communication. (4 March 2008).

was typical in the Catholic world.²⁴⁶ With regard to books and Jewish printing, Robert Gordis has noted that ‘no such institution as an official *imprimatur* ever came into being, and works of every conceivable viewpoint continued to flow from the presses. There was no *Index* of forbidden books in Judaism. Although the authoritative code, the *Shulhan Arukh*, declares in one passage that it is forbidden on the Sabbath to read “secular poetry, fables, books dealing with wars and love-poetry”, the basic commentary of Isserles declares that the objection does not apply to books on these subjects in Hebrew, and adds that the practice was to be lenient on the subject’.²⁴⁷ The ultimate sanction was the use of excommunication, or *Herem*, to oppose ‘doctrines considered heretical’, which was mainly ‘a ban prohibiting social intercourse and marriage with a heretic and denying him burial rites’. This was most famously applied to Benedict de Spinoza in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. Yet, as a rule, ‘questionable books were sometimes banned, but generally they were prohibited only to the masses’. What did develop was the system of permissions or *Haskamot*. This practice appears to have originated in the fifteenth century and could have come from the example of the *approbatio* of the Catholic Church and also served as a type of copyright. For example, in 1554 in Italy a Rabbinical synod ruled that of that a book needed prior approbation of three rabbis before it could be printed.²⁴⁸ This practice was also used by Benito Arias Montano in the Antwerp Polyglot, where he inserted a short *Approbatio* in both Hebrew and Latin at the end of each part of the Bible.²⁴⁹

A second characteristic was the use of Hebrew as the main language of communication among Jews. This is borne out by an analysis of the lists of books submitted by the Jews of the Duchy of Mantua in

²⁴⁶ See James William Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community: A Study of His Political and Economic Situation* (London: Soncino Press, 1938), p. 239. I have also discussed this point at more length in my essay submitted for this course in January 2007 entitled *The Hebrew Book in the Middle Ages: A view from a Book History Perspective*.

²⁴⁷ Robert Gordis, ‘Judaism: Freedom of Expression and the Right to Know in the Jewish Tradition’, *Columbia Law Review*, 54/ 5, May 1954, pp. 692-693.

²⁴⁸ The *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House Ltd), 1971), Vol 8, p. 361 and Vol 7, p. 1451. See also Vol 5 p. 279. This article mentions the rabbinic ordinance of 1554 adopted by a synod in Ferrara which established a system of internal control over the printing of Hebrew books. This action was repeated in Padua in 1585, by the Council of the Four Lands in Poland and the Jewish community in Frankfurt in 1603, and the Sephardi community in Amsterdam in 1639. There were various reasons for censorship: banning of salacious or trivial publications, such as the banning of Immanuel of Rome’s erotic *Mahbarot* by Joseph Caro (ca. 1488 - 1575) in his *Shulhan Arukh*, or books containing incorrect halakhic decisions or explanations; books written or published by apostates, incorrect or unauthorised prayers books, or books which were deemed to contain an unacceptable philosophy such as the Shabbateans, the Frankists, Hassidim, Haskalah or the Reform movement.

²⁴⁹ Voet, *The Plantin Press*, Vol I, p. 283.

1595, when they were first required to hand in all their books to be burnt, which was later changed to a demand to submit lists of works to be expurgated. These lists provide an illuminating insight into the libraries of some 430 families or some 2,300 individuals, of which 96.4 percent were in Hebrew, 1.2 percent in Yiddish and 2.4 percent in other languages. Of the Hebrew books, for example, the largest proportion was liturgical (34.7 percent), followed by Bibles or commentaries (22.2 percent), and works on Halakha (Jewish Law) or Halakhic decisions (10.7 percent). The author of this study argues that it was 'notamment dans sa bibliothèque privée qu'il (the Jew) retrouvait les sources de son patrimoine spirituel juif'.²⁵⁰

What is of particular interest is the type of books in foreign languages (mainly Italian) and the very small number of Christian Bibles or other liturgical works named in the lists. The majority of the books in Italian are either in the category of literature or poetry. Thus one glimpses here a small Jewish community which retained a distinct literary and linguistic culture, with little influence from external Christian influences in their reading habits, and yet coexisted with the larger Christian world.²⁵¹ It also underlines the lack of appeal that the Antwerp Polyglot Bible would have had in the traditional, orthodox Jewish community.

The third common element was the attitude of the Christian world to Hebrew literature, which no doubt affected both the more traditional Jewish society as well as the conversos. This was expressed in the censorship of Hebrew literature instituted by the Catholic Church in the middle of the sixteenth century, which manifested itself initially by the burnings of the Talmud, and later 'by a strict prohibition of against using the Talmud or any works based on it'. The result of these measures was that 'Hebrew literature was subject to the constant control of censors, most of them converts, who were responsible for checking and expurgating printed books as well as books prior to their publication'. Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin argues that the impetus for the censorship was the very fact that Christians were beginning to read Jewish literature and thus the impact of Christian Hebraism becomes all the stronger. The pressures from the outside world led to a type of Jewish internal censorship, which reflected the more widespread distribution of

²⁵⁰ Shifra Baruchson-Arbib, *La culture livresque des juifs d'Italie à la fin de la Renaissance*, (Paris: CNRS - Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), pp. 55-56.

²⁵¹ Shifra Baruchson-Arbib, *La culture livresque des juifs d'Italie à la fin de la Renaissance*, pp. 26-27, 52-53, 57, 181.

printed literature in the late sixteenth century and an attempt ‘to prevent infiltration of heretical ideas or ideas that might erode the authority of the rabbis and the resistance of the Jewish community to the Christian challenge’. Nevertheless, such internal censorship does not appear to have been equal in any way to the more organised attempts of the Catholic Church, such as the *Indices Librorum Prohibitorum* and the *Index expurgatorius* of 1599 and 1607.²⁵²

Despite the pressures of censorship and book burnings, there is evidence for a thriving market and devotion to Hebrew literature among Jewish populations.²⁵³ Hebrew book prices in Italy in the sixteenth century meant that ‘a small book could cost a middle income person the equivalent of nine pounds of meat, a large book 51 pounds of meat or 11 pounds of candles. An *Alfasi* or a *Babylonian Talmud* could cost as much as 12 or 15 percent of annual salary’.²⁵⁴ The analysis of the lists from Mantua in 1595 demonstrates that 70 percent of the families had up to 50 volumes in their possession, nearly 20 percent up to 100 volumes, and over 10 percent up to 350 volumes.²⁵⁵

Contemporary references among Jewish writers to the Plantin Polyglot, or indeed to any of Plantin’s works are rare.²⁵⁶ The absence of such comments could be explained by the fact that such a Bible would

²⁵² Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, *The censor, the editor, and the text: the Catholic Church and the shaping of the Jewish canon in the sixteenth century*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 1, 79, 118.

²⁵³ Evidence for this Jewish book market comes indirectly from the introduction to Rutgher Spey’s *Epistola Pauli ad Galatas, item sex primaria capita Christianae religionis Arabice: quibus ad finem adiunctum est compendium grammatices Arabicae*, printed in 1583 by Jacob Mylius in Heidelberg. Spey wrote that ‘if the Hebrew Bibles printed in Venice and in other places in Germany can be spread to the Jews of the whole Orient for their use, why not expect the same for copies in Arabic?’ Spey was writing with a view towards spreading the Protestant Christian cause among what he called the ‘non-Roman Christians’ of the Orient, and this approach may have been the impetus behind the creation of the Stamperia Medicea Orientale in Rome in order to promote the printing of books inspired by the principles of the Council of Trent by the Catholic Church. However, this comment shows the extent of the success of such printer/publishers as Bomberg in reaching a wider Jewish audience. See Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *Cyrillic & oriental typography in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century: an inquiry into the later work of Robert Granjon (1578-90)*, (Berkeley, California: Poltroon Press, 1981), pp. 25-27 and the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, <http://www.bml.firenze.sbn.it/collections.htm>, [Accessed 16 July 2008]

²⁵⁴ Shifra Baruchson-Arbib, ‘The Prices of Printed Hebrew Books in Cinquecento Italy’, *Bibliofilia* 97:2, (Florence, 1995) cited in Marvin Heller, *The sixteenth century Hebrew book: an abridged thesaurus*, Vol I, pp. liii-liv. See also Robert Bonfil, *Rabbis and Jewish Communities in Renaissance Italy*, (Oxford: The Littman Library and Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 272-280

²⁵⁵ Shifra Baruchson-Arbib, *La culture livresque des juifs d’Italie à la fin de la Renaissance*, p. 50.

²⁵⁶ Even the contemporary Italian Jewish scholar, Azariah de’ Rossi (1511 – 1577) is not known to have used the Antwerp Polyglot in the preparation of his well-known work, *Light of the Eyes (Me’or Enayim)*, which was first printed in Mantua in 1573. De’ Rossi took great pains ‘to demonstrate the accuracy of the Syriac text of the New Testament’ and ‘consulted several Latin translations of the Hebrew Bible’, including the Xantes Pagninus and Sebastian Münster editions. See Azariah ben Moses dei Rossi, and Joanna Weinberg, *Azariah de’ Rossi’s observations on the Syriac New Testament: a critique of the Vulgate by a sixteenth-century* THIS FOOTNOTE CONTINUES ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE.

have been irrelevant to the needs of most Jews of the period, or perhaps far too costly, as it surely was in relation to average incomes, or due to a more basic aversion of having much contact with non-Jews or their works. Despite widespread economic contact between Jews and Christians, ‘social contact was prevented in the first place by the regulations concerning food and drink ... which did not prevent a gentile from eating at a Jew’s table, but they did prevent any kind of reciprocity, a necessary prerequisite for social relations based on equality’. Beyond these ritual restrictions, Christianity remained ‘a dark and forbidding world for Jews’, and ‘an expression of an alien world and the embodiment on earth of the demonic “other side”’. This very basic separation between Jew and non-Jew arose from the Talmudic definition of other religions as *avoda zara*, which meant literally *foreign work*, but in the Talmud indicated alien worship or idolatry, and which came to be applied to Christianity as well.²⁵⁷

There is a curious point in the interlinear Hebrew Pentateuch in the separately printed edition of volume seven of the Polyglot (the 1571 edition)²⁵⁸, which may indicate an evangelising intent on the part of Arias Montano. Ginsburg noted that ‘as far the Jews were concerned, he (Montano) precluded the possibility of their using this splendid edition with the interlinear Latin translation, because he wantonly placed the sign of the cross at every verse division throughout the whole Hebrew text’.²⁵⁹ The 1584 edition does *not* have the cross, and this raises the possibility that the entire text was reset to do away with this feature.²⁶⁰

If we now look at examples of various sixteenth or seventeenth century Jewish scholars or rabbis, we find interesting references to their attitudes to non-Jewish books.

Rabbi David Ibn Abi Zimra, (1479 – 1589) also known in Hebrew as the *Radbaz*, was a Spanish Jewish scholar and was known for his writings on Jewish law and Kabbalah.. He eventually became the Chief

Jew, (London: Warburg Institute, 2005) pp. 13, 17.

²⁵⁷ Jacob Katz, *Tradition and crisis: Jewish society at the end of the Middle Ages*, (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1972), pp. 17, 20- 24.

²⁵⁸ British Library Integrated Catalogue: *Hebraicorum Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti Latina interpretatio [interlined with the Hebrew text], opera olim Xantis Pagnini Lucensis..., nunc vero ... F. Raphelengii ... studio ad Hebraicam dictionem ... expensa.*, Shelfmark 6.h.10.

²⁵⁹ Christian D Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-critical edition of the Hebrew Bible*, p. 107.

²⁶⁰ British Library Integrated Catalogue: *Biblia Hebraica /Eorundem Latina interpretatio Xantis Pagnini Lucensis, recenter Benedicti Ariæ Montani Hispal. & quorundam aliorum collato studio, ad Hebraicam dictionem diligentissime expensa. Accesserunt & huic editioni libri Græcè scripti, qui vocantur Apocryphi; cum interlineari interpretatione Latina ex Biblis Complutensibus petita.*, Shelfmark 01902.e.12.

Rabbi of Egypt for some 40 years ²⁶¹ and his writing do not appear to relate specifically to non-Jewish books, but he ‘did not look with great favor upon Jews mingling too freely with their non-Jewish neighbors’, and advised that ‘it is best for an Israelite to keep far away from a group of non-Jews who were drinking, for the Israelite might learn their ways and thus be drawn into transgression of the law’. He did have a ‘well-stocked library of manuscripts and printed books’, but apparently no books by non-Jewish authors and only one volume in Arabic.²⁶²

The seventeenth century Polish-born rabbi Jonathan Eybeschuetz (1680-1764) in a sermon preached to a congregation in Metz in 1744, warned against the greed for wealth, which might lead children ‘to mix with the Gentiles and learn their patterns of behavior’.²⁶³ Another seventeenth century rabbi, Yom-Tov Lipmann Heller, was little concerned with non-Jewish authors and in a list of 150 books in his *Tosefot Yom Tov*,²⁶⁴ mentioned only two non-Jewish works and neither of them by a Christian author. He advocated the ‘legitimacy of studying non-Jewish science and mathematics’, but on the whole he ‘accepted the prohibition on non-Jewish books’. Joseph M. Davis notes that ‘for Ashkenazi Jews (in the seventeenth century) the essential distinction was between Jewish and non-Jewish books. Tearing down that barrier eventually became one of the major goals of the Jewish enlightenment in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’.²⁶⁵

The attitude of Conversos towards works produced by Christian Hebraists was however more open-minded. A good example is the Portuguese-born Jewish scholar and writer Immanuel Aboab (ca. 1555 – 1628).²⁶⁶ Immanuel Aboab was the author of a work²⁶⁷ which was ‘was itself essentially polemical, being

²⁶¹ Entry on David ben Solomon ibn Abi Zimra, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, pp. 469-470, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=141&letter=D&search=David%20ben%20Solomon%20oibn%20Abi%20Zimra>, [Accessed 19 June 2008].

²⁶² Israel M. Goldman, *The life and times of Rabbi David Ibn Abi Zimra: a social, economic and cultural study of Jewish life in the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th centuries as reflected in the Responsa of the RDBZ*, (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1970), pp. 32-33, and 155-156.

²⁶³ Marc Saperstein, *Jewish preaching, 1200-1800: an anthology*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 343.

²⁶⁴ *Tosefot Yom-Tob*, notes and glosses to the six orders of the Mishnah; first published with the text, Prague, 1614-17; then revised by the author, Cracow, 1643. From the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, entry on Yom-Tob Lipmann Ben Nathan Ben Moses Levi Heller, Vol. VI, pp. 341-343. http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view_friendly.jsp?artid=574&letter=H [Accessed 13 March 2008].

²⁶⁵ Joseph M. Davis, *Yom-Tov Lipmann Heller: portrait of a seventeenth-century rabbi*, (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), pp. 87-92.

²⁶⁶ He was the grandson of the noted fourteenth century Spanish scholar Isaac Aboab. Article on Aboab in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, pp. 72-75,
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principally intended as ‘a vindication of Jewish tradition against those persons (especially in Italy) who maintained that the oral law had no binding authority’.²⁶⁸ The relevant extract is in the form of a dialogue between Aboab and a Christian dean whom he meets in a bookseller’s shop and in which they discuss, among other subjects, the Plantin Hebrew Bible of 1566.²⁶⁹

Deyan: ... *Mas veamos la Biblia de Anveres, que pues V.M (que tiene muchos, y muy hermosas, como yo he visto) la estima tanto, deve merecerlo ella.*

Immanuel: *Hela aqui señor, y verá V.S. una hermosissima pieça. Porque ultra de la claridad, y persicion de la letre, que es de las mejores; es de la mas correcta estampa, en los puntos y accentos, que he visto. Y puesto que la Biblia Regia de Pariz, impressa por Roberto Estepano, en diversos modos es muy excelente; y las de Venecia de Daniel Bomberga; y las Justinianas; y ansi la Biblia de Leon, todas son muy buenas; con todo esso, estas de Anveres, ansi en quarto, como en octavo, son muy mas correctas.*

Deyan: *Por cierto que me parece perfecta; y puesto que no soy tan experto en la lengua sancta, que puedo hazer juicio, la tenga por mucho major estampa, que la de mis libros, que son todos de la de Bomberga.*

Immanuel: *Aun que se deve mucho à Christophoro Plantino, que imprimió con tanto cuydado esta Biblia en el año 5326 (1565 or 1566), no se deve menos à Daniel Bomberga, con cuyos moldes se hizo la estampa; y por su mandato, como se vé en el titulo.*

This brief dialogue is illuminating in that it emphasizes the high reputation with which Plantin was held by his contemporaries, both for the quality of his printing and the accuracy of his text, as well as his use of the Bomberg Hebrew type.

http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view_friendly.jsp?artid=344&letter=A [Accessed 14 March 2008].

