

**HUGH BROUGHTON (1549-1612): SCHOLARSHIP,
CONTROVERSY AND THE ENGLISH BIBLE**

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Abstract

'Hugh Broughton (1549-1612): Scholarship, Controversy and the English Bible'

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This thesis provides a revisionist account of the relationship between Latin biblical criticism, vernacular religious culture and Reformed doctrines of scriptural authority in the early modern period. It achieves this by studying episodes from the career of the English Hebraist Hugh Broughton (1549-1612). Current orthodoxy holds that Broughton's devotion to the tenets of Reformed scripturalism distinguished him from contemporary biblical humanists, whose more flexible attitudes to the Bible enabled them to produce cutting-edge scholarship. In challenging this consensus, this thesis focusses on three areas.

The first is chronology. Recent work has presented chronology as divided between technical, philological practitioners, who drew from astronomy and humanism alike in their efforts to date the past, and scripturalists, who relied on the Bible alone. Using the chronological controversy between Broughton and the Oxonian John Rainolds, this thesis complicates this picture by arguing that both approaches to the discipline were equally derived from humanistic traditions, and that confessional, rather than intellectual or methodological, factors informed the most important decisions chronologers made.

The second area is biblical criticism. There is still a broad assumption that Reformed beliefs about scripture were incompatible with the most advanced biblical scholarship. This thesis questions such assumptions by reconstructing Broughton's research into the Semitic contexts of the New Testament. By demonstrating that it was possible to produce innovative and influential work without challenging and indeed, while endorsing the principles of Reformed scripturalism, this thesis disputes current teleological presumptions about the development of modern, historical biblical criticism.

The third is the history of lay reading. Both chronology and biblical criticism have often been viewed as specialised pursuits, studied only by a Latin-reading elite and irrelevant to laypeople. For Broughton and his followers, however, biblical scholarship and lay piety were inseparable. The thesis demonstrates this by piecing together Broughton's radical plans for a new English Bible, including his work with John Speed on biblical genealogy, and his revisions of the Geneva New Testament. Using numerous neglected manuscript sources, it gives an account of the sixteenth-century biblical translation that foregrounds the unexpected ways in which groundbreaking neo-Latin, continental biblical scholarship expanded scholars' concepts of what vernacular translation could achieve.

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Prefatory Notes

I confirm that this dissertation is my own work and that the use of material from other sources has been fully acknowledged, whether in the main text or scholarly apparatus. An adapted version of Chapter 2 has been accepted for publication in *The Library*, and an altered, abridged version of Chapter 5 is forthcoming in *Review of English Studies*. All translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

Unless there is evidence to the contrary, I have assumed that dates in early modern documents written by English scholars, or reproducing early modern documents by English scholars, use the Old Style system, and have accordingly given them in the format Old Style / New Style. Where appropriate, the year has been adjusted to start at 1st January. Thus, 4 April 1590 Old Style would be given as April 4/14 1590, and 26 January 1600 Old Style would be recorded as January 26/ February 5 1600/01. In other cases, where the calendar used could not be determined, I have left the date alone.

Citations from the Vulgate have been taken from the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, ed. R. Gryson, R. Weber, B. Fischer, H.I. Frede (Stuttgart, 2007).

Citations from the New Testament have been taken from Robert Estienne's 1550 edition, *Novum Iesu Christi D.N. Testamentum* (Paris, 1550).

Hebrew has not been written with vowels unless they are necessary for the purposes of argument, or in citations. Citations from the Hebrew Bible have been taken from the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1997).

Introduction

Within his own time, the biblical scholar Hugh Broughton was an unusually difficult figure to position within the interlocking categories of confessional identity, scholarly prowess and moral probity that mattered most to his contemporaries. Traces of this difficulty can be seen in the balancing act performed by James Speght, the Reformed minister who delivered Broughton's funeral sermon in August 1612, as he manoeuvred between 'extenuation and exaltation' of a man whose life and works had polarised scholarly and religious opinion.¹ Of Broughton's behaviour - disputationous, violent in polemic even by the standards of the time - there could be no hedging that he was 'not free from all infirmities', though there was partial amelioration in the fact that he did not impart his moral imperfections to his listeners. Never, Speght affirmed, did 'any addicted Hearer of him...prove prophane, and uncivill of life'. And of his scholarship, which some had called the most profound of his time, and others the most misguided, there could at least be no doubt that he did it all 'for the glory of Christ', and with 'admirable skill' in 'Languages...Heathen studies[...and...]studies Rabbinicall and Divine', even if there were no great names who could attest to his genius.

But perhaps the most difficult to navigate were Broughton's activities within the scope of religion: too friendly with the Jesuits; too quarrelsome with the Genevans; ready to denounce Beza as blasphemous, the English bishops as corrupt and the Pope as Antichrist while also praising Reformed theology, begging Elizabeth for a bishopric, and boasting of his favour with Cardinal Baronius. In this area additionally he had been accused of fickle pragmatism: as Richard Bancroft and William Barlow wrote in their anonymous satire of Broughton, 'it is a Bishopricke you haue expected, and hunted after

¹ James Speght, 'The Sermon preached at the Funerall of Mr. Hugh Broughton', in *The Works of the Great Albionean Divine, Renown'd in Many Nations for Rare Skill in Salems & Athens Tongues, and Familiar Acquaintance with All Rabbinical Learning, Mr. Hugh Broughton*, ed. John Lightfoot (London, 1662), iv.725-730.

mainly; and defeated of your hope...now you would faine currie fauour with the *Presbyterian faction*.² It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that Speght carefully dodged the question of the man himself, and focused once again on his followers: at minimum none of his admirers had turned to either of the two ‘extremes’ Broughton himself had been accused of: ‘never any a Pseudocatholical Papist, nor any a Catharistical Separatist’.³

If Broughton ended his life a controversial and divisive figure, historical revision with its corollaries of erasure and simplification soon set in, beginning with his first biographer, the Hebraist John Lightfoot. In the preface to his edition of Broughton’s works, Lightfoot, in accordance with his own scholarly and religious sensibilities, carefully suppressed the problematic confessional implications of Broughton’s work (particularly those which came too close to Catholicism) and played down the aggressive controversies which had consumed most of his energy. Instead, Lightfoot wrote Broughton’s biography with a strong emphasis on his scholarship, especially his linguistic skill. Lightfoot’s Broughton appeared as an enthusiastic member of the ‘Republic of Letters’: close with great men such as the classicist Joseph Scaliger, the Hebraist Francis Raphelengius, the biblical scholar and theologian Franciscus Junius, and friendly too with the most learned Jesuits, though only to the extent that transconfessional contact could further the cause of learning. Lightfoot even managed to explain away Broughton’s difficult character traits as the consequence of a scholarly zeal: he could be ‘very angry with *Scholars*’ simply because he thought it ‘a shame to them to be ignorant’; and his writings were curt and harsh only because he had spent so much time studying Hebrew that its concision had affected his English style.⁴

² Anon [Richard Bancroft and William Barlow], *Master Broughtons Letters, Especially His Last Pamphlet to and against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1599), p. 29.

³ Speght, ‘The Sermon’, in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iv.730.

⁴ John Lightfoot, ‘The Preface’, in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, sigs. Ar-C2v

Lightfoot's evasion of the confessionally problematic aspects of Broughton's career effectively erased recollection of his suspected leaning towards Catholicism.⁵ But suspicion of his inclination the other way (to 'Catharistical Separatism', as James Speght put it) was not so easily quelled. This was partially due to Broughton's interactions with English immigrant nonconformists in continental Europe, but more thanks to the worsening relations between Broughton and key figures of the English ecclesiastical establishment in the final decade or so of his life. During this period, Broughton had developed a fierce antipathy towards two powerful bishops: William Barlow, Bishop of Rochester (1606) and Lincoln (1608), and Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London (1597) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1604). This acrimony had nothing to do with their status as bishops per se (Broughton had indeed tried to gain a bishopric for himself throughout the 1590s), but was rather provoked by their 1599 satire *Master Broughtons Letters*. This was dressed as a refutation of Broughton's intervention in the debate over Christ's descent into hell, but within it the two men ranged much further across Broughton's life and works, accusing him of fickleness, pedantry and belligerence. It provoked Broughton so much that he spent the rest of his life writing against the two men and especially Bancroft, who played a central part in the translation of the King James Bible (henceforth AV) while Broughton was excluded.

Although this animosity did not arise from any confessional agenda on Broughton's part, the acrimony between him and established religion in the form of 'the bishops' (once it had been silently scaled up to cover not just particular individuals but 'bishops' in general) would give later nonconformists of varying stripes enough reason to claim Broughton as one of their own. Moreover, precisely because it did not stem from any specific agenda on Broughton's part, this was evidence ambiguous enough to fit

⁵ I have found one exception: the early twentieth-century critic Edmund Gosse, but this is because he edited sources directly confronting him with such suspicions: a 1608 letter from John Donne to Sir Henry Goodyere reporting rumours of Broughton's apostasy: Edmund Gosse (ed), *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's* (London, 1899), i. 196-198.

many diverse dissenting narratives. Furthermore the scholarly, erudite mould in which Lightfoot had formed Broughton's biography made him an attractive candidate to be claimed. Such appropriation can be seen already in the nonconformist minister Samuel Clarke's 1683 *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, intended as a celebration of a moderate puritan tradition of the ever-suffering godly. Here, comments about Broughton's linguistic and scholarly excellence (taken at times verbatim from Lightfoot) were intermingled with notes about how he was 'trampled under foot by some of the Bishops' and 'opposed by the Bishops' who 'would not suffer his [funeral] Sermon to be Printed' or 'endure to have Mr. *Broughton's* Name to be prefixed' to the genealogies of the AV.⁶ A similar picture, with Broughton simultaneously as godly foe of the bishops and (on Lightfoot's testimony) scholar extraordinaire, was painted again and again, in works such as the independent minister Benjamin Brook's 1813 *The Lives of the Puritans*, and the Glaswegian minister Thomas Smith's 1827 history of those 'who were denominated *Nonconformists* or *Puritans*'.⁷ Where Broughton's life was written by historians without a vested interest in fashioning an illustrious nonconformist history, the picture was lightly adjusted; still there was some emphasis on his scholarly prowess, but his resolute

⁶ Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in This Later Age* (London, 1683), pp. 2-8.

⁷ Benjmain Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans* (London, 1813), ii.215-230; Thomas Smith, *Select Memoirs of the Lives, Labours, and Sufferings of Those Pious and Learned English and Scottish Divines: Who Greatly Distinguished Themselves in Promoting the Reformation from Popery* (Glasgow, 1827), vii.311-318. See also the work of the nonconformist memorialist Sir James Bickerton Williams, *Letters on Puritanism and Nonconformity* (London, 1843-1846), i. 102; ii.24; or that of John James Taylor, *A Retrospect of the Religious Life of England... or the Church, Puritanism and Free Enquiry* (London, 1845), p. 494.

opposition to ecclesiastical authority appeared rather as overambitious haughtiness than as unwavering commitment to the godly cause.⁸

The overall portrait which emerged from these seventeenth to nineteenth-century traditions, that of a cantankerous puritan loosely labelled as a ‘scholar’, has been inherited by much of the modern scholarship that mentions Broughton.⁹ The ambiguities originally captured by Speght’s sermon are not recognisable from a reading of more recent secondary literature. The central aim of this thesis therefore will be to complicate our received portrayal both by reconstructing the complexities that it erases as well as examining the historiographical factors which have enabled it to endure for so long.

We must begin with the factors that have prevented this puritan caricature from being challenged. The most important issue is related to an aspect of Broughton’s work which was not especially troublesome to earlier historians, but which does appear egregious in light of secular modernity. This is his insistence on the divine inspiration and therefore absolute infallibility and inerrancy of the Bible, as well as its perfection and internal harmony. These beliefs were not unusual, and indeed were frequently professed by sixteenth and seventeenth-century Reformed scholars. However, while often affirmed

⁸ For example, in John Strype, *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift* (Oxford, 1822 (first published 1718)), i.162-163; ii.113, p. 178, p. 220, p. 357; Ibid., *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England* (Oxford, 1824 (first published 1725)), ii. 310; William Gilpin, *The Life of Bernard Gilpin* (Glasgow, 1824 (first published 1752)), p. 141; pp. 206-207; H. C. Conant, *The English Bible: History of the Translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue* (New York, 1856), pp. 424-5, p. 435. Indeed, on the grounds of his insolence the ‘puritan’ labelling of Broughton was accepted by those too who wanted to discredit nonconformist integrity: see the review of Brook’s 1813 *The Lives of the Puritans* in *The Christian Observer*, 14.7 (July 1815), p. 468.

⁹ For identifications of Broughton as an angry puritan / great but grumpy Hebraist, see Gustavus Paine, *The Learned Men* (New York, 1959), p. 9; p. 106; Keith Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600-1640* (Leiden, 1994), ix, p. 55, p. 62, p. 165; Eliane Glaser, *Judaism Without Jews: Philosemitism and Christian Polemic in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2007), ch. 2; David Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible: An Account of the Development and Sources of the English Bible of 1611 with Special Reference to the Hebrew Tradition* (Hamden, Conn., 1968), p. 67, pp. 156-7; G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Lancashire, 1983), pp. 164-8; Adam Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 26-27.

in abstract, there was a great variety of opinion as to what such doctrines meant in practice. Decisions as to how far they could be taken were mostly left up to the individual, and rarely laid out explicitly.¹⁰ Thus, many Reformed theologians were perfectly happy to accept the existence of scribal corruptions, factual inaccuracies or chronological inconsistencies within the Bible, so long as matters central to faith and salvation were preserved without error. In this respect, as Richard Muller has emphasised, there was nothing inherently incompatible about the recognition of discrepancies in the Bible and belief in its infallibility, perfection and harmony.¹¹ For Broughton, however, any minor discrepancies at all represented a threat to the Bible's divinity. Throughout his life, he took the hardest and most extreme line on every aspect of scriptural perfection, refusing to admit any kind of error, incoherence or imperfection into the Bible.

This uncompromising application of Reformed doctrines of scripture, which I have designated 'Reformed scripturalism' for ease of reference, did indeed make Broughton unusual among his contemporaries. It has also dominated the attention of modern historians and literary scholars since the twentieth century, to the exclusion of

¹⁰ John V. Fesko, 'The Doctrine of Scripture in Reformed Orthodoxy', in *A Companion to Reformed Orthodoxy*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis (Leiden, 2013), pp. 429-465; Richard Muller, *Post Reformation Reformed dogmatics, Vol 2: Holy Scripture: The Cognitive Foundation of Theology* (Grand Rapids, 2003), 4.2, pp. 230-255; 5.2-5.4, pp. 300-340; 6.2.B, pp. 417-425.

¹¹Ibid., p. 232; 251.

almost all other aspects of Broughton's work.¹² This has been especially true for the history of scholarship, one of the major fields in which Broughton has been studied. Reacting against Lightfoot's somewhat excessive esteem for Broughton's intellectual brilliance, modern scholars have worked principally to qualify Lightfoot's claims and to distinguish Broughton from canonical humanists such as Joseph Scaliger or Isaac Casaubon.¹³ They have achieved this by pointing to Broughton's scripturalism, relying on the assumption that such beliefs were fundamentally irreconcilable with the best biblical scholarship even as it was practised in the sixteenth century.

The perceived incompatibility of Reformed beliefs about the Bible and 'scholarship' is one of the central concerns of this thesis, and Broughton is an ideal case study to challenge it.¹⁴ For Broughton, among other things, produced the first known Hebrew-Greek biblical concordance, furnished Lightfoot with many of his greatest insights, and also debated doctrinal points in philological and historical terms at a time

¹² See, for the most prominent examples, Jed Buchwald and Mordechai Feingold, *Newton and the Origin of Civilization* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 113-114; Lori Anne Ferrell, *The Bible and the People* (New Haven, 2008), p. 150; Katharine Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 155-162; Nicholas Popper, *Walter Raleigh's History of the World and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance* (Chicago, 2012), p. 81; David Norton, *A History of the Bible As Literature* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 139-144; idem, *A History of the English Bible As Literature* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 56-58; idem, *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 81-82; idem, 'English Bibles from c. 1520 to c. 1750', in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 3, From 1450 to 1750*, ed. Euan Cameron (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 305-345; Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version, 1611-2011* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 123-4; Rocío Sumillera, 'Hugh Broughton's Censure to the King James Bible', in *Into Another's Skin: Selected Essays in Honour of María Luisa Dañobeitia*, ed. M. Aguilera, M. Moreno, and L. Zúñiga (Granada, 2012), pp. 47-57; Jeffrey Shoulson, *Fictions of conversion: Jews, Christians and cultures of change in early modern England* (Philadelphia, 2013), p. 84.

¹³ Popper, *Walter Raleigh*, p. 81; Feingold and Buchwald, *Newton*, pp. 113-114; Steven John Reid, 'Andrew Melville, Sacred Chronology and World History: the Carmina Danielis 9 and the Antichristus', *The Innes Review* 60.1 (2009), 1-21; Jean-Louis Breteau, 'The Polymaths, Rationalist Thinkers and the Millennium. A Battle of Computers', *Caliban* 3 (1998), 37-46; Adam Sutcliffe, 'Hebrew Texts and Protestant Readers: Christian Hebraism and Denominational Self-Definition', *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 7.4 (2000), 319-37.

¹⁴ For a particularly clear expression of this incompatibility, see Arthur Eyffinger, 'Authority vs. Authenticity. The Leiden Debate on Bible and Hebrew (1575-1650)', in *Hebraic Aspects of the Renaissance: Sources and Encounters*, ed. Ilana Zinguer, Abraham Melamed, and Zur Shalev (Leiden, 2011), pp. 116-135.

when most others believed them to be inquiries best answered theologically. His firm scripturalist principles, his opposition to the work of men like Scaliger, and the very typologically, prophetically and theologically driven elements within his works should not be used to discount him as a scholar, but rather to complicate our own notions of late sixteenth-century intellectual culture, learned practices and the received canon of scholarship. In the sixteenth century, high levels of linguistic and philological expertise did not need to exist within a historicising or classically-centred world view in order to be recognised and received as ‘scholarship’. It was possible to produce innovative and influential work without questioning and indeed, while trying to uphold either biblical authority in its most general sense or the stricter principles of Reformed scripturalism.

This thesis therefore contends that the best way to study figures like Broughton is neither by analysing them within monolithic categories such as that of ‘Reformed scripturalism’, nor within the canon of late humanist scholarship currently dominated by the more historical and classically minded scholars of the period. Rather, it suggests that such difficult figures as Broughton are best understood if studied with an approach that takes seriously the blurring of boundaries between biblical criticism, controversial theology, confessional disagreement, classical scholarship, neo-Latin intellectual culture and vernacular religious culture in the period. It was precisely because of the overlap between such apparently discrete fields that Broughton became such a problematic figure in his own time and for his immediate contemporaries.

In order to show this, I will focus on reconstructing aspects and episodes of Broughton’s intellectual life in which these diverse areas most clearly converge. However, this process of reconstruction raises some methodological problems. Specifically, the ambiguity which characterised much of Broughton’s life, and which can so clearly be seen in Speght’s funeral sermon, is difficult to recover from his published corpus. This is partly because the state of his work is, as one historian has put it, ‘extremely confused’, with the most interesting analyses written in a very terse, illogical manner and spread

across Broughton's sprawling corpus.¹⁵ Simply to understand the vast majority of his prose it is necessary to read widely across his corpus, and to engage seriously with each of the individuals he is himself engaging with.

This is especially important as Broughton in particular has suffered from being misrepresented by the most easily accessible and readily quotable statements he made, without proper supporting analysis of the arguments and circumstances which contextualise them. To combat this tendency, in addition to careful study of the relevant published works, this thesis has incorporated evidence from a variety of previously unstudied sources, all of which complicate our understanding of Broughton as scholar and controversialist. These include annotated books; correspondence to, from and about Broughton; manuscript drafts of published works; copies of Broughton's notes made by later scholars, and a large number of unpublished manuscripts from treatises to diagrams to dictionaries.

As well as enabling us to recreate the conditions which made Broughton appear such a strange figure in his own time, these sources also shed light on one of Broughton's foremost concerns: the English Bible. Broughton has been granted a cameo role in the history of the English Bible thanks to his reputation as the resentful scholar who was 'excluded' from the AV translation committees and subsequently wrote the first critique of it.¹⁶ In some studies he also appears, briefly, as the co-author, alongside John

¹⁵ Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford, 2009), p. 121, fn191.

¹⁶ The literature on the English Bible is significant. A full review will be given in Chapter 5, but for a representative account see Norton, *History of the Bible*, pp. 139-144.

Speed, of the biblical genealogies prefaced to the same translation.¹⁷ Thanks to previously unstudied evidence, this picture can be greatly expanded with the details of Broughton's campaign for a new English Bible from 1597 to 1612, as well as his interactions with senior figures of the English ecclesiastical establishment. Using this evidence, my thesis will offer a new account of late sixteenth-century vernacular biblical scholarship in England that significantly advances the narratives offered in the AV anniversary year of 2011. As with the other case studies, the main objective of this will be to emphasise the interdependence of fields of inquiry now separated by modern disciplinary boundaries. In this instance, it will use Broughton to place the act of translation back into its early modern context as a scholarly endeavour, which intersected primarily not with a national literary culture but with the theological, confessional and scholarly concerns of learned, neo-Latin Europe.

The chapters in this thesis are divided into four parts according to theme: Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, the English Bible, the New Testament, and Dogmatic Theology. The first part, 'Hebrew Bible/Old Testament', deals with problems raised by Old Testament chronology, focussing on the debate caused by Broughton's 1588 *A Concent of Scripture*.

This debate is one of the controversies most frequently used to define Broughton as a 'puritan' or scripturalist. According to the traditional narrative, this controversy began when the Oxford theologian John Rainolds attacked Broughton's *Concent* on account of its methodology, which, inspired by the scriptural doctrines of Reformed theology, claimed that the only true source for chronology was scripture. This

¹⁷ Lori Anne Ferrell, 'Page Techne: Interpreting Diagrams in Early Modern English 'How to' Books', in *Printed images in early modern Britain: essays in interpretation*, ed. M. Hunter (Farnham, 2010), pp. 113-127; Hamlin Hannibal, Judith Maltby and Helen Moore, 'The 1611 King James Bible and its Cultural Politics', in *Manifold Greatness: The Making of the King James Bible*, ed. Helen Moore and Julian Reid (Oxford, 2011), pp. 118-122.; Katrin Ettenhuber, "'A comely gate to so rich and glorious a citie': The Paratextual Architecture of the Rheims New Testament and the King James Bible", in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530-1700*, ed. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford, 2015), pp. 54-70 (pp. 60-66).

chapter, by contrast, proposes that Broughton's scripturalism was not the reason why Rainolds attacked him. What actually prompted Rainolds to take issue with Broughton's chronological work was the fact that Broughton's scholarly arguments had unwittingly strengthened the position which Roman Catholic scholars had taken in a separate confessional debate, concerning the canon of Scripture. When examined from this perspective, the Rainolds-Broughton controversy not only suggests the need for a broader account of the relationship between chronology and theology, but also shows how Broughton first attracted the charges of confessional ambiguity that would plague him for the rest of his life.

This chapter will also posit that current methodological divisions between the practitioners of technical, 'humanistic' chronology and scripturalist chronology are too rigid and absolute. It will suggest that, despite its scripturalist roots, Broughton's *Concent* (like the work of his intellectual model, Matthieu Béroalde) rested on a philological approach to chronology which required a high level of linguistic skill and built on the discipline's longstanding exegetical tradition. Conversely, despite his grand methodological statements about the importance of historical evidence in chronological debate, Rainolds had no problem with using solely scriptural, theological, and typological arguments to defend his position in much the same manner as Broughton. Finally, it will argue that aside from the crucial context of confessional controversy, the deeper methodological flaw which Rainolds diagnosed in Broughton's work lay not in his rejection of profane sources, but rather in the inflexible exegetical principles on which his chronology relied. Overall, this chapter offers a new picture of chronological scholarship in the period that takes into account the importance of inter-confessional theology and biblical exegesis to the discipline and provides a more comprehensive analysis of the contemporary significance and influence of 'biblicist' chronologies such as Broughton's.

The second part of this thesis focuses on Broughton's work on the vernacular translation of scripture, and contains two chapters. The first examines the research that grew out of Broughton's study of biblical chronology, and would eventually find its way into the English Bible: the genealogies prefaced to the King James Bible of 1611, which were co-authored by Hugh Broughton and the antiquarian John Speed. These have not been much studied by historians of the English Bible, and are an ideal test case to demonstrate how seemingly abstruse neo-Latin scholarship played a vital role in the vernacular Bible. Using Broughton's drafts of these genealogies as well as other neglected evidence, this chapter will argue that these genealogies had a very clear polemical function, emerged from a subsidiary of the thriving field of chronology, and can be placed within a longstanding visual tradition capable of explaining many of the peculiarities on which modern scholars have remained silent. Moreover, by studying these aspects of the genealogies properly and taking seriously Broughton's collaboration with Speed, this chapter will show that the AV genealogies were an innovative fusion of secular and sacred scholarship with significant implications for the relationship between the learned culture that produced them and the lay readership for which they were designed.

The second chapter builds on the first part of the dissertation to focus on the ways in which Broughton's early work on the English Bible arose from his chronological studies. It begins by analysing how Broughton's chronological work structured his translation of the book of Daniel, and continues to show how the development of Broughton's defences of the *Concent*, especially against the Hebraist Edward Lively, forced Broughton further into the field of translation, and confirmed his growing belief that the two enterprises of chronology and the English Bible were inextricably bound together. Finally, it reconstructs the development of Broughton's campaign for a new English Bible from the 1590s onwards, drawing on previously unknown evidence both for this campaign and Broughton's criticisms of contemporary English Bibles. It shows how Broughton's campaign attracted unwanted attention from Catholic polemicists, and

how political and personal factors such as his worsening relations with Richard Bancroft and William Barlow interfered in his efforts towards a new translation until his death in 1612.

Moving back to intellectual history, the third section, 'The New Testament', consists of two chapters. The first deepens our understanding of the relationship between late-humanist practices and the doctrines of Reformed scripturalism through a reconstruction of Broughton's New Testament studies. One of the most exciting developments in sixteenth-century scholarship was the realisation that strange aspects of the New Testament could be explained using post-biblical Jewish writings. Indeed, the advances stimulated by this realisation have been identified as crucial early steps towards an historical biblical criticism. This chapter shows how Broughton's scripturalist beliefs pushed him further than even his most advanced colleagues to undertake an unprecedentedly systematic exploration of the New Testament's Semitic contexts. Moreover, this exploration produced original insights that were widely repeated by later scholars who have been regarded as pioneers in this field. Despite this, however, Broughton's contributions have gone unrecognised partly because the exigencies of confessional politics prevented him from gaining patronage for his studies, meaning that his ambitious theories never fully materialised and remain today scattered across manuscripts in Europe and North America. Using these documents, this section demonstrates that it was possible to produce innovative and influential work without challenging and indeed, while endorsing the principles of Reformed scripturalism.

The second chapter builds on the first to examine how Broughton's studies of the New Testament related to his ongoing work on the translation of the Bible into English. By reconstructing Broughton's radical vision of a new English Bible, it will argue that the theories and methods which he developed in the course of his scholarly research into New Testament Greek provided the framework around which his concept

of the English Bible was built. It will analyse the striking ways in which he aimed to communicate such knowledge to lay readers, and concludes that these would all have produced an English Bible profoundly different from any that preceded or followed it. The final part, 'Dogmatic Theology', consists of one chapter which focuses on Broughton's involvement in the late sixteenth-century controversy over the meaning of Christ's descent into hell. While the previous sections have examined how Broughton worked when faced with problems which were predominantly of a scholarly nature, this part will analyse how Broughton responded to a question which directly impinged upon doctrine and dogma. For the vast majority of those involved in the controversy, the debate was one to be resolved primarily within the discipline of systematic theology, by establishing the role of Christ's descent within atonement and redemption. For Broughton, however, the problem was above all a philological one: it could only be resolved by analysis of the Hebrew and Greek roots of the Creed's Latin phrase within the context of linguistic history. Broughton's radically scholarly approach was much sneered at by his contemporaries, and it also left him vulnerable to exploitation by Jesuits who were eager to turn the outsider Hebraist against his coreligionists. In many ways, the question of the descent was both the culminating and most revealing controversy of Broughton's life, and this chapter will explore its ramifications for our understanding of sixteenth-century theology and Broughton's longer-term reputation.

To conclude, it is worth mentioning some of the limitations of this thesis, such as the absence of biographical study of Broughton's early life until 1588, or of any account of Broughton's activities in Amsterdam and Germany, including his debates with Jewish scholars, and his complicated relationship with immigrant English nonconformists. The reasons for these omissions are partly practical, given that it is not feasible to write Broughton's complete intellectual biography in three years. They are also, however, partly historiographical, as I have focussed instead on those areas of more

general significance to early modern studies. In doing this, I have tried to use Broughton as a case study not only to widen the parameters we use to define categories such as 'scholarship', but also to uncover the complexities, ambiguities and difficulties that could arise from being a scholar on the fringes of both informal and institutional networks of scholarship, religion and society.

PART ONE: HEBREW BIBLE/OLD TESTAMENT

1. Chronology and Theology in the Late Sixteenth Century: The Controversy over 'A Conccent of Scripture' (1588-1594).

i. Overview

This chapter will examine the controversy which erupted after Broughton published his chronological pamphlet *A Conccent of Scripture*, taking into account evidence relating to events from the work's publication in late 1588 until 1594.

The controversy itself was disastrous for Broughton: it dashed any hopes he might have had of power or prestige within the English ecclesiastical establishment and forced him into near life-long exile. Equally, the work which it concerned, *A Conccent of Scripture*, was the product of what Broughton considered his most profound insights into the Bible, and the foundation on which the rest of his life's work would be built: to have it rejected by powerful figures of the English Church was a blow from which he never recovered. For these reasons, an examination of the *Conccent* controversy is essential for a proper understanding of Broughton's life and intellectual preoccupations. But the controversy also presents some puzzling features that reveal more general lacunae in our understanding of how chronological scholarship was received in the period. For the *Conccent*, upon first reading, seems unlikely to have caused much trouble in late sixteenth-century England. It was strongly typological, focussed on harmonising chronological contradictions in the Bible and brimmed with anti-papal polemic, repeatedly identifying the Pope as Anti-Christ and Rome as the Apocalyptic Babylon. As such, one of the primary contexts in which modern scholars have placed the work is the prophetic fervour of the sixteenth century, where it appears to be a relatively unremarkable

specimen of the English Protestant obsession with anti-papal exegesis of the Apocalypse.¹⁸

Yet this was the book that provoked John Rainolds - who then held a specially created lectureship in controversial theology at Oxford and was mid-way through a series of lectures against the Jesuit Robert Bellarmine - to break off his rebuttal of this foremost Catholic controversialist and devote just under a year's worth of lectures to attacking his coreligionist and countryman. It caused such disturbance that when Broughton tried to print a defence of it in 1591, George Bishop and Ralph Newbery, Wardens of the Stationers' Company, seized all the copies from Broughton's chambers and refused to return them without a warrant from at least a bishop to assure that the book was safe to publish.¹⁹ This discrepancy between a modern reading of the work Broughton produced and its reception by contemporary Protestant theologians demonstrates vividly that we lack an understanding of the confessional coding of certain genres of scholarship, particularly more specialised ones such as chronology. How could a single work be at once a typical specimen of Protestant anti-papal apocalypticism, and also as much of a theological threat as Robert Bellarmine?

There have been few studies of this controversy, but those that exist generally answer this question with reference to contemporary tensions within the discipline of chronology. The cause of the dispute has been diagnosed as Broughton's 'extreme and uncompromising' belief that he could construct a universal chronology from scripture alone, which angered more sensible men with interests in classical scholarship such as

¹⁸ Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 152-162; Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew*, pp. 164-168; G. J. Parry, *A Protestant Vision: William Harrison and the Reformation of Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 65-78, Donald Burke, 'New England, New Jerusalem: The Millenarian Dimension of Transatlantic Migration' (unpublished PhD dissertation: Wayne State University, 2006), pp. 364-452.

¹⁹ See Broughton's letter to William Cecil, London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 69, no. 38, a copy of which also exists in Cambridge University Library, MS Mm 2.22, fols. 103-104, and partially printed in John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion: In the Church of England* (London, 1738), iv.105-107.

John Rainolds (and later Edward Lively), who had ‘strong reservations about the plausibility and value of such an exercise.’²⁰ The consensus is that Rainolds, advancing the cause of Joseph Scaliger, opposed Broughton’s work partly to defend the use of extra-biblical sources in chronology, and partly out of scorn for the absurdity of Broughton’s enterprise. By contrast, Broughton’s work is thought to have been driven chiefly by theological motives, to have lacked any scholarly substance and to have been, like the work of the Genevan scholar Matthieu Béroalde which it imitated, stunted by its strict Reformed scripturalism.²¹ The Rainolds-Broughton debate, in other words, has been read as the English reflection of continental tensions between the methods of Scaliger, who promoted a historicising, astronomical approach to the discipline loosely referred to as ‘technical’ chronology,²² and the methods of Béroalde and his followers,

²⁰ Buchwald and Feingold, *Newton*, p. 113; Mordechai Feingold, ‘Joseph Scaliger in England’, in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, ed. Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing (Leiden, 2016), i.55-73 (pp. 63-65); idem ‘John Rainolds (1549–1607)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23029>> [accessed 16 August 2015]).

²¹ For Rainolds’ response as an intellectual objection to Broughton’s exercise, see the works cited in fn20. For Rainolds’ response as protecting classical learning, see Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 156-158. These accounts are taken at face value and reiterated in Popper, *Walter Raleigh*, pp. 80-81; and Lori Anne Ferrell, *The Bible and the People* (New Haven, 2008), pp. 150-153. The interpretation originates with Strype, *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift*, ii.114. For the ‘Beroaldistae’ (the contemporary nickname for Béroalde’s followers, originating with Scaliger), see Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1993), pp. 268-269, 308-310, 343-345; Buchwald and Feingold, *Newton*, pp. 114-116; Anthony Grafton, ‘Tradition and Technique in Historical Chronology’, in *Ancient History and the Antiquarian: Essays in Memory of Arnaldo Momigliano*, ed. Michael Crawford and C. R. Ligota (London, 1995), pp. 15-31 (p. 22).

²² The term technical chronology, also known as scientific chronology, signifies chronology that used astronomical data in combination with information from classical and scriptural texts to provide precise dates for past events. Technical chronology is thought to originate within German (often but not always Lutheran) scholarship, developing through scholars such as Petrus Apianus (Catholic, though suspected of Lutheran heresies), Lorenz Codomann, Johannes Carion and Johannes Funck, before finding more confessionally varied exponents such as Heinrich Bünting, Paul Crusius, Gerard Mercator, Joseph Scaliger, Seth Calvisius, Denis Pétau, etc. Early modern technical chronology is considered the precursor of modern scientific chronology.

who were intellectually limited by their insistence on the Bible as the only true source for chronology (and whose work is known therefore as ‘scripturalist’ chronology).²³

Superficially, there is some truth on both sides. Rainolds did express doubts about the plausibility of Broughton’s enterprise, particularly about his attitude to classical sources, and he did rely on the work of Scaliger to correct him. Equally, Broughton did indeed argue (against Rainolds) for the programme of study which he had extracted from Béroalde’s only published work, the 1575 *Chronicum Sacrae Scripturae auctoritate constitutum*. But Rainolds and Broughton shared far more than their opposition implies. Broughton (and Béroalde)’s chronological programme was about more than just resistance to classical sources: instead, it drew on contemporary advances in Hebrew and Greek to promote a highly grammatical, linguistically sensitive approach to the discipline which had much in common with biblical humanism. Rainolds shared this faith in the importance of biblical exegesis to chronology, as did every chronologer of the period: in reality, chronology was more porous, flexible and capable of accommodating multiple methods side-by-side than the current account of the controversy would allow. In short, it is unlikely that Broughton’s methods alone would have upset Rainolds enough to spark a conflict of this ferocity, and in fact its deeper causes are explained in the course of Rainolds’ lectures, posthumously printed in 1611.²⁴

Despite its problems, such a narrative has lasted so long due to trends and shifts of emphasis within the study of early modern chronology. Since the seminal work of

²³ Scripturalist chronology is also known as biblicist, literalist or interpretative chronology, and is often opposed to technical chronology. The 1575 *Chronicum, scripturae sacrae auctoritate constitutum* of Matthieu Béroalde is taken as the exemplar of the genre by both modern and early modern scholars, and the chronologers who admired it (such as Jean de Frégeville, Hugh Broughton and David Pareus) were identified as the ‘Beroaldistae’. This type of chronology aimed to harmonise the Bible’s events into a coherent timeline using exegetical manoeuvres, without relying on classical sources.

²⁴ John Rainolds, *Censura librorum apocryphorum veteris testamenti, adversum pontificios, inprimis Robertum Bellarminum: qua tum divina et canonica sacrae scripturae auctoritas asseritur solidissimè*, ed. Conrad Decker (Oppenheim, 1611). There are abbreviated and slightly misleading notes from the early seventeenth-century on lectures §43-215 (given from 1587-1592) in London, British Library, MS Add. 30498.

Grafton on Scaliger, modern historians have paid much attention to the development of technical chronology in the period. They have given comparatively little attention, conversely, to the scripturalist methods advanced by Béroalde and Broughton, and the exegetical, prophetic and theological elements that existed in chronology as a discipline in its entirety. This prioritisation originally emerged from a historiographical need to counter triumphant narratives that viewed Scaliger as the sole pioneer of modern scientific chronology, and attributed his initial interest in the discipline to his work editing the Roman poet Manilius. Both of these assumptions could exist only in the absence of precise analyses of Scaliger's technical competence, originality and intellectual debts.²⁵ Moreover, since Grafton's early work on Scaliger, scholarship on this topic has had significant gains, giving us an unprecedented insight into the previously unappreciated technical components within early modern debates over Christmas, the Deluge and the Calendar, as well as the medieval and late-antique precedents for early modern achievements in technical chronology.²⁶

However, it would be dangerous to lose sight of the fact that this emphasis on technical chronology originated from the specific historiographical needs of twentieth-

²⁵ See the comments in Grafton, 'Joseph Scaliger and Historical Chronology', and Grafton, *Scaliger*, pp. 21-25. For examples of these older narratives see Donald J. Wilcox, *The Measure of Times Past: Pre-newtonian Chronologies and the Rhetoric of Relative Time* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 195-208; Jacob Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger* (New York, 1855), pp. 165-167.

²⁶ See Grafton, *Scaliger*, and for the development of technical chronology, idem, 'Some Uses of Eclipses in Early Modern Chronology', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64.2 (2003), 213-229; idem, 'Petrus Apianus Draws Up a Calendar', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 42 (2011), 55-72; idem, 'From "de Die Natali" to "de Emendatione Temporum": The Origins and Setting of Scaliger's Chronology', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 48 (1985), 100-143. Since Grafton, Philipp Nothaft has probed more deeply into the evolution of technical chronology, especially in antiquity and the Middle Ages: Philipp Nothaft, *Dating the Passion: The Life of Jesus and the Emergence of Scientific Chronology (200 - 1600)* (Leiden, 2012), esp. pp. 203-283; idem, 'A Sixteenth-Century Debate on the Jewish Calendar: Jacob Christmann and Joseph Justus Scaliger', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 103.1 (2013), 47-73; idem, 'From Sukkot to Saturnalia: the Attack on Christmas in Sixteenth-Century Chronological Scholarship', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72.4 (2011), 503-522; idem, 'Noah's Calendar: the Chronology of the Flood Narrative and the History of Astronomy in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Scholarship', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 74 (2011), 191-210; idem, 'Johannes Kepler and the 364-day Calendar', *Henoch* 32.2 (2010), 428-43.

century scholarship, and does not reflect obvious emphases in the period. As Grafton himself has remarked, from the perspective of sixteenth-century chronologers, both before and after Scaliger, the nature of their discipline still seemed undecided and open to debate.²⁷ But this crucial observation has not always been reinforced by careful, sensitive treatments of the other approaches which early modern chronologers were taking. Instead, as the dominance of technical chronology has become entrenched in modern views of the discipline, both it and its ‘biblicist’ counterpart have been subject to polarising value judgments. Furthermore, Béroalde, Broughton and their intellectual descendants have been characterised with loaded terms such as ‘fanatical’, ‘bitter’, ‘rigid’ and ‘anti-intellectualist’.²⁸ As a result, we have lost sight of their scholarly motivations and intellectual contributions: contributions that may not have played a part in the development of modern scientific chronology, but that do deserve a prominent place in the development of biblical scholarship, philology and exegesis.

The narrative that currently describes this controversy can in fact stand synecdochically for how modern historians have approached and understood the whole discipline of early modern chronology, including the value-judgments they have made about it as well as the oppositions and tensions they have seen within it. This chapter, therefore, in the course of providing a more nuanced account of the origins and development of this particular controversy, also attempts to address some of these more general issues in our understanding of chronology’s methodological and intellectual

²⁷ Anthony Grafton, ‘Chronology and its Discontents in Renaissance Europe: The Vicissitudes of a Tradition’ in *Time: Histories and Ethnologies*, ed. Diane O. Hughes and Thomas R. Trautmann (Ann Arbor, 1995) pp. 139-167.

²⁸ This language is widespread. For examples see Buchwald and Feingold, *Newton*, p. 114, p. 116; Popper, *Walter Raleigh*, p. 80, p. 95; Anthony Grafton, ‘The Chronology of the Flood’, in *Sintflut und Gedächtnis: Erinnern und Vergessen des Ursprungs*, ed. Martin Mulsow and Jan Assmann (Munich, 2006), pp. 65-82 (p. 69); idem, ‘Tradition and Technique’, p. 22; idem, ‘Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum: Fragments of Some Lost Enterprises’, in *Collecting fragments = Fragmente sammeln*, ed. Glenn Most (Göttingen, 1997), pp. 124-144 (p. 136). For an exception see Scott Mandelbrote, “‘The Doors shall fly open’: Chronology and Biblical interpretation in England, 1630-1730’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England*, pp. 176-193.

divisions. In doing so, it hopes not only to give a more balanced account of the work of chronologers such as Broughton and Béroalde, but also to show that early modern chronology was a more methodologically flexible and confessionally inflected discipline than previous studies have recognised.

ii. Confessionalised Chronology: John Rainolds against Gilbert Génébrard

To understand this debate, it necessary to begin not with Broughton, English apocalypticism or indeed chronology, but rather with Rainolds' theological lectures, delivered from the end of Michaelmas Term, 1586. The aim of these lectures was to refute Catholic controversialists who had argued for the canonicity of Old Testament books which Protestants had deemed apocryphal. Chief among these controversialists was the Jesuit Robert Bellarmine, who was then lecturing at the Gregorian University in Rome and whose great work of controversial theology, the *Disputationes de controversiis Christianae fidei*, was just beginning to be published (1586-1593) with an initial section on the Old Testament Canon.²⁹

Such a task, as Conrad Decker emphasised in his preface to the 1611 printed edition of Rainolds' lectures, was merely a means to an end: the ultimate purpose was to establish a biblical Canon free from apocryphal vestiges so that theologians would have a solid base from which to draw Christian dogma.³⁰ Unsurprisingly, Rainolds had this controversial, dogmatic end consistently in mind as he discussed various books of the Old Testament, each of which had theological and doctrinal resonances that made discussion of their canonicity, however couched in historical or philological terms, far more than a scholarly exploration of ancient history.

²⁹ For the context of these lectures, see Mordechai Feingold, 'John Rainolds (1549–1607)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23029>> Accessed 20 September 2016.

³⁰ See Conrad Decker, 'Praefatio ad Lectorem', in Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, sig.)(2r.

Indeed, of no book was this more true than 2 Maccabees, to which Rainolds turned at the start of Michaelmas Term 1589. Thanks to the apparent proof for Purgatory and intercessory practices in the last six verses of its twelfth book, as well as the fact that these doctrines had been among the earliest points of controversy between Catholics and Reformed Protestants, the canonicity of 2 Maccabees was more tightly bound to a specific set of confessional controversies than any of the books which Rainolds had denounced until this point.³¹ Therefore, as evidenced by Bellarmine's own *De Purgatorio*, any Protestant attack on 2 Maccabees was immediately recognised as an attack on these Catholic doctrines too.³² Rainolds himself acknowledged this connection at the start of his lectures, and explained how it required him to provide a more substantial argument against the book than he had for previous texts.³³

This was no straightforward task. Over the past century of debate, and particularly after the Council of Trent in April 1546 had enshrined its canonicity, arguments for and against 2 Maccabees had significantly advanced in historical, philological and chronological sophistication, moving far beyond patristic or even early Protestant precedents.³⁴ And nowhere was this clearer than in the very work with which Rainolds was chiefly concerned: Bellarmine's *De verbo Dei*, which contained a

³¹ For purgatory and the reformation see Philip Almond, *Heaven and Hell in Enlightenment England* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 67-80; Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 47-118; idem, 'Fear, purgatory and polemic in Reformation England' in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, ed. William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester and New York, 1997), pp. 150-166; Craig Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700* (London, 2000), pp 19-39.

³² Robert Bellarmine, *Disputationes Roberti Bellarmini politiani, societatis Iesu, de controversiis christianae fidei, adversus huius temporis haereticos, tribus tomis comprehensae* (Ingolstadt, 1587), Vol. 3, I.iii.9-10. I am quoting from the 1587 edition because this is the edition against which Rainolds wrote his theological lectures.

³³ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §105, cols. 1311-1314.

³⁴ P. G. Duncker, 'The Canon of the Old Testament at the Council of Trent' *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 15 (1953), 277-299. For typical examples of early Protestant arguments against the book, see: John Frith, *A Disputacio[n] of Purgatorye Made by Ioh[a]n Frith Which Is Devided in to Thre Bokes* (Antwerp, 1531), sigs. G6r-H3v; John Véron, *The Huntynge of Purgatorye to Death, Made Dialogenysse, by Ihon Veron Senonoy*s (London, 1561), fols. 295r-296r.

comprehensive survey and rebuttal of the most erudite Protestant arguments against the book.³⁵ Bellarmine's masterful synthesis set a new standard for would-be controversial disputants: those who wished to consign 2 Maccabees to the Apocrypha had to muster a great deal of polymathic learning to demonstrate its incompatibility with the histories of undoubtedly canonical Scripture, and those who wished it to remain canonical had to do the same to demonstrate its congruity.

This was a challenge to which Rainolds was both able and willing to rise: his lectures from October 14/24 until mid November would see him working systematically through two of Bellarmine's major arguments, both of which were reprisals of old debates which Rainolds examined at unprecedented length and detail.³⁶ It was only on November 11/21, 1589 that he managed to work his way to an argument for 2 Maccabees' apocryphal status which Bellarmine had not already countered. This argument is worth tracing in some detail, because its foundations were chronological, and it would become a key factor in the eruption of the controversy over the *Concent*. It was based on part of 2 Macc. 1.18:

'We thought it necessary to signify [this] to you so that you too may keep the day of the Feast of Tabernacles, and the day of the fire, which was given when Nehemiah offered sacrifices after he had built the temple and the altar.'

Rainolds identified two problems with this statement, both of which were sufficient to bring the book's canonicity into doubt. The first of these, which most concerns us here,

³⁵ Bellarmine, *Disputationes*, Vol. 1, I.xv.68-71.

³⁶ The first concerned the authorship of the letter to the Egyptian Jews that began 2 Macc. 1; see Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §106-107, cols. 1323-1350, against Bellarmine, *Disputationes*, Vol. 1, I.xv.73-74. The second concerned the conflicting accounts of Antiochus' death: see Rainolds, *Censura*, §108-110, cols. 1337-1388, against Bellarmine, *Disputationes*, Vol. 1, I.xv.72-73.

was the claim that Nehemiah had built the (Second) temple and the altar.³⁷ Following the usual method of demonstrating historical errors in the Apocrypha, Rainolds needed to show that this statement was incompatible with the narrative in canonical scripture. He began by outlining the details of the altar and temple's construction as found in the undisputed biblical canon. The altar, according to Ezra 3.2, had been built by Zorobabel and Joshua in the time of Cyrus, the first Persian king, after the Babylonian Captivity. Soon after, still in the reign of Cyrus, they laid the foundations of the Second Temple. But the temple itself was not finished until the 6th year of the reign of Darius (Ezra 6.1-15). This Darius had reigned just before Artaxerxes Mnemon, who in his 20th year as the King had sent Nehemiah from Babylon to Jerusalem to rebuild the walls of the city (Neh. 2.1-8).³⁸

It was clear to Rainolds what the author of 2 Maccabees had done. He had taken two pieces of information from canonical scripture, first that Zorobabel and Joshua had built the altar and laid the foundations of the temple, and second that Nehemiah had been sent into Jerusalem to do some important building-work, and conflated them to reach the conclusion that Nehemiah had been involved in both the building of the altar and the temple with Zorobabel and Joshua. But the details showed his error: for the building of the temple in the time of Cyrus had been at least 100 years before Nehemiah's departure to Jerusalem, and the completion of the temple at least 30. Thus it was impossible for Nehemiah to have built the temple and the altar as claimed in 2 Macc. 1.18: the author's careless stitching together of Old Testament events revealed his fallibility and disproved the book's canonicity.³⁹

For some scholars, this might have been the end of the matter, but not for Rainolds. On the watch for potential Catholic counter-arguments, he had found two

³⁷ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §111, col. 1389.

³⁸ Ibid., cols. 1389-90.

³⁹ Ibid., col. 1390.

responses that might damage his argument: the first from the eleventh-century Benedictine theologian Rupert of Deutz, and the second from one of Rainolds' contemporaries, the French Hebraist Gilbert Générard. Rainolds made quick work of Rupert's response, which relied on the Vulgate's misleading Latin rendering of the verse.⁴⁰ It was Générard, however, who was the more important to challenge, because without any arguments forthcoming from Bellarmine or any other Catholics, Rainolds suspected that Générard's response might be the first to which Catholics turned in debate.⁴¹ It is revealing, however, that the book in which Rainolds found this 'response' was not, as in the case of Rupert, an exposition of 2 Maccabees, or even a work of controversial theology like Bellarmine's, but rather a tabulated chronology: Générard's 1580 *Chronographiae libri quatuor*.

Générard's chronology did not directly address the canonicity of 2 Maccabees with respect to the issue of Nehemiah. The issue was only mentioned once at a comment placed nearly 250 years after Nehemiah had lived, in a note that explained how the book had been canonised according to Générard's idiosyncratic scheme.⁴² Nor had he commented on the problem posed by 2 Macc. 1.18 as part of an exegetical digression, as Rupert had. In fact, nowhere in his chronology did Générard mark out any explicit or discursive intervention into this problem.

What Rainolds saw instead in Générard's work was a series of apparently unconnected statements and biblical citations which, if arranged in a certain way, and with their unwritten assumptions fully drawn out, could form a powerful counter-argument to Rainolds' case. Rainolds maintained that Générard had deliberately inserted

⁴⁰ Ibid., cols. 1390-1392. See Rupert of Deutz, *Ruperti Abbatis Tuitiensis de victoria verbi Dei libri tredecim* (Cologne, 1529), X.19, fol. LXVIIIr.

⁴¹ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 1, §111, col. 1390.

⁴² Gilbert Générard, *Chronographiae libri quatuor: uniuersae historiae speculum ... subiuncti sunt libri hebraeorum chronologici eodem interprete* (Paris, 1580), ii.104.

this counter-argument into his chronology as a defence of 2 Macc. 1.18, and described how it worked in the following way:⁴³

‘For after he [Génébrard] has mentioned Zorobabel, he says: *‘Nehemiah Athersatha set out with Zorobabel and Joshua. Ezr. 2. These men established the altar on its foundation, while the people round about were frightening [them], and they offered [sacrifices] on the first day of the seventh month, though the temple was not yet founded. Ibid.c.3. In the second year of their coming in the second month Zorobabel and Joshua with others began to build the temple. Ezr. 3 & 5’* which ‘*was finally completed in the 2nd year of Darius Longimanus.*’ Not the 2nd year, Génébrard! But the 6th as is written in Ezra 6, and not ‘of Darius Longimanus’ (for he never existed) but of Darius Nothus. Indeed I will forgive him those errors[...]but in this is the force of an argument, which says that Nehemiah Athersatha returned [from captivity] with Zorobabel and Joshua and built the altar and temple with them.’⁴⁴

⁴³ He even called these statements the ‘responsiones Genebrardi’ in parallel to the ‘responsio Ruperti’; Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §111, col. 1393. In later lectures Rainolds would be even more explicit about Génébrard’s underlying intentions, see p. 34, fn53-54, below.

⁴⁴ ‘Nam post quam fecisset mentionem Zorobabelis: *cum Zorobabele*, inquit, *& Ioshua profectus est Nehemias Athersata. Ezr. 2. hi autem statuerunt Dei altare super bases suas, deterrentibus per circuitum populis, offerentes primo die mensis septimi, nondum fundato templo. Ibid.c. 3. Anno 2. adventus sui mense 2. cœperunt Zorobabel, & Ioshua cum caeteris aedificare templum. Ezr. 3.&5. quod denique perfectum est anno 2. Darii Longimani: non anno 2. (Genebrarde) sed 6. ut Ezr. 6. scriptum, neque Darii Longimani, qui nullus unquam fuit, sed Nothi. Verùm ista errata ei condonemus[...]*Verum in eo est vis rationis, quod ait, *Nehemiam Athersatha reversum cum Zorobabele & Iosua ascendisse, atque templum & altare cum illis aedificasse.*’ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §111, col. 1393. In Génébrard the relevant section read: ‘Cum Zorobabele & Iosue profectus est Nehemias Ather-satha, Ezr. 2. Collocarunt hi Dei altare super bases suas deterrentibus per circuitum populis, offerentes primo die mensis septimi, nondum fundato templo. *Ibid. cap. 3.* Vigesima quarta die separarunt à se filij Israel vxores alienigenas. *Nehem. 9.* [new comment] Anno secundo aduentus sui mense secundo, cœperunt Zorobabel & Iosue cum caeteris aedificare templum. *Ezrae 3. & 5.* [new comment] Tum etiam agrum colere. Neque enim praecedente potuerant, nondum comparatis & distributis agris. [new comment] Denique templi fundamenta iacta sunt anno. 2. Cyri, templum verò perfectum anno 2. Darij Longimani.’ Génébrard, *Chronographiae libri quatuor*, ii.92.

The ‘force of an argument’ Rainolds here noted was a silent addition to Ezra 2.2, which in Générard’s citation had the appellation ‘Athersatha’⁴⁵ written after the name ‘Nehemiah.’ No version of the Bible - Hebrew, Greek, Latin or vernacular - had this addition. Its effect was to identify the Nehemiah said to have returned from the Babylonian captivity with Zorobabel and Joshua in Ezra 2.2 with the Nehemiah mentioned in the books of Nehemiah, who was also the Nehemiah of 2 Maccabees. In the entire Old Testament, only this particular Nehemiah had ‘Athersatha’ suffixed to his forename.⁴⁶ The justification behind this silent addition, Rainolds hypothesised, could only be that Générard had noticed that later in Ezra 2, after the list of the returned captives, the appellation ‘Athersatha’ appeared independently, at verse 63. Générard, seeing ‘Nehemiah’ and ‘Athersatha’ in the same chapter put two and two together to make ‘Nehemiah Athersatha’, assuming that the mention of Nehemiah in Ezra 2.2 had omitted his suffixed appellation and that the mention of Nehemiah in Ezra 2.63 had omitted his forename.⁴⁷

The result of this, as Rainolds realised, was exactly what 2 Macc. 1.18 needed to defend it from accusations of error: a corroboration in canonical scripture. For if Ezra 2 recorded that the same Nehemiah who was sent to rebuild the walls by Artaxerxes was one of the men who returned from the exile after Babylon’s fall, he must indeed have been alive during Cyrus’s reign and so could have built the altar with Zorobabel and Joshua. When read like this, Générard’s apparently harmless citations pointed to the most powerful way to undermine any argument that tried to discredit 2 Maccabees using Nehemiah.

⁴⁵ For sake of consistency I will follow Rainolds’ transliteration of the Hebrew ‘תִּרְשָׁתָא’ as ‘Athersatha’ throughout, though most modern translations render it ‘Tirshatha’.

⁴⁶ At Neh. 8.9 and 10.1. The term only appeared independently of Nehemiah twice, once in Ezra 2.63 (discussed next) and twice in Neh. 7 (at verses 65 and 70, which merely retold the events in Ezra 2).

⁴⁷ For Rainolds’ analysis, see Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §111, col. 1394.

At this point, there were several options open to Rainolds, but only one would demonstrate beyond doubt that the Nehemiah in Ezra 2.2 was not the Nehemiah who wrote the eponymous book. This was to calculate Nehemiah's age.⁴⁸ For, although there was much debate about the order, names and individual lengths of reigns of the Persian kings, there was a remarkable general consensus about the approximate overall duration of their monarchy before Alexander the Great conquered it (200 to 230 years). Moreover, in the book of Nehemiah, which Nehemiah 'Athersatha' was said to have written, there was a mention of Jaddua, who was one of the leaders of the priests while Darius the Persian ruled (Neh. 12.22). And according to Josephus, this Jaddua had been killed by Alexander the Great, which made this 'Darius the Persian' 'Darius Ultimus', the final Persian king.⁴⁹ If Nehemiah had lived to know about Darius Ultimus, but had also been alive in Cyrus's time to build the altar, he must have survived throughout the entire Persian monarchy, which would make him, at a conservative estimate, over 200 years old at his death, and probably more.⁵⁰ This was impossible: therefore, on the basis of the duration of the Persian monarchy, the Nehemiah in Ezra 2.2 could not be the Nehemiah of the eponymous books, and so the only potential corroboration for the claim in 2 Macc. 1.18 that Nehemiah had built the altar was invalidated. Nehemiah could never have built the altar; 2 Maccabees thus contradicted the narrative of canonical scripture: *ipso facto*, it could not be canonical.⁵¹

⁴⁸ 'Primum autem alium esse à secundo manifestum erit, si tempora supputemus.' Ibid., §111, col. 1395. Another was to question whether 'Athersatha' was Nehemiah's unique surname or (as in fact was the case) a title: Rainolds did do this, but only later, likely because such an argument could not conclusively prove that the two Nehemiahs were different: see *ibid.*, Vol.1, §116, cols. 1458-1474.

⁴⁹ *Flavii Josephi antiquitatum iudaicarum libri xx: ad vetera exemplaria diligenter recogniti; de bello iudaico libri vii* (Basel, 1540), 11.317-347.

⁵⁰ Génébrard had denied that Nehemiah was the author of the eponymous book for (Rainolds thought) precisely this reason: Rainolds unsurprisingly rejected this claim: Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §111, cols. 1395-1397.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, cols. 1397-1398.

There was only one way G        , or anyone for that matter, could evade this reasoning: by drastically curtailing, against abundant classical testimony, the duration of the Persian monarchy. And that was precisely what G             did: it cut roughly 80 years from the commonly agreed total to bring its length down to 147 years, meaning that Nehemiah only had to have lived 130 years to have been alive in Cyrus's time.⁵² This was just within the upper limit of acceptable lifespan for this period of biblical history. Rainolds again viewed this monarchical contraction as a deliberate ploy to save 2 Maccabees. He would explicitly say so in later lectures, describing G             as subtracting years from the Persian reign 'in order to maintain his opinion about Nehemiah of the second book of Maccabees.'⁵³ And so, in this way, the centre of the debate shifted to a question of chronology. If Rainolds could prove that the Persian monarchy had lasted around 200-230 years, in accordance with classical testimony, 2 Maccabees must be apocryphal. On the other hand, if it could be shown that the Persian monarchy lasted much less than this, 2 Maccabees would have its much-needed corroboration from canonical scripture.⁵⁴

G        , in preparation for Protestant attacks, had offered fourteen arguments for a shorter Persian monarchy, taken from sources as various as Daniel, the Hebrew Chronicles, Plato and Nicholas of Lyra.⁵⁵ He had not presented any of these arguments in depth, but over the next month or so Rainolds would flesh out each and then rebut it, aiming to prove conclusively that the long-held belief in the duration of the Persian

⁵² G        , *Chronographiae libri quatuor*, ii.145.

⁵³ 'Ac mihi quidem hujus generis visa est Imperii Persici Chronologia, postquam Genebrardus ad tuendam secundi libri Machabaeorum de Nehemia sententiam tot annos ei detrahendos esse contendit' Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §123, col. 1561.

⁵⁴ 'Nam si Monarchia Persica duravit plus qu  m ducentos annos, ejusque exitum sub Dario ultimo viderit Nehemias, falsum esse oportet, quod affirmatur, Nehemiam aedific  sse templum partim sub Cyro, partim sub Dario; altare cert   quod sub Cyro extructum est anno secundo post reditum eorum; itaque librum esse Apocryphum consequatur.' Ibid.

⁵⁵ G        , *Chronographiae libri quatuor*, ii.145-146.

monarchy was correct.⁵⁶ His trump card in this debate was the near-unanimous consent of Greek, Roman and Babylonian records in attributing at least 200 years to the monarchy: so many reliable testimonies could not, he argued, simply be wrong. And it was only after Rainolds had proved his case from classical evidence and covered all fourteen of Générard's arguments that he was content to move on.

By this stage, in early December 1589, it must have appeared to Rainolds' audience as if the debate was all but over. Indeed, as Rainolds somewhat triumphantly noted, it even seemed as if G  n  brard himself had withdrawn from his initial claims about Nehemiah. In his 1584 *Notae Chronicae*, he ignored the problem of Nehemiah and the altar while toning down the earlier claims for his lifespan.⁵⁷ But as Rainolds neared the end of his lecture his tone abruptly altered, becoming unexpectedly grave:

‘When I entered upon the discussion of this place [2 Macc. 1.18] I did not think that I would need to refute any objections other than those alone which I had already found in Rupert and Générard. But since that time some little work written by a certain learned countryman of ours has been published, called *A Convent of Scripture*. The author of this, though he does not entirely follow the opinion of Générard, nevertheless claims that the Persian monarchy was shorter, for only 130 years are to be assigned to it. Otherwise it must be that the prophecy of Gabriel is false. And so, he claims, even if the modern and

⁵⁶ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §111, col. 1398. See lectures §111-115, cols. 1399-1458, for Rainolds' rebuttal of these arguments.

⁵⁷ Ibid., §116, col. 1472. See Générard, *Notae chronicae, sive ad chronologiam et historiam universam methodus* (Paris, 1584).

ancient Greek and Latin authors are of the opinion that it lasted 230 years, their collective opinion must nonetheless be condemned, and indeed can easily be refuted.⁵⁸

A Concent of Scripture had been entered into the Register of the Company of Stationers on 13/23 December 1588 under the title ‘A Signee of Sight’: it was, however, only dedicated to the Queen on 17/27 November 1589, just as Rainolds was mid-way through his rebuttal of G  n  brard’s 147 year-long Persian monarchy.⁵⁹

The timing was unfortunate.⁶⁰ Broughton’s *Concent* had based its entire timeline around his interpretation of Daniel’s prophecy of the seventy sevens, which required a contraction of the Persian monarchy if the words of Gabriel were to be exactly fulfilled.⁶¹ This contraction was even more extreme than that of G  n  brard: Broughton judged that the Persian monarchy could have lasted no longer than 130 years. But this contraction was precisely the issue that had acquired such tremendous confessional importance in Rainolds’ case against 2 Maccabees. Broughton’s *Concent* thereby

⁵⁸ ‘Cum in hujus loci tractationem ingrederer, non putabam opus fore, ut alias aliquas exceptiones refutarem, praeter eas solas, quas tum compereram apud Rupertum & Genebrardum. Verum ab eo tempore exiit in lucem opusculum quoddam    nostrate quodam viro docto editum, quod inscribitur Concentus Scripturae. Cujus author, etiamsi non sequitur prorsus sententiam Genebrardi, affirmat tamen Persicam Monarchiam fuisse contractionem, ei enim tantum esse annos assignandos 130. alioqui futurum necessari   ut Gabrielis prophetia sit falsa. Itaque etiamsi Graeci & Latini recentiores & antiquiores in ea sunt opinione, durasse eam annos 230. eorum tamen omnium sententiam necessari   esse condemnandam, & quidem facile refelli posse.’ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1,   116, col. 1473.

⁵⁹ Edward Arber and Charles R. Rivington, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640* (London, 1950), p. 239; for the information about the dedication see London, British Library, MS Sloane 3088, fol. 70r.

⁶⁰ Although Broughton was possibly already lecturing on the *Concent* in London by this time, it is clear that at this point Rainolds only knew of Broughton’s ideas through the printed *Concent*: this is evident not only from Rainolds’ wording (‘exiit in lucem opusculum’ must refer to the publication of a little book), but also from the fact that in this first set of lectures Rainolds only refers to the printed *Concent*, and comments on lectures by Broughton much later in 1590, by which point the controversy was well under way: see below, p. 96, fn210.