²⁶⁷ This was published by his heirs at Amsterdam first in 1629 under the title *Nomologia o Discursos Legales, Compuestos por el Virtuoso Hakam Rabi Imanuel Aboab de Buena Memoria*. See Article on Aboab in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view_friendly.jsp?artid=344&letter=A [Accessed 14 March 2008].

²⁶⁸ Cecil Roth, ‘Immanuel Aboab’s Proselytization of the Marranos. From an Unpublished Letter’, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, No. 2. (Oct., 1932) p. 126.

²⁶⁹ Immanuel Aboab, [*Nomologia o Discursos legales.*] Segunda edicion. Coregida y emendada por ... Ischak Lopes. pp. 347. Amsterdam, 5487 [1727]. pp. 229-231; British Library Shelfmark 4033.b.57.

A later witness to the use made of Plantin's Hebrew editions is Isaac Orobio de Castro (ca. 1617?-1687), the Spanish born Converso, who made the transition from being a New Christian in Portugal and Spain (as Dr. Baltazar de Orobio) to a renewed identity as a Jew and leading member of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community.²⁷⁰ Orobio wrote in his *Carta Apologética* that 'the scriptures, in their Latin vulgate translation, have never been out of my hands since childhood. Later on, there came my way [the Latin versions of] Sanctes Pagninus and Arias Montano, and my favourite enjoyment still comes from searching out the inconsistencies between the various translations.' Furthermore, Orobio had great respect for the biblical comments of Arias Montano and frequently referred to the Antwerp Polyglot, where he called Montano el Doctissimo Hebraico'.²⁷¹

Isaac de Orobio also may have been on friendly terms with Baruch de Spinoza even after Spinoza's excommunication from the Jewish community in 1656, but later contributed to the campaign against Spinoza's philosophy.²⁷² There is an intriguing possibility that the Antwerp Polyglot might have been used or at least consulted by Spinoza. The library of Spinoza's House in Rijnsburg contains a Syriac translation of the New Testament printed in Hebrew letters in 1569,²⁷³ which is most probably a literal Latin translation and edition of the Syriac New Testament compiled by (Joannes) Immanuel Tremellius, (1510–1580), the Hebrew and biblical scholar. Because of the lack of Syriac types in the workshop of the printer Henri Estienne, however, both the grammar and the New Testament were published in Hebrew characters.²⁷⁴ Plantin was aware of this edition when he was in the early stages of preparing the Polyglot Bible, as he had received the Syriac version of the New Testament transcribed into Hebrew Characters

²⁷⁰ Orobio combined a 'mass of knowledge regarding Christian theology, christological exegesis of the Old Testament and the various schools of schools of Christian philosophy'. He was known, among other things, for his writings on Jewish matters, and his disputation with the Christian theologian Philip van Limborch in 1686. Furthermore, Yosef Kaplan writes that Orobio was regarded by many of 'the outstanding intellectual amongst the Portuguese Jews, so that debate with him came to be a challenge of the first order'.

²⁷¹ Yosef Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism: the story of Isaac Orobio de Castro*, (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1989), pp. v-ix, 234, 235, 237, 239, p. 237 and note 24, pp. 273-285.

²⁷² Yosef Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism: the story of Isaac Orobio de Castro*, pp. 262-270.

²⁷³ Theo van der Werf, *George Rosenthal and the Spinoza House Society*, <http://cf.uba.uva.nl/nl/publicaties/treasures/text/t47.html> [Accessed 16 February 2008]. See also Adri J. Offenbergh, 'Spinoza's Library. The story of a Reconstruction'. *Quaerendo*, 1973, Vol 3, No. 4, pp. 309-327.

²⁷⁴ Alastair Hamilton, Article on Tremellius <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/27694> [Accessed 17 February 2008]. See also Ben Merkle, 'Immanuel Tremellius & the Morris Collection at Christ Church', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Volume 4, 2008, Issue 3, pp. 7-9 for further background information. Merkle writes that 'the fact that Tremellius was a converted Jew and the fact that much of his work drew from his Jewish learning caused many Christians to be deeply suspicious of Tremellius' work. Those who disagreed with his scholarship found it easy to dismiss it as "Judaizing." p. 8.

prepared by Guy Lefèvre de la Broderie, together with a literal translation into Latin.²⁷⁵

It thus seems possible to summarise the reception of the Antwerp Polyglot among Jews into two main groups: the majority for whom it would have been perceived as a Christian work and therefore not to be consulted at all. The second group, much smaller and restricted to those Jews who bridged both worlds (such as Jews from a Spanish or Portuguese background), who might have known or used it, as seen in the examples mentioned above.

For the first group, there were already two ‘Jewish’ polyglot bibles in existence. These were the two polyglot versions of the Pentateuch printed by Eliezer ben Gershom Soncino in Constantinople in 1546 and 1547; the first in Hebrew and Aramaic with a Persian and Arabic Targum²⁷⁶ and the second in Hebrew and Aramaic with a Spanish and Greek Targum (both in Hebrew letters.²⁷⁷ (See illustration 25 in Appendix C.) These editions were aimed at a specifically *Jewish* audience, judging from the languages used and most probably at those Sephardic Jews living around the Mediterranean basin and also at those Emigrés from Spain.²⁷⁸ The Arabic translation in the 1546 Soncino Polyglot is by the tenth century scholar and rabbi Rav Saadiah Gaon, and the Judeo-Persian translation is by the sixteenth century Jewish scholar Jacob ben Joseph Tavus. This version was later used in the London Polyglot Bible of 1655-57 of Bishop Brian Walton.²⁷⁹ The Judeo-Greek, as used in the 1547 edition, is the earliest printed literary text in this dialect.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ Plantin wrote to Gabriel Zayas in March 1568 that ‘Je voudrois bien l’imprimer le plus tot qu’il me seroit possible, afin que ceste edition catholique vint en lumiere devant celle que prepare un quidam Calviniste’. In a subsequent letter from Cardinal Granvelle to Plantin in April 1568, the cardinal wrote that ‘vous faictes fort bien de donner haste à l’impression du nouveau testament de langue siriacque, devant que ce Juyf calviniste imprime sa traduction’. Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 67 and note 13, p. 257.

²⁷⁶ Translation in Hebrew.

²⁷⁷ Abraham Yaari, *Hebrew Printing at Constantinople: Its History and Bibliography* (in Hebrew), (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1967), pp. 102-103.

²⁷⁸ Benzion Netanyahu estimates that there were in the order of 25,000 to 30,000 ‘ex-converts’ or Marranos (Jews of Spanish or Portuguese origins) in Turkey in the late 16th century. This figure is based partially on a report by Stephan Gerlach, preacher of the German embassy in Constantinople who estimated that ‘there were in 1575 over 10,000 Jews in the Turkish Capital’. (B. Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 219. This figure gives an idea of the potential readership for the Soncino Polyglot Bibles.

²⁷⁹ Marvin Heller, *The sixteenth century Hebrew book: an abridged thesaurus*, Vol I, pp. 324-325. This version was apparently used by Arabists of this period, given the paucity of available Arabic texts for consultation. (Information from Professor Alastair Hamilton of the Warburg Institute). A copy of this polyglot was owned and used by Franciscus Raphelengius in Leiden, and was a major source for the first Latin Arabic dictionary (*Lexicon Arabicum*, 1613), thus confirming the cross cultural importance of this edition. (Information provided by Theodor Dunkelgrün, in his paper, ‘From Antwerp to Leiden: the *translatio Studii* of Hebrew Scholarship in the Low Countries’, delivered at Antwerp on 26 June 2008. See also Dr. Francine de Nave, *Philologica Arabica, Arabische studiën en drukken in de Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw*, THIS FOOTNOTE CONTINUES ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE.

Concluding Remarks

This dissertation has examined a specific element in one of the major typographic undertakings in sixteenth-century book history, the Plantin Polyglot Bible. Several tentative conclusions appear to be possible:

- The Antwerp Polyglot had minor if any impact on the Jewish world, as the Masoretic text (MT) had already been established by the tenth century CE. The Jewish Bible (The *Tanakh*) thus needed no amendment for Orthodox or conservative Jewish readerships of the sixteenth century. The largest potential audience were those Spanish or Portuguese New Christians whose links with traditional Judaism had been broken and needed a bilingual text to allow them to comprehend the Hebrew text. The same situation existed at an earlier period when Greek speaking Jews had the same requirement.²⁸¹
- The number and quality of Plantin's Hebrew publications make him a major force in Christian Hebrew printing of the sixteenth century.²⁸²
- Plantin's role in commissioning Hebrew type from such figures as Guillaume Le Bé and his (Plantin's) association with the Bomberg family amount to a major contribution to the development of Hebrew typography.
- The Antwerp Polyglot can be viewed as an essential part of the continuum in the production of printed Polyglot Bibles from the Complutensian to the Walton Polyglot²⁸³ and did point toward the way

(Antwerpen: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1986), pp. 133-135 and Alastair Hamilton's article 'Arabic Studies in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in the same publication, p. C. For notes on the Persian version see Walter J. Fischel, 'The Bible in Persian Translation: A Contribution to the History of Bible Translations in Persia and India', *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 45, No. 1, (Jan., 1952), pp. 5-7.

²⁸⁰ Valmadonna Trust Library and Brad Sabin Hill, *Hebraica, saec. X ad saec. XVI: manuscripts and early printed books from the Library of the Valmadonna Trust: an exhibition at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York*, item 31.

²⁸¹ Harry M. Orlinsky, 'The Columnar Order of the Hexapla', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 27 (1936), 137-49.

²⁸² S. G. Burnett, 'Christian Hebrew Printing in the 16th Century: Printers, Humanism and the Impact of the Reformation', *Helmantica* 51 (2000), 13-42. Godfrey Silverman has described Plantin as '... after Daniel Bomberg, the outstanding 16th century Christian Printer of Hebrew books'. Godfrey Edmund Silverman, entry on Christophe Plantin, *The Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd Edition, Vol. XVI, p. 219, (Detroit; London: Macmillan Reference USA in association with the Keter Pub. House, 2007).

²⁸³ See the comparative table of the four great Polyglot Bibles in T. B. Reed and A. F. Johnson, *History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, (London: Faber, 1952) p. 157 and Adrian Schenker, 'Der Alttestamentliche Text in den vier Grossen Polyglottenbibeln nach dem Heutigen Stand der Forschung', *Theologische Revue*, 90 (1994), 177-88.

towards ‘future high biblical studies’ in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’²⁸⁴ as well as becoming ‘monuments to stimulate Scriptural studies’. This had the result of encouraging Orientalists in both the Protestant and Catholic world, for example the 16th century English Arabist William Bedwell, to add further recensions, which had been unknown or inaccessible to earlier generations.²⁸⁵ However, it hardly achieved any of the grand humanist ambitions as set out Plantin, his associates and more especially those of Benito Arias Montano. Many critics of the period maintained that it was in fact a heretical, almost subversive production, in that it referred to Jewish texts and authors such as Andreas Masius and Guillaume Postel.²⁸⁶ What it *did* accomplish was to further the agenda of a Humanistic Catholicism and a ‘république chrétienne’, which later metamorphosed into the ecumenical and more liberal religious attitudes of the eighteenth century Enlightenment.²⁸⁷ The Polyglot can be viewed as an extraordinary scholarly production, whose impact was not in proportion to its ambitions or pretensions.

The motives of both Christopher Plantin and Benito Arias Montano are closely tied with this production of the Polyglot and it can be said that they were stymied by the very nature of their times: politician and cultural repression, the growing split and dichotomy between the Catholic Church and the emerging Protestant movement. Antwerp as a city and place was at the very cusp of these divisions and both Plantin and Montano had to bend with the wind to ensure their own survival.

²⁸⁴ Alastair Hamilton, ‘Humanists and the Bible’, p. 115.

²⁸⁵ Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell The Arabist 1563 – 1632*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), p. 82.

²⁸⁶ Bertram Schwarzbach has written that ‘par rapport aux Bibles massorétiques ...et même par rapport aux éditions des Etiennes, elle (i.e. the Antwerp Polyglot) constitue une régression. Les anomalies typographiques, les lettres suspendues, les majuscules ainsi que les points extraordinaires ne sont plus retenues, et les קריין (*qeri'in*) et les סבירין (*sevirin*) manquent dans les marges ou bas des pages. Les cantillations sont pourtant conservées et la vocalisation est usuelle, mais la structure du paragraphe massorétique est également abandonnée’. The terms קריין and סבירין refer to words in the Biblical text that are written, but not pronounced in readings, or words that are pronounced in reading, but not written. See Bertram Schwarzbach, ‘Les Editions de la Bible Hébraïque au XVIe Siècle et la création du texte massorétique’, in *La Bible Imprimée dans l'Europe Moderne*, (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1999), pp. 25, 58-59.

²⁸⁷ ‘Plantin was een realist en heft alles uitgegeven waarmede winst was te maken, maar zijn persoonlijke voorkeur ging naar hetgeen nuttig en interessant was voor de ‘république chrétienne’. Hij is voor de tweede helft der 16e eeuw wat Aldus Manutius is geweest voor het einde van de 15e en het begin van de 16e eeuw: de grote drukker van het humanisme. Met Plantin werd Antwerpen tevens opnieuw een humanistisch uitstralingscentrum met humanisten’. Leon Voet, *Het Belgische humanisme na Erasmus. Het geestesleven in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden ten tijde van Plantin en Rubens. Tentoonstelling ingericht ter gelegenheid van de Nationale Erasmus-herdenking, Antwerpen, 6 juni 1969, etc.*, (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1967), p. 12.

Appendix A: Books produced in Hebrew by Plantin 1564-1642 in Antwerp and Leiden

Hebrew Books published at the Officina Plantiniana, Antwerp: 1564-1642.

List abridged from Voet, Leon, and Jenny Voet-Grisolle, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589): A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden* (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980), Vol VI, pp. 2552-2553 and separate entries for each entry where appropriate; T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the library of the British and foreign Bible society*, Albert van der Heide, *Hebraica Veritas*, (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 2008) and Lajb Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, R. G., *Hebrew typography in the Northern Netherlands, 1585-1815: historical evaluation, and descriptive bibliography*, (Leiden: Brill, 1984).

Number	Date Published	Title	Format	Notes	Number in Voet Bibliography	Number in Darlow & Moule
1	1564	Isaac Levita, <i>Grammatica Hebraea</i>	4°		1456	
2	1565	<i>Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca et Latina nomina ... quae in Bibliis ... leguntur</i>	8°		1749	
3	1565	<i>Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca et Latina nomina ... quae in Bibliis ... leguntur</i>	16mo		1750	
4	1565	<i>Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca et Latina nomina ... quae in Bibliis ... leguntur</i>	16mo		1751	
5	1566	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i>	4°	Set in Hebrew with vowel points; Uses matrices provided by Cornelis van Bomberghen and originating from Daniel Bomberg	649	5099
6	1566	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i>	8°, in 4 vols.	Uses matrices provided by Cornelis van Bomberghen and originating from Daniel Bomberg	650	5099
7	1566	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i>	16mo, in 4 vols.	Uses matrices provided by Cornelis van Bomberghen and originating from Daniel Bomberg	651	5099
8	1566	<i>Biblia Hebraica Proverbia Salomonis</i>	16mo		662	
9	1566	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Pentateuch</i>	4°	Set in Hebrew with vowel points; Uses matrices provided by Cornelis van Bomberghen	656	

Number	Date Published	Title	Format	Notes	Number in Voet Bibliography	Number in Darlow & Moule
				and originating from Daniel Bomberg		
10	1568-1573	<i>Biblia Sacra</i> [Polyglot in five languages]	Folio in 8 vols.		644	
11	1569	<i>Alphabetum Hebraicum</i>	8vo?		46	
12	1570	Isaac Levita, <i>Grammatica Hebraea</i> (editio quinta)			1457	
13	1570	Santi Pagnini, <i>Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae</i>			1863	
14	1571	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Ecclesiastes</i>	8°	Set in Hebrew with vowel points	665	
15	1572	<i>Biblia Sacra</i> [Polyglot: Hebrew, Greek, Latin]	Folio, in 2 vols.		645	
16	1572	Severus, <i>De ritibus baptismi et sacrae synaxis apud Syros christianos receptis liber</i>			2207	
17	1573-1574	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i>	8°	Set in Hebrew without vowel points	652	D& M list this as 5102 and the size as 16° in two volumes
18	1573-1574	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i>	24mo, in 4 vols		653	
19	1574	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Psalmi</i>	24mo		567	
20	1574	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Proverbia Salomonis</i> [in Hebrew?]	24mo		663	
21	1574	Andreas Masius, <i>Josuae imperatoris Historia illustrate atque explicate ad Andrea Masio</i>			1474	
22	1575	<i>Intinerarium Benjamini Tudelensis</i> (Benito Arias Montano tr.)			641	
23	1576	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Psalmi</i>	16mo	Set in Hebrew with vowel points	658	
24	1578	Santi Pagnini, <i>Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae</i>			1864	
25	1579	<i>Plantin Press: Catalogus librorum typographiae Plantini</i>			2068	
26	1580	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Psalmi</i>	16mo		659	
27	1581	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Psalmi</i>	16mo	Set in Hebrew with vowel points	660	
28	1581?	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Proverbia</i>	16mo		664	
29	1581	Johannes Drusius, <i>In Psalmos Davidis veterum interpretum quae exstant fragmenta</i>			1116	
30	1581	<i>Evangelia anniversaria, quae dominicis diebus et in sanctorum festis leguntur</i>			1150	
31	1582	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i>	4°	Set in Hebrew with vowel points	654	D&M list this as 5104 and

Number	Date Published	Title	Format	Notes	Number in Voet Bibliography	Number in Darlow & Moule
						a close reprint of 5099.
32	1582	Drusius, <i>Ad voces Hebraicas Novi Testamenti commentarius</i>			1115	
33	1584	Santi Pagnini, <i>Biblia Hebraica earundem Latino interpretation Xantis Pagnini Lucensis</i> [Polyglot: Hebrew, Greek, Latin]	Folio in 2 vols.		646	5106
34	1584	<i>Plantin Press: Catalogus librorum qui ex typographia Christophori Plantini prodierunt</i>			2069	
35	1585	Petrus Martinius, <i>Grammaticae Hebraeae libri duo</i> (Produced in Leiden)			1641	
36	1586	Caspar Melissander, <i>Prima Hebraicae linguae elementa</i>			1659	
37	1587-1588	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Prophetiae minores</i>	16°		666	5109 and date given as 1597
38	1588	Santi Pagnini, <i>Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae</i>			1865	
39	1596	Robertus Bellarminus, <i>Institutiones linguae Hebraicae, Ex Officina Plantiniana, apud Viduam et Ioannem Moretum</i>			MPM A1413	
40	1606	Robertus Bellarminus, <i>Institutiones linguae Hebraicae, Ex Officina Plantiniana, apud Viduam et Ioannem Moretum</i>			MPM A845	
41	1616	Robertus Bellarminus, <i>Institutiones linguae Hebraicae, Ex Officina Plantiniana, apud Viduam et Filios Ioannem Moretum</i>			MPM A852	
42	1642	Johannes Chiffletius, <i>Apologetica parae esis ad linguam sanctum, Ex Officina Plantiniana, Bathasaris Moreti</i>			MPM A 1744	

Hebrew Books published at the Officina Plantiniana, Leiden: 1585-1616.

List adapted from Albert van den Heide, *Hebraica Veritas*, (Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus Museum, 2008) and Lajb Fuks and R. G Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands, 1585-1815: historical evaluation, and descriptive bibliography*, (Leiden: Brill, 1984).

Number	Date Published	Title	Number in Voet Bibliography or Plantin Moretus Museum Shelfmark	Number in Fuks
1	1585	Petrus Martinus, <i>Grammaticae Hebraeae libri duo</i>	1641	1
2	1588	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Minor Prophets</i>		2
3	1588	Santi Pagnini, <i>Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae</i>		3
4	1588?	<i>Excudebat Franciscus Raphelengius Typis Plantiniana</i>	MPM R. 55.25	
5	1589	Johannes Drusius, <i>De Litteris משה כלב libri duo</i>		4
6	1589	Nicolaus Clenardus, <i>Tabula in grammaticen hebraecum</i>		5
7	1590	Petrus Martinus, <i>Grammaticae Hebraeae libri duo</i>		6
8	1590	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Proverbia</i>		7
9	1591	הנורן <i>hoc est Catechesis sive Prima institutio aut rudimenta religionis christianae: Ebraicè, Graecè et Latinè explicata</i> (The Heidelberg Catechismus in Latin, Hebrew [by Immanuel Tremmelius] and Greek [by Henri Estienne])		8
10	1592	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Psalmi</i>		9
11	1593	Petrus Martinus/John Udall, מפתח לשון הקודש <i>That is the key to the Holy Tongue</i>	MPM 8-151	10
12	1593	Isaac Goenbeck, <i>De Accentibus Ebraeicus Libellus</i>		11
13	1595	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Psalmi</i>		12
14	1595	Johannes Drusius, <i>Lectiones in Prophetam Nahum, Habuccuc, Sophoniam, Ioelem, Ionam, Abdiam</i>		13
15	1597	<i>Biblia Hebraica: Minor Prophets</i>		14
16	1598	Joseph Scaliger, <i>Opus de Emendatione Temporum</i>	MPM 2-27	15
17	1599	Santi Pagnini, <i>Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae</i>	MPM.R 56.10 8-593	16
18	1599	Johannes Drusius, <i>De Litteris משה כלב libri duo</i>		17
19	1599	Johannes Drusius, <i>In Prophetam Hoseam lectiones</i>		18
20	1600	Johannes Drusius, <i>In Prophetam Amos lectiones</i>		19
21	1603	<i>Biblia Hebraica, Minor Prophets</i>		20
22	1607	Petrus Martinus/John Udall, <i>Grammaticae Hebraeae libri duo: Accessit Exercitatio grammatica in Ps. I, XXV, et LXVIII</i>		21
23	1608	<i>Biblia Hebraica, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lunemations, Ecclesiastes, Esther</i>		22

Number	Date Published	Title	Number in Voet Bibliography or Plantin Moretus Museum Shelfmark	Number in Fuks
24	1609	Santi Pagnini, <i>Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae</i>	MPM A2175	24
25	1610	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i>	MPM B II4-6-17	25
26	1611-1612	Petrus Martinus/Gulielmus Coddæus, <i>Grammatica Hebraea ... emendata Item Grammatica Chaldaea</i>	MPM 8-4-71	26
27	1613	Fr. Raphelengius, <i>Lexicon Arabicum</i>	MPM A1364-	27
28	1613	Thomas Erpenius, <i>Grammatica Arabica</i> ,	MPM A1590 R4-7 4-2	28
29	1608- 1613	Santi Pagnini, <i>Biblia Hebraica, cum interlineari interpretatione Latina</i>	MPM A 1634- A 3851	23
30	1608- 1613	Santi Pagnini, <i>Psalmi Davidis Hebraici, cum interlineari versione</i>	MPM R28.3	29
31	1614-,	<i>Psalmi Davidis Hebraici, cum interlineari versione, together with Proverbia Salomonis, Iob, Canticum Canticorum, Ruth, Lamentationes Ieremiae, Ecclesiastes, et Esther, Hebraicè, cum interlineari versione</i>	MPM R12.6	29
32	1616	Santi Pagnini, <i>Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae</i>	MPM R 56.10	30

Appendix B: The Hebrew typefaces used by Plantin

Information compiled from: *Museum Plantin-Moretus, Inventaris van de Stempels en Matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum Punches and Matrices*. Eng. (Antwerpen: Museum Plantin-Moretus 1960), John Dreyfus, Hendrik D. L. Vervliet and Harry Carter, *Type Specimen Facsimiles 16-18*, (London: The Bodley Head, 1972) and Louis van den Eede, Roland De Winter and Marijke Hellemans, *Letters proeven/Prenten smaken: Dubbeltentoonstelling in het Museum Plantin-Moretus en het Prentenkabinet*, (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 2004).

Key: ST series = Punches; MA series = Matrices

Cat Number	ID	Name	Number of punches or strikes	Appears in	Date Cut	Provenance
188	ST50	Gros Hebreu Fort Gros	33 punches	<i>Index Characterum</i> 1567 Folio Specimen c. 1580 Isaac Levita <i>Grammatica Hebraea</i> – Points only 1564 Biblia Polyglotta Title Pages 1568-72	1559	Guillaume Le Bé I Number 10 Vervliet and Carter p. 2: The ‘tres gros hebreu’ of Plantin’s inventories. It was cut in 1559 by Guillaume I Le Bé, who put smoke-proofs of it in his album and notes that he had sold the punches with a set of matrices and a mould to Plantin in 1562 ‘a bon march a cause des troubles.’
188	MA6		33 matrices			Guillaume Le Bé I
189	MA 167b	Double Paragonne Ashkenazi	15 strikes			Bomberg
190	MA18	Double Paragonne Hebreu	38 matrices	Folio Specimen c. 1580 Le Be Moretus specimen c. 1599 B.N. Nouvelle Acq. Fr. 4528 <i>Biblia Polyglotta</i> Title Pages 1568-72	1569	Guillaume Le Bé I Vervliet and Carter p. 11: Double Paragonne or Canon Hebrew cut by Guillaume I Le Bé in 1566. The attribution rests on Le Bé’s album ... and on the Le Bé-Moretus specimen. Used by Plantin from 1569.
191	MA180	Double Texte Hebreu	45 strikes	Inventory 1652		Sixteenth century
192	MA181	Double Texte Hebreu	45 strikes			Sixteenth century
193	MA 34	Double Augustine	27 matrices	Used by Plantin from 1564	1564	Bomberg type Vervliet and Carter p.

<i>Cat Number</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Number of punches or strikes</i>	<i>Appears in</i>	<i>Date Cut</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
		Hebreu		<i>Index Characterum</i> 1567 (f. A2) Folio Specimen c. 1580 Double Augustine B.N. Nouvelle MS Res X 1665 – Fols 8 and 9 Isaac Levita <i>Grammatica Hebraea</i> 1564) pp. 3 and 4) Hebrew Bible with points: Title pages and headings - 1566 <i>Proverbia Salomonis</i> : Title Page and headings		2: Canon Hebr. It is included in the Plantinian inventories, but in none of them is it attributed to a punchcutter. It is the third of if the Hebrew faces on a Canon body used at Venice by Daniel Bomberg, at whose press its first appears in 1523 (Abraham b. Me'ir Balmes, Peculium Abrae). Plantin gained possession of Bomberg's fine assortment of Hebrew types as a result of his partnership with members of the family of Bomberghen.'
194	MA155	Double Augustine Ashkenazi	27 strikes			sixteenth century
195	ST51	Double Augustine vowels and intonations	26 punches			Hand A
195	MA164c		24 Strikes, 2 matrices	See MA34 and ST51		Sixteenth century
196	MA40	Double Mediane Hebreu	57 matrices	Folio Specimen c. 1580 Double Mediane Le Be-Moretus specimen c. 1599 P. Lucensus, <i>Epitome Thesauri Linguae Sanctae</i> 1570 – Heads <i>Biblia Polyglotta</i> Hebrew Text (noted in Le Bé memorandum	1565 or 1566	Guillaume Le Bé I (No. 11) Vervliet and Carter p. 11 Double Mediane or Paragon Hebrew, cut by Guillaume I Le Bé as appears in his album ... and in the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ...Used by Plantin from 1564.
197	MA83c	Double Mediane vowels and intonations	17 matrices	P. Lucensus, <i>Epitome Thesauri Linguae Sanctae</i> 1570 – Heads <i>Biblia Polyglotta</i> Hebrew Text (noted in le Be memorandum		Sixteenth century

<i>Cat Number</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Number of punches or strikes</i>	<i>Appears in</i>	<i>Date Cut</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
198	MA82b	Paragon Hebreu	61 matrices	<i>Index Characterum</i> 1567 (f. A2)	1566	Sixteenth century Vervliet and Carter p. 2: Note that there is no other known appearance of this type.
199	MA167a	Vrai Texte Hebreu	29 Matrices	Not used by Plantin?		Bomberg type
200	MA164a	Vrai Texte Hebreu	23 strikes			Sixteenth century
201	MA 173a	Vrai Texte Hebreu	17 strikes, 11 matrices			Sixteenth century
202	MA72	Vrai Texte Hebreu de la facon de Venise	78 matrices	<i>Index Characterum</i> 1567 (f. A3) Folio Specimen c. 1580 sur le vray texte B.N. Nouvelle Acq. Fr. 4528 Isaac Levita <i>Grammatica Hebraea</i> – 1564	1551 for Claude Garamond used by Plantin from 1564	Guillaume Le Bé I (No. 9) Vervliet and Carter p. 2: Great primer Hebrew cut by Guillaume I Le Bé, who put a specimen of it in his album ... with a note that he cut the punches for it for Garamont in 1551 and that Plantin bought matrices and mould for it at a sale of Garamont's effects in 1561. Plantin called it 'Vrai Texte Hebreu de la facon de Venise' in his inventories ... and ascribed it to Le Bé. There is a specimen of it among those attributed to the type foundry of Fournier l'aîné ...; (the lamed differs), and so it is probably the face of that name in the inventory of Guillaume II Le Bé ... to whose stock Fournier succeeded. The type was used in Paris by 1560 (j. Mercier, <i>Tabulae</i> , G. Morel) and by Plantin at Antwerp by 1564 (J. Isaac, <i>Grammatica</i>

<i>Cat Number</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Number of punches or strikes</i>	<i>Appears in</i>	<i>Date Cut</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
						<i>Hebraea</i>).
203	ST52	Petit Texte Hebreu	61 Punches		Bought by Plantin in 1562	Retailé (Recut by) Le Bé
204	ST 53	Petit Texte Hebreu	42 punches		c. 1551 Bought by Plantin in 1562 and never used	Claude Garamond
205	MA24	Petit Texte Hebreu	90 matrices	<i>Index Characterum</i> 1567 <i>Ex Proverbiis</i> <i>Salomonis</i> Folio Specimen c. 1580 sur le petit texte Hebrew Bible – Text 1566 <i>Proverbia Salomonis:</i> Text – 1566	Used by Plantin from 1566	Bomberg Texte Moyenne Vervliet and Carter p. 2: A face used by Daniel Bomberg at Venice from 1517 (<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> <i>hebraice</i>) and by Plantin from 1566 (<i>Proverbia</i> <i>Salomonis</i>). In his album ... Guillaume Le Bé wrote on a page of it 'La moyenne des Bomberges'. In Plantin's specimen of c. 1585 it is headed 'Sur le petit texte' (i.e. [to be cast] on a small great primer). ...
206	MA 177b	Petit Texte Ashkenazi	26 matrices	<i>Index Characterum</i> 1567 (f. A3) Folio Specimen c. 1580 sur l'Augustine Isaac Levita <i>Grammatica Hebraea</i> – 1564 – Marginal notes <i>Biblia Hebraica</i> – Title page 1565		Sixteenth century
207	MA 82d	Augustine Vieille Hebreu	57 matrices		1564	Sixteenth century Vervliet and Carter p. 2: A Hebrew type of an origin not known to us, not used by the Bombergs, found in Plantin's printing from

<i>Cat Number</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Number of punches or strikes</i>	<i>Appears in</i>	<i>Date Cut</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
						1564 ... In the Folio Specimen it is headed 'Sur l'Augustine'.
207	MA 82e	Set of vowels and intonations	42 matrices			Fifteenth or sixteenth century
208	MA 135a	Augustine Cursive Hebraique	39 matrices			Sixteenth century Vervliet and Carter p. 15: Glose hebraique a fonder sur le St. Augustine. This is Le Bé's 14th Hebrew about which he wrote in his notebook: 'Cest glose faite ceans en lan 1574 est la 14e letter hebraique qu Jay taillee' ... In his other notebook, also in the Bibliothèque Nationale ..., Le Bé notes that he sold a strike to Plantin, who used the type in his 'Grand Bible d'Anvers'. The first part of the statement is true, there being a still a strike in the Museum Plantin-Moretus, the second part is not.
209		Augustine Hebreu de Prat		Probably never used by Plantin		
210	MA 82c	Petite Augustine Cursive Hebraique	33 matrices	<i>Index Characterum</i> 1567 (f. A3) Folio Specimen c. 1580 sur le petite Augustine Hebrew Bible with points – title page 1566 <i>Proverbia Salomonis</i> : Title page – 1566		Bomberg type Vervliet and Carter p. 2: A Rashi Hebrew type used by Bomberg at Venice from 1517 (<i>Vetus Testamentum hebraice</i>) and by Plantin from 1566 (<i>Proverbia Salomonis</i>). Le Bé wrote on a proof of it 'glose des Bombergues de Venise' ... In Plantin's Folio

<i>Cat Number</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Number of punches or strikes</i>	<i>Appears in</i>	<i>Date Cut</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
						Specimen of c. 1585 it is headed 'Cursive sur la petite Augustine'.
211	MA 164b	Mediane Hebreu	29 strikes			Sixteenth century
212	MA 135b	Mediane Cursive Hebraique	34 strikes	Never used by Plantin		Bomberg type
213	MA 135c	Garamonde Cursive Hebraique	29 strikes	Never used by Plantin		Bomberg type
214	ST54	Hebreu sur la Garamonde et Bible	27 Punches and 16 unjustified strikes	<i>Index Characterum</i> 1567 (f. A3) Folio Specimen c. 1580 sur la Garamonde et Bible Hebrew Bible with points – Preface 1565 <i>lesaeae Prophetæ</i> Throughout– 1566		Sixteenth Century
	MA83b		38 matrices, 10 strikes		Used by Plantin from 1565	Sixteenth century Bomberg type Vervliet and Carter p. 2: A Hebrew of unknown origin, not used by the Bombergs, found in Plantin's press from 1565 .. Described in the Folio Specimen .. as Sur la Garamonde et Bible (i.e. [to be cast] on Long Primer or Brevier).
215	ST55	Coronelle Hebreu (AKA Grosse Nompaille)	33 punches		1569-70	Guillaume Le Bé (no. 15) Vervliet and Carter p. 11 Hebrieu sur la Coronelle: Cut especially for Plantin by Guillaume I Le Bé in 1569-70 as appears from a note in Le Bé's album ... Attributed to Guillaume Le Bé in Plantin's inventories. Used by Plantin from 1572.
215	MA 82a		36 matrices			Guillaume Le Bé I

<i>Cat Number</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Number of punches or strikes</i>	<i>Appears in</i>	<i>Date Cut</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
215	MA 83a		30 matrices			Guillaume Le Bé I
216	ST56	Hebrew Pool (Mixed)	18 punches		c. 1565	Le Bé?
		Petit texte	4 punches			Extended letters cut by Granjon in 1565
		Augustine	7 punches			Fits matrices of MA24
		Very Small	2 punches, 1 matrix			

Appendix C: Illustrations of Hebrew founts used by Plantin

Illustration 1: Hebrew Types from Harry Carter's Smoke proofs: Harry Carter, 'Essai de Fonte dans les Matrices Conservées au Musée Plantin-Moretus', (Oxford - Printed for private circulation at the University Press 1954); From Photocopy in St Bride Library. Reduced in size.