⁶¹ See below, Section iii.

intervened (inadvertently⁶²) in Rainolds' argument against the Catholics on the Catholic side; moreover it had intervened at the precise moment in Rainolds' lecturing when its confessional and doctrinal implications would have been the most obvious. Anxious to defend his argument against one which Catholics could easily deploy in a fresh attack, Rainolds set about refuting Broughton's work immediately.

iii. Scripturalist Chronology: Hugh Broughton, Matthieu Béroalde, and the Seventy Sevens

Broughton would not have been expecting this response to his chronology. Far from intending to intervene in a debate about the canonicity of a single book, Broughton's *Concent* had aimed more ambitiously to prove the sufficiency of scripture in chronological study. This involved demonstrating not only the chronological harmony of the Old and New Testament, but also the internal coherence of both individually. The title of his book was the clearest indication of this: as Broughton's preface explained, 'this whole Vew I call A CONCENT OF SCRIPTURE, because it would shewe that.'⁶³

There were three main ways in which Broughton established this 'concent' of Scripture. The first was a set of rules which allowed Broughton to smooth over chronological ruptures in the Bible by ranking scriptural mentions of time in order of priority. Most important were places where the Bible made a general statement about the duration of a long period of time, such as the 430 years from the promise to Abraham until Moses received the Law (Gal. 3.17), or the 480 years from the Exodus to the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel (I Kgs 6.1). These 'generals' set the basic parameters

⁶² Rainolds himself later emphasised that he did not think Broughton had intended to strengthen Catholic arguments for the canonicity of 2 Maccabees, even if that had been the result of his work: '...Quamobrem pergamus eas rationes, quibus amicus noster [i.e. Broughton], non eodem quidem spectans, quò Genebrardus, sed idem tamen agens, usus est, examinare, ut ea, quam in manibus habemus, refutata ad ultimam veniamus', Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §123, col. 1561.

⁶³ Hugh Broughton, *A Concent of Scripture* (London, 1588/9), sig. 2v (STC (2nd ed.), 3850).

of Broughton's chronology. Next were the 'particulars', shorter durations of time such as the 40 years in the wilderness (Num. 32.13) or the individual lifetimes traced by the Bible. Since these were secondary to the 'generals', they could be freely adapted to fit into them.⁶⁴ This method of fitting the smaller to the larger is clear from Broughton's *Concent*, and was stated explicitly in the chronological lectures he gave in the late 1590s in London, as recorded in an auditor's notes.⁶⁵ It was also an approach which Broughton had seen successfully employed by the chronologer to whom he was most indebted, and from whom he had taken the idea of a 130-year Persian monarchy: the French Hebraist and Genevan professor Matthieu Béroalde.⁶⁶

The second demonstration of biblical harmony was provided by fully exploiting the typological possibilities within the Bible. This covered not only all the potential type and anti-type correspondences across both Testaments, but even the typological connections within each Testament itself and between important prophecies.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ This was not an unusual method. All chronologers had to develop some method for resolving the many chronological contradictions in the Bible. For studies of how individual scholars dealt with these problems see James Barr, 'Why the world was created in 4004 B.C.: Archbishop Ussher and Biblical Chronology', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 67 (1984-5), 575-608; idem, 'Luther and Biblical Chronology', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 72 (1990), 51-69; Benjamin Fisher, 'The centering of the Bible in seventeenth-century Amsterdam: Jewish religion, culture, and scholarship' (unpublished PhD dissertation: University of Pennsylvania, 2011); Grafton, 'The Chronology of the Flood', pp. 65-83; J. North, 'Chronology and the age of the world', in *Cosmology, History, and Theology*, ed. Wolfgang Yourgrau, Allen P. Breck and Hannes Alfvén (New York, 1977), pp. 307-333. For overviews of solutions to these kinds of problems, see James Barr, *Biblical Chronology, Legend or Science?: The Ethel M. Wood Lecture 1987 : Delivered at the Senate House, University of London on 4 March 1987* (London, 1987); James William Johnson, 'Chronological Writing: Its Concepts and Development' *History and Theory* 2.2 (1962), 124-145; Francis Haber, *The Age of the World: Moses to Darwin* (Baltimore, 1959). For a twentieth-century perspective on these problems, see Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology: Principles of Time Reckoning in the Ancient World and Problems of Chronology in the Bible* (Princeton, 1964).

⁶⁵ See e.g. 2315-2326AM in Broughton, *Concent* (1588/9), sig. A3v; for the comments by an auditor, see London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 2011, fol. 82.

⁶⁶ See the comments at Matthieu Béroalde, *Chronicum, scripturae sacrae auctoritate constitutum* (Geneva, 1575), p. 123.

⁶⁷ For example, Broughton thought that the prophecy at Ezek. 1.5-11 was a type of the prophecy at Rev. 4.6-9; Broughton, *Concent* (1588/9), sig. D4r; for other examples see sig. Ir, C2r.

The third and final demonstration was the prophecy of Dan. 9.24-27. Broughton believed that this prophecy was the best evidence of the coherence between the Testaments.⁶⁸ Moreover, he thought that, if correctly interpreted, it would provide the most important ‘general’ period of time to which all the particulars had to be adjusted: the 490 years which he believed stretched from the end of the Babylonian captivity to the death of Christ.⁶⁹

Broughton’s emphasis on this prophecy is unsurprising. Dan. 9.24-27 (the ‘seventy sevens’) was one of the most important biblical texts in early modern chronology. All chronologers attempted to demonstrate that the prophecy’s divisions of sevens cohered neatly with their particular distribution of the times, and even chronologers as astronomically and scientifically minded as Gerard Mercator went out of their way to stress how this coherence guaranteed their calculations’ certainty.⁷⁰

Broughton, however, was not content simply to use the seventy sevens to corroborate his chronology. Rather, he aimed to provide a fresh interpretation of the Hebrew that brought out all of the prophecy’s nuances, thus allowing its chronological ramifications to be understood with unprecedented precision. This fresh interpretation first appeared in print as a new English translation of the verses, given at the end of the

⁶⁸ Broughton, *A Seder Olam, That Is: Order of the Worlde: or Yeeres from the Fall to the Restoring* (London, 1594), sig.*2v-3r.

⁶⁹ There were, of course, several options for when writers started and ended the seventy sevens: see Joseph Tyso, *An Elucidation of the Prophecies Being an Exposition of the Books of Daniel and the Revelation* (London, 1838), pp. 32-33, p. 38; Barr, ‘Luther and Biblical Chronology’, pp. 58-60; Kristine Haugen, ‘Thomas Lydiat’s Scholarship in Prison: Discovery and Disaster in the Seventeenth Century’, *Bodleian Library Record* 25.2 (2012), 183-216.

⁷⁰ Gerard Mercator, *Chronologia: hoc est, temporvm demonstratio exactissima: ab initio mvm̃di, vsqve ad annvm domini m.d. lxxviii.; ex eclipsibvs et observationibvs astronomicis omnium temporum, sacris quoq[ue] biblijs, & optimis quibusq[ue] scriptoribus summa fide concinnata* (Cologne, 1569), sigs. A6v-Br. For Mercator’s technical achievements, see Rienk Vermij, ‘Gerard Mercator and the science of chronology’ in *Gerhard Mercator und die geistigen Strömungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hans. H. Blotvogel and R. H. Vermij (Bochum, 1995), pp. 199-208; H. J. de Jonge, ‘Sixteenth-century gospel harmonies: Chemnitz and Mercator’, in *Théorie et pratique de l’exégèse: Actes du Troisième Colloque International sur l’histoire de l’exégèse biblique au Xvie Siècle*, ed. Irena Backus and Francis Higman (Geneva, 1990), pp. 155-166.

Preface to the first edition of the *Concent*.⁷¹ A comparison of this final translation with its draft iterations is revealing. It shows how much effort Broughton put into finding the best interpretation of the prophecy, trying out many different translations and bringing out different resonances in the process.

The first verb in 9.24, נחת, niph'al of חתך, caused him particular difficulty: this was a hapax legomenon which the Vulgate rendered as ‘abbreviatae sunt’, but which was more commonly understood as ‘determinatae sunt’. This captured one shade of the verb’s meaning, which Broughton followed in an early presentation copy of the *Concent*.⁷² In later drafts, however, he tried to render the verb in a more chronologically precise manner, bringing out both the nuance in the word which he believed necessitated a precise interpretation - *exactly* 490 years, no more and no less - as well as its literal sense of ‘to cut off’, a definition which he would have found in David Kimchi’s dictionary.⁷³ Broughton’s early Greek translation of Daniel took these qualities to an extreme, rendering the verb ‘ἀκριβέστατα διετμήθησαν’, meaning something like ‘most exactly thoroughly-cut-out’.⁷⁴ This translation also shows Broughton trying to increase the chronological precision of other ambiguous phrases in the Hebrew, for example rendering its שבעה אחד (‘one seven’) in 9.27 as ἑβδομάδ[ι] τῇ ὑστάτῃ (‘in the last seven’).⁷⁵ Both this and the translation of חתך as ‘cut’ (though not the adverb) made it

⁷¹ Broughton, *Concent* (1588/9), sig. 3v.

⁷² ‘Seven^tie^ seuens of yeares are determined vpon thy people and vpon thine holy citie’, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 2, fol. 14r. Broughton dedicated this copy of the *Concent* to his patron Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon, and probably composed it (on the basis of internal evidence) before 1583.

⁷³ Sante Pagnini, *Thesaurus linguae sanctae ex R. David Kimchi* (Paris, 1548), p. 380.

⁷⁴ ‘Ἑβδομάδες ἑβδομήκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν ἀκριβέστατα διετμήθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν σου τὴν ἁγίαν’; London, British Library, Royal MS 1 A IX, fol. 18r (a draft); the presentation copy is likely Trinity College Dublin, MS 29, presented to Elizabeth after the presentation copy for Henry Hastings and before the *Concent*.

⁷⁵ London, British Library, Royal MS 1 A IX, fol. 18r.

through to the final version printed in the 1588/9 *Concent*, as well as another interpolation designed to make the chronology clearer, the addition of the words ‘in th’other’ to verse 25 to emphasise that the rebuilding of the street and wall would take place in the first seven sevens and not the following sixty-two sevens.⁷⁶

Other, less fraught decisions included Broughton’s choice to render שבועים as ‘sevens’ rather than the traditional English translation of ‘weeks’: he noted in the margin of his 1590 translation of Béroalde that ‘the term weekes much entangleth the weake, and requireth a comment in English: for a term plaine in Ebrue or Greek.’⁷⁷ This seems to have been an early choice, and most drafts follow it, some further clarifying by adding the phrase ‘of years’ (ἐνιαυτῶν), which was retained up until the *Concent*’s preface which reads ‘SEAVENTIE SEAVENS (of yeeres).’⁷⁸ This conforms to the general trend behind all of Broughton’s revisions, which tried to extract the sharpest possible meaning from the prophecy, with all of its chronological implications drawn out, from the most obvious (‘seventy-sevens of years’) to the most subtle (‘most exactly thoroughly-cut-out’).

It is clear from this that a major feature of Broughton’s chronology was a close focus on reworking the Hebrew text of Daniel, and a concern for how it might be conveyed in English. This was not unique to Broughton. Not all chronologies treated the prophecy as pragmatically as Mercator’s. Many earlier chronologies had carefully considered the exegetical traditions surrounding the verses, all of course working very much (though in varying degrees) towards christological ends.

Johann Funck, writing in the early 1540s, is one good example of a scholar who used the original Hebrew of Daniel to provide fresh chronological and theological

⁷⁶ Broughton, *Concent* (1588/9), sig. 3v.

⁷⁷ Hugh Broughton, *A Short Viewv of the Persian Monarchie, and of Daniels Weekes: Beeing a Peece of Beroaldus Worke: with a Censure in Some Points* (London, 1590), p. 19.

⁷⁸ Lambeth Palace Library, MS 2 fol. 14r; British Library, Royal MS 1 A IX, fol. 18r, with the exception of London, British Library, MS Harley 1525, fol. 30r and Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 87, fol. 15r.

insights. Not only was he first to incorporate the chronological implications of נחתך understood as ‘exactly cut-out’ into his calculations, but he also used the verb כרת in Dan. 9.26 (יכרת משיח) to ‘prove’ that the seventy sevens must end in the Passion, as he understood כרת to mean not just ‘perished’ but also ‘attached’ or ‘affixed’, thus predicting the crucifixion specifically.⁷⁹

By paying greater attention to the Hebrew of Daniel in this way, Funck was drawing on recent exegetical advances enabled by the period’s better knowledge of Hebrew and then applying these insights to chronological matters. Exegetical works such as Bullinger’s 1530 *De hebdomadis, quae apud Daniele sunt opusculum* had begun to break down some of the harder syntactical and lexical features of the pertinent verses and establish a more thorough understanding of the original text, analysing the Hebrew alongside the Septuagint, Vulgate and patristic readings.⁸⁰ In the case of Daniel, the insights provided by these interpretations frequently had significant chronological repercussions. It was Funck’s integration of this type of expertise into his chronology, along with his technical skill, that set his work apart from the much more superficial examinations of Dan. 9 within the less expository chronologies of his predecessors and

⁷⁹ Johann Funck, *Chronologia, hoc est omnium temporum ab initis mundi, usque ad hunc praesentem annum 1561 computatio* (Wittenberg, 1570 (first published 1545)), sig. C6r, Dv. Funck’s interpretation of יכרת could have come from the Latin translation of Kimchi’s dictionary, which listed as a definition of כרת ‘pangere’ (‘to fasten’ or ‘to fix/drive in’). Pagnini, *Thesaurus linguae sanctae*, p. 568.

⁸⁰ See, for instance, his examinations of the meaning of קדש קדשים in 9.24 on the basis of its pointing, and the nature of the crimes designated by הפשע. Heinrich Bullinger, *De hebdomadis, quae apud Daniele sunt opusculum* (Zürich, 1530), fols. 8v-11v.

contemporaries such as Paulus Constantinus Phrygio, Melanchthon and Johann Carion, Luther, and even those learned in Hebrew such as Theodore Bibliander.⁸¹

This difference was perceptible to early modern as well as to modern readers. For Funck's reputation was not only built on his technical skill, popularisation of the Nabonassar-Salmanassar synchronisation and brilliant flashes of insight such as his re-dating of Themistocles' flight to match Artaxerxes' accession.⁸² It was also at least in part built on his extensive exegesis of Daniel and the closer attention he had paid to Hebrew within this: later chronologers such as Clemens Schubert, writing in the mid 1570s, referred their readers back to Funck for an 'uberiorem illius [Danielis] explanationem'.⁸³ Indeed, some aspects of Funck's analysis proved so popular that they became commonplace components of chronologies regardless of whether their author favoured technical, eclipse-based reasoning or the scripturalist methodology which might at first seem more naturally suited to inheriting such exegetical trends. Laurentius Codomann's chronology, for example, at once proudly advertised its incorporation of the technical chronologer's best tool, Erasmus Reinhold's 1551 *Prutenic Tables*, while also relying on

⁸¹ Phrygio's sparse format, based on Eusebius' Chronicle, scarcely allowed for any commentary at all: Paulus Phrygio, *Chronicum regum regnorumque omnium catalogum, et perpetuum ab exordio mundi temporum, seculorumque seriem complectens* (Basel, 1534). Carion's Chronicle was published in German in 1532, Latin in 1537 and continually revised: even the expanded versions show no engagement with the text of Daniel: Philipp Melanchthon and Johannes Carion, *Chronicon Carionis latine expositum et auctum multis et veteribus et recentibus historis, in narrationibus rerum Graecarum, Germanicarum et Ecclesiasticarum* (Wittenberg, 1558), pp. 203-207. See also Martin Luther, *Supputatio annorum mundi d.m. Lutheri* (Wittenberg, 1541), sigs. Qr-Riir, Siiiv; Theodore Bibliander, *Temporum a condito mundo usque ad ultimam ipsius aetatem supputatio, partitioque exactior* (Basel, 1558), pp. 100-102.

⁸² For Funck's technical and historical achievements, see Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), p. 129; Haugen, 'Thomas Lydiat's Scholarship in Prison', pp. 205-206; Anthony Grafton and Urs B. Leu, *Henricus Glareanus's (1488-1563) "chronologia" of the Ancient World: A Facsimile Edition of a Heavily Annotated Copy Held in Princeton University Library* (Leiden, 2014), p. 41.

⁸³ Clemens Schubert, *Libri quatuor de scrupulis chronologorum: in quibus non solum calculus sacrae scripturae cum serie 4 monarchiarum et olympiadibus Graecorum* (Strasbourg, 1575), sig. Dv.

aspects of Funck's exegesis for his chronological calculations.⁸⁴ Moreover, even the most technical, astronomical and eclipse-dependent of chronologers such as Heinrich Bünting incorporated parts of Funck's exegesis into their own work.⁸⁵ On the other side of the coin, scholars who began their work in the field of exegesis often found themselves drawn into chronology through Daniel: for example, thirty years after publishing his *De hebdomadis[...]opusculum* Bullinger himself would publish a chronology affixed to nothing less than a series of 66 homilies on the prophet.⁸⁶

Ultimately, however, despite its advances, Funck's chronology provided little more than isolated analyses of individual words. The real turn towards a more systematic focus on the Hebrew Daniel within chronology was made by the very work that so

⁸⁴ See, e.g., Laurentius Codomann, *Annales sacrae scripturae...access. 4 libri chronologiae et methodus calculandi mensem Nisan et eclipses ex tabulis Prutenicis Erasmi Reinholdi congesta* (Wittenberg, 1581), fol. 172r: 'Cum enim supra determinatae sint 70 septimanae ab edicto reaedificandae Hierosolymae vsque ad beneficia Christi passione & transitu ad patrem parta, nequaquam statuendum est, quòd Angelus pugnancia doceat, & in hoc versu tempus Christi exterminandi, hoc est, crucifigendi restringat ad 69 hebdomadas, quod supra dixerat hebdomadibus 70 definitum esse, adhibito verbo NECHTACH exactam & praecisam determinationem arguente.' This kind of exegetical move was not an anomaly: Codomann devoted a whole chapter of its second part to the 'vaticinium Angeli Gabrielis de Septuaginta Septimanis Danielis 9. breuiter explicatum' (Liber Tertius, Caput 25). Even Codomann's earlier chronology, the *Supputatio praeteritorum annorum mundi et 70 hebdomadarum Danielis* (Leipzig, 1572), a brief work focussed on astronomical questions, still showed traces of the exegetical reasonings behind its chronological decisions, such as in the repeated *praecisè* of: 'Angelus Gabriel Danielis 9. praecisè 70. hebdomadas annuas seu septennia, hoc est, 490. annos numerat à mandato reparandi moenia, fossas & plateas Hierosolymae, vsque ad reductionem iustitiae seculorum, quae facta est cum Christus κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανε, Rom.5. hoc est, in ipso articulo temporis, antea praecisè definiti, pro impijs mortuus est, & pro totius generis humani peccatis satisfecit, I. Iohan. 2', (pp. 51-52).

⁸⁵ 'Ita in dimidio vltimae hebdomadis interciderunt holocausta & sacrificia, & Christus postea publicè docuit vsque ad finem septuagesimae huius & vltimae hebdomadis, qua finita cruci affixus occiditur. Estque illud obseruatione dignum, quòd Propheta vtitur vocabulo תַּרְצִי Icareth, quod non simpliciter perimi significat, sed vt Hebraeae linguae doctis notum est, affigendi quoque significationem in se habet.' Heinrich Bünting, *Chronologia hoc est omnium temporum et annorum series, ex sacris bibliis, aliisque fide dignis scriptoribus* (Zerbst, 1590), sig. Aiiijv. The reader will recognise this as one of the analyses proposed by Funck; see above, fn79, p. 42.

⁸⁶ Heinrich Bullinger, *Daniel ... expositus homiliis lxvi: accessit ... epitome temporum et rerum ab orbe condito ad excidium ... ultimum urbis Hierosolymorum sub Imperatore Vespasiano* (Zurich, 1565).

inspired Broughton, Béroalde's 1575 *Chronicum*.⁸⁷ In this work, Béroalde explicitly argued that many of the problems in interpreting the seventy sevens had been caused by an ignorance of the Hebrew, which was unusually difficult in these verses.⁸⁸ Moreover, such problems were compounded by the fact that the standard aids for comprehension (the Septuagint and the Vulgate) here departed too much from the Hebrew to be of great use.⁸⁹ To wean chronologers off such unreliable guides, therefore, Béroalde offered a new Latin translation of Dan. 9.24-27, and elaborated on a few places where his closer attention to the Hebrew had given a better understanding of the text and therefore a more accurate basis for chronological study.

In order to demonstrate what Béroalde's advances in this area looked like, it is helpful to examine some examples in detail. A good example occurs at Dan. 9.26, where the obscure phrase **וְאִין לוֹ** had long caused problems of understanding. The Vulgate had assumed it must be defective or, as Bullinger suggested, a case of deliberate anantapodoton (a type of anacoluthon).⁹⁰ It had therefore supplied the missing clause, and in the process christianised the verse by translating these Hebrew words with the more extensive Latin: 'et non erit ejus populus qui eum negaturus est' (and the people who deny him will not be his). This also had the effect of forcing the prophecy to predict the Jews' rejection of Christ. The Septuagint had made a similar assumption but on the smaller scale of ellipsis: it had supplied the missing word and translated as **καὶ**

⁸⁷ The *Chronicum* is Béroalde's only surviving work, and he died only a year after its publication. His two major professorships were at Geneva 1574-1576, where he lectured on Aristotelian logic and astronomy, and at the University of Orléans 1562-68, where he was Professor of Hebrew; see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Dupuy 630, fol. 179r; 181v. For more on Béroalde see Eugène Haag and Émile Haag, 'Matthieu Béroalde' in *La France Protestante*, 6 vols (Paris, 1877-1888), II (1879), pp. 394-406, supplemented by Tom Hamilton, *Pierre de L'Estoile and his World in the Wars of Religion* (Oxford, 2017) pp. 53, 71-74. I would like to thank Dr Hamilton for generously sharing pre-publication drafts of this monograph with me.

⁸⁸ Béroalde, *Chronicum*, p. 174.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 172-176 [mispaginated as 174].

⁹⁰ Bullinger, *De hebdomadis*, fol. 21.

κρίμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ (‘and there will be no judgment [i.e. blame] in him’, with κρίμα (judgment) interpolated. For early modern Christian scholars, this rendering predicted Christ’s innocence. Some chronologers such as Funck had followed these ancient precedents and added Christianising supplements of their own to the clause.⁹¹

However, as more scholars returned to the Hebrew text, a second option arose: following the earliest Hebraists such as Pagnini, the expression began to be rendered literally into Latin in such a way as to maintain the ambiguity of the original Hebrew, along the lines of ‘et non [erit] ei’ or ‘et nihil [erit] ei’ (‘he [will] not have’ or ‘he [will have] nothing’).⁹² The exact grammatical reasoning behind this translation was not specified, but the use of the possessive dative construction in Latin implies that the phrase was read as a normal possessive construction with the particle of non-existence אין plus a conjunctive waw instead of a more complex expression like והיה לא לו.⁹³ This literal rendering did not help to illuminate the meaning of the expression, certainly much less than the Vulgate or Septuagint interpolations, but this may indeed have been its appeal. Reading the clause as a possessive construction produced a translation vague enough to allow a broad range of theological meanings to be read into the verse and so gave exegetes a relatively free hand. Indeed, it even gave license for Catholic chronologers

⁹¹ Funck, *Chronologia*, sig. Dv.

⁹² Sante Pagnini, *Biblia habes in hoc libro prudens lector utriusq[ue] instrumenti nouam translatione[m] aeditam à reuerendo sacr[a]e theologiae doctore Sancte Pagnino* (Lyon, 1528), fol. 280v. Before this the Complutensian retained the Vulgate’s translation but made the discrepancy from the Hebrew (and the Greek) very apparent thanks to its parallel printing of these texts, see *[Complutensian Polyglot] Uetus testamentum multiplici lingua nunc primo impressum: et imprimis pentateuchus Hebraico Greco atque Chaldaico idiomate; adiuncta unicuique sua Latina interpretatione* (Alcalá de Henares, 1514), sig. GG6r.

⁹³ One interesting exception to this is the translation of the 1543 Latin Zurich Bible, which interpreted the waw not as conjunctive but as signalling a result clause: ‘Post hebdomadas uero sexagintaduas excindetur Messias, ut nihil ei’ (‘After 7 and 62 sevens the Messiah will be destroyed with the result that he will have nothing’). This translation of ‘waw’ with ‘ut’ was not imitated by later translators: *Biblia sacrosancta testamenti veteris & noui: è sacra Hebraeorum lingua Graecorumq[ue] fontibus, consultis simul orthodoxis interpretibus, religiosissime translata in sermonem Latinum* (Zürich, 1544 (first pub. 1543)), Vol. 1, fol. 287v.

such as the Franciscan friar Amandus Zierixensis to preserve the Vulgate reading on the basis of the manifestly ‘truncated speech’ of the Hebrew.⁹⁴

Certainly, most early sixteenth-century interpretations of the clause were led by theological, prophetic and christological reasoning (even if this meant, for Protestants, preferring the Vulgate over the Hebrew text), and its grammatical and syntactical peculiarity was not systematically explored.⁹⁵ Bullinger’s 1565 survey of the exegetical history of the clause is symptomatic of this attitude, expressing acceptance of the clause’s multiplicity of meaning without feeling any need for a more precise grammatical understanding.⁹⁶ Such looseness enabled later chronologers, such as Bucholzer, to project their own readings into the clause, readings which invariably confirmed some particular doctrinal aspect of Christ’s sacrifice.⁹⁷

From this perspective, Béroalde’s discussion marked a notable departure from his predecessors. Like the Hebraists before him, he assumed no omission, but neither did he approach the problem purely theologically. Instead, his principle concern was to shed light on the clause in Dan. 9.26 by finding an analogous construction elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. He began by making the very opposite assumption of his predecessors, identifying the **ל** rather than the **ל** as the anomalous element. Following from this,

⁹⁴ Amandus Zierixensis, *Chronica compendiosissima ab exordio mundi ad annum domini millesimum, quingentesimum, trigesimum quartum ... eiusdem tractatus de septuaginta hebdomadibus Danielis* (Antwerp, 1534), fol. 106r.

⁹⁵ See, e.g., the preference for the Vulgate translation over the ‘Hebraist’s’ translation for theological reasons expressed in George Joye, ed. and transl., *The Exposition of Daniel the Prophete Gathered Oute of Philip Melanchton, Iohan Ecolampadius, Chonrade Pellicane [and] Out of Iohan Draconite* (Antwerp, 1545), fols. 161r-162r. For examples of how even those who adhered to the Hebrew text still chose their interpretation on theological grounds, see Jean Calvin, *Praelectiones in librum prophetiarum Danielis, Ioannis Budaei & Caroli Ionuillaei labore & industria exceptae* (Geneva, 1561), fols. 130v-131r; Bullinger, *De hebdomadis*, fol. 20v; John Fox, *De oliua Euangelica* (London, 1578), sig. C7r.

⁹⁶ Bullinger, *Daniel ... expositus homiliis lxvi*, fol. 103v.

⁹⁷ Bucholzer followed Calvin in interpreting ‘nihil ei’ as ‘nihil erit’, conveying therefore both the spiritual (as opposed to corporeal) nature of Christ’s kingdom as well as Calvin’s theory of penal substitution; Abraham Bucholzer, *Isagoge chronologica, id est: opusculum, ad annorum seriem in sacris biblijs contexendam, compendio viam monstrans, ac fundamenta indicans* (Frankfurt, 1580), fol. 30v.

Béroalde looked for another example of an awkward *lamed* plus pronominal suffix construction in the Hebrew Bible, hoping there to find an illuminating analogy for the uncertain clause.

He found this similar case in the Pentateuch, in the command **אמרי לי אחי הוא** (Gen. 20.13) which Abraham had addressed to Sarah, his wife. Within this context **לי**, the possessive *lamed* with a first-person singular pronominal suffix, could not denote possession, but seemed nevertheless to signify a more complex sentiment than an inseparable preposition alone could convey. The Vulgate had ignored the problem and reworked the entire awkward phrase, rendering it ‘dices quod frater tuus sim’ (‘say that I am your brother’); the Septuagint as unhelpfully read **εἶπον ἔμὲ ὅτι ἀδελφός μου ἔστιν**. More recent Latin translations, ignoring these, had sought an interpretation of **לי** that would cohere with the storyline, most commonly settling on ‘de me’ so that the clause read: ‘Say about me: “He is my brother.”’⁹⁸ This interpretation was in fact derived from the Targum, which read at Gen. 20.13 **אמרי עלי אחי הוא**: here, the preposition **על** (which could mean ‘de’, ‘concerning’) provided a reading more conformable to the narrative context than that provided by **ל**.⁹⁹ It did not, however, shed much light on Dan. 9.26.

Béroalde, however, had noted one trend in translation which was more revealing: possibly extrapolating from the prepositional meaning of *lamed* as ‘for’, the phrase **לי** in

⁹⁸ See Sebastian Münster, *Hebraica biblia Latina planeque nova...translatione* (Basel, 1546 (first pub. 1534-35)), p. 42); the Zürich Bible, *Biblia sacrosancta testamenti veteris & noui*, fol. 8r; the interlinear volume of the Antwerp Polyglot, glossed the literal meaning of the expression (which it gave as ‘mihi dic’) with the clarificatory: ‘ad quem veniemus, dic de me’ (*Biblia Hebraica* (Antwerp, 1584), p. 16). Tremellius and Junius followed the same pattern, translating ‘ad quemcunque locum pervenerimus, dicito de me, frater meus est’; (*Testamenti veteris biblia sacra, sive, libri canonici: priscae Iudaeorum ecclesiae a deo traditi* (London, 1580), p. 22.

⁹⁹ See the Targum in [*Complutensian Polyglot*] *Uetus testamentum multiplici lingua nunc primo impressum*, sig. D6, and [*Antwerp Polyglot*] *Biblia sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine: Philippi Ii. Reg. cathol. pietate, et studio ad sacrosanctae ecclesiae vsvm* (Antwerp, 1569), i.58-59.

this difficult context had been rendered by some translators (with Pagnini as a compelling precedent) into Latin as ‘propter me’ or ‘mea causa.’¹⁰⁰ This still fitted the biblical narrative, as Abraham had ordered Sarah to tell Abimelech that Abraham was her brother so that Abimelech would not kill him and take Sarah for himself. However, it also had the advantage of retaining more of the sense of the *lamed* than a translation using ‘de’. Thus the Hebrew could be understood: ‘Say *for my sake*: he is my brother.’ Béroalde believed that the difficult word in Dan. 9.26 לו should be read analogously, as an alternative to the construction בעבורו, along the lines of ‘propter se, & sua causa.’¹⁰¹ The clause in question, יכרת משיח ואין לו therefore meant something like ‘the Messiah will be killed, but not for his own sake.’ Broughton followed this translation in his preface to the 1588 *Concent*.

It is important to note at this point that the essence of Béroalde’s translation, as well as its theological overtones, had already been suggested by Bullinger as well as others before him. Béroalde, in other words, had no compelling theological reason to re-examine the clause. That particular avenue had already been well-explored. Rather, it simply seems that he wanted to provide a more thorough critical understanding of how the Hebrew syntax functioned based on the best analogy he could find in scripture: the result was not new, but the method behind it represented a much deeper engagement with the linguistic complexities of the text than had ever been made before.

¹⁰⁰ Sante Pagnini, *Biblia sacra iuxta germanam Hebraici idiomatis proprietatem* (Cologne, 1541), fol. 7r.

¹⁰¹ ‘In quibus quod versu 26. ponitur לו ואין veenló. non est satis apertè redditum aut à Graecis, aut Latinis, quod nos conuertimus, & non sibi, quia לו lo sumatur pro בעבורו baavuro, id est, propter se, & sua causa. Eo sensu: Christus dominus tolletur de medio, & agetur in crucem, non sibi, sed suis electis: vel, non propter se, sed propter electos suos, & Ecclesiam suam. Non enim sibi, sed suis mortuus est Christus dominus.’ Béroalde, *Chronicum*, p. 176, mispaginated as 174.

One further, briefer example of how Béroalde re-examined the Hebrew to produce the clearest rendering for chronological exegesis occurs at 9.27.¹⁰² Again here, Béroalde explained how the Hebrew was substantially different from the Latin and Greek versions, for while the Hebrew had חצי השבוע ('half of the seven/week') as the subject of the sentence, with 'sacrifice and oblation' as its objects, both the Greek and the Latin forced this subject to become part of a prepositional phrase 'in the half of the seven/week', making the original objects (the sacrifice and the oblation) the subjects instead. As well as obscuring the sense of the verse, this discrepancy also had the effect of toning down the causative effect of the hiphil יִשְׁבִּית: a better translation, Béroalde said, would read: 'dimidium vltimae illius hebdomadis impositurum finem sacrificiis & ceremoniis legalibus.'¹⁰³ This revision, Béroalde claimed, made it very clear that it was the entire period ('half-seven') of Christ's public ministry, his preaching and teaching, which put an end to the sacrifices and ceremonies of the law, in contrast to the singular moment of Christ's death which was solely for man's sins.

Moreover, it also put to rest at least one dubious earlier interpretation. A few previous expositions had understood חצי to mean 'middle' rather than 'half', so that the whole phrase read 'in the middle of the seven the sacrifice and oblation ended'. This translation had lead some interpreters to argue that Christ's death did not come at the end of the seventy sevens, but rather at the end of sixty-nine and a half sevens, in the middle of the last seven.¹⁰⁴ In Béroalde's eyes, a proper understanding of the Hebrew syntax would immediately eliminate such exegetical errors, and the bad chronologies which were built upon them. And indeed, it was for exegetical insights like this that later

¹⁰² Compare: חצי השבוע יִשְׁבִּית זבח ומנחה; καὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἀρθήσεται μου θυσία καὶ σπονδή; et in dimidio hebdomadis deficiet hostia et sacrificium.

¹⁰³ See the discussion in Béroalde, *Chronicum*, pp. 172-173.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 173-174.

chronologers such as Heinrich Wolf, writing in the 1580s, would prize Béroalde's work.¹⁰⁵

Non-specialist readers too admired Béroalde's close attention to the Hebrew text: the Huguenot Jacques Cairon, who read Béroalde's *Chronicum* in the mid-late seventeenth century, annotated such moments of linguistic insight throughout the first half of his copy, as well as correcting errors in the Hebrew printed text where he could find them.¹⁰⁶

Broughton found a model in Béroalde's work to imitate, and he sought to develop Béroalde's programme of close attention to Hebrew and exegesis in his own chronology. This is evident enough from the partial translation of Daniel which he published in 1590, but is even more obvious in the drafts of his *Concent*. Tracing Broughton's attempts at listing the Persian kings through these successive drafts, it is clear that Broughton began at a position much closer to Béroalde's than he ended up at in the final *Concent*, and that his decisions to stray from Béroalde were informed by further Béroaldian analysis of the original Hebrew of Daniel.

For instance, at some point in the process of ordering the Persian Kings Broughton decided to replace Béroalde's 'Darius Assyrius' with 'Darius Artaxerxes' on the basis of Ezra 6.14, which told how the temple was finished 'according to the command of the God of Israel and the decrees of Cyrus and Darius and Artaxerxes king[s] of Persia' (ומטעם כורש ודריוש וארתחששתא מלך פרס). This verse literally understood was confusing because the temple had in fact been finished in the time of Darius: Artaxerxes' command had been for the restoration of Jerusalem and had no relevance for the temple. Wishing to protect the text from a potential error, Broughton took the waw prefixed to Artaxerxes not as a coordinating conjunction ('and'), but rather

¹⁰⁵ 'Solent quidem Danielis verba, quae de illis 70. septimanis habentur, variè à doctis exponi: Sed omnium doctissimè, & meo quidem iudicio, verissimè mentem Prophetæ V.C. Matth. Beroaldus in Chronico suo reddidit.' Heinrich Wolf, *Chronologia siue de tempore et eius mutationibus ecclesiasticis tractatio theologica libris duobus comprehensa* (Zürich, 1585), p. 68.

¹⁰⁶ Cairon's copy is Oxford, Bodleian Library shelfmark P 9.11 Th. By Béroalde's revision of Exod. 12.40 Cairon wrote: 'locus exodus 12. caput 4. [sic] 40. explicatus', and later Cairon noted the (incorrectly) printed בְּמֶלְשִׁים (p. 102) with '= lege מִצְרַיִם'.

as a subordinating conjunction acting as a relative pronoun: ‘heere *And* might be held as the *Hebrues* holde it, for *which is*.’¹⁰⁷ Through this somewhat strained rereading ‘Artaxerxes’ could be read as the surname of Darius, so that the verse only mentioned the two edicts which did indeed concern the temple: that of Cyrus and Darius. In doing this Broughton was likely influenced by his knowledge of Jewish texts: a Talmudic gloss on this verse had argued that all three kings therein mentioned were in fact the same person, and some of Broughton’s favourite rabbinic commentators had argued for an interpretation of Ezra 6.14 in which only two kings were mentioned, Cyrus and Darius Artaxerxes.¹⁰⁸ Thus to Broughton this reading likely seemed doubly justified on grammatical and rabbinic grounds. In any case, this re-naming of Darius Assyrius made it through to the final version of the names presented in the *Concent* and later with precise reign-durations in Broughton’s 1590 treatise on the age of Mordechai.¹⁰⁹ Additionally, in both of these works the Annian ‘Assuerus Artaxerxes’, whom Broughton had in early drafts listed as a king (following Béroalde) was eliminated, possibly because Broughton had by that stage read the damning indictment of it in Scaliger.¹¹⁰

From Béroalde, then, Broughton received both a general distrust of all chronologies which relied on profane writings, and a strong belief that closer attention to the syntax and lexicon of the Hebrew Bible could help solve many of the difficulties that

¹⁰⁷ The decision is evident in Broughton’s early draft, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 2 fol. 14r, but the reason given in Broughton, *A Short Viewv of the Persian Monarchie*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ BT, Rosh HaShanah 3b; see e.g. Rashi on Ezra 6.14; Saadya Gaon on Esther 1.1 and Dan. 7.5.

¹⁰⁹ Broughton, *Concent* (1588/9), sigs. E[1]v-E3r, 3470-3600AM; Hugh Broughton, *A Letter to a Friende, Touching Mardochoai His Age: Which Helpeth Much to Holde the Trueth, for That Chiefe Prophecie of Our Saluation, in Gabriels Seuenties, Which Shew That Most Exactly 490. Yeeres After the Angels Speech Christ the Most Holy Should Be Killed to Giue Life. Dan 9.23* (London, 1590), sigs. B1v-B2v.

¹¹⁰ See British Library, MS Harley 1525, fols. 30r-31v; Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 87, fol. 15. For Scaliger’s indictment see Grafton, *Scaliger*, pp. 309-310.

plagued sixteenth-century chronology.¹¹¹ But in Broughton's case the depth of study that underlay much of the *Concent* was not immediately apparent upon reading it. This was not just because much of the linguistic and philological learning on which the work rested was buried beneath heavy-handed anti-papal polemic and abundant typological correspondences. The tight layout, which gave each year of time only a line of the work, did not give space for much explanation or elaboration of sources. Combined with the inscrutability of Broughton's English prose, this meant that the ideas that animated his work were often too tersely expressed to be intelligible. This is not just a modern opinion. Rainolds complained at the very start of his lectures about Broughton's opacity and tendency not to cite his sources, listing the 'concision of the writer whose arguments I have undertaken to refute' as one of the two principal impediments facing him.¹¹² The other impediment was simply a lack of time.

What was immediately apparent, however, was Broughton's focus on Daniel, and the centrality of the seventy sevens prophecy to the *Concent's* chronology. This was not just evident from the structure of the timeline and the retranslation of 9.24-27 in the preface. Some copies of the first edition even had a leaf before the title-page containing a commentary on Dan. 1.1-2, with the Hebrew text and Broughton's Greek translation printed at the top, as well as an English translation and commentary at the bottom.¹¹³ Furthermore, the main text of the *Concent* showed just how pivotal this prophecy was for Broughton. He had not only granted it the status of a 'general' period of time, to which all particulars must be subordinated but, believing that his focus on the Hebrew had

¹¹¹ Broughton could have found this stated explicitly in Béroalde's preface, Béroalde, *Chronicum*, sig.*iiij.

¹¹² 'Sunt enim res duae, quas mihi impedimento futuras metuo; brevitatis scriptoris cujus rationes refellendas suscepi; & temporis angustia, quae mihi data est ad eas examinandas. Nam ea brevitate rationes sententiae suae proposuit, ut puncta quasi argumentorum saepe designet tantum ac indicet, non modo non notatis locis plerumque, sed ne adhibita quidem rationis forma, ex qua intelligi possit, quomodo, quod suscepit concludendum, colligat.' Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §117, col. 1475.

¹¹³ See, for example, the copy in Cambridge University Library, shelf mark Syn 7 59 74.

yielded the prophecy's true interpretation, he had also decided, following Béroalde, that it must be the ultimate witness to the period between the end of the Babylonian captivity and the death of Christ. Thus, to make this period conform to precisely 490 years, he had to eliminate approximately 70 years from its duration as witnessed by classical Greek and Latin writers. These excess years, as mentioned earlier, he cut from the Persian monarchy, though the arguments he offered for this decision were so curtly expressed as to be scarcely comprehensible.¹¹⁴

It is important to emphasise that Broughton's degrading of the status of classical writers as witnesses to the length of Persian rule was secondary to his Hebraic focus on Daniel. More specifically, it was the consequence of his analysis, based on Funck's, of the shades of meaning in the first verb of the prophecy, נַחֲתַךְ. Both Broughton and Béroalde, then, had not dismissed the reliability of the ancient pagans out of purely conservative impulses. Rather, they both believed that the dramatic advances the sixteenth century had seen in knowledge of biblical Hebrew, as well as other post-biblical Jewish writings, had finally given Christians enough understanding to analyse the Hebrew Bible in its original form. This in turned enabled them to produce, without the need for classical sources, definitive solutions to the contradictions and ambiguities that had plagued previous scholars. Various old chestnuts of chronology, such as the 430 years of Exod. 12.40, or 450 years of Acts 13.17-20, could be rewritten as problems of grammar, syntax or vocabulary, and so disputed on these grounds.¹¹⁵ In doing this, they were amplifying a longstanding trend in chronology that had closely connected the discipline to that of scriptural exegesis and was epitomised in the study of Dan. 9. But with their

¹¹⁴ Broughton, *Concent* (1588/9), sig. E2v, 3564-3590AM.

¹¹⁵ See for further examples Béroalde, *Chronicum*, pp. 102-106; pp. 115-117. Broughton took up these arguments as his own in Hugh Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie of England* (Middelburg, 1597), pp. 14-15 and idem, *A Defence of the Booke Entitled a Co[n]cent of Scripture: For Amendment of Former Atheian Most Grosse, and Iudaique Errours, Which Our Translations and Notes Had* (Middelburg, 1609), sig. A4r.

increased rigour, focus and systematic approach to this tradition, both Broughton and Béroalde most likely saw themselves as on the cutting-edge of chronology.

Moreover, at least some of their contemporaries shared this opinion of their work. The English chronologer Thomas Lydiat acknowledged openly in the ‘Seventh canon’ of his unpublished ‘Chronical Canons’ that the advocates of the 130 year Persian monarchy (i.e. Béroalde and Broughton) were ‘those such as seem most skillfull in the Hebrew original text of the holy prophetes’.¹¹⁶ For Lydiat, the very strength of the scripturalists’ claim on chronology came from their deep knowledge of biblical Hebrew and their ability to provide linguistic, grammatical solutions to chronological problems. Doubtless this is why his own analysis of the Persian period began by presenting Broughton and Béroalde’s abbreviated monarchy as serious problem for the traditional reckoning of 200 years or more.¹¹⁷ This is probably also why he tried to disprove their calculations primarily by challenging their analyses of the Hebrew text.¹¹⁸ Lydiat was not unique in his assessment of their contributions: indeed, even Scaliger’s examination of Daniel probably owes more methodologically to Béroalde than previously thought.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 666, fol. 97r.

¹¹⁷ ‘The Persian Monarchie lasted 204 years from the beginning of Cyrus his absolute soueraintie, till the slaughter of Darius Codomannus the last Persian Emperor, and Alexander the Macedonian his obtaining Babylon. But many of the learned of our age, and those such as seem most skillfull in the Hebrew original text of the holy prophetes, take it for a most plaine unerred and undenyable truth, that there were at the most seuentie seuens or weekes or years, that is, 490 natural years, from the first year of Cyrus his monarchie, till the death and resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Christ, the trew Messias. Vpon which supposal they choppe of a matter of almost fourscore years from the Persian Monarchie, allotting it not aboue 130 years at the most.’ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ See *ibid.*, fols. 97r-98r, including the insert labelled folio ‘98a’ on the use of דבר in Dan. 9.23 and 9.25.

¹¹⁹ Out of earlier chronologies Béroalde’s *Chronicum* is the nearest predecessor to the close analysis of Daniel’s Hebrew on which Scaliger bases his exegesis; Joseph Scaliger, *Opus novum de emendatione temporum in octo libros tributum* (Paris, 1583), pp. 278-289. It is also worth noting that not all ‘scripturalist’ chronologies adopted this high-octane Hebraic focus, see e.g. Jean Frégeville’s chronology, for example, was far more anti-intellectual than Béroalde or Broughton’s: Jean Frégeville, *La chronologie de I. de Fregeville: contenant la generale durée du monde démontrée par la parole de Dieu* (Paris, 1582).

Even the superficially onerous and unpromising text of Broughton's *Concent* was recognised by later readers for its important philological contributions. Perhaps the most revealing evidence comes from one set of anonymous annotations on the 1590 edition. These annotations, possibly written sometime between 1644-1660, show the reader using Broughton's published works to flesh out the philological and linguistic detail implicit in, but obscured by, the heavily abbreviated main text of the chronology.¹²⁰ Cross-referencing the terse hints in the *Concent* with later, more discursive pieces by Broughton enabled this reader to unpack the more crabbed sections, drawing out the full extent of the work's intellectual foundations, from its critique of contemporary biblical translations to its analysis of the problems of working with Hebrew manuscripts to its theorisations about the Septuagint's relationship to other Greek Old Testament translations.¹²¹

Moreover, understanding that 'scripturalist' works such as Broughton's had their roots in philological studies explains not only why the 'biblicist' movement in chronology had two Hebraists, Béroalde and Broughton, as its chief propagators, but also why it later found as much favour among learned linguists as among theologians. The chronology of the Hebraist John Lightfoot is just one (famous) example, but less famous examples also exist.¹²² For instance, take the manuscript chronological treatise of Daniel Sherrarde, a Yorkshire clergyman active in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹²³ Sherrarde was an assiduous student of biblical languages, and his 1610 notebook contains a handwritten Hebrew-Latin-English dictionary (called **משרש הלשנות**, 'Root of the tongues'), a

¹²⁰ Washington D.C, Folger Shakespeare Library, shelfmark STC 3581.2 copy 2. The date is an estimate. The hand I suspect belongs to New England immigrant Edward Holyoke (d.1660): internal evidence suggests he annotated it between 1644-1660.

¹²¹ See *ibid.*, the interleaved pages beside sig. B1v, B3v, E4v, H4v.

¹²² John Lightfoot, *The Harmony of the Four Evangelists: Among Themselves, and with the Old Testament: the First Part, from the Beginning of the Gospels to the Baptisme of Our Saviour, with an Explanation of the Chiefest Difficulties Both in Language and Sense* (London, 1644), sigs. A4r-QQr.

¹²³ 'Daniel Sherrard (CCed Person ID 129496)', *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835* <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>, accessed 14 July 2017.

treatise on how to teach children Hebrew, Greek and Latin (called מלמד הלשנות, ‘A manual of the Languages’), as well as multiple translations from and into Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek and Arabic.¹²⁴ It is possibly because of these linguistic propensities that Sherrarde’s brief treatise on chronology was entirely copied from Broughton’s *Concent*, following everything from its year-by-year count to the general structure of chains and jubilees that Broughton used to organise his work.¹²⁵ Perhaps Sherrarde, like Lightfoot and others dedicated to the study of biblical tongues, saw in the work of Broughton and the ‘Beroaldistae’ a way in which his own hard-earned skills could supply the missing links needed to bind together the disparate parts of pre-Christian biblical history.

iv. Method and Chronology: John Rainolds against ‘A Concent of Scripture’ I

Before the controversy over the *Concent* broke out, Rainolds and Broughton were working with very different aims, priorities and audiences in mind. Broughton, as we have just seen, was hoping to improve the state of chronology by using his skills in Hebrew and Greek to promote the exegetical mode of study advanced by his predecessor Béroalde. Rainolds, on the other hand, was preoccupied by confessional controversy: responding to Bellarmine, he wished to eliminate the scriptural ground for Catholic doctrine by conclusively proving that the books on which it rested were apocryphal.

The two scholars had, unfortunately, collided as a consequence of their positions: Broughton had dismissed the reliability of classical sources and contracted the Persian monarchy to preserve his exegesis of Daniel, and Rainolds had promoted the importance of extra-biblical sources and maintained the long Persian monarchy to preserve his hard-fought argument against 2 Maccabees. Moreover, they had crossed paths just at the point

¹²⁴ Washington D.C, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS K.a.5, fols. 12r-47r; 48r-59v.

¹²⁵ Ibid., fols. 145r-160v.

when the most was at stake for them both. The *Concent* was published when Rainolds' argument was reaching its denouement; it was also exactly the time when Broughton most needed a success, having left Cambridge in controversial circumstances and been forced to tutor the sons of a wealthy London draper to survive.¹²⁶ It is within this contingent context that we must analyse Rainolds' initial set of lectures against Broughton.

Rainolds' first lecture against the *Concent* described in moving terms his desire to defend the Latin and Greek writers from Broughton's attack as eagerly as he would defend his own parents. He would later devote several lectures to proving the credibility of profane sources, all of which contained similar protestations.¹²⁷ It is easy to take Rainolds' more simplistic rhetorical effusions at face value, but a careful study of his lectures reveals that he had complex confessional and polemical motivations to defend the classics. He had depended on the certainty of pagan reckonings to support his argument against 2 Macc. 1.18, and thereby had to prove the value of profane sources in order to save the argument he had been publicly making for the past month.

Furthermore, Rainolds' initial declamations about 'pagan' sources must be read in the context of the statements he made later, in less rhetorical settings. There he was explicit that his fundamental motivation for defending extra-biblical texts was because of his anxiety about how Broughton's arguments against them might be misused by Catholics to defend the mention of Nehemiah in 2 Maccabees.¹²⁸ Indeed, even in his first lecture on December 4/14, just before he launched into his impassioned plea on behalf

¹²⁶ Lightfoot, 'Preface', in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, sigs. A2v-Br; for more on this controversy, see Chapter 2.i of this dissertation.

¹²⁷ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §117, col. 1479.

¹²⁸ In his third lecture on December 11/21, for example, he announces: 'Confutationi earum rationum, quibus ab autore Concentus Chronologici contra Graecos, Latinosque veteres adhibitis abuti poterant Pontificii, ad falsam sententiam authoris secundi libri Machabaeorum de Nehemia tuendam & propugnandam, finem hodierno die imponere valde cupiebam, quarum propterea tres nudiustertius tantò festinantius, ne praecipitantius dicam percurri.' Ibid., Vol.1, §119, col. 1504. For similar declarations see ibid., §125, col. 1590; §126, col. 1603; Vol. 2, §131, col. 55.

of profane writers, Rainolds opened his oration with an extended description of an incident from the Aeneid (II.355-401) in which Coroebus, having slaughtered Androgeos and his Greek soldiers, stripped arms and armour from the bodies of his dead enemies, and said over their corpses: 'Arma dabunt ipsi.' Rainolds quoted this phrase at the very start of his lecture and vividly described his fear that Catholics, like Coroebus, would strip shields and emblems from 'our Androgeos', Broughton, and use them to stave off Protestant attacks on the mention of Nehemiah in 2 Macc. 1.¹²⁹ Rainolds could not have made it much clearer that his real aim was to defend controversial theology, not classical scholarship.

If Rainolds' justifications of his own methods are more sophisticated than previous studies have recognised, the same can be said of his relationship to the kind of scholarship practiced by Broughton. Previous accounts of this controversy have identified Rainolds' chief problem with Broughton's *Concent* as its scripturalist method. Accordingly, Rainolds' own working practices have often been constructed in opposition to this, positing that, like Scaliger, he relied mostly on his classical learning and was skeptical of the theological, typological and exegetical arguments that underpinned Broughton's chronology. However, close study of three representative examples of Rainolds' arguments against Broughton will complicate some of these conclusions.

These examples all concern the ages of biblical figures. Broughton had isolated four examples that each proved, by the lifespans concerned, that the Persian monarchy was too long. Unfortunately, this was the limit of Broughton's comment on the subject.¹³⁰ Rainolds had to guess what the precise argument for each case would be. He

¹²⁹ 'Arma dabunt ipsi. Istud stratagema ne quis forsan è Choroebi posteris apud Pontificios putaret adhibendum ad eluendam notam erroris, quam 2.lib.Machab. sententiae de Nehemia inurit veritas; utque ille clypeos insigniaque sumsit ab Androgeo caeterisque Graecis, ita à nostro quasi Androgeo, ex opusculo, quod inscribitur Concentus Scripturae, tela sumeret, & in nos contorqueret, *Arma dabunt ipsi.*' Ibid., Vol.1, §119, cols. 1474-1475.

¹³⁰ 'easely are [the Greeks] disproued. Fyrst by the age of Mardochai, Zorobabel, Iesus, & them in Ag. 2,4' ,Broughton, *Concent* (1588/9), sig. E2v, 3570-3572AM.

assumed (correctly) that Broughton's point must be that there were numerous instances in scripture, not just Nehemiah, where a single individual or group of individuals survived throughout much of the Persian monarchy. If, therefore, one trusted the classical reckonings, each of these individuals would live for implausibly long periods of time.

In his argument against this point, Rainolds began with Zorobabel. To prove that Zorobabel's age would not be a problem for a long monarchy, Rainolds started by establishing some basic facts about him: he was recorded to have been praefect of the Jews in the first year of Cyrus (Ezra 2), when he built the altar and laid the foundation for the Second Temple. He then lived at least until the sixth year of Darius when he finished the Temple (Hag. 1). The Darius here mentioned could either be Darius Hystaspis, commonly identified as the third Persian King by classical sources or Darius Nothus, the sixth Persian King. There could be no problem with Zorobabel's age if Darius was taken to be Darius Hystaspis, for only 44 years maximum, by classical reckoning,¹³¹ intervened between the first year of Cyrus and the sixth of Darius Hystaspis - and that was if one (generously) assumed that the entire thirty years of Cyrus' reign had happened after the Babylonian captivity. Given that Zorobabel was the great grandson of Jechoniah, who was deported 70 years before the end of the Babylonian captivity, the maximum age that could be reasonably attributed to Zorobabel in this case would be 80 years or slightly over: an unobjectionable lifespan.¹³² Rainolds realised thereby that Broughton must be assuming that the Darius under whom the temple was finished was Darius Nothus: this was a less common opinion among the ancient writers, but had been popularised and defended by Scaliger, before whom only

¹³¹ Rainolds called this the reckoning of the 'veterum Graecorum et Latinorum', even though he actually just took it from Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum*, which he believed contained the best synthesis of classical writers.

¹³² Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §117, cols. 1486-1487.

Severus Sulpicius had favoured it.¹³³ Rainolds himself considered it the ‘accuratiorem supputationem.’

This was then the opinion that needed to be examined. Rainolds had to be more careful here. He could no longer afford to include all 30 of Cyrus’ years within his sum: his calculation assumed that only one year of Cyrus’ reign occurred after the Babylonian captivity, following Scaliger’s account.¹³⁴ Still following Scaliger, Rainolds noted that the 7.5 years of Cambyses, plus the 36 years of Darius, the 21 years of Xerxes, the 39 years of Artaxerxes Longimanus and then the first six years of Darius Nothus gave a total of ‘plusquam 100’ (110.5). Assuming that Zorobabel was an adolescent when he was praefect under Cyrus, one would obtain an age of a little over 130 years for Zorobabel - about a decade more than Moses.¹³⁵

This conclusion left Rainolds with a slight problem. He had indeed brought Zorobabel’s age down to narrowly within the acceptable range for this period (not insignificantly, the same age which Générard deemed just tolerable for Nehemiah), but it is clear that he felt its extraordinary length weakened his argument.¹³⁶ He had in fact even argued against Générard that 130 years was on the very edge of plausibility.¹³⁷

So far, in the first part of his argument, Rainolds had been very careful to use Scaliger’s calculations, noting when these differed from the consent of classical writers (such as in the identification of Darius as Nothus over Hystaspis) and in those cases

¹³³ Severus, Sulpicius, *B. Sulpicii Severi bituricensis episcopi sacrae historiae libri ii*, ed. Carlo Sigonio (Bologna, 1581), ii.275. Sulpicius calls Darius Nothus ‘Darius Ochus’ but, as Sigonio pointed out in his annotations, this man had to be Nothus by another name, since both were sandwiched between two Artaxerxes. Scaliger claimed that Ochus was Nothus’s ‘private’ name, which he changed upon accession as following Persian custom. Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, p. 224.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 280.

¹³⁵ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §117, col. 1487.

¹³⁶ Rainolds would later quote Ps. 90.10 to prove that the age of man should be taken at 70 for an average human, and 80 for a strong one. (Ibid., §118, col. 1492).

¹³⁷ Ibid., §111, cols. 1397-1398.

following what he considered to be the best opinion. Indeed, the general manner in which he handled ambiguities and gaps in common knowledge suggested a certain historical sensitivity and critical sophistication.¹³⁸ But in this second part of his argument, Rainolds adopted a completely different method and set of priorities. Having calculated Zorobabel's age, Rainolds defended it by claiming that it should not be a surprise for Zorobabel to have lived so long, longer indeed than Moses, given that he, like Moses, had been given a singular, special task to complete by God that raised him above the ranks of ordinary men. God had declared that Zorobabel would both begin and finish the temple (Zech. 9.4), and so by God's grace Zorobabel had been conceded as long a life as was necessary for this. Furthermore, Zorobabel had probably also been granted these extra years because he was a type of Christ, the father of eternal life: living for so long a time enabled him to resemble his anti-type more closely.¹³⁹ Perhaps even more surprisingly, the scholar to whom Rainolds turned to supply support for this typological, theological argument was no theologian but the very same scholar to whom he turned for the reckoning of Zorobabel's life: Scaliger. For Scaliger too, Rainolds noted, had defended the long age of Zorobabel on the basis of his selection as one of God's chosen agents: Scaliger had in fact gone even further to note that the same was true of Nehemiah.¹⁴⁰

Rainolds, in other words, had no problem with defending the products of an historically sensitive combination of classical and sacred chronological scholarship (as represented by Scaliger) with arguments that were purely theological and typological in nature; moreover, neither did Scaliger. This phenomenon is even more apparent in Rainolds' examination of the age of Jesus (also known as Joshua) the Priest (Zech. 3.1-9). Like Zorobabel, Jesus had to live from the first year of Cyrus to the sixth year of Darius; like Zorobabel, Rainolds argued, the long life that would result from this (if

¹³⁸ For example, the careful way he worked out Zorobabel's year of birth: *ibid.*, §117, col. 1487.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 1488.

¹⁴⁰ Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, p. 286.

classical sources were followed) could be justified by Jesus' status as a man chosen by God to complete a great work, again similar to Moses and Aaron.¹⁴¹ But now Rainolds added another argument, one that might at first seem to demonstrate a heightened scholarly scepticism but in fact only further illustrates his commitment to non-scholarly modes of argument. While discussing the age of Jesus, Rainolds had noted that Broughton's own chronology attributed to Ezra a lifespan of 180 years. This large figure surprised Rainolds, but he suspected that Broughton might have a defence for it. For in his chronology Broughton had explicitly compared Ezra and Isaac's long lives, and had mentioned that Isaac's long life had been to show the force and efficacy of the promise to Abraham.¹⁴² It seemed likely, then, that Broughton would take a similar approach with Ezra, and argue (as Rainolds had done with Zorobabel and Jesus) that his long age was simply a sign of his status as a specially chosen man of God. It was here that Rainolds identified a problem.

But his problem was not, as we might expect, that it was ridiculous to defend Isaac's age on the basis of the efficacy of the promise (Rainolds, had after all, used the same type of argument himself), nor even that there was there a particular problem in having Ezra live so incredibly long. Rather, his problem was that Ezra was not as special as Isaac and therefore should not have lived as long as him. Nothing Ezra ever did or was assigned to do could compete with the promise to Abraham manifest in Isaac. Indeed, Ezra was not even as special as Zorobabel or Jesus. This meant that even if we were to accept the theological anomaly (a less special man being granted more life than special men), and give Ezra his 180 years, there should be no problem granting Zorobabel and Jesus, builders of the Second Temple, a whole fifty years less.¹⁴³ Rainolds, in other words, again here was not fundamentally opposed to Broughton's providential arguments. If

¹⁴¹ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §118, col. 1490.

¹⁴² Broughton, *Concent* (1588/9), sig. E2v, 3545-3555AM; sig. A3r, 2288-2290AM.

¹⁴³ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §118, cols. 1490-1491.

anything, as this second example shows, Rainolds' problem was that they were not fully carried through. Theological methods were acceptable, but they had to be consistently applied.

But Rainolds' arguments were not only theological and typological. The final case study in this collection of age-related difficulties brings up another realm of argument which was equally, if not more, important to Rainolds' approach. This was related to a statement made in Hag. 2.3,¹⁴⁴ part of that prophet's hortatory speech to the men around him, urging them to finish the temple which had been started in the reign of Cyrus:

מי בכם הנשאר אשר ראה את-הבית הזה בכבודו הראשון ומה אתם ראים אתו עתה
הלוא כמהו כאין בעיניכם

Quis in vobis est derelictus, qui vidit domum istam in gloria sua prima? et quid vos videtis hanc nunc? numquid non ita est, quasi non sit in oculis vestris? (Vulg.)

Who is left among you, who saw that house in its initial glory? And how do you see it now? Is it not, in comparison to that, like nothing in your eyes? (my translation)

These questions posed a serious problem for early modern scholars. They were all obviously rhetorical questions, but beyond that it was difficult to determine their intended nature, whether they were real questions aimed at real people who could theoretically answer them, or hypothetical questions which no one present could answer. This was principally because modality (the category of meaning which expresses the speaker's attitude towards the truth, desirability, or necessity of their utterance) is not as clear in biblical Hebrew as in Latin or Greek, both of which have highly developed

¹⁴⁴ Misidentified by Rainolds as 2.4.

modal systems using subjunctive (and, in Greek, also optative) verbal forms. Movement from Hebrew into these languages required therefore a higher degree of specificity than could be supplied by the original text.

The Vulgate understood the verse as real questions with real addressees, translating all the Hebrew verbs as indicatives and supplying an appropriate indicative-subjunctive structure for the final question, which was verbless in the Hebrew. This translation implied that there were indeed men left among Haggai's audience who had seen the first Temple in its glory, and it was then to these men that the two follow-up questions were addressed. This had clear chronological implications, towards which Broughton's mention of the verse had gestured: for this construction to make sense, there had to be men in Haggai's audience who had been alive before the destruction of Solomon's Temple. Thus there had to have been a short enough space between the destruction of this temple in the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (Jer. 52.12-13) and its re-building in the second year of Darius (Nothus), king of Persia, for this to be plausible. The Babylonian captivity could not be curtailed: its duration was attested to in Scripture (Jer. 29.10). The excess, therefore, had to be taken from the Persian monarchy.

Rainolds' prime argument against this was exegetical. The verse, he argued, had been incorrectly interpreted. It was necessary therefore to turn to a scholar who had correctly understood it: once again, this scholar was Scaliger.

Scaliger had encountered this problem while preemptively defending his exegesis of Dan. 9.24-27 in *De emendatione temporum*. This exegesis had relied on identifying the Darius under whom the temple was completed as Darius Nothus rather than Darius Hystaspis against the broad consent of classical sources. But if Hag. 2.3 did indeed indicate a relatively short period between the destruction of Solomon's temple and its rebuilding under Darius, Scaliger's identification of this Darius as Nothus (a later King than Hystaspis) would seem at best misguided (given that it only exacerbated the

temporal problem) and at worst wrong, since 178 years intervened between these two events by Scaliger's calculations, unquestionably too long for any survivors. The problem then was either with Scaliger's exegesis, Scaliger's chronology or the traditional interpretation of Hag. 2.3. Faced with these options, Scaliger chose the last. He claimed that the questions were all hypothetical, and that the relationship between them was conditional, just like the questions in Matt. 12.11: 'If any of you has a sheep and it falls into a pit on the Sabbath, will you not take hold of it and lift it out?'¹⁴⁵ In this case, it would not necessarily follow from Haggai's words that anyone in his audience had lived before the destruction of the Temple. The meaning was closer to: 'If anyone of those who had seen the house in its initial glory, now looked upon the new one, without a doubt the new would be worthless in his eyes compared to the old.'¹⁴⁶

Rainolds took this new interpretation as the cornerstone of his rebuttal of Broughton. He even subtly prepared his reader to receive it by rendering the first two verbs of Hag. 2.3 as 'reliquus est' and 'viderit' when first quoted. These, which silently changed the Vulgate's second perfect indicative to a perfect subjunctive, accommodated the verse to a hypothetical reading. He also piled more evidence on top of Scaliger's: this type of speech, he claimed, was common in Hebrew, and comparable to the obviously

¹⁴⁵ Τίς ἔσται ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἔξει πρόβατον ἓν, καὶ ἐὰν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦτο τοῖς σάββασιν εἰς βόθυνον, οὐχὶ κρατήσῃ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐγερεῖ; The Greek construction, which used a 'future more vivid' conditional structure, made the hypothetical nature of the statement clearer: Jesus was not implying that the specific situation described had been the case for anyone in the audience, but rather that if it were to be the case, the men would react as he suggested. Scaliger understood the statement in Haggai analogously.

¹⁴⁶ Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, p. 289. Scaliger did not offer a new Latin translation of the verse: I have modelled this English one on Rainolds' Latin (paraphrastic) reworking: 'si quis eorum, qui vidisset templum Solomonis & contempleretur illud novum, sine dubio futurum, ut nihil in oculis ejus videretur hoc novum ad alterum.' Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §118, col. 1493.

nonfactual statements in Jer. 9.1-2.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, it should be expected given the circumstances of the verse. Haggai was giving a hortatory speech designed to rouse the people into re-building the house of the Lord; such grandstanding hypothetical statements should be taken for granted within this context.¹⁴⁸ By re-interpreting the verse as *irrealis* in mood, in keeping with the conventions of hortatory rhetoric, Rainolds (as Scaliger had before him) eliminated its implicit chronological threat.