Note: Smoke proofs are made by blackening the end of the punch with a candle and then impressing the end of the punch onto paper. The numbers at the left indicate the box in which the matrices are kept; the second number indicates a separate packet within a box. Carter notes that these proofs are not complete and do not comprise the larger sizes.

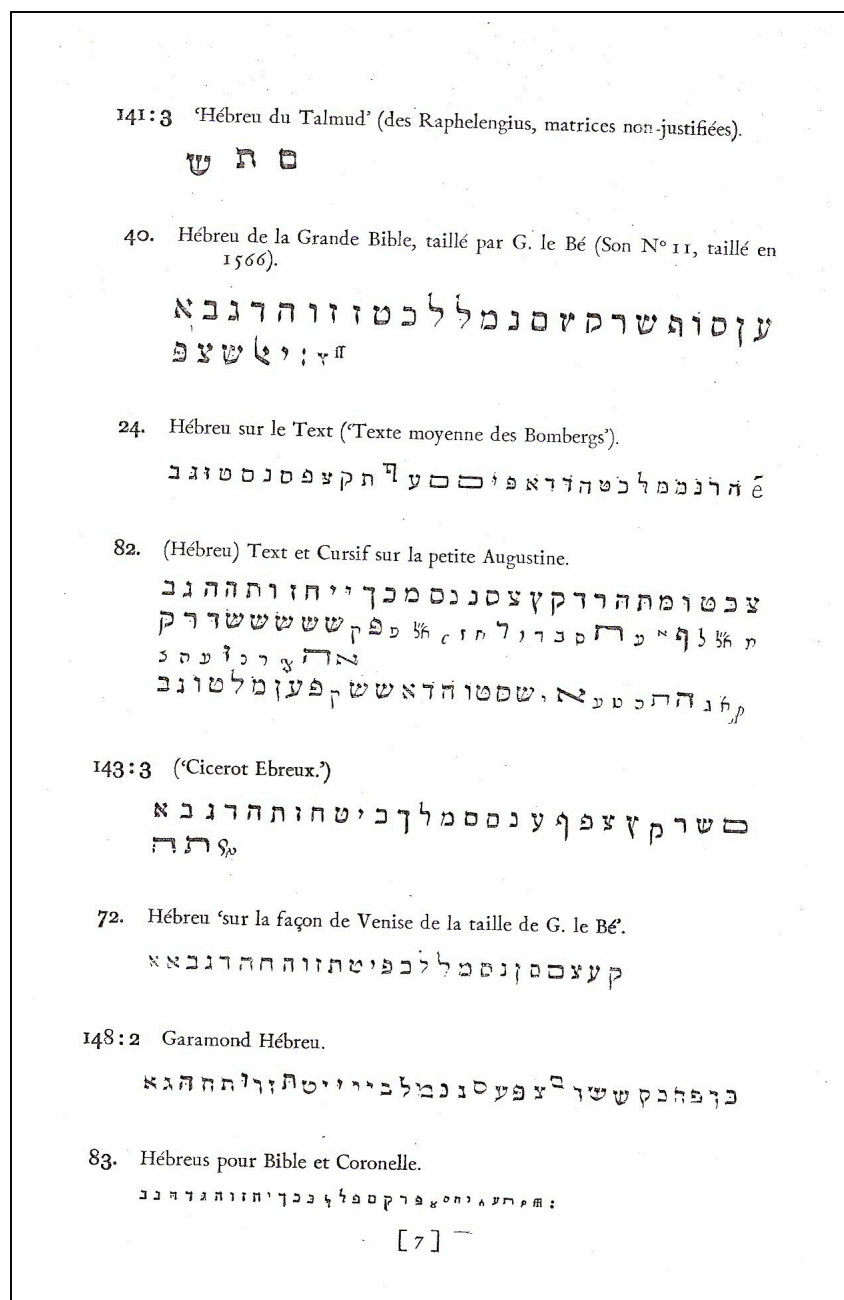


Illustration 2: Hebrew alphabet samples (MA 6) from the Plantin Moretus Museum Archives. Reduced in size.



Illustration 3: Hebrew alphabet samples from the Plantin Moretus Museum Archives. Reduced in size.

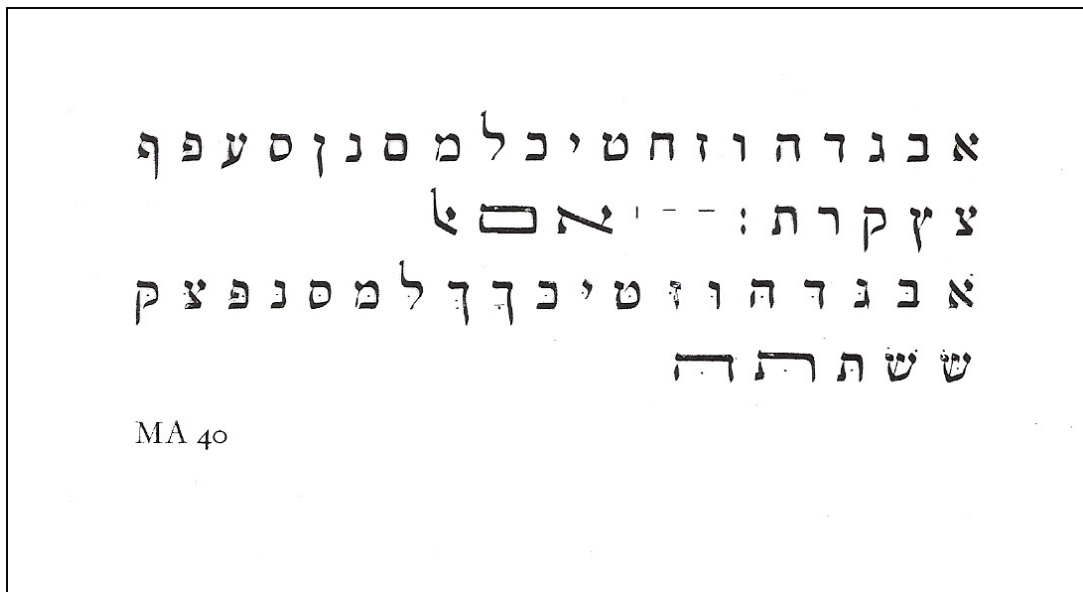
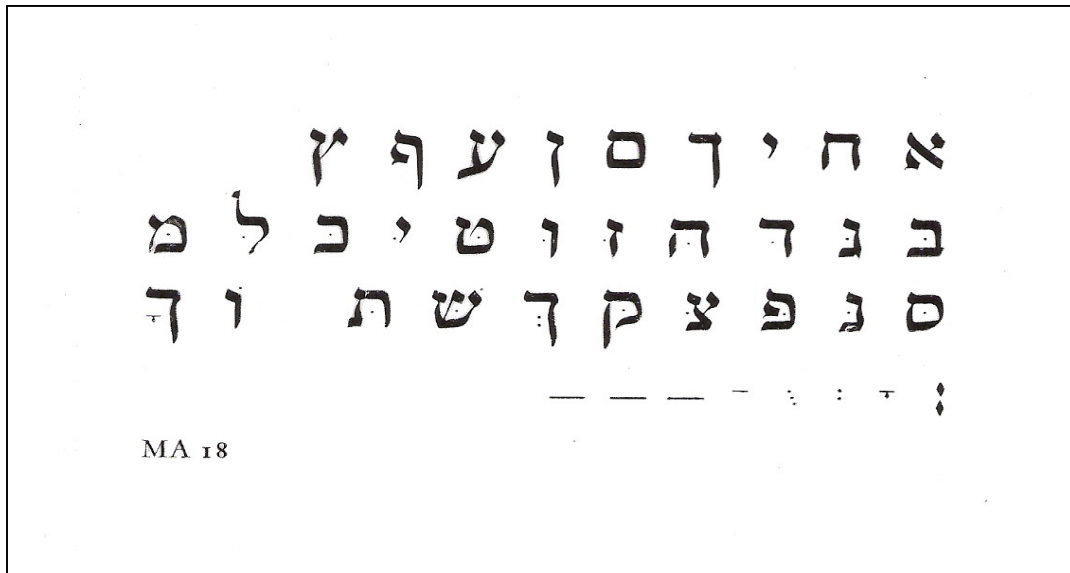
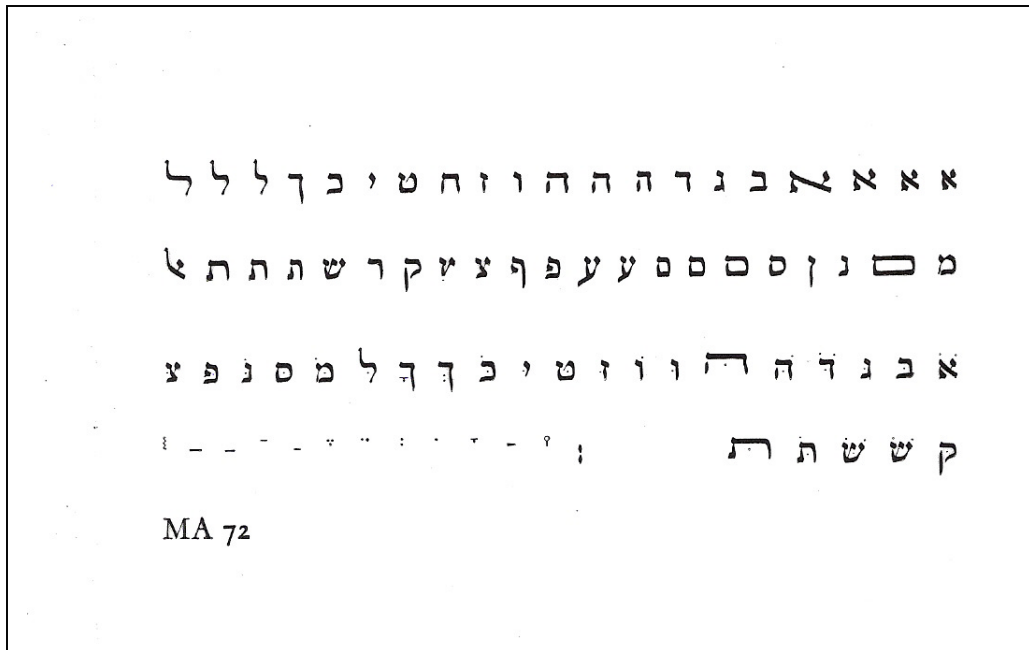


Illustration 4: Hebrew alphabet samples from the Plantin Moretus Museum Archives. Reduced in size.

Note the use of the extended letters (*litterae dilatatae*), the combined aleph and Lamed (end of the second line to the left) used for the name of God.

Illustrations 5 and 6: Hebrew alphabet samples from the Plantin Moretus Museum Archives. Reduced in size.



Note the use of the extended letters (*litterae dilatatae*), the combined aleph and Lamed (end of the second line to the left) used for the name of God, and the cutting of differing set widths to allow for easier justification (for example the three versions of the aleph, three versions of the Heh, and the three versions of the Lamed)

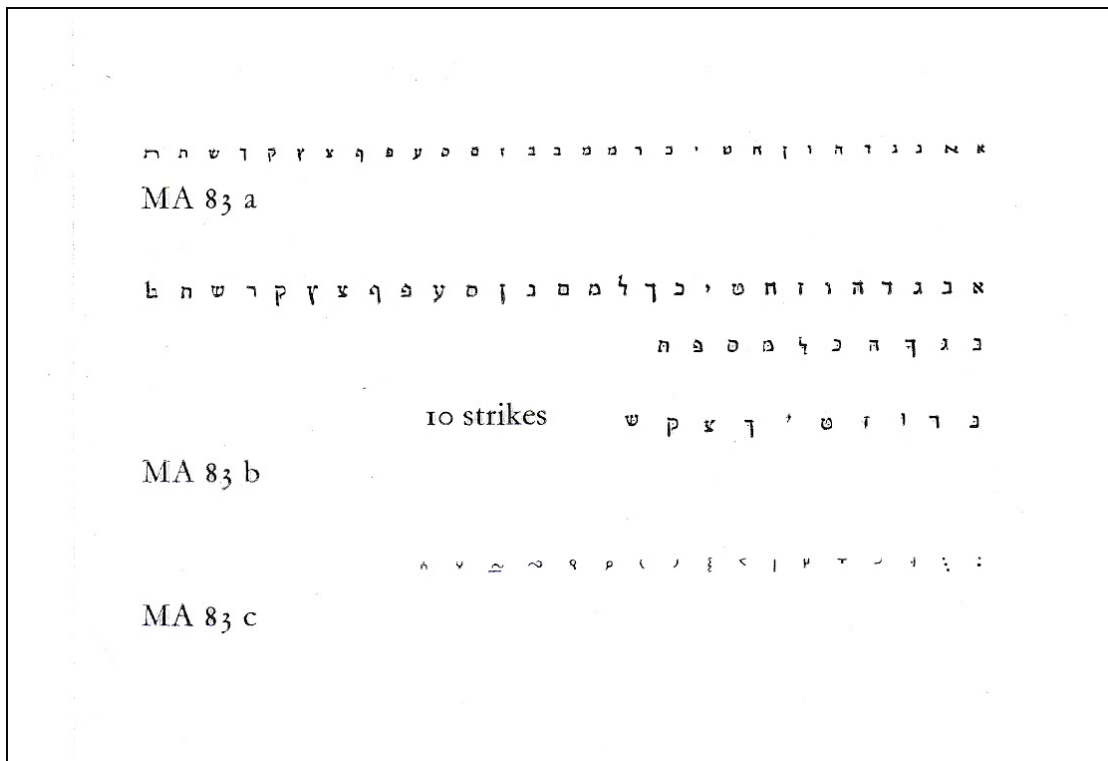


Illustration 7: From Hebrew alphabet specimens from Index characterum architypographiæ Plantinianaë. *Proeven der lettersoorten gebruikt in de Plantijnsche drukkerij, met eene inleiding door Max Rooses. Spécimen des Caractères employées dans l'imprimerie plantinienne, etc.* Dut. & Fr, 1905. Reduced in size.

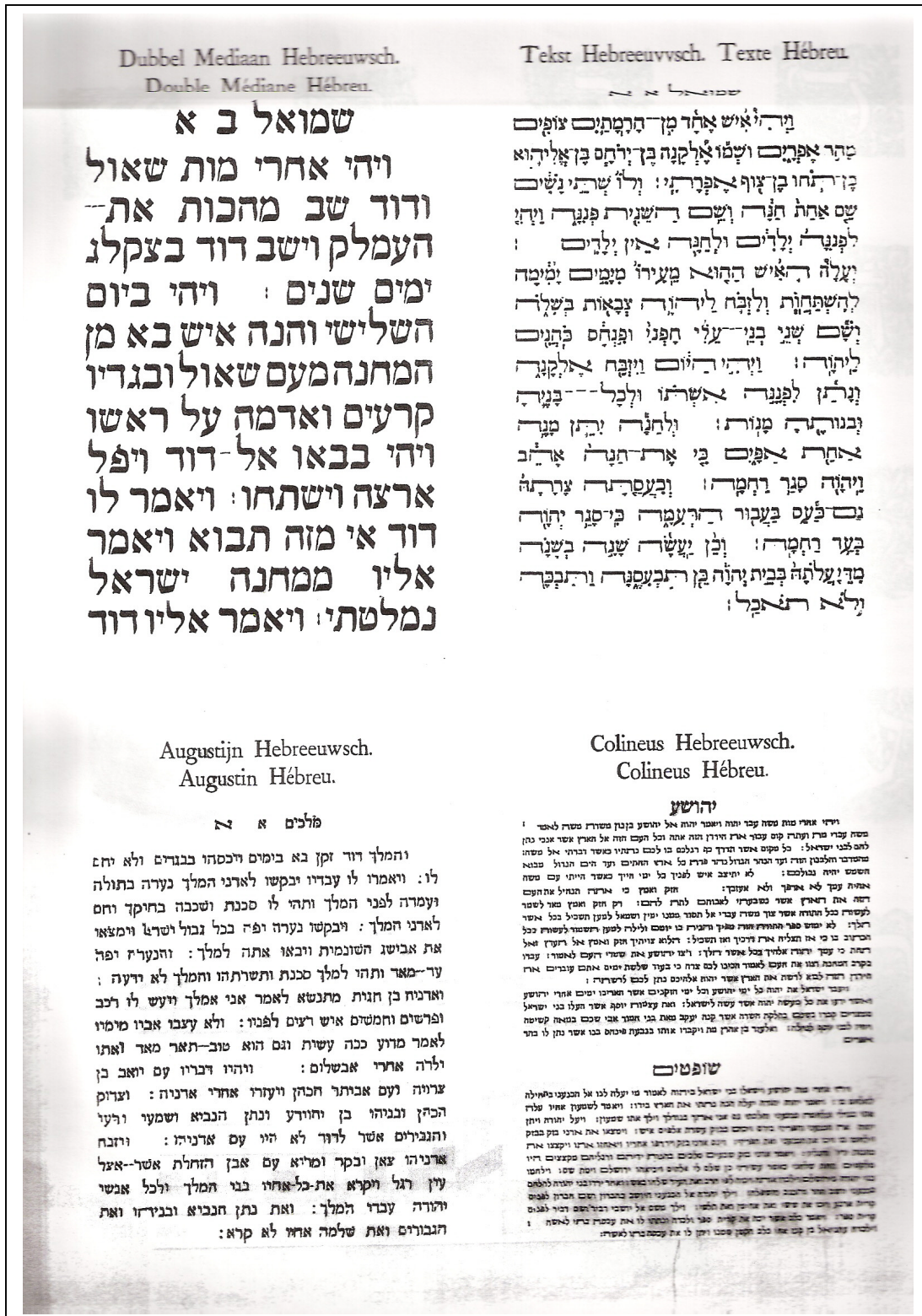


Illustration 8: Hebrew alphabet specimens from *Index characterum architypographiæ Plantinianæ*. *Proeven der lettersoorten gebruikt in de Plantijnsche drukkerij*, met eene inleiding door Max Rooses. *Spécimen des Caractères employées dans l'imprimerie plantinienne*, etc. Dut. & Fr, 1905 Caption reads: Les Lettres Hébraïques (au nombre de 22) dessinées en 1564 par God. Baillaing et gravées par Corn. Muller. Reduced in size.

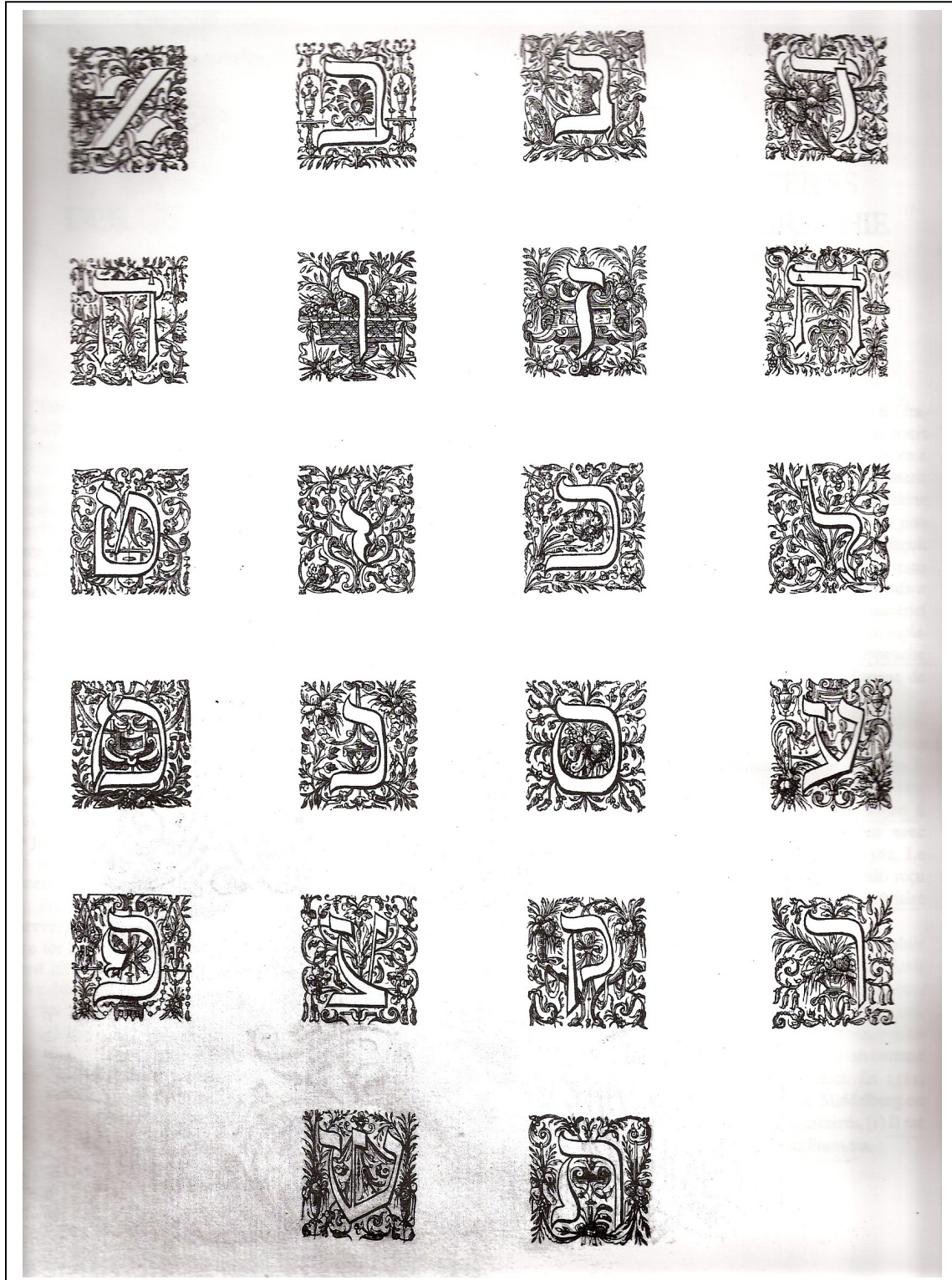


Illustration 9: Hebrew alphabet samples from Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 (Folio A2). The top two lines are the ST50 or Tres Gros Hebrieu of Le Bé, lines three to six are the Canon Hebrew (MA 34) attributed to Bomberg, and the remaining text is set in the MA82b unattributed. Reduced in size.

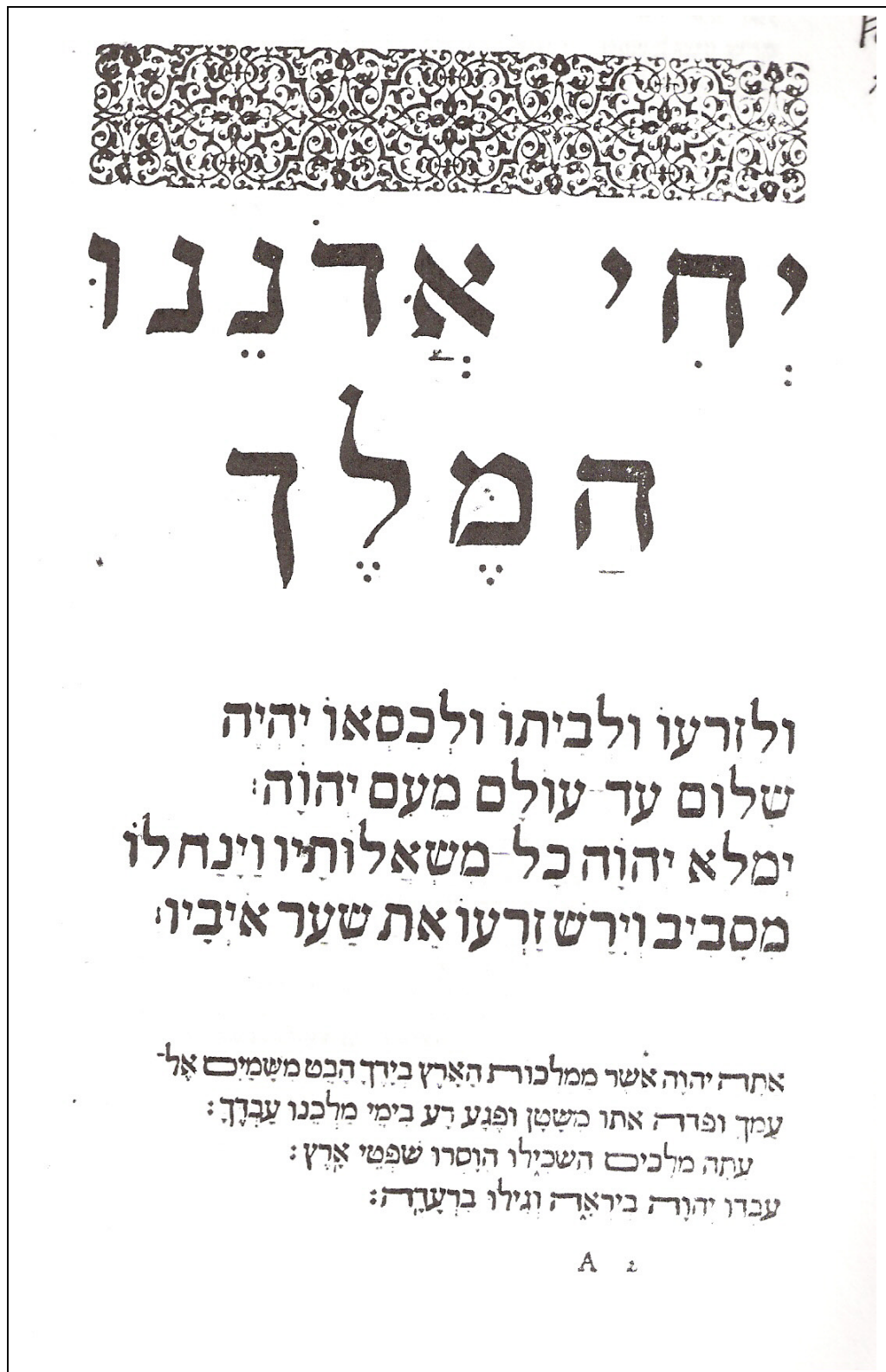


Illustration 10: Hebrew alphabet samples from Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 (Folio A3) The top four lines are the Great Primer Hebrew cut by Le Bé (MA 72), The six lines of text under *Ex Proverbiis Salomonis* are a Bomberg Hebrew (MA 24), the six lines of text to the right are of unknown origin (MA82d), the six lines of text to the left are a Rashi Hebrew type attributed to Bomberg (MA 82c), and the text above and under the words *Ex Ecclesiaste* are a Hebrew of unknown origin (MA 834b). Reduced in size.

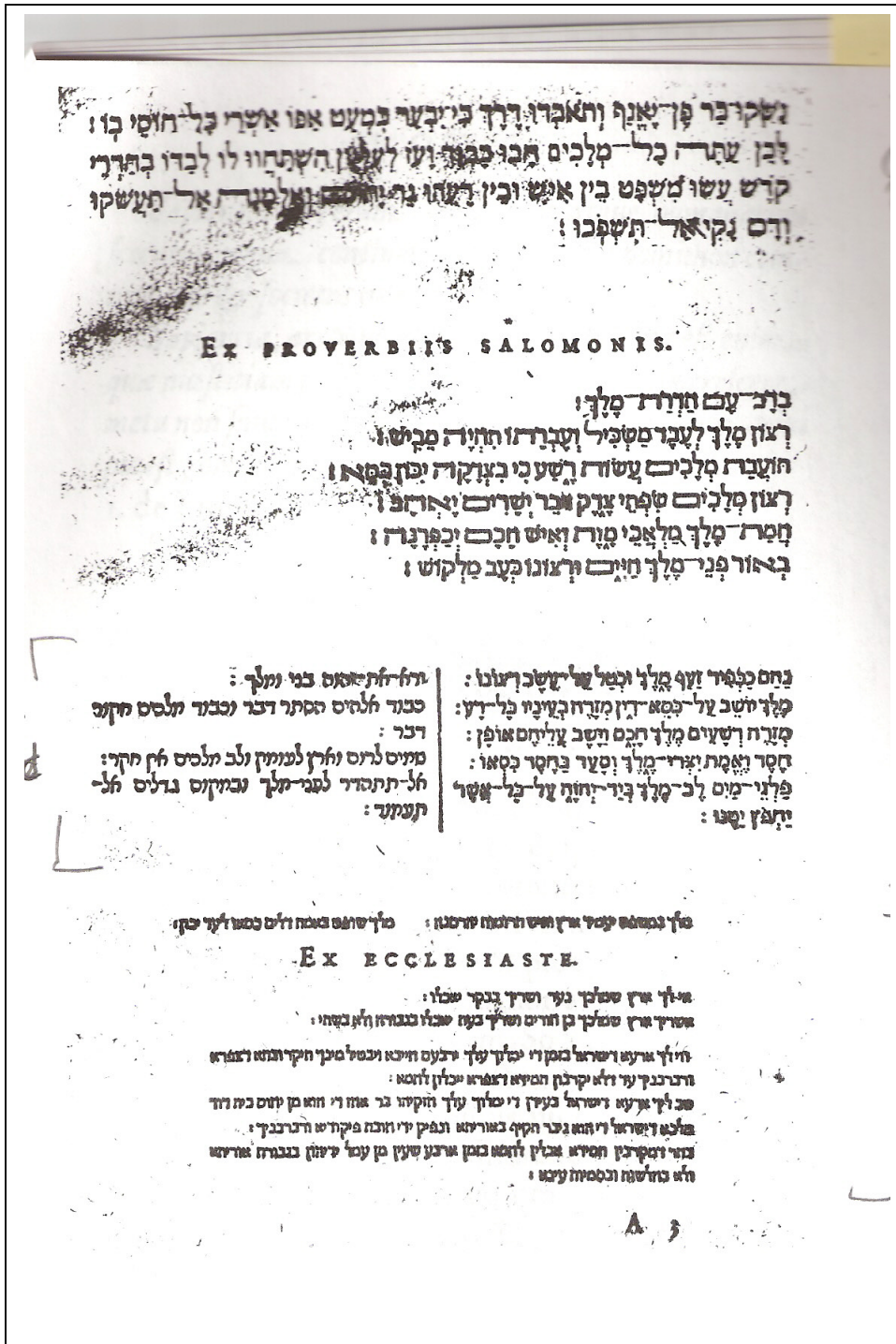


Illustration 11: Specimen of Hebrew types of Guillaume I Bé dated 1592. From the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp. The top line (Canon Hebreu) is the MA 18, lines two to four are the Texte a fonder sure le paragon par feu mon pere) (MA 40), and the remaining text is the Grosse Glose Hebraicq[ue] (MA 135a) The handwritten notes are by Guillaume II Le Bé, the son. Reduced in size.