In these cases, then, we have seen Rainolds use a variety of different methods to prove that the ages of Zorobabel, Jesus and the people in Haggai did not pose problems for a Persian monarchy of more than 200 years.¹⁴⁹ When we count these alongside the extensive classical and historical scholarship that Rainolds used elsewhere, the picture of Rainolds' working practices becomes more complex and variegated. For though Rainolds did construct powerful arguments sourced solely from philological and historical erudition, he just as frequently employed wholly typological (in the case of Zorobabel), theological/providential (in the case of Jesus) and exegetical (in the case of Hag. 2.3) proofs. These different types of arguments might appear to imply different kinds of scholarly values and priorities, but Rainolds' lectures suggest that to him they were all equally valid and equally persuasive. Already, then, it is clear that we need to adjust some of our assumptions about how the working methods of scripturalist chronologers like Broughton and Béroalde were received by scholars who argued for the necessity of extra-biblical sources like Rainolds. Furthermore, it is interesting to note how variously Rainolds used Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum* across these examples. He did use it in much the way we might first expect - as a reference work from which to obtain authoritative chronological data - but there were also more surprising uses. As well as

¹⁴⁷ 'Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people! [2] Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging place of wayfaring men; that I might leave my people, and go from them! for they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men.' Jer. 9.1-2.

¹⁴⁸ For the whole argument, see Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §118, cols. 1491-1494.

¹⁴⁹ I will discuss the third example, the age of Mordechai, in section 1.vi, below.

being a handy trove of historical fact, Scaliger also provided a precedent for a fundamentally providential argument and a reinterpretation of a problematic biblical verse.

Indeed, it was within the field of biblical exegesis, and not classical scholarship, that the heart of Rainolds' attack on Broughton lay. It was also within the realm of exegesis that Rainolds engaged the most with Scaliger's great work of chronology. Section ii of this chapter showed how at the core of Béroalde and Broughton's methodologies lay a belief that greater exegetical attention to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament could revitalise the discipline of chronology. The following section will demonstrate that this belief resonated deeply within early modern scholarly culture, and that far from being anomalies with no appeal to the learned of their day, the influence of the two men went much further than has previously been thought.

v. Chronology and Exegesis: John Rainolds against 'A Concent of Scripture' II

We have established so far that Rainolds' initial attack on Broughton was confessionally motivated, and exacerbated by the unfortunate timing of the *Concent's* publication. But while his primary motivation was not purely intellectual, Rainolds did have more abstract scholarly objections to Broughton's method. It is time now to turn to these objections and consider whether they truly were, as has been commonly assumed, related to Broughton's exclusion of classical sources from his chronology.

The first clue that they may not have been comes not from Rainolds' engagement with Broughton, but with Béroalde. It lies in Rainolds' objections to Béroalde's 1575 Persian king list, which he gave on December 23 1589/ January 2 1590, having just discovered (probably during the Christmas vacation) that Béroalde's 130 year monarchy had inspired Broughton's. Béroalde divided this king list into two parts: the first five kings, who were derived from scripture alone, with no 'pollution' from Greek sources and the remaining six kings, who were taken from pagan sources alone and whose

existence was therefore uncertain.¹⁵⁰ The list had become infamous after Scaliger mercilessly mocked the first half of it in his *De emendatione temporum*, and, as suggested earlier, it may have been this ridicule which caused Broughton to deviate from the list's more idiosyncratic characteristics in the mid-1580s.¹⁵¹ When Rainolds, then, turned to refute this very same list and began his refutation by acerbically noting Béroalde's insistence on the sole certainty of sacred scripture, we might expect him to challenge this arrogant biblicism and confute it by insisting on the necessity of Greek authors, or indeed by demonstrating the truth of a king list derived from a Scaligerian combination of profane and sacred sources. But this is not the approach Rainolds took: rather, without any mention of classical writers, Rainolds turned straight to the Hebrew Bible.

The scripturalist first half of Béroalde's Persian king list had been structured by the words of the Angel in Dan. 11.2, 'Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than them all.' Béroalde had used Dan. 10.1 to work out that these words were spoken in the third year of Cyrus, and so had made Xerxes (traditionally identified as the fourth, richest Persian King of this verse) the fifth Persian king in the dynastic succession by counting three kings *exclusively* from Cyrus to Xerxes.¹⁵² This was slightly eccentric and not even justified on scriptural grounds; as Rainolds pointed out, the kings could also be (and were more commonly) counted from Darius the Mede, who was mentioned only the verse before the prophecy in 11.2. This was how Tremellius and Junius had counted, thus making Xerxes the fourth Persian King after Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius Hystaspis.¹⁵³ By re-identifying the king who had reigned when the prophecy had been uttered, at least one flaw (a surplus king) could be revealed in the first half of Béroalde's catalogue.

¹⁵⁰ Béroalde, *Chronicum*, pp. 165-166.

¹⁵¹ Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, pp. 285-6. See above, pp. 51-52.

¹⁵² Béroalde, *Chronicum*, p. 163; Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §121, col. 1535.

¹⁵³ *Testamenti veteris biblia sacra, sive, libri canonici: praeae Iudaeorum ecclesiae a deo traditi*, ed. and transl. Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius (London, 1580), p. 297; p. 300.

But Rainolds could do better than simply quibbling with the time at which the verse had been spoken. He went back to the very foundation of Béroalde's argument in the relevant Hebrew clause of Dan. 11.2: **הנה-עוד שלשה מלכים עמדים לפרס** (Vulgate: 'Ecce adhuc tres reges stabunt in Perside'). Béroalde's exclusion of Cyrus from the three kings before Xerxes had relied on the conventional translation of **עוד** as 'adhuc', 'still'.¹⁵⁴ This made the count of the Persian kings in 11.2 relative to the time at which the statement was uttered. Since Béroalde thought the statement had been uttered under Cyrus, Cyrus must be excluded from the count; equally, because Tremellius and Junius had the statement spoken under Darius the Mede, they could include Cyrus in the count. But Scaliger, Rainolds noted, had disagreed with this: he had instead argued that the combination of the participle **עמדים** and the adverb **עוד** was equivalent to the adverb **בְּעוֹד** or **מִקַּץ**, and should therefore be translated as 'post', so that the clause read 'postquam tres reges steterint in Perside'.¹⁵⁵ This made the statement in Dan. 11.2 an absolute (rather than relative) count of the number of Persian kings before Xerxes, and thereby made Béroalde's count impossible, regardless of the reign in which the verse had been spoken. Furthermore, Rainolds argued, even if one rejected Scaliger's rereading of **עוד** and rejected Tremellius and Junius' dating of the prophecy in the reign of Darius the Mede, the present participle **עמדים** 'stantes' only made sense if the 'tres reges' who governed the participle as its subject included Cyrus, the king then-reigning, as this would be the only way to explain the use of the present tense.¹⁵⁶

This last point is perhaps dubious, but the importance of this case study is not in whether Rainolds was right, but rather what methods he used to prove Béroalde wrong. If Rainolds did indeed think that Béroalde's fundamental problem was a zealous over-

¹⁵⁴ Béroalde, *Chronicum*, p. 163.

¹⁵⁵ Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, p. 283.

¹⁵⁶ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §121, col. 1535.

privileging of scriptural sources, it is here, if anywhere, that we would expect him to say so. Rainolds's disinclination to do so suggests that his broader problem with Béroalde's work was more complicated. This suggestion is supported by Rainolds' use of Scaliger in this instance. For here Scaliger was used to disprove Béroalde not with any technical or classical analysis but rather with a solely scriptural, exegetical analysis; an analysis which would not look out of place in Béroalde's work, and is reminiscent, for example, of his re-evaluations of Dan. 9.26-27.¹⁵⁷ Indeed it is notable that of all the places in *De emendatione temporum* Rainolds could have chosen to bring against Béroalde on this topic, he selected one in which Scaliger had focussed solely on biblical proofs.¹⁵⁸

It should not be surprising in light of this to discover that Rainolds' broader opposition to Broughton's *Concent* was not its exclusion of classical scholarship. Rather, it was the questionable exegetical principles Broughton used to extract chronological information from the Hebrew Bible.

It is important to establish first that Rainolds recognised that the foundation of Broughton's chronology was a re-examination of the Hebrew text.¹⁵⁹ Even more specifically, he saw very clearly that Broughton's denigration of classical sources was secondary to his exegesis of Dan. 9, describing the interpretation of the seventy sevens advanced by Broughton and Béroalde as 'the only argument' (*unicum illud argumentum*) which the two chronologers thought themselves justified in using to diminish faith in the classical accounts of time: 'all those stays of their arguments', Rainolds said, 'against the

¹⁵⁷ See cols. 50-56.

¹⁵⁸ 'Primus, quod nemo dubitat, est Cyrus. Qui postea reges in Perside regnarint, omnes ordine a Graecis bona fide recensentur. Videndum, an etiam illi ex sacris Biblijs elici possint.' Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, p. 283.

¹⁵⁹ Rainolds made this clear throughout his various criticisms of Broughton, e.g. Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §127, col. 9; §128, cols. 16-17; §130, cols. 49-50.

Greek, Roman and Chaldean chronology are led back to this one place alone.¹⁶⁰

Revealingly Rainolds, who had no problem with denying the assumptions on which his opponents' arguments rested, did not deny the assumption at the heart of this one. He accepted the primacy of the seventy sevens over the classical chronologies, and argued that the real problem was not an over-privileging of Daniel but rather the flawed exegetical method used to analyse his book. To correct the chronology, Rainolds needed to return to its exegetical roots.

He began with what he saw as a fundamental issue with both Broughton and Béroalde's work. Both men had assumed a degree of precision, certainty and stability in the numbers they had found in the Bible which did not in fact always exist. For, Rainolds insisted, numbers were sometimes used properly (*propriè*) and sometimes figuratively (*figuratè*). For example, in Exod. 34.28, the number 10 was used properly by Moses when he enumerated the ten commandments, but figuratively in Num. 14.23, when God asserted that the disobedient people of Israel had tested him ten times: in that context, 'ten' just meant 'often.' Rainolds admitted that some 'Talmudistae', including Rashi, took the number literally, but the best exegetes of all faiths, he argued, had noted that it was simply a case in which a definite number (10) had put been for an indefinite number ('many').¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ 'Sequitur alterum documentum è sac. script. Dan. 9. atque est unicum illud argumentum, quo & ipse & author concentus existimant se satis esse munitos ad fidem omnibus exterorum Chronogr. monumentis, Chaldaeorum Graecorum Romanorum derogandam. Omnibus nam locis hoc inculcant, Beroald. praesertim, oportere haec necessariò falsa esse, quae à Thucyd. Xenoph. aliisque scripta sunt, quia non conveniunt cum supputatione temporum apud Dan. similiter, quia Dan. prophetia visa est ei obscurari ab ea supputatione, quam secutus est Ptol. & alii prophani scriptores, ob eam causam Chaldæi mendaces dicuntur, & confinxisse ista de industria ad Dan. prophetiam obscurandam. Ita ad hunc unum locum reducuntur omnia illa firmamenta, quae habent adversus Chronologiam Graecam, Chald. Rom.' Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §126, col. 1615. See also *ibid.*, Vol. 2, §127, col. 1.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, §128, cols. 18-19. Tremellius had a note by the number which read 'Heb. decem vicibus: numerus finitus pro infinito', *Testamenti veteris biblia sacra*, ed. Tremellius and Junius, p. 160.

Moreover, Rainolds was keen to emphasise that the presence of such ‘figurative numbers’ in the Bible was not a flaw, nor his own discovery: it had been long recognised by theologians that the Bible followed such rhetorical trends as putting a definite number for an indefinite, a finite for an infinite, an integer for a decimal, or a round number for an exact number. Augustine himself had acknowledged this in his discussion of Tychonius the Donatist’s Seven Rules for interpreting scripture, the fifth of which had noted that these figurative numbers, as opposed to proper or ‘legitimate’ numbers, could be classified as the literary trope which rhetoricians called synecdoche.¹⁶² The presence of such tropes in scripture should not be surprising: Rom. 6.19 provided a biblical proof-text for the fact that the Bible was written after the manner of common speech to accommodate man’s infirmity. The incorporation of profane literary devices in sacred texts was just another example of divine condescension to mortal fallibility.¹⁶³

Rainolds had, then, established the existence of uncertainty in some scriptural numbers and demonstrated that this uncertainty was compatible with the Bible’s divinity. This was an ancient recognition that went back beyond the Church Fathers, but Rainolds wanted to go one step further. For this knowledge to be helpful to misguided chronologers such as Broughton (and to prevent them from claiming that the numbers in Daniel were proper), he had to show that the distribution of figurative and proper numbers across the Bible was not arbitrary, but rather organised by general principles which could enable the exegete to determine how a number was used in any given circumstance.

This determination was based on the identification of the genre of the book and the nature of utterance in which the number appeared. Prophetic books tended to use figurative numbers (hence the plethora of large round numbers in Revelation), whereas

¹⁶² Augustine, *PL* 34.86 (*De Doctrina Christiana*, Lib. 3. Ch. 35); Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §128, col. 19.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

historical books tended to use proper numbers. Within the latter category, however, if the historical book was commemorative (relaying ancient ancestral information) rather than narrative (relaying a sequence of events), then the numbers given tended to be figurative rather than proper. This was because the long period of time covered by commemorative histories meant that its numbers had to be adjusted to render them more memorable as they were transmitted over the centuries. For example, while most of the numbers in Matthew, a historical book recounting the events of Christ's life, tended to be proper, a notable exception was the three sets of fourteen generations listed in Matt. 1.1-16. Comparison with the Old Testament revealed that the second set, from David to the Babylonian Captivity, contained in fact 17, not 14 generations. Broughton tried to argue that Matthew had omitted these three generations due to their immorality, but Rainolds judged this to be unnecessary. In his eyes, the discrepancy was simply because the New Testament had smoothed out the irregularities in the generations as an aid for human memory: accommodating for mortal fallibility, figurative numbers replaced proper ones.¹⁶⁴

The nature of the utterance in which the number appeared was slightly more complex. Prophecies, types and other predictions tended to use figurative numbers, because these were more easily recalled than proper numbers. Conversely, the number given in prophetic fulfilments or antitypes was likely to be proper, as it tended to appear within a historical narrative.¹⁶⁵ To illustrate this Rainolds took the well-known case of Jonah, who had lain in the belly of the whale for three days and three nights (Jonah 1.17) as (according to Matt. 12.38-40) a type of Christ lying in the tomb after his crucifixion.¹⁶⁶ In reality, Christ was only in the tomb for one whole day and parts of two days, but this rather forgettable historical number had been rounded up for the sake of making the

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., Vol.2, §128, cols. 25-26; §129, cols. 28-29.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., §128, cols. 24-25; §129, cols. 27-28.

¹⁶⁶ '...for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.'

typological correspondence clearer and more memorable.¹⁶⁷ It was true that if Matt. 12.40 had read ‘For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be one full day and then part of two other days in the heart of the earth’, the verse would have been spoken ‘*praecisè quidem & propriè*’, but it would also have been spoken ‘*minus efficaciter & convenienter typo*’.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, Rainolds warned, if scholars did not understand how the nature of a number differed depending on the genre of the book (historical, prophetic) and nature of the utterance (type, prophecy, fulfilment) in which it occurred, terrible errors of exegesis could occur. One such error had happened in the case of Paul of Middelburg, Bishop of Fossombrone. He had interpreted the numbers in Matt. 12.40 as proper rather than figurative and thus suggested three desperate remedial measures (that Christ was not crucified on the sixth day, or not resurrected on the eighth day, or that the Crucifixion had occurred in an anomalous eight-day week) to try to match the historical event to its typological precedent.¹⁶⁹

Taking these general rules and applying them to Dan. 9 Rainolds demonstrated the basic problem with Broughton's exegesis. Dan. 9 began with Daniel reading about the 70 years determined for the Babylonian captivity, and the subsequent liberation of the Jews that would follow: Daniel, contemplating this, lamented the ongoing misery of the Jews and prayed to God. The angel Gabriel was then sent to Daniel to tell him about the

¹⁶⁷ Rainolds assumed that Christ was crucified on a Friday, buried that evening, and then gone from the tomb by the Sunday morning.

¹⁶⁸ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §129, col. 29; for the rest of the discussion see §128, cols. 26-27.

¹⁶⁹ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol 2, §128, col. 26; see Paul of Middelburg, *Paulina de recta paschae celebratione* (1513), Part 2, sigs. A3v-D6v, or Paul of Middelburg, *Epistola ad universitatem Lovaniensem de paschate recte observando* (1487), for the first work in which Paul re-dated the Passion and the Resurrection to have Jesus in the tomb for a full three days and three nights. For early sixteenth-century debates on the *triduum* between Erasmus and Jacques Lefèvre see Sheila Porrer, *Jacques Lefèvre D'étaples and the Three Maries Debates* (Geneva, 2009), pp. 51-61; for Paul of Middelburg's technical achievements see Nothaft, *Dating the Passion*, pp. 222-240.

seven sets of seventy years after which spiritual freedom would come. Rainolds gave the following explanation of Gabriel's words:

‘...it is as if [Gabriel] spoke to Daniel like this: ‘You are thinking about those 70 years after which your people would be freed from this fleshly servitude under Babylon, and the earthly Jerusalem restored. Well, I’m telling you about the much more glorious liberty from the servitude of Satan which will befall your people and city due to the beneficence of Christ after 7 sets of 70. Therefore don’t think about the 70 years, which have nearly now elapsed, but think about those 7x70 years, after which your people and your city (for whom you offer prayers and tears) will have much greater and more abundant blessings than will follow from this first liberty.’¹⁷⁰

A paraphrase such as this made the nature of the comparison very clear: the first Babylonian captivity of 70 years must be a type of the second Satanic captivity of 7x70 years.¹⁷¹ This was no novelty: Béroalde himself had noticed the type, as had the annotations in the English Bibles, not to mention the Church fathers before them. But, as Rainolds explained, the typological status of the seventy sevens had exegetical consequences. For, as in the case of the Jonah type in Matthew, the Angel must have deliberately adjusted the proper number of years before the death of Christ (which was around 560 in accordance with classical authorities) to increase the prophecy’s resemblance to the 70 years of captivity which preceded it. As Rainolds put it: ‘if the

¹⁷⁰ ‘Perinde ac si in hunc modum affatus esset Danielelem. Tu de 70 illis annis cogitas, quibus finitis populus tuus libertatem sit consecuturus à carnali hac sub Babyloniis servitute, & instauretur Jerusalem illa terrestris. At ego denuncio tibi gloriosiore multò libertatem à servitute Sathanę populo tuo & civitati obventuram beneficio Christi post annos septies septuaginta. Itaque ne cogita de septuaginta annis, qui propemodum elapsi sunt, sed de septies septuaginta annis, quibus elapsis multò majus & amplius beneficium consequetur populus tuus & civitas tua, pro qua tu lacrymas & preces profundis, quàm ex hac libertate consecuturus sit.’ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §128, cols. 22-23; for the whole discussion see cols. 22-24.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., cols. 23-24.

Angel had said, 70 years of captivity were fulfilled from your deportation into Babylon; even so after 8x70 years Christ will be killed, and thus you will have a more glorious liberty, he would indeed here have spoken properly and precisely[...]but then the force of the preceding type, to which the Angel wished to allude in naming 7x70 years, would have been obscured.¹⁷²

With this understood, it should not be surprising that the prophecy's final historical fulfilment and typological realisation did not correspond exactly to the figurative number of 490 years. To expect anything else demonstrated a misunderstanding of an important literary feature of the Bible as well as an ignorance of its accommodation to man's forgetful fallibility. There should be no controversy: the typological number of 490 given in the prophecy was figurative, the historic number of 560 given by classical sources was proper, Christ had fulfilled all that had been prophesied and the general consent of classical writers did not have to be jettisoned.¹⁷³

In other words, in response to what he had perceived as the most basic problems of Broughton's chronology, Rainolds had codified some of the oldest habits of biblical exegesis into a set of rules for interpreting scripture. Furthermore, he had fleshed out these rules with a more abstract literary-theological theory which explained how and why they worked, thus producing an exegetical framework within which reliable chronological information could be extracted from the Bible and the historical data sifted from the unhistorical. Before incorporating any individual number in the Old Testament into a chronology, the chronologer first had to perform the duties of the exegete and determine the number's nature by identifying the genre of book and the nature of the

¹⁷² 'Quemadmodum quoque si Angelus dixisset, 70. anni captivitatis sunt impleti à deportatione vestra in Babylonem, verum post octies 70. annos excidetur Christus, atque ita gloriosiore libertatem consequuturi estis. Hic quidem praecisè & propriè locutus esset angelus, quoniam praecisè ab eo tempore intercesserunt 560. ut nos contendimus in octies 70. verum obscurata esset vis illa typi praecedentis, ad quem alludere voluit angelus nomine septies 70. annorum.' Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §129, col. 29.

¹⁷³ Ibid., cols. 29-30.

utterance in which it appeared. Only then could he tell if he was dealing with a historical fact or a figure of speech. Chronologers like Béroalde and Broughton had strayed so far because their exegetical method was inflexible and poorly suited to the rhetorical diversity of scripture: they identified all numbers as proper without considering the theological and literary reasons why this might not be the case. If they had considered this, they would never have assumed that Daniel's 490 year prophecy had to be exactly fulfilled, and so they would never have rejected the classical sources which demonstrated otherwise.

But Rainolds recognised that establishing an exegetical framework in which biblical numbers could be analysed was not in itself enough. For a literal interpretation of Dan. 9 was believed by its exponents to be exegetically justified not by contextual considerations like genre or scriptural device but rather on the basis of the very first verb in the prophecy: נחתך. To Rainolds, however, the research undertaken on נחתך from Funck onwards merely illustrated another chronic problem within chronology parallel to that of the analysis of scriptural numbers: that exegetes had tried to extract too much chronological data from individual words without considering their potential to be distorted by translation.

Rainolds began with the definition of נחתך that had caused all the problems: Funck's analysis of the verb as meaning that the time was 'praecisè definitum.' This gloss, Rainolds argued, relied on an ambiguous explanation of the Hebrew verb, which had suffered from centuries of inadequate translation. The Hebrew itself had two meanings: a literal meaning equivalent to the Latin *praecidere* (to cut), and a figurative meaning equivalent to the Latin *determinare* (to define). Since the word was a hapax, it was difficult to determine whether it was more commonly used in the literal or metaphoric sense. Historically, exegetes had followed the former interpretation, led by the Vulgate's translation of 'abbreviatae sunt'. However, this uncertainty in the verb's meaning had not been kept in mind by exegetes who, squeezing every possible nuance out of their

translation, had ended up over-relying on qualities in the Latin rendering which were less present in the original Hebrew. This was how even the most outstanding interpreters of scripture such as Bede and Julius Africanus had arrived at the bizarre idea that the prophecy was given in lunar, and not solar years: they had derived too much chronological information from the Vulgate's Latin, without thinking first of the Hebrew.¹⁷⁴

While admitting that Funck and those who had used his analysis of the verb had improved on Bede and Africanus, Rainolds believed that they had still fallen into much the same trap. Funck and his followers had used the figurative meaning of נחתך as 'determinare' to obtain the basic sense of the verb, which was a perfectly acceptable move to make. However, to extract the sense of precision they needed to argue that the time-span was exactly 490 years, they had pressed the Latin equivalent for the literal meaning of the word too far, by attributing the adverbial qualities derived from 'praecidere' (such as 'praecisè', exactly) to the Hebrew verb. In doing this, not only had they ended up effectively translating נחתך twice, once in its figurative sense and once in its literal sense, they had also made a bad grammatical mistake, for נחתך was a verb and could therefore only signify an action, not the quality or mode of an action.¹⁷⁵

Thus the inflexible literalism which had blindly read all numbers as proper without discrimination had also overstretched the meaning of individual Hebrew words to maximise chronological detail. Both errors of exegesis derived from an attitude to scripture that was too grasping to cope with the ambiguities and rhetorical idiosyncrasies of biblical prose. In the end, the broader opposition Rainolds expressed to chronologies like Béroalde's and Broughton's had less to do with technical skill and classical learning

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., §131, cols. 62-63.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., §132, cols. 64-67.

than it had to do with their inability to perform the fundamental exegetical and literary-theological duties of a chronologer.

In other words, Rainolds clearly thought that poor exegesis was the cause of the major methodological divides within contemporary chronology. The solution was to return chronology to its fundamental context of biblical exegesis, and this indeed seems to be one of the chief reasons why Rainolds considered Scaliger both the most brilliant and the most reliable of contemporary chronologers: his excellence as an exegete, and his thorough re-examination of many key biblical verses elevated him above the ranks of ordinary chronologers. It is indeed revealing that while Rainolds was content to lift dates and regnal periods out of Scaliger without reflection on how they were obtained, the part of *De emendatione temporum* with which he engaged most often and most deeply was not any of its calendrical or technical analyses but rather Scaliger's exegesis of Daniel's seventy sevens in Book 6. It was also this piece of exegesis that prompted his most effusive praise of the French chronologer.¹⁷⁶

In some ways, then, Rainolds, Broughton, Béroalde and even Scaliger had more in common than we might at first think. They all believed that a crucial part of chronology consisted of a close reading of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and that this was the key to solving some of the perennial problems within the discipline. Indeed, the exegetical approach to correcting scripturalist chronologers was not unique to Rainolds: it was even more obvious in the next English scholar who opposed the chronologies of Béroalde and Broughton. Edward Lively, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, first turned to attack Béroalde (and, implicitly, Broughton) in print in 1597, and his dedication to Whitgift announced his belief that 'wrested interpretation' of Scripture was the cause of doubtful chronologies and rejection of profane authors

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., §127, cols. 4-5; §128, col. 15; §130, col. 47.

alike.¹⁷⁷ The right interpretation of scripture would demonstrate the importance of profane authors in the distribution of the times, and so would force the chronologer to realise that a true understanding of the most difficult chronological cruxes like Daniel's weeks required applying oneself to biblical exegesis and classical scholarship in equal measure.¹⁷⁸ Thus, half of Lively's *A true chronologie* comprised an examination of the classical evidence for the duration of the Persian monarchy, while the other half offered a very close reading of the Hebrew text of Dan. 9.24-27, which explored in unprecedented detail the nuance of almost every phrase and word in the four verses.¹⁷⁹

That there was a longstanding exegetical tradition within early modern chronology is no new or surprising claim to make. It is important, however, that we do not overlook the extent to which it, alongside its theological and typological corollaries, still retained a hold on the working practices of sixteenth-century scholars. Chronologers of otherwise entirely different methods and dispositions, from Funck to Béroalde to Scaliger to Broughton to Lively, were all united by their attempts to provide a better exegetical grounding for the discipline; by their belief that this aim could only be achieved by studying in greater depth the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Bible; and by a conviction that, however difficult for mortals to understand, those texts could be shown to contain a true account of ancient history. Moreover, the exegetical strand within chronology was prominent and widespread enough that the achievements even of Scaliger were evaluated with exegetical criteria in mind: English scholars like Rainolds, Lively and of course Broughton all viewed Scaliger's legacy as at least partly constituted

¹⁷⁷ Edward Lively, *A True Chronologie of the Times of the Persian Monarchie, and After to the Destruction of Ierusalem by the Romanes* (London, 1597), sigs. A2v-3r.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, see pp. 173-174 for a new discussion of **אין לו**, the most involved since Béroalde, and pp. 225-235 for his discussion of Scaliger's exegesis.

by his exegetical accomplishments, particularly when it came to the so-called ‘dismal swamp of Old Testament criticism’, Daniel’s seventy sevens.¹⁸⁰

It could even be argued that by extracting this exegetical component of chronology and taking it to its limits scholars such as Béroalde and Broughton prompted a new intensity of work on ‘chronological exegesis’ which can be traced through Scaliger’s re-interpretation of key biblical verses to Lively’s relentless 100-page analysis of Dan. 9.24-27. Furthermore, it was this work that prompted, in the hands of Rainolds, isolated debates over chronological method to open up into wider discussions about how to extract historical data from works which were not purely historical in nature. Indeed, one of the reasons why this exegetical trend within chronology has been somewhat neglected is because the most impressive contributions made by its exponents were not to the technical methodologies which were to be the prototypes of modern scientific chronology, but rather to adjacent fields such as biblical criticism and translation. As I will demonstrate in the next chapters, though Broughton’s work began in and was stimulated by the demands of chronology, it was in fact these tangential disciplines which would most profit from his research.

Before turning to the next part of this controversy, however, it is necessary to reiterate one final point. Much of the above work has centered around an examination of Rainolds’ lectures, and it should by now be clear just how important a role these lectures played in the English reception and dissemination of contemporary scholarship. These 250 lectures were given frequently (ranging from once to thrice a week) during

¹⁸⁰ The unfortunate phrase comes from James Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (New York, 1927), p. 400.

Oxford term-time across a period of seven years: moreover, Rainolds was an extremely popular and witty lecturer, regularly attracting large audiences.¹⁸¹

It is important to remember, though, that the fundamental aim of Rainolds' lectures was confessional, anti-papal and belonged to the genre of controversial theology. The dense and learned works of scholarship Rainolds engaged with in the course of his work were, no matter how specialised or apparently detached from theological matters, absorbed with ease into issues which were doctrinal, dogmatic or scriptural, and any progress that Rainolds made in scholarly, historical, classical or literary fields was fundamentally contingent. Indeed, the generic constraints placed upon Rainolds' analyses by this overarching purpose necessarily limited the contribution he could make to any individual discipline, and resisted the type of scholarly specialisation we associate with some of the more esoteric topics he examined. As I will show in the next section of this chapter, resistance to scholarly specialisation was an important aspect of Rainolds' attack, and the way in which he extracted so much theologically important information from scattered comments in abstruse works of scholarship may reveal much about how such works were read and received in the period. But the point, for now, remains that if we focus only on the specialised aspects of any early modern field, whether these aspects be technical, historical, or literary in nature, we will miss how such narrower topics

¹⁸¹ For Rainolds' lectures' popularity, see Thomas Fuller: 'Never were any Lectures in our memory so frequented, as these in that University; nor any in *Cambridge*, save those of Doctor *Whitaker*', Thomas Fuller, *Abel Redivivus: Or, the Dead yet Speaking. the Lives and Deaths of the Modern Divines* (London, 1651), p. 483. Indeed, Broughton notes that the influence of Rainolds' lecturing was such that he turned the Oxford's entire student population against the *Concent*. Some hyperbole is likely, but Rainolds was certainly a charismatic and persuasive speaker; see Hugh Broughton, *To the Most High and Mightie Prince Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Queene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, Defender of the Fayth. &c* (London, 1594), sigs. A2v-B4v for anecdotes about students' and divines' responses to the *Concent* controversy during the period December 1589-November 1590.

intersected with and ultimately arose from the period's much deeper and broader-ranging confessional concerns.¹⁸²

vi. Developments in the Debate, 1590-1594

On 7/17 May 1590, Rainolds gave his final lecture against Broughton's *Concent*. He confidently concluded that, with Broughton's work disproved, his argument against Génébrard and thereby the mention of Nehemiah in 2 Maccabees had been shown to be indisputably true.¹⁸³

For Broughton, however, the debate was not over yet. It seems that Rainolds' lectures, particularly the later ones on Daniel, only further convinced him of the need for a better understanding of the prophet. Broughton had spent much of early part of the year in self-imposed exile in Germany, afraid of the hostile response to his work whipped up by Rainolds and worried that he might be put on trial by the Court of High Commission. By April he was planning his counter-attack, scouring the Frankfurt book market for Hebrew books and, via Peter Osborne, Lord treasurer's remembrancer, requesting that Cecil obtain him a letter from the Queen to gain access to the library of the Count Palatine Johann Casimir, which Broughton heard contained many Greek and Hebrew books as well as works of divinity.¹⁸⁴ At some point in the same year he set to work on a new edition of the *Concent*, adjusting passages which had received particularly harsh treatment from Rainolds, inserting comments clarifying elements of the

¹⁸² For a brief but suggestive piece attempting to illustrate the interplay between the scientific and theological strands in chronology, see John O'Brien, 'Entre théologie et science: la chronologia de Joannes Temporarius' in *Esculape et Dionysos: Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean Céard*, ed. Jean Dupèbe (Geneva, 2008), pp. 407-415; for a longer and more tentative account see Scott Mandelbrote, 'The Doors shall fly open', pp. 176-193.

¹⁸³ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §132, cols. 76-77.

¹⁸⁴ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 64, no. 33; Alexander Gordon, 'Hugh Broughton', in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 7, ed. Leslie Stephen (London, 1886), pp. 1367- 1370 (p. 1368).

controversy, adding a folio-long digression on the seventy-year Babylonian captivity and cramming the timeline of the Persian monarchy with extra proofs and historical notes.¹⁸⁵

Aside from these specific alterations, Broughton also undertook other, more systematic changes: the 1590 edition is overall more expansive than the 1588/9 edition, contains more rabbinic references and adds marginal comments highlighting some of its innovative linguistic features.¹⁸⁶ The overarching trend of the additions amounts to an attempt to make the *Concent* appear a clearer, more scholarly work with better Hebraic credentials: perhaps Rainolds' complaints about the work's impenetrability had some effect. In addition to this new and improved *Concent*, which was entered into the Stationers' Register on 20th May, Broughton also began a separate endeavour: an annotated English translation of part of chapter 8 (Book 3) of Béroalde's *Chronicum scripturae sacrae auctoritate constitutum*, which included Béroalde's analysis of the Persian monarchy but stopped just short of his retranslation of and subsequent comments on Dan. 9.24-27: the translation that appeared in *A short view of the Persian monarchie* was Broughton's own rendering. Broughton commissioned a friend to translate the *Chronicum* but himself wrote the 'observations', which mostly indicated his methodological disagreements with Béroalde (in particular over Béroalde's use of Olympiads, which

¹⁸⁵ Compare the outer left-hand margin of 3491-3535AM in both editions, in which the line 'Those men be Stars', mocked by Rainolds for its obscurity in his lecture of January 20th 1590, is omitted in the later edition; see also the specific references to Rainolds in the 1590 edition at 3491-3500AM inner right-hand margin 'Here D.R. made y. 107 for 32. Thereupon our difference stood.' and at 3537-3539AM middle margin 'The learned D.R. forced to condemne the Churches opinion, either when they followed the heathens times, or upon the captiuitie bookes: chose to reiect the iudgements of the Iewes & Christians millions upon Ezr. & such: & made the returned to be 107.y. building the temple'; the digression 'Now to the continuance of the Chaldean *kingdome: The fourth Chaine*', sig. F; for the Persian monarchy, compare generally 3471-3625AM in both editions. Hugh Broughton, *A Concent of Scripture* (London, 1590) (STC (2nd ed.), 3851) and Broughton, *Concent* (1588/9).

¹⁸⁶ It is worth pointing out however that the 1590 edition is still difficult despite its minor expansions. For the greater proportion of rabbinic references, compare e.g. sections 2475-2526AM, 2620-2625AM; 2828-2831AM in both editions; for Exod. 12.40 compare sections 2475-2526AM; for etymological additions see e.g. 2579-2623AM, 2652-2673AM. These references are given from my collation of the two editions: Broughton, *Concent* (1590) and Broughton, *Concent* (1588/9).

Broughton considered completely useless in calculation), noted errors (such as Béroalde's 'Assuerus Artaxerxes') and, occasionally, defended Béroalde against some of Rainolds' comments.¹⁸⁷

But Broughton's real counterattack came not in the form of a new edition, or translation, but rather a fresh treatise: *A Letter to a Friende, Touching Mardochai His Age*.¹⁸⁸ This treatise reiterated some of the earlier points made by the *Concent*, but was mostly focussed on using one argument to prove the need for a shorter Persian monarchy: the age of Mordechai.

Mordechai was another biblical figure whose lifespan was intertwined with the duration of the Persian monarchy. Thanks to his role in the book of Esther it could be established that he was alive under King Ahasuerus, but despite this knowledge it was remarkably hard to date his lifespan. The first problem was simply that it was not clear where in the succession of Persian Kings Ahasuerus fell, or indeed which king he might be. Rainolds, following Scaliger, had identified him with Xerxes, the fourth Persian king, who began his reign (by Scaliger's count) 73.5 years after Cyrus started to rule, and ended his reign 94.5 years after the first of Cyrus.¹⁸⁹

This identification, however faced one major problem. This occurred in Esther 2.5-7 which, for the sake of clarity, I will give below in Hebrew and English:

¹⁸⁷ Broughton, *A Short View of the Persian Monarchie*: 'Though hee make some account of a number certaine in Olympiads: he might rather for this than anie thing else blame the heathen of vncertaintie', sig. D3r; 'There Artaxerxes & Assuerus are seuerall men[...] This Artaxerxes and Assuerus (whom he being two, he nameth one person)', sigs. A4r-Br; 'Whereas Mat. Beroaldus expoundeth the halfe seuen, & not onely the time of our Lords death, to conteine the ministerie of doctrine[...] the reader is to be admonished least he should thinke him to say, that Christ should die in halfe that seauen: whereof he is of some [i.e. Rainolds] vniustly blamed' sig. E2r, aimed against Rainolds' comments in Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §129, cols. 33-34, cols. 37-41.

¹⁸⁸ The titular 'friend' is Alexander Top, a pupil of Broughton's who had accompanied him on his trip to Germany over the winter of 1589-90.

¹⁸⁹ Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, p. 284. Broughton had identified him as the Darius Hystaspis whom he judged to be the third Persian king, who began his reign (by Broughton's count) only 10 years after Cyrus started to reign, and finished his rule 22 years after Cyrus's first. Broughton, *A Letter to a Friende*, sig. Bv-B2r.

איש יהודי היה בשושן הבירה ושמו מרדכי בן יאיר בן־שמעי בן־קיש איש ימיני:
אשר הגלה מירושלים עם־הגלה אשר הגלתה עם יכניה מלך־יהודה אשר הגלה
 נבוכדנאצר מלך בבל:
 ויהי אמן את־הדסה היא אסתר בת־דדו...

In the citadel of Susan there was a Jew named Mordechai, son of Jair, son of Semei, son of Kis, of the tribe of Benjamin:

who had been carried away from Jerusalem at the same time as Nabuchadnezzar king of Babylon carried away Jechoniah king of Juda:

and he had brought up his brother's daughter Edissa, who was called Esther by another name[...]

The challenge this verse posed came in the central relative clause, verse 6 (emboldened).

This clause identified that someone in the antecedent genealogy had been exiled with Jechoniah at the start of the Babylonian captivity. Precisely who had been exiled was less clear. The Hebrew particle of relation **אשר** had two potential referents: either Kis, its nearest antecedent, or Mordechai himself, subject of the sentence as a whole. Christian exegetes, following the Vulgate translation, had traditionally opted for Mordechai on the basis of the copulative conjunction at the start of 2.7 (**ויהי אמן את־חדסה**). Mordechai had to be the subject of this clause, as he alone had raised Esther, and so by extrapolation was likely to the subject of the prior clause also. More recent translations,

such as that of Tremellius and Junius in 1580, left even less room for doubt that Mordechai was subject of 2.6 by linking it grammatically to 2.7.¹⁹⁰

This traditional reading became problematic when its chronological consequences were unpacked. For if Mordechai had indeed been carried into exile with Jechoniah, this would make him at minimum 70 years old by the time Cyrus conquered Babylon, for the exile of Jechoniah (in the 8th year of Nebuchadnezzar) was often identified as the start of the 70 years of captivity which passed before the Persian era of Jewish history. If, as Scaliger and Rainolds thought, there was also a significant delay between the conquering of Babylon and the reign of Ahasuerus, in whose time the biblical narrative had placed Mordechai's exploits, Mordechai would have been impossibly old by the time the monarchy ceded to Xerxes.

In essence this was the argument Broughton used in *A Letter to a Friend* to demonstrate the need for a contracted monarchy. Broughton knew that the vast bulk of difference between his 130 year monarchy and the classical one lay in the years between Cyrus and the prophesying of Haggai around the time of the building of Second Temple, which interval Rainolds and Scaliger put at over 100 years and Broughton at around 30. From the building of the Second Temple until the time of Christ, on the other hand, Broughton's calculations roughly converged in their year-count with Rainolds' and Scaliger's. Thus the age of Mordechai covered the most controversial period and so could be used as a test. If it could be proved that Mordechai was alive at the same time as Jechoniah following the biblical evidence in Esther 2.5-7, it would be difficult to maintain so large a period from Cyrus to Xerxes/Ahasuerus, and so Broughton's monarchy would be granted significant scriptural support in its favour - and

¹⁹⁰ 'Vir Jehudaeus erat Susis in urbe regia: cujus nomen Mordecai filius Jairis, filii Schimhhi, filii Kischi Benjaminita. [6] Qui deportatus fuerat Jeruschalaimis cum deportatione quae deportata fuit cum Jeconja rege Jehudae: quem deportavit Nebucadnetzar rex Babyloniae. [7] Is nutriebat Hadassam: ea est Ester' *Testamenti veteris biblia sacra*, ed. Tremellius and Junius, p. 292.

Scaliger/ Rainolds' would suffer a near-fatal blow.¹⁹¹ As Broughton put it at the very start of his treatise:

'They who holde *Assuerus* to be *Xerxes* (who be ye chiefest Patrons of that excessiue time) yf it can be shewed that *Mardochai* was in captiuitie 63.y. must needes graunt that from *Cyrus* surprising of Babel to *Assuerus* ende, when yet *Mardochai* was somewhat actiue: 30. yeeres agreeth more with the common course of lyfe, then 121.'¹⁹²

This was not the first time this argument had appeared in the controversy. The issue had in fact already been brought up twice by Rainolds, once in response to G  n  brard's 147 year Persian monarchy, and once in his lectures against the *Concent*: the reader will remember that Mordechai was one of the men whose age had been briefly mentioned in Broughton's *Concent* as proof of the Greeks' error.¹⁹³

Against G  n  brard, who had mentioned the age of Mordechai explicitly as an argument in favour of a short monarchy, and also took Mordechai to be exiled with Jeconiah, Rainolds had provided little more than an overview of the issue and cited Scaliger as an authority in favour of identifying the referent of      in Esther 2.6 as Kis.¹⁹⁴ Against the *Concent*, Rainolds had gone into far more grammatical detail. With

¹⁹¹ I am referring to Scaliger and Rainolds as Broughton's joint targets because this was how both Broughton and Rainolds viewed the issue. Broughton openly identified Scaliger 'and such as leane vpon him' (i.e. Rainolds) as one of the chief proponents of an overlong time and Rainolds recognised this ('eos qui Assuerum Xerx. esse volunt (Scalig. & me designans) affirmat praecipuos immodici illius temporis patronos existere') and added further that Scaliger was Broughton's real target, and Rainolds only as he depended on Scaliger ('tamen Scal. (quem inprimis, nosque ut ei innitentes oppugnat Autor Epist.) ...') Broughton, *A Letter to a Friende*, sig. A2v; Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §145, col. 245; §144, col. 226.

¹⁹² Broughton, *A Letter to a Friende*, sig. A2v. Broughton's figure of 121 is because he did not realise that only 3 years of Scaliger's 30 year rule for Cyrus occurred after the Persian conquest of Babylon.

¹⁹³ See above, p. 59, fn130.

¹⁹⁴ G  n  brard, *Chronographiae*, i.77; ii.145; Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol.1, §113, cols. 1419-1422.

little evidence for Broughton's reasoning forthcoming in the work itself, he had given what he judged to be the chief argument against Broughton's position: that relative pronouns most commonly referred to their nearest antecedents, and interpretations which deviated from this norm had to be justified from circumstances of the text. In this case, there were no extenuating factors: therefore **אשר** had to refer to its nearest antecedent, Kis.¹⁹⁵

Broughton's treatise on Mordechai went into greater detail than was present in either of these two previous discussions. His arguments ranged from proposing that the accent Tifcha placed on the word for Kis (**קִישׁ**) designated a pause that prevented it from being joined to **אשר**, to arguing that it would not be rhetorically decorous for an oration which began (in Esther 2.5) and ended (in Esther 2.7) with Mordechai as its subject to have an isolated change of subject in its intermediary clause.¹⁹⁶ Broughton probably published this work sometime during the summer of 1590; Rainolds, upon resuming his lecturing after the summer vacation, started refuting it around October of Michaelmas term 1590. In general these refutations followed quite closely the parameters set out by Broughton's initial arguments, and overall the whole set of lectures against the *Letter to a friende* read much more like a narrow point-by-point rebuttal than his first set of lectures against the *Concent*. One theme, however, remained constant throughout both lecture series: that, as discussed earlier, many of the problems visible in Broughton's interpretations and chronology arose from his inflexible, overly literalist reading practices.¹⁹⁷

This aside, there were also other more serious problems created for Broughton in Rainolds' second set of lectures. These problems were, to some extent, of Broughton's

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., §117, pp. 1480-1482.

¹⁹⁶ Broughton, *A Letter to a Friende*, sigs. A3r-Bv.

¹⁹⁷ See Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §144, cols. 232-236; §147, cols. 280-282, cols. 297-299; §149, cols. 339-346; §154, cols. 414-416.

own creating, for *A Letter to a friende* had made some major intellectual concessions which allowed Rainolds to take a very different approach to refuting Broughton in late 1590 than he had in late 1589. In particular, Broughton had made the mistake of moving the goal-posts to his own disadvantage: *A Letter to a friende* gave more credence to non-biblical sources and argued far more from the ‘general consent’ of writers past and present than anything in the *Concent* had done or suggested its author might be willing to do. If the 1588 *Concent* looked the work of a staunchly biblicist thinker, *A Letter to a friende* looked like the work of a scholar whose priorities were much more polemically contingent, a scholar who could at once declare that he trusted nothing but the Bible while also advancing as evidence ‘argumentes drawn from *Ester* al through compared with Heathen.’¹⁹⁸

This made Broughton’s position appear methodologically much closer to Rainolds’ than Béroalde’s and thereby gave Rainolds much greater scope to attack Broughton from the ground on which he felt most comfortable: that of patristic, classical and medieval scholarship.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, this change enabled Rainolds to construct syllogistic arguments which gave no room for the type of biblicist analysis on which Broughton’s chronology relied, while still remaining within the terms of discussion Broughton himself had set up.²⁰⁰

Particularly vulnerable to this sort of demolition was the final part of *A Letter a friende*, which listed all the Persian kings and their regnal periods. Some of this information had been available in the *Concent*, but written so unintelligibly as to be unusable in dispute. There were no such obscurities in *A Letter*, where Broughton’s

¹⁹⁸ Broughton, *A Letter to a Friende*, sig. B2r.

¹⁹⁹ See, for one example of this, Rainolds’ proof that Assuerus was Darius Hystaspis, Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §144, col. 231.

²⁰⁰ E.g. Rainolds’ syllogism: ‘*Quod omnes probati & graves historici communi consensu tradunt, id certò verum est. At Persicam Monarchiam à Cyro ad Darium, plusquam ducentos annos durasse, omnes probati & graves historici communi consensu tradunt. Monarchiam ergo Persicam à Cyro ad Darium plusquam ducentos annos durasse, certò verum est.*’ Ibid., col. 224.

Persian king list and years were presented in detail. It had not been wise for Broughton to print such a list. There were good reasons why Béroalde had avoided giving precise regnal periods for his Persian kings: they were not available in any certain way in the Bible, and so had to be gathered largely from non-biblical sources. As such, they could not be defended from a scripturalist perspective and so would always be vulnerable to attacks from those who advocated extra-biblical sources.

Moreover Broughton, relatively inexperienced in this kind of work, had botched the job. Among the most embarrassing of the errors Rainolds uncovered in Broughton's handling of non-biblical sources was an uncritical reliance on substandard editions. In particular, Rainolds showed how behind Broughton's omission of Arses, the ninth Persian King, and attribution of 3 years to Ochus, the eighth Persian king, lay a typographer's error. The accurate text of the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria, from whom Broughton claimed to have sourced his information, had listed Ochus and Arses as separate kings, with the former having twenty years and the latter three: in the Greek, this would have read something like Ὀχος εἴκοσι Ἀρσῆς τρία (Ochus twenty, Arses three [years]). Since the Greeks, like the Romans, had an alphabetic system of numerals, this had been expressed by a copyist as Ὀχος κ. Ἀρσῆς τρία, with the numeral κ representing the number twenty. Laurentius Torrentinus, typographer for the 1550 edition of Clement of Alexandria, had missed this numeral and 'corrected' it to ἢ ('or'), printing the sentence as Ὀχος ἢ Ἀρσῆς τρία (Ochus or Arses, three [years]). This unfortunate error had been further propagated when Gentianus Hervetus uncritically translated the Greek of 'Torrentinus' edition in his 1551 *Opera Omnia* of Clement and rendered the same sentence literally as 'Ochus vel Arses tres.' Thus it was clear to Rainolds what Broughton had done:

'Now from these badly-printed Greek texts, or perhaps from the Latin copies which are as poorly translated, the Author of the *Letter* [Broughton], as if Ochus and Arses are two

names signifying one man (like Ovid and Naso), expels Arses from the throne of the kingdom of Persia, gives his three years to Ochus, and takes out and expunges the twenty years of Ochus from the series of generations.’²⁰¹

This was not an isolated mistake. Indeed, Rainolds spent his first two lectures against *A Letter* running through every error he could find in Broughton’s king list before moving on to cover the arguments presented in relation to Mordechai. But there was another equally damaging accusation Rainolds had to make, and it was one directly related to the mechanism by which the controversy had been prompted in the first place. For Rainolds repeatedly stated, in connection to issues arising from *A Letter*, that Broughton’s whole style of argument was dangerous because to prove its specialised points about biblical chronology it used much more general arguments which had the potential to be turned against Protestants by Catholic and Jewish controversialists.²⁰² Broughton had failed to realise that any arguments he made in favour of his Persian monarchy would not remain isolated and applicable only to the specialised field of chronology but would rather have significant reverberations within the larger field of confessional controversy, where they could be used to undermine the Protestant cause in its entirety.

In other words, Rainolds did not want Broughton to write a more scholarly, or more specialist work, but rather a less specialist work with greater thought given to confessional and theological issues. In Rainolds’ view of scholarship, the multiple intersections of classical history, biblical history and controversial theology meant that no one field of study could be divorced from another, more volatile field. What seemed

²⁰¹ ‘Jam ex istis Graecis malè excusis, aut Latinis saltem pejus conversis, Author Epistolae, quasi Ochus & Arses duo essent nomina eundem hominem denotantia, ut Ovidus & Naso, Arsen è solio regni Persidis exturbat, tres illius annos Ocho transcribit, & Ochi viginti è seculorum serie tollit, expungitque.’ Ibid., Vol. 2, §145, cols. 250-1.

²⁰² See, e.g. Broughton’s argument about divine providence in Broughton, *A Letter to a Friend*, sig.A4r, and Rainolds’ explanation of its problematic extrapolations in Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §147, cols. 282-284; and another example in Vol. 1, §131, cols. 56-58.

confessionally neutral in one area could be charged with meaning in a host of tangential areas, and it was Broughton's ignorance of this scholarly-confessional connectivity that made him such a danger to the Protestant cause.

This was one aspect of Rainolds' argument which Broughton failed to understand. He heard about Rainolds' lecturing both through friends and through the lectures which Rainolds himself had sent to him, which he would quote in his later works.²⁰³ However, far from addressing any of the issues Rainolds had raised to do with his accidental bolstering of Catholic doctrines, Broughton responded by focussing even more on the three issues which he judged to be at the heart of the debate: the proper, not figurative, use of numbers in Dan. 9; the necessity for a contracted Persian monarchy; and the complete invalidity of the Greek authors, particularly of their Olympiads, in chronological calculation.

All three of these issues were to feature most prominently in the work Broughton printed two years later to defend his chronology, *An apologie in brieve assertions*: the last issue about the Olympiads was one that had been present in the debate up until now, but somewhat overshadowed by the discussions over Daniel. After Rainolds' attack on Broughton's shoddy classical scholarship, however, it became more important for Broughton to demonstrate that his rejection of the pagans was an informed choice and not a consequence of sheer incompetence.²⁰⁴ Alongside this, however, old concerns also

²⁰³ Rainolds claimed he sent Broughton 22 of his earlier lectures, presumably the 6 against Générard and 16 against the *Concent*: he also said that he would send him the 12 lectures against the *Letter to a friende*. Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §155, cols. 441-442. How many of these Broughton actually received is another matter: he complained on 4/14 November 1591 in a letter to Whitgift and Aylmer that he would 'gladly giue [Rainolds] any thinge for a Booke of his whole Lectures against [him]', but by 1592 he had seen enough of the lectures to quote from them in Latin: Broughton, *An Epistle Sent Vnto the Archb. of C. and D. Elmer Then B. of London, Chosen Vmpires Touching the D. That Read against the Concent of Scripture, and the Author of That Concent* (London, 1591), sig. *4v; see Hugh Broughton, *An Apologie in Brieve Assertions Defending That Our Lord Died in the Time Properly Foretold to Daniel: For Satisfaction of Some Students in Both Vniuersities* (London, 1592), sigs. Av-A2r for quotations of Rainolds from 'a Lecture booke written'.

²⁰⁴ Broughton, *An Apologie in Brieve Assertions*, sigs. C3r-Lv.

persisted: most revealingly, Broughton continued to believe that the heart of the problem was a misunderstanding of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, as can be seen in his 1591 *Textes of Scripture, Chayning the holy Chronicle*. This contained Broughton's own English translations of the verses he saw as essential to chronological calculation, which 'ryghtly holden, ende the endles controuersies.'²⁰⁵ It is also one sign that Broughton was beginning to believe that scriptural translation might be the best way to combat the errors he saw in his contemporaries' works.

Publication was not the only way Broughton retaliated against Rainolds' latest onslaught. He sent Rainolds multiple Greek letters, traces of which survive in Rainolds' lectures: these seem to have been predominantly about Rainolds' 'blasphemous' attitude to Daniel's prophecy but also requested Rainolds' opinion on the 'chronological cruxes' Broughton would later print in his 1591 *Textes of Scripture*.²⁰⁶ It was possibly Rainolds' refusal to answer these inquiries which had initially prompted the publication of that work.

In addition to sending letters, Broughton lectured extensively in London. According to his biographer, John Lightfoot, these weekly lectures were popular (attracting eighty to a hundred auditors), but controversial. Broughton was forced to move from the east end of St Paul's after some bishops accused him of holding conventicles, and ended up lecturing privately in Cheapside and Mark Lane.²⁰⁷ According to David Baker in his unfinished 1637-8 autobiography, Broughton also lectured at some point in Christ Church Greyfriars in Newgate Street, just across from St. Paul's: corroborating Lightfoot, he recalls these lectures as well-attended, 'wth infinite audience and flocking to hear & admire him in the parish church there (which was Christ

²⁰⁵ Hugh Broughton, *Textes of Scriptures Chayning the Holy Chronicle Untyll the Sunne Lost His Lyght* (London, 1591), sigs. A3r.

²⁰⁶ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §154, cols. 412-13, col. 421; §155, col. 426; col. 444. I have not located a full text or original of any of these letters.

²⁰⁷ Lightfoot, 'Preface', in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, sig. A2r. See also Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, ii.3.

Church)²⁰⁸ From Lightfoot we can glean the format of these lectures, which seems to have been relatively simple: Broughton's auditors would read through the *Concent* while he explained it using the Bible, ending with a 15 minute summary.²⁰⁹ According to Rainolds, these lectures focused extensively on Daniel and the uselessness of the Olympiads, but also involved a fair amount of personal slander, so much so that Rainolds said he would rather call them 'calumniae' than 'praelectiones'.²¹⁰

At some point during Rainolds' lectures in late 1590, however, the pressure for Broughton to respond more formally was mounting, especially from Oxford students who overwhelmingly supported Rainolds. Moreover, by this point Broughton had powerful detractors other than Rainolds: Thomas Crooke, a Cambridge divine, must have also written against the *Concent* sometime in this year, for while his work is no longer extant, it was partly in response to Crooke that Broughton wrote his 1591 *A treatise of Melchisedek*.²¹¹ Realising that his lectures would never be able to undo the damage done by Rainolds' Oxford lecturing, Broughton began to look to institutional authorities for approbation. He started at the source, and wrote to Henry Robinson, Provost of Rainolds' own college (Queen's College, Oxford), with some basic theses outlining his position, and asking for Robinson's opinion on them.²¹² Robinson's response is unknown, and it is unclear exactly what the sequence of events was after this initial incident: according to Broughton, this first provocation resulted in Rainolds coming to London (probably sometime in early November 1590) to agree upon a process of

²⁰⁸ *The Christ's Hospital Book*, ed. H. Hamilton (London, 1953), p. 18.

²⁰⁹ Lightfoot, 'Preface', in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, sig. A2r.

²¹⁰ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §154, col. 411, §155, cols. 427-433; col. 443.

²¹¹ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 69, no. 38; John Strype, *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift, D.d., the Third and Last Lord Archbishop of Canterbury in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford, 1822), ii.116. On Crooke, see Brett Usher, 'The Fortunes of English Puritanism: An Elizabethan Perspective', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Suffolk, 2006), pp. 97-112.

²¹² Broughton, *An Epistle Sent Vnto the Archb. of C. and D. Elmer Then B. of London*, sig.*4r.

arbitration. The two men agreed upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, and the Bishop of London, John Aylmer, as ‘umpires’, and both consented to accepting whatever result was decided upon by these men.²¹³ It is difficult to judge how accurate Broughton’s account of these developments is, though we should note that Rainolds, in his final lecture against *A Letter to a friende*, given around November 20/30 1590, addressed the umpires directly to plead for his case, lest they be swayed too much by Broughton’s own report of events.²¹⁴ Broughton himself noted that he had sent a full breakdown of the controversy to the umpires via Mr. Mulcaster, which perhaps could have been the cause of Rainolds’ aforementioned anxiety.²¹⁵

But if Broughton had hoped that formal adjudication would ease the now tense situation for him, he was gravely mistaken. By 1591 his position was so bad that George Bishop and Ralph Newbery, Wardens of the Stationers’ Company, would seize all the copies of the defence Broughton was writing for the *Concent* and refuse to return them until a bishop or religious authority guaranteed their orthodoxy.²¹⁶ On March 27/ April 6 1591 Broughton composed a desperate letter to Cecil: he still had not received the letters he needed to visit Casimir’s library and he now had other problems to contend with, including a lack of money.²¹⁷

Even by the close of 1591 the controversy had not yet been sorted out: Broughton was still requesting a formal report from the umpires to send to Cecil and the Queen, even though it seems that by this point some sort of informal, private comment

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Rainolds, *Censura*, Vol. 2, §155, col. 427; cols. 444-445.

²¹⁵ Hugh Broughton, *An Apologie to My Lorde Treasurer: Touching a Speach Vttered Vnto His Lordship by My Lord of C.* (Middelburg, 1597), sig. 2r.

²¹⁶ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 69, no. 38.

²¹⁷ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 68, no. 27.

had already been made.²¹⁸ There is no evidence for what constituted this private comment, though Broughton judged it to be in his favour, an evaluation which is impossible to verify but unlikely given that the very next year he returned again in fear to Germany, and decided to stay there until the Queen had announced the arbitration (Broughton would end up remaining on the continent until Elizabeth died).²¹⁹ By December 1592 there was still no report and no public acknowledgement that Broughton's chronology was doctrinally safe: Broughton was by this stage writing despairing letters, such as the one addressed to the Vice-Chancellor and governors of Oxford begging for a 'publique testimonie which might be knowne ouer the Realm.'²²⁰ In the same month Broughton had a brass engraving made (at significant personal expense) summarising the timeline of the *Concent*, and dedicated this to another old patron, Robert Devereux, the 2nd Earl of Essex, whom Broughton had once tutored in Greek and theology at Cambridge.²²¹ No doubt Broughton was hoping to lean on some of the powerful friends he had made as a young man in 1570s Cambridge.

Despite these efforts, however, by 1594 there was still no word on the determination of the controversy, as can be seen from works such as the 1594 *Sundry workes, defending the certayntie of the holy Chronicle*, which was a collection of reprints of various publications relating to the controversy. Moreover, 1594 saw the publication of the work which followed directly on from his *Textes of Scripture: A Seder Olam* was a record of all the controversial points of chronology which if 'these poyntes being

²¹⁸ Broughton, *An Epistle Sent Vnto the Archb. of C. and D. Elmer Then B. of London*, sig. *4v; Broughton, Hugh. *To the Most High and Mightie Prince Elizabeth*, sig. *2v.

²¹⁹ Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, sig. H2.

²²⁰ Hugh Broughton, *To the worshipfull and learned, the vicechauncelour, and others the gouernours of learning-houses in the Vniuersitie of Oxeford* (London, 1592), written on the basis of internal evidence after December 20/30 1592.

²²¹ Hugh Broughton, *To the Right Honorable, Robert Earle of Essex Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter: Moses on Mount Synai (right Honorable) Had a Reuelation of God* (London, 1592); The engraving cost Broughton nearly 100 marks, see Lightfoot, 'Preface', sig. B2r.

cleered, all stryfe ceaseth.²²² In this work more than anything previously Broughton made explicit his belief that a close focus on the grammar, syntax and lexicon of the Hebrew Bible could solve problems of chronology and provide a key to world history: the minuscule details of the proof-texts pertaining to each problem were broken down and analysed until Broughton could triumphantly announce that they had each been cleared.²²³ Evidently nothing Rainolds, Crooke or anyone had written had dissuaded Broughton from his confidence in the ‘doctrina Beroaldina’.

By this point, however, Broughton’s attentions were turning elsewhere. Specifically, the interest in translation lingering beneath his previous publications had developed such that in 1593 Broughton declared the need for a new English Bible, claiming that he knew the idea had been present in high circles for some time, and he himself was willing to take charge of the matter along with five other men.²²⁴ The chronological origins of his interest are clear even in this brief letter: the Bible Broughton proposed to Cecil here was a book propped up by various apparatuses, including ‘tables of chronicles.’ The consequences of this turn in Broughton’s interest will be discussed in later chapters, as will the post-1595 developments in the *Concent* controversy, which continued to simmer throughout the rest of Broughton’s life.²²⁵ To conclude, however, it is worth recapping some of the concerns of this one.

Broughton’s reasons for writing the *Concent* are not clear, and his self-professed explanations range from desiring to calm anxieties in the Church of England raised by Scaliger’s 1583 *De emendatione temporum* to wishing to correct the chronological errors he

²²² Broughton, *A Seder Olam*, sig. A1r

²²³ See e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 8-11 for a good example.

²²⁴ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 75, no. 4.

²²⁵ See Chapter 3.

believed were a danger to the faith.²²⁶ Other aspects of the work's composition, however, are more apparent: Broughton evidently intended his chronology to have a strong confessional (Protestant) affiliation and signalled this in many different ways, from the scripturalism that underwrote the *Concent's* methodology to its incessant typological correspondences to its anti-papal rhetoric and abundant Pope-Antichrist comparisons. It is no surprise then that these features identify the work to modern eyes as a product of a particular type of Reformed theology characteristic of this period: indeed, the *Concent* is one of the bases of modern historians' identification of Broughton as a godly, 'hot Protestant' or, in an older terminology, 'puritan' scholar.²²⁷ Yet it was not these overt markers of confession that had much effect in late sixteenth-century England, but rather the more specialised, philological and chronological scholarship that formed the bulk of the work: namely, Broughton's re-translation of several Hebrew constructions in key chronological verses to shorten the duration of the Persian monarchy. The result of this scholarship, which might at first seem to us like an innocuous, purely 'scholarly' revision of Middle Eastern history, appeared dangerous to Rainolds because of how it intersected with more manifestly theological causes, such as the composition of the canon and the validity of post-mortem intercessions. It was the abstruse scholarly detail and not the more obvious traits of confession that Broughton's contemporaries noticed and used to denounce him as the Protestant Androgeos, no matter how loudly he denounced the Pope.

²²⁶ Hugh Broughton, *Sundry workes, defending the certayntie of the holy Chronicle* (London, 1594), sig. Lv, idem, *An Apologie to My Lorde Treasurer*, sigs. A3v-A4r; idem, *A require of agreement to the groundes of divinitie studie* (Middelburg, 1611), sig. Nr.

²²⁷ For such identifications see Anthony Milton, 'Puritanism and the continental Reformed churches', in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. John Coffey and Paul Lim (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 109-126, (p. 112); John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes Towards Reason, Learning and Education* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 288; Lesley Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620* (Chicago, 1997), p. 83; Popper, *Walter Raleigh*, p. 81; Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, ix, p. 55, p. 62, p. 165; idem, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1982), p. 23, p. 320.

Such case studies as this not only reveal the extent to which the reception of works of seemingly specialised scholarship, such as chronology, was determined by the current state of confessional controversy, but also reveal that Protestants of this period had very different notions about the role scholarship should play within such controversy. The clash between Rainolds and Broughton was, after all, in part caused by the fact that they both had fundamentally different ideas about what a faithful Protestant should consider when writing any work of historical or philological import. For Broughton, any specific arguments about historical or philological matters were justified if written to defend more general beliefs such as those of Reformed scripturalism or the papal Antichrist. For Rainolds however, a more practical consideration of current Catholic-Protestant theological controversies was necessary to ensure that no aspect of a Protestant work could accidentally lend support to Catholic arguments. Moreover, it was thanks to the disjunction between these two ideals that one of the most strongly anti-papal chronologies of the period could be bitterly attacked by theologians as dangerously Catholic, and its supposedly 'hot Protestant' author forced into exile as a result.