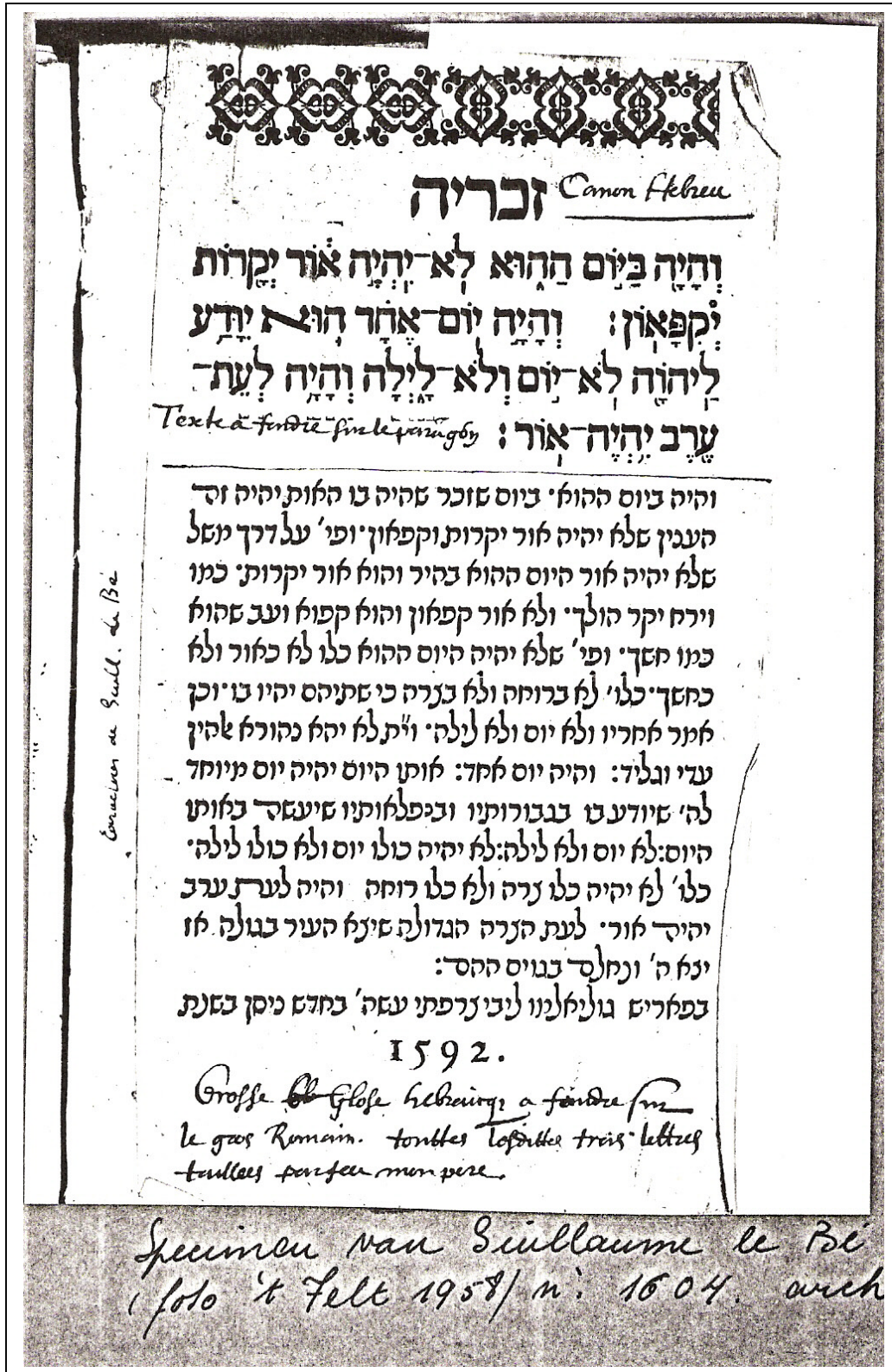


Illustration 12: Specimens of Hebrew typefaces from *Spécimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins, et de musique gravées à Venise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé (1545-1592)*. Publiés par H. Omont. (Extrait des Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, t. XV.) Plate I Verso. Item I is dated 1545-1546 and was cut the Venetian printer Marco Antonio Justiniani. It is the first of Le Bé's Hebrew founts which he calls a 'texte du Tamuth'. Item II is dated 1546 and was also cut for Marco Antonio Justiniani and is called a 'moyenne' by Le Bé. Item III is a 'cursive moyenne' and was cut in 1547 for a Venetian Jew Mazo or May de Parenza. Items IV and V date from 1548 and the lower is a 'petit texte' and the upper is a 'grosse glose'. Reduced in size.

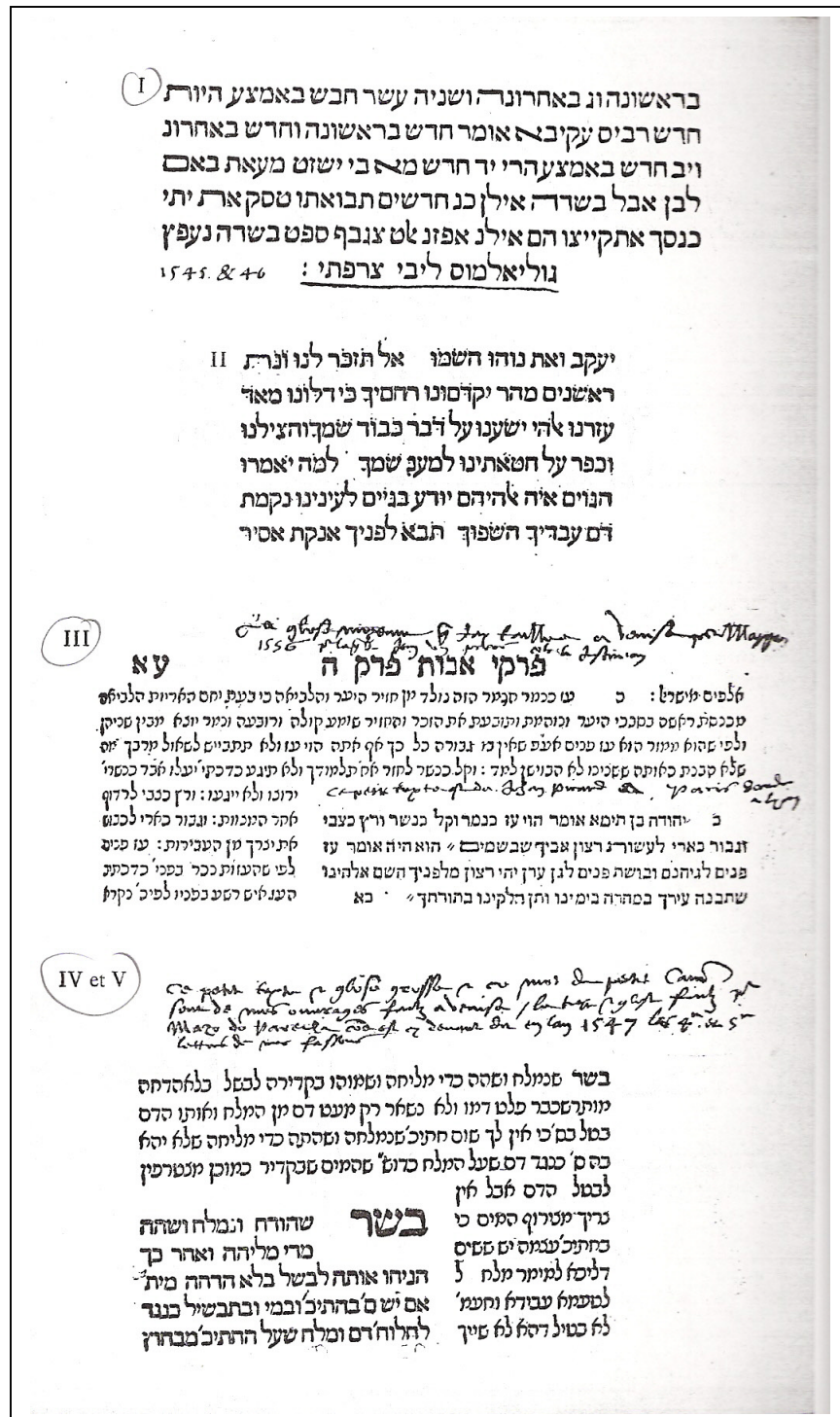


Illustration 13: Specimens of Hebrew typefaces from *Spécimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins, et de musique gravées à Venise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592*. Publiés par H. O. (Extrait des Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, t. XV.); Plate I, Recto. Item VI is a 'petite glose' from 1548, item VII is a 'texte du talmuth' from 1549, item VIII is a 'petit canon' cut in Venise in 1548-1549, and item IX was cut in Paris in 1551 for the punch cutter Claude Garamond. The matrices and moulds were later bought and used by Plantin. Le Bé writes that this is 'une lettre fort artistement faicte et bien limée et polie (sans vantise) et au contentement de celui qui en sçavoit plus que moy'. Item X is dated 1559 is labelled as a 'gros double canon'. Le Bé notes that 'je ay vendu les poinçons, la frappe des matrices et le moule au sieur Christofle Plantain, à bon marché à cause des troubles'. Reduced in size.

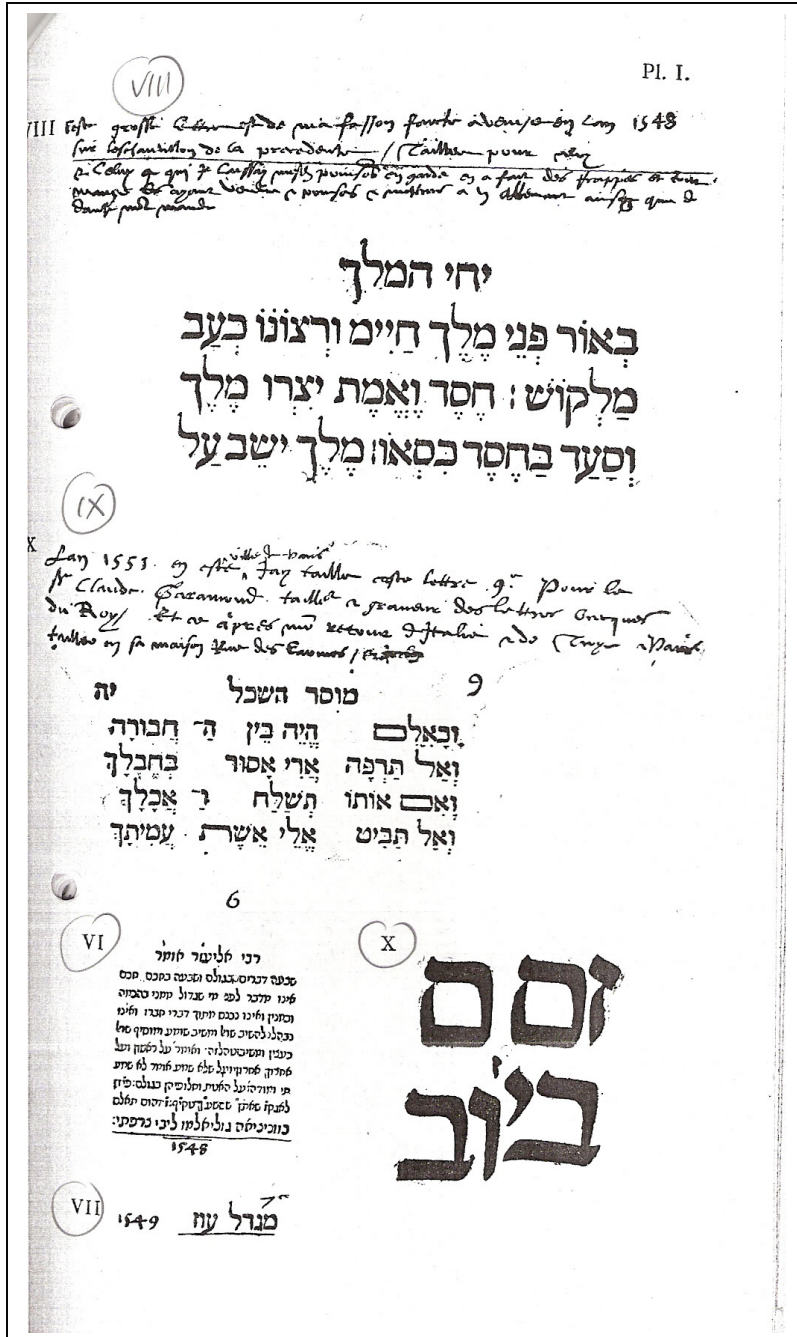


Illustration 14: Specimens of Hebrew typefaces from *Spécimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins, et de musique gravées à Venise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592*. Publiés par H. O. (Extrait des Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, t. XV.); Plate II Verso . Items XI and XII date from 1565-1566 and were cut for the 4to Bible of Robert Estienne; the second is 'celuy duquel le Sieur Plantain a imprimé el texte de la grande Bible en cinq langues, du roy d'Espagne'. The third (Number XIV) is an example of Rashi script, or a 'glose', dating from 1574. Reduced in size.

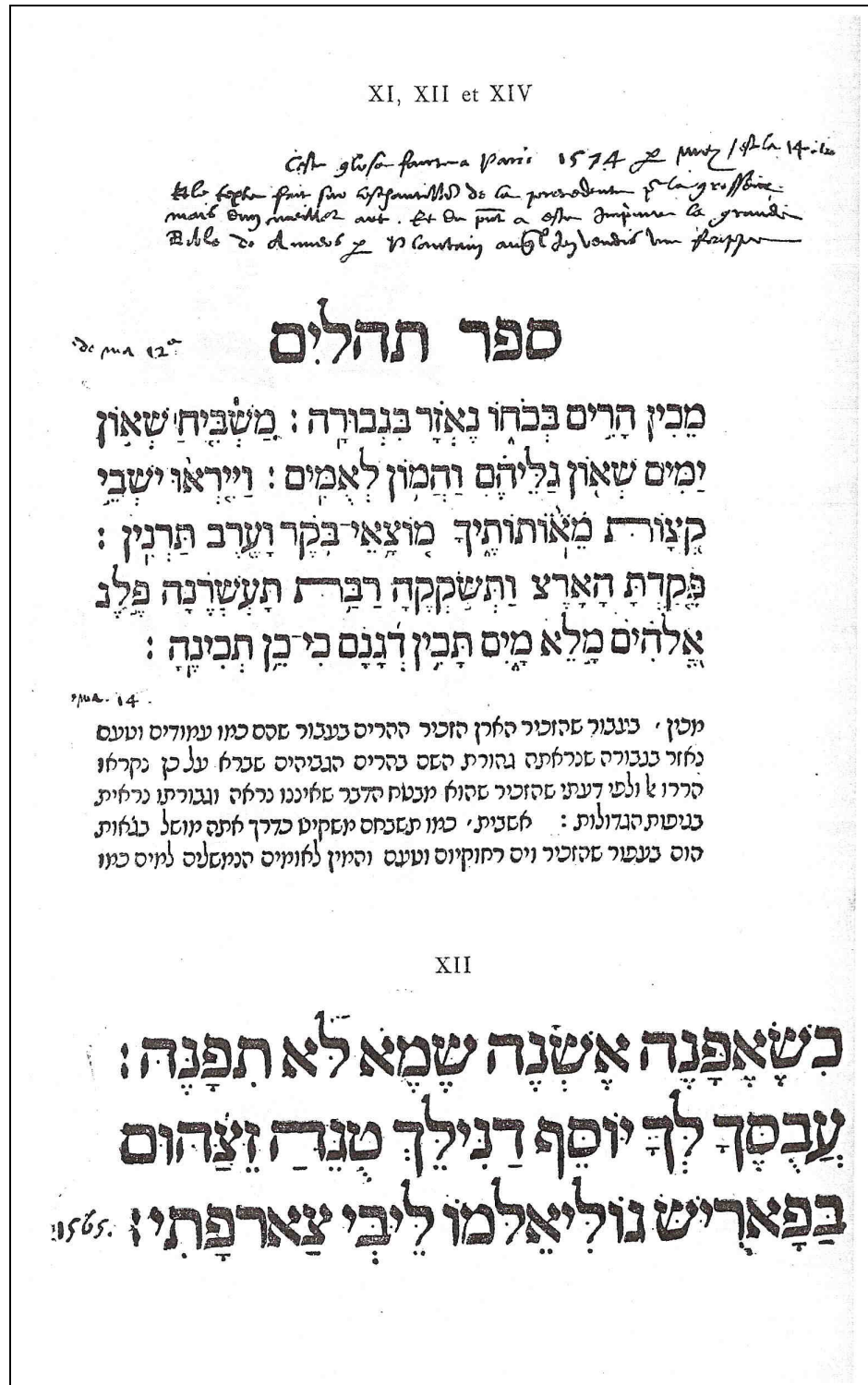


Illustration 15: Specimens of Hebrew typefaces from *Spécimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins, et de musique gravées à Venise et à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, 1545-1592*. Publiés par H. O. (Extrait des Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, t. XV.); Plate II Recto, The sample labelled 13 was cut for Plantin who 'm'avoit commandé de la fayre la plus petite que je pourroye'. The sample labelled 15 is a 'petit texte hebreu, nommé à Venise le *textin* and was cut in Paris in 1579. Item XVII is a 'grosse glose hebraïque que j'ay taillée, tant à Venise que à Paris, aagé de 68 ans, après le siege de Paris, pour passer ennui'. Items XV bis and XVI bis date from 1591 and were trial cutting, possibly in wood, and it is not clear what use was intended for them. Reduced in size.

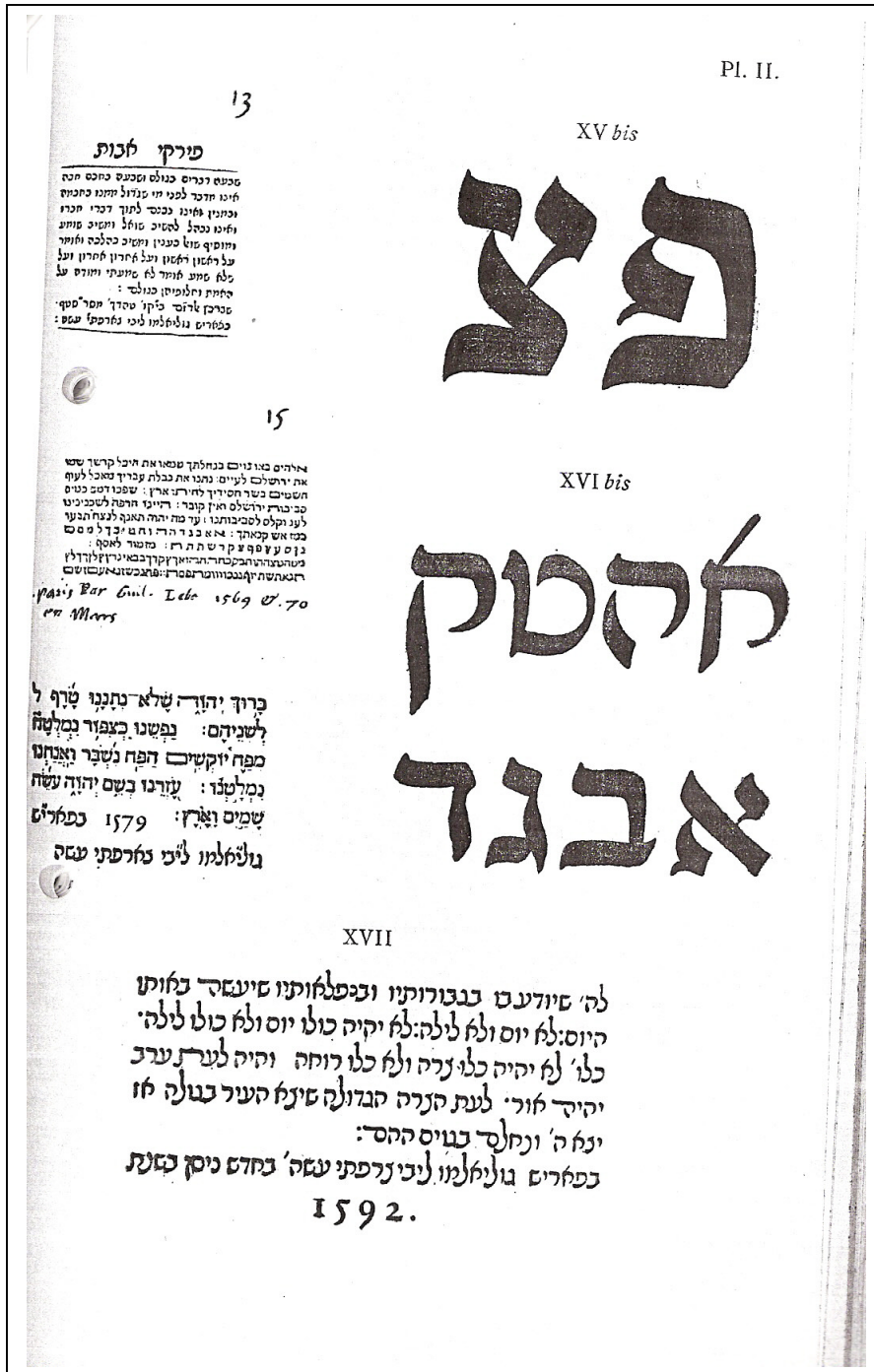
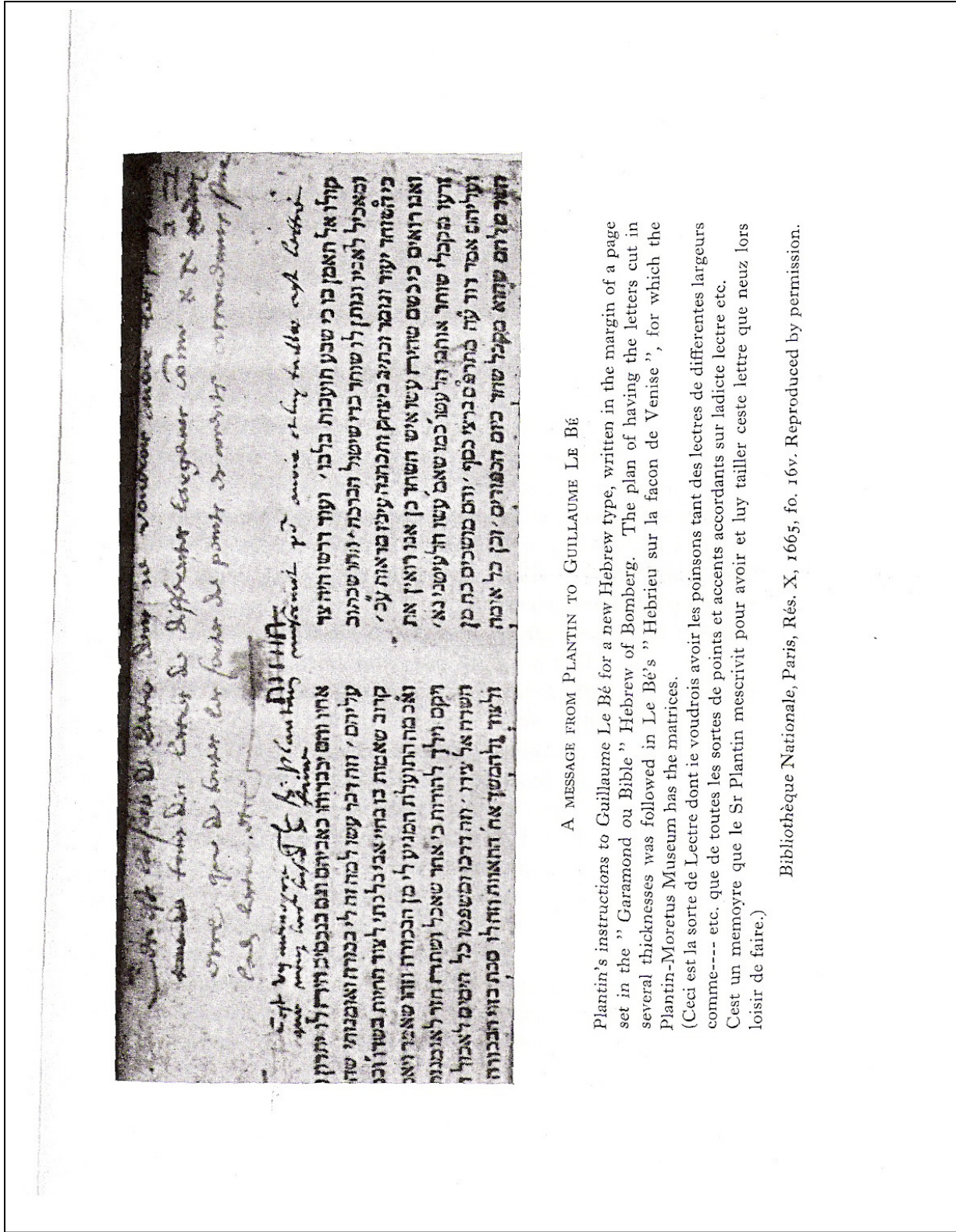


Illustration 16: Reproduction of message from Plantin to Guillaume Le Bé, dated 1665 from Harry Carter, 'A Message from Plantin to Guillaume le Bé', *De Gulden Passer*. Reduced in size.



A MESSAGE FROM PLANTIN TO GUILLAUME LE BÉ

Plantin's instructions to Guillaume Le Bé for a new Hebrew type, written in the margin of a page set in the "Garamond ou Bible" Hebrew of Bomberg. The plan of having the letters cut in Plantin-Moretus Museum has the matrices.

(Ceci est la sorte de Lectre dont ie voudrois avoir les poinçons tant des lectres de différentes largeurs comme--- etc. que de toutes les sortes de points et accents accordants sur ladicte lectre etc. Cest un memoyre que le Sr Plantin mescrivit pour avoir et luy tailler ceste lettre que neuz lors loisir de faire.)

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Rés. X, 1665, fo. 16v. Reproduced by permission.

Illustration 17: Reproduction of page from the 1566 quarto version of the *Chamishah Chumsei Torah* (Hebrew Pentateuch) printed by Plantin. The types used are most probably those supplied from Daniel Bomberg by Cornelis van Bomberghen (Page in possession of author). Reduced in size.

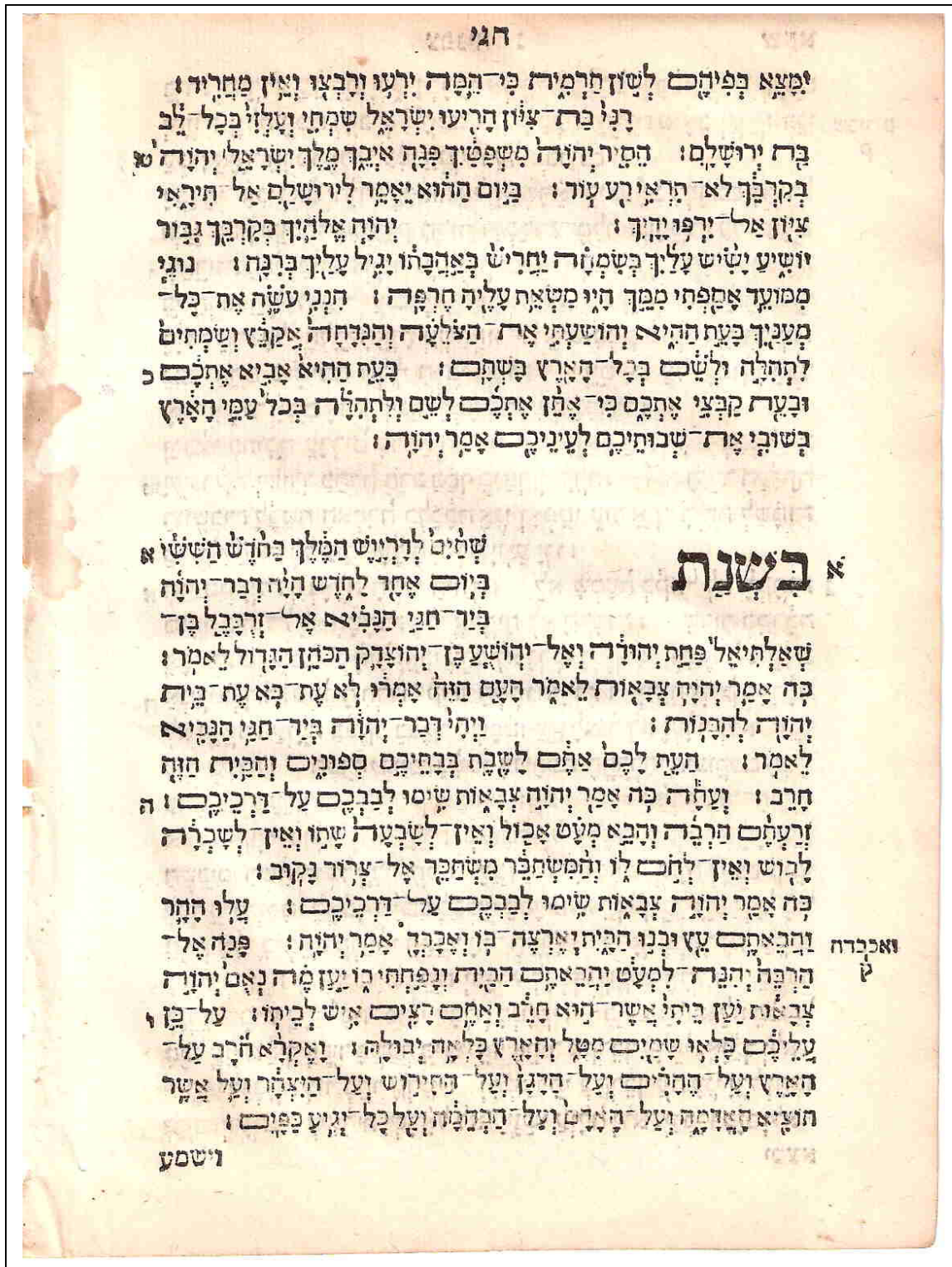


Illustration 18: Reproduction of Bomberg 1521 Bible (From Marvin Heller, *The sixteenth century Hebrew book: an abridged thesaurus*). Reduced in size.



Illustration 19: Reproduction of Bomberg 1519 Babylonian Talmud (From Marvin Heller, *The sixteenth century Hebrew book: an abridged thesaurus*. Reduced in size.



דיני ממונות בשלשה

ממונות בשלשה נבטל לעינין כפי כבודן דמסמלח בו די גזלן וכן החוטף מיד חבירו היו גזלן כגון גזול את היחיד מיד המזכיר אבל לא היה מילס לא מקדוין גזלן המלה להוצאה יתירה : וחבלות החובל בחבירו חייב בחומסה דברים כדמתיירי בבבא קמא ויזען כתיבן מוס בעמיתו וגו' כן יעשה לו במתן וכדמתיירי גזלן מילס לא מקדוין גזלן המלה להוצאה יתירה : נזק רשור המופר או חרס שהזיק בגזל פריך היינו חבלות : תם למינין כפול רגוביה סמכא בדור רבתיב אם המצא תמצא כדור וגו' ותלמידי ארבעה וחמש דשור או פה מסבחו או מכרו : אולם ומכרה בערה בתולה חמסיס כפי : מוכר אפס דע לא תצאקי לבתן בתוליס ועמסו ארזון



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1519/20-23, Tractate Sanhedrin, Babylonian Talmud, Daniel Bomberg, Venice
 Courtesy of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary

Illustration 20: Reproduction of title page from the Agostino Giustiniani Polyglot Psalterium, 1516; Title page (From Valmadonna Trust, Library, and Brad Sabin Hill, *Hebraica, Saec. X Ad Saec. XVI: Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from the Library of the Valmadonna Trust: An Exhibition at the Pierpont Morgan Library*. Reduced in size.

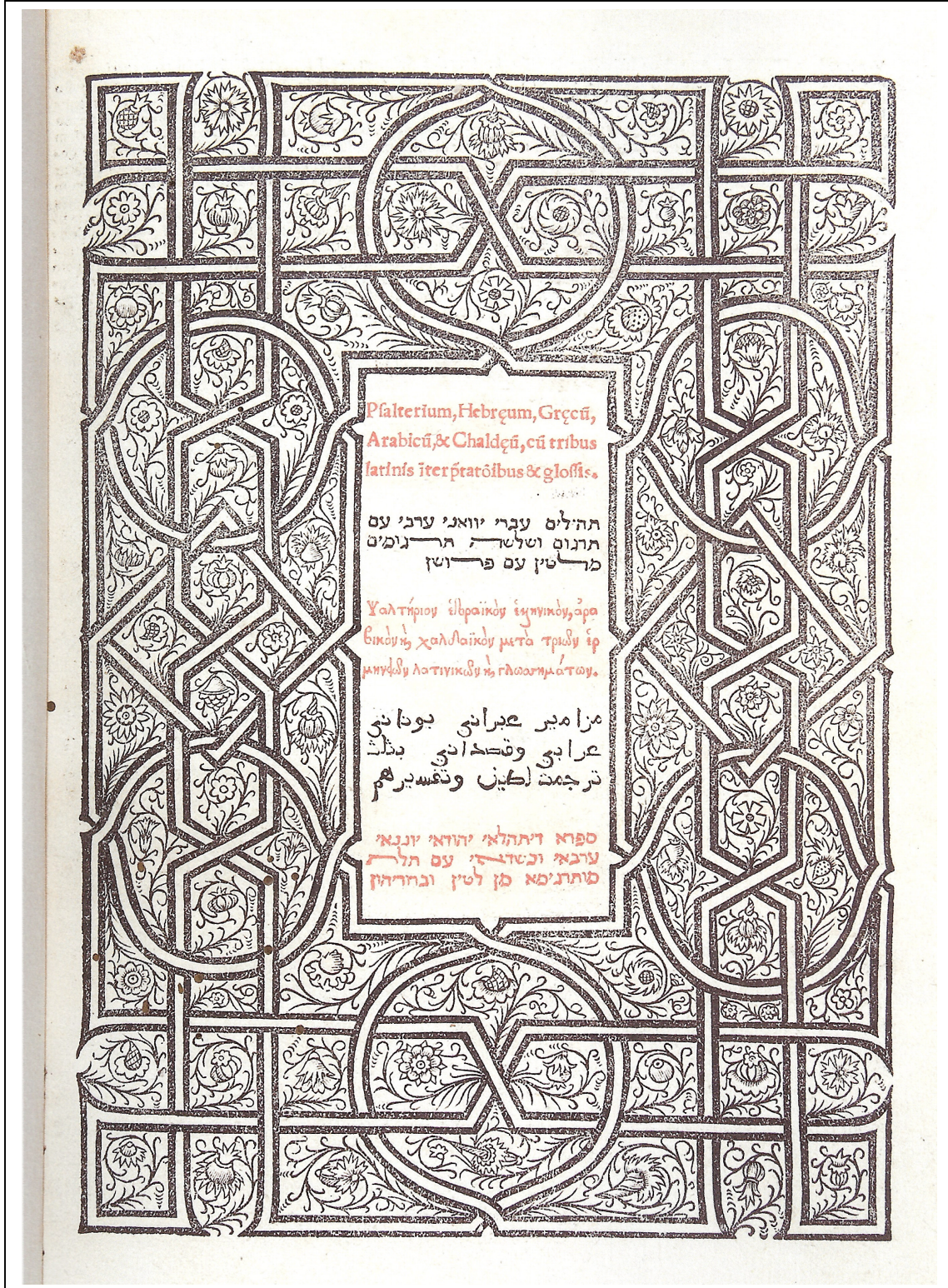


Illustration 21: Reproduction of double page spread from Agostino Giustiniani *Polyglot Psalterium*, 1516; Double Page Spread (From Valmadonna Trust, Library, and Brad Sabin Hill, *Hebraica, Saec. X Ad Saec. XVI*: Reduced in size.