PART TWO: THE ENGLISH BIBLE

2. From Chronology to Genealogy: A Reading Aid for the English Bible

i. Overview

As ferocious as it was, the debate over the *Concent* was not Broughton's first brush with controversy. Rather, by the time of its outburst, Broughton had already been compelled to press upon his patrons for assistance in extricating him from some tricky situations in Cambridge. The first occurred as early as 1570-72, when Broughton, having accepted a fellowship at St John's after convincing his patrons to sway the election in his favour, abandoned the college to take up the Greek lectureship bestowed upon Christ's by Sir Walter Mildmay, sending at least one of his St John's supporters into a rage.²²⁸ The second was more significant: sometime after being collated as a prebendary of Durham in November 1578, Broughton was threatened with having his Christ's fellowship stripped from him on the basis that he had contravened its conditions.²²⁹ Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, who had been tutored by Broughton, tried to prevent the loss of the fellowship, but it took the intervention in 1581 of Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon (who had funded Broughton's undergraduate studies), the bishop of Durham (Richard Barnes) and indeed William Cecil himself (as Chancellor), to reinstate him to the college against the will of no less than Vice-Chancellor John Hatcher and

²²⁸ See the account in the dedicatory epistle of Broughton, *A seder olam*, sigs. C3v-C4v.

²²⁹ Broughton's letter to Cecil asking for support survives in London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 29, no. 49 dated March 15th 1579. It is not exactly clear which conditions Broughton contravened. G. Lloyd Jones, 'Hugh Broughton (1549–1612)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101003585/Hugh-Broughton>> Accessed 10 February 2015.

Edward Hawford, Master of Christ's.²³⁰ While Cecil and others intervened in the Cambridge crisis willingly and effectively, the eruption of yet another dispute only seven years later was probably unwelcome for all concerned.

It was likely partly because of the lingering unpleasantness at Cambridge that Broughton never returned to the university after about 1580, even although he still technically held the King Edward VI fellowship, which was only released upon his death in 1612.²³¹ Instead, he devoted himself to the private tutoring of the sons of the draper William Cotton in London, writing for them quirky Hebrew lexicons and other idiosyncratic learning aids: one such son, Roger Cotton, was even so inspired by his tutor's lessons that he published a pamphlet based upon them.²³² While inconvenient for Broughton and irritating for his patrons, this period in London from the 1580s until the early 1590s would nevertheless prove to be very valuable, as it was during this time that Broughton would produce his best-known and, in some ways, most successful work: the genealogical diagrams later prefixed to the AV.

These diagrams have not enjoyed much critical press. Their attribution to Broughton, along with the cartographer John Speed whom he met in London, has long been known thanks to Lightfoot. Lightfoot recorded that Broughton's difficult

²³⁰ For Robert Devereux as Broughton's pupil and supporter, see the 'Conclusion Dedicatory' in Hugh Broughton, *To the right honorable, Robert Earle of Essex*; H. E. Malden, 'Devereux papers, with Richard Broughton's memoranda (1575-1601)', *Camden Third Series*, 34 (1924), 1-36 (pp. 20-21); London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 28, fol. 132r. For an overview of the controversy, and printed copies of two relevant letters, see John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, (London, 1825) ii.612-614; 'Appendix of Original Papers', no. 23 p. 135; no. 24 p. 136. John Peile argues that Broughton was actually never reinstated: Peile, *Biographical register of Christ's College, 1505-1905: and of the earlier foundation, God's House, 1448-1505*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1910), p. 94.

²³¹ Bryan W. Ball, 'Joseph Mede (1586-16389)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison < <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18465> > [accessed 17 October 2016]

²³² Lightfoot, 'Preface', in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, sig. Br; Roger Cotton, *A direction to the Waters of hyfe* (London, 1590). For Broughton's influence on another of William Cotton's sons, see Simon Healy, 'COTTON, Rowland (1581-1634)', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629*, ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris < <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/cotton-rowland-1581-1634> > [accessed 28 June 2017].

relationship with the mainstream English ecclesiastical establishment, along with his omission from the AV translation committees, meant that they had to be published under Speed's name alone.²³³ More recently, in the wake of the AV's quatercentenary, there has been a tentative awakening of interest in the genealogies, but these studies have rarely moved beyond description.²³⁴ As such, while few today would agree with A. W. Pollard's claim that the genealogies were 'decoratively printed but useless' creations, there is still not much concrete evidence, even over a century later, as to what else they might be, and even less to suggest how Speed and Broughton collaborated to produce them.²³⁵

There are two related reasons why little progress has been made. The first is because the AV genealogies have been studied too much in purely visual and impressionistic terms, as if their sole significance is as material and typographic artefacts. This is in fact not the case: the genealogies not only contained significant intellectual content which was easily accessible to contemporary readers, but were also far from neutral or nonpartisan illustrations. Instead, they presented a highly visible intervention into a longstanding and contested scholarly problem.²³⁶ The second reason is that, in the case of these genealogies, the context from which their argument derives is continental and involves consideration of seemingly esoteric, technical problems and practices which are not commonly considered in relation to vernacular translation. It is only by engaging

²³³ John Lightfoot, 'Preface', in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, sigs. A1v-A2r.

²³⁴ Katrin Ettenhuber, '“A comely gate to so rich and glorious a citie”: The Paratextual Architecture of the Rheims New Testament and the King James Bible', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530-1700*, pp. 54-70, (pp. 60-66); Lori Anne Ferrell, 'Page Techne', pp. 116-123; Katherine Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric and early modern English literature* (Surrey, 2013), pp. 53-56; Joan Taylor, 'John Speed's "Canaan" and British Travel to Palestine: A Journey with Maps', in *The King James version at 400: assessing its genius as Bible translation and its literary influence*, ed. David Burke, John Kutsko, Philip and Towner (Atlanta, 2013), pp. 103-120 (pp. 104-6).

²³⁵ A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible: the documents relating to the translation and publication of the Bible in English, 1525-1611* (London, 1911), p. 63.

²³⁶ The idea of reading such artefacts as 'visual arguments' has been pioneered for scientific illustrations: see Sachiko Kusukawa, *Picturing the book of nature* (London, 2012).

with such fields on their own terms that any sense can be made of the diagrams' intellectual content.

The aim of this chapter, therefore, is not just to examine the development of Broughton's genealogical scholarship, but also to establish answers to some fundamental questions about the final diagrams as appeared in the AV. These include questions about their purpose and significance; their sources; their relationship to contemporary scholarship; the existence of manuscript drafts and finally the nature of the collaboration between Speed and Broughton that produced them. By studying such questions seriously I hope to demonstrate that, far from being purely ornamental or incidental, Broughton's genealogical work was a fusion of secular and sacred scholarship with significant implications for the relationship between the learned culture that produced them and the lay readership for which they were designed. In order to understand this, however, it is necessary first to establish some of the basic problems and parameters of early modern studies of biblical genealogy, as well as how Broughton first came to be engaged with the subject.

ii. The Intellectual Background: Harmonising Christ's Parentage

One of the most urgent questions within the study of biblical genealogy concerned the resolution of a crucial incoherence: the contradictory accounts of Christ's parentage given in Matt. 1.1-16 and Luke 3.23-38. Both Evangelists drew Christ through his father, Joseph, but otherwise they not only made him descend from two different sons of David (Nathan in Luke, Solomon in Matthew) but even from entirely different grandfathers and great-grandfathers (Eli and Matthat in Luke, and Jacob and Matthan in Matthew). The problem was devastating, for so long as the genealogy of Christ remained doubtful so too did his messianic status, as without proof of descent through the family of Abraham

and royal line of David, Jesus could not be said to have fulfilled biblical prophecy about the awaited Messiah.²³⁷

Unsurprisingly, much Christian effort was poured into harmonisation of these genealogies.²³⁸ From the earliest days of Christianity until the medieval period such harmonisation was bound up chiefly in pagan-Christian and Jewish-Christian polemic, and developed through staged debates, missionary efforts and other related activities. And while some of this conversionary context persisted through to the sixteenth century, especially through the circulation of medieval Jewish refutations of Christianity such as the *Sefer Nizzahon*, by this time the study of biblical genealogy had established itself primarily as a sub-discipline of the pursuit discussed in the previous chapter:

chronology.²³⁹

The connection between biblical genealogy and chronology was deeply entrenched: harmonising the contrary numbers of generations in Matthew and Luke, which overlapped from Abraham to Christ, was essential to create any coherent account of the years. Conversely any chronological manipulations of the succession of the Davidic line would have ramifications for the harmonised genealogy of Christ. The connection was, moreover, reinforced by the fact that one of the period's best-known

²³⁷ Most early modern scholars thought these genealogies' purpose was to prove Jesus fulfilled messianic prophecy: see Cumannus Flinspachius, *Genealogiae Christi et omnium populorum tabulae* (Basel, 1567), pp. 11-12, 15-16; Martin Chemnitz, *Harmonia evangelica* (Frankfurt, 1593), p. 107. See generally, Marshall Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies: With Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (Cambridge, 1988).

²³⁸ As Eusebius said, in Hanmer's translation, 'euery one of the faythfull throughe their ignoraunce in the trueth' has had to 'endeuour to commente on those places' in Matthew and Luke where they 'haue diuersly deliuered unto us the genealogie of Christ.' *The auncient ecclesiasticall histories of the first six hundred yeares after Christ: wrytten in the Greeke tongue by three learned historiographers, Eusebius, Socrates, and Euagrius*, ed. and trans. Meredith Hanmer (London, 1577), p. 10.

²³⁹ For the circulation of medieval Jewish polemics among early-modern Christians see Stephen Burnett, 'Spokesmen for Judaism: Medieval Jewish Polemicists and their Christian Readers in the Reformation Era', in *Reuchlin und seine Erben: Forscher, Denker, Ideologen und Spinner*, ed. Peter Schäfer and Irina Wandrey (Ostfildern, 2005), pp. 41-51; William Horbury, 'The Basle Nizzahon', in *Jews and Christians in contact and controversy*, ed. William Horbury (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 244-262.

chronological sources also contained its most influential attempt at genealogical harmonisation. Appended to Annius of Viterbo's infamous and often-cited forged work of Philo, *Breviarium de temporibus*, was a lengthy commentary with an explicitly stated purpose: to counter the objections Jews and pagans set against Christ's lineage.²⁴⁰ Annius's solution was both original and (relatively) simple. Based on the suggestion that Eli, grandfather of Christ according to Luke, was an abbreviated form of the name 'Eliachim', which itself was a variant of 'Joachim', the name of Mary's father according to the (apocryphal) Protoevangelium of James, Annius proposed that Matthew and Luke gave different accounts of Christ's parentage because they each followed a different parent.²⁴¹ Matthew gave the descent of Joseph from David via Solomon; and Luke gave the descent of Mary from David via Nathan (henceforth referred to as the 'Marian-Lucan' solution).

Around this basic division, Annius created a complicated account of how the lines of dynastic inheritance and physical progeny split across the Gospels. To ensure that Jesus inherited the throne of David through Mary (since Joseph was not technically Christ's father), Annius contended that the Davidic line of Solomon as traced in Matthew ended at Ochozias (also called Joachaz, son of Joram), after whom the line of succession diverged to the offspring of Nathan (David's other son), as traced in Luke.²⁴² To cope with this abrupt end of the blood-line in Matthew, Annius used an intricate system of bi- and trinomials which meant that after this point the two gospel genealogies

²⁴⁰ For the reception and influence of Annius see R. T. John, 'Fictive Ancient History and National Consciousness in Early Modern Europe: The Influence of Annius of Viterbo's *Antiquitates*' (unpublished PhD dissertation: Warburg Institute, 1994), p. 19; Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (London, 1990), pp. 100-123; C. R. Ligota, 'Annus of Viterbo and Historical Method' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987), 44-56; Walter Stephens, 'From Berossos to Berosus Chaldeus: The Forgeries of Annius of Viterbo and Their Fortune', in *The World of Berossos*, ed. Johannes Haubold, Giovanni B. Lanfranchi, Robert Rollinger, and John Steele (Wiesbaden, 2013), pp. 277-289.

²⁴¹ Annius of Viterbo, *Commentaria super opera diuersorum auctorum de antiquitatibus loquentium confecta* (Rome, 1498), sig. H5r.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, sigs. G4v-Hr.

actually represented the same descent until Zorobabel, after whom Matthew's genealogy followed the line of his one son Abiud to give the lineage of Joseph, while Luke's genealogy followed his other son Rhesa to give the lineage of Mary.²⁴³ The only potential objection to such an account - if Luke reported Mary's descent why was Joseph mentioned in her place? - could be quickly demolished by patristic testimony. Jewish genealogies were patrilineal, and so, to command the respect of Jewish readers, Mary had to be named through reference to her husband.²⁴⁴

Despite its complexity to modern eyes, the Marian-Lucan solution as found in Annianus' commentary was rapidly integrated into a diverse range of scholarship. Aspects of it appeared everywhere from the exercise in Hebrew pronunciation at the beginning of Reuchlin's Hebrew grammar (which consisted of the Annian genealogy of Mary) to Erasmus's New Testament annotations, to the popular mid-sixteenth century chronological treatise by Giovanni Maria Tolosani, printed under the pseudonym Johannes Lucidus.²⁴⁵ Furthermore, Annianus's solution benefited from the fact that the basic etymological connection between Eli and Joachim which facilitated it was also evidenced by the 'ancient' 'rabbinic' texts published in 1487/8 by Paulus de Heredia, a converted Aragonese Jew.²⁴⁶ Though also forged, these texts were less well-known and therefore less doubted, respectable enough to be used by more discerning scholars. By the mid-late sixteenth century the Marian-Lucan solution in its most essential form had

²⁴³ Ibid., sigs. Hv-H8r.

²⁴⁴ See, e.g., the testimony in *Ioannis Chrysostomi...in...Evangelium secundum Matthaeum commentarii...opus perfectum*, ed. Anianus Celedensis (Paris, 1545), fol. 10v.

²⁴⁵ Johannes Reuchlin, *De rudimentis Hebraicis* (Pforzheim, 1506), pp. 19-20; Desiderius Erasmus, *Novum Instrumentum omne...cum Annotationibus* (Basel, 1516), pp. 325-327; Johannes Lucidus, *Opusculum de emendationibus temporum* (Venice, 1546), fols. 50r-52v. Given that the author of this work has traditionally been referred to as 'Johannes Lucidus' even since the discovery of his identity, I will use the pseudonym throughout this thesis.

²⁴⁶ Paulus de Heredia, *The Epistle of Secrets*, ed. and trans. J. Coakley and Rodney Dennis (Oxford, 1998), p. 14; p. 34. Note that some scholars, such as Isaac Casaubon, did suspect the forgery: see Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *"I have always loved the holy tongue": Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a forgotten chapter in Renaissance scholarship* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011), pp. 39-42.

become a commonplace of continental scholarship, and refinements and revisions of it were attempted by many figures including major reformers such as Calvin and Luther.²⁴⁷

A few of these figures, such as Luther, had first been drawn into the study of genealogy through Jewish-Christian debate. Many more, however, had come to it through chronology. Accordingly, it was in preparing the *Concent* that Broughton began to engage seriously with the field of biblical genealogy. The first edition of Broughton's *Concent* contained a page-long digression on Christ's lineage, presenting Broughton's harmonisation as well as explanations for trickier parts of the genealogy.²⁴⁸ The second edition (1590) provided even more detail, expanding the 1588/9 comments with discussions of the classical precedents for the ambiguous use of kin terms, as well as connections to Old Testament prophecy.²⁴⁹ All in all, the digressions show that from 1588-1590 Broughton was increasingly preoccupied by biblical genealogy and had already at this point settled on the solution that would later be enshrined, under Speed's name, in the AV genealogies.

In many ways, this solution was not very original. Broughton had read Lucidus's *Opusculum de emendationibus temporum*, which provided him with a summary of Annianus's solution, handily packaged in tabular form and supported with the 'rabbinic' testimony from de Heredia.²⁵⁰ He accepted, like most of his contemporaries, the broad outline of the Marian-Lucan harmonisation this represented, but he did take issue with one aspect of it: the ending of Solomon's line in Ochozias, which was not only contradicted by the

²⁴⁷ See, e.g. Petrus Galatinus, *Opus...de arcanis Catholicae veritatis* (Ortona, 1518), fols. 213v-216r; Andreas Osiander, *In euangelium secundum Mathaeum, Marcum, et Lucam commentarii ex ecclesiasticis scriptoribus collecti* (Geneva, 1553), fol. 2r, 246r; Martin Luther, 'Von Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi', in *The Jew in Christian theology: Martin Luther's anti-Jewish Vom Schem Hamphoras, previously unpublished in English, and other milestones in church doctrine concerning Judaism*, ed. and trans. G. Falk (Jefferson, NC, 1992), p. 191, §83-85; John Calvin, *Harmonia ex tribus Euangelistis composita* (Geneva, 1555), p. 24.

²⁴⁸ Broughton, *Concent* (1588/9), sig. Cv.

²⁴⁹ Idem., *Concent* (1590), sig. D.

²⁵⁰ Lucidus, *Opusculum*, fols. 50v-52r. For evidence Broughton read Lucidus, see Broughton, *A defence of the holy Genealogies* (London, 1595), sigs. Cv-C4r.

many biblical places that referred to existence of Ochozias's biological son, Joas, but also sat uneasily with the prophecy of Jer. 22.24 that Solomon's house would end at 'Choniah'.²⁵¹ Lucidus, following Anniius, had given Ochozias a second name to enable him to fulfil this prophecy, but without this binomial the prophesised 'Choniah' more naturally seemed to signify Jechoniah several generations later. Citing both Jeremiah and the existence of Joas as evidence against Anniius, Broughton argued that the particular circumstances around the captivity of Jechoniah had forced Solomon's line of inheritance to cede to his brother, Nathan. Manipulating the flexibility of the Hebrew words for 'brother' and 'son', Broughton explained how after Jechoniah was dethroned by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and kept in captivity, Zedekiah his uncle was made his successor. Therefore, when Zedekiah died before Jechoniah's release from prison, Jechoniah, being childless and imprisoned without his wife by necessity 'declared Salathiel [next of Nathan's line] his heyre'.²⁵²

Much of this detail was not Broughton's own but originated rather in his major intellectual model, which we came across in chapter 1: Bérolalde's 1575 *Chronicum scripturae sacrae auctoritate constitutum*. While Bérolalde had not explicitly framed his arguments as a harmonisation of Christ's genealogy, his criticism of Anniius in this work (specifically of his ending of Solomon's house in Ochozias) and his analysis of the true end of Solomon's line in Jechoniah had clear repercussions for the Marian-Lucan solution.²⁵³ Broughton's analysis in the *Concent*, even the 1590 version, did little more than develop these repercussions: in this solution, Matthew's genealogy represented not direct blood descent but rather the line of dynastic succession, tracing the transmission of the title of King of the Jews to prove that Jesus inherited it through Joseph. Since this succession switched to the posterity of Nathan after Salathiel, in physical terms Matthew's genealogy

²⁵¹ Broughton, *Concent* (1590), sig. D.

²⁵² Ibid., sig. Dr.

²⁵³ Bérolalde, *Chronicum*, pp. 130-131; pp. 146-147.

was composed of two bloodlines. Luke alone therefore gave the natural genealogy of Christ through Mary, and as in Annius this made Mary and Joseph distant relations through Zorobabel, Mary being descendent of his son Rhesa and Joseph of his other son Abiud.

Much of this work so far, it must be admitted, is rather abstruse, entangled in chronological problems regarding Old Testament dynasties, and seems far removed from issues relating to the English Bible. However, connections between the two fields appear when we move beyond the abstract harmonisations as presented in the *Concent's* printed texts and examine instead what was going on behind the scenes. It has already been mentioned how the changes between these two printed editions of the *Concent* testify to Broughton's growing interest in biblical genealogy as a subject in its own right. According to Lightfoot, at this point Broughton was already working with John Speed to gather 'all the *Genealogies* of the *Bible* into *one View*' and publish them.²⁵⁴ Lightfoot's comments can be corroborated: Speed first published the genealogies in their AV format in 1592, and so it must have been from 1588-1592 that the two men collaborated to produce the genealogical diagrams later featured in the AV.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ Lightfoot, 'Preface' in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, sig. Av; A2v.

²⁵⁵ The 1592 date for Speed's *Genealogies Recorded in the Sacred Scriptures* comes from his ODNB article, but I have not found a physical copy to confirm it (Sarah Bendall, 'John Speed (1551/2–1629)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101026095/John-Speed>> [accessed 10 February 2015]). The work must have been published by 1595, when Broughton published an index for it, and a page-long distillation of his solution. An early publication date seems likely, since from approximately 1591 Broughton was rarely in England and, as Speed lacked the skills to harmonise the biblical genealogies himself, the project was probably nearly or entirely complete by Broughton's departure. These 1592 diagrams must have been very similar to the AV diagrams, as the 1595 index Broughton published for them presumes roughly the same diagrammatic structure and content as the 1616 index Speed published for the AV diagrams. Hugh Broughton, *A direction to finde all those names expressed in that large table of genealogies of Scripture lately gathered by I.S.* (London, 1595); idem, *Our Lord His Line of Fathers from Adam: And His Predecessours in the Kingdome from Salomon to Iechonias, in Whome Ended the House: and from Abiud to Ioseph the Husband of Marie: with Fit Notation of Their Names* (London, 1595); John Speed, *An alphabetical table serving for the readie finding of any name contained in the Genealogies prefixed before the Bibles of the new Translation* (London, 1616).

It was probably during this period that Broughton explored alternative solutions to the genealogical contradiction, reading Lucidus and Béroalde as well as dealing with the problems presented by other parts of Christ's genealogy. Unfortunately there are no drafts from this time: Lightfoot claims that Broughton left his manuscripts from this early period with Speed who 'burnt them all' for unknown reasons.²⁵⁶ Even if Lightfoot's account is true, the subsequent history of Speed's genealogical publications suggests that some of this evidence has survived. Speed profited tremendously from the financial success of the genealogies, which were not only required by royal privilege to be printed with every AV edition from 1611 to 1624 but also printed as standalone volumes, running through at least 33 editions before 1640.²⁵⁷ Indeed, so popular were the genealogies that after Speed's death the patent was fought over by the Stationers' Company and Speed's heirs: Dr John Speed (Junior) eventually sold it to the Company in 1638 for the substantial sum of £600.²⁵⁸

This success prompted Speed to produce several spin-off works for profit and prestige, including the 1616 *A clowd of witnesses* as well as a 1617 manuscript tract presented to Bishop of Winchester James Montague entitled *JESUS of Nazareth, king of ye Jewes*.²⁵⁹ These works are clearly not composed by Speed: not only do they use languages that Speed could not read, they even contain direct quotations, sometimes

²⁵⁶ Lightfoot, 'Preface' in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, sig. A2r.

²⁵⁷ Martha Driver, 'Mapping Chaucer: John Speed and the Later Portraits', *The Chaucer Review*, 36 (2002), 228-249 (p. 241); The first license was issued in 1610 for ten years; the second in 1617 for seven years; *Calendar of state papers, domestic series, of the reign of James I*, ed. M. A. Everett Green, 5 vols (London: 1857-1872), I: 1603-1610 (1857), p. 639; II: 1611-1618 (1858), p. 431.

²⁵⁸ Raleigh Skelton, 'Bibliographical Note' in *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World. London, 1627*, ed. Raleigh Skelton (Amsterdam, 1966), pp. viii. Speed's ODNB entry gives the sum as '£700', but given that Bendall cites this from Skelton, who states the sum as '£600', I assume the ODNB sum is in error.

²⁵⁹ John Speed, *A clowd of witnesses: and they the holy genealogies of the sacred Scriptures* (London, 1616); London, British Library, MS Egerton 2255.

pages long, from Broughton's published works and manuscript drafts.²⁶⁰ They also contain material that does not appear in any of Broughton's published or unpublished writings but which Speed still could not have produced himself, and which often expand Broughton's own arguments. It seems likely that these works were composed from the papers that Broughton left with Speed when he fled England during the *Concent* controversy, which Speed then polished in style, moderated in tone and published under his own name. While it is doubtful that Speed would burn the manuscripts purely to conceal evidence of his intellectual debts (certainly after the *Concent* controversy association with Broughton was generally undesirable), it seems that he did at least make use of them before their destruction. These later works, therefore, contain valuable evidence relating to the early collaboration of the two men from 1588-1592. Most importantly, they contain the only surviving evidence of their response to a crucial historic solution to the genealogical conflict. This was the solution that, before Annianus promulgated the Marian-Lucan solution across the continent, had received near-unanimous acceptance for well over a millennium.

This solution came from Julius Africanus' (c.160 – c.240) letter to Aristides, preserved in Eusebius' c.323/324 *Historia Ecclesiastica*.²⁶¹ It was so influential that even where it erred slightly, naming Melchi as Joseph's grandfather according to Luke instead of Matthat, later scholars would not correct it but rather quote Julius (unacknowledged,

²⁶⁰ Large parts of the 1616 *A clowd of witnesses*, for example, are taken from Broughton's works, linked with filler passages by Speed. For example, sigs. Br-B3v of *A Clowd of Witnesses* derives from Broughton's *Observations vpon the first ten fathers* (London, 1612); sigs. B4r-C2v is an outline of Broughton's *Concent*; sigs. C3r-Fr contains many of the major characteristics and phrasing of his *A letter to a friende, touching Mardochai his age* (London, 1590) and the section of the work most crucial for the analysis which follows below, sigs. G6v-K4v, is in patches identical to Broughton's *A defence of the holy genealogies* (London, 1595). Broughton's peculiar turns of phrase are taken verbatim (e.g. 'our countrey man *Lyra*, corrupted by study of malicious *Rabbines*' vs. '*Nicholas Lyra*, our Countrey-man, corrupted by study of malicious *Rabbins*' (Broughton, sig. C1r; Speed, sig. H2r) and '*Iohn Lucidus*, extreemely deceyued by a forged *Philo*' vs. '*Iohn Lucidus*, deceiued by a forged *Philo*' (Broughton, sig. C4r; Speed, sig. H2r), as is his criticism of previous genealogical solutions like Lucidus's.

²⁶¹ Hanmer (ed.), *The auncient ecclesiasticall histories*, pp. 10-12.

error withstanding) verbatim.²⁶² The solution harmonised the genealogies using the law of Levirate marriage from Deut. 25.5-6, which stated that if one of two brothers should die childless, his living brother would be legally compelled to impregnate his widow to produce a child that, though physically of the living brother, would be legally of the dead. Accordingly Joseph's grandfathers, whom Julius listed as Matthan and Melchi (the error mentioned above), married in succession the same woman, Estha. Thus their two children, Eli by Melchi and Jacob by Matthan, were uterine brothers. So, when Eli married but died childless, Jacob was compelled by Levirate law to marry Eli's widow and produce a child that was physically his but legally his brother's. Thus Luke gave Joseph's legal descent and Matthew his physical descent: both true and both necessary to illustrate fully the pedigree of Christ.²⁶³

This kind of application of Jewish law to a New Testament problem was Broughton's speciality, and the response to it in Speed's *A Clowd* is a good example of an argument not found in Broughton's writings, but which Speed lacked the languages and knowledge to construct. This response used the Talmud to gather information about Levirate Marriage which could not be found in the Hebrew Bible; most crucially, it showed that the law in Deut. 25 only applied to brothers who shared the same father ('for brethren by the mothers side onely, no such *lawe* was either ordained, or practised'), as its *raison d'être* was to preserve lines of inheritance and only 'the son by the *man*, and not by the *woman*, euer succeeded in the inheritance.'²⁶⁴ Since the Levirate solution rested on the fact that '*Jacob and Eli are made brethren and twines of one venter by Estha*', this meant

²⁶² The majority of Church Fathers supported the Levirate solution, including Ambrose, Jerome, Eusebius, Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Pacatus, Andrew of Crete, Epiphanius Monachus, and even those who felt uneasy with the solution, such as Augustine, followed it in essence. Major medieval figures who supported it include Raymund Martini and Nicholas of Lyra, though Nicholas did correct the Melchi error. See Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla in totam Bibliam, postilla litteralis* (Strasbourg, 1492), p. 10.

²⁶³ Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 1.vii, PG.20.90B-95B.

²⁶⁴ Speed, *Clowd*, fol. 66r. See BT Baba Batra, fol. 8a.

that Eli and Jacob in fact lacked the requisite kin relation for Levirate marriage.²⁶⁵ The patristic solution, in other words, could not withstand the pressure from the greater sixteenth-century knowledge of post-biblical Judaism and Jewish practices. To a Hebraist like Broughton, it quickly became untenable.

Moreover, the response to the patristic harmonisation in *A Clowd* helps us to identify the trigger which turned Broughton's abstract, chronologically motivated harmonisation into a document specially designed for lay readership and the English Bible. The key to this trigger lies in the fact that the Levirate solution was so well-established that by the twelfth century it had found a stable visual form in the French theologian Peter of Poitiers' (Petrus Pictaviensis) *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*, which usually took the form of a large manuscript scroll tracing the genealogy from Adam until Christ. Using the medieval 'roundel and radiating lines' format of the *arbor consanguinitatis*, the *Compendium* was probably originally an educational aid.²⁶⁶ It was also, however, an immensely successful piece of scholarship, remaining popular well into the fifteenth century: over two hundred copies survive and it was translated into several vernaculars.²⁶⁷ Furthermore, it provided an innovative diagrammatic visualisation of Julius' Levirate solution, which knotted Luke and Matthew's genealogies together using

²⁶⁵ Ibid., fol. 64v.

²⁶⁶ Philip Moore, *The works of Peter of Poitiers, Master in Theology and Chancellor of Paris (1193-1205)* (Notre Dame, 1936); William Monroe, 'A Roll-Manuscript of Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 65.3 (1978), 92-107.

²⁶⁷ The Bodleian library, for instance, contains at least ten copies and the British Library at least 23. For more on the *Compendium*, see Andrea Worm, "Ista est Jerusalem". Intertextuality and Visual Exegesis in Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* and Werner Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum*', in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (Oxford, 2012), pp. 123-161; idem, 'Visualising the Order of History: Hugh of Saint Victor's *Chronicon* and Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium Historiae*', in *Romanesque and the Past: Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, ed. John McNeill and Richard Plant (Leeds, 2013), pp. 243-64; Melanie Holcomb, *Pen and Parchment: drawing in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2009), pp. 113-116; Anthony Grafton and Daniel Rosenberg, *Cartographies of Time* (New York, 2010), p. 31; Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 328-9; p. 452; F. Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), 82-142 (pp. 107-8).

an adaptation of Aristotle's Square of Opposition. This took the form of a saltire cross inside a rectangle which had as its corners four roundels containing Joseph's two fathers and grandfathers, and at its centre had Esta, the widow who joined them all together.²⁶⁸

Given the popularity of the *Compendium* it is not surprising to find Petrus' diagram of the Levirate solution repeated by medieval biblical scholars: it was, for instance, reproduced in some copies of Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla*.²⁶⁹ More surprisingly, however, Petrus' diagram, along with the patristic Levirate solution it represented, can also be found printed at the start of the Bishops' Bible. From its first edition in 1568, this Bible came with a prefix of eleven leaves of genealogical diagrams copied straight from Petrus' *Compendium* (not even the corrected version), thus representing every aspect of the patristic solution from the Melchi error to the Aristotelian visualisation of Levirate marriage (Fig. 1).²⁷⁰ Matthew Parker, who supervised the production of the Bishops' Bible, probably printed these diagrams straight from one of the medieval manuscripts in his collection, of which there are two viable candidates.²⁷¹

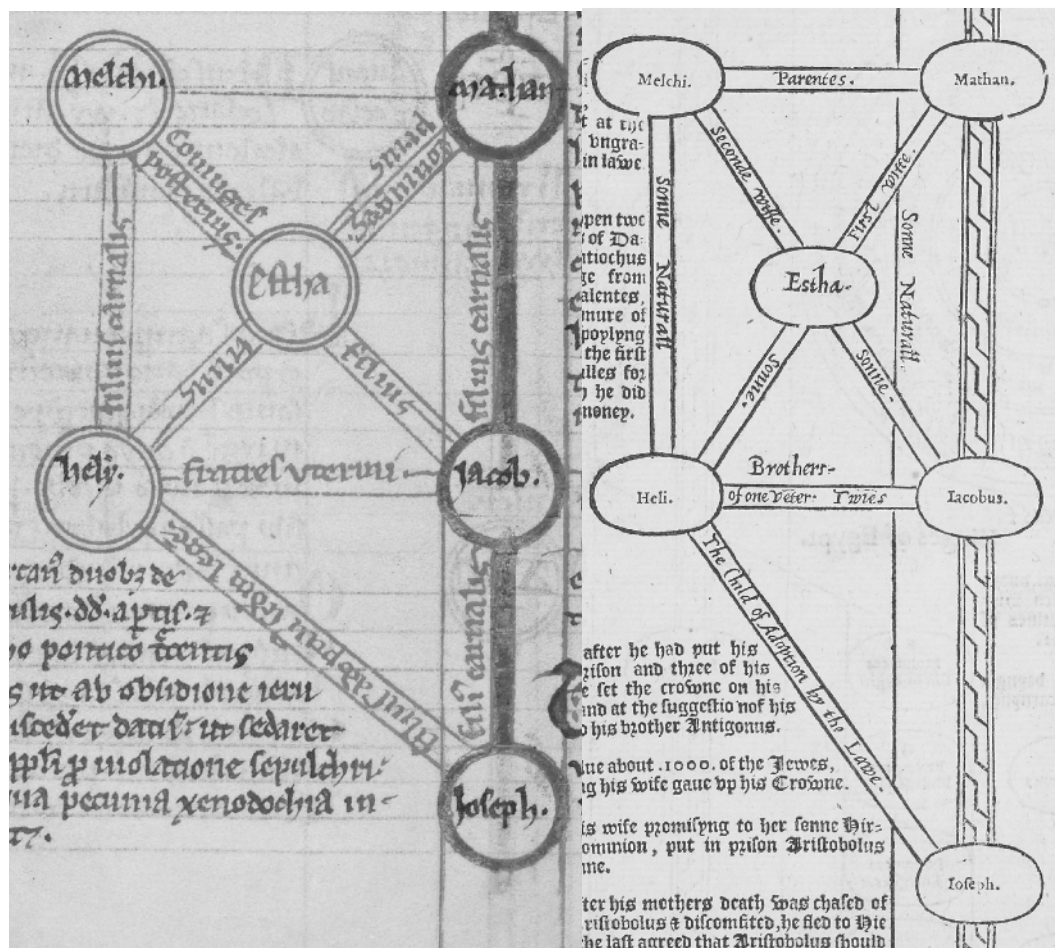
²⁶⁸ See the image in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D.4.10, fol. 592r (Fig. 1).

²⁶⁹ For instance, the diagram is in the copy of the *Postilla* in Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum, MS y1937-266 fol. 122r.

²⁷⁰ *The holie Bible conteynynge the olde Testament and the newe* [The Bishops' Bible] (London, 1568), sig. C7v.

²⁷¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 29, fols. vir-xir; MS 437, fols. 1r-6v.

Figure 1: The Aristotelian visualisation of Levirate Marriage found in Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*, as drawn in a c.1260 manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D.4.10, fol. 592r, left image) compared with the diagram of Levirate Marriage as published in the 1568 Bishops' Bible (sig. C7v, right hand image from Oxford, Bodleian Library, shelfmark Bib. Eng. 1568 b. 1).



For someone like Broughton, fresh from studying cutting-edge chronological and genealogical scholarship, it must have seemed painfully antiquated to have these centuries-old diagrams displayed in England's official Bible, especially when continental scholars had over sixty years ago left behind the patristic solution they represented. Indeed, this disapproval is recorded in *A Cloud*, which noted that Petrus' diagrams were 'in a Table once printed with the great Bible.'²⁷² It would appear that as Broughton's interest in biblical genealogy was growing, he was also realising that this was a topic in

²⁷² Speed, *Cloud*, fol. 64v.

which English vernacular scholarship lagged far behind its continental, Latin equivalents. Moreover, both he and Speed had seen that this ignorance was enshrined in the official English Bible in a diagram that was (literally) medieval.

Broughton believed that it was the duty of a good translator to intervene in these kinds of problems.²⁷³ But unlike the problems of translation in the English Bible (of which Broughton was also aware) the improvement of the genealogies would require more than an incisive philological intervention. Rather, because the problem manifested as nothing less than eleven pages of annotated diagrams, a compelling alternative would need to confront the issue on both sides: the intellectual (which Broughton had already established in his *Concent*) and the visual, a realm in which Broughton had no experience of working.

iii. The Visual Component: Drafting the Genealogical Diagrams

It has already been mentioned that Broughton was not working alone but rather with John Speed, at that time an obscure merchant tailor. Speed's inexperience in continental scholarship and lack of languages mean he could not have contributed to the harmonisation itself, but he did have other talents. Indeed, as Broughton became more dissatisfied with the Bishops' Bible's genealogical diagrams, he had in Speed a man unusually qualified to fashion a new visual form to replace them.

Speed is best known today for his county maps, his atlases, and his (derivative) historical works such as the *History of Great Britain* (1611).²⁷⁴ However, not much is known of Speed's life before 1598, when, under the patronage of Sir Fulke Greville, he was granted the financial security necessary to pursue his own projects. This moment is usually viewed as the beginning of Speed's historical and antiquarian interests, after

²⁷³ Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, pp. 17-23.

²⁷⁴ For Speed's reliance on Robert Cotton, see the letters he sent during the writing of the *History*, in *Original letters of eminent literary men*, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1843), pp. 108-112, originals in London, British Library, MS. Cotton Julius C. III, fols. 65-68.

which he was introduced to men such as William Camden and Robert Cotton and eventually became a member of the Society of Antiquaries.²⁷⁵

However, Speed must have been working on historical matters and reaching out to antiquarian circles long before he succeeded in entering them. By 1598 he had already collected enough important historical material to present to the Queen, and he dedicated his 1595 wall map of Canaan to William Cotton, a prebendary at St Paul's who happened to be a cousin and friend of Sir Robert Cotton (both of no relation to the aforementioned Cotton family whom Broughton tutored).²⁷⁶ Moreover, there is a suggestive letter from William Camden to the Flemish engraver Jodocus Hondius dated 27th April 1607, after the death of William Rogers left Speed's *Theatre* without an engraver. In it Camden recommended Speed to Hondius and asked the latter if he would take Rogers' place as engraver:

'In letters which you sent to me long ago, you mentioned that John Speed, a man who is among us the most industrious in Chorography, was toiling away at some new maps of British Counties, and that he was going to use you as the engraver. The man himself has now made this same thing known to me and shown me the aforementioned maps (which he will send to you) which are reasonably well drawn, and he pressed upon me at the same time that I might commend him to you.'²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ The best overview of Speed's life is in Skelton, 'Bibliographical Note', pp. v-xiii on which most of Speed's ODNB entry is based, and A. Baynton-Williams, *John Speed*, website, Map Forum, 1999, nos. 1-2, www.mapforum.com [accessed 10 January 2015].

²⁷⁶ John Speed, *Canaan as it was possessed both in Abraham and Israels dayes w[i]th with the stations and bordering nations* (London, 1595).

²⁷⁷ 'Literis, quas jampridem ad me dedisti, innuisti Joannem Speed, virum in Chronographicis [*sic* for Chorographicis?], apud nos summè industrium, novas tabulas Comitatum Angliae moliri: & te Sculptore usurum. Hoc idem jam ipse mihi significavit, & tabellas, quas tibi missurus est, sanè graphicè descriptas ostendit, simul ut ipsum tibi commendarem, obnixè rogavit.' *Camdeni et illustrium virorum epistolae*, ed. Thomas Smith (London, 1691), Letter LXII, pp. 87-88.

This makes it clear that not only did Hondius know Speed before 1607, but also that Hondius had ‘long ago’ contacted Camden about Speed and his work. Hondius was only in England from 1583-1593 when he sought religious asylum after the capture of Ghent; he likely met Speed while etching the plates for Broughton’s *Concent* in 1587, which Speed was helping prepare for the press.²⁷⁸ This letter suggests that Speed was already attempting to contact famous antiquarians through his existing connections before 1598.

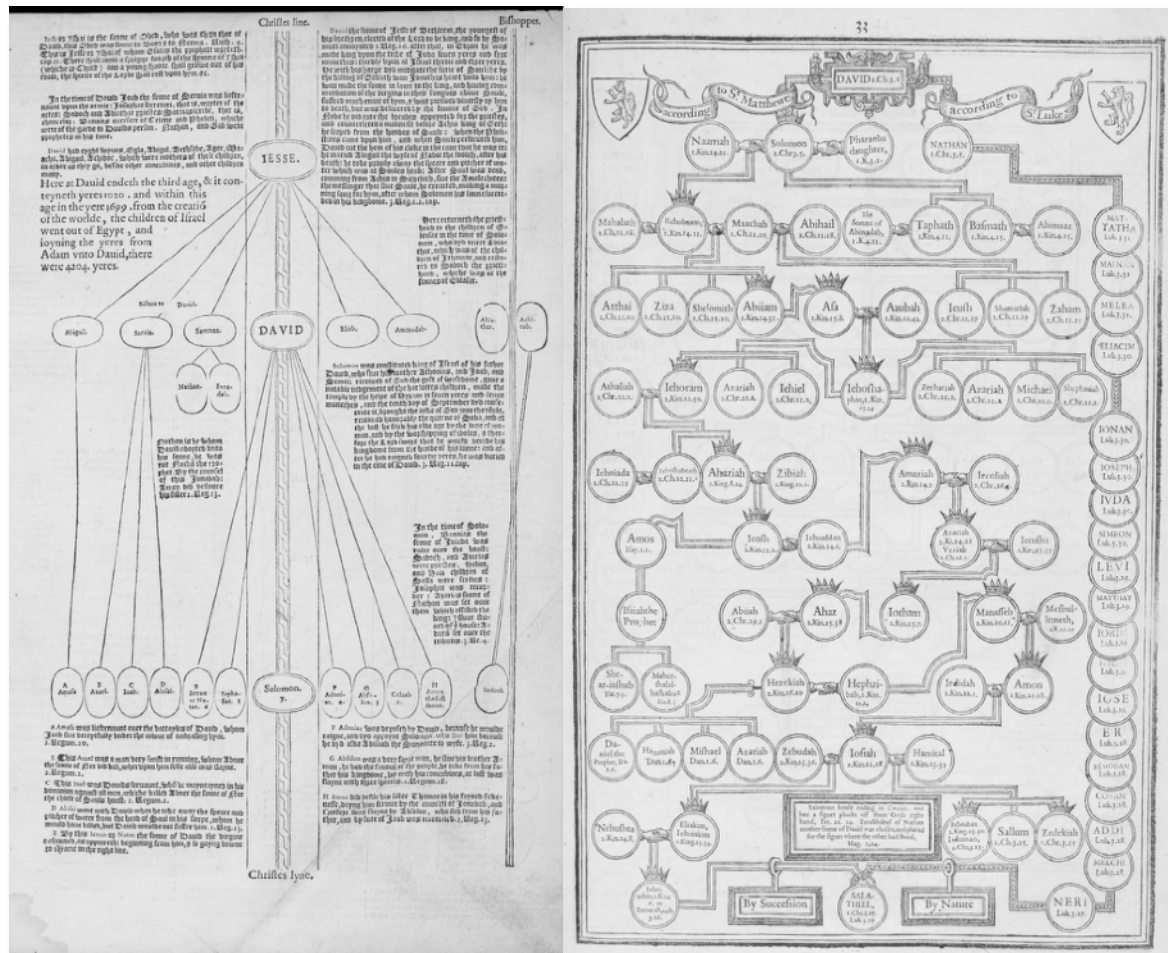
Moreover, Speed must have started exploiting these contacts for access to useful historical documents at an early date, gaining access to the information he needed to make his wall-map and also his portrait of Chaucer for Thomas Speght’s 1598 edition of the poet’s works. This portrait, full of heraldic arms and descent lines, attests to Speed’s early research into secular genealogy and ability to access the relevant archives.²⁷⁹ It is these interests in heraldry and antiquarianism that could explain the most striking visual difference between Bishops’ Bible’s stemmata and the final AV diagrams: the layout.

It is immediately noticeable that the AV genealogies employ the modern line-drop rectilinear format rather than the medieval ‘pied de gru’ roundel-and-radiating-lines format of the Bishops’ Bible’s twelfth-century schematics (Fig. 2). It is important to recognise how innovative this revamped format was: not only did it allow for a more copious genealogy to be represented on a single page, it also facilitated the representation of more intricate kin relations, reducing the need for the extensive commentary of the Bishops’ Bible/Petrus’ diagrams.

²⁷⁸ There is additional evidence for connection between Hondius and Speed before 1592 in the fact that Broughton’s *Moses on mount Synai* (London, 1592), ‘grauen in brasse’ by Hondius, appears to have been engraved from the manuscript draft in Speed’s hand in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 950, fols. 6v-7r.

²⁷⁹ *Workes of our ancient and learned English poet, Geffrey Chaucer*, ed. Thomas Speght (London, 1598), sig. Ar. On this portrait, see Driver, ‘Mapping Chaucer’, 228-249.

Figure 2. An illustration of the improvement offered by the rectilinear format, given through a comparison of the descent through David and Solomon from The Bishops' Bible (1568), sig. C5r (left image, from Oxford, Bodleian Library, shelfmark Bib. Eng. 1568 b. 1) and The King James Bible (1611), p. 33, (right image from Oxford, Bodleian Library, shelfmark Bib. Eng. 1611 b. 6)



This format was integral to Broughton and Speed's revision of the Bishops' Bible genealogies from the start. There are at least five extant manuscript drafts of the AV genealogies, in a mixture of Broughton and Speed's hands.²⁸⁰ Each represents the genealogies at a different stage of completion, and in each the distinctive rectilinear line-

²⁸⁰ London, British Library MS Harley 1525; Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS O. 5.53; Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 86 and London, Lambeth Palace, MS 766 all appear to be predominantly in Broughton's hand, and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 950 is predominantly in Speed's hand (i.e. the same hand as in MS Egerton 2255). I say 'predominantly' because there is some overlap; for example, Broughton wrote the Greek in MS Bodl. 950.

drop format is used. At least four of the manuscripts seem to represent successive drafts since they share key structural innovations and steadily smooth out the knottiest Old Testament genealogies. Indeed, by examining minor changes across these four manuscripts it is possible to order them and see the diagrams brought closer to the final form of the AV genealogies, from the mostly incomplete structures in Harley 1525 to the fuller but disjointed structures in O.5.53 and Add. 86; to the beautifully drawn, integrated genealogies of Bodley 950, similar in content and layout to the AV diagrams.²⁸¹ Lambeth Palace MS 766, also close but not identical in format and content to the AV genealogies, appears to be a separate presentation copy of the genealogies, probably for one of Broughton's patrons such as Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon.

It seems then that when Broughton and Speed began to revamp the diagrams they decided not to update Petrus' model but to begin afresh, disregarding their only precedent. The next question is where Broughton and Speed found a new model for their diagrams. The answer lies in Speed's antiquarian studies, for his early interests in heraldry and secular genealogy connected him to the world of antiquarian scholarship, which was developing the exact tools the two men needed to create their new diagrams.

Particularly relevant for their project was the world of professional heraldry, which aided Speed in the composition of his Chaucer portrait. The early sixteenth century saw a dramatic growth in heraldry, customarily attributed to social shifts that made families anxious to prove (or forge) their claim to a noble lineage.²⁸² The increased

²⁸¹ For example, the descent from Terah in Harley 1525, fol. 55r is roughly sketched, with many roundels unfilled: these genealogical structures are further completed and neatened in O.5.53, fols. 6v-7r and Add. 86 fols. 5v-6r; they are joined together as branching trees in Bodley 950, fols. 14v-15r to give a multifaceted descent from Terah, which is essentially identical in content to the descent from Terah in the AV genealogies, though these are polished and neatened to fit the print requirements. See *The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New. Newly Translated out of the Originall tongue, by his Maiesties Speciall Comandement* [The King James Bible] (London, 1611), p. 6.

²⁸² Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Stanford, 1994), pp. 20-37; Richard Cust, 'Catholicism, antiquarianism and gentry honour: the writings of Sir Thomas Shirley', *Midland History*, 5 (1998), 40-70.

pressure these changes placed on visitations (the tours undertaken by representatives from the College of Arms to inspect/authorise the coats of arms), gave an unprecedented importance to the production of genealogies: the first sign of this was the 1512 writ of aid requiring all visitations to record descent.²⁸³

At first these descents were taken in narrative form or the medieval curvilinear format. But as the interest in ancestry grew under Elizabeth, the Somerset herald Robert Glover initiated a new approach. Determined to found his pedigrees upon evidence, Glover copied out family charters, public records and monastic cartularies to test claims to nobility.²⁸⁴ It was also Glover who, throughout his 1580s visitations, pioneered the rectilinear line-drop format for genealogies still used today.²⁸⁵

Glover's innovations disseminated rapidly as changes in the organisation of the library of the College of Arms facilitated easier exchange of techniques among the heralds. The College of Arms only found a permanent building for itself in 1564, meaning that the separate libraries of the various provinces could be collected and catalogued in the same place. This made visitation records accessible to all members and thereby allowed a great wealth of genealogical material to be shared as a common resource. The same library was governed by the rules which Thomas Howard, Earl Marshal, had set down in August 1554. These stipulated that visitation records, including rough notes and drafts must be deposited in the library and remain there unless needed for visitations (after which they must be returned). This meant that Glover's advances in

²⁸³ *Munimenta heraldica 1484-1984*, ed. G. Squibb (London, 1984), pp. 20-7. For an overview of developments, see Adrian Ailes, 'Development of heralds' visitations', *Coat of Arms*, 3rd ser., 5 (2009), 7-23; A. Wagner, *English genealogy* (Oxford, 1960); Richard Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy, 1625-1642* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 7-22.

²⁸⁴ Nigel Ramsay, 'Glover, Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10833>> [accessed 10 February 2015]; Janet Verasanso, 'The Staffordshire Heraldic Visitations: Their Nature and Function', *Midland History*, 26.1 (2001), 128-143; Anthony Wagner, *The Records and Collections of the College of Arms* (London, 1952).

²⁸⁵ See, for example, Glover's notes from 1556-1581 in London, British Library, MS Add. 74253, moving from the medieval curvilinear to modern rectilinear format.

diagrammatic representation could be accessed and copied by other members of the College. This is why his innovation spread so fast: indeed, by 1618 it had become the method of representing lineage unanimously used by the entire heraldic body.²⁸⁶

Moreover Speed and Broughton were working on the biblical genealogies just as heraldic scholarship reached its peak, at about the time of Glover's death in 1588. It seems likely, then, that Speed, gathering information on descent and heraldry for his historical projects (such as the Chaucer portrait) and reaching out to antiquarian circles, became aware of recent heraldic advances in drawing descents and so adopted them as a model for the biblical genealogies he was working on with Broughton.²⁸⁷ Thus the harmonisation Broughton had advanced using a mixture of chronological scholarship and Hebrew learning found an equally avant-garde mode of presentation.

It should be emphasised just how striking Broughton and Speed's genealogical project was within the context of sixteenth-century scholarship. Broughton's solution to Christ's conflicting genealogies, as we have seen, emerged from an engagement with

²⁸⁶ Wagner, *English genealogy*, p. 323.

²⁸⁷ These connections may not have been Speed's uniquely: Broughton's student Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, also had connections to the Society of Antiquaries and many of its publications were dedicated to him, like Broughton's *To the right honorable, Robert Earle of Essex*. However, given his investigations into the subject, Speed would have been better acquainted with heraldic scholarship than Broughton. Modern scholarship has rumoured that Broughton himself might have been a member of the Society of Antiquaries (see Claire Kennedy, 'Those Who Stayed: English Chorography and the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries' in *Motion and Knowledge in the Changing Early Modern World*, ed. Ofer Gal and Yi Zheng (Dordrecht, 2014) pp. 47-70, (p. 66); Christina DeCoursey "Society of Antiquaries (act. 1586–1607)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/72906>> [accessed 10 February 2015]). However, this is unsupported by primary evidence, and originates from a single mention of Broughton identified by Thomas Hearne as a transcription error: 'In a spare leaf in Mr. Tate's manuscript collection, containing the names of some few of the members of the then society of antiquaries, [Richard Broughton] is called *Hugh* Broughton; but this list is the hand-writing of John Anstis, Esquire; late garter king at arms, who it may be supposed either wrote the Christian name *Hugh* instead of *Richard* by mistake, or transcribed it from some other list not so authentick as that given by Mr. Tate.' (Thomas Hearne, *A Collection of Curious Discourses written by eminent Antiquaries*, 2 vols (London, 1771-5), II (1775), p. 424.) Anstis (1669-1744) lived long after Francis Tate (1560–1616) who, as secretary to the Society, knew Richard Broughton personally. It is thus more likely that Anstis erred than Tate.

central issues of contemporary chronology, drawing on the Talmud to refute the longstanding patristic harmonisation and replacing it with a more modern one. Yet this erudition would be ruthlessly stripped from the final genealogies. Instead it would be distilled into vernacular diagrams with minimal extraneous commentary, and in a strikingly secular form; all, presumably, to make these findings comprehensible to the English layperson. The AV genealogies not only emerged from an entirely Latinate scholarly culture but also eliminated any reference to it so as to accommodate the ordinary English reader. Indeed, the most creative element of the genealogies was not the actual solution, which had profound debts to continental scholars, but rather the appropriation of advances in secular heraldic scholarship to package that solution in a form easily accessible and deeply familiar to the literate populace.

In order to achieve this, Broughton and Speed needed to foreground the scholarly solutions that the diagrams presented, without drowning them in the dense polyglot quotations or cross-references with which continental elites usually advertised their learning. Instead, the novel (in an English context) intellectual features of the diagram, those features most indebted to continental scholarship, were highlighted to the reader with visual signals so as to make them lucid to the unlearned reader. The break from patristic tradition which attributed Luke's genealogy to Mary and Matthew's to Joseph, for example, was emphasised throughout the diagrams through the inclusion of biblical references within each roundel, making it easy to trace the path of Lucan references leading up from Mary (reiterated by the patterned line signalling that this Christ's physical descent), and the path of Matthean references leading up from Joseph. Just in case the reader overlooked this, however, the symmetrical boxes at the top of p. 33 (Fig. 3) and p. 34 (Fig. 4) of the genealogies reiterated the point: 'According to Matt.' was attached to Joseph's genealogy, and 'According to Luke' to Mary's. The method of harmonisation, then, was doubly emphasised, so that the reader could not miss it.

Figure 3. The King James Bible (1611), p. 33. Image from Oxford, Bodleian Library, shelfmark Bib. Eng. 1611 b. 6.

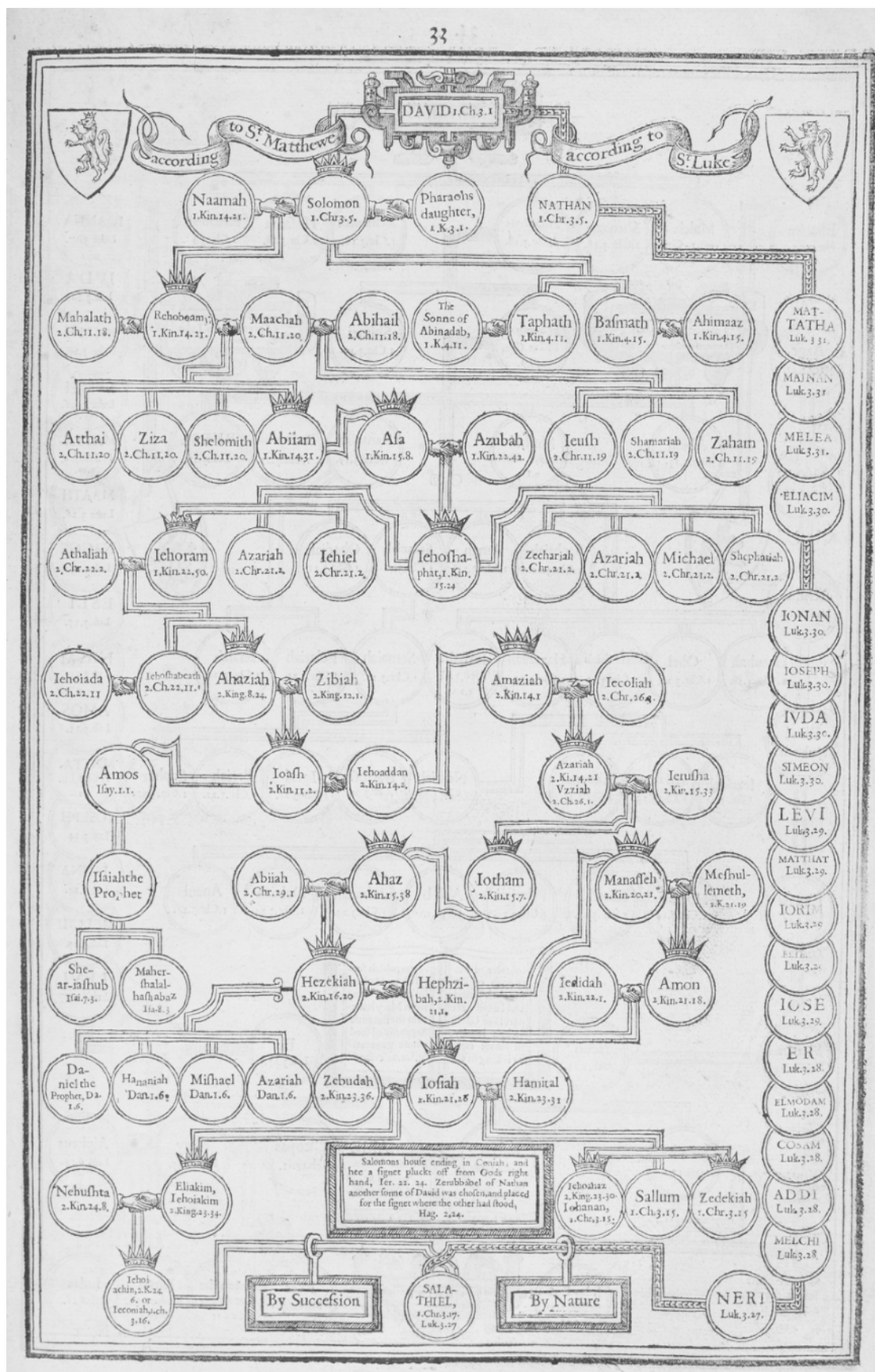
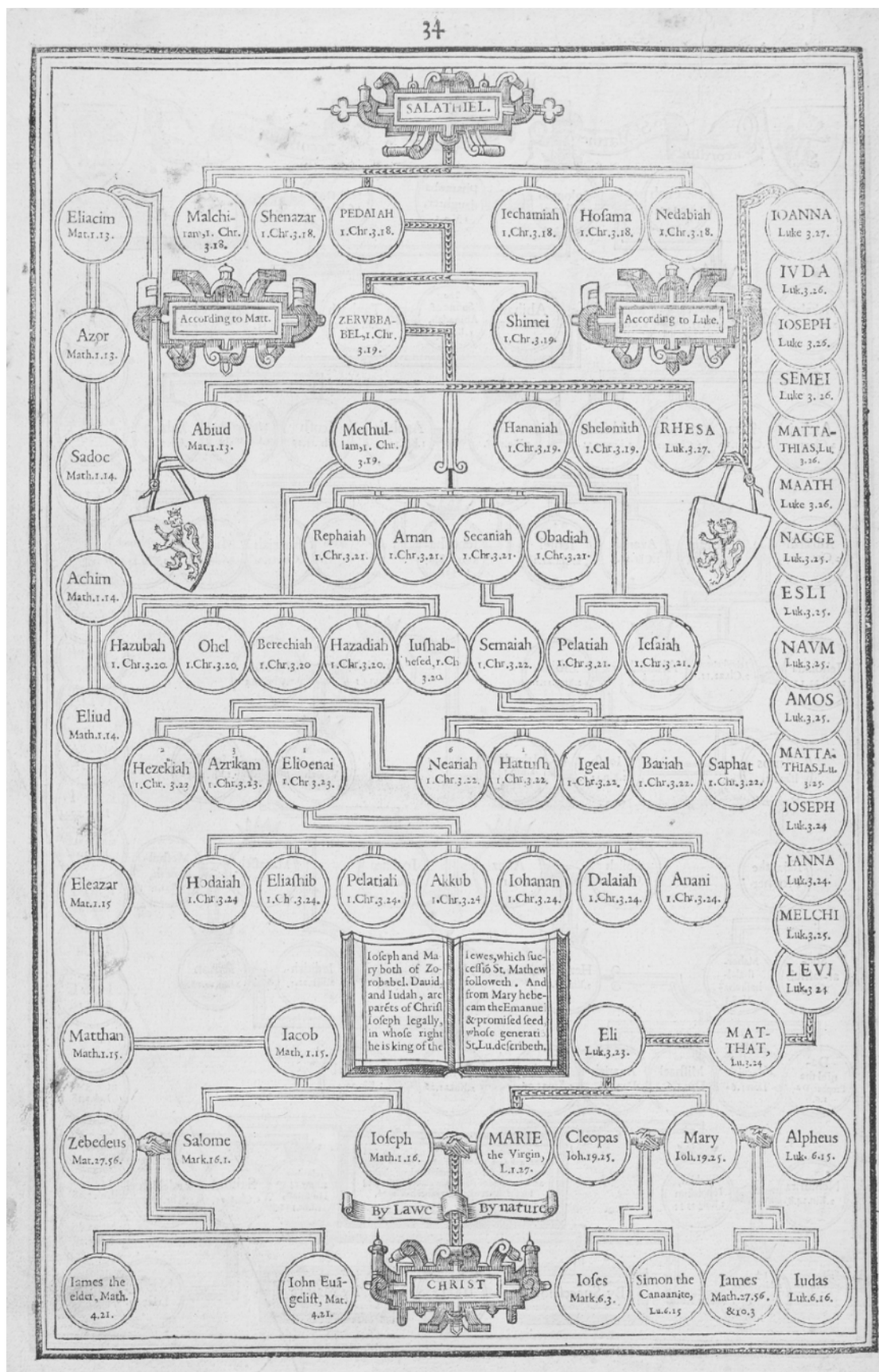


Figure 4. The King James Bible (1611), p. 34. Image from Oxford, Bodleian Library, shelfmark Bib. Eng. 1611 b. 6.



Furthermore, another of Broughton's particular concerns, namely the application of Jer. 22.24 to Jechoniah, was highlighted with a box at the bottom of p. 33 next to the roundel of Jechoniah, which stated: 'Solomons house ending in Coniah, and hee a signet plucked off from Gods right hand', and cited Jer. 22.24. Again these diagrams disseminated innovative genealogical scholarship and underscored their innovations with prose annotations and pictorial signals.

The aspect of the genealogies most crucial for the chronological work underpinning them (the interpretation of Matthew's descent as dynastic succession without sanguinity) was made equally obvious. It was openly stated in the book-shaped box at the bottom of p. 34: 'Ioseph and Mary both of Zorobabel, Daud, and Iudah, are parents of Christ. Ioseph legally, in whose right he is king of the Iewes, which succession St. Matthew followeth' and again underscored by further annotations. The labels at the bottom of p. 33 stressed that the line thus traced 'according to Matthew' (as stated at the top of the page) was 'by succession' until Salathiel, and the banner at the bottom of p. 34 emphasised that from Salathiel the line was traced 'by law' following the legal inheritance of the right to be 'king of the Iewes'. Luke's genealogy, however, was traced 'by nature' throughout. Just in case the reader missed these prose signals, a visual safety-signal was again in place: the line of succession on p. 33 was highlighted by a series of crowns placed above the relevant roundels.²⁸⁸ In other words, the AV genealogies flaunted their innovations with a series of visual and verbal markers designed to make its novelties conspicuous to all readers. The intellectual solution the genealogies had adopted and adapted was a cutting-edge piece of scholarship within an English context, and the reader was meant to know it.

This was scholarship not for scholars but for the layperson, and its novelty was bound up with its reformulation. After all, while the biblical genealogies did have a long history of diagrammatic representation, Broughton and Speed drastically changed the

²⁸⁸ *The Holy Bible* [The King James Bible, 1611], see pp. 33-34, Fig. 3 and Fig. 4, above.

function and layout of these diagrams. Their separate skill sets allowed them to fuse two unconnected forms of scholarship, sacred philology with secular heraldry, to fashion a new form that could better deliver the products of learned disciplines into lay understanding. This kind of work should give us a fresh perspective on the connections between learned culture (which over the sixteenth century had used philological scholarship and technical disciplines such as chronology to establish a new harmonisation of Christ's conflicting genealogies) and the vernacular lay culture here given easy access to the results of this scholarship in neatly packaged, easily digestible form. Furthermore, this was not a case of such scholarship having limited circulation outside a tiny elite, divorced from the mass population and lacking any commercial success. Rather, the immense popularity of the AV genealogies and their great financial success suggests that there was a demand for work of this nature among the general population.²⁸⁹

An analysis of the genealogies' printing in different formats confirms these conclusions. From 1612 up until 1640, the genealogies (like the AV) were printed by Speed not just in large folio, but also in small folio, quarto, octavo and duodecimo. The publication of the genealogies in these smaller formats is precisely what we would expect of a work intended for a lay audience to study at home; unsurprisingly, these smaller formats were frequently bound and even sold together with similarly sized Bibles – not just smaller AVs, but also Genevan versions.²⁹⁰

More importantly, the intellectual content of the genealogies was remarkably well maintained across these different formats. From small folio to octavo all the key visual

²⁸⁹ See above, pp. 124-125, fn270-271.

²⁹⁰ For examples of the quarto Geneva bound with Speed's genealogies see the copies in Cambridge, Trinity College Library, C.12.73; C.12.34; C.12.45. For evidence that the smaller-format genealogies were bound and sold together, see the bookbinders' price lists in Mirjam M. Foot, 'Some bookbinders' price lists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in *De libris compactis miscellanea*, ed. G. Collin (Brussels, 1984), pp. 273-319, (pp. 287-292).

features of the genealogies described above remained unchanged, retained despite the drastic decrease in size. Alterations consisted chiefly of superficial cuts: quotations were abbreviated; decorated roundels had their decoration scaled down (although decoration was never removed entirely, so preserving the overall balance of visual impact); biblical references inside the roundels were removed; and, in the most complex descents (such as that from Levi on p. 13), roundels were brought closer together and slightly rearranged to maximise spatial efficiency.²⁹¹ In general, however, the overall structure of the genealogies, their basic layout, and the emphatic visual signals such as banners, shields, borders and boxes were carefully preserved even in octavo format.

Naturally, much more had to be cut for the genealogies in duodecimo, but to compensate for this loss of detail in the diagrams themselves, the duodecimo genealogies came printed with an extra page not found in the other formats, entitled ‘A true & easie reconciliation of the Euangelists, S. *Matthew* and S. *Luke*.’ This summarised the harmonised descent from David to Christ and noted all of its key intellectual features: the curse of Jechoniah, Christ’s descent ‘by law’ following Matthew and ‘by nature’ following Luke.²⁹² Thus, even readers of the smallest printed genealogies would still be able to appreciate the scholarly essence of the solution they proposed. All of this evidence suggests a sustained attempt to retain both the intellectual content of the diagrams and its accessibility to lay readers. Indeed, as the traces of reading left in some copies of the genealogies suggest, these smaller formats were frequently consumed by a

²⁹¹ As a sample, I have compared the 1611, 1613 and 1630 large folio editions, the 1612 and 1616 small folio editions, the 1612, 1616, 1630, 1633 and 1636 quarto editions and the 1615, 1635 and 1638 octavo editions of Speed’s *The genealogies recorded in the Sacred Scriptures*.

²⁹² Duodecimo editions are rare: I have examined the 1620 edition in Cambridge University Library, SSS.26.5, which is bound with a beautifully hand-coloured and embroidered 1620 AV, owned (although it is difficult to tell from the partially erased note on the inner cover) by two sisters.

variety of lay readers and owners: one Cambridge copy, for instance, was annotated jointly by a mother and her son.²⁹³

One question here arises: how were lay readers expected to use these genealogical tables? In 1595 Broughton published a work to help them: *A direction to finde all those names expressed in that large table of genealogies of Scripture lately gathered by I.S.* The purpose of this was ‘to adde[...]some instruction for the vse’ of the genealogies ‘for the Readers benefite.’²⁹⁴ It comprised of every name mentioned in ‘that large Table of Genealogies of Scripture’ next to two numbers, ‘whereof the first number serueth for the side margentes, and the later answerable to the highest fygures’, allowing the reader to look up any biblical personage in the index and discover, using the genealogies, their immediate and remote kinship, as well as distance from Christ.²⁹⁵

Help for the reader was also provided by Speed’s reprinting of this index in 1616, intended to aid ‘the ready finding of any person or name conteined in the draughts of those that are printed with the new Bible of the last translation.’²⁹⁶ Speed here not only added to the index a scriptural reference (presumably to allow it to be read in both directions) but also marginal letters to denote ‘the most noted among them of any Nation, kindred, & Tribe, vpon whom the chiefest stories in Scriptures depend’, such as ‘KI’ for a King of Judah, ‘P’ for a Prophet etc.²⁹⁷ He also improved Broughton’s mode of referencing, by dividing the page into four quadrants and assigning each quadrant a letter so that names could be located with page number then the quadrant.

²⁹³ ‘Elizabeth faulknour is my name and with my son i wrot thes’, late seventeenth-century hand, written in the Cambridge University Library, Syn.5.63.5 copy of John Speed, *The genealogies recorded in the Sacred Scriptures, according to euery family and tribe* (London, 1636), p. 10.

²⁹⁴ Broughton, *A defence of the holy genealogies*, sig. C1r.

²⁹⁵ Idem, *A direction to finde all those names expressed in that large table of genealogies of Scripture lately gathered by I.S.* (London, 1595) sig. A1r.

²⁹⁶ John Speed, *An alphabetical table serving for the readie finding of any name contained in the Genealogies prefixed before the Bibles of the new Translation* (London, 1616), sig. A1r.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., sig. A2r.

It is evident from these indexes how Speed and Broughton wanted readers to use their genealogies. They probably imagined that when readers of the Bible came across a new name, or were confused by an apparent genealogical inconsistency, they would turn to their indexes, check the name in the table, find it in the genealogies with the reference, and thereby gain all the information necessary to situate that figure within the intricate networks of scriptural kinship. The AV genealogies were intended to be anything but ‘decoratively printed but useless’ additions to the main translation. They were an apparatus to settle confusion and be actively used, not passively admired. They were interventions against the outdated diagrams of the Bishops’ Bible. They were meant to correct potential misapprehensions of the scripture at the same time as scripture was being read.

iv. Motivations for change

It should be clear that something greater than anxiety about inaccurate genealogies underwrote the production of the AV genealogies. To understand this deeper motivation, we need to have a better sense of what larger vision the genealogies encompassed. What was Broughton and Speed’s purpose in producing this kind of vernacular, stripped-down biblical scholarship? One additional genealogical problem found in the very centre of the 1572 revision of the Bishops’ Bible may help us to consider this question.²⁹⁸

Very little work has been done on Matthew Parker’s 1572 revisions to the Bishops’ Bible. This is possibly because the main changes did not affect the biblical text itself, which, thanks to the ongoing influence of the text-critical concerns of nineteenth-century scholarship, has historically been the priority of most scholars. This is perhaps also why no previous attention has been paid to the twelfth-century diagrams prefixed to the Bishops’ text, which I discussed earlier. But for contemporary readers, and even for

²⁹⁸ Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, p. 17.

eighteenth-century readers such as John Strype, the most obviously important addition in this edition was its extended apparatus, namely four tables inserted at controversial points of the scripture.²⁹⁹ As well as chronological and historical information these also included, in the last insertion, a table reconciling Christ's genealogies.³⁰⁰ The insertion of these tables into the Bishops' Bible is revealing, particularly if, as Strype thought, their addition was the primary purpose for the revision. Moreover, examination of the genealogical table is surprising, for the entire piece gives Annianus's solution, probably (given the similarity of presentation), taken from Lucidus's 1537 *Opusculum*.

It is startling to find Annianus's harmony in the very centre of the Bishops' Bible, and all the more so because it appears alongside other chronological and philological apparatus with continental origins. Not only does this suggest that the English ecclesiastical establishment of the 1570s was feeling some need to keep abreast of scholarship on problems such as Christ's genealogies, it also suggests that they thought the Bishops' Bible of 1568 required the insertion of a significant quantity of chronological and philological data.

Less surprisingly, Broughton criticised this table as he had criticised Annianus and Lucidus's uncritical reliance on him.³⁰¹ But his reasons for criticising the solution in this vernacular table were revealingly different from his reasons for criticising it in Lucidus's Latin *Opusculum*. Whereas the Latin was bad because it relied on forged sources and weak biblical scholarship, the English was bad because it was 'poisoning all simple that use it', with the wide print circulation 'enough to poison an whole nation'.³⁰² In other words, the English genealogical tables, easily accessible to the unlearned and inserted in the officially approved vernacular bibles, were dangerous precisely because their readers were

²⁹⁹ John Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, 2 vols, (Oxford, 1821) ii.220-221.

³⁰⁰ *Bishops' Bible*, LXIIv; CCXXXVIIIv; LXXVIIv; prefixed to the NT, Iv.

³⁰¹ See Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, pp. 17-23 and Broughton, *Concent* (1590), sig. D.

³⁰² Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, p. 20; p. 17.

uncritical. In this respect, Broughton did not consider his genealogies to be anomalies in the field of English vernacular biblical scholarship, but merely superior contributions to the ‘furtherance of the simple’ already attempted (and botched) by the Bishops’ Bible.³⁰³

Indeed, although the reality was more complex, the assorted chronological and genealogical tables of the 1572 Bishops’ Bible were enough to give Broughton the impression that the English ecclesiastical establishment shared his ideal of an erudite vernacular Bible that could make scripture accessible to the layperson in a form that reflected advances in contemporary scholarship. From this perspective the genealogical diagrams, completed in the early 1590s, represent the pinnacle of Broughton’s optimism for the future of English biblical scholarship. As it turned out, Broughton misjudged the direction in which vernacular translation was heading. As Chapter 3 will show, his calls throughout the 1590s for a new English Bible with a hefty scholarly apparatus were generally met with silence from the English bishops. It is indeed revealing that even when the genealogies were at last revised and issued with the new translation, Broughton himself played little, if any, part in the matter, despite having done much of the foundational work. Speed was likely personally responsible for the diagrams’ final forms across the AV’s different formats, and it was probably even Speed who wrote the preface ‘To the Christian Reader’ outlining the solution his colleague had advanced.³⁰⁴

Recent work on the history of reading and vernacular Bibles has become increasingly preoccupied with the ways in which the paratextual and non-textual features of books were designed to accommodate the average, unlearned lay reader, especially through the use of ‘reading aids’ or ‘reading technologies’.³⁰⁵ The genealogies of the

³⁰³ Ibid., p. 17.

³⁰⁴ It is possible that the preface was based on a work initially composed by Broughton, but the prose style differs enough from Broughton’s for it to be likely that Speed was at least in charge of the final draft.

³⁰⁵ Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in early modern England: Religious reading and writing* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 19-50; Peter Stallybrass, ‘Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible’, in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, 2002), pp. 42-79 (pp. 51-63).

King James Bible were an unusually sophisticated and innovative example of such a technology, aiming to transfer scholarly knowledge from learned culture to lay readers in the most accessible, easily navigated way possible. Moreover, the ‘scholarly knowledge’ they aimed to transmit was very specific: a solution, drawn from Broughton’s study of chronology, to the longstanding problem of Christ’s conflicting genealogies, rendered into visual form in response to the genealogical diagrams and tables in the Bishops’ Bibles of 1568 and 1572. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the composition of these genealogical diagrams was only made possible by the collaboration between Broughton and Speed which exploited their complementary specialist skills: the former expert in chronology, Rabbinics, and the Latin world of sacred scholarship, and the latter in cartography, visualisation and the secular world of heraldic scholarship. One consequence of this is to show vividly how the study of seemingly obscure fields of neo-Latin, continental erudition can give us an unprecedented understanding of the composition, purpose and contemporary significance of vernacular biblical scholarship. More than this, however, it also shows that there were scholars in sixteenth century, such as Broughton, who envisioned an English Bible that would bring these two worlds far closer together than they had ever been before, or would be for many decades after.

3. From Chronology to Translation

i. Translation as Exegesis: Daniel in English (1596) and in Latin (1599)

Although Broughton's interest in the English Bible underpinned much of his work in chronology and genealogy, it was only in 1596 that he published his first substantial work of translation, a complete English rendering of the book of Daniel. Broughton's choice of Daniel is not surprising, and he intended his translation to act as proof both of his interpretation of the seventy sevens and of his genealogical work, which intersected with Daniel in chapter 1.³⁰⁶

The book of Daniel, however, posed many interpretative difficulties beyond these two issues. One of the most important of these was the meaning of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the statue in Dan. 2 and Daniel's vision of the four beasts in Dan. 7. Both the dream and the vision recounted the same prophecy of four kingdoms which started with the Babylonian monarchy, and which ended with a momentous divine event. The identification of these kingdoms, as well as the nature of the divine event which ended them, was immensely important to early modern exegetes not least because by the middle of the sixteenth century the idea of the four monarchies had, for many scholars, become the very framework around which world history was built.³⁰⁷ As the first part of this chapter will show, an examination of Broughton's contribution to this problem, and especially of his place among other sixteenth-century exegetes, can further advance our understanding of his scholarly methods.

³⁰⁶ Hugh Broughton, *Daniel His Chaldie Visions and His Ebreww: Both Translated After the Original: and Expounded Both, by Reduction of Heathen Most Famous Stories Vnto the Exact Proprietie of His Wordes (which Is the Surest Certaintie What He Must Meane:) and by Ioyning All the Bible, and Learned Tongues to the Frame of His Worke* (London, 1597), sigs. *ijr-*iijr; sigs. Aijv-Aiijr.

³⁰⁷ See Anthony Grafton, *What Was History?: The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 167-169; William Stanford Reid, 'The Four Monarchies of Daniel in Reformation Historiography', *Historical Reflections* 8 (1981), 115-23.

The prophecy of the four kingdoms has a long history of interpretation.³⁰⁸ For the vast majority of Christian history until the sixteenth century, there was one overwhelmingly dominant interpretation. This identified the first three monarchies as the Babylonian, Mede/Persian and Greek kingdoms (or some minor variation thereof), and the fourth, final monarchy as the Roman.³⁰⁹ It was usually believed that Daniel's prophecy commemorated these four monarchies due to their objective historical importance, whether because they were the biggest kingdoms, or the most powerful, or the richest and so on. The cataclysmic divine event which succeeded the last of these monarchies was equally epoch-making, and usually identified as the end of the world upon Christ's second coming and the final judgement.³¹⁰ This interpretation was understandably favoured by those who actually lived during the Roman Empire, including many of the most important Church Fathers. It was, however, also maintained by later exegetes who claimed, following the concept of *translatio imperii*, that the Holy Roman Empire was the continuation of the historical Roman Empire. Unsurprisingly, this interpretation was especially popular in, though by no means limited to, northern German thought, and advocated by famous theologians such as Melanchthon.³¹¹

³⁰⁸ By far the best and most complete account is in Arno Seifert, *Der Rückzug der biblischen Prophetie von der neueren Geschichte: Studien zur Geschichte der Reichstheologie des frühneuzeitlichen deutschen Protestantismus* (Cologne, 1990), pp. 11-150; see also M. Miegge, '„Regnum quartum ferrum“ und „lapis de monte“. Die kritische Wende in der Danielrezeption im 16. Jahrhundert und ihre Folgen in Theologie und Politik', in *Europa, tausendjähriges Reich und neue Welt: zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches*, ed. M. Delgado, K. Koch and E. Marsch (Freiburg, 2003), pp. 239-51.

³⁰⁹ See H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four Empires in the Book of Daniel: A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories* (Cardiff, 1935), pp. 74-78.

³¹⁰ On this account exegesis of Daniel's four kingdoms often intersected with that of the Apocalypse: see Irena Backus, 'The Beast: Interpretations of Daniel 7.2-9 and Apocalypse 13.1-4, 11-12 in Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinist Circles in the Late Sixteenth Century', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 3 (2000), 59-77.

³¹¹ Philipp Melanchthon, *In Daniele prophetam commentarius, in quo seculi nostri status corruptissimus, & Turvicae crudelitatis finis describitur* (Basel, 1543), p. 220. See the account in Seifert, *Der Rückzug der biblischen Prophetie*, pp. 11-49.

Although interpreting the prophecy in this manner forced it to be universal, directed at people and events far beyond the immediate audience to whom it was spoken, most exegetes nevertheless recognised that some elements of it were historically peculiar to its contemporary Jewish audience. This was emphasised by at least one of the most influential patristic precedents, Theodoret of Cyrus, as well as some of the prophecy's most famous exegetes, such as Johann Sleidan.³¹² A few lesser-known scholars like the Portuguese Catholic Hector Pinto went a step further by arguing that the four kingdoms were chosen just as much for their impact on the Jewish population as for their geopolitical prominence.³¹³ Others, like Andreas Osiander, were even willing to give up the idea that the four kingdoms were universal 'world' empires that led to the final judgement. Instead, Osiander argued that they were arbitrary kingdoms selected solely because they happened to run successively from the moment of the prophecy's utterance until Christ's birth, which was the momentous divine event that concluded them.³¹⁴

Though many thought Osiander had gone too far, the kind of historicism his exegesis represented became much more popular when John Calvin took it up in his lectures on Daniel.³¹⁵ Calvin emphasised more strongly than anyone before him the

³¹² Theodoret of Cyrus, *In visiones Danielis prophetae commentarius*, ed. and transl. Giovanni Battista Gamba (Rome, 1562), p. 123; Johann Sleidan, *De quatuor summis imperiis libri tres* (Strasbourg, 1556), fol. 179v. For Sleidan's work more generally, see Alexandra Kess, *Johann Sleidan and the Protestant vision of history* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 83-86.

³¹³ 'Ratio autem quare Daniel de his tantum quatuor regnis seu imperijs mentionem facit, est propter eorum potentiam & praestantiam: & quia ab illis erant Iudaei diuersis temporibus affligendi', Hector Pinto, *In divinam vatem Danielem commentarii* (Coimbra, 1579), fol. 52v.

³¹⁴ Andreas Osiander, *Coniecturae de ultimis temporibus, ac de fine mundi ex sacris literis* (Nuremberg, 1544) sig. dij.

³¹⁵ 'Quis autem ante te sic exposuit?' asked the German Catholic controversialist Johann Cochlaeus, *In quatuor Andraeae Osiandri coniecturas de fine mundi, uelutatio Iohannis Cochlaei* (Ingolstadt, 1545), fol. F2v. On the origin of his commentary as lectures, see Pete Wilcox, 'Calvin as commentator on the Prophets', in *Calvin and the Bible*, ed. Donald McKim (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 107-131. For Calvin's historical tendencies, see the comments in Barbara Pitkin, 'Prophecy and History in Calvin's Lectures on Daniel (1561)', in *Die Geschichte der Daniel-Auslegung in Judentum, Christentum und Islam: Studien zur Kommentierung des Danielbuches in Literatur und Kunst*, ed. Katharina Bracht and David Du Toit (Berlin, 2009) pp. 323-47.

Jewish nature of the prophecy, and proposed that an unprecedentedly large number of its features related specifically to events in Jewish history.³¹⁶ This was a bold move, but Calvin did not support it with much erudition in either classical or Jewish sources. In the end, he cared less about the precise historical details of the events than about proving the christological ends of this prophecy, and he was happy to refer loosely to evidence supplied by the ‘prophani scriptores’ without further specification.³¹⁷

In other words, by the 1560s there already was a reasonable diversity of opinion as to the nature of the four kingdoms, as well as a burgeoning historicism. It is against this backdrop that we should place the intervention of Jean Bodin in his 1566 *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*. Bodin’s intervention is important because it had a significant influence on subsequent commentators, including Broughton. Indeed, Bodin’s brief comments on the four monarchies have been described as an avant-garde intervention into a previously overwhelmingly theological field of study.³¹⁸ To Bodin’s contemporaries, however, the situation would have likely looked different, and more confusing. Firstly, it was not at all clear what Bodin’s goal was. On the one hand, he appeared to be attacking quite a specific group of people: those scholars who had interpreted the four monarchies as designating the four greatest monarchies in history, who had viewed the Holy Roman Empire as the continuation of the final Roman monarchy, and who had then used these points as the basis for a world history.³¹⁹ From

³¹⁶ ‘Et ideo cū loquitur de omnibus terris, & de cunctis gentibus, si quis obiiciat fuisse etiam tunc alia imperia in mundo: facilis responsio est, nempe Prophetam hīc non describere quid contigerit seculis illis in toto orbe, sed quid visuri essent Iudaei.’ Calvin, *Praelectiones*, fol. 25v; for examples of other similar expressions see fol. 102r, 138r; 164r.

³¹⁷ See, for example, his very general comments in *ibid.*, fol. 149r; 154r.

³¹⁸ Grafton, *What Was History?*, pp. 167-175.

³¹⁹ Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Paris, 1566), pp. 299-303.

this angle, Bodin's ultimate goal appeared to be not exegetical: he simply wanted to dislodge a nationalistic mode of historiography peculiar to northern Germany.³²⁰

On the other hand, however, Bodin's comments seemed to reach far beyond this historiographical goal. This was perhaps most clear in his final few paragraphs on the matter, which turned, quite suddenly, from an attack on a single historiographical trend to a reflection on the meaning of the whole prophecy. The casual phrasing with which Bodin slipped into this contemplation ('ac mihi diutius cogitanti quid Propheta innuere vellet') even implied that this was what he had really been doing all along.³²¹ Moreover, Bodin followed this strange turn with a series of obscure remarks which suggested that he thought the fourth monarchy should not be the Romans, but rather the successors of Alexander the Great.³²² This could only spark controversy: such an interpretation was inextricably associated with pagan and Jewish attacks on Christianity, and most famously advocated by Porphyry as evidence of the Book of Daniel's human authorship.³²³ As the average exegete might have seen it, Bodin was nonchalantly advocating an historically anti-Christian exegesis without evidence to support it and without making any real effort to harmonise it with Christianity.³²⁴

If Bodin was read as intervening in Daniel scholarship generally, rather than German historiography in particular, his work fell far short of the standards expected by contemporary exegesis. It was this apparent ignorance of exegetical norms that the Lutheran Matthias Dresser most objected to in Bodin's *Methodus*. And of all the sins this

³²⁰ This is how his comments have been understood by Marie-Doninique Couzinet, *Histoire et méthode à la renaissance: une lecture de la Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem de Jean Bodin*, (Paris, 1996), p. 46.

³²¹ Bodin, *Methodus*, p. 303.

³²² Ibid., p. 304.

³²³ See, as evidence for the strong association between Porphyry, anti-Christian polemic and this interpretation the comments in Johannes Oecolampadius, *In Daniele prophetam libri duo* (Geneva, 1553), p. 27, pp. 88-91, p. 154; and Theodoret, *In visiones Danielis*, pp. 24-25 for its assumed anti-Christian intentions.

³²⁴ Bodin, *Methodus*, pp. 303-04.

lack of respect encompassed (such as neglect of the opinions of the Fathers and ignorance of the variety in modern exegeses) Bodin's greatest was his inattention to the actual words of scripture themselves.³²⁵ As Dresser explained, if Bodin did indeed wish to advance such a radical intervention, he would have to provide much more extensive evidence for how his interpretation could be drawn from the actual text of the prophecy, which was notoriously difficult to interpret.³²⁶

When Bodin responded to his critics in 1581, he sounded much more certain about what his aims eighteen years earlier had been, placing them squarely in the realm of exegetical, rather than historiographical, intervention.³²⁷ By this point, however, Bodin could afford to be more confident, as his interpretation had, somewhat surprisingly, gained two very influential supporters: Franciscus Junius and Immanuel Tremellius, who enshrined Bodin's view in the annotations to their new Latin Bible. These annotations, following Bodin, put forward the opinion that the final fourth monarchy of Daniel consisted of the Seleucid Empire in Syria and the Ptolemaic Kingdom in Egypt, both of which had arisen after the division of Alexander the Great's kingdom. More importantly, Tremellius and Junius did what Bodin had not, and fleshed this opinion out in the linguistically and philologically sensitive manner which men like Dresser had demanded. Most crucially of all, they also provided two very strong arguments against the most popular opinions of previous exegetes. The first of these was based on a close analysis of the Aramaic of Dan. 2.28, which Tremellius and Junius argued previous exegetes had

³²⁵ Matthias Dresser, *Oratio de quatuor monarchiis sive summis imperiis* (Leipzig, 1581), sigs. A5, D7v-8r.

³²⁶ Ibid., sig. B5r, E.

³²⁷ 'Il y à dixhuit ans, que Bodin mist en lumiere la Methode des Histoires, où il tient au vij. chap. que la prophetie de Daniel ne se peut accommoder à la Monarchie des Romains...', Jean Bodin, *Apologie de René Herpin pour la République de Jean Bodin* (Paris, 1581), fol. 5v. Bodin described here how few had been angered by his comments in the *Methodus* until he gestured towards them very briefly in his more widely read *Les six livres de la République* (Paris, 1576), p. 440.

mistakenly taken to mean that the prophecy showed the end of the world.³²⁸ The second argument, against those who believed the fourth monarchy was the Roman, seized on the historicising trend in exegeses thus far to argue that the prophecy in its entirety was particular to the Jewish people/ Jewish Church, with the four Monarchies chosen as those which had the most impact on the lives of contemporary Jews.³²⁹ From this perspective the fourth, cruellest monarchy could not be the Romans, who had at least initially tolerated Judaism, and had to be instead the Syrian-Egyptian, for never had the Jews suffered more than under Antiochus Epiphanes of the Seleucid Empire.

Though they did generate some controversy, Bodin, Junius and Tremellius did not at first gain very many followers: the Spanish Jesuit Benedict Pereira, who wrote a commentary on Daniel in 1587 steeped in classical and patristic erudition, still associated their interpretation with anti-Christian pagan exegesis, and made no mention of any more recent Reformed exponents.³³⁰ The Lutheran Johannes Pappus, writing six years later, recognised the existence of the ‘novi interpretes’, but worried that they were unintentionally reviving an interpretation historically used by enemies of the Church.³³¹ Others simply ignored them.³³² Gradually, however, their interpretation began to gain support, the earliest adherent being the Scottish minister Robert Rollock, who in 1591 published a commentary more or less copied straight from the Junius-Tremellius Bible

³²⁸ *Testamenti veteris biblia sacra*, ed. Tremellius and Junius, p. 282, annotation at Dan. 2.40.

³²⁹ ‘verum hoc quoque illis fuerat animadvertendum non declarari a Deo universè statum totius orbis, sed tantum de eo statu perstringere quantum ad populum Judaeorum, id est Ecclesiam, pertinebat’, *ibid.*

³³⁰ Benedict Pereira, *Commentariorum in Daniele prophetam: libri sexdecim* (Rome, 1588), pp. 360-61; pp. 687-89; pp. 741-45.

³³¹ Johannes Pappus, *In omnes prophetas, tam maiores quatuor, quam minores duodecim ... scholae breves et methodicae* (Frankfurt, 1593) fol. 226v.

³³² See, for example, Philipp Heilbronner, *Danielis prophetae vaticinia in locos communes theologicos digesta* (Lauingen, 1587); or between Bodin and Tremellius-Junius, Johann Wigand, *Danielis prophetae explicatio brevis, tradita in academia Ienensi* (Jena, 1571).

notes.³³³ Such support was further increased when Junius, in 1594, published a detailed commentary on Daniel, in which he laid out the reasons for the new interpretation in an unprecedentedly systematic manner.³³⁴ Light on philological and historical learning but strong on scholastic argument, Junius' work put the association between Porphyry and the 'novi interpretes' firmly to bed.

It is within this context that we must place Broughton's translation of Daniel. This was published only two years after Junius' exposition, and functioned, above all, as a vehicle to promote the new interpretation. Its preface contained a long section listing 'The Kings belonging to the Image in Daniel' and its annotations reiterated, again and again, that the fourth monarchy was not, and could never have been the Roman.³³⁵ The reason why the 'new' interpretation appealed so much to Broughton is obvious from a reading of these annotations, and the most striking occurs at Dan. 11.5.

This verse described how a prince of the southern king would have the 'greatest dominion'. Broughton identified this prince as Seleucus Nicator, who held the land of Syria. It was, Broughton explained, especially easy to tell how 'great' the dominion of Seleucus had been thanks to his habit of naming places after himself, his deeds, or his family members. This meant that there were a large number of locations spread throughout the world with surprisingly Greek names, and these places perfectly mapped Seleucus Nicator's territories. Broughton's sources for this information (as he highlighted to the reader) were Book 5 of Polybius but mostly chapter 9 of Appian's *History of the Syrian War*, which constituted book 11 of his *Roman History*.³³⁶

³³³ Robert Rollock, *In librum Danielis prophetae Roberti Rolloci ... commentarius* (Edinburgh, 1591).

³³⁴ Franciscus Junius, *Expositio prophetae Danielis* (Geneva, 1594), pp. 46-60; pp. 144-190.

³³⁵ Broughton, *Daniel His Chaldie Visions*, sigs. ijv; Aij; A2; Br-B4v; C5r; F3; G1r; G3r; Lr-N4r; P2r; P3; P4v.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, sig. H5.

As Broughton went on to argue, however, the reason that this ‘heathen catalogue of Townes built by one man’ was so valuable was not because of the light it shed on Dan.11.5 but rather due to the way in which it acted as ‘a condemnation of the Rabbines’.³³⁷ It did this by facilitating the identification of Gog, the mysterious future enemy of Israel mentioned in Ezek. 38.1-39.16, with the Seleucid Empire. As Broughton argued, Ezekiel listed Gog’s lands as Meshech and Tubal, and his ally Gomer’s lands as Togarmah. Greek sources, which in this case Broughton did not specify, but most likely included Josephus’ *Antiquities*, had linked these biblical lands with the historical names of Pontus, Cappadocia, Iberia, Armenia and Galatia. Moreover, all of these places (as Strabo outlined in his *Geography*) contained the very same surprisingly Greek names for nations, mountains and rivers that bore witness to Seleucid Nicator’s naming habits: thus the ‘heathen catalogue’, biblical evidence and classical sources all showed that the prophetic Gog could be identified with the historical Seleucid Empire. This was only confirmed by the fact that Gog was meant to be a descendant of Japheth, who was generally considered to be the progenitor of the Greek people.

Furthermore, the reason why this particular identification of Gog with the Seleucids ‘condemned’ the Rabbis was because Jewish scholars had historically agreed that after the dominance of Gog, the Messiah would come: this was evidenced, Broughton added, by both David Kimchi’s and Abraham ibn Ezra’s comments on Psalms.³³⁸ In Broughton’s argument, then, the correspondence of the Seleucid Empire with both Gog and the fourth kingdom of Daniel unequivocally demonstrated that the

³³⁷ Ibid., sig. H5v.

³³⁸ Kimchi himself did not agree with such an interpretation, but did attest that the Rabbis had followed it; see David Kimchi, *The longer commentary of R. David Kimbi on the first book of Psalms (I-X, XV-XVII, XIX, XXII, XXIV)*, ed. and trans. R. G. Finch (London, 1919), p. 19; Abraham ibn Ezra attested to this tradition in his commentary on Ps. 46.10, in *Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra’s Commentary on the Second Book of Psalms*, ed. and trans. H. Norman Strickman (Boston, 2009), p. 31.

prophesied Messiah of the Hebrew Bible was Christ, since it was after the demolition of the Seleucid Empire, in the early days of the Romans, that Christ was born.³³⁹

This is undeniably a convoluted and (especially in Broughton's English) difficult argument to follow, but it nevertheless demonstrates that one of the reasons why the new interpretation appealed to Broughton was because of the power he thought it might hold in Jewish-Christian polemic. Indeed, as Broughton put it more simply later, those Christians who interpreted the fourth empire as anything other than the Seleucid were 'a great furtherance of many Iewes eternall destruction.'³⁴⁰ Far from being an exegesis that could undermine Christianity, Broughton saw in Bodin, Junius and Tremellius's work the potential for an argument that could do the very opposite.

This polemical thrust, however, was not the most remarkable feature of Broughton's works. Rather, especially when compared to the works of Junius, Tremellius and Bodin before him, Broughton's exegesis of the four kingdoms was notable for its extensive amalgamation of classical sources to prove that history of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic Kingdoms matched the prophecies of the fourth kingdom in Daniel. This was clear in the title, which advertised Broughton's exposition of the book 'by reduction of heathen most famous stories unto the exact proprietic of [Daniel's] wordes'. But it was also obvious from even a brief perusal of the copious notes around the main text. A good example can be found at Dan. 11.43, which described how the 'vile person' who became king of the North would gain all the treasures of Egypt. To expound this verse, Broughton drew on the fragments of Polybius as recorded in Athenaeus, which described how Antiochus Epiphanes used the spoils he had taken from Egypt to host luxurious games and festivals. Moreover, for the sake of 'the learned [who] best like the authours owne wordes', Broughton printed the entire Greek of Polybius's *Histories*, 30.25-26 (from Athenaeus 5.194-195) in between verses 43 and 44 of Dan. 11 as

³³⁹ Broughton, *Daniel His Chaldie Visions*, sig. H5.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. H5v.

evidence that they referred to the exploits of Antiochus Epiphanes and not, as had been traditionally thought, to any of the Romans.³⁴¹ Even this, however, was merely the culmination of a trend throughout Broughton's edition to adduce evidence from sources as various as Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, Clement of Alexandria and Herodotus; to quote them at length (often in English translation); and to give relatively precise references for the same.³⁴²

To this sustained use of classical sources, Broughton added an equally strong emphasis on the use of rabbinic sources to illuminate obscure aspects of Daniel's Hebrew. These Broughton used in some obvious ways, such as to achieve a better translation of difficult Hebrew words.³⁴³ He also, however, used them in more original ways. Perhaps the most striking was Broughton's printing of the entirety of the 'Piyyut on the Alphabet', attributed to Saadya Gaon, in the original Hebrew, untranslated, in a long digression after Dan. 9.³⁴⁴ Broughton took this poem, which was a complex, obscure play on the frequency with which different letters appeared in the Hebrew Bible, from the appendix of Elijah Levita's *Massoret ha-Massoret*, and intended it to act as 'a miraculous record for the Scriptures certainty'.³⁴⁵

Broughton's heavy reliance on classical Greek and post-biblical Hebrew sources was even more present in his 1599 Latin translation of Daniel. This was more or less identical to the 1596 English version, except for an enormous expansion of the extra-biblical material. Within it, all of the 1596 edition's references to Greek sources were bolstered with lengthy quotations from the originals, and a large amount of entirely new

³⁴¹ Ibid., sigs. Nijr-Niijr.

³⁴² See, for instance, Broughton's comments at 11.4; 8; 10; 18; 24.

³⁴³ See, for instance, Broughton's annotations at 5.19, 6.18, 7.18, 10.1.

³⁴⁴ For an edition, translation and commentary on this poem, see Siegfried Stein, 'Saadya's Piyyut on the Alphabet', in *Saadya studies: in commemoration of the one thousand anniversary of the death of R. Saadya Gaon*, ed. Erwin Rosenthal (Manchester, 1943) pp. 206-226.

³⁴⁵ Broughton, *Daniel His Chaldie Visions*, sigs. Kijv-Kiiijv.

text was added.³⁴⁶ The longest of these additions was a section inserted after the dedicatory epistle entitled ‘De Daniele ex Diodoro Siculo’. This gave a great deal of background information about Daniel, evidently intended to demonstrate the fame of Daniel among the heathens, and thereby to prove the utility of pagan sources in the exposition of his prophecies. As well as Latin digests of Diodorus’ words, Broughton also printed large extracts in the original Greek, from his *Library of History* 2.24.1-8; 2.25.4-5 and 2.25.8, which described how Daniel, under the Greek version of his Chaldean name Belesis, aided the Mede-Persian invasion of Babylon.³⁴⁷ Beyond classical sources, Broughton also augmented his rabbinic references: to take just one example, where at 7.13’s description of ‘the sonne of man’ in the 1596 edition Broughton simply wrote ‘the Iewes graunt Christ to be here so termed’, at the same verse in the 1599 Latin edition Broughton inserted extensive citations in Hebrew with precise references from Rashi, Ibn Ezra and others.³⁴⁸

Broughton’s translation of and commentary on Daniel in both Latin and English acted primarily as a scholarly substantiation of the interpretation which Bodin, Junius and Tremellius had first propagated. Aware of the relative novelty of the exegesis that he proposed, and aware also of the limitations of Junius’ own commentary, Broughton likely intended his work to serve as the learned buttress for it, providing all the extra-biblical evidence necessary to convince the erudite reader of its truth. The Latin commentary, aimed more exclusively at a continental, scholarly audience, went even further down this path than the English, and its strikingly large amount of precisely referenced quotation from primary sources perhaps even suggests it was designed to be

³⁴⁶ See, for instance the comments at 11.11, 18, 19, 24.

³⁴⁷ Hugh Broughton, *Commentarius in Daniele primum anglicè scriptus ab Hugbone Broughtono: nunc Latinitate donatus per Ioannem Boreel* (Basel, 1599), sigs. δv-δ2r.

³⁴⁸ Broughton, *Daniel His Chaldie Visions*, sig. F3v; idem, *Commentarius in Daniele*, pp. 23-24.

used as a kind of historical source book for the events predicted in Daniel. This was at least how one of its readers, Hugo Grotius, appears to have used it.³⁴⁹

As well as this historical bolstering, Broughton's work also had one extra advantage which Junius and Tremellius's did not: it managed to salvage some of the anti-papal functions that had characterised previous Lutheran interpretations. These interpretations had generally taken Dan. 11.36 *et seq.* to refer, literally and historically, to the Antichrist of modern times, who was very frequently identified as the Pope, or sometimes Islam.³⁵⁰ The new interpretation, which referred these verses literally and historically to Antiochus Epiphanes, lost this anti-papal edge, and even its most extensive proponent, Junius, had not spent much time trying to retrieve it, even though he noted that it could be done by recourse to typology.³⁵¹ Broughton, on the other hand, as Johannes Boreel's preface to the Latin edition advertised, was more than willing to draw out the full typological possibility within Antiochus Epiphanes, carefully detailing all the ways in which he was a type of the true Antichrist, the Pope.³⁵² With this confessional advantage regained, the new interpretation soon became very popular, especially in

³⁴⁹ See Hugo Grotius, letter to Willem Grotius, 4th August 1626, and letter to Claudius Sarravius, 23rd December 1641, *The Correspondence of Hugo Grotius*, digital edition, 1st edition. October 2009. Online at <http://grotius.huygens.knaw.nl>. I have not managed to consult Grotius' copy of the *Commentarius*, but it is listed in Folke Dovring, 'Nouvelles recherches sur la bibliothèque de Grotius en Suède et en Italie', *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen: Afdeling Letterkunde*, 14 (1951), 331–39.

³⁵⁰ E.g. see the comments from 11.36 in Oecolampadius, *In Daniele prophetam libri Duo*, p. 155ff.; Wigand, *Danielis prophetae explicatio*, fol 425vff.; Pappus, *In omnes prophetas*, p. 498ff.

³⁵¹ Junius, *Expositio*, p. 267.

³⁵² See Johannes Boreel, 'Epistola dedicatoria', in Broughton, *Commentarius in Daniele*, sigs. βv-β4r for a concise summary.

Reformed circles, though it still provoked backlash from devotees of the more traditional exegesis.³⁵³

Aside from outlining Broughton's particular achievements, however, the purpose of this section more generally has been to sketch out a context in which Broughton's work appears very different both from the general consensus about his scholarship as well as from the circumstances analysed in the first chapter. While it is true that in a chronological framework Broughton might have appeared an intransigent scripturalist, insisting on sourcing his data from scripture alone, this section has shown that in other, related areas he was happy to collect, compare and manipulate secular sources to expound the biblical text; he was happy even to print them side by side with it and in amongst its verses. This demonstrates very clearly just how contingent, utilitarian and flexible early modern scholars could be, both in their attitudes towards the Bible, as well as the methods they used to interpret it. In different areas, under different pressures and with different purposes in mind, their position on which sources were appropriate in biblical scholarship could vary wildly.

ii. Chronology as Translation: Edward Lively and the Defence of the Concent

In light of the discussion in the previous section, there may well be some justice in saying that Broughton's *Daniel* was just as much a work of chronology, history, genealogy and exegesis as it was a translation. This should not be surprising given the first chapter's demonstration of how Broughton's interest in translation was cultivated during his chronological controversy with Rainolds. This section will continue this theme by tracing how the development of this controversy, especially the intervention of Edward Lively, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, pushed Broughton even further in the

³⁵³ See e.g. Amandus Polanus, *In Daniele prophetam ... commentarius* (Basel, 1606); the backlash from Conrad Graserus, *Historia antichristi illius magni: explicata exercitationibus in alteram partem cap. xi prophetiae Danielis* (Leiden, 1608) and the subsequent counter-argument to Graserus in Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Daniele* (Cambridge, 1610), pp. 495-520.

direction of translation as the ultimate solution to the scholarly problems he saw around him.

According to Lightfoot, Lively, like Rainolds, had lectured against the *Concent*.³⁵⁴ There is, however, evidence that contradicts this testimony: a letter from Robert Thornton to James Ussher asking why Lively ‘keepe sylence so longe’ about Broughton’s work, ‘as nether by private speech, letters, nor printe impugn it till Mr Broughton was out of England.’³⁵⁵ At the very least, since neither Rainolds nor Broughton showed any awareness of Lively during their initial conflict, there is no reason to think that any lectures Lively may have given at this time were especially well-known. Much more influential was his 1597 *A true chronologie of the times of the Persian monarchie*, and it was indeed this work which would first alert Broughton to Lively’s opinions about Daniel. As briefly mentioned in the first chapter, *A true chronologie* was intended as a twofold rebuttal of Béroalde’s interpretation of the Persian monarchy, first via the evidence of classical sources and secondly via the exegetical evidence provided by Daniel’s seventy sevens. It was this second, exegetical part of Lively’s treatise that interested Broughton.

In this section, Lively offered his own reading of Dan. 9.24-27 based on an unprecedented attention to the Hebrew text. This was not, however, the only way in which Lively’s interpretation stood out among those of his contemporaries. For Lively had produced what was, by the standards of early modern Christian exegesis, an interpretation that was remarkably lacking in reference to Christ and focussed instead on events in Jewish history. Of course, there were limits to this: Lively did maintain that the prophecy looked broadly towards Christ, and he took verse 24’s comment on the ‘anointing of the holy of holies’ as predicting Christ’s spiritual anointing by the Holy Ghost. Likewise, he saw the ending of sin, reconciliation for iniquity and bringing of

³⁵⁴ Lightfoot, ‘Preface’, in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, sig. A2r.

³⁵⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 297, fol. 106r. This letter is not in Elizabethanne Boran (ed.) and David Money (trans.), *The Correspondence of James Ussher: 1600-1656* (Dublin, 2015).

righteousness in the same verse as prophecies generally fulfilled by Christ's death. But this, Lively believed, was the only explicit reference to Christ in the prophecy and, moreover, he insisted that nothing about Jesus' own life was specifically predicted within the seventy sevens. Christ was born, crucified and resurrected within the course of these sevens, but all of their particular divisions as expressed by the Angel Gabriel were historically fulfilled by events experienced by the Jewish people from the first year of Cyrus to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple, which period constituted the duration of the 490 years (in prophecy; in fulfilment 629 years and 2 months).³⁵⁶

Lively knew that this was an unusual reading of the prophecy, and that the vast majority of Christian exegetes had aimed for a more christological interpretation. These exegetes usually justified this on the basis of the word משיח (Mashiach, literally 'anointed one') in verses 25 and 26, either of which could easily be read as a reference to Jesus Christ qua Messiah. Moreover, even those (such as Theodoret of Cyrus) who had suggested that the word in verse 26 might simply designate the Jewish priesthood, nevertheless preserved its christological force in verse 25, usually on the grounds that in that verse it was followed by נגיד, the pair of which were frequently rendered along the lines of 'Christ the Prince' or 'Christ the Leader'.³⁵⁷ Lively had two major arguments against such interpretations, which formed the basis of his own exegesis of the verses.

His first argument was lexical. Like Theodoret of Cyrus, Lively argued that the appearance of משיח alone in verse 26 simply designated the Jewish priesthood, and its combination with נגיד in verse 25 was only slightly more complicated. For the word נגיד meant 'ruler' in an earthly sense and was used in the Hebrew Bible to describe both kings and lesser rulers, like governors.³⁵⁸ Thus משיח נגיד simply meant 'anointed governor'

³⁵⁶ Lively, *A true chronologie*, pp. 156-167.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 179; Theodoret, *In visiones Danielis*, p. 110.

³⁵⁸ Lively, *A true chronologie*, pp. 169-170. See eg 1 Sam. 10.2, 2 Sam. 7, 2 Kgs 20.5 and 2 Chr. 11.11.

and so signified, as Lively explained, ‘a succession of high Priests, which after this prophesie, and the Iewes returne from Babilon gouerned the people, which the scripture vsuallie calleth Christs or annoynteds.’³⁵⁹ Lively had one prestigious patristic precedent for such a reading in Eusebius of Caesarea, which he was happy to flaunt in the face of otherwise extensive Christian rejection.

The second argument was more complex, and intended to be a rebuttal to any attempt to make verse 25 refer to Christ despite its literal meaning of ‘anointed one’. This argument concerned the syntax of Dan. 9.25, which was very commonly rendered so as to leave ambiguous the exact number of sevens (whether seven sevens or sixty-two) that intervened between the building of Jerusalem and the **משיח נגיד**. This ambiguity is evident in the Bishops and Geneva Bibles, which translated the verse as: ‘to builde Ierusalem, vnto Messiah the prince, *shalbe* seuen wekes, and threscore and two wekes, & the strete shalbe built againe, & the wall...’³⁶⁰ Such a translation mimicked the structure of the original Hebrew, and thereby enabled exegetes to suggest that there were seven sevens *and* sixty-two sevens, i.e. in total sixty-nine sevens (483 years), from the building of Jerusalem to **משיח נגיד**. This was how exegetes had to read the verse if they wanted to preserve its christological import, for if the verse was divided so that the seven sevens referred to the former time (i.e. from Jerusalem’s building to Mashiach) and the sixty-two sevens to the latter time (i.e. the building of the street and wall), there was simply not enough time (only 49 years) from the rebuilding of Jerusalem to **משיח נגיד** for it to refer to Jesus.

But this anti-christological division was precisely what Lively argued for in his *A true chronologie*. Revealingly, Lively had at least one compelling precedent for dividing the

³⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 204.

³⁶⁰ *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile*, ed. Whittingham, fol. 363r. The Bishops’ rendering was similar: see *The holie Bible conteynnyng the olde Testament and the newe* [The Bishops’ Bible] (London, 1572), sig. clxviir.

verse after ‘seven sevens’ in Junius and Tremellius, who rendered the verse ‘...usque ad Christum antecessorem *fore* septimanas septem: deinde septimanas sexaginta duas rursus aedificata platea & fossa...’.³⁶¹ But since neither their Latin Bible nor Junius’s analysis of the verse in his 1594 *Expositio* gave any reason for this rendering, it was up to Lively to explain it. His argument was threefold. Firstly, he claimed that the presence of a rest after the ‘seventy sevens’ as designated by the pausal accent (atnach/etnachta) on שבעה showed that the two periods of time were meant to be separated. In addition to this, he continued, the strange syntax of the Hebrew, which had no waw conjunctive between ‘seven sevens’ and ‘sixty-two sevens’ as would be expected if they were part of one clause, suggested that a new period of time began after the accent. Finally, Lively concluded, the expression ‘seven sevens and sixty-two sevens’ itself supported this reading, for this was a bizarre circumlocution to use if simply ‘sixty-nine sevens’ were meant.³⁶²

As mentioned above, this particular reading of verse 25 had already been proposed by Junius and Tremellius, and Lively’s reading of verse 26 too had originated with Eusebius. This is no coincidence, for there was in fact no aspect of Lively’s interpretation of the seventy sevens that was in itself especially original, as he would point out to the reader at length later on in his treatise.³⁶³ Rather, the combination of so many christologically resistant features was extremely unusual for a Christian scholar: even Joseph Scaliger had insisted on interpreting verse 26 and parts of 27 as directly predicting aspects of Christ’s life, and Tremellius and Junius themselves wanted to reserve verse 26 for Jesus’ death.³⁶⁴ From this perspective, Lively’s proud enumeration of

³⁶¹ *Testamenti veteris biblia sacra*, ed. Tremellius and Junius, p. 295.

³⁶² Lively, *A true chronologie*, pp. 201-203; see also pp. 170-171.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-228.

³⁶⁴ Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, pp. 288-289; *Testamenti veteris biblia sacra*, ed. Tremellius and Junius, p. 296, further explained in Junius, *Expositio*, p. 224.

his illustrious precedents for different parts of his exegesis, as well as his reluctant acknowledgements that he was nevertheless doing something slightly odd, do seem to betray some anxiety about his deviation. Such anxiety would have been justified given that, despite their professions of tolerance for diverse exegeses, most scholars advocated such tolerance only on the assurance that exegetes understood the prophecy in a fundamentally christological way.³⁶⁵ It would not have been easy for Lively to tell whether his own attenuated understanding of how Christ featured in this prophecy would pass this test.

For Broughton, at least, it did not. He made this very explicit in his earliest printed response to Lively's work, in which he angrily listed all the ways Lively had failed to interpret the prophecy with sufficient reference to Christ's life.³⁶⁶ Broughton's strong reaction against Lively's work is revealing, as in some ways, Lively was merely extending the approach which Broughton himself, following Junius and Tremellius, had applied to the four kingdoms, by interpreting it as predicting aspects of Jewish history alone. The crucial difference, however, in Broughton's view, was that while the former re-interpretation aided Christians in Jewish-Christian debate, Lively's revision could only harm them. This was not just because its denial of features such as the christological import of משיח played into the hands of Jewish polemicists, though this was an issue which Broughton would raise a few years later.³⁶⁷ It was also because the chronology which underpinned this reading, especially that of the Persian monarchy, was so protracted beyond the rabbinic accounts that trying to deploy it in debate would be

³⁶⁵ See, e.g. the comments in Wigand, *Danielis prophetae explicatio*, fol. 339r; Heinrich Bullinger, *Daniel sapientissimus Dei propheta: qui a vetustis polyhistor, id est, multiscius est dictus, expositus homilijs lxvi* (Zurich, 1576) fols.103v-104r.

³⁶⁶ Hugh Broughton, *An aduertisement of corruption in our handling of religion* (Middelburg, 1604), sig. E2v; E4r.

³⁶⁷ Hugh Broughton, *Our Lordes Famile and Many Other Poinctes Depending Upon It: Opened against a Iew, Rabbi David Farar* (Amsterdam, 1608), sig. H2; H3v.

impossible. As Broughton put it, 'It is hard to persuade Iewes yt Persia ruled 130 yeres[...]. M. Livelies 230 wil be as the Al-koran.'³⁶⁸

Broughton may have strongly disagreed with Lively's ideas, but he was more than willing to engage with at least some of his methods, especially the exegetical ones. And, among the many errors of translation Broughton identified in Lively's rendering and analysis of Dan. 9.24-27, the two which he found the most egregious are not surprising: Lively's translation of משיח and revision of the syntax of verse 25.

The latter revision Broughton countered rapidly and with ease. The accent atnach/etnachta, he said, could not possibly mark a new clause, as otherwise its presence in the middle of Gen. 1.1 would render the verse nonsensical.³⁶⁹ Against the former revision Broughton had to do a little more work. He began by analysing every appearance of the word משיח in the Hebrew Bible, and found that verses 25 and 26 of Dan. 9 were the only two places at which the word appeared on its own in absolute rather than construct state, and without a definite article or pronominal suffix attached. This, Broughton surmised, had to be significant, and likely meant that in these verses משיח was used as a proper name rather than an adjective.³⁷⁰ This in itself suggested that משיח should be understood to mean 'Christ' specifically rather than 'anointed one' generally, which could refer to any anointed leader. This conclusion was in Broughton's eyes supported by the fact that John 1.41 and 4.25 both described Jesus as the Μεσσίας, a transliteration of the Hebrew משיח which only appeared at these two places in the whole New Testament. There was, then, lexical evidence from the Old Testament and a warrant in the New Testament to support interpreting משיח as a reference to Jesus: to

³⁶⁸ Broughton, *An advertisement*, sig. C2r; see also sigs. D3v-D4r.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., sig. Ev, E3v.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., sig. E.

do otherwise in light of this, Broughton argued, was ‘nothing els but to deny all the New Testam[ent].’³⁷¹

This exchange with Lively was in many ways very similar to that between Broughton and Rainolds, and it only served to reinforce Broughton’s belief that each man’s errors arose from flawed translation and interpretation. Indeed, as Broughton continued to rebut Lively in his later works, he began to slip away from addressing the specifics of Lively’s arguments and move instead towards a consideration of abstract rules and principles of translation that could be applied to any situation. This is perhaps most evident in his 1608 ‘Of M. Liuelies skill in Iudaisme to translate against Christianitie; & what learning a translatour should haue.’³⁷² Here, Broughton’s consideration of Lively’s peculiar errors led him to ‘lay downe a few rules, to shew learning a translation should haue, for Ebrew and Greke: and for all the artes, to judge of Equiuocationes.’³⁷³ These general rules required the translator to have, among other things, a broad understanding of how the Septuagint was translated (from unpointed copies; hence the great number of mistakes contained therein); a knowledge of the Bible’s textual history; and a good grasp of the texts which could help in difficult places (including the works of the Rabbis, Greek and Latin writings and other translations of the Bible, like the Arabic and Syriac versions).³⁷⁴

Given this turn, it is not surprising that when Broughton finally came round, in 1609, to writing a formal defence of the *Concent*, his focus was almost entirely on issues of translation. He did, of course, include his by then standard claims about the unreliability of the Olympiads, but the vast majority of his comments concerned how translators’ misunderstandings of Hebrew and Greek syntax, grammar and lexis could

³⁷¹ Ibid., sig. Bv.

³⁷² Published as a digression in Broughton, *Ovr lordes famile*, sig. H3v.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., sigs. H3v–Iv.

produce English Bibles riddled with chronological errors.³⁷⁵ The interrelation between chronology and translation had of course been one of Broughton's major interests since the controversy with Rainolds, but by the 1600s, it had acquired an unprecedented urgency.

Despite this, it is important to note that chronological controversy was not the only reason for Broughton's anxiety about the English Bible. After all, from about 1604 onwards, Broughton had become painfully aware of the progress of the 'new' translation of the Bible commissioned by King James. His own omission from the translation committees, as well as the inclusion of some of his chief antagonists (not least Lively and Rainolds) was made all the more difficult by the fact that he himself had been the one calling most loudly for an improved English Bible. It is to the development of this campaign for a new translation that we shall turn next.

iii. The Campaign for a New English Bible, 1597-1612

In 1593, Broughton wrote a brief letter to William Cecil outlining his intention to start work on amending the Bishops' Bible, and suggesting how this might take shape: six scholars, with Broughton at the lead, only changing what needed to be changed and adding short notes, tables and maps at various places to supplement the main text. Broughton informed Cecil that he had been considering such a project for a while (likely at least for the five years since the *Concent* controversy), and that many nobility, bishops, doctors and even lay people had expressed the need for it. Given this encouragement, and the urgency of the proposed work, he thought that now was the time to set the wheels in motion.³⁷⁶

Cecil, evidently, did not feel quite the same urgency, likely not much attracted by Broughton's presumptuous request for him to be one of the 'contributer[s]' for the

³⁷⁵ Idem., *A defence of the booke entitled A co[n]cent*, sig. Dv, D3r.

³⁷⁶ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 75, no. 4.

maintenance' of the chosen translators.³⁷⁷ Undeterred, two years later, on 18th June 1595, Broughton tried again to gain Cecil's approval for the project, this time placing his request a little indelicately at the end of a letter which was already demanding a St. Paul's prebend.³⁷⁸ Another two years later, with no hint of any funds forthcoming, Broughton made a drastic decision. Whereas previously he had been unwilling 'largely to tell in wordes' what problems he saw in the English Bible, for fear that it would be 'disgraced, which nowe we use', the continued inaction of the bishops had prompted a change of heart.³⁷⁹ In late May of 1597, therefore, Broughton wrote and published his call to arms: *An epistle to the learned nobilitie of England: Touching translating the Bible from the original.*

The aim of this work was to move the 'English Nobilitie' (by which Broughton meant 'all the ancient and good Gentry of the land') to fund a new English Bible. Broughton claimed to be publishing this at the request of an unnamed lord who desired to know how best to execute a new translation; like many of Broughton's claims, this is difficult to verify.³⁸⁰ Within this work Broughton made some of the general comments on translation that are now among the best known of his ideas, such as his description of the need for 'constant memorye to translate the same often repeated in the same sort'.³⁸¹ He also, however, made very specific remarks about the extent and nature of the scholarly knowledge which a good translator should have, including knowledge of the Masorah, a command of classical and Rabbinic sources, and an understanding of the advantages and disadvantages in using the Septuagint as a translation aid.³⁸² Finally, Broughton also offered a list of errors he had found in contemporary English Bibles,

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 79, no. 52.

³⁷⁹ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 75, no. 4.

³⁸⁰ Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, p. 56.

³⁸¹ Ibid., p. 1. See below, p. 236, fn571.

³⁸² Ibid., pp. 5-6; p. 50; pp. 51-52.

and comments on how best to correct them. Many of these errors consisted of contradictory translations of different biblical verses, which Broughton harmonised by carefully examining the syntax, grammar or lexis of the original Hebrew or Greek text and retranslating accordingly.³⁸³

If any reaction was forthcoming from this first foray into the public arena, it was not positive, for only a month or so later Broughton wrote a furious letter to Cecil, accusing Whitgift of hindering his proposed translation, and making it clear that he held the archbishop personally responsible for the continued production of English Bibles brimming with errors.³⁸⁴ Broughton was concerned enough about the reception of his work in England that he even considered moving to Scotland, where he had been assured he would receive a warm welcome.³⁸⁵ And indeed, errors in the English Bible aside, by this point things were not looking good for Broughton, as he became embroiled in the gritty, complicated controversy over the meaning of Christ's descent, which saw him pitted against several major figures in the English ecclesiastical establishment, including Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, William Barlow, later Bishop of Rochester, and Whitgift himself.³⁸⁶ For now, the precise details of this controversy are less important than the fact that it quickly became bitterly personal, thanks especially to the publication of the satire, penned anonymously by Barlow and Richard Bancroft, *Master Broughtons Letters*.³⁸⁷ Although specifically engendered by the controversy over Christ's descent, this

³⁸³ See, for example, Broughton's discussion in *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie* of Acts 7.15-15; pp. 8-9; Gen. 44.5, p. 13; Exod. 12.40, pp. 14-15; Dan. 7.12, p. 34; John 20.17, p. 44-45; Heb. 1.3, 1.7, pp. 54-55.

³⁸⁴ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 85, no. 13.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.; Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, p. 46.

³⁸⁶ For this debate see Chapter 6, below.

³⁸⁷ Broughton identified Barlow and Bancroft as the authors in his notes in London, British Library, MS Egerton 791 fol. 28r. Broughton was not the only one to see past the anonymity: an annotated copy of *Master Broughtons Letters* in Washington D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library, shelf mark STC 3864 2/8/43 has the comment 'Stilus similis Barlowj Episcopi of Lincoln' at sig. A2v.

ruthless piece served more broadly as a masterclass in character defamation, sharply declaring Lively to have triumphed over Broughton in their exchange over the meaning of Daniel's seventy sevens and, in a stinging conclusion, advising Broughton to 'returne to your *Genealogies*, wherein your grace is best'.³⁸⁸

Moreover, just as the English bishops seemed to be uniting against him, the frankness of Broughton's *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie* was beginning to attract the wrong kind of positive attention, principally from Catholic controversialists who were keen to seize on Protestant admissions of corruption in the English Bibles. The problem began when Thomas Wright of the English College at Douai called upon Broughton's 'Epistle dedicated to the Lordes of the Councell' as evidence for the minor premise of his syllogism proving that 'All Protestants who are ignorant of the Greeke and Latine tongues are Infidels'.³⁸⁹ Despite the ardent dismissals of Wright's comments by various Protestants (including Barlow, who asked how anyone could take seriously a man 'growne mad with his selfe-louing phrensy'), Broughton's work continued to be exploited for confessional ends.³⁹⁰ He had to be defended again when the second, expanded edition of Wright's work came out in 1604, and once more in 1608 when the Irish Jesuit Henry Fitzsimon reinvoked *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie* - along, interestingly, with the then in-process AV - as evidence 'that the Scriptures hetherto deliuered in England are corrupt[...]and neuer well translated'.³⁹¹ Broughton's work even made an appearance in the controversy over the Oath of Allegiance as evidence of Protestant corruption and

³⁸⁸ Barlow and Bancroft, *Master Broughtons Letters*, pp. 25-26; p. 45.

³⁸⁹ Thomas Wright, *Certaine Articles or Forcible Reasons: Discovering the Palpable Absurdities, and Most Notorious and Intricate Errors of the Protestants Religion* (England, 1600), sigs. A6v-A7r.

³⁹⁰ William Barlow, *A Defence of the Articles of the Protestants Religion: In Aunsweare to a Libell Lately Cast Abroad, Intituled Certaine Articles, or Forcible Reasons* (London, 1601), p. 84; see also Edward Buckley, *An Apologie for Religion, or an Answere to an Vnlearned and Slanderous Pamphlet Intituled: Certaine Articles* (London, 1602), p. 44.

³⁹¹ See Anthony Wotton, *An ansvere to a popish pamphlet, of late newly forbished, and the second time printed, entituled: Certaine articles* (London, 1605), p. 23; Henry Fitzsimon, *A Catholike confutation of M Iohn Riders clayme of antiquitie and a caulming comfort against his caueat* (Douai, 1608), p. 48.

error. Richard Broughton, Robert Parsons and Thomas Morton all rallied back and forth over exactly how Broughton's words should be interpreted, as Parsons and Richard Broughton insisted that they should be taken as a grave condemnation of English Protestantism from within, while Morton refused to read them as anything other than 'the language of passion'.³⁹² In short, though *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie* had been written with the aim of aiding the English Church, in the years after its publication it seemed to do rather more good for Catholic controversialists than Protestant scholars.

Six years after the publication of *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, with the Descent controversy raging and no hint of patronage for his translation project, the succession of James I in 1603 gave Broughton what he perceived to be a window of opportunity. He had always thought his scholarship would be better received in Scotland than in England, and had considered moving there in the first half of the 1590s.³⁹³ With a Scottish King on the now British throne, therefore, Broughton felt confident that a change in his fortunes was imminent. This is clearly shown in a letter entitled 'Of Amending the Genevan translat.', sent to James by Broughton soon after his succession and certainly before 1604.³⁹⁴ In this, Broughton explained to James that many bishops and nobles had long wished for an improved version of the Geneva Bible and that even Anthony Gilby (d. 1585), who was one of its translators, had been 'most earnest to have

³⁹² Richard Broughton, *A iust and moderate answer to a most iniurious, and slaunderous pamphlet, intituled, An exact discovery of Romish doctrine in case of conspiracie and rebellion* (England, 1606), sigs. Ev-E2r; Morton, *A full satisfaction*, pp. 18-19; Robert Parsons, *A treatise tending to mitigation towardes Catholike-subiectes in England: VVherin is declared, that it is not impossible for subiects of different religion, (especially Catholikes and Protestantes) to liue togeather in dutifull obedience and subiection, vnder the gouernment of his Maiesty of Great Britany* (Saint-Omer, 1607), pp. 110-112; Richard Broughton, *A plaine patterne of a perfect Protestant professor: which is, to be a false corrupter, perverter, and abuser of authorities, &c* (London, 1608), pp. 49-51; Robert Parsons, *A quiet and sober reckoning with M. Thomas Morton: somewhat set in choler by his aduersary P.R. concerning certaine imputations of wilfull falsities objected to the said T.M. in a treatise of P.R. intituled Of mitigation* (Saint-Omer, 1609), p. 44; Thomas Morton, *The encounter against M. Parsons, by a review of his last sober reckoning, and his exceptions vrged in the treatise of his mitigation* (London, 1610), p. 86.

³⁹³ See above, fn385 p. 160.

³⁹⁴ London, British Library, MS Sloane 3088, fols. 114r-115r. The letter's reference to the imminent publication of *An aduertisement of corruption* gives its terminus ad quem.

his work amended.³⁹⁵ As well as briefly reiterating some of the general rules from his translation Broughton had already mentioned in his *Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, this letter also informed James that another work was soon to be printed (*An aduertisement of corruption*) which would further reveal the ‘grosse errors’ in the text and notes of current English Bibles, and urged him to take action in this matter.³⁹⁶ Whether Broughton ever did send this letter, or indeed whether James ever received it and replied is a matter of speculation, but in any case he would have no more support from James, either for his new English Bible or his other projects, than he had had from Elizabeth.

Broughton did not, however, give up hope easily: in 1605 he produced his own translation of Ecclesiastes and dedicated it to James’ oldest son, Prince Henry, and only the next year he dedicated another translation, this time of the Book of Lamentations, to the young Prince.³⁹⁷ Despite his ongoing efforts, Broughton’s patience was waning, especially after he heard about the central role Richard Bancroft had been assigned in the new translation commissioned by King James. Broughton’s frustration at his old enemy’s prominence in an enterprise so important to him is recorded particularly vividly in a document written around late 1609 entitled ‘Rules concerning the BB [bishops] translation of the Bible’.³⁹⁸ Here, Broughton described how he believed that Bancroft had wormed his way into the enterprise, manipulating James so that he would be allowed to appoint translators ‘according to his unlerned choise’.³⁹⁹ In order to minimise his harmful influence, Broughton declared, he had designed this document to establish what ‘theoremata or rules shall be laid downe: shewing what learning a translator ought to

³⁹⁵ Ibid., fol. 114r.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., fol. 114v.

³⁹⁷ Broughton, *A Comment upon Cobelet or Ecclesiastes: framed for the instruction of Prince Henri* (1605); idem, *The Lamentations of Ieremy, translated with great care of his Hebrew elegancie, and oratorious speeches: wherin his sixfold alphabet stirreth all to attention* (1606), sigs. *r-*2r.

³⁹⁸ A copy, possibly made by Edward Holyoke, is London, British Library, MS Egerton 791, fols. 23r-38r. The date is on the basis of internal evidence.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., fol. 23r.

haue'. It is probable that Broughton was intending to publish this work, though he never did, even after Bancroft died in November 1610 .

Indeed, publication of such a document would likely have been very difficult, at least in England, given the extent and ferocity of Broughton's accusations against Bancroft within it. What began as a neutral set of 'rules' soon turned into a raging polemic, outlining all the reasons why Bancroft could not be trusted to produce a good translation. These included some intellectual reasons, such as his commendation of Lively, now deceased, in the 1599 *Master Broughtons Letters*: Broughton worried that this was a sign that an English Bible produced under Bancroft would have many of the qualities he strongly disagreed with in Lively's translation of Dan. 9, such as the revised syntax of verse 25, the refusal to understand משיח as 'Messiah'; and, of course, Lively's overarching interpretation of the duration of the seventy sevens.⁴⁰⁰ Beyond this, Broughton doubted the sincerity of Bancroft's motivations, holding him personally responsible for the fact that the faulty Geneva and Bishops' translation had held sway for so long and, perhaps most strikingly, accusing him of burning copies of the 1609 *Defence of the Convent*.⁴⁰¹ The most damning, however, and most dangerous allegation Broughton made was that Bancroft was guilty of simony: that he had effectively bought the bishopric of London in 1597 by paying Penelope Blount, Countess of Devonshire, Henry Cuffe and Gilly Merrick to campaign for his appointment.⁴⁰² For this reason,

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., fol. 23v, point 6; fol. 27r, point 11; fol. 25v, point 8; fol. 28v, point 12.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., fol. 27r, 29v, 37v; 33r. There is some corroboration for this final claim, though it comes from late and somewhat biased source: Benjamin Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans* (London, 1813), ii.215-230, p. 227.

⁴⁰² London, British Library, MS Egerton 791, fol. 31r; Broughton repeated the accusation in his *Querelae de quodam scoparcha: qui commemorationem promissorum regalium regis magnae Britanni[a]e ad illustranda S. Biblia iniuriosam & mendacem fuisse praedicat, turbasque mouet* (Middelburg, 1610), sig. +2r. This is a remarkable claim, and I have not found any evidence to corroborate Broughton's accusations or to suggest that they were shared by others.

Broughton declared, he would rather call Bancroft a 'Buy-shop' than a bishop.⁴⁰³

Although the 'Rules' remained unpublished, Broughton did print a brief, sanitised extract from them in his 1609 *A short oration of the Bibles translation*, though this did not do much more than repeat the comments he had already printed in *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie* and elsewhere.⁴⁰⁴

Broughton's ill-judged behaviour was damaging to no one except himself, and his polemics against Bancroft had no effect on either of their careers. Still the translation continued, but, despite all of this, even by 1610 Broughton had not entirely given up. In his 1610 *Querelae de quodam scoparcha* he announced that if the bishops did indeed manage to provide a translation better than those he had produced of Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Daniel or Job (which was then in press), he would not begrudge it. Equally, however, if they failed to meet such standards he would still be willing to do the job himself for a royal stipend.⁴⁰⁵ And, in yet another letter to James written that same year, Broughton complained about the slow progress of the translation and the inadequacy of the chosen translators, but also offered once more his own opinion of the learning a good translator ought to have, and suggested again that given a stipend he could provide a better translation himself.⁴⁰⁶

Given these events, especially the personal animus that had built up between Bancroft and Broughton, it is hardly surprising that Broughton disliked the final Bible produced by the committees. Indeed, as well as Broughton's most famous critique of it, the 1611 *Censure*, there exists also a more extensive document dissecting the AV and

⁴⁰³ London, British Library, MS Egerton 791, fol. 31r.

⁴⁰⁴ Hugh Broughton, *Principall positions for groundes of the holy Bible: A short oration of the Bibles translation. Positions historique: and of the Apocrypha. Tobit particularly handled. Iudith senerally handled* (London, 1609).

⁴⁰⁵ Hugh Broughton, *Querelae de quodam scoparcha*, sig. +7r.

⁴⁰⁶ Idem, 'Perdiu iam rex magne...' in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iv.708.

demanding that ‘the first edition be onely for a trial’.⁴⁰⁷ This reveals that among Broughton’s strongest objections to the new Bible was the clear influence he saw within it of Lively’s *A true chronologie*: the First Oxford Company, to whom the book of Daniel was assigned, must have had this work before them as they translated. Evidence of this included many changes from the Bishops’ Bible text of Daniel that were chiefly recommended in Lively’s work.

For instance, at Dan. 9.24, where the 1602 Bishops Bible translated ‘to seale up the sinnes’, following the reading in the main text of the Hebrew (the *ketiv*), the AV had instead put the Hebrew Bible’s marginal (*qere*) reading of ‘to make an ende of sinnes’ in the main text, with the main reading ‘to seal’ in the margin.⁴⁰⁸ This reversal of the readings had been strongly recommended by Lively, on the theological grounds that for Christ merely to have sealed up sin rather than ending it would diminish the nature of his sacrifice.⁴⁰⁹ Broughton, however, objected that this was not reason enough to depart from the Hebrew Bible.⁴¹⁰ Another similar example to this occurred at Dan. 9.25, where Broughton was horrified to notice that AV had followed Lively’s interpretation of the verse against the precedent set by the Bishops’ Bible:

‘...to build Hierusalem, unto Messiah the prince, there shalbe seuen weeks, and threescore and two weekes: and the street shall be built againe, and the wall...’ (Bishops’ Bible, 1602)

⁴⁰⁷ Broughton, ‘Advertisement how to examine the translation now in hand’, in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iii.695-703. Lightfoot’s original is possibly Trinity College Dublin, MS 787, fols. 252r-267v.

⁴⁰⁸ *The holie Bible conteynyng the olde Testament and the newe* [The Bishops’ Bible] (London, 1602), fol. 269r; *The Holy Bible: Quatercentenary Edition: an Exact Reprint in Roman Type Page for Page, Line for Line, and Letter for Letter of the King James Version, Otherwise Known As the Authorized Version, Published in the Year 1611, with an Anniversary Essay by Gordon Campbell*, ed. Gordon Campbell (Oxford, 2010), Dan. 9.24.

⁴⁰⁹ Lively, *A true chronologie*, pp. 160-161

⁴¹⁰ Broughton, ‘Advertisement’, p. 695.

‘to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seuen weekes; and threescore and two weekes, the street shall be built againe, and the wall...’ (AV, 1611)⁴¹¹

As Broughton noticed, whereas the placement of the colon in the 1602 Bishops’ translation forced the reader to follow the traditional christological interpretation of the verse and assign both the 7x7 and 62x7 to the period from Jerusalem’s rebuilding to the Messiah, the placement of the semi-colon in the 1611 AV pushed the reader towards Lively’s interpretation, enabling only the 7x7 to be assigned to the period from Jerusalem’s rebuilding to the Messiah and thereby meaning that the ‘Messiah’ could not be interpreted as Christ.⁴¹²

In seeing Lively’s interpretation of Daniel embedded in the AV, Broughton had one of his worst fears about the project confirmed, and indeed these same objections to the Livelian elements of the AV’s translation of Daniel were repeated in his 1611 *Censure*.⁴¹³ However, despite Broughton’s complaints, his hopes that the AV might be recalled and a fresh translation commissioned were never fulfilled. Indeed, Broughton, suffering by this stage from tuberculosis, returned to England in the very year of its publication, and died soon afterwards.

In outlining the broad disappointments and difficulties which faced Broughton in his translation efforts, this chapter has tried to emphasise several features of his life and works which have received less attention in the previous chapters. Firstly, it has shown how Broughton’s chronological and genealogical concerns related to his broader anxieties about exegesis and translation, and demonstrated how pragmatic he could be in all of these endeavours, using every scholarly tool at his disposal to make his argument from

⁴¹¹ *The holie Bible* [The Bishops’ Bible, 1602], fol. 269r; *The Holy Bible: Quatercentenary Edition*, ed. Campbell, Dan. 9.25.

⁴¹² Broughton, ‘Advertisement’, pp. 695-696.

⁴¹³ Hugh Broughton, *A censure of the late translation for our churches: sent vnto a right worshipfull knight, attendant vpon the king* (Middelburg, 1611), point 6.

the fragments of Polybius to an obscure early medieval poem by a Jewish philosopher. Moreover, it has nuanced and complicated some of the usual commonplaces about Broughton's response to the AV by placing them within their long-term intellectual and political context. This has argued how, far from being the product of an irate puritanism, Broughton's criticisms of the AV were a fusion of theological and scholarly objections and the culmination of years of intensive debate and exchange, especially with Lively. Perhaps more importantly, however, it has shown that the reason why such criticisms were never taken seriously by Broughton's contemporaries was not so much because of their intellectual quality, but rather because of Broughton's own character flaws, and in particular the way in which he mismanaged his erudition with a lack of diplomatic common sense.

Indeed, this chapter has aimed above all to give a broader perspective on Broughton's career than that provided by previous chapters. This has shown that Broughton was an outsider in almost every field in which he intervened; that his own behaviour perpetuated his isolation; that he could be brutally critical of contemporary scholars regardless of their confession or political standing; was subject to vicious retaliations from those he had insulted; and had a difficult relationship with magisterial Protestantism. Despite this, however, he published works that made serious contributions to pressing issues of the day and were highly valued by those without strong connections to the English court, who could afford not to care about his diplomatic faux pas. One reason these contributions have been relatively overlooked by modern historians of scholarship is because they fall into areas that have not commanded their attention, such as prophetic exegesis. However, as the next chapter will show, Broughton was in fact sitting on a significant quantity of even more exciting research, which not only falls more naturally into the categories of modern biblical criticism but which also has a genuine claim to originality. Moreover, this material can further illuminate some of the distinctive and even radical features of Broughton's ideas for a new English Bible.

PART THREE: THE NEW TESTAMENT

4. Scholarship for Scholars: Semitic Influences on the New Testament

One of the most exciting and important developments within sixteenth-century scholarship was the gradual realisation that seemingly inexplicable aspects of the New Testament, from quirks of its Greek to the strange customs described within it, could be explained with reference not only to biblical Hebrew but also to extra-biblical and post-biblical Jewish writings. Indeed, these insights and advances have been identified as a ‘methodological revolution’ and one of the crucial early steps towards a historical biblical criticism. Moreover, the scholars who pioneered and practiced such analyses are considered to be important landmarks on the way towards the Enlightenment.⁴¹⁴

Broughton does not fit comfortably within this context, for two reasons. The first is that he is not well known as a New Testament scholar. The vast majority of his works focussed on the translation and exposition of the Hebrew Bible, as well as biblical chronology and theological controversy. His single published exposition of the New Testament was a commentary on a book not commonly associated with historicising scholarship (John’s Apocalypse) and appears most obviously to be a work of anti-papal polemic. The second reason is more complicated. Most of the New Testament scholars thought to be at the cutting edge of research were relatively liberal-minded Catholics and Protestants who were willing to identify error, corruption and confusion in the biblical texts, and who worked in a humanist, post-Erasmian tradition. They often presented themselves as ‘mere’ historians or grammarians, and sometimes claimed to be uninterested in the theological disputes that could make men stray from the path of

⁴¹⁴ Anthony Grafton, ‘Christianity’s Jewish Origins Rediscovered: The Roles of Comparison in Early Modern Ecclesiastical Scholarship’, *Erudition and the Republic of Letters*, 1 (2016), 13-42 (pp. 16-17); idem, and Weinberg, *I have always loved the Holy Tongue*, pp. 283-288; David Ruderman, *Connecting the Covenants: Judaism and the Search for Christian Identity in Eighteenth-Century England* (Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 82-85, and more generally Aaron Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), pp. 30-75. Famous names include Johannes Drusius (Snr), Joseph Justus Scaliger, Daniel Heinsius, Hugo Grotius, John Selden and John Lightfoot: see 4.i below.

scholarship. It is generally assumed that such a mindset was necessary for these scholars to apply the skills which they had developed in secular, classical scholarship to sacred studies, and thereby formulate radically historicising theories about the New Testament as a document of first-century CE Jewish culture rather than a timeless repository of Christian truth. Broughton, as we have seen, is best known for being the very opposite of this type of scholar, thanks to his aforementioned insistence on the absolute perfection, inerrancy and incorruption of the Bible, as well as his propagation of theological, typological and prophetic modes of exegesis.⁴¹⁵

The first problem, the reason why Broughton scarcely published on the New Testament, is something of an accident of history, and it is worth unpacking. It is well known that Broughton's career as a Hebraist began when he learnt Hebrew as an undergraduate from the lectures of Anthony Chevallier, the renowned Huguenot scholar employed by several Cambridge colleges from 1569 to 1572 for that very purpose.⁴¹⁶ However, despite this, Broughton's earliest ambitions were actually as a scholar of Greek, a period of his life Broughton would later refer to as 'my Homerique dayes, when *Homer* was my profession.'⁴¹⁷ He abandoned his first fellowship at St John's, Cambridge in 1572 to take up the Greek lectureship bestowed upon Christ's by Sir Walter Mildmay, and in that capacity he taught Greek and theology to eminent young Cambridge undergraduates such as Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.⁴¹⁸ Moreover, Broughton's first major commission was a polyglot task that amounted to a daunting test of Greek proficiency: a

⁴¹⁵ This has been the case for various parts of his corpus; see Feingold and Buchwald, *Newton*, pp. 113-114; Norton, *Bible As Literature*, pp. 139-144; Ferrell, *The Bible and the People*, p. 150; Popper, *Walter Raleigh*, p. 81; Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 155-162; Campbell, *Bible*, pp. 123-4; Sumillera, 'Hugh Broughton's Censure', pp. 47-57.

⁴¹⁶ G. Lloyd Jones, 'Hugh Broughton (1549–1612)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101003585/Hugh-Broughton>> Accessed 10 February 2015.

⁴¹⁷ Broughton, *A seder olam*, sig. *1r.

⁴¹⁸ See above, Chapter 2.i.

translation of the major Hebrew prophets into Greek, patronised by Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon.⁴¹⁹

Sometime in the early to mid 1580s, this translation was completed and Broughton presented it to William Cecil, Lord Burghley. At that point, Broughton still appeared to be heading towards further studies in biblical Greek. To the Earl of Huntingdon, Broughton promised a further Greek translation, this time of the entire Hebrew Bible (an undertaking that would be interrupted by his work on chronology and never completed).⁴²⁰ Cecil too had something similar in mind for the ambitious linguist: he summoned Broughton to court just after receiving his Greek Prophets to discuss the translation. Though the conversation ended portentously with Cecil expressing an enthusiastic interest in the seventy sevens of Daniel, Lord Burghley likely walked away believing that Broughton's real interests remained in biblical Greek. The majority of the discussion revolved around the questions raised by the New Testament citations of the Old, a topic gathering serious interest in the late 1580s with both the Flemish Hebraist Johannes Drusius and the French Reformed theologian Franciscus Junius simultaneously publishing monographs on the subject in 1588.⁴²¹

This incident reveals that very early in his career, before he had commenced his chronological work in earnest, Broughton had started thinking seriously about the linguistic and philological problems raised by the New Testament. This was not limited to mere conversation: there is evidence that Broughton had initially intended to write a series of monographs on New Testament Greek and its relationship to the Septuagint, the Hebrew Bible, post-biblical rabbinical writings, and the literature of the 'pagan' Greeks. He first mentioned this project in 1597, and it seems to have been occasioned by

⁴¹⁹ Broughton, *A seder olam*, sig. C3v.

⁴²⁰ See the dedication in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 2, fol. 1r.

⁴²¹ Franciscus Junius, *Sacrorum parallelorum libri tres* (London, 1588); Johannes Drusius, *Parallela sacra* (Frankfurt, 1588); for an account of this discussion with Cecil, see Hugh Broughton, *A Treatise of Melchisedek* (London, 1591), sigs. C2r-C4r.

a letter from Rabbi Abraham Reuben and his subsequent debate with Rabbi Elijah Loans at Basel in 1599.⁴²² It was after these interactions that Broughton proposed to write a collection of Hebrew missionary treatises on the New Testament (accompanied by a Hebrew translation of the Gospels) for the sake of converting the Jews.⁴²³

The combination of Broughton's continued involvement in the controversy over Christ's descent and the fact that Reuben's letter was rumoured to be forged all prevented this specific project from ever becoming more than a pipe dream.⁴²⁴ However, although no progress was made on this front, Broughton did not abandon the idea, seizing the opportunity provided by his work with Johannes Boreel on the Latin edition of his *Concent of Scripture* to expand upon his theories, inserting a digression into the 1602 translation called 'De linguis et integritate scripti utriusque testamenti', which (despite the title) focussed chiefly on the style of the New Testament. This was but a brief sketch of Broughton's ideas about New Testament Greek (which by 1602 were already quite advanced) but nevertheless contained enough to hint at their potential as a powerful set of exegetical tools.⁴²⁵ Indeed, it was this insert which provided Broughton with another opportunity to produce something substantive on the New Testament, when the *Concentus* attracted the attention of the Jesuits at Mainz.⁴²⁶ Nicolaus Serarius and another Jesuit, likely the Mainz-based theologian Balthasar Ezelius (1566-1648), were struck enough by the outline of Broughton's New Testament studies in this work to encourage

⁴²² For the dating of Broughton's debates with Jewish communities on the continent, see Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, p. 65.

⁴²³ See the letter from Broughton to the English Parliament, c.1599/1600, Birmingham, Cadbury Library, MS LAdd/531; and that from Broughton to Whitgift, February 25/ March 7 1600/1601, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 76, fol. 123; Broughton, *A Defence of the Booke Entitled a Concent*, sigs. C2v-C3r; idem, *A Reuelation of the Holy Apocalypse* (Amsterdam, 1610), pp. 338-339.

⁴²⁴ See p. 268, below.

⁴²⁵ Hugh Broughton, *Concentus SS. Scripturae* (Hanau, 1602), pp. 126-7.

⁴²⁶ Broughton, *A Reuelation*, pp. 10-11, 204; idem, *Our Lordes Famile*, sig. G4v.

his missionary plans of ‘Thalmudicall matters, expounding the New Testament’ with hints of financial support from Baronius.⁴²⁷

Broughton did not take up this offer, and hoped instead for patronage from a more appropriately Protestant source.⁴²⁸ When he received word from Hanau sometime between 1608 and 1610 that the German Princes there would be willing to offer him a stipend to expound the New Testament from ‘the Canaanite tongue of the Talmud’, he sent off a rapid letter in response, hastily outlining his thoughts about the various ways in which Jewish customs and habits of speech were inscribed in the New Testament. Unfortunately, in addition to demanding the money, Broughton also required that the princes obtain the consent of all German divines to two principles: the absolute purity of the text of Scripture and Broughton’s interpretation of the descent into hell.⁴²⁹ This was evidently too much for the German princes: Prince Philipp Ludwig II had changed the official religion of Hanau to Calvinism upon his assumption of power in 1595, and it seems that upon hearing of Broughton’s strenuous efforts against the Genevan interpretation of the descent, the offer was rescinded. As Broughton would bitterly note two years later, the as yet unquelled rumours about the alleged forgery of Rabbi Abraham Reuben’s letter did not help matters.⁴³⁰

But Broughton was not deterred and, despite his many recent difficulties with his homeland, he began instead to angle for a stipend from James I.⁴³¹ His first request for a £500 annuity for his New Testament project was sent sometime in the winter of 1609,

⁴²⁷ Broughton, ‘To Caesar Baronius, Cardinal’, in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iv. 724.

⁴²⁸ For more on Broughton’s relationship with Serarius and the Jesuits at Mainz, see Chapter 6.iv.

⁴²⁹ Broughton, ‘Illustrissimis Principibus Germaniae, qui polliciti sunt regificè stipendia, ut ex Thalmudicis Chananaeo Sermone Novum Testamentum illustretur’ in *Qverelae de quodam scoparcha*, sigs. Ar-A2v.

⁴³⁰ See Broughton’s irritated comments in *A Reuelation*, pp. 138-139. On Hanau, see Heinrich Bott, *Gründung und Anfänge der Neustadt Hanau 1596-1620* (Marburg, 1970), i: *Die Gründung der Neustadt Hanau 1596-1601*, pp. 47-56.

⁴³¹ Broughton, *A Most Humble Supplication Vnto the King* (Middelburg, 1609).

but by 1610 the money had not arrived, forcing Broughton to send another, more desperate, letter again ‘for allowance to open the New Testament in Ebrew by Thalmudiques.’⁴³² When this money still did not appear, Broughton decided to change course. He worked much of his material on New Testament Greek, the cumulative result of decades of miscellaneous work, into his 1610 commentary on the Apocalypse of John, dedicated to James. In this work, detailed philological digressions on New Testament Greek were placed somewhat uneasily alongside a large quantity of anti-papal material, intended no doubt to distance Broughton from his Jesuit friends and restore him in the king’s eyes as a potential defender of the faith. Broughton’s next request for James’s patronage, sent in 1611, confirms that this work was indeed intended as a specimen of Broughton’s ‘readynes to combate’ with the Jesuits, and reassure James about any doubts he might have of Broughton’s ability to serve as both Christian missionary to the Jews and Protestant controversialist against the Catholics. By this point Broughton’s proposed New Testament monograph had morphed into a work by which ‘both Iewes and Papists shalbe together here benefited’. Building on the ‘two English Commentaries’ Broughton had just published on the book of Revelation, the project would consist of one commentary in Greek on the Greek style of John’s Apocalypse, and one commentary in Hebrew on a Hebrew translation of the same.⁴³³ Unsurprisingly, after Broughton made the new anti-Catholic intentions of his New Testament proposal clear, his previously warm relations with the Jesuits suddenly cooled, and hopes of funding from that quarter rapidly disappeared: in a 1611 letter to an unidentified Oxford student Broughton revealed that he had been sending ‘daily’ accusatory Greek letters to

⁴³² Idem, *A Petition to the King to Hasten Allowance for Ebrew Institution of Ebreves* (Middelburg, 1610).

⁴³³ Broughton, *A Petition*, sig. A2v. By ‘two commentaries’ Broughton means his 1611 *Renelation of the Holy Apocalyps*, which is actually one volume of two works on Revelation, with some overlap.

the Jesuits describing his work on John's Apocalypse and blaming them for 'missing of all groundes of learning' in that matter.⁴³⁴

However, the hoped-for royal stipend never appeared, and Broughton died in August 1612 with his New Testament plans unfulfilled. Thus, although he never published anything explicitly or indeed solely on the topic of New Testament Greek, it could perhaps be said that Broughton spent a good deal of his career chasing after opportunities to do so, and that his failure to gain one had less to do with effort than with the exigencies of confessional controversy and ecclesiastical politics. No doubt also Broughton's aggressive and impolitic dealings with Bancroft at exactly the same time as his attempts to extract money from the king did not much help his chances of gaining an annuity.

So much for Broughton's failures to publish his work on the New Testament. The remainder of this chapter considers the second reason for Broughton's low status as a scholar of the New Testament: the fact that Broughton's ideas about and attitude towards the Bible are not usually considered compatible with the contextualising approaches taken by scholars like Scaliger, Drusius and Casaubon. Here, I offer a reconstruction of Broughton's research into the New Testament as well as its significance for contemporary scholarship. This reconstruction will show not just that the scripturalist beliefs held by Broughton did not prevent him from thinking in the same historical and philological ways as his more liberally minded contemporaries, but also that at times those beliefs could push him further than such colleagues to produce theories, ideas and insights which were both original and influential. To demonstrate this, however, it is necessary not just to piece together the scattered, miscellaneous evidence relating to Broughton's own research, but also to reconstruct in detail aspects of sixteenth-century New Testament scholarship which have previously received little attention. Such

⁴³⁴ A copy of this letter survives in London, British Library, MS Sloane 3088, fol. 110. It is dated 20th September 1611.

reconstructions naturally include some technical discussion, but they are essential not just because without them it is impossible to contextualise Broughton's work, but also because they in their own right represent some of the most important and overlooked advances made within the early modern study of the Bible.

i. The Language of the New Testament: New Methods, Old Motives

The most commonly cited landmark within the sixteenth century's study of the Jewish contexts of the New Testament is the work of Joseph Scaliger. Scaliger was deeply interested in bringing a range of contemporary and post-biblical Jewish writings to bear on the New Testament. Perhaps the most famous example of this was his work on the 'Hellenistae', the Greek-speaking Jews whose customs and practices he saw permeating the New Testament, among other texts. More generally, the approach Scaliger took is understood to have been the spark that both ignited the seventeenth century's major linguistic controversy over the nature of New Testament Greek, and also paved the way to John Lightfoot's 1658-1674 *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, considered a milestone of biblical scholarship due to its extensive illumination of the Gospels through rabbinic sources.⁴³⁵ However, the seeds for Scaliger's readings were sown earlier in the century, when several factors coalesced to provide a strong impetus to the reading of the New Testament alongside Jewish sources. These included the patristic precedent of explaining certain New Testament practices by recourse to Jewish material; the still-influential medieval commentary tradition, the best of which (as in Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos) was famous for its illumination of both Testaments through Rashi and the

⁴³⁵ For Scaliger's work on the 'Hellenists', see above all Anthony Grafton, *Scaliger*, pp. 315-24; 415-20; 510-11; idem, 'Joseph Scaliger et l'histoire du judaïsme hellénistique', in *La république des lettres et l'histoire du Judaïsme antique: XVIe-XVIIe siècles*, ed. C. Grell and F. Laplanche (Paris, 1992), pp. 51-63; idem, 'Christian Hebraism and the Rediscovery of Hellenistic Judaism', in *Jewish Culture in Early Modern Europe: essays in honor of David B. Ruderman*, ed. Richard Cohen, Natalie Dohrmann, Adam Shear, and Elchanan Reiner (Cincinnati, Oh., 2014), pp. 169-180; H. J. de Jonge, 'Joseph Scaliger's Historical Criticism of the New Testament', *Nouum Testamentum* 38 (1996), 176-93.

Talmud; and, finally, the burgeoning European study of Hebrew grammar and Jewish traditions (so-called ‘Christian Hebraism’) that was to be a crucial difference between sixteenth-century biblical scholars and the majority of their medieval forebears.⁴³⁶

However, it is necessary to make some further distinction within this picture of progress. The approach of early modern Hebraists to the New Testament has been implicitly split into two categories, most notably diverting after Scaliger but evident too before him. One approach studied it in a culturally attuned and practice-orientated way, seeking to explain (for confessional and Christian theological ends) specific New Testament customs and rituals with information gleaned from rabbinic and post-biblical Jewish writings. The most famous example of this is Scaliger’s use of the Passover Seder to explain aspects of the Last Supper.⁴³⁷

The second approach was more grammatically and linguistically inclined, focusing on the Semitic elements in Apostolic Greek. This was the approach that would lead to the *lingua hellenistica* debates of the seventeenth century, in which Daniel Heinsius, appropriating (and misconstruing) Scaliger’s idea of the ‘Hellenistae’, argued that the language of the New Testament was ‘Hellenistic Greek’. This Greek was a Hellenised expression of Semitic concepts of which the first exemplar was the Septuagint, the

⁴³⁶ The literature on this topic is enormous: see Scott Mandelbrote and Joanna Weinberg, eds, *Jewish Books and their Readers: Aspects of the Intellectual life of Christians and Jews in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016); Stephen Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500-1660): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning* (Leiden, 2012); G. J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship* (Oxford, 2009), 2 vols; Alison Coudert and Jeffrey Shoulson, eds, *Hebraica veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 2004); Peter 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, 1989). See also the overview by William Horbury, ‘The New Testament and Rabbinic Study: An Historical Sketch’, in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature*, ed. Reimund Bieringer (Leiden, 2010), pp. 1-40 (pp. 22-31; 38-40).

⁴³⁷ See the seminal discussion in Grafton, *Scaliger*, 316-323. For the theological aims of Scaliger’s reading, see Nicholas Hardy, *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 127-152.

Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible composed around the third century BCE.⁴³⁸ But both Heinsius's work and that of his chief antagonist, Claudius Salmasius, had roots reaching far beyond Scaliger. As Joanna Weinberg has shown, the foundations of this idea lay in the early sixteenth century when a series of innovative Hebraists, from Sebastian Münster to Angelo Canini, realised that the vernacular of Jesus was a form of Aramaic; learnt to distinguish Aramaic from Hebrew; and then applied this knowledge not just to the many transliterations of Aramaic phrases and words in the New Testament, but also to the strangely non-classical features of its Greek.⁴³⁹

This second approach is most important for this section, and since it has received little systematic study, it is necessary here to reconstruct it in unprecedented depth. To do so, we must begin (as Weinberg shows) with the embryonic field of Aramaic scholarship, which was so central to the sixteenth-century analysis of New Testament 'Hebraisms' that such studies were usually appended to 'Chaldee' grammars. By now the major names and works in the development of 'Christian Aramaism' have been relatively well sketched out, as have the shifting boundaries between the sometimes-synonymous, sometimes-

⁴³⁸ Ibid., pp. 184-189; H. J. de Jonge, 'The study of the New Testament', in *Leiden University in the seventeenth century: an exchange of learning*, ed. T. H. Scheurleer and G. H. Meyjes, (Leiden, 1975), pp. 74-100; idem, 'The Study of the New Testament in the Dutch Universities, 1575-1700', *History of the Universities* 1 (1981), 113-131; L. Ferreri, 'Le dissertazioni De Lingua Hellenistica di Pietro Lasena (1560-1636) tenute all'Accademia Basiliana (Barb. lat. 1780)', *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 18 (2011), 285-330.

⁴³⁹ Joanna Weinberg, 'A Sixteenth Century Hebraic Approach to the New Testament', in *History of scholarship: a selection of papers from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship held annually at the Warburg Institute*, ed. C. Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (New York, 2006), pp. 231-250. See also Joanna Weinberg, *Azariah De' Rossi's Observations on the Syriac New Testament: A Critique of the Vulgate by a Sixteenth-Century Jew* (London, 2005), especially the introduction.

separate entities of Syriac, Aramaic and Chaldee.⁴⁴⁰ Historians of scholarship have however given far less attention to a concomitant phenomenon which arose naturally out of this new field: the increase of interest in and understanding of areas such as Semitic phonology and morphology. The essentials of these advances have been laid out by historians of linguistics, but there remains much to be said not least about the fact that these advances enabled new methods of analysis that would prove to be centrally important within biblical scholarship.⁴⁴¹ It is, moreover, crucial to understand these advances to follow the development of Broughton's own work.

It is firstly important to grasp that it was within the earliest studies of Aramaic that sixteenth-century scholars became interested in the morphological and particularly phonological rules that governed systematic lexical changes across the biblical languages.⁴⁴² This increase of interest coincided with a rise in the study of phonology more broadly, and paralleled the search for a similar set of rules across vernacular

⁴⁴⁰ Stephen Burnett, 'Christian Aramaism: The Birth and Growth of Aramaic Scholarship in the Sixteenth Century', in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Ronald Troxel, Kelvin G. Friebel, and Dennis R. Magary (Winona Lake, 2005), pp. 421-443; Deena Aranoff, 'Elijah Levita: A Jewish Hebraist' *Jewish History* 23.1 (2009), 17-40; S. P. Brock, 'The development of Syriac Studies', in *The Edward Hincks Bicentenary Lectures*, ed. Edward Hincks and Kevin J. Cathcart (Dublin, 1994), pp. 94-113; Werner Strothmann, *Die Anfänge der syrischen Studien in Europa* (Wiesbaden, 1971); Anon. 'The Printed editions of the Syriac New Testament,' *Church Quarterly Review* 26 (1888), 257-94; 'Literatura syriaca' in Eberhard Nestle, *Syriac Grammar with Bibliography, Chrestomathy and Glossary* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 1-39; Joseph Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hebräischen und Aramäischen Studien* (München, 1884). The best study of Syriac/Aramaic scholarship 'in action' is Theodor Dunkelgrün, 'The Multiplicity of Scripture: The Confluence of Textual Traditions in the Making of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568-1573)' (unpublished PhD dissertation: University of Chicago, 2012), pp. 364-452.

⁴⁴¹ See especially Riccardo Contini, 'I primordi della linguistica semitica comparata nell'Europa rinascimentale: le *Institutiones* di Angelo Canini (1554)', *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 33.3 (1994), 39-56.

⁴⁴² The beginnings of comparative semitics are often identified as coterminous with those of Aramaic study; see Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, 'Comparative Semitics - A Premature Obituary', in *Essays on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the Dropsie University*, ed. A. Katsch and L. Nemoy (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 141-150, idem, 'Ethiopic-Chaldean and the Beginnings of Comparative Semitics in Renaissance Times', in *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica Camito-Semitica (Firenze 16-19 aprile 1974)*, ed. P. Fronzaroli (Firenze, 1978), p. 149; Daniel Droixhe, *Souvenirs de Babel: La reconstruction de l'histoire des langues de la Renaissance aux Lumières* (Belgium, 2007), p. 12.

European languages and Latin (such as in the work of Lodovico Castelvetro and Claudio Tolomei), as well as between German and Persian.⁴⁴³ While these parallel trends have been considered significant primarily as the roots of ‘precomparativism’, leading eventually to the ‘Indo-European hypothesis’, they had fairly humble origins.⁴⁴⁴ In the case of the Semitic languages, interest first manifested itself as tables of regular morphological changes that occurred when a Hebrew word became an Aramaic one, and was present in this form in the very first European Aramaic grammar ever written, that of Sebastian Münster.⁴⁴⁵ The study of Aramaic stimulated such an interest in part because its closeness to Hebrew made such changes obvious even to the untrained eye, a process helped by the fact that, thanks to the difficulty of finding appropriate type, Münster’s grammar set a precedent for printing the language in Hebrew characters.⁴⁴⁶ But these early tables were likely also prompted by an attractive pedagogical possibility: that those who had already struggled through Hebrew might be able to rapidly assimilate the

⁴⁴³ For the sixteenth-century rise of interest in phonology, see Georges Mounin, *Histoire de la Linguistique: Des origines au XXe siècle* (Paris, 1967), pp. 116-117; R. H. Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics* (London, 1997), pp. 88-92; as caused by Hebrew studies, see Sophie Kessler-Mesguich, *Les études hébraïques en France: De François Tissard à Richard Simon (1508-1680)* (Geneva, 2013), esp. pp. 195-7; W. K. Percival, ‘The Reception of Hebrew in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Impact of the Cabbala’, in *The History of Linguistics in Spain*, ed. Antonio Quilis Morales and Hans-Josef Niederehe (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 21-38. For Castelvetro and Tolomei, see M. Tavoni, ‘Renaissance Linguistics’, in *History of Linguistics: Renaissance and early Modern Linguistics*, ed. G. Lepschy (London, 1998), pp. 14-44; esp. pp. 47-53; For German and Persian phonology, see Toon van Hal, ‘The earliest stages of Persian-German language comparison’, in *History of Linguistics 2008: Selected Papers from the Eleventh International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences*, ed. Gerda Hassler and Gesina Volkmann (Amsterdam, 2011), pp. 147-169, esp. pp. 148-155.

⁴⁴⁴ George Metcalf, ‘The Indo-European Hypothesis in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, in *Studies in the History of Linguistics: Traditions and Paradigms*, ed. D. H. Hymes (Bloomington, 1974), pp. 233-258; Jean-Claude Muller, ‘Quelques repères pour l’histoire de la notion de vocabulaire de base dans le précomparatisme’, *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* = *Genèse du comparatisme indo-européen* 6.2 (1984), 37-43.

⁴⁴⁵ ‘De Permutatione aliquarum literarum’, in Sebastian Münster, *Chaldaica grammatica, antebac a nemine attentata, sed jam primum per Sebastianum Munsterum conscripta et aedita* (Basel, 1527), pp. 34-35.

⁴⁴⁶ For Aramaic typography, see Rijk Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis: A Description of Books Illustrating the Study and Printing of Oriental Languages in 16th and 17th Century Europe* (Leiden, 1992).

vocabulary of its most useful sister tongue simply by memorising a few morphological rules, and thus with relatively little effort might be able to make two languages out of one. Moreover, this pedagogical incentive coincided nicely with (and, indeed, seemed to reinforce) the biblically oriented account of linguistic fragmentation and multiplication from one ‘Adamite’ primordial tongue (most often Hebrew) to a multitude of separate but related languages thanks to Babel.⁴⁴⁷

Thus after Münster it became relatively common for Aramaic grammars to have at least a few general observations on the common morphological changes between Aramaic and Hebrew.⁴⁴⁸ This can be seen in basic tabular form, plus some general observations, in Jean Mercier’s 1550 *Tabulae in Chaldaeam grammaticen*, and in much more developed form in Angelo Canini’s 1554 *Institutiones linguae Syriacae*, which has long been identified as a watershed text in the history of comparative Semitics.⁴⁴⁹ However, Canini’s work was more of an advance than a radical innovation: like his predecessors, he collected regular changes from Hebrew to Aramaic (this time separated into vocal and consonantal changes) and, following Münster, presented them in lists at the start of his

⁴⁴⁷ For a synthesis of early modern accounts of the effects of Babel, see Tavoni, ‘Renaissance Linguistics’, pp. 44-66; for Hebrew as the mother-language see Kessler-Mesguich, *Les études hébraïques en France*, pp. 13-27; Raffaele Simone, ‘The Early Modern Period’, in *History of Linguistics*, ed. G. Lepschy pp. 163-165; for alternative mother-languages, see Daniel Droixhe, *La linguistique et l’appel de l’histoire (1600-1800): Rationalisme et révolutions positivistes* (Geneva, 1978), pp. 34-48. Moshe Goshen-Gottstein suggested that another important factor prompting Münster’s comparison was the confusion Johann Potken had evoked when he misidentified Ethiopic as the *vera lingua Chaldaea*, i.e. Aramaic: see Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, ‘Ethiopic-Chaldean and the Beginnings of Comparative Semitics in Renaissance Times’, in *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica Camito-Semitica (Firenze 16-19 aprile 1974)*, ed. P. Fronzaroli (Firenze, 1978), p. 149.

⁴⁴⁸ One notable exception is Johann Widmanstetter, *Syriacae linguae* (Vienna, 1556).

⁴⁴⁹ ‘Brevis admonitio de literarum in dictionibus Chaldaicis cùm ex Hebraeis deflectuntur, permutatione’ in Jean Mercier, *Tabulae in Chaldaeam grammaticen: quibus ea continentur, quaecunque sunt ad Chaldaeos bibliorum paraphrases assequerida necessaria* (Paris, 1550), pp. 6-8. See also Sophie Kessler-Mesguich, ‘Jean Mercier et l’araméen’, in *Jean (c. 1525-1570) et Josias (c. 1560-1626) Mercier: l’amour de la philologie à la Renaissance et au début de l’âge classique*, ed. François Roudaut (Paris, 2006), pp. 77-92. For this identification, see Goshen-Gottstein, ‘Comparative Semitics’, pp. 141-150 (p. 146); Droixhe, *Souvenirs de Babel*, p. 35; Mounin, *Histoire de la linguistique*, p. 122; Kessler-Mesguich, *Les études hébraïques en France*, pp. 210-211.

grammar. Canini's major difference from his forerunners was actually interpretative. Firstly, he used the dialects of Greek as an analogy to suggest that there was some more essential unchanging quality beyond the accidental differences present in these collections. Secondly, he tried to argue that there was a fundamentally natural cause for these mutations, that arose from the regional peculiarities of the populated areas in which they developed.⁴⁵⁰ Together, these parallel arguments drove away the spectre of arbitrariness that had previously lingered over the changes gathered in the lists, and raised the possibility that 'certa quaedam & constans ratio' governing them might be deduced from a careful study of the most frequent phonological mutations.⁴⁵¹ Of course Canini was not the first to search for some underlying commonality between languages: men like Theodore Bibliander had written entire monographs on the topic.⁴⁵² The difference was that Canini actually attempted a practical application of these theoremata via the hard technical analysis of individual examples. It would be this combination of hard examples with abstract theoremata, further developed for the Greek dialects and Latin in his 1550 *Hellenismos*, which would catch the attention (not always positively) of modern linguists.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵⁰ It should be noted that medieval Jewish and Arabic scholars were thinking along the lines of a 'parent Semitic language' (proto-Semitic) and collecting such phonological correspondences long before Canini or indeed Münster, who are credited with popularising such theories in Latin, European culture only. Droixhe, *La linguistique et l'appel de l'histoire*, pp. 35-37.

⁴⁵¹ Angelo Canini, *Institutiones linguae Syriacae, Assyriacae atque Thalmudicae, vnà cum Aethiopicae, atque Arabicae collatione* (Paris, 1554), pp. 10-15.

⁴⁵² Theodorus Bibliander, *De ratione communi omnium linguarum & literaru[m] commentarius Theodori Bibliandri* (Zurich, 1548). A modern edition and translation is available, though this is as yet available in fewer research institutions than the original: *De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius*, ed. and trans. Hagit Amirav, Hans-Martin Kirn and Irena Backus (Geneva, 2011).

⁴⁵³ Angelo Canini, *Hellenismos: in quo quicquid vetistissimi scriptores de Graecae linguae ratione praecipunt: atque adeò omnia quae ad dialectos intellige[n]das, & poetas penitus cognoscendos pertinent, facili methodo exponuntur; eò accedit plurimorum verborum originis explicatio* (1555), sigs. A3r-A5r for Canini's statements about phonetic mutations and dialects. Droixhe aims revisionist fire at Canini's status as the harbinger of historical linguistics in his *Souvenirs de Babel*, pp. 35-43; see also Kessler-Mesguich, 'Jean Mercier et l'araméen', pp. 89-91.

Most relevantly for this chapter, Canini was also first to organise his lists of common phonetic/morphological alterations into categories (such as metathesis, euphony, or the ‘wearing away’ of final letters (apocope)) and to provide brief, but insightful, explanations for them, such as his note that hard-to-pronounce ‘spumosae litterae’ (spit-filled/phlegmy letters) like ayin (׀), were often absorbed into softer letters like aleph (א) and yod (י) as they were too harsh for easy pronunciation and so had disappeared over time.⁴⁵⁴ This thematic organisation of the phonological and morphological mutations between Hebrew and Aramaic even made it through into Tremellius’s 1569 *Grammatica Chaldaea et Syra* (appended to his Syriac New Testament), the first and only early modern grammar able to perceive the differences between Jewish Aramaic and Syriac.⁴⁵⁵

These dispersed observations, tables of mutations and grander hypotheses have so far been readily incorporated into histories of linguistics and comparative Semitics, but their implications for biblical scholarship have not been explored. In order to sketch out these implications more fully, it is important to begin by noting that the morphological changes noted from Münster onwards also represent phonological changes. This meant that the mutations of letters across Hebrew and Aramaic were increasingly not understood as simple exchanges (of, for example, ayin for tsadi), but rather as indicative of something more fundamental about the nature of each letter’s sound. This in itself is not surprising: it is the basis, for example, of Canini’s clustering of like consonants in the *Hellenismos*, and the comparative work of Castelvetro and Tolomei. But while in the cases of Latin, Greek and vernacular languages this kind of analysis had relatively limited applications beyond experimental theorisation, in the case of the more poorly understood biblical languages of Hebrew and Aramaic it would have

⁴⁵⁴ Canini, *Institutiones*, p. 14.

⁴⁵⁵ Immanuel Tremellius, *Grammatica Chaldaea et Syra* (Geneva, 1569), pp. 12-13. For the assessment of Tremellius’s distinction between Jewish Aramaic and Syriac, see Weinberg, *Azariah De’ Rossi’s Observations*, pp. 6-9.

profound repercussions for the understanding of the linguistic relationship between the Testaments. This is because it enabled scholars, for the first time, to understand the processes that structured the most basic procedures of transliteration and transference of words between the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Septuagint and the Greek New Testament, which in turn provided them with a considerable tool of philological analysis.

For example, the realisation that ‘ayin’ had a phlegmy or spit-filled (*spumousus*) sound that often caused it to turn into tsadi (among other simpler consonants) in Aramaic allowed scholars to see that the same difficult quality of the letter could explain what was happening in the Septuagint and New Testament when Hebrew words containing ayin suddenly gained a gamma (γ) or other guttural consonant in their Greek forms. The difficulty of ayin meant that it had no exact equivalent in Greek, and so native speakers had to approximate its sound via its closest Hellenic relatives. Previously scholars (following Jerome) had thought of ayin as an aspiration similar to ה ‘he’, which only served to mystify the process by which it was transliterated into γ and even ν in the New Testament: now, however (as Teseo Ambrogio triumphantly announced in his 1539 Aramaic grammar) they could explain it much less jarringly as a unique guttural consonant approximating /g/.⁴⁵⁶

In other words, insight into how Aramaic had imperfectly accommodated the difficulties of Hebrew phonology provided the precedent necessary to see that Greek must have done the same, thus uncovering the hidden mechanics of the process by which Semitic names, places and words were expressed in the Greek of the New Testament and Septuagint. By observing repeated patterns of transliterations like the **ו-א-γ** trio scholars could map out the phonological preferences of Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, note how these preferences interacted with each other, and finally apply their

⁴⁵⁶ See Jerome, ‘Liber de nominibus hebraicis’, PL.23.817-8 for the definition of ayin as a double-aspiration; Teseo Ambrogio, *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, & decem alias linguas* (Pavia, 1539), pp. 4-5.

observations to work backwards from New Testament and Septuagint Greek to their Aramaic or Hebraic origins with apparent philological security. Moreover, the peculiarities of the final Hellenised products - with their unexpected ‘γ’s, lost endings and altered vowels - could now be understood as the result of an only partially successful Greek attempt to cope with an influx of new Semitic lexical items with alien phonetic qualities.⁴⁵⁷ The realisation that different languages emphasised different aspects of Hebrew phonemes in order to express them even made its way through into Hebrew grammars, where the approximations of Greek transliterations were used to help the reader understand how to cope for themselves with the less familiar aspects of Hebrew pronunciation. Petrus Martinius, for example, instructed his readers to consider the ‘sonum difficillimum’ of ayin as an ‘ng’⁴⁵⁸ noise, on the basis of its transliteration into Greek. The same Greek struggle to cope with Hebrew sounds also helped approximate the sound of ח (heth).⁴⁵⁹

These may seem like minor observations, but in practice they functioned as a powerful method that enabled the observations of not only Canini, but also scholars like Johannes Drusius, the famous Flemish Hebraist.⁴⁶⁰ Drusius was especially systematic in his use of these principles of phonological accommodation to account for the

⁴⁵⁷ Of course, no early modern would ever phrase this realisation in so abstract a manner, but I hope that the evidence below sufficiently demonstrates that a significant leap forward in understanding of phonological mutation has taken place.

⁴⁵⁸ I.e. ⟨ŋ⟩ following the International Phonetic Alphabet.

⁴⁵⁹ ‘Densa aspiratio crassior est, item duplex: *Cheth* ח, *Ain* ע. ח spiritu in caelum palati illiso facit h duplex: Graeci cú melius non possent, per χ expresserunt: ut חם χάμ, חָרָךְ χαράμ [*sic*]. Reliqua aspiratio sonum habet difficillimum, & aure magis quám oculo percipi potest: ut hodie tamen profertur, sonum ostendit tanquam ex N & G conflatum, qualis videlicet esse possit in hac syllaba Γγα, cú dicimus φόρμΓγα. Ideo haec litera varié á Graecis expressa est: interdum per γ, ut עֲמֹרָה γόμορῶα: aliás per ν, ut אָנָּה הוֹשַׁע וֹסַנְנָא: utraque autem saepé est omisa, ut חָנוּךְ ἐνὸς, עַל βάλ.’ Petrus Martinius, *Grammaticae Hebraeae: libri duo* (Paris, 1580), pp. 20-21.

⁴⁶⁰ On Drusius see Peter Korteweg, ‘Die Nieuwtestamentische Commentaren van Johannes Drusius (1550-1616)’ (unpublished PhD dissertation: University of Leiden, 2006), esp. pp. 45-57 for a useful survey of Drusius’s works on the New Testament.

peculiarities of both Septuagint and New Testament Greek, and this enabled some of his most sophisticated exegetical insights. In calling Drusius's work 'sophisticated' I do not, of course, mean to imply that his explanations were necessarily correct from a modern perspective. Rather, the point is that he was developing a technical method which would eventually allow scholars to account for otherwise inexplicable lexical features of the New Testament. One representative, but relatively simple example is Drusius' discussion of the name 'Mary.' Drusius's aim in this discussion was to account for the many variant spellings and pronunciations of this name. Using the principles of phonological accommodation, Drusius was able to explain this orthological diversity away with a concision worth citing at length:

'In the middle ages Miriam, in the ancient books of the Hebrews, which is written without points as 'M-R-Y-M', was pronounced 'Mariam' on account of the peculiar nature of the Syriac dialect, which changes 'i' into 'a'. From this afterwards it was turned into 'Maria', perhaps by the Greeks, whose custom it is to disfigure foreign names. This is what happens with their 'Annibas' and 'Asdroubas', which come from Annibal and Asdrubal. For in their language no name ends in 'l' or 'm'. It could alternatively be from the habit of writing in abbreviations, 'Maria' for 'Mariam'. I won't make a decision here.²⁴⁶¹

⁴⁶¹ 'In libris antiquis Hebraeorum $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\mu$, quod sine punctis scriptum מָרִים , media aetas $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\mu$ sonabat ex proprietate idiomatis Syriaci, quod mutat i in a: ex quo postea factum $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$, an à Graecis, quibus in more deprauare barbara nomina? Sic $\alpha\nu\nu\iota\beta\alpha\varsigma$, $\alpha\sigma\delta\rho\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\beta\alpha\varsigma$, Annibal, Asdrubal. nam apud eos nullum nomen desinit in λ aut μ . an ex more breuiter scribendi מָרִי pro מָרִים ? Nihil decerno.' Johannes Drusius, *Ad voces Hebraicas novi testamenti commentarius: in quo praeter explicationem vocum, variae nec leues censurae* (Antwerp, 1582), p. 25. Although Drusius refused to settle on a decision, he evidently thought that the absence of the 'm' termination was a specific signal of accommodation to Greek, classing the distinction between $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ and $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\mu$ as the difference between the Greek and the Hebrew termination, and repeating this distinction to explain the transformation of גִּיהֶנֶם to $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\nu\alpha$. Ibid., p. 25, 27.

This clearly shows how cross-language phonological accommodation could be applied to provide compelling and coherent explanations for the wild diversity of, in this case, biblical names. The steps Drusius made in this argument were all enabled by the realisation that each language has its own peculiar phonological preferences and blind spots, and that these idiosyncrasies interact in a regular, predictable way to produce morphological mutations that can be used to explain the changes in word-forms across the Testaments. In this case, Drusius traced how a Hebrew word became slightly altered by the different vocal inflections of Aramaic (Syriac), inflections which were then preserved in the Greek transliteration which nevertheless itself further distorted other Semitic features like the Hebrew ‘m’ termination. The sum of these processes resulted in a final product that appeared very different from the original name from which it derived, but was in fact simply the consequence of phonological accommodation.⁴⁶² An even more powerful example of this occurs in Drusius’s discussion of the strange term ‘βοανεργὲς’ in Mark 3.17. This was evidently not originally a Greek word, but a Hebrew or Aramaic one: Jerome in his *De nominibus Hebraicis* had read it as a corruption of βενεργεμ, which was the obvious Greek transliteration of the Hebrew בְּנֵי רֶעַם ‘sons of thunder’.⁴⁶³ Drusius, however, did not see any evidence of corruption in the Greek βοανεργὲς, and his comments on what must have happened in the most difficult part of this word, the transition from רֶעַם (reem) to ργες (rges) are again worth citing in full:

‘Reem means thunder. Jonathan, the Chaldee paraphrast, used this word at Isa. 29.6, where ‘raam’ is written thanks to the incompetence of those who added the points. You

⁴⁶² Comparison with Canini’s lower-octane discussion of the same name reveals the analytical power of the principles Drusius deployed here: although in other examples Canini is capable of thinking in much the same way about phonological transferences across languages (see below), he is never as systematic or thorough as Drusius. For Canini’s discussion, see Angelo Canini, *Institutiones*, p. 49.

⁴⁶³ Jerome, ‘Liber de nominibus Hebraicis’, PL.23.890.

may emend it to ‘reem’ by my authority, from the analogy provided by Daniel and Ezra. ‘Reem’ in the ancient fashion became ‘rgem’ or ‘rges’ by a double *archaismus*. Firstly a ‘gamma’ was put in place of ‘ayin’, as we see in [the Greek] ‘ragoul’ [for the Hebrew רָעוּל], in [the Greek] ‘gomorra’ [for the Hebrew עֲמֹרָה] and in similar examples. Next ‘rges’ was put for ‘rgem’, because of this custom: after the final ‘m’ was cast away, as in the case of ‘Maria’ and ‘Geenna’, a sigma was added according to the Greek manner. This is a normal thing to happen to the Greek names that end in a vowel. See chapter 15.⁴⁶⁴ It could even be said that ‘m’ mutated into ‘s’ from that custom by which the Greeks say ‘Annibas’ for ‘Annibal’, which habit I noted in the same chapter. This I simply propose; I do not decree it.⁴⁶⁵

This is a remarkable analysis of how a Hebrew/Aramaic word, thanks to the morphological mutations required by the different phonological preferences of the source and target languages, could receive a Greek transliteration so apparently alien from its original form that it appeared to be a corruption. In this case, the process of mutation began with the ‘compromise’ of the Greek prioritisation of the /g/ sound in ayin to render it as γ, a transformation which was followed by the standard Greek rejection of the Semitic termination ‘m’, and was then completed as the normal patterns of Greek phonology resumed control to close a vocalised final consonant with a sigma,

⁴⁶⁴ This refers us to the discussion in Drusius’s comments on the termination of ‘Maria’ cited in fn461, p. 187.

⁴⁶⁵ רָעוּל tonitru. Vsus est hac voce Jonathan interpres Chaldaeus Isa. 29, 6; ubi רָעוּל scriptum imperitia eorum, qui puncta addiderunt. tu me auctore emenda רָעוּל ex analogia Danielis & Esdrae. רָעוּל רָעוּל antiquè ργεμ ut ργες; in quo duplex archaismus. primum γ loco ρ, vt in ῥαγουηλ, γομοῦρῶα, & similibus exemplis: deinde ργες pro ργεμ, quod fit ad hunc modum. Post abiectam vltimam μ, vt in μαρία & γέεννα, additur σίγμα more Graeco. Ita solitum facere Graecis nominibus vocali desinentibus. vide cap.15. potest etiam dici quòd μ mutata sit in σ ex more eo, quo Ἀννίβας dicebant pro Annibal, quem morem notamus in eodem capite. Hoc pono, non statuo.’ Drusius, *Ad voces Hebraicas novi testamenti commentarius*, p. 29.

‘s’. Similar examples of this kind of explanation abound throughout Drusius’s work: it is a staple of his analytical method.⁴⁶⁶ Indeed, Drusius himself recognised that there was something novel about the way in which he analysed the ‘rationale’ with which the ancients wrote Hebrew names, though he somewhat overstated his own originality for, as mentioned earlier, the same basic principles were put to work (though admittedly to less dazzling effect) in others, particularly Canini, before him.⁴⁶⁷

This method, which enabled secure tracing of movement between the biblical languages, was also a significant difference between medieval and early modern biblical scholars. Even the very best medieval Hebraists, like Nicholas of Lyra, did not think about the relative qualities of Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew in these terms, partly because they did not have the intellectual tools necessary to break down the phonological

⁴⁶⁶ See, for good examples of Drusius drawing more abstract general rules about the mechanisms of phonological accommodation, ‘Cap. XIIII, De consuetudine quadam qua vsi veteres in scribendis nominibus Ebraicis’, Drusius, *Animadversionem libri duo, in quibus praeter dictionem Ebraicam plurima loca s.s., interpretumque veterum explicantur* (Leiden, 1585), Liber 1, p. 38; ‘Cap. XXXI, De affinitate vocalium segol & Phathe’, *ibid.*, Liber 2, p. 31; for an example of an emendation suggested on the basis of this method, ‘Cap. XIII, Emendatum vocabulum Ebraicum ex editione Theodotionis: ibidemque de consuetudine scribendi γ pro Ain’, *ibid.*, Liber 2, p.14; for general further examples of his method (this is not an exhaustive list, just interesting examples), ‘Cap. LI, Aelam quid sit in Graecis codicibus, superque eo notatus error cuiusdam lexicographi’, *ibid.*, Liber 2, p. 53; ‘Quaestio XLVIII, Ob quam causam Ezeziel scripserunt prisci Latini: Graeci vero ἰεζεκιήλ?’, in *idem, Ebraicarum quaestionum, sive, quaestionum ac responsionum libri duo, videlicet secundus ac tertius.* (Leiden, 1583), Liber 1, p. 40; ‘Quaestio LXJ, Biblia Graeca à vitio vindicata’, *ibid.*, Liber 1, p. 88; ‘Quaestio LXXJ, Scripturam nominis Pascha minimè corruptam esse contra sententiam multorum’, *ibid.*, Liber 1, pp. 94-95; ‘Quaestio LXVI, Si verum ut si REPHAN, pro, CEPHAN Act.7. quomodo lectum Remphan libris omnibus vulgatis?’, in *idem, Quaestionum ac responsionum liber: in quo varia scripturae loca explicantur aut emendatur* (Leiden, 1583), p. 41; ‘Cap IX Μαναὰ legendum in Biblijs Graecis aut μανὰ, quod nunc vulgò μαννά: quidque ea voce significetur’, *idem, Miscellanea locutionum sacrarum* (Franeker, 1586), i.24-25; ‘Cap XLIX, Arabum mos & consuetudo mutandi het in Chaph’, *ibid.*, i.61-61 [*sic* for 62]; ‘Cap. LXXVII Legendum videri apud Mosem Oholibama, quod nunc legunt ac scribunt Aholibama’, *ibid.*, ii.53.

⁴⁶⁷ ‘non enim quisquam ante me eam observavit (primus hoc iter ingressus sum sine duce, sine comite; quo magis mihi condonandum sicubi aberro) deinde quia argumentum tale, vt si quis illud tractet non observata ratione qua usi prisci in scribendis nominibus Hebraicis, saepenumero fallatur necesse est.’ Drusius, *Ad voces Hebraicas novi testamenti commentarius*, p. 3. See, e.g. Canini’s discussions of why the Evangelists wrote ‘messias’ not ‘massias’, when the Hebrew word is pronounced ‘Masiáh; why spellings of ‘Rabbi’ vary; and the process which created the name ‘Abraham’, *Institutiones*, p. 48, p. 31, p. 6.

processes that linked a Hebrew word, its Aramaic equivalent and its Greek rendering.⁴⁶⁸ Indeed one reason why Jerome, particularly his *Liber de nominibus Hebraicis*, loomed so large for men like Canini and Drusius was because the Church Father did seem closer to the early modern than medieval mindset in this respect. The *De nominibus Hebraicis* was really just a collection of scattered observations, but it contained exciting hints of greater patterns which were even more suggestive if paired with Jerome's more discursive comments in his commentaries. Together these showed evidence, for example, of Jerome's recognition of how Greek phonology coped with its Semitic imports: he noted the regular correspondence between ayin and gamma, and was in the *De nominibus hebraicis* constantly preoccupied with the mechanics of transliteration.⁴⁶⁹ Early modern scholars in this respect felt their own analyses to be building on the foundations already secured by Jerome. Drusius, for instance, in his 1587 *Alphabetum Ebraicum vetus*, admired Jerome's observations on Gomorra, Segor and Gaza (cited in fn469), and was even willing to emend comments which suggested that the great Father had incorrectly defined 'ayin' as an aspiration.⁴⁷⁰ Of course, such comments clearly revealed Jerome's limitations as compared with his early modern heirs, but the fact that Drusius was loath to attribute

⁴⁶⁸ See, for example, Nicholas of Lyra's limited comments on the Aramaic/Hebraic transliterations in the New Testament at, eg, Matt. 5:22; 27:46; Mark 3:17; 5:41; 7:3; Luke 16:9-13; John 1:42; 20:16. Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla super quattuor Evangelistas* (Strasbourg, 1492).

⁴⁶⁹ See, for example, Jerome's comments at 'SEGER', 'GAZA' [Old Testament], 'GOMORRHA' and 'GAZA' [New Testament], in 'Liber de nominibus Hebraicis', PL. 23.829, 843, 895, 892 [*sic* for 900].

⁴⁷⁰ 'Miror autem Hieronymum eundem in commentariis super epistolam ad Titum appellasse duplicem aspirationem etiam Ain, ac caeteras istiusmodi: *Septuaginta*, inquit, *interpretes, per quos in Graecum sermonem lex divina translata est, specialiter Heth litteram, & Ain, & caeteras istiusmodi, quia cum duplici aspiratione in Graecam linguam transferre non poterant, aliis litteris additis expresserunt. Verbi causa, in Rabel, Rachel, dicerent, & Jeriho, Jericho, & Hebron, Chebron, & Seor, Segor.* Nec verò possum aliter credere, cum eandem litteram alibi passim vocalem dicat, quàm illum locum depravatam esse: ac prope est ut credam legendum: *Specialiter Heth litteram, quia cum duplici adspiratione in Graecam linguam transferre non poterant, & Ain, & caeteras istiusmodi aliis literis additis expresserunt.*' Drusius, *Alphabetum Ebraicum vetus: interpretationes connexionesque nominum alphabeti, ex Hieronymo et Eusebio* (Franeker, 1587), p. 16.

this error, unthinkable by the late sixteenth-century, to the Father says much about the importance of ‘doctissimus Hieronymus’ as scholarly precedent for this kind of advanced linguistic biblical scholarship.

These, then, were the methods with which the most advanced biblical scholars analysed linguistic problems across the New Testament, Septuagint and Hebrew Bible: methods that drew on the insights enabled by the period’s unprecedented study of Aramaic, which required high levels of linguistic and philological expertise and which all in all pointed promisingly towards the comparative linguistic advances of later centuries. It is precisely because of the historical significance of the developments and practices outlined above that it is important to demonstrate that they were neither limited to liberal theological traditions nor the sole preserve of scholars with secularising and historicising world-views. Scholars with comparatively inflexible attitudes to biblical authority, perfection and inspiration, even those identified as ‘scripturalist’, could participate fully in this culture of historical and philological innovation. Indeed, this kind of polyglot analysis was one of Broughton’s lifelong interests, and he was particularly preoccupied by the phonological implications of the patterns of transliteration from Hebrew into Greek evident in both the Hebrew Bible-Septuagint and Hebrew Bible-New Testament relationships. This is most clear from a treatise on the Hebrew language that survives in Lightfoot’s 1662 edition of Broughton’s works.⁴⁷¹ One chapter in particular in this treatise, entitled ‘Of Ebrew 22 letters’, shows Broughton first observing the most common Greek transliterations for each Hebrew letter, and then using these patterns to extract information about the aural quality of the original letters. For example, on the letter ‘𐤅’ he notes:

⁴⁷¹ Broughton, ‘Positions about the Hebrew tongue, and matters depending thereupon’, in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iii. 664-684; Lightfoot’s original is probably in Trinity College Dublin, MS 787, fols. 236r-251v. A partial seventeenth-century copy, possibly from Lightfoot’s edition, is in London, British Library, MS Sloane 3088, fols. 1r-31v.

‘Heh is commonly a drawing of the spirit clean contrary to our H. as Abel for Habel: and Armageddon, for Harmageddon; So in Greek it could not be expressed but in the beginning, and hence Sara, the name of Abrahams wife could not be augmented in Greek, in ה Heh. Wherefore the 70. gave augmentation to R. as Sarra, and the New Testament still alloweth that.’⁴⁷²

This comment is fundamentally predicated on two observations. The first is that the Hebrew ‘ה’ turns not into a Greek letter, but a rough breathing when it comes at the start of a word, as in Broughton’s examples of Ἄρμαγεδδών for הַר מַגִּידוֹ, and Ἄβελ for הַבֵּל.⁴⁷³ The second is that this letter disappears entirely in Greek transliteration when it comes at the end of a word, such as in Broughton’s examples of Σάρρα for שָׂרָה.⁴⁷⁴ From this pattern of transliteration Broughton gathered not only that the Hebrew letter ‘ה’ must be a ‘drawing of the spirit’, i.e. an aspiration rather than a consonant proper, but also that the reason for the unexpected doubling of the middle consonants in the Greek transliteration of words like ‘Sarah’ must be in order to compensate for the language’s inability to reproduce the final ‘ה’. This is an application of the same principles as we saw earlier in Drusius and Canini, but here set out in abstract as a collection of guidelines to be applied at the scholar’s discretion. Broughton’s comments on the other Hebrew letters are similar in method. He noted, for example, that there must have been some similarity between the sound of the Hebrew ל (g, gimel) and the Greek κ/χ (k/ch) on

⁴⁷² Broughton, ‘Positions about the Hebrew tongue’, p. 666.

⁴⁷³ Ἄρμαγεδδών occurs at Rev. 16.16, and Broughton thought it was a variation of the phrase in 2 Chr. 35.22. The name Ἄβελ occurs at Matt. 23.35, Heb. 11.4 and at Gen. 4.1-16 in the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint.

⁴⁷⁴ Σάρρα occurs, for instance, at Heb. 11.11 in the New Testament, and at Gen. 17.15ff.

the basis of the transliterations of *φάλεχ* for *פלג* and *Σαρούχ* for *שרוג* in Luke 3.35.⁴⁷⁵

Moreover, on the notoriously difficult aural quality of ayin he commented, as our previous studies might lead us to expect:

‘*ע* Of Ain or Gnajin. Ain is G, in *Ragan* Luke 3: it melteth commonly, as in Eber, Jacob, Boos, Simeon, Eliezer, Er, Addi, Simei, Amos, Eli. Luke 3[...]Although the Greeks, turned this letter into G. and Arabians⁴⁷⁶ in S. for part of the sound, omitting the throat ratling: yet God, who would busie all instruments of voyce, which he made fit to expresse the nature of things, he would have it usual in his people.’⁴⁷⁷

Here, Broughton began by making the common link between ayin and *γ* through the classic Hieronymian example of *עו* to *ὄγαυ* in Luke 3.35, also mentioned earlier by Drusius. But Luke 3, in which the long list of Old Testament genealogies provided fertile ground for examining the patterns of Greek transliteration of Hebrew names, also showed evidence for another tradition, that of the consonant ‘melting away’ into a vowel, such as in Broughton’s examples of *עבר* to *Ἐβεϛ*; *יעקב* to *Ἰακώβ*; *בעז* to *Βοός*; *שמעון* to *Συμεών*; *אליעזר* to *Ἐλιέζεϛ*; *ער* to *Ἦϛ*; *עדי* to *Ἄδδῖ*; *שמעי* to *Σεμεῖ*; *אַמώס* to *εמוס* and *עלי* to *Ἠλί*. Moreover, Broughton’s conclusion, which provided some explanation for this diversity, clearly recognised that both Greek and Aramaic speakers were representing only ‘part of the sound’ of *ע* when they transliterated it as *γ* (g) and *ϛ* (ts) respectively, omitting the phonological parts which

⁴⁷⁵ ‘*ג* Gimel also is Cappa; as Peleg, Phalec, Luke 3. sometimes x, or ch. as Saruch for Sarug.’ Broughton, ‘Positions about the Hebrew tongue’, p. 666.

⁴⁷⁶ By ‘Arabians’ Broughton might mean Arabic speakers or (more likely) Aramaic speakers, as his terminology was erratic.

⁴⁷⁷ Broughton, ‘Positions about the Hebrew tongue’, p. 667.

their languages could not cope with, namely ‘the throat ratling’ (by which Broughton presumably meant the guttural quality). Evidently the ‘melting away’ was yet another Greek coping strategy for dealing with this difficult consonant. Particulars aside, this conclusion is significant as an explicit expression of the principle of phonological accommodation. There is not space to discuss Broughton’s comments on every Hebrew letter in this level of detail, but suffice to say they all show (to a lesser or greater degree) evidence of his understanding of the basic phonological principles by which New Testament and Septuagint Greek dealt with Semitic imports, as well as what their most common transliterations could tell him about the actual sounds (phonemes) signified by Hebrew letters.

Having established Broughton’s awareness and application of these new methods, it is now necessary to complicate the picture of purely scholarly advance thus far presented. The best way to do this is through an example which simultaneously provides the most striking evidence of Broughton’s understanding of these principles, and also nuances our understanding of what was going on behind his linguistic and historical arguments. The verse in question is 2 Pet. 2.15, which reads:

καταλίποντες τὴν εὐθεῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπλανήθησαν ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ
Βαλαὰμ τοῦ Βοσόρ ὃς μισθὸν ἀδικίας ἠγάπησεν

They have left the straight way and wandered off to follow the way of Balaam son of Bosor, who loved the wages of wickedness.

To a knowledgeable reader of the Hebrew Bible such as Broughton, one part of this verse immediately stuck out as strange: the description of Balaam as the son of *Bosor* (Βαλαὰμ τοῦ Βοσόρ). Various places of the Hebrew Bible referred to Balaam and his

father, but they all called this father not Bosor but Beor (בְּעֹר).⁴⁷⁸ To make matters worse, the Septuagint had transliterated בְּעֹר straightforwardly as Βεώρ, mimicking the Hebrew pronunciation and giving no hint as to the origin of the anomalous ‘Βοσόρ’.

Broughton’s explanation for this apparent contradiction is repeated often throughout his works, so for the sake of clarity I will cite from only his most coherent explanations, and then unpack Broughton’s terse and disordered prose afterwards:

‘Hetherto all missed in not knowing yt Ain was an S in Caldea: & sheva was like aey ye vowels following: So St Peter spake Bosor for Dadams [*sic* for Balaam] father[...]. The Galilean shewed by his tongue that he was at Babel not at Rome: by ratteling Ain into S. As Daniels Chaldy & ye Paraphrastes often doe.’⁴⁷⁹

‘pronouncing S for א *Gaajin* in Bosor Balaams father, אַרְרַם in Num. 23 [*sic* for 24] which one letter might tell the Pope, that in Italy Peter had followed the 70. for Beor, but in Babylon his Galilean voyce would be knowne, whence he wrote: As this Writer may be known, whence *Sprake* by his last word is, and R. in it. which he would have said spake in England.’⁴⁸⁰ So that Saint Peters S. for Ain sheweth he was in Chaldea: As Daniels Ain in Chaldea for Canaans א in *Argua* and *Gnema* for *Aretz* and *Tzemer* sheweth, where he wrote.’⁴⁸¹

Broughton’s argument was as follows. The regular mutation between א (ayin) and ט (tsadi) could be established with examples from Daniel, such as in Broughton’s example

⁴⁷⁸ See, e.g., Num. 22.5, 24.3, 31.18 or Josh. 13.22, 24.9 etc.

⁴⁷⁹ London, British Library, MS Egerton 791, fol. 23r.

⁴⁸⁰ Broughton wrote this in the Netherlands, probably Middelburg.

⁴⁸¹ Broughton, ‘Positions about the Hebrew tongue’, p. 666.

of ‘argua’ used for ‘aretz’, i.e. the Hebrew ארץ turning into the Aramaic ארעא (‘land’) as in Dan. 2.35, 39, and ‘gnema’ used for ‘tzemer’, i.e. the Hebrew צמר turning into the Aramaic עמר (wool), as in Dan. 7.9. The reader will remember that this צ-ע mutation was one of the most common exchanges listed in early modern Aramaic grammars and, accordingly, Broughton explained how it occurred because of the difficulty of the Hebrew ‘ayin’, which Aramaic speakers pronounced by drawing out its guttural undertones and ‘ratteling Ain into S’, making the letter near-identical to sound for צ. This, then, was how ‘Beor’ morphed into ‘Besor’. But what about the vowels? Here Broughton noted another problem: sh’va, the slurred half-vowel which here gave the initial ‘e’ sound in Beor, was also difficult to pronounce and so, in Aramaic, became ‘like aey ye vowels following’, i.e. duplicated the vowel succeeding it. In this case therefore sh’va became an ‘o’ sound, turning ‘Besor’ into ‘Bosor’. Thus בער would be pronounced in Aramaic as בצור, which would be transliterated into Greek as Βοσόρ.

In other words, Broughton tried to show that far from being an error, the strange Greek term Βοσόρ was simply reflective of the effect Aramaic phonology had on Hebrew words. At first glance, this might seem an original attempt at solving a difficult problem which demanded a sophisticated understanding of the latest analytical methods developed by contemporary biblical scholars. Indeed, the question of what Βοσόρ meant would even trouble such scholars as Hugo Grotius, who suggested that it was a corruption for פתור, the place where Balaam lived (though he did, notably, try to show this corruption by recourse to the same method of morphological mutation as discussed

here).⁴⁸² Moreover, several eighteenth-century biblical commentators (such as, for instance, Johann Bengel) followed Broughton over Grotius, describing Βοσόϙ as the Aramaic version of בְּעַר, though, revealingly, they would skip its origins with Broughton and attribute the insight to John Lightfoot, who gave the same analysis in a 1672 sermon, printed about a decade later in his collected works but likely taken direct from Broughton.⁴⁸³

However, this objective scholarly artifice begins to crumble upon closer examination, as both Broughton and Lightfoot's analyses were driven by something more pressing than philology alone. For as Broughton explained, his analysis of the Aramaic influence on Peter's pronunciation of 'Beor' showed 'that in Italy Peter had followed the 70. for Beor, but in Babylon his Galilean voyce would be knowne, whence he wrote.'⁴⁸⁴ In other words, the strange transliteration of Beor in 2 Pet. 2.15 demonstrated that Peter was writing his epistle not from Rome, where he would have heard 'בְּעַר' pronounced according to the Hebrew fashion, and so would have transliterated it as the Septuagint did (Βεώϙ), but from Babylon, where he followed the Babylonian (Galilean, i.e. Aramaic) pronunciation.

⁴⁸² 'Habemus quidem nomen βoσσoϙ in Graeco pro בְּשׁוֹר 1 Sam. 30:9; item בַּצַּר Deut. 4:43 et 1 Macc. 5:26; sed ea loca huc non pertinent. Sed is locus designatur qui olim dictus פְּתוּרָה Num. 22:5. Eius vero loci nomen a Syris posterioribus mutatum est in בְּשַׁר, quia frequens illis est פ mutare in ב, quomodo Ioel. 1:1 פְּתוּאֵל, in Graeco est Βαθουήλ. Nec minus frequens mutatio ת in ש, quomodo idem est תוֹר et שׁוֹר, multaque alia.' Hugo Grotius, *Hugonis Grotii annotationes in novum testamentum* (Groningen, 1830), viii. 130-131.

⁴⁸³ Since Lightfoot himself edited and published most of the works in which Broughton described his analysis of Βοσόϙ, it is most probable that Lightfoot took the explanation direct from Broughton. John Lightfoot, 'A sermon preached at Ely, November 5th, 1672', in *The Works of the Reverend and Learned John Lightfoot*, ed. John Strype (London, 1684), ii. 1180. For repetition, see for instance, Johann Bengel, *Gnomon novi testamenti* (Tübingen, 1759 (2nd ed)), p. 1158; Johann Friedrich Schleusner, *Novum lexicon Graeco-Latinum in novum testamentum*, (Leipzig, 1808) p. 467.

⁴⁸⁴ Broughton, 'Positions about the Hebrew tongue', p. 666.

This relocation of Peter was not innocent. Rather, it was confessionally charged, thanks to its implications for the Roman Catholic ‘Petrine tradition’ according to which Peter as the first Bishop of Rome was both the first Pope, and also the source of the authority of all subsequent Popes.⁴⁸⁵ Attacking the Petrine tradition, therefore, meant attacking the cornerstone of papal legitimacy. Moreover, one of the central ways in which Protestant scholars attempted to invalidate the authority of the Petrine tradition was by arguing that Peter, in fact, had never even been to Rome at all, let alone become bishop of the city and died there.⁴⁸⁶ This was a tenable but difficult position to maintain, for although the Bible made no explicit statement regarding the matter, patristic tradition held very strongly that Peter had not only been to Rome but had even written while there the second epistle of Peter, designating his location metaphorically in the letter as ‘Babylon.’⁴⁸⁷ Thus, by finding philological evidence from within this epistle that it was, in fact, written from the literal Babylon and not Italy, Broughton (and Lightfoot after him) were chipping away at a small part of the edifice of the Petrine tradition, and so too at the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. This was indeed a very small part: as Bellarmine made clear, Peter could have been Bishop of Rome even if he had never actually been to the city.⁴⁸⁸ But, regardless of the size of the contribution, the point remains that Broughton had a very obvious ulterior motive for examining the Second

⁴⁸⁵ For early modern debates about the Petrine tradition, A. J. Lamping, *Ulrichus Velenus and His Treatise against the Papacy* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 74-209.

⁴⁸⁶ As Bellarmine put it: ‘Quoniam autem ius successionis Pontificum Romanorum in eo fundatur, quod Petrus Romae sedem suam, iubente Domino, collocauerit, atque ibidem vsque ad mortem sederit; prima nascitur quaestio: *An Petrus Romae Episcopus fuerit, nec inde vnquam sedem suam aliò transtulerit.*’ Bellarmine, *Disputationes*, Vol. 1, Liber 2, Chapter 1, p. 716.

⁴⁸⁷ Indeed, Bellarmine thought the argument from patristic tradition was the strongest case against the Protestants in this matter, *ibid.*, pp. 721-2; 728-30.

⁴⁸⁸ As Bellarmine explained, the true question was rather whether Peter, having taken up the Roman Bishopric, ever subsequently changed it, which would delegitimise the Roman Church’s claim to supremacy, *ibid.*, pp. 716-17.

Epistle of Peter, and so his observations on the origins of Βοσόρ, no matter how apparently scholarly or philological, did not take place within a theological vacuum.

Moreover, Broughton had a second pressing motivation to undertake his analysis: the official English Bible of the time, the Bishops' Bible, had retained the name 'Bosor' in its translation, but had supplemented it with a marginal cross-reference to the book of Numbers (where the father of Balaam was written as Beor), without providing an explanation for the discrepancy.⁴⁸⁹ Without any commentary, the anomalous Bosor lost more than just its significance for the Petrine tradition: far from being a tool of anti-Catholic polemic, it started to look like an internal contradiction or, worse yet, a corruption. Neither of these possibilities, of course, sat well with Broughton's notion of scriptural perfection and coherence.⁴⁹⁰ Broughton therefore had to supply some sort of harmonisation, or else the word posed a serious threat to his scripturalist beliefs. Thus we can see that the analysis of the change from Beor to Bosor was, for Broughton, stimulated by a mixture of confessional and scripturalist concerns, even if it took the shape of advanced linguistic scholarship carried out by philological methods.

It might, at this point, be argued that Broughton's underlying theological and confessional motivations, his fundamental willingness to let his scholarship be guided by extra-scholarly concerns, are precisely what distinguish him from the more liberal humanist scholars like Canini and Drusius who practised the same methods and techniques. If this is case, we evidently, at the very least, have to say the same of Lightfoot. However, upon closer examination, even these theoretical distinctions are difficult to uphold. Drusius and Canini were very different scholars from Broughton, with very different beliefs about the nature, state and authority of the biblical text, but this did not mean that they were incapable of being motivated by confessional aims

⁴⁸⁹ This cross-reference is present in the 1568, 1572 and 1602 Bishops' Bibles (fols. 139r; 125r; 487r respectively) and even the 1560 Geneva Bible, fol. 111r.

⁴⁹⁰ See Broughton's comments in London, British Library, MS Egerton 791, fol. 23r.

embedded beneath the surface of their analyses. Indeed in both cases, more tendentious positions lay beneath their apparent scholarly neutrality.

The clearest example of this occurs in Canini's section on biblical names near the end of his well-known appendix on New Testament Hebraisms, which included explanations for the name Mary, 'Messiah', and all the names of the apostles. One of the most egregious problems of apostolic naming was Christ's renaming of Simon as Peter in Matt. 16.18, recorded in Greek as: *καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σοὶ λέγω ὅτι σὺ εἶ Πέτρος καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* ('And I tell you that you are **Peter**, and on this **rock** I will build my church', my emphasis). This verse raised many pressing questions about Simon's new name. What was the significance of its derivation from the Greek for 'rock'? How was it related to the founding 'rock' of the Church in the second clause? And was it exegetically significant that the words used for Simon's new name and this founding rock were subtly different, with *πέτρος* (masculine noun), meaning 'a piece of rock' or 'stone' and *πέτρα* (feminine noun), meaning a 'rock' proper or 'boulder'?

As Canini explained, to answer such questions it was essential to remember that behind the words of Matthew lay Christ's actual utterance, which had been not in Greek but in Syriac. By back-translating Matthew's Greek into Syriac, therefore, Canini was able to reconstruct Christ's original words: *אַנְתָּ כִּפְאָ וְעַל כִּפְאָ הָדִין אֶבְנִי יֵת צְבוּרִי* (my emphasis).⁴⁹¹ This clearly showed that Christ's initial pronouncement in Syriac would have had a perfect correspondence: in Canini's reconstruction, 'You are *Cepha* and on this *cepha*...' In Syriac, in other words, 'Cepha' signified both 'rock' and Simon's new name without any change in letters. However, this original synonymy had (according to Canini) gradually been erased by layers of translation. Firstly, the Evangelists, writing in Greek, translated the Syriac 'Cepha' of Simon's name as *Πέτρος*, 'Petros', but used the more literal Greek rendering of *πέτρα* for the founding rock. Canini did not explicitly explain

⁴⁹¹ For this whole discussion, see Canini, *Institutiones*, pp. 49-50.

why the Evangelists deviated thus from πέτρα, but his description of the use of ‘Petros’ as ‘aptissimè’ (most apt) suggests he probably thought that it would have been inappropriate for a male Apostle to have been given a feminine noun for a name. The discrepancy was, nevertheless, tolerable, as ‘stone’ was a perfectly acceptable translation for ‘πέτρος’, and so the basic equivalence was preserved. In the Vulgate, however, this equivalence had been ruined by the fact that Latin lacked a masculine version of its own word for rock, ‘petra’. Because of this, Latin had to rely solely on the paronomasia of Petrus/petra to signify the Simon-rock synonym, and so the underlying correspondence appeared much weaker than it had originally been.

It does not take much digging to uncover Canini’s motivations in this case. For Matt. 16.18 was a key proof-text for the Catholic Church, as the synonymy of the new name for Simon, Πέτρος (‘rock’) and the founding πέτρα (stone) of the Church gave biblical warrant for the Catholic assertion that Jesus had granted primacy to Peter among all the Apostles as head of the Church - a crucial starting-point for papal claims to the ecclesiastical supremacy that rested on apostolic succession from Peter. This is why Canini, a Catholic Hebraist, invested so much effort into proving that the Aramaic background of this verse supported even more strongly than the Greek or Latin the assertion that Simon’s new name signified his status as the ‘rock’ of the Church. It should be no surprise, then, that Robert Bellarmine eagerly absorbed Canini’s analysis into his own defence of the Pope’s authority: moreover, this kind of controversial absorption was probably something which Canini had actively intended to happen, as he made little effort to hide the confessional ramifications of his analysis, even concluding this section by glossing the meaning of ‘on this rock’ as ‘on you’, i.e. on Peter/Simon/Cepha.⁴⁹²

Given this, it should be no surprise that precisely the same confessional concerns animated the Protestant Drusius’s analysis of the same problem in the expanded 1616 edition of his *Ad voces Ebraicas N.T. commentarius duplex*. Here, Drusius admitted that the

⁴⁹² Bellarmine, *Disputationes*, Vol. 1, Liber 1, p. 641.

Syriac had ‘Cepha’ on either side of the clause, and that in the Greek too the two sides of the clause were equivalent. However, he then proceeded to switch the focus of his analysis to ask why, given this equivalence, Christ had said ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ (*on this rock*) rather than a simpler construction which flowed more naturally from the first clause, such as ‘on you’. The answer, Drusius said, was first given by Isidorus: the awkward phrase ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ was intended to show that the founding ‘petra’ of the Church referred not to Simon but back to verse 16, in which Simon told Jesus that he was the Messiah. Thus a proper interpretation of the verse would establish that the founding rock of the Church was not Peter but Christ. We can see from this that Drusius recognised the confessional ramifications of Canini’s philological manipulations, and went out of his way to disable them.⁴⁹³ Moreover, in order to do so he was happy to propagate a reading of Matt. 16.16-18 which was not only syntactically dubious but also a standard Protestant argument that would not have looked out of place in a theological disputation.⁴⁹⁴

This is just one example, but it should indicate that no sixteenth-century biblical scholar was above manipulating their scholarship to suit confessional and theological ends. Broughton was certainly not alone in this respect, and his scripturalist beliefs, moreover, were not causally related to his willingness to be so directed. In other words, while we must acknowledge the differences between those, like Broughton, who were incapable of admitting scriptural corruption, and those, like Drusius, who were happy to do so, it is equally important that such differences are not extrapolated to oppose every aspect of the two scholars’ working practice. There was nothing within any given

⁴⁹³ Drusius, *Ad voces Ebraicas N.T. commentarius duplex* (Frankfurt, 1616) i. 46.

⁴⁹⁴ For further examples of the ways in which Drusius’ work was confessionally inflected, see G. Sujin Pak, ‘Contributions of Commentaries on the Minor Prophets to the Formation of Distinctive Lutheran and Reformed Confessional Identities’, *Church History and Religious Culture* 96 (2012), 237-60; Johannes Tromp, ‘The treatise on the Patriarch Henoch by Johannes Drusius (1550–1616)’, in *Studies in Hebrew literature and Jewish culture*, ed. M. F. J. Baasten and R. Munk (Dordrecht, 2007), pp. 103–50; Peter Korteweg, ‘Die Nieuwtestamentische Commentaren van Johannes Drusius’, pp. 73-81.

theological tradition, whether hardcore Reformed scripturalism or otherwise, that prevented its representatives from participating in the erudite late-humanist culture that had produced such brilliant advances in contemporary biblical criticism.

ii. The Contexts of the New Testament: Tools and Theories

The previous section demonstrated that Broughton understood and deployed some of the most sophisticated techniques and methods within contemporary New Testament scholarship; this section will show that he was capable of going even further than this to produce scholarship which was enduringly influential. One of the most important resources for this section is Broughton's annotated copy of Estienne's 1550 Greek New Testament. This was in the hands of the diplomat William Boswell after Broughton's death, but in January 1627 Boswell sent it to the biblical scholar Joseph Mede, who had inherited much of Broughton's library.⁴⁹⁵ Mede most likely left it in Christ's College, Cambridge upon his death in 1638, and this is where it resides today.

The annotations in this copy show that Broughton read his New Testament exactly as we would expect a serious Hebraist of the period to read it: with constant reference to its Jewish contexts. These contexts helped Broughton to clarify many of the more confusing aspects of the Gospels, such as the strange omission of Mary from the list of Christ's ancestors in Luke 3. Referring to this place on the back flyleaf of his New Testament, Broughton cited the Babylonian Talmud to explain that her exclusion was because, to command the respect of Jewish readers, the Evangelist had followed the model of Jewish inheritance, which was patrilineal: 'משפחת אם אינה קרויה משפחה' ad Lucam cur Maria non est adnumerata' (*The family of the mother is not considered family, re:*

⁴⁹⁵ See the paste-in letter from Boswell to Mede on the inner front cover of *Nouum Iesu Christi D.N. testamentum* (Paris, 1550), in Cambridge, Christ's College, shelf mark B.2.15, henceforth 'Cambridge, Christ's, B.2.15'.

why Mary was not counted in Luke').⁴⁹⁶ Likewise, Broughton exploited Jewish sources for exegetical ends, such as his quotation from the Mishnah elaborating the providential reasons behind the numbering of generations in the same genealogy:

עשרה דורות מאדם ועד נח להודיע כמה ארך אפים לפניו שכל הדורות היו מכעיסים
באין עד שהביא עליהם את מי המבול

(There were ten generations from Adam to Noah to show how God was angry, for all of these generations continually provoked Him until He brought upon them the waters of the flood).⁴⁹⁷

Broughton's search for Jewish explanations for New Testament peculiarities could also, however, produce much more striking results. The best illustration of this occurs at Broughton's annotation on the difficult and unidiomatic Greek of Mark 7.3, πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐὰν μὴ πύγμῃ νύψωνται τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν. This verse described how unless the Pharisees and Jews washed their hands πύγμῃ, they would not eat. The word πύγμῃ (dative singular of 'fist') had long caused problems of understanding. It was usually used as a measure of length, from the knuckles to the elbow, though this did not quite make sense, either in terms of grammar or meaning, within the verse. Thus, those with minimal interest in Judaism or Hebrew, such as Erasmus, had to assume textual corruption to make sense of it: in this case, Erasmus suggested emending πύγμῃ to πύγνῃ, πύγνῃ or πύγνῳ and so translating it as 'crebro' ('frequently').⁴⁹⁸ Later scholars found such emendations problematic not least because they included readings

⁴⁹⁶ Cambridge, Christ's, B.2.15, back flyleaf verso. The Hebrew citation is from Bava Batra, 109b.

⁴⁹⁷ Cambridge, Christ's, B.2.15, i.106. The Hebrew citation is from Avot, 5.2.

⁴⁹⁸ Desiderius Erasmus, *Novum instrumentum omne* (Basel, 1516), p. 89; for his explanatory comments see idem, *Des. Erasmi Roterodami in novum testamentum annotationes* (Basel, 1527), p. 122.

which were at least as uncommon as those they replaced, such as $\pi\tau\alpha\chi\eta$ for $\pi\tau\gamma\mu\eta$.

With a wider range of linguistic material to hand, however, they could make some progress. Beza, for example, followed the translation of דבטילאית in Immanuel Tremellius's Syriac New Testament and thus translated $\pi\tau\gamma\mu\eta$ as 'sedulo' or 'accuratè', understanding the term to signify that such ablutions were undertaken with great zeal by the Jews; the great Hellenist Isaac Casaubon thought the same.⁴⁹⁹ Drusius also turned to the Syriac translation, but concluded himself that the strange term meant 'saepissime' ('frequently').⁵⁰⁰

However, in this case, the real revelation could only be given by understanding the whole expression comprehensively within the cultural context of Jewish ritual and rabbinic writings. This is precisely how Broughton understood the phrase. In his own New Testament he drew a circle above $\pi\tau\gamma\mu\eta$ at Mark 7.3, and then noted in the margin רחץ ידיו עד הפרק ('he washed his hands to the wrist').⁵⁰¹ This note had the effect of directly connecting the verse to Talmudic stipulations about ritual hand-washing before meals going as far as the wrist: in this light, the odd expression $\pi\tau\gamma\mu\eta$ was immediately recognisable as a Hellenised adaption of the rabbinic phrase עד הפרק ('to the wrist').⁵⁰² Far from needing emendation, it stood as testament to the extent to which Jewish customs, practices and documents lay beneath the surface of the New Testament text.

⁴⁹⁹ Theodore Beza, *Annotations majores in novum Dn. nostri Jesu Christi testamentum* (Geneva, 1594), i. 188-189; Beza's earlier annotations gave the same conclusion, but without the Syriac evidence; Immanuel Tremellius (ed.), *Testamentum novum: est autem interpretatio Syriaca novi testamenti* (Geneva, 1569), fol. 113r; Isaac Casaubon, *Novi testamenti libri omnes recens nunc editi, cum notis Isaaci Casauboni* (Geneva, 1587), p. 396.

⁵⁰⁰ Johannes Drusius, *Annotationum in totum Jesu Christi testamentum* (Frankfurt, 1612), p. 67.

⁵⁰¹ Cambridge, Christ's B.2.15, i.73.

⁵⁰² Broughton does not identify from which Jewish text he sourced his information: given that this annotation is in a passage heavily annotated with quotes from Maimonides, the Mishneh Torah is a strong candidate, in particular a statement like that in Sefer Ahavah, Hilhot Berachot 6:4, $\text{עד היכן היא נטילת ידים עד הפרק}$ ('To what point should one's hands be washed? To the wrist'). Broughton used the 1574 Venice edition of the Mishneh Torah.

Broughton's annotation stands out not just because he managed to see more clearly even than Drusius the philological processes beneath the curious Greek phrase, but also because this insight is one which has stood the test of time. Modern scholars still follow this interpretation of the verse, though they credit its discovery to John Lightfoot, who included it in his famous *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*.⁵⁰³ It is difficult to say for certain whether Lightfoot reached the conclusion independently or took it from Broughton, though it is worth noting that he certainly had access to this annotated New Testament in Cambridge and took other arguments from Broughton's works without attribution, as was common in the period. The point, however, is not to speculate about Lightfoot's debts, but rather to demonstrate that despite his scripturalism, Broughton was occasionally outperforming those of his contemporaries who held similar interests.

I say 'despite his scripturalism' with caution, for although it is impossible to determine precisely what prompted Broughton's insight in this case, it is likely that his scripturalist beliefs played some part in the matter. After all, *πυγμαί* had often been identified as a textual corruption, and Broughton did have a habit of mounting philologically sophisticated defences of passages suspected of corruption. Motivations in this case aside, Broughton's scripturalist beliefs vividly manifested themselves across the rest of his annotations. This is evident in his multiple notes identifying the New Testament's typological and prophetic fulfillments of the Hebrew Bible, as well as his comments on miscellaneous moments in the New Testament which he thought demonstrated its cohesion and congruity with the Old in accordance with his belief in the total internal coherence of the Bible.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰³ See Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford, 1967), p. 9; John Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae: impensae in Evangelium Sancti Marci* (Cambridge, 1663), pp. 27-28.

⁵⁰⁴ See, for example, Broughton's comments beside Matt. 3.11-12, which note the verses' prophetic and typological fulfillments of Jer. 4.11, Isa. 4.5, 5.24 and Mic. 4.12: Cambridge, Christ's, B.2.15, i.4.

It is not surprising that Broughton read his New Testament with an eye to finding evidence proving its continuity with the Old. What is surprising, however, is the way in which this close attention most often manifested itself. The majority of Broughton's marginal notes are very simple, and consist only of a few Hebrew words keyed to Greek words in the main text, often accompanied by biblical citations. Once each instance has been examined, however, it becomes clear that this pattern of annotation is not random. Rather, it shows Broughton systematically searching for correspondences between Greek New Testament and Hebrew Old Testament words which were already attested in the Septuagint. In other words, Broughton was repeatedly annotating Greek words with the Hebrew words which they translated in the Septuagint, and then jotting down the biblical verse where this correspondence occurred. This process is best understood through an example, and one of the clearest occurs in a note on Heb. 11. In the main text of this chapter, Broughton drew a small circle (his usual method of notation) above the word **τεχνίτης** ('architect'), used in verse 10 to describe God as builder of the heavenly city. Linked to this word Broughton scrawled the following note: **חרש** Deut.27.15 1.Par.29.5 Jer.10.9. 24,1. 29.2.⁵⁰⁵

In unpacking this annotation, the first thing to note is that the Hebrew **חרש** ('artisan') is a loose synonym for the Greek **τεχνίτης** and occurs in every biblical citation Broughton has here noted: Deut. 27.15, 1 Chr. 29.5 and Jer. 10.9, 24.1 and 29.1. But it also occurs in thirty-four other places in the Hebrew Bible. So why choose these five places specifically? There is only one common factor that could be the reason: each of these five places has **τεχνίτης** as the translation for **חרש** in the Septuagint Greek.⁵⁰⁶ Here, as described earlier, it is clear that the motivating factor behind Broughton's annotation must be the search for Hebrew and Greek synonyms whose equivalence was

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 137.

⁵⁰⁶ Note that the Hebrew Jer. 29 corresponds to the Septuagint Jer. 36.

certified by the Septuagint. This combination of features – a circle above a Greek word in the main text, Hebrew words scribbled in the margin beside it, and sometimes a matching biblical reference – is repeated over and over again in Broughton’s New Testament, and testifies to the extent to which finding these Old Testament-Septuagint-New Testament lexical correspondences dominated his reading practices.⁵⁰⁷ The objective of these searches beyond their theological implications for the Old and New Testament’s relationship is not clear from Broughton’s New Testament alone, though it does provide some clues.

An initial hint is an annotation at 1 Tim. 1.8-9. Here Paul describes how the law was not ‘for the righteous but for the lawless and rebels, the ungodly and sinful, the unholy and irreligious’. Broughton marked out three words from this list of sinners: *ἀνόμοις* (‘lawless people’), *ἀσεβέσι* (‘ungodly people’) and *ἁμαρτωλοῖς* (‘sinful people’). In the nearest margin he wrote the following:

Τὶ ἀσεβέω
שקדי און אידים

מפעלי און⁵⁰⁸

The revealing part of this annotation is the latter half, which notes the Hebrew word *ידים* (‘arrogant men’), and then repeats it in its masculine singular (lemma, i.e. dictionary entry) form *יד* beside the Greek lemma *ἀσεβέω*. The reader will remember that *ἀσεβέσι* (ungodly, from *ἀσεβέω*) was one of the words Broughton marked in the main text, and indeed *ἀσεβέσι* is used as the translation for the Hebrew *ידים* in one place in the Septuagint, Isa. 17.11. So Broughton found his Hebrew synonym for *ἀσεβέσι*

⁵⁰⁷ See e.g. the annotations at Matt. 3.5, 5.17, 19.27; Mark 7.1-2; Acts 2.22-24, 7.57; Rom. 1.27-28; 1 Cor. 4.13-14; 1 Tim. 3.4; 2 Tim. 4.8, Heb. 6.7-8.

⁵⁰⁸ Cambridge, Christ’s, B.2.15, ii.106.

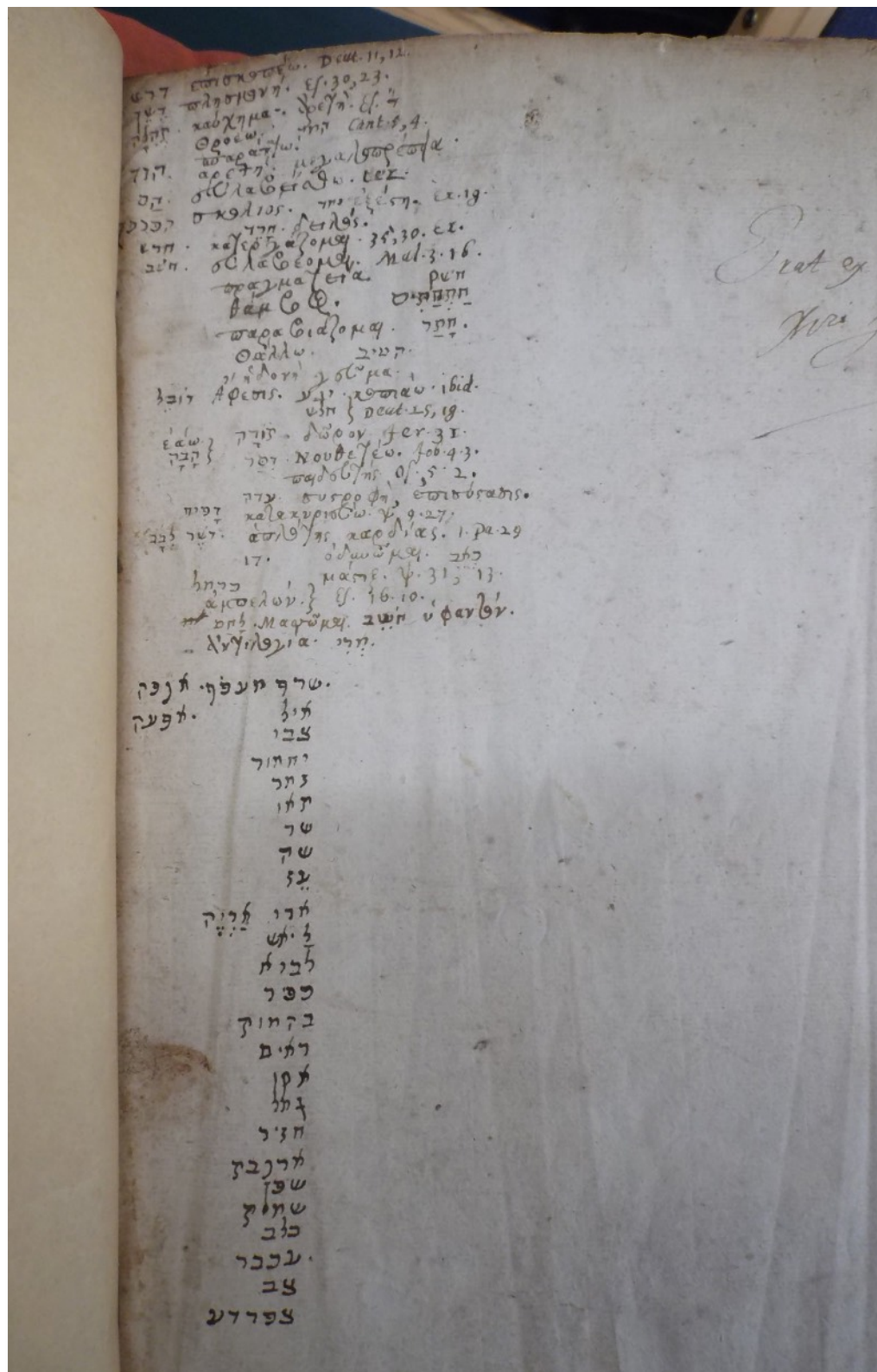
through the Septuagint and noted it in the margin - but why did he then repeat the two synonyms as lemmata beside the rest of the note?⁵⁰⁹

The front flyleaf (fig. 5) gives us some idea. This contains a mixture of Hebrew and Greek words, with sporadic biblical references. Though it appears disordered, matching the Hebrew and Greek words with the scattered citations reveals what Broughton was doing: collecting the results of his Old Testament-Septuagint-New Testament reading in one place, by recording each Hebrew-Greek correspondence with a note of the biblical text at which the Septuagint used that Greek word to translate the Hebrew term. Even at places where there is no citation attached to the pair, it is easy to discover the Septuagint connection, and there are several places at which Broughton had identified multiple Greek correspondences for one Hebrew word via several different Septuagint translations.⁵¹⁰ Some pairings are difficult to match with a linking biblical reference, but this is likely because Broughton's collation was left unfinished: a long list of Hebrew words fills the lower half of the page, presumably to be matched up with their Greek synonyms and biblical citation later.

⁵⁰⁹ In the rest of this annotation, שְׂקִדֵי אֵו and מַפְעֵלֵי אֵו provide two correspondences for ἀνόμοις via Isa. 29.20 and Ps. 59.2 (LXX, 58.3) respectively. Broughton did not find a correspondence for ἀμαρτωλοῖς, which would have been difficult as it occurs only once in the Septuagint at Gen. 13.13.

⁵¹⁰ Cambridge, Christ's, B.2.15, front flyleaf.

Figure 5: The front flyleaf of Broughton's annotated New Testament in Christ's College, Cambridge, shelf mark B.2.15. Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge.



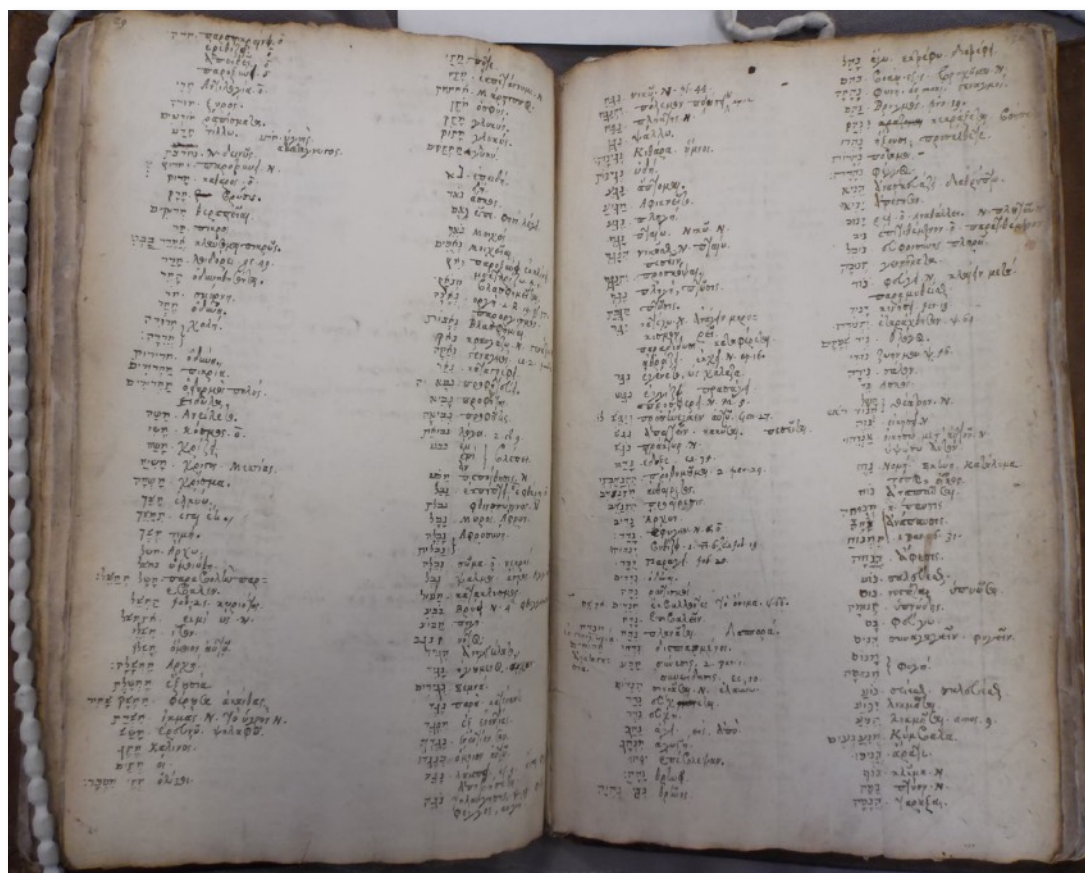
Although Broughton abandoned this flyleaf collation, he did not abandon the project which his reading had started. A manuscript in Lambeth Palace Library reveals where this annotation was headed, and where the lemmata Broughton noted in his New Testament were deposited: a Hebrew-Greek Lexicon, composed by Broughton sometime before 1607, ordered following the Hebrew alphabet, including occasional biblical references noting where the Septuagint provided the link connecting each Hebrew word with its Greek synonym (fig. 6).⁵¹¹ The flyleaf, moreover, contains an inscription by Broughton which sums up the enterprise leading to this work: ‘ערך קדוש לֵאָגֶזֶן ἱερὸν continens Hebraea quae N.T. donat Hellade’ (‘A Sacred Concordance: A Sacred Lexicon, containing the Hebrew words which the N.T. renders in Greek’). Interestingly, a later ownership note reveals that Broughton made other Hebrew-Greek concordances possibly as drafts before this one: Thomas Hayne, who donated the manuscript to the Sion College Library on 25th May 1630, notes that ‘there is a copie of the same kind in the hands and custodie of Mr Henry Osburne: written also by the hand of Mr Broughton himself: but this shews to be the perfect copie upon my perusall of both.’⁵¹² Hayne also records that this Lexicon was compiled before Conrad Kircher published the first printed Hebrew-Greek concordance in 1607.⁵¹³ Thus evidently Broughton, in the process from his New Testament to the Lambeth Lexicon, was developing a tool that could find the Hebrew equivalent for any word in the New Testament by using the Septuagint as a bridge between the vocabulary of the two Testaments. In other words, Broughton’s scripturalist reading patterns led him not just to develop his own methods of reading, but also to create, on the basis of this, the first known prototype of a Hebrew-Greek concordance.

⁵¹¹ London, Lambeth Palace Library, Sion L40.2/H1, henceforth referred to as the Lambeth Lexicon.

⁵¹² It should be noted, however, that even the ‘perfect’ Lambeth Lexicon is not complete: given that there are some correspondences and citations missing, and late additions squeezed onto the page amongst others, it was more likely a work-in-progress.

⁵¹³ Conrad Kircher, *Concordantiae veteris testamenti: Graecae, Ebraeis vocibus respondentes* (Frankfurt, 1607).

Figure 6: A sample spread from Broughton's Hebrew-Greek Lexicon, now in London, Lambeth Palace Library, Sion L40.2/H1.



This should demonstrate, then, that Broughton's scripturalist beliefs could lead him to produce philologically useful scholarly tools. But they could also encourage more unusual developments in his thought. It has already been mentioned that contemporary biblical scholars recognised a variety of extra-classical influences on New Testament Greek, and it is necessary to add here that most of them thought that the correct identification of such influences was essential for the analysis of any given verse. After all, if a certain verse imitated the norms of classical Greek and it was expounded following the habits of rabbinic writers instead, the result would not be a reliable reading of the text. Broughton was fully aware of these scholarly norms and, in his published works from around 1597 on, began to codify them into a theory of language which never received a holistic outline, but was most fully expressed in his 1610 *A Revelation of the Holy Apocalyps*,

possibly simply because this was one of his last works of New Testament exegesis. I have named it the ‘four dialects theory’ because it was (probably inspired by the growing sixteenth-century scholarship on the dialects of Italian and Classical Greek) Broughton’s attempt at breaking down New Testament Greek into four dialects which he called ‘the Attiq, Iudean, Thalmudiq, Apostoliq.’⁵¹⁴ ‘Attique Greek’ did not mean ‘Attic’ Greek in the sense of the dialect spoken in ancient Attica, but rather any ‘commune Greeke for matters knowen to heathen’; i.e. it covered a host of styles and lexical items taken from the best Greek pagan writers from Homer onwards, and was adopted by the Apostles when engaging the would-be heathen convert. ‘Iudean Greek’ was the dialect captured by the Lambeth Lexicon, covering all the moments when the New Testament followed the Septuagint, either in expression or vocabulary. This was used ‘when the speach is most to Iewes.’⁵¹⁵ ‘Thalmudique Greek’ was again a style employed ‘when speach is to Iewes’, but consisted this time of expressions taken from ancient rabbinic sources (by ‘ancient rabbinic’ Broughton meant the most learned Jews in the intertestamental period, whose language and beliefs he thought were accurately preserved in the (later) rabbinic writings).⁵¹⁶ Finally ‘Apostolique Greek’, was simply ‘the Apostles owne [dialect]’ used whenever ‘they expresse Ebrew [of the Old Testament] in a new manner’, i.e. whenever they did not follow the Septuagint.⁵¹⁷

Despite these strict categorisations, these dialects served much the same exegetical purpose as the less formal identification of influence by contemporary scholars: they allowed one to identify which sources ought to be used in expounding

⁵¹⁴ Broughton, *Our Lordes Familie*, sig. Ir.

⁵¹⁵ Idem, *A Renelation*, p. 71.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., p. 74. See p. 263, below. This is not a totally absurd approach, and has in fact been (cautiously) advocated by modern biblical scholars: see Jan Joosten and Menahem Kister, ‘The New Testament and Rabbinic Hebrew’ in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature*, ed. R. Bieringer, F. García Martínez, D. Pollefeyt and P. J. Tomson (Leiden, 2010), pp. 335-350 (p. 336).

⁵¹⁷ Broughton, *A Renelation*, p. 72.

parts of the biblical text, facilitating accurate interpretation. In this respect the point of their codification was not truly for exegetical purposes, but for theological ones: to enable them to serve as proof of his scripturalist beliefs. In Broughton's eyes, the four dialects theory offered a threefold proof of key Reformed scripturalist doctrines: their preservation was proof of the New Testament's incorruption; their diversity, which was providentially designed to ensure maximum appeal among pagan and Jewish audiences alike, was proof of its divine inspiration; and finally the rhetorical variety which they granted was evidence of its literary perfection, containing the best examples of every possible Greek style, from Homeric to Hellenistic.⁵¹⁸

The motivation for this theory may have been theological, but its full realisation took place within more purely historical and linguistic terms. Two examples best demonstrate this: the first is Broughton's explanation for the factors which created the Apostolic dialect, which occurs in a brief manuscript treatise entitled (misleadingly) 'Latine wordes in ye N: Test':

"The Apostles avoided those [words] which common use had drawn unto another [meaning]. [For example] *stasis* in Isa. 22[.19] means 'post/station', [but] in the age of the Apostles, [it meant] 'sedition'. So there they used *bathmon* [to designate] the same [meaning] that Isaiah had intended, and *stasis* in that sense was rejected. [Another example]: *paradigma* in the Septuagint meant 'the public shame of those who are made into an example': it didn't simply mean 'an example', as it frequently does among the Greek writers. Henceforth it was necessary in speech about Christ, to turn away from that word as if from a crag, lest the malicious Jews, learned in the Greek translation,

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 298-299; see also the comments in his *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iii.70-703.

should appropriate it to their own senses. So hereupon they use for the same meaning *upodeigma* and *upogrammon*.⁵¹⁹

These brief comments show that, in Broughton's eyes, the chief cause of the 'Apostolique' dialect was the semantic evolution of language over time. By the Apostolic era, words which had one particular meaning in the age of the Septuagint had gained a very different meaning, and thus the Apostles were compelled to find new words to express the old meanings to prevent misunderstandings. Broughton's first example of this was the word **στάσις**, which the Septuagint could use in its sense of 'station/standing' in Isa. 22.19, but which the Apostles had to handle delicately in the New Testament since by their time it had come to mean 'sedition' instead.⁵²⁰ Thus, Broughton explained, the curious use of the word **βαθμὸν** for 'standing', which only appeared once in the New Testament at 1 Tim. 3.13, was because the Apostles had been forced to avoid the normal Septuagint term **στάσις** due to the unfortunate connotations it had gained in the intervening centuries.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁹ I have taken a loose approach to translation to render Broughton's rough Latin into smooth English. 'sic Apostoli vitarunt quos usus alio flexerat **Στασις** Es.22. stationem designat: Apostolorum seculo seditionem: Hinc illi **βαθμὸν** idem vocitant, quod vult Esaias: et **στασις** in illa scientia [*sic*; sententia?] repudiatur. Sic **παραδιγμα** apud 70: publicum dedecus eorum in quibus exemplum editur: non simpliciter exemplum, vti passim apud Graiugenas. hinc necesse fuit in sermone de Christo, ab illo vocabulo tanquam à scopulo vela retorquere ne Judei malefidi grari [*sic*; an error for 'gnari'] versionis graecae, arriperent ad suos sensus. hinc **ὑποδειγμα** et **υπογραμμον** [*sic*] idem vocitant.' London, British Library, MS Egerton 791, fol. 47r.

⁵²⁰ Isa. 22.19: **καὶ ἀφαιρεθήσῃ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς στάσεώς σου** (And thou shalt be removed from thy stewardship, and from thy station). It is worth highlighting that this is not the case: **στασις** was used in the sense of 'sedition' as early as the fifth century BCE.

⁵²¹ 1 Tim. 3.13: **οἱ γὰρ καλῶς διακονήσαντες βαθμὸν ἑαυτοῖς καλὸν περιποιούνται καὶ πολλὴν παρησίαν ἐν πίστει τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ** (Those who have served well gain an excellent standing and great assurance in their faith in Christ Jesus).

Broughton's second example was similar: *παράδειγμα* was a derogatory term in the Septuagint, used to express the idea of 'making a public example of someone', as in Num. 25.4, Jer. 13.22, Ezek. 28.17 and Dan. 2.5. This was because it derived from *παράδειγματίσαι* 'to expose to public disgrace', and still encompassed some of the connotations of that verb. But by the time of the Apostles, as Broughton described, it had come to be used in Greek literature to mean 'an example' in a neutral sense. Despite the word's new, impartial meaning, however, the Apostles still had to be careful about using it with reference to Christ as Jewish polemicists (so claimed Broughton) could have used its Septuagint meaning to interpret their words negatively. Hence why the Apostles more frequently used *ὑπόδειγμα* in such contexts and also why they even employed a local hapax legomenon (a word only occurring once in the New Testament) *ὑπογραμμός* at 1 Pet. 2.21: they did not want to leave the New Testament open to deliberate misinterpretation, and so had to abandon the path forged by the Septuagint and search out their own terms and expressions instead.⁵²²

Even though Broughton viewed the 'Apostolique' dialect, like the other three dialects, as providential and divine in design and origin, he nevertheless thought it had developed due to natural historical pressures that could be described and analysed in philological terms. Other dialects had less interesting histories of development, but still could lead Broughton to make astute observations on the biblical text. The most interesting dialect in this respect is the second example: the 'Thalmudique' dialect, designed like the Judean to engage a Jewish audience. This included rabbinic imports 'from *Thalmudiques* of *Babell*' like the singular phrase 'the age to come' in Matt. 12.32, which Broughton identified as originating from the rabbinic phrase *העולם הבא* (the world to come), an expression not present in the Hebrew Bible but used innumerable

⁵²² *ὑπόδειγμα* occurs at John 13.15, Heb. 4.11; 8.5; 9.23, Jas. 5.10, 2 Pet. 2.6.

1 Pet. 2.21: 'To this you were called, because Christ suffered for you, leaving you an example [*ὑπογραμμὸν*], that you should follow in his steps.'

times in the Talmud, Mishnah and other Jewish writings such as those of Maimonides.⁵²³ This dialect also, of course, encompassed the Hellenised rabbinism *πυγμαλῖ* in Mark 7.3 discussed earlier, but this was not the only case in which the dialect directed Broughton to a penetrating insight. A similar thought process, perhaps, can be seen in a note scrawled on the back flyleaf of Broughton's New Testament, where just above the phrase *ὥς ἀλάκκος σινάπεως* ('as a mustard seed', from the eponymous parable) is written *כגריר חרדל*.⁵²⁴ These Hebrew words also mean 'as a mustard seed', but they are not biblical: rather, they appear several times in the Talmud to denote the smallest thing the human eye can detect.⁵²⁵ Although this is only an unelaborated note, it seems as if Broughton had recognised that here too the New Testament was borrowing a phrase - or rather, a concept - from Jewish literature, and that therefore to properly understand the parable of the *ἀλάκκος σινάπεως* from which the Kingdom of Heaven grew, one must first understand the Jewish use of the term *כגריר חרדל* to mean an infinitely minute object. This connection between rabbinic idiom and Gospel parable is again an insight which modern biblical commentators still follow today, but once more have attributed to Lightfoot rather than Broughton.⁵²⁶

The purpose of this section, however, has not been to diminish the status of Lightfoot. Nor has it been to claim that Broughton's theories were unproblematically realised without any absurdities or mistakes. Rather, it has been to produce a more nuanced account of the relationship between scholars' scripturalist beliefs and their

⁵²³ Broughton, *A Revelation*, p. 71, pp. 74-65; see also 'Miscellanea of a course for study of Theology', in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iii.709.

⁵²⁴ Cambridge, Christ's, B.2.15, back flyleaf verso. For the parable, see Matt. 13.32-32; Mark 4.30-32; Luke 13.18-19.

⁵²⁵ E.g. Nazir, 8a.

⁵²⁶ 'Hinc in Adagium vulgare abiit *כזרע חרדל* *Pro quantitate grani sinapis*, & *כטיפת חרדל* *Pro quantitate guttulæ sinapis*, frequentissimè apud *Rabbinos* rem vel quantitatem minutissimam innuentes', John Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ impensæ in Evangelium S. Matthæi* (Cambridge, 1658), p. 179.

working practices than has been previously offered. On the one hand, many of the commonplaces about Broughton's scholarship must be upheld, for his work was indeed strongly informed by scripturalist principles, which often led him to a-historical, theological positions. On the other hand, however, Broughton's work contained elements which were much more philologically sophisticated, and even, by the standards of his contemporaries, cutting-edge. In short, I have tried to show that Broughton's New Testament scholarship consisted of what we might call 'mixed practices': practices which were an amalgam of highly historical and philological methods, but which fundamentally developed from his scripturalist beliefs.

Scholars like Broughton have thus far been excluded from histories of intellectual progress on the assumption that their beliefs about scripture prevented them from working at the vanguard of biblical criticism. This chapter has aimed to problematise this assumption, and its conclusions therefore should have larger implications than just improving Broughton's reputation. The re-attribution of some of Lightfoot's achievements can stand synecdochically for these implications, as Broughton is hardly the typical Scaligerian practitioner of skeptical, open-minded scholarship, and even less does he represent any movement away from the uncompromisingly scripturalist attitudes which were supposedly holding post-Reformation biblical scholarship back from reaching its potential. This may well suggest that our notions of what stimulated and what inhibited biblical criticism have been too teleological. At the very least, the path of intellectual progress from late humanism to the Enlightenment would appear very different if it were rewritten to include the contributions of scholars with scripturalist sympathies.

5. Scholarship for the People: the Case of the English Bible

When Broughton wrote to James VI & I in 1610 bemoaning the slow progress of the new translation, he expressed many concerns about the various ways in which the churches might be forced to purchase ‘trash instead of the word of God.’⁵²⁷ One, however, is particularly pertinent to this chapter: his anxiety that the great number of chosen translators could not possibly be capable of properly rendering the ‘Hebraeo-graecos Apostolos’ (‘Hebraeo-Hellenic Apostles’), since there were in fact ‘vix duo...in toto orbe’ (‘scarcely two men in the whole world’) who could manage such a task.⁵²⁸

Within the broader context of this section, there is nothing strange about the term ‘Hebraeo-Hellenic Apostles’. It is, however, a less familiar expression to come across within the context of the English Bible. After all, given the highly specialised nature of the endeavours described in the previous chapter, it can be difficult to see how they had any impact, except indirectly and in diluted form, on the vernacular enterprise of biblical translation. Indeed, the connections between the restless world of neo-Latin biblical scholarship and that of vernacular biblical translation, though often acknowledged as important, have rarely been systematically examined within modern studies of the English Bible, which have historically focussed instead on the idea of the

⁵²⁷ ‘Caeterum ut doctissima vestra Majestas videre possit quid ab illis sperabile, nec cogantur Ecclesiae pro verbo Dei emere nugamenta’, Broughton, *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iv. 708.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

Bible as literature, and particularly on the importance of vernacular scriptural translations to the development of modern English style.⁵²⁹

In recent years, however, a more suggestive branch of study has emerged, as both literary scholars and historians have been increasingly drawn to the ways in which contemporary philological, historical and theological scholarship influenced the enterprise of vernacular biblical translation.⁵³⁰ Such developments are in line with the longer-standing trend in studies of vernacular religious culture more broadly defined to approach their subjects in a manner that incorporates methods and ideas from disciplines

⁵²⁹ See Charles C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible, 1340-1611* (Philadelphia, 1941); Gustavus Paine, *The Learned Men* (New York, 1959); M. Kitagaki, *Principles and Problems of Translation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Kyoto, 1981); Gerald Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible* (Manchester, 1982); Norton, *Bible As Literature*; idem, *English Bible as Literature*; Alister McGrath, *In the Beginning* (London, 2001); David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven, 2003); Campbell, *Bible*; the essays in Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones (eds), *The King James Bible after 400 Years: Literary, linguistic, and cultural influences* (Cambridge, 2010); Hannibal Hamlin, 'The Noblest Composition in the Universe or Fit for the Flames? The Literary Style of the King James Bible', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, C. 1530-1700*, pp. 469-83. For a formal examination of this influence, see David Crystal, *Begat: The King James Bible and the English Language* (Oxford, 2010).

⁵³⁰ See, for example, the contributions in *The Scholarly Context of the King James Bible*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Leiden, forthcoming); Nicholas Hardy, 'The Septuagint and the Transformation of Biblical Scholarship in England, from the King James Bible (1611) to the London Polyglot (1657)', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible*, pp. 117-131; Femke Molekamp, 'The Geneva and the King James Bibles: Legacies of Reading Practices', *Bunyan Studies* 15 (2011), 11-25; Katrin Ettenhuber, "'Take vp and read the Scriptures': Patristic interpretation and the poetics of abundance in 'The Translators to the Reader' (1611)", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 75 (2012), 213-32; as well as Paul Botley's extensive biographical study of one of the AV translators; Paul Botley, *Richard 'Dutch' Thomson, c. 1569-1613* (Leiden, 2016). For later periods, see Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton, 2005), and for an illuminating essay on the Dutch Authorised Version in the same spirit, see Dirk van Miert, 'De Statenvertaling (1637)', in *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen: elf eeuwen van vertalen*, ed. Paul Gillaerts (Heerenveen, 2015), pp. 406-440, especially pp. 415-37.

as various as intellectual, ecclesiastical and political history, among others.⁵³¹ These studies have now, particularly with respect to early modern sermons, produced some of the most dynamic advances in the field of early modern religious writing.

There is, however, still much work to do be done, especially when it comes to our understanding of the influence that such scholarly developments might have exerted on the English Bible. Moreover, there is still a tendency within much of the secondary literature to rely on scattered comments detached from their wider contexts, and this is especially true in the case of Broughton. Scholars have often neglected the intellectual labours that informed his work as a whole, and focussed instead on isolated statements from his (very polemical) published pamphlets.⁵³² With this in mind, this chapter will use new evidence to flesh out an alternative, richer picture of the role that contemporary scholarship could play in vernacular biblical translation, using the discoveries of the previous part to move beyond the terms that currently define analysis. It will focus on the question of how Broughton's scholarship and reading practices actually affected his basic processes of translation as well as his overarching vision of the English Bible. In the process it will allude in passing to many of the diverse contexts - theological, controversial, philological and political – in which Broughton deployed his biblical scholarship throughout his career, and gesture towards the wide range of contemporary lay readers, from Lord Burghley to nearly-forgotten women, for whom such scholarship

⁵³¹ See, for example, Debora Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: scholarship, sacrifice and subjectivity* (Berkeley, 1994); Brian Cummings, *The literary culture of the Reformation: grammar and grace* (Oxford, 2002); Katrin Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine: Renaissance Cultures of Interpretation* (Oxford, 2011). The literature on early modern sermons is substantial, for an introduction, see Peter McCullough, *Sermons at court: politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching* (Cambridge, 1998); the essays in Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (eds), *The English sermon revised: religion, literature and history 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2000); and Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, (Oxford, 2011).

⁵³² Daiches, *The King James Version*, p. 67, pp. 156-7; Norton, *Bible as Literature*, pp. 139-144; idem, *English Bible as Literature*, pp. 56-58; idem, *The King James Bible: A Short History*, pp. 81-82; Campbell, *Bible*, pp. 123-124; Sumillera, 'Hugh Broughton's Censure', pp. 47-57. One partial exception is Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew*, pp. 164-8, though this is now outdated.

was important. In doing this, it not only argues for the importance of neo-Latin learned culture to studies of the English Bible, but also shows that vernacular translation was not necessarily a parochial or less ambitious corollary of its Latin counterparts. Finally, it will conclude by linking some of these findings to the themes and discussions of the previous section, focussing on the relationship between scripturalism, scholarship and the English Bible.

i. Translating the New Testament into English

While Broughton's published works do provide hints about his ideas for the English New Testament, further evidence is provided by two annotated Geneva New Testaments, both currently in New York Public Library. Due to their central importance for the reconstruction of Broughton's New Testament translations it is necessary to establish some basic facts about these copies before proceeding to an analysis of their contents.

The first is a 1610 Geneva New Testament annotated by Edward Holyoke (1585-1660), who moved to Massachusetts in 1637. Holyoke had known Broughton personally during his lifetime and, after his death, started collecting his works, even helping Lightfoot compile his 1662 edition of Broughton's *Works*.⁵³³ Holyoke wrote in the back of his Bible that he copied his annotations from those in a 1596 Geneva New Testament corrected in Broughton's own hand, which was sent to him in November 1615 by John Turner, host of the English House in Middelburg where Broughton had once resided.⁵³⁴ Holyoke also noted that he had copied these annotations specifically for a 'Mrs Baynard' in May 1616: this Mrs Baynard is, I suspect, the same woman whom

⁵³³ See Lightfoot's 'The Preface', in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, sig. B2r. Holyoke's will attests to his ownership of Broughton's manuscripts and books, printed in William Tusk, 'Abstracts from the earliest wills on record in the county of Suffolk, Mass.', *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 9 (1855), p. 345.

⁵³⁴ New York Public Library, shelfmark 8-*KC 1610 (Bible. N.T. English. 1610. New Testament) Copy 2, back flyleaf 2v, henceforth 'NYPL, 8-*KC 1610 Copy 2'.

Lightfoot claims learnt Hebrew from reading Broughton's books.⁵³⁵ Certainly she owned many Broughton-related manuscripts and copied them for interested parties, as a note in a British Library manuscript attests.⁵³⁶ It is likely that she worked with Holyoke as he collected 'Broughtoniana', and that this emended Bible was part of the exchange of resources between the two collectors. At the very least Holyoke's copying of Broughton's annotations for her show a great deal of care: he diligently noted whenever he struggled to understand Broughton's often-cryptic abbreviations and even highlighted places where he himself had mistakenly blotted a verse.⁵³⁷

The marginalia of the second annotated (1577) Geneva New Testament are anonymous and less carefully copied. The copy is, as a later note on the bind page attests, from the same autograph correction as that which Edward Holyoke used, but has clearly been made by someone who could not read Hebrew (unlike Holyoke, who competently signed his name in the language) and had difficulties even with Greek.⁵³⁸ Interestingly, however, it does indicate (both by its very existence and explicitly in the bind-page note) that the aforementioned Turner sent Broughton's corrected New Testament from Middelburg specifically 'in order that copies might be taken from it.'

All of this points suggestively towards a culture of copying and circulating hand-emended English Bibles in the early seventeenth-century, involving female as well as male lay readers who wished to enjoy the fruits of contemporary biblical philology. And indeed, Broughton's corrections were still being copied towards the latter half of the

⁵³⁵ Lightfoot, 'The Preface', in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, sig. C2r.

⁵³⁶ 'This was taken out of a copy of Mrs Baynardes wch she tooke out of *Broughtons*': London, British Library, MS Egerton 791, fol. 21v. The hand suggests that this manuscript compilation of Broughton's work was also copied out by Edward Holyoke.

⁵³⁷ See, e.g., Holyoke conjecturing that Broughton's abbreviation 'g.d' stands for 'giue diligence' and then parenthetically noting his uncertainty: '(wee thinke)' in NYPL, 8-*KC 1610 Copy 2, fol. 223r; and the note: 'sometimes " is over a worde: I had blotted afore I was aware', back flyleaf, fol. 3r.

⁵³⁸ New York Public Library, shelfmark *KC 1577 (Bible. N.T. English. 1577. New Testament Of Ovr Lord Iesus Christ). Henceforth NYPL, *KC 1577.

century, with the English bishop Richard Kidder copying them from Holyoke's copy into his own collection of notes on vernacular translation, now in Lambeth Palace Library.⁵³⁹ However, for all its broader cultural interest, this anonymous New Testament is less reliable as a resource for Broughton's corrections than Holyoke's. As such, the following analysis will rely mainly on the latter, using the former for corroboration.

The first question we should ask is how tools such as the Lambeth Lexicon and the method of exposition it represents might be used in translation. Due to limitations of space this examination will have to rely on representative examples, and a revealing one appears in Broughton's correction to Matt. 26.12. This verse contained Jesus's explanation for why a woman had poured expensive ointment over his head, an action which his disciples deemed wasteful. The 1577, 1596 and 1610 Geneva texts all translated Christ's explanation as 'she did it to bury me' (πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με ἐποίησεν). While perfectly serviceable, this translation did not much clarify the motivations behind the woman's actions: how was drenching someone in perfume akin to burying them? The Genevan translators were unhelpful, and their difficulty came from the rare Greek verb ἐνταφιάζω behind their translation: this verb only appeared twice in the New Testament (here and at John 19.40), both times in the context of a burial but both times without further clues as to exactly what action in the burial process it denoted. 'To bury me' was a safe if imprecise bet, and one which all previous English translations, as well as the Vulgate and Erasmus ('ad sepeliendum me'), had followed.⁵⁴⁰

Broughton, however, found a more precise rendering for the Greek verb: in Holyoke's New Testament the words 'to bury me' are underlined and replaced with 'to spice my burial,' a description which plainly designated what sort of burial service the woman performed for Jesus when she poured ointment on him, namely the act of

⁵³⁹ London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 821, fol. 567r.

⁵⁴⁰ Erasmus, *Novum Instrumentum*, p. 63.

‘spicing’ or embalming a corpse.⁵⁴¹ Moreover, Broughton reached this improved rendering through the very same process described earlier: written in the margin of Holyoke’s New Testament at this verse is the Hebrew טַחַנְל, meaning ‘to embalm’ or ‘to make spicy’. In the Lambeth Lexicon, there is an entry under טַחַנ which reads ‘gen.50 ἐνταφιάζω.’⁵⁴² Turning to Gen. 50 in the Hebrew and Septuagint versions, we find that in verse 2 the Hebrew word טַחַנְל is indeed translated with the Greek ‘ἐνταφιάσαι’ in the clause meaning ‘to embalm his father’. In other words, in this case Broughton used his method of establishing Old Testament-Septuagint-New Testament lexical correspondences, as developed in his annotated Greek New Testament and enshrined in the Lambeth Lexicon, to clarify the meaning of a rare and ambiguous Greek verb via the more precise meaning of the Hebrew verb it translated in the Septuagint.

This example is representative of the way in which Broughton used his method of lexical correspondence across the whole of his corrections to the Geneva New Testament: in order to clarify the meaning of New Testament hapax legomena, rare words and truncated or strange Greek expressions.⁵⁴³ Moreover, Broughton even explicitly mentioned this use of the Septuagint in the conversation with William Cecil mentioned at the start of the previous chapter. Broughton described to Cecil how the Apostles often ‘folowed the 70[...].in some rare vse of a worde’, and thus how the same text could be used to provide better translations of such esoteric terms. As an example he explained how the uncommon adverb ‘ἐκουσίως’ in Heb. 10.26 could be shown to be not a neutral term meaning ‘willingly’ but rather a negative word meaning ‘wylful, or malicious spiteful’ by identifying its use in the Septuagint to translate the Hebrew terms

⁵⁴¹ NYPL, 8-*KC 1610 Copy 2, fol. 27v.

⁵⁴² Sion L40.2/H1, p. 18.

⁵⁴³ See, for example, his corrections in NYPL, 8-*KC 1610 Copy 2 to Matt. 1.19; Luke 1.1, 4.5; John 5.2; Acts 9.38, 17.30; Rom. 1.2; Gal. 1.6, 3.1; Eph. 1.14; 1 Tim. 4.4; Titus 3.3; Heb. 10.8.

נצד (‘to lie in wait’) and תר (‘to act presumptuously’) in Exod. 21.13-14.⁵⁴⁴ The Lambeth Lexicon, then, and the method of analysing Apostolic Greek via the Septuagint which Broughton developed in the course of reading his own New Testament had important implications for vernacular translation. Indeed, in the letter to James I mentioned earlier, Broughton even advised that the AV translators consult a copy of his Lambeth Lexicon in order to aid their work.⁵⁴⁵ Such advice is not surprising, for with the technique that this Lexicon enabled, Broughton was able to produce renderings of problematic verses like Matt. 26.12 which were more precise and illuminating for the lay reader than even the Genevan translators had managed.

This, then, shows us how the development of particular scholarly tools like Hebrew-Greek concordances and their associated methods of analysis influenced the practices of vernacular translation. It is easier to see how some other aspects of Broughton’s scholarship would manifest in translation. For instance, where at Mark 7.3 the Genevan translations had rendered πυγμαῖ as ‘oft’ following the Erasmian-Vulgate interpretation, Broughton underlined the translation and wrote πυγμαῖ in one margin and ‘q’ in the other (‘q’ or ‘q. leg.’ being Broughton’s way of noting places needing major correction, possibly standing for something like ‘quare legendum’ or ‘quare legatur’).⁵⁴⁶ What is less obvious, however, is why, just beside this error, he noted a number as well: ‘4’.

This number, in fact, is more significant than it might seem, for both Holyoke’s 1610 New Testament and the anonymously emended 1577 edition are heavily annotated (there are over a hundred instances) with numbers from 1-4, occurring mainly in the Synoptic Gospels. It is only once they are catalogued and compared that their meaning becomes transparent: each number represents one of the four dialects Broughton

⁵⁴⁴ Broughton, *A Treatise of Melchisedek*, sig. C3v.

⁵⁴⁵ Idem, *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iv.708.

⁵⁴⁶ NYPL, 8-*KC 1610 Copy 2, fol. 39r.

identified in New Testament Greek, ‘1’ denoting an instance of Apostolique Greek, ‘2’ Heathen Greek, ‘3’ Judean Greek and ‘4’ Talmudique Greek. Hence why there is a ‘4’ beside Mark 7.3; because *πυγμαῖ* is a clear case of the Evangelist adopting a rabbinic phrase. Collation of the verses marked in the revised Geneva New Testaments with comments Broughton made in his published works shows that there are some places Broughton identified as belonging to a certain dialect which are not marked with the relevant number in the Geneva New Testaments, though this is unsurprising given the evidently incomplete nature of Broughton’s revision.⁵⁴⁷

The numbering of the four dialects across the Gospels neatly brings us to the question of the broader relationship between Broughton’s New Testament scholarship and his vernacular translation: how complex linguistic features such as his theory about the four dialects would manifest in the English Bible. The presence of numbers in the Genevan New Testaments suggests that, in Broughton’s vision of the ideal English Bible, these dialects would be explicitly marked with a regular system of marginal annotation. This hypothesis is confirmed by the remarks Broughton made in 1608 on ‘what learning a translatour should haue’, published in response to Lively’s chronology. Here, he described how the ‘New Testamentes translator should profitable joine to the Greke, the Ebrew, set to the lxx, or to their owne new translation: and the Thalmudiq; to their phrases; and note the Attiq by their auctours.’ Even more interestingly, after this Broughton stated how there should also be joined to the Bible ‘an absolute Table of all these [dialects]’, in which all the authors, peoples and texts that influenced the New Testament should be catalogued for ease of reference.⁵⁴⁸ In an aside in a later work Broughton repeated this injunction, declaring that the phrases belonging to each dialect

⁵⁴⁷ Holyoke himself noted that Broughton’s revision was incomplete, listing in his copy all the ‘places we found not (we thinke) fully amended.’ Ibid., back flyleaf 3r.

⁵⁴⁸ Broughton, *Our Lordes Familie*, sig. Iv.

‘should be all in a table: that all might read them quicklie.’⁵⁴⁹ Broughton’s English Bible, in other words, would have been one which came with an entire scholarly apparatus (tables of dialects, lists of extra-biblical writers, marginal annotations) specifically designed to help the English lay reader manoeuvre their way through the complex linguistic terrain of the Apostles with its kaleidoscopic array of styles, influences and sources.

Aside from being embedded in biblical paratexts, it is clear that Broughton also wanted these dialects to be translated in an unusually careful way: as Broughton wrote near the end of his 1610 letter to James I, it was essential for a translator to know how ‘the sweet-speaking Apostles pass through the four dialects’ (‘Dialectos 4 permeant suavi-loquentes Apostoli’) and also, as he had put it two years earlier, to ‘regard [them] all in English.’⁵⁵⁰ Precisely what this means can be understood more clearly from Broughton’s revision of Acts 17.18. In this verse a group of Epicurean and Stoic philosophers started to debate with the Apostle Paul (who was distressed by the presence of idols in Athens) and referred to him pejoratively as a *σπερμολόγος*. This word only occurred once in the entire New Testament, and was translated by the 1577, 1596 and 1610 Geneva as ‘babler’, with a marginal note explaining that the literal meaning of the Greek term was ‘seed-gatherer’, a term ‘taken of birds which spoyle corne, and is applied to them which without all arte bluster out such knowledge as they haue gotten by hearing this man and that man.’⁵⁵¹ In Holyoke’s New Testament, however, ‘babler’ is crossed out and in the margin is written instead ‘Rob-altar.’ This is strange not only because ‘rob-altar’, now obsolete, appears to have little relation to the meaning of the Greek word it was meant to translate, but also because it is a word of Broughton’s own coining.⁵⁵² What drove

⁵⁴⁹ Idem, *A Renelation*, p. 120.

⁵⁵⁰ Idem, *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iv.708; idem, *Our Lordes Familie*, sig. Iv

⁵⁵¹ NYPL, 8-*KC 1610 Copy 2, fol. 126v.

⁵⁵² *OED online*, s.v. ‘rob-z, comb form,’ accessed April 28, 2016, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/166584>

Broughton to invent a new English word in this case, especially one so apparently far removed from the original Greek term?

The first thing to note is that Broughton identified *σπερμολόγος* as an instance of ‘Attique Greek’, i.e. a word taken from the pagans, in this case, from ‘the deadliest [insult] that *Demosthenes* there about 300 yeres afore bestowed vpon *Aeschynes*.’⁵⁵³ In other words, Broughton believed that this term was an import from Demosthenes’s speech against Aeschines for Ctesiphon, in which Demosthenes, arguing that Aeschines was guilty of high treason, attacked him for being uneducated, calling him a mere *σπερμολόγος*, i.e. empty chatterer.⁵⁵⁴ This alone is not helpful until it is paired with another comment Broughton made in the early 1590s, that ‘*Act.17*.can not wel be expounded, but by Demostines from his oration, for Ctesiphon: as Vlpian expoundeth him.’⁵⁵⁵ The key is in the last clause, in which Broughton referred to the expositions of Ulpianus of Antioch, contemporary of Constantine the Great and rhetorician, to whom the scholia on Demosthenes were often attributed. In one of these scholia, ‘Ulpianus’ had given several possible definitions of the word *σπερμολόγος*. His first definition of ‘seed-gatherer’ was the most common and indeed the one followed by the Geneva translators, but it was the second which caught Broughton’s eye: ἡ *σπερμολόγος*, ἀσεβής, ἀπὸ τῶν βωμῶν συλλέγων τὰ ἐπιτιθέμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων (‘or *spermologos* [could mean] profaner, one who takes for himself from the altars the items placed on them by others’).⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵³ Broughton, *A Reuelation*, p. 71.

⁵⁵⁴ Demosthenes, ‘De Corona’, in *Demosthenes with an English translation*, ed. and trans. C. A. Vince, and J. H. Vince (London, 1926), xviii.127.

⁵⁵⁵ Broughton, *A Treatise of Melchisedek*, sig. A3v.

⁵⁵⁶ *Scholia Demosthenica*, ed. Mervin Dilts, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1983), p. 228. The scholia were available in many early modern editions of Demosthenes: e.g., *Δημοσθένους λόγοι, καὶ προοίμια δημηγορικά, καὶ ἐπιστολαί, σὺν ταῖς ἐξηγήσεσιν ὠφελιμωτάταις, τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ ῥήτορος*, ed. Guillaume Morel (Paris, 1570), p. 160.

In the particular context of Acts 17.18, this definition of *σπερμολόγος* was not only the most rhetorically effective but also made the most sense. After all, the Greek philosophers debating with Paul were not merely accusing him of being an idle babbler, but were specifically accusing him of proselytising a new and false religion. In this context to call him a *σπερμολόγος* in the sense of a profaner, or an altar-stealer, would be especially damning as it would suggest that Paul was guilty of sacrilege, that in order to promote his fraudulent God he was stealing scraps of religious rhetoric from the truly pious just as a thief steals items from an altar. This is why Broughton was forced to coin a new word, ‘rob-altar’, to translate the term: there was no other way he could concisely transmit the full force of the philosophers’ insinuations, which were more targeted and incriminating than simply a flippant aspersion. This, then, is the type of care which Broughton thought should be taken when translating words from the four dialects: care that involved not only returning to the original extra-biblical source of the term in question, but also examining what its ancient commentators had said about it and coining new words to translate it if need be.

There are many other broader points about Broughton’s method of translation that can be gleaned from the emendations made in these Geneva New Testaments. In general, Broughton adhered as closely as he could to the original Greek text. He preferred to transliterate specialised terms such as currency words and place names rather than, as the Geneva had done, turn them into their modern English equivalents.⁵⁵⁷ Equally, if a Greek word itself was merely a transliteration of a Hebrew word, Broughton preserved that transliteration in the English: so whenever, for example, the Geneva translated ἀμήν as ‘verely’, Broughton replaced it with ‘amen.’⁵⁵⁸ Likewise, if a Greek phrase was very clearly modelled on a Semitic syntactical pattern, Broughton

⁵⁵⁷ See the changes made to Matt. 20.10, 13; 22.19; Mark 10.15; John 18.28, 33 in NYPL, 8-*KC 1610 Copy 2.

⁵⁵⁸ See *ibid.*, notes at Mark 8.12; 9.1; 10.23, 29; 14.9, 18; Luke 4.24.

preferred to keep the English translation as close as possible to its Hebrew precedent, so that, for example, while the Genevan translators rendered the common introductory expression καὶ ἐγένετο in various ways all roughly equivalent to ‘and so it was’, Broughton preferred to construe it consistently as ‘and it came to pass’, following the traditional translation of its Hebrew model יְהִי.⁵⁵⁹ As far as he could, he changed word order and phrasing to match the Greek, but there were limits to his fidelity, and these came at moments when literalism would have distanced the sense of the English translation from that of its original. For example, whereas Greek adds emphasis and elegance through the use of extra particles and the inclusion of syntactically unnecessary parts of speech, Broughton knew that English tends to lose rhetorical strength as it loses its simplicity. Therefore while phrases like Ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰμι Ἰουδαῖος or Ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι ἄνθρωπος Ἰουδαῖος are powerful and emphatic in Greek, they sound very convoluted if rendered too closely into English, as shown by the Geneva’s translation of ‘Doubtless I am a man which am a Jew’ and ‘I am verily a man which am a Jew’ respectively.⁵⁶⁰ In both of these cases Broughton was happy to sacrifice strict equivalence for the more natural translation of ‘I am a Jew’, which conveyed the force of the Greek expression in a way which was impossible under the constraints of strict fidelity.

The two annotated New Testaments, then, very clearly bear witness to the extent to which Broughton’s research into the Semitic contexts of the New Testament structured his ideas about vernacular translation. This conclusion is further supported by the more general and abstract comments made in the documents discussed in Chapter 3.iii, some of which have already been mentioned here in passing. For instance, even Broughton’s earliest work on vernacular translation, the 1597 *An epistle*, expressed how it was among the ‘poinctes of necessitie’ that the ‘stately words of the new Testament, in

⁵⁵⁹ See *ibid.*, notes at Mark 1.9; Luke 17.11.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Acts 21.39; 22.3, fol.131v.

Greeke, taken from the Septuagint may stand profitable in the margent through the old'.⁵⁶¹ Likewise, in his 1603 letter to King James, Broughton once more declared the necessity of marking 'how much of [the New Testament] alloweth of the 70. and what is refused and amended'.⁵⁶² Again, eight years later, in his unpublished critique of the AV, 'Advertisement how to examine the translation now in hand', Broughton stated that many errors could have been avoided if the translators had only paid attention to how the Apostles had written the New Testament 'with such skill, that they go through all kind of Greek writers', not to mention the places where they 'oratoriously expresse Ebrew in their own vain', or when they followed the Hebrew which the 'Rabbins have[...]most usually'.⁵⁶³

This ignorance of the dialects in the New Testament, along with its unthinking repetition of Lively in the Old, was one of the AV's greatest faults in Broughton's eyes, and meant that it had missed many chances for improvement on previous translations. Just one example, for instance, was in the very verse we have just discussed: Acts 17.18, where Broughton noted that the AV had blindly followed the traditional rendering of 'babbler' for *σπερμολόγος*, ignoring the subtleties of the Greek word as revealed by Ulpianus and failing even to reach a better translation in its alternative reading of 'or, base fellow'.⁵⁶⁴

Indeed, re-examining works such as the famous 1611 *Censure* with the findings of this chapter in mind enables us to make sense of some of Broughton's otherwise crabbed and terse comments. For example, just like the Bishops' and Geneva translations, the AV had rendered the name of Balaam's son differently across the Old and New Testament (Beor and Bosor respectively) and provided no explanation for the

⁵⁶¹ Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, p. 4.

⁵⁶² London, British Library, MS Sloane 3088, fol. 114v

⁵⁶³ Broughton, 'Advertisement', pp. 700-702.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 702.

discrepancy. Without any reason or harmonisation of the names, the appearance of ‘Bosor’ in 2 Pet. 2.15 looked like an error when actually, as discussed in IV.i and as Broughton re-iterated in the *Censure*, it was simply a consequence of the fact that ‘Sadik and Ain in Chaldea had one forme and souud [*siz*], as in Daniels Chaldie’.⁵⁶⁵ Broughton had in fact been prepared to check how the AV dealt with this verse even before its publication, since he had already identified 2 Pet. 2.15 as a potential stumbling block for the chosen translators in his 1609/1610 ‘Rules concerning the BB translation of the Bible’.⁵⁶⁶

Additionally, Broughton noted that a similar phonological problem had been dealt with equally badly at Luke 3.35, where the name ‘Ragau’ contrasted unfortunately with the Old Testament spelling of the same name, ‘Reu’.⁵⁶⁷ He also took issue with the AV’s failure to recognise that St. Stephen’s Greek in Acts 7.16 had deliberately mirrored some aspects of Rabbinic Hebrew, a particularly damning error in Broughton’s eyes given that he himself had already published on the verse’s Hebraic structure in both the 1597 *An epistle* and the 1604 *An aduertisement*. It was, however, the result of the AV’s rendering of this verse that really upset Broughton, since, just like in the cases of Luke 3.35 and 2 Pet. 2.15, its ‘mistranslation’ made the verse look like it contradicted statements in the Old Testament, specifically Gen. 23.16-18, 33.19 and 49.29-30.⁵⁶⁸ In other words, the 1611 *Censure*, just like the rest of Broughton’s works herein discussed, was deeply preoccupied with the use of advanced scholarly methods to excise apparent contradictions in vernacular translations, and was strongly critical of those renderings, as found in the recently published AV, that let such corruptions stand unanswered for.

⁵⁶⁵ Broughton, *Censure*, point 10. See also London, British Library MS Egerton 791, fol. 23r.

⁵⁶⁶ See above, p. 214, fn512.

⁵⁶⁷ For Luke 3.35, see *ibid.*, point II and *idem*, *Censure*, point 9.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, point 5; *idem*, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, pp. 8-9; *idem*, *An aduertisement*, sigs. A2r-A3v.

ii. Motivations

This section has aimed in part to illuminate the role that contemporary biblical scholarship played in Broughton's vision of a new English Bible, and to show that it is only possible to understand the depth and complexity of this vision if we delve beyond the brief, polemical statements he made in his published pamphlets. Instead, it is necessary to reconstruct their scholarly underpinnings, both by disentangling the complex arguments and analyses which supported them, as well as by studying the works of his contemporaries who were so often drawn upon, opposed or confirmed without citation. Again we see that even vernacular works such the English Bible and its critiques were not isolated from neo-Latin intellectual and religious culture, but were rather arenas in which its assumptions, practices and findings were borne out.

In this conclusion, however, I wish to move beyond this point to return to some of the themes of the first part of this section. It is not a coincidence, after all, that literary scholars have thus far failed to see beyond the polemics of Broughton's work on translation, and this is because they largely share the preconceptions and assumptions about Reformed scripturalism as discussed with respect to intellectual historians earlier. This is perhaps most evident in the fact that the small number of literary scholars who have studied such phenomena as the early modern historicisation of the style, statements and contexts of the Bible have often viewed it as the hallmark of a distinctively Anglican tradition, which arose in implicit or explicit opposition to the ideas of 'puritan detractors' (and, often, Catholics too).⁵⁶⁹ Indeed, even the occasional recognitions that 'puritan' appreciation of the stylistic and rhetorical richness of the biblical text could sometimes

⁵⁶⁹ See, for instance, Ettenhuber, 'Take vp and read', p. 216, p. 220, pp. 222-225, p. 232; idem, "'A comely gate to so rich and glorious a citie': The Paratextual Architecture of the Rheims New Testament and the King James Bible", pp. 54-71 (pp. 56-57, p. 69); idem, 'The Preacher and Patristics', in *Oxford handbook of the early modern sermon*, pp. 34-51 (pp. 45-48); Debora Shuger, *Habits of Thoughts of in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 17-69.

lead to a loose kind of contextualisation have not been enough to dislodge the conviction that ‘puritan’ hermeneutics, like ‘puritan’ scholarship, was essentially a-historical.⁵⁷⁰

As such, it is perhaps not surprising that Broughton’s attitude to translation has been overwhelmingly characterised in negative terms with reference to his scripturalist beliefs, and with emphasis on his demands for uniformity in the translation of repetitions, his anxieties about the presence of chronological contradictions in scripture and his insistence on the divine infallibility and perfection of the Bible which led him to be impatient with inaccuracies in rendering.⁵⁷¹ Meanwhile, the fact that these very same principles also led him to analyse the New Testament’s style as a scholarly construct, an historically determined entity which required substantial polyglot erudition to break down and translate, has not been recognised. It would perhaps be repetitious to say that this chapter should prove that this kind of historicised hermeneutics was the sole preserve of neither mainstream Anglicanism nor liberal Protestant traditions, but could in fact arise from scripturalist theological principles. All of this, however, raises one final question more specifically related to the English Bible: why did Broughton think it so important to transmit all of this advanced scholarly knowledge about the dialects, linguistic history and Semitic contexts of the New Testament to vernacular, lay readers? What response did he hope to achieve?

The answer is not just that he wished them to become educated in matters of contemporary biblical scholarship. Rather, it is to do with Broughton’s anxieties about

⁵⁷⁰ Brian Cummings, ‘Protestant allegory’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, ed. Rita Copeland and Peter Struck (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 177-190; idem, ‘The Problem of Protestant Culture: Biblical Literalism and Literary Biblicism’, *Reformation*, 17 (2012), 177-198, in response to James Simpson, *Burning to Read: Fundamentalism and its Reformation Opponents* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007).

⁵⁷¹ Norton, *The King James Bible*, p. 185; idem, *English Bible as Literature*, p. 59; idem, *Bible as Literature*, pp. 141-144, p. 161; idem, ‘English Bibles from c. 1520 to c. 1750’, pp. 305-345 Campbell, *Bible*, pp. 123-124; Sumillera, ‘Hugh Broughton’s Censure’, pp. 47-57; Shoulson, *Fictions of conversion*, p. 84; Hamlin, ‘The Noblest Composition’, p. 470; Benson Bobrick, *The making of the English Bible* (London, 2001), p. 264.

contemporary presentations of the direction in which biblical criticism was heading. This statement requires some explanation. Throughout most of his life, and especially throughout the 1590s, Broughton perceived, in multiple contemporary publications, the suggestion, both implicit and explicit, that the most advanced biblical scholarship worked principally to problematise the Reformed views of scriptural authority to which he subscribed, and would ultimately undermine them. This impression was given not only in the obviously polemical contexts of Roman Catholic scholarship, such as that of Robert Bellarmine, but was also suggested by the work of Protestants such as Joseph Scaliger and Johannes Drusius and, worse yet, even by the mainstream current of second-generation Calvinism, as represented by Beza's New Testament editions and his accompanying *Annotationes*.⁵⁷² This suggestion was achieved by the fact that these works (and particularly Beza's) at once loudly identified corruptions and errors in the Greek New Testament while also making a show of drawing on the very latest scholarship: the combination of these two aspects strongly implied that historical criticism represented an existential threat to the doctrines of biblical infallibility and perfection, and could serve only to disprove them.⁵⁷³ Worse yet, this threat to Reformed scripturalism penetrated not only across the highest echelons of continental Latin scholarship, but even trickled down into England and vernacular English Bibles, where the influence of Beza's scholarship

⁵⁷² See, e.g., Broughton's comments in *A defence of the booke entitled A co[n]cent*, sigs. C3v-C4r, *A Renelation*, sig. A3.

⁵⁷³ Broughton expressed this quite explicitly: 'The Papists willingly oppugne the authority of the Greek text...And because they are not mad enough of their own accord; Beza egges them on greatly, and Scaliger...And as for Beza's Annotations, which call into question the letter of the text...this work was well pleasing to the Hagerens and Jews, and may make them think us to be dogs, which make a corrupted book the foundation of our faith. Against these men, and their associats in this opinion in one word: I affirm, that there is not one syllable corrupt in the Greek Testament.' Broughton, 'Miscellanea of a course for study of Theology', in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iii. 706, section entitled 'That the Text of the New Testament is uncorrupt'.

found its fullest manifestation.⁵⁷⁴ This was not just limited to the Geneva Bible with its extensive scholarly apparatus: the Bishops' Bible too contained traces of this implication, especially as its own more limited annotations were so often derived from its Genevan predecessor.⁵⁷⁵

When vernacular readers picked up their Geneva or Bishops' Bible, therefore, they were (in Broughton's view) unwittingly subjected to a dangerously biased view of the theological direction in which biblical scholarship was heading. Broughton's English Bible, in contrast to this and the prevailing trend which it represented, would show that the most advanced contemporary scholarship in fact supported the doctrines of Reformed scripturalism, and would present a vision of biblical criticism as heading in a direction which would confirm the authority, infallibility and perfection of scripture. Here, the errors and corruptions which Beza, Drusius, Robert Estienne and others had identified and excised by text-critical means would instead be redeemed from fault by recourse to Rabbinic customs, Jewish idioms, phonological mutation, or any of the other brilliant new exegetical tools which critical scholarship had provided.⁵⁷⁶ Moreover this Bible would provide a positive inducement to scripturalism, by showing how biblical

⁵⁷⁴ For Beza's influence on the English Bible, see Irena Backus, *The Reformed Roots of the English New Testament: The Influence of Theodore Beza on the English New Testament* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1980). Broughton recognised this influence, as demonstrated in his many comments linking the two at, e.g., *An Aduertisement*, sig. H4r, L2.

⁵⁷⁵ See, for just one example, the extensive criticisms of the Geneva and Bishops' Bible in London, British Library, MS Egerton 791, fols. 23r-39r, entitled 'Rules concerning the BB translation of the Bible'. For a diluted version of some these criticisms, see also Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, as discussed in Chapter 3.ii, see above pp. 172-173.

⁵⁷⁶ For a good examples of how Broughton went about this, see his response to Beza's claims, following Drusius, that the Greek Ἀρμαγεδδών in Rev. 16.16 was a corruption for Ἐρμαγεδών; or his counterargument to Beza's suggestion, following Estienne's emendation in his 1550 Greek New Testament, that the genealogy at Matt. 1.11 was missing the name 'Joakim' between Josias and Jechonias. In both of these defences Broughton used his knowledge of phonological mutation and his conception of the New Testament as invisibly guided by rabbinic and post-biblical Jewish conventions to redeem the text from error; Broughton, *A require of agreement*, pp. 8-9 'Against Harmegiddo'; idem, 'Miscellanea', p. 706; idem, 'Positions touching the chief common matters of the Holy Bible, text and matter', in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iii.692-3.

scholarship could unlock an unprecedented sense of awe, wonder, and admiration for the Bible in lay readers.⁵⁷⁷ In other words, Broughton's Bible would not merely inform vernacular readers about innovative historical and philological scholarship, but also, crucially, suggest a trajectory for it which ended in scripturalism. This is not, of course, to suggest that Beza, Drusius, Estienne et al would have concurred with Broughton's representation of their work; they themselves might well have also thought that scholarship ultimately served to uphold scripture. Rather, it is to argue that this vision of a scholarly, scripturalist English Bible should above all demonstrate the fallacy of assuming that those with similar theological views to Broughton would naturally have opposed the application of advanced historical criticism to the Bible. On the contrary, it shows that to early modern scholars, especially to those of Broughton's generation, it seemed far from inevitable that the paths of historical scholarship and religious belief would eventually intertwine so as to bring about a secular modernity.

⁵⁷⁷ 'When the matter is so nobly penned from God, in Greek, we should perswade ourself: to make that dignitie known, by calling all kind of Grecians to testifie of the dignitie....The Apostles will find a more stately work, when we call every word of theirs into a Dictionary, to prove so good a translation, and to shew their elegancy...The New Testament would be far more pleasant, when all kinds of Greeks and Hebrews are called to expound it', Broughton, 'Advertisement how to examine the translation now in hand', in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iii.702; 'Every book of the New Testament would make admiration, if the Hebrew of the old should be joyned to the Greek...', idem, 'Positions about the Hebrew tongue', p. 676. For more comments about how contemporary scholarship could open up the true wisdom and beauty of the New Testament, see: idem, *Our Lordes familie*, sigs. I3r-I4v, nos. 5-11; idem, *A Reuelation*, pp. 70-75.

PART FOUR: DOGMATIC THEOLOGY

6. 'Heathenish Divinity': Theological Method and Argument in the Debate over Christ's Descent into Hell

i. The Background of the Debate

This final chapter will address Broughton's role in the sixteenth-century controversy over the meaning of Christ's descent into hell. Despite his prolific output, Broughton's impact on the English development of the debate was smaller than one might expect, partly due to the way in which he was deliberately sidelined by its major participants, and partly due to his own intransigence.⁵⁷⁸ In the long run, however, both his general arguments and his more focussed linguistic analyses were to be very influential. Indeed, it is telling that the seventeenth and eighteenth-century commentators who looked back at the debate often attributed much more importance to Broughton's involvement than his immediate sixteenth-century English contemporaries did.⁵⁷⁹ To understand what these later scholars saw in Broughton's work (and why it was less significant to his contemporaries), it will be necessary to reconstruct aspects of the controversy that have not previously received much attention as well as revisit more familiar ground. However, given the complexity of the issues at stake, we should preface our examination of Broughton's intervention by summarising the Protestant positions that had emerged on the subject by the late sixteenth century, as well as the major problems that faced them.

⁵⁷⁸ '...he is not worthy an answer, who can frame himselfe to nothing but to rage and riddles', Thomas Bilson, *The Survey of Christs Sufferings for Mans Redemption: and of his Descent to Hades or Hell for our deliuerance* (London, 1604), p. 633.

⁵⁷⁹ See, eg, the comments by Johann Dietelmaier, *Historia dogmatis de descensu Christi ad inferos litteraria* (Nuremberg, 1741), p. 204, or even those by Johann Lavater, who wrote his work in direct response to Broughton's; Johann Rudolf Lavater, *Κατάβασις εἰς ἄδου, hoc est, de descensu Iesu Christi ad inferos, tractatus theologicus et scholasticus* (Frankfurt, 1610), sigs. *2v-*3r. More subtly, Broughton's work lies behind John Lightfoot's contribution: Lightfoot, 'An Exposition of three select Articles of the Apostles' Creed', in *The Whole Works of the Rev John Lightfoot*, vol. 6 ed. John Rogers (London, 1822), pp. 3-36.

Patristic tradition held, with remarkable consent, that Christ's soul descended to the underworld after his death, and performed some deeds while there. Most common was the opinion that he led the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets (and sometimes even the righteous pagans) out of Abraham's Bosom and into paradise.⁵⁸⁰ Medieval theologians used this popular opinion as the basis for the *limbus Patrum*, and thereby the descent became intimately bound up with the development of doctrines such as purgatory.⁵⁸¹ Despite its widespread popularity, however, the biblical support for the descent consisted only of a few ambiguous passages, and while it did appear in the received version of the Apostles' Creed, it was missing from a large number of earlier Creeds, even that from which the Apostles' evolved.⁵⁸² Moreover, by the sixteenth century awareness of the descent's late credal appearance was commonplace thanks to easily accessible, frequently translated commentaries on the Creed by Rufinus and Erasmus.⁵⁸³

This combination of weak scriptural support, late credal insertion and entanglement with hated Roman Catholic dogmas like purgatory and the *limbus patrum* were unsurprisingly sufficient to make many Protestants uneasy with the idea of Christ's

⁵⁸⁰ For the patristic tradition of interpretation, see Jeffrey Trumbower, *Rescue for the Dead: The Posthumous Salvation of Non-Christians in Early Christianity* (New York, 2001), pp. 91-108; Ralph Turner, 'Descendit Ad Inferos: Medieval Views on Christ's Descent into Hell and the Salvation of the Ancient Just', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27.2 (1966), 173-194 (173-179); John Arnott MacCulloch, *The harrowing of hell: a comparative study of an early Christian doctrine* (Edinburgh, 1930), pp. 83-131; H. Quilliet, 'Descent de Jesus aux enfers', in *Dictionnaire de theologie catholique*, vol. 1, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot and E. Amann (Paris, 1920), pp. 565-619.

⁵⁸¹ See Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Aldershot, 1990), pp. 20-29, 130-289.

⁵⁸² 1 Pet. 3.18-22, Acts 2.27, Eph. 4.7-11; for the late insertion of the Descent article into the Creed, see John Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (Essex, 1972), pp. 378-383; Rémi Gounelle, *La descente du Christ aux enfers: institutionnalisation d'une croyance* (Paris, 2002), pp. 371-373; MacCulloch, *The harrowing of hell*, pp. 67-74.

⁵⁸³ Rufinus' commentary was included in Erasmus' edition of Cyprian in a section containing false attributions; see *Opera diui Caecilii Cypriani Episcopi Carthaginensis*, ed. Desiderius Erasmus (Basel, 1521), pp. 361-89; Desiderius Erasmus, *A playne and godly exposition or declaratio[n] of the co[m]mune crede (which in the Latyn tonge is called Symbolum Apostolorum)*, trans. W. Marshall (London, 1534).

descent. But the ways in which they reworked the doctrine, which was too long-received to reject entirely, depended enormously on the particular circumstances of the various theological debates in which it arose as an issue.

The Lutheran and Swiss Reformed interpretations of the descent evolved in tandem out of Luther and Zwingli's dispute over the eucharist. A key question in this debate was whether it was possible for Christ's natural body to be in many places simultaneously; if not, the Real Presence (which Luther maintained) was impossible. In defence of the Real Presence, Luther developed an unusual christology: that, thanks to the *communicatio idiomatum*, the sharing of divine and human properties between Christ's two natures, Christ's human body was ubiquitous.⁵⁸⁴ To buttress this argument, Luther delivered a sermon in 1532 (the so-called "Torgau Sermon") that would be crucial for future Lutheran exegeses of the descent. Within this sermon, Luther expounded the descent so as to make it stand as evidence for Christ's ubiquity, by arguing that after his death Christ's body was simultaneously in the tomb, in heaven and locally in hell triumphing over the devil.⁵⁸⁵ There is evidence that Luther normally leaned more towards a spiritual, 'suffering' interpretation of the descent, but that in the heat of the sacramentarian controversy he could not afford to retain this exegesis.⁵⁸⁶ And indeed,

⁵⁸⁴ Jörg Bauer, 'Johannes Brenz: Ein schwäbischer Meisterdenker auf den Spuren Luthers', *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 100 (2000), 38-55; David Law, 'Descent into Hell, Ascension, and Luther's Doctrine of Ubiquitarianism', *Theology* 107.838 (2004), 250-256; see also Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521-1532* (Minnesota, 1990), pp. 325-34; G. R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 316-32; Hermann Sasse, *This is my Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar* (Adelaide, 1977); Jörg Bauer, 'Lutherische Christologie', in *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland*, ed. Hans-Christoph Rublack (Gütersloh, 1992), pp. 83-124.

⁵⁸⁵ Martin Luther, 'Torgau Sermon', in *WA* 37:62-72, actually delivered in Wittenberg, Easter 1532. See E. Vogelsang, 'Luthers Torgauer Predigt von Jesu Christo vom Jahre 1532', *Lutherjahrbuch* 13 (1931), 114-130; Robert Kolb, 'Christ's descent into Hell as christological locus in the era of the Formula of Concord: Luther's "Torgau Sermon" revisited', *Lutherjahrbuch* 69 (2002), 101-118.

⁵⁸⁶ David Bagchi, 'Luther versus Luther? The Problem of Christ's Descent into Hell in the Long Sixteenth Century', *Perichoresis* 6.2 (2008), 175-200; E. Vogelsang, 'Weltbild und Kreuzestheologie in den Höllenfahrtstreitigkeiten der Reformationszeit', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 38 (1941), pp. 90-132.

despite persistent disputes over it, this interpretation of Christ's descent as local and triumphant was eventually enshrined in the Formula of Concord and adopted by Lutheran orthodoxy, though many glossed over or remained silent on its christological dimensions.⁵⁸⁷

The Swiss Reformed view of the descent also emerged in complement to Zwingli's understanding of the eucharist, and in contradistinction to Luther's - it is no coincidence that the Mansfeld ministerium viewed it as the natural next step from Zwingli's denial of the Real Presence.⁵⁸⁸ Zwingli rejected any kind of local descent, and affirmed that the article's literal meaning was simply that Christ had died a real death, which demonstrated his true and natural humanity.⁵⁸⁹ This interpretation was largely

⁵⁸⁷ See article 9 of the Formula in *The creeds of Christendom, with a history and critical notes*, vol. 3: *The evangelical protestant creeds*, ed. Philip Schaff (Michigan, 1983), IX.iii.147; for the descent article as a supplement to the article on Christ's person, see Gunther Wenz, *Theologie der Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, vol. 2 (New York, 1997), p. 714; Jörg Bauer, 'Christologie und Subjektivität. Geschichtlicher Ort und dogmatischer Rang der Christologie der Konkordienformel', in *Vom Dissensus zum Konsensus. Die Formula Concordiae von 1577*, ed. Ernst Koch (Hamburg, 1980), pp. 70-87. For those Lutherans who received the descent as a christological issue see Lucas Lossius, *Acta Apostolorum annotationum* (Frankfurt, 1558), p. 102; David Chrytaeus, *Articulorum Symboli Apostolici....explicatio* (Wittenberg, 1584), pp. 183-202; Nicolaus Hemmingius, *Catechismi quaestiones concinnatae* (Wittenberg, 1561), pp. 94-95; Nicolaus Selnecker, *Paedagogia Christiana, continens capita et locos doctrinae Christianae* (Frankfurt, 1566), pp. 570-79; for those who evaded the christological dimensions and propounded a local, triumphant descent see Heinrich Möller, *Enarratio Psalmorum Davidis excepta ex praelectionibus Henrici Molleri* (Wittenberg, 1573), pp. 250-251; Urbanus Rhegius, *Monumentorum Urbani Rhegii Latina oratione conscriptorum, pars tertia* (Nuremberg, 1562), fols. 36v-38r; Wolfgang Musculus, *In sacrosanctum Davidis psalterium commentarii* (Basel, 1577), p. 155.

⁵⁸⁸ Zwingli began to consider the question of Christ's descent around the same time as the controversy over the eucharist was raging; see, for instance, his early considerations in his letters to Rat Nürnberg and Berchtold Haller on 2nd July and 6th November 1526 respectively, nos 500 and 546 in *Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke*, vol. 9 (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 639-40, 762; Mansfeld Ministerium, *Confessio et sententia ministrorum verbi in comitatu Mansfeldensi, de dogmatis quorundam proximo triennio publice editis* (Eisleben, 1565), fols. 48v-49v. See also Cameron MacKenzie, 'The Evangelical Debate Over the Person of Christ in the 16th Century: Luther and Zwingli at Marburg (1529)', *Evangelical Theological Society* Ft. Wayne, IN (November 19-21, 2003), Lecture, hosted on <http://www.ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/mackenzielutherandzwinglionchrist.pdf> (accessed 7 May 2017).

⁵⁸⁹ Ulrich Zwingli, *Christianae fidei a Huldrycho Zwinglio praedicatae, brevis et clara expositio* (Zurich, 1536), p. 8.

preserved by later Swiss Reformed scholars with only slight variations, such as that the descent referred to Christ's burial or the abstract 'state of death'.⁵⁹⁰

Calvin's understanding of the descent, in contrast to the eucharistic roots of Luther and Zwingli's interpretations, developed as part of his theory of atonement.⁵⁹¹

Calvin's theory required Christ to suffer the full extent of God's wrath in body and soul in order to satisfy man's sins, and thus Christ's 'descent into hell' was taken to refer to the pains of hell that Christ suffered in his soul on the cross as part of the price for man's redemption. The other part of the price was Christ's bodily pains and death on the cross, though, as Calvin argued at length, without the internal torments these bodily pains alone would have been ineffectual.⁵⁹²

This theory of atonement was a distinctive part of Calvin's theology, and it was retained by later generations. However, even though the truth of the doctrine itself was not questioned, there was an increasing reluctance among second-generation Calvinists to identify Christ's 'hell-pains' as the literal meaning of the descent article in the Creed. While there is evidence that Beza, for instance, did accept that Christ's descent could refer to his hell-pains on the cross, he tended to interpret the relevant biblical proof-texts,

⁵⁹⁰ Pellicanus took the descent to encompass Christ's burial as well as death (Conrad Pellicanus, *Tomus sextus, in sacrosancta quatuor euangelia et apostolorum acta* (Zurich, 1546), p. 283). Revealingly, though, before the Sacramentarian controversy he supported a local descent: see idem, *Psalterium Davidis, Cunradi Pellicani opera elaboratum* (Strasbourg, 1527), fol. 25r. Viret took it to mean literally the state of death, but in the case of Creed encompassed the whole of Christ's humiliation (Pierre Viret, *Exposition familiere sur le Symbole des apostres, contenant les articles de la foy et religion chrestienne faicte par dialogues* (Geneva, 1544), pp. 105-6); and Peter Martyr took it to mean that Christ was subject to the state which all souls experience after death (Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Loci communes* (London, 1576), p. 476). The Zurich Bible retained the traditional translation of Acts 2.27 but interpreted the verse to mean that Christ was in the tomb or among the dead: 'Id est, in sepulchro siue inter mortuos, iuxta Hebraismum'; *Biblia sacrosancta testamenti veteris & noui*, Vol 2, fol. 52r.

⁵⁹¹ Mary Rakow, 'Christ's Descent into Hell: Calvin's Interpretation', *Religion in life* 43 (1974). 218-226.

⁵⁹² *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John McNeill, transl. Ford Lewis Battles (Westminster, 1960), vol. 1, 2:16, pp. 512-520; this preserves the most extensive comments of the final 1559 edition.

at least on a literal level, as referring to Christ's burial instead.⁵⁹³ This was perhaps the most apparent in the first edition of Beza's Latin New Testament, in which he controversially remodelled the Vulgate translation of Acts 2.27 to translate ψυχή (soul; normally rendered 'anima') with 'cadaver', and ᾗδης ('hades', normally 'infernus') with 'sepulchrum'.⁵⁹⁴ Thus, while many adhered to Calvin's original exegesis, it became increasingly popular in the later sixteenth century to follow Beza's lead and advocate for a more Swiss Reformed interpretation of the descent itself while simultaneously advancing a Calvinist theology of redemption that required Christ to suffer hell-pains in his soul.⁵⁹⁵

England, lacking a figurehead to lead exegesis, only began serious discussion of the article after an influx of continental works on the topic, both in Latin and English translation, in the 1550s. As Dewey Wallace describes in his exhaustive survey of the 'English descent', these overwhelmingly followed Calvin and/or Beza, to the extent that the Calvinist descent 'was widely accepted by the 1580s'.⁵⁹⁶ Despite the popularity on the ground, so to speak, of Calvin's exegesis, there was nevertheless still a loud resistance put up by those who wished to uphold a local, triumphant descent to hell along Lutheran lines, and the situation was not helped by the ambiguity over exactly what constituted the official position of the English Church.⁵⁹⁷ Article 3 of the 1553 Forty-two Articles had

⁵⁹³ See Theodore Beza and Anthony Faius, *Propositions and Principles of Diuinitie, propounded and disputed in the universitie of Geneva, by certaine students of Diuinitie there, under M. Theod. Beza and M. Anthonie Faius* (Edinburgh, 1591), p. 120.

⁵⁹⁴ 'Quoniam non derelinques cadauer meum in sepulchro', Theodore Beza, *Nouum domini nostri Iesu Christi testamentum* (Geneva, 1556), fol. 138. The usual translation, followed by the Vulgate and Erasmus, was 'Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno'.

⁵⁹⁵ This was especially popular among godly English writers; see for instance William Perkins, *An Exposition of the Symbole or Creed of the Apostles* (London, 1595), pp. 302-303; William Whitaker, *A disputation on Holy Scripture against the Papists, especially Bellarmine* (Cambridge, 1849), pp. 536-538.

⁵⁹⁶ Dewey Wallace Jr, 'Puritan and Anglican: the Interpretation of Christ's Descent into Hell in Elizabethan Theology', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 69 (1978), 248-287 (284).

⁵⁹⁷ See, for example, Adam Hill, *The defence of the article: Christ descended into Hell: VVith arguments obiected against the truth of the same doctrine* (London, 1592).

taught that Christ descended locally to hell, but by 1563 the reference to a local descent had been excised and even as late as the mid 1590s there had been no elucidation by the foremost figures of the Elizabethan Church.⁵⁹⁸

Because of England's confusion over the issue and susceptibility to continental influences, major studies of the descent so far have taken it as an important moment in the history of 'Anglicanism'. Wallace in 1978 saw it as an early step towards a distinctly Anglican theology, when conformist divines led by Thomas Bilson and Whitgift turned away from Geneva and looked instead to Lutheranism for doctrinal support.⁵⁹⁹ More recently, Jean-Louis Quantin has viewed it as the first meaningful test of the authority of continental Reformed divines versus the authority of the Fathers, who, as mentioned above, overwhelmingly supported a local descent.⁶⁰⁰ Given, then, that the topic has been well covered, what justifies another study? The answer is threefold. Firstly, no study to date has adequately covered Broughton's activities throughout the controversy, which are of great interest and importance to European religious history in their own right.⁶⁰¹ Secondly, from the perspective of this thesis, the debate over the descent gives us an invaluable chance to examine how Broughton approached more purely theological questions that touched directly on doctrine and dogma in ways which none of the topics covered thus far can be said to have done. Finally, some of the most important conclusions about intellectual method and theological argument that can be drawn from the 'English descent' complicate the distinction between patristic and modern divinity established by Quantin. From these perspectives, then, there is still much left to say about the controversy over Christ's descent into hell.

⁵⁹⁸ Gerald Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation 1526-1701* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 286; see also David Bagchi, 'Descent into Hell in Reformation Controversy', *Studies in Church History* 45 (2009), 228-247.

⁵⁹⁹ Wallace, 'Puritan and Anglican', pp. 284-86.

⁶⁰⁰ Quantin, *Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, pp. 114-130.

⁶⁰¹ The most thorough account is probably that given by John Strype, but it is unreliable and misdates key sources. See Strype, *The life and acts of John Whitgift*, ii.220-221, 320-326.

ii. ‘Dissention in doctrine is a sign of no truth’: Broughton and the English

Bishops, 1596-1599

The year 1596 brought poor weather, a bad harvest (the fourth in a row), and food riots throughout England.⁶⁰² For Broughton, it brought further difficulties in the long aftermath of the *Concent* controversy. The printing of his commentary on Daniel was hindered by Whitgift (who was probably worried about the eruption of further chronological controversy), and with little money he had no choice but to wait on the word of his few remaining friends at court, who had promised they would try to persuade the Queen to grant him a regular living.⁶⁰³ As the bad weather continued and many in London suffered, Broughton drew a large crowd together to pray for better weather and deliver a cheering sermon. He began this sermon uncontroversially by expounding St Stephen’s speech in Acts 7, but soon moved on to more contested ground. Having recently heard a sermon by Lancelot Andrewes that used scripture and the Fathers to prove, against the popular Calvinist exegesis, that Christ descended locally to hell to triumph over Satan, Broughton decided to use the same texts (1 Pet. 3.19-20

⁶⁰² J. M. Stratton and J. H. Brown, *Agricultural records, A.D. 220-1977*, ed. Ralph Whitlock (London, 1978) p. 44, 249; “Queen Elizabeth - Volume 261: December 1596,” in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1595-97*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1869), pp. 313-327.

⁶⁰³ These friends could have been some combination of Thomas Stallard, Sir Julius Caesar or Adrianus Saravia, all of whom Broughton relied upon for news. See Hugh Broughton, *An explication of the article περὶ τοῦ κατελθεῖν εἰς ᾗδου of our Lordes soules going from his body to Paradise, touched by the Greke, generally ᾗδου: The world of Soules, termed Hel by the old Saxon, & by all our translationes: with a defence of the Q. of Englandes religion: To, & against the Archb. of Canterbury: who is blamed for turning the Q. auctority against her owne faith* (Middelburg?, 1599), sigs.)(2r-)(3r. The commentary is *Daniel his Chaldie visions and his Ebreuv: both translated after the original* (London, 1597).

and the Apostles' Creed) to disprove Andrewes' opinion and promote instead his own.⁶⁰⁴ There is not much evidence as to exactly what Broughton said in this sermon, but the gist is clear: that the word ᾠδης (hades), according to both sacred and classical sources, did not mean either hell or grave, but rather just 'the world of Souls', encompassing both the good and bad spirits who, in more specific terms, went to heaven and hell respectively. Thus the phrase τὸ κατελθεῖν εἰς ᾠδου ('the descent into hades') meant simply 'to goe from this world: without distinction of Joy or torment.'⁶⁰⁵

Broughton's preaching on an explosive doctrinal issue, at a volatile time when hungry citizens needed little urging to riot, against one of the Queen's most admired preachers, all the while he himself was still held in great suspicion, did not go down well. Broughton was almost immediately stayed from preaching in public. Soon afterwards Whitgift sent a Summoner requesting Broughton's presence in the ecclesiastical courts to defend his opinion of Christ's descent.⁶⁰⁶ Broughton, who did not at first know why he had been summoned and did not want to wait to find out, evaded the summons and left the country.⁶⁰⁷

From the safety of Leiden, Broughton heard that in fact Whitgift had summoned him only to dispute with Andrewes on the meaning of Christ's descent. Reassured but still anxious, Broughton wrote to Whitgift expressing his desire to come to an agreement,

⁶⁰⁴ Bancroft and Barlow, *Master Broughtons Letters*, p. 18; for corroboration see the letter from Broughton to William Cecil, sent April 14/24 1597, London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 84, no. 84; Broughton, *An explication of the article*, sigs.)(3v-)(4r. I have not been able to locate Andrewes' sermon. However, based on later comments, it is likely that it opposed both Calvinist and Catholic exegeses of the descent and followed the Lutheran 'local triumphant' interpretation. See Andrewes, 'A Sermon preached at Whitehall, 13th April 1623 on Isaiah 63.1-3', in *Ninety-six sermons*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1851), pp. 61-76, and also his *Responsio ad apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini* (London, 1610), p. 162, 'Tam non Caluinum, quàm neque Papam sequimur, vbi à Patrum vestigijs, hic, vel ille discedit' (with reference to Bellarmine's comments on Christ's descent).

⁶⁰⁵ Broughton, *An explication of the article*, sig.)(4r.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., sig.)(4.

⁶⁰⁷ See Broughton's letter to William Cecil, June 11/21 1597, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 77, fols. 116r-117v.

and his willingness to dispute with Andrewes on the meaning of the Creed's article and the word 'hades'.⁶⁰⁸ Only ten days later he wrote another, similar letter to Cecil, reiterating the events with Whitgift and Andrewes and assuring Cecil that there had been no accusation of doctrinal error against his sermon.⁶⁰⁹

Broughton never did get his disputation with Andrewes, and with rumours flying that his departure from England was theologically motivated, it is no surprise that he slipped a small section on Christ's descent into his 1597 *An epistle to the learned nobilitie of England*, printed from Middelburg at the end of May. Here Broughton reiterated his position on the descent, arguing that he was merely following the opinion of great men like Martin Bucer, and that a local descent was unscriptural.⁶¹⁰ I will discuss the detail of Broughton's analysis of the descent, which was in fact far more extensive than Bucer's, in the next section. The most important point to note for now is that at this point in time, although Broughton was worried about the descent, he was far more worried about other issues, in particular the ongoing problems with Whitgift, the continued aftermath of the *Concent* controversy, and his diminishing prospects of preferment.⁶¹¹

All these ongoing anxieties, however, were soon to be put aside when in the second half of 1597 Broughton received news of a letter that had arrived in England

⁶⁰⁸ Broughton to Whitgift, April 4/14 1597, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 77, fol. 115.

⁶⁰⁹ Broughton to Cecil, April 14/24 1597, London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 84, no. 84.

⁶¹⁰ Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, pp. 35-42; see also Martin Bucer, *S. Psalmorum libri quinque ad ebraicam veritatem versi, et familiari explanatione elucidati* (Strasbourg, 1529), fols. 89r, 92v-93v.

⁶¹¹ Broughton also had to face sloppy printers, who accidentally inverted the Hebrew of Saadya Gaon's 'Piyyut on the Alphabet': Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, sigs. Hr-H2v. Broughton's worries at this time, which mostly focussed on Whitgift's intentions towards him, are illustrated in his letters to Cecil and Whitgift: Broughton to William Cecil, June 11/21 1597, London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 85 no. 13; Broughton to Cecil, same day, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 77, fol. 116; Broughton to Whitgift, undated (but likely in the second half of 1597), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 114, fol. 144r; Broughton to Cecil, undated (but likely same date), London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 107 no. 30.

from a learned Rabbi in Constantinople, Abraham ben Reuben.⁶¹² This letter, which had reached England with the help of Edward Barton, the Queen's agent at Constantinople, was written entirely in Hebrew: according to Walter Scott's account, upon its arrival no one could read it until a Mr Top, an old pupil of Broughton's deciphered the address and realised it was meant for Broughton.⁶¹³ Broughton was not in the country to receive the letter and so, 'it being of such high import to the Christian religion', it was sent instead to the Archbishop himself, who later sent it on to Broughton, then in Basel.⁶¹⁴

Reuben's letter was a request for, among other things, an English scholar to be sent to Constantinople to 'rule all the scholes of diuinity' there, and for the publication of an extensive comparison of the Hebrew prophets with the Greek Apostles to show that Christ fulfilled the messianic prophecies.⁶¹⁵ To Broughton, who had spent most of his career working on precisely such matters, the letter appeared an urgent cry for assistance that had to be answered immediately. Refusing to let the letter out of his sight, he wrote immediately to the Queen's Privy Council, requesting permission to reply to Reuben in a formal capacity as well as a stipend to support the production of Reuben's requested works.⁶¹⁶ He also began efforts to print the letter, enlisting the help of

⁶¹² The precise dating of the arrival of this letter is difficult; Strype dates it to 1599, but this is clearly an error as Broughton had already printed it by April 1598: see the comments in Broughton's letter to Cecil, March 28th/ April 7th 1598, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 77, fol. 155r. Flloyd's *Bibliotheca Biographica* says the letter was sent 'in 1596, or thereabout', but a letter printed by Broughton on December 14/24 1597 says he received Reuben's missive 'a few dayes agoe'. Allowing for sending and printing times, the second half of 1597 is probably the best bet. Thomas Flloyd, *Bibliotheca biographica: a synopsis of universal biography, ancient and modern*, vol. 1 (London, 1760), sig. U4v; Hugh Broughton, *An Awnsweare vnto the righte honorable the Lordes, of the Quene of Englandes most honorable privy councill* (Basel, 1597), sig. A2r.

⁶¹³ Walter Scott, *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on the Most Interesting and Entertaining Subjects*, vol. 2 (London, 1809), p. 11n1.

⁶¹⁴ Strype, *The life and acts of John Whitgift*, p. 407; Broughton, *An Awnsweare*, sigs. A2r-A4r.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., sig. A2r; Hugh Broughton, *An epistle of an Ebrew willinge to learne Christianity: sent by him to London: & thence, by the Archb. of Canterburies aduise, to Basil* (Basel, 1598), sigs. Aiiir-Aivr.

⁶¹⁶ Broughton, *An Awnsweare*, sigs. A2r-A4r.

Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564-1629) and using the press of Conrad Waldkirch.⁶¹⁷ It was only in the postscript to this letter, which he managed to print sometime before the end of March 1598, that Broughton returned to the issue that had been bothering him ever since the close of 1596, but which he still had not seen fully addressed. In this, Broughton called on Whitgift to forbid anyone from saying that Christ descended locally into the hell of the damned, and to assert that in the context of the Creed, Christ's descent to 'hades' meant simply his journey to the world of souls and therefore (since Christ was pious), to paradise.⁶¹⁸ Evidently, the ambiguity over Whitgift's own opinion on the descent was beginning to unnerve Broughton, who at this point still held out hope that Whitgift might side with him, and desired a straightforward public statement on the issue to resolve it once and for all.

What Broughton did not know was that Whitgift was in fact about to make his opinion publicly known through one of his most loyal bishops. In March 1598, sometime before Easter Sunday, Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, took the pulpit at St Paul's and gave a controversial sermon on Gal. 6.14 proclaiming that Christ descended locally and triumphantly to hell 'to ouerthrow & destroy the kingdom & might of Satan.'⁶¹⁹ This was in many ways quite a remarkable statement to make. Andrewes may

⁶¹⁷ See the impatient letter Broughton sent to his friend Jacob Zwinger while waiting for Waldkirch to get back to him. This letter has no year but is dated September, and so must have been written in 1597, supporting the dating estimate in fn612: Broughton to Zwinger, September 1597, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Frey-Gryn Mscr II 9:Br. 50. See also Stephen Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew learning in the seventeenth century* (Leiden, 1996), p. 39.

⁶¹⁸ Broughton, *An epistle of an Ebrew willinge to learne Christianity*, sig. A4v.

⁶¹⁹ Bilson's sermon can be dated as follows: in the printed 1599 version Bilson says that one summer and one Christmas elapsed between his sermon and his printing, and that he delivered the sermon just before Easter Sunday. According to Henry Jacob, who printed against Bilson's sermon in 1598, the sermon took place in 1597. This leaves two dates: either Lent 1597 (when Easter Sunday was on April 6th), or in Lent 1598 which, given that Easter Sunday took place on 22nd March that year, would have been registered by Jacob as 1597 in the Old Style dating. Of these two dates, only the 1598 date could fit with Bilson's 'one summer, one Christmas' claim. See Henry Jacob, *A Treatise of the sufferings and victory of Christ, in the work of our redemption* (London, 1598), title page; Thomas Bilson, *The effect of certaine sermons, touching the full redemption of mankind by the death and bloud of Christ Jesus* (London, 1599), sig. A4.

have been a rising star, but Bilson was already, as Quantin put it, the ‘de facto spokesman of the established church’.⁶²⁰ As such, his sermon would have seemed like an official statement of the church’s stance on the descent, and no doubt the more politically attuned of the congregation knew that Bilson would not have spoken if Whitgift had not first approved it. Indeed, the more intimately informed might even have guessed that Bilson was acting on Whitgift’s explicit instructions, as Bilson would later state outright.⁶²¹ Furthermore, it was quite something for the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester together to reject entirely what was then by far the most popular exegesis of the descent, and promulgate instead an interpretation associated at best with the much-suspected Lutheranism and at worst with Catholicism.⁶²² Indeed, the effect of Bilson’s sermon on his audience is documented in Harrington’s account of his life: half-way through the sermon the congregation was gripped by a ‘sudden and causeless fear’ that ‘Paul’s Church was at that instant falling down’, and the subsequent pandemonium ‘put some of the gravest, wisest, and noblest, of that assembly into evident hazard of their lives.’⁶²³ Bilson had to pacify the crowd before he could finish preaching.

⁶²⁰ Quantin, *Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, p. 127.

⁶²¹ As he said in Bilson, *The Survey of Christs sufferings*, sig. 3; see also the letter from Bilson to William Cecil explaining how the Archbishop encouraged him, in Strype, *The life and acts of John Whitgift*, p. 362. The letters in which Whitgift expressed his support of Bilson’s sermon were publicly known; so much so that Henry Jacob, in his later rebuttal of Bilson, knew Whitgift and ‘3 other great BB’ supported Bilson; see Jacob, *A Treatise of the sufferings and victory of Christ*, p. 89.

⁶²² For Elizabethan England’s suspicion of Lutheranism see Basil Hall, ‘The early rise and gradual decline of Lutheranism in England (1520-1600)’, in *Reform and Reformation: England and the continent, c1500-c1750*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1979), pp. 103-133; Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 384-95; see also Alec Ryrie, ‘The strange death of Lutheran England’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002), 64-92. For the suspicion of ‘papism’ lurking around a local descent, see the accusations in Alexander Hume, *A Reioynder to Doctor Hil concerning the descense of Christ into hell* (London, 1593), sigs. B6r-7r, p. 8.

⁶²³ Stephen Hyde Cassan, *The lives of the bishops of Winchester, from Birinus[...]to the present time*, vol. 2 (London, 1827), pp. 68-69.

Broughton did not hear immediately about Bilson's sermon on the descent. What he did hear, however, was a series of rumours spreading throughout continental Europe in the second half of 1598 that Whitgift had risen to Broughton's challenge and made it known loud and clear that he believed in a local, triumphant descent. Broughton was furious, and took Whitgift's stance as a personal affront. Almost immediately he penned a livid letter to Whitgift so hastily written it is nearly illegible, stating that he realised now how Andrewes had preached with Whitgift's full approval, and that Whitgift had been against him from the start.⁶²⁴ Desperate to ensure that his patrons still supported him, and eager for further news, Broughton wrote another more anxious letter to Cecil, explaining how 'his G[race] bestirred: to prove him self an heretique' on the descent, and asking if the Queen's silence on the pressing issue of answering Abraham ben Reuben was due to Whitgift's interference.⁶²⁵ To his friend Thomas Stallard, Broughton explained in more detail how he heard of Whitgift's 'infinite follie' on the descent from some gentlemen in Middelburg, and that he planned to publish a short work against the Archbishop by the next Frankfurt book fair.⁶²⁶

As these letters show, Broughton was fully aware how easily Whitgift's support of a local descent could influence the official stance of the English Church, forcing Broughton's own views even further outside the mainstream of English orthodoxy and destroying whatever chance he had left of preferment. Furthermore, his exile left him with a very palpable sense of being one step behind his critics in England, who had opportunities to slander his opinions before Broughton even knew for certain they were against him: the urgent, frenetic tone of his letters speaks most of all to a fear that his words might come too little and too late. All in all, the meaning of Christ's descent into

⁶²⁴ Hugh Broughton to Whitgift, undated but likely mid-late 1598, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 114, fols. 145r-146r.

⁶²⁵ Broughton to Cecil, March 28/ April 7 1598, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 77, fol. 155r.

⁶²⁶ Broughton to Stallard, Jan 15/25 1598/9, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 77, fol. 152r.

hell was no longer an issue Broughton could put to one side while he focussed on other projects. The events of 1598 had pushed it straight to the top of his list of priorities.

iii. Pagan Poets and Church Fathers: Theological Method in Hugh Broughton, Henry Jacob and Thomas Bilson, 1598-1600

The previous section has established how Broughton came to write on the descent, but it is time now to turn to what exactly he thought about it and why this was significant. It is helpful at this stage to take a step back from the immediate unfolding of events and look instead at the broader patterns developing within sixteenth-century English discussions of the descent. By the time Andrewes and Bilson turned to preach on the descent, the controversy had developed so as to encompass major theological questions about the nature of atonement and the price of redemption. This is less surprising than it might at first seem, as Calvin had from the start made Christ's descent an integral part of his theology of atonement, and, as described above, his work was very influential for English writings of this time. Furthermore, since the major theological questions in Lutheran discussions were ubiquitarian (and ubiquitarianism was almost universally rejected in England) it tended to be the Calvinists who set the theological agenda for English debate.⁶²⁷ Moreover, while at first the major controversial focus was firmly on Catholic doctrines like purgatory and the *limbus patrum*, as English divines began to turn against each other the need for conformist divines to counter the theory of atonement in which Calvin's interpretation of the descent was embedded increasingly outweighed the need to

⁶²⁷ Anti-ubiquitarian tracts like Peter Vermigli's *Dialogus de utraque in Christo natura* (Zurich, 1561), and Heinrich Bullinger's *Responsio qua ostenditur sententiam de coelo et dextera Dei libello Bullingeri ... adversaria D. Joannis Brentii* (Zurich, 1561), had made English Bishops of all stripes wary of the strange Lutheran christology. The Heidelberg Catechism, available in English and very popular, had a whole section devoted to a rebuttal of ubiquitarianism: Zachariah Ursinus, *The Summe of Christian Religion delivered by Zacharias Ursinus in his lectures upon the catechisme* (Oxford, 1595), pp. 728-732. See W. Brown Patterson, 'The Anglican Reaction', in *Discord, Dialogue, and Concord: studies in the Lutheran Reformation's Formula of Concord*, ed. Lewis William Spitz and Wenzel Lohff (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 150-160.

combat the Catholic threat of purgatory.⁶²⁸ Given this, it is no surprise that one of the most popular Lutheran writers cited by English advocates for a local descent was Johannes Aepinus, who unusually for a Lutheran had argued for Christ's local descent as essential for man's redemption, making his work a useful weapon against the Calvinist exegesis.⁶²⁹

This is why, when Bilson preached in March 1598, his major focus was not on contemporary exegeses of Christ's descent but rather, as he made clear in the printed edition of the sermon, on what constituted 'the chiefest part, and maine ground' of 'the redemption of mankind by death and bloud of Christ.'⁶³⁰ He was prompted to write above all because he had noticed how, in requiring Christ to have suffered the pains of hell in his soul on the cross, Calvinists had made an 'erroneous and daungerous addition to the mysterie of our Saluation'.⁶³¹ In fact, Bilson even went so far as to say that he had originally intended to leave the article of the Creed untouched, but the issues of the atonement and the descent ended up being too entangled to separate.⁶³² Thus Bilson's sermon⁶³³ crystallised the vague currents running through the controversy by grouping

⁶²⁸ For earlier examples focussed on purgatory, see for instance William Fulke, *A defense of the sincere and true translations of the holie Scriptures into the English tong* (London, 1583), pp. 196-252; Christopher Carlile, *A discourse concerning two diuine positions, publiquely disputed at a commencement in Cambridge, 1552* (London, 1582), fols. 8v-26v, 34v-44v, 159v-161r; contrast with the comments in Hill, *The defence of the article: Christ descended into Hell*, fols. 14r-16v, 38v-41r, focussed mainly on why a local descent is essential for salvation, and Hume's explicit summary 'The question is...bow[sic] Christ hath consummat the work of our redemption', Hume, *A Reioynder to Doctor Hil*, pp. 133-154.

⁶²⁹ The one sticking point was that Aepinus wanted this local descent to be not triumphant, but part of Christ's humiliation; it was, however, despite this difference, relatively easy to recover Aepinus' basic arguments. See Johannes Aepinus, *Enarratio D. Ioannis Aepini, in psalmum LXVIII* (Frankfurt, 1553), pp. 114-211.

⁶³⁰ Bilson, *The effect of certaine sermons*, sig. A2r.

⁶³¹ Ibid., sig. A2v.

⁶³² Ibid., sig. A3v.

⁶³³ Assuming his printed work is a good reflection of his earlier sermon, which Bilson at least claimed it was, and with which his opponent Henry Jacob seemed to agree; *ibid.*, sigs. A4r-B1r.

them into two deeply intertwined but argumentatively separate questions: the first about how atonement worked and the second about what scripture (supplemented by the Fathers) defined as Christ's descent into hell.

Bilson's answer to the first question had several parts