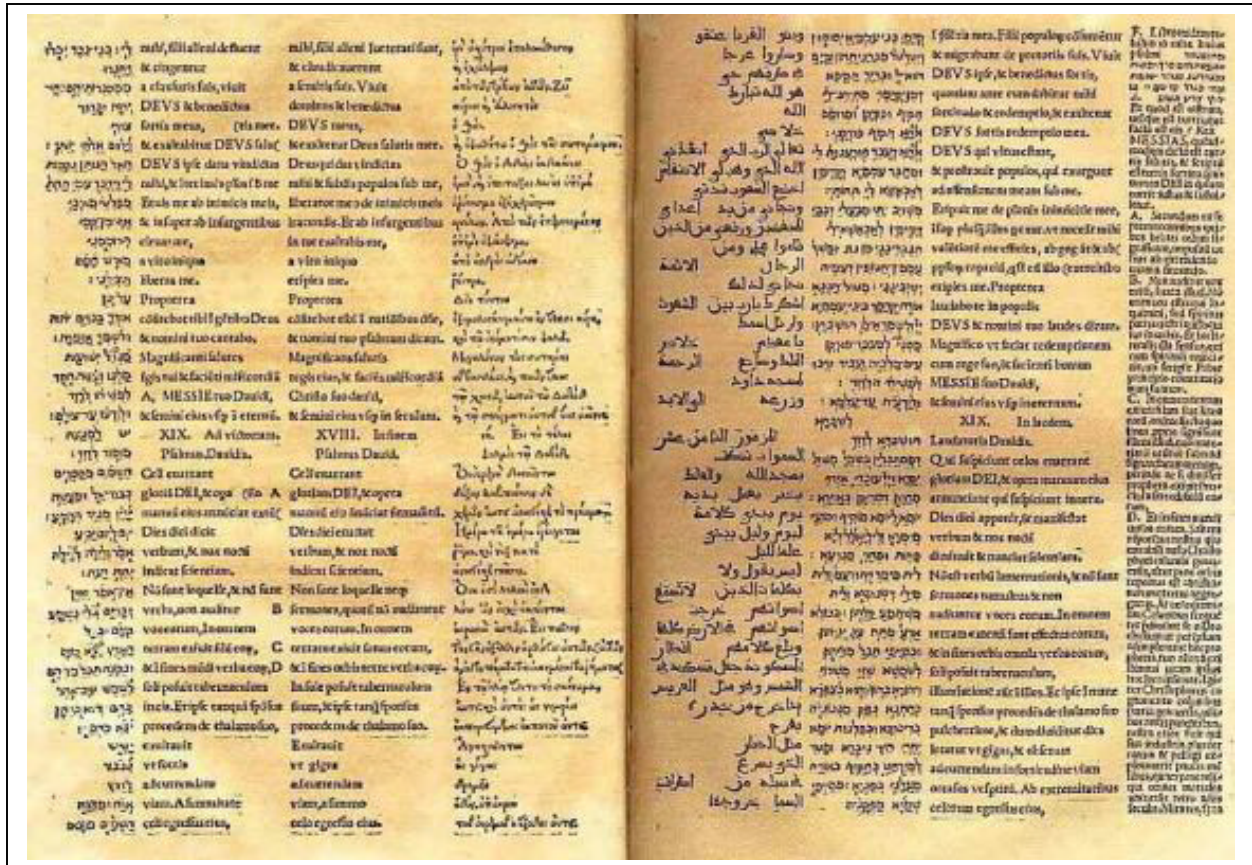


Illustration 22: Reproduction from *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Plantin 1569 From copy in the British Library, Shelf mark 621.a.43.(2.). Reduced in size.

יוד	i	Iod	י
כּף	cch	Caph	כ
לָמֶד	l	Lamed	ל
מֶם	m	Mem	מ
נוּן	n	Nun	נ
סָמֶךְ	f	Samech	ס
עֵין	aa	Ain	ע
פֶּא	p ph	Pe	פ
צָדִי	fz	Sadi	צ
קוּף	q c	Coph	ק
רֵישׁ	r	Res	ר
שֵׁן	f	Sin	ש
תּוֹ	t th	Tau vel Taf	ת

Illustration 23: Reproduction of from *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Plantin 1569. From copy in the British Library, Shelf mark 621.a.43.(2). Reduced in size.

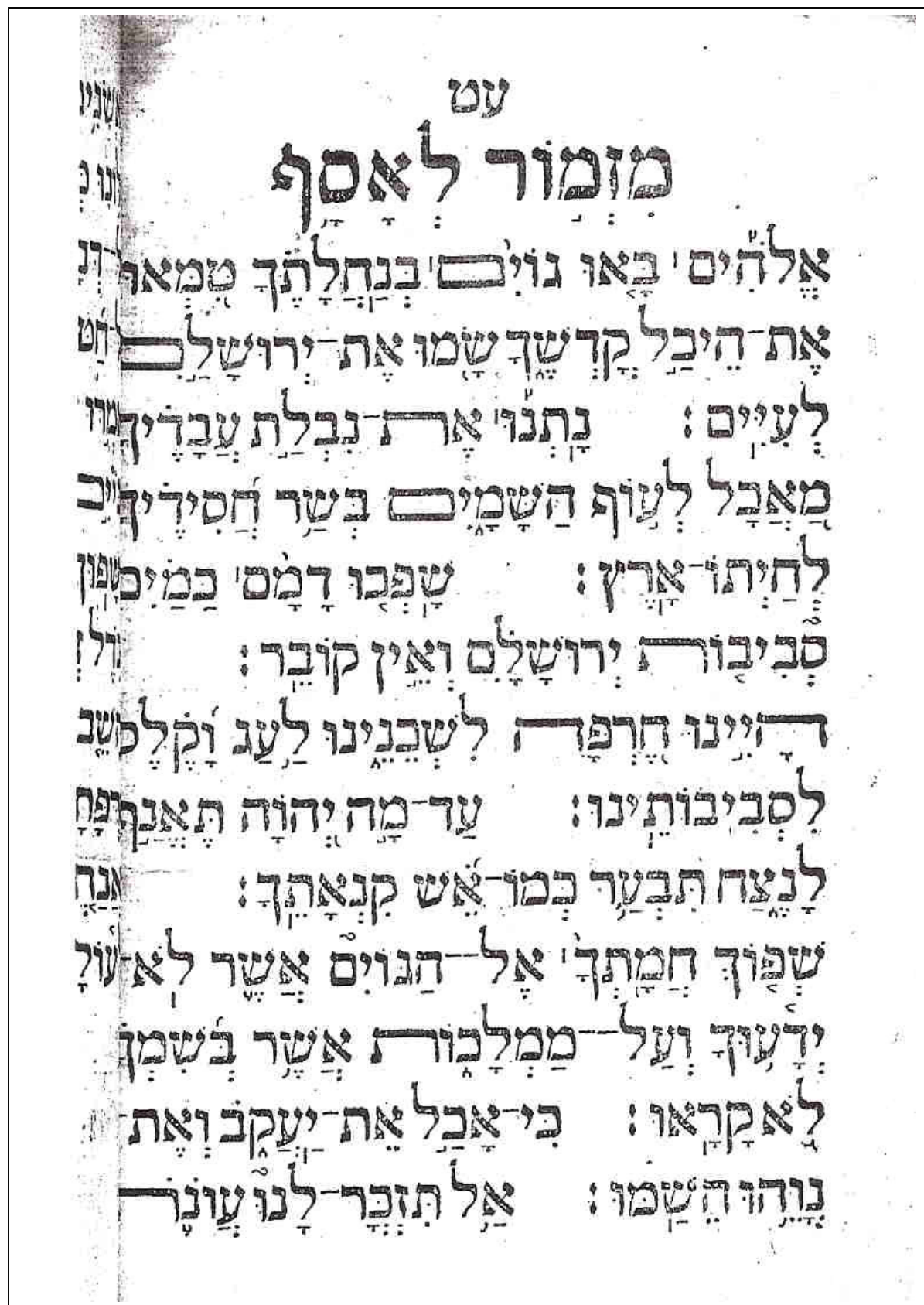
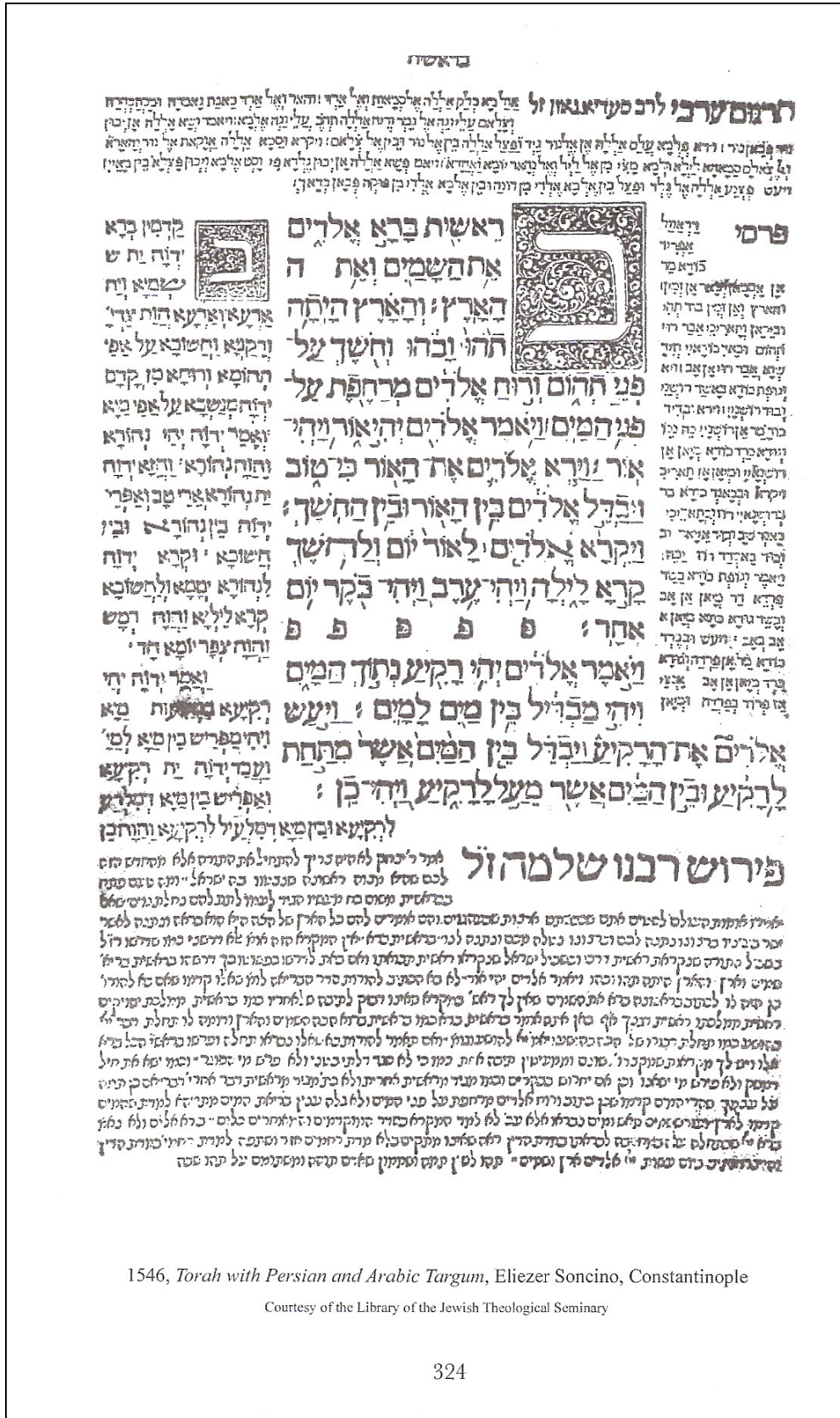


Illustration 24: Reproduction of the sample page of Aldus Manutius' Polyglot Bible, Venice 1501. Image supplied through the courtesy of Martin Davies. Reduced in size.



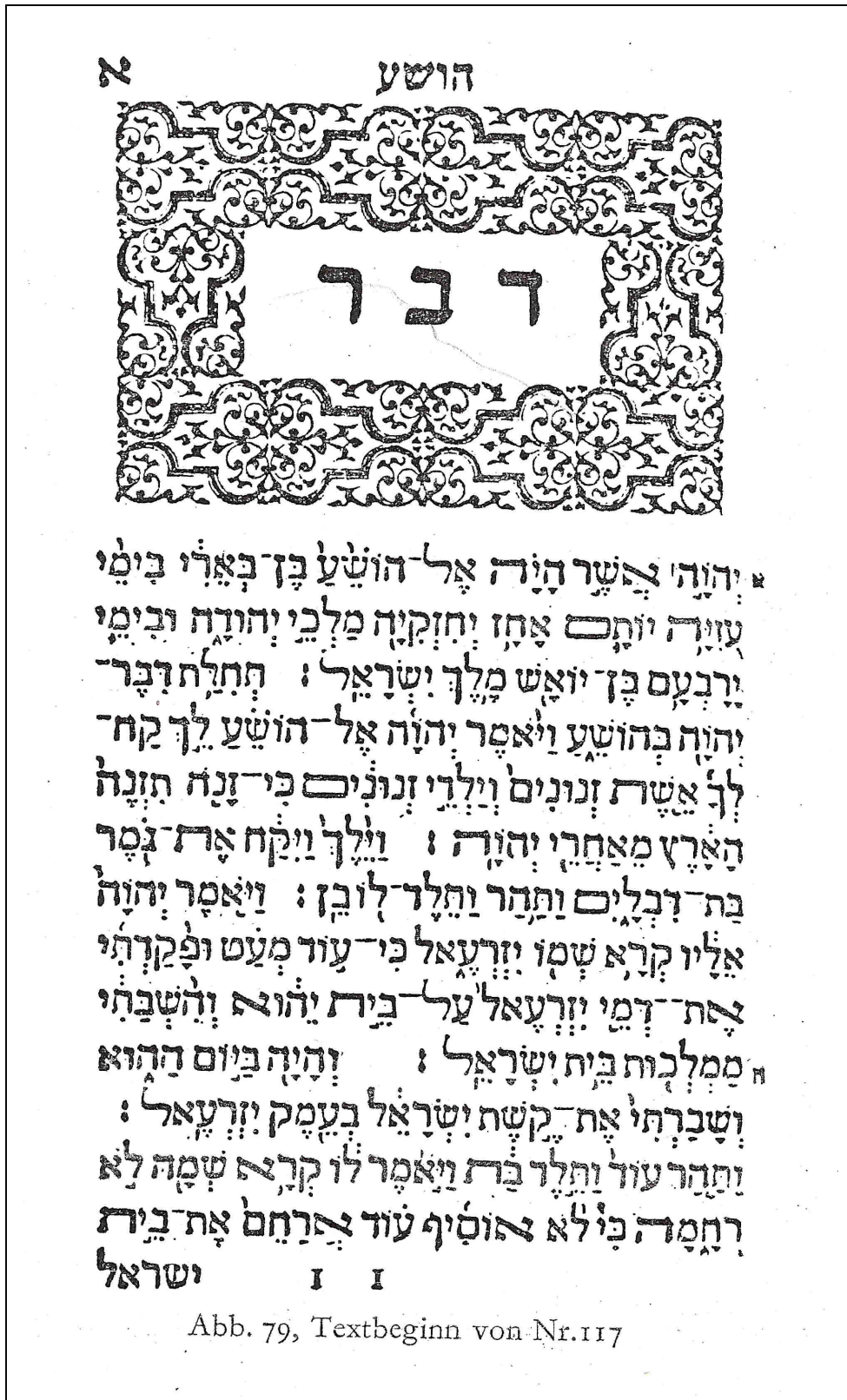
Illustration 25: Reproduction of Soncino 1546 Polyglot Torah (From Marvin Heller, *The sixteenth century Hebrew book: an abridged thesaurus*. Reduced in size.



1546, *Torah with Persian and Arabic Targum*, Eliezer Soncino, Constantinople

Courtesy of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary

Illustration 26: Hebrew text page from the 1567 edition of *Prophetiae Minores*, Johann Oporin, Basel, 1567. From Prijs, *Die Basler hebräischen Drucke*, 1492-1866, p. 168. Reduced in size.



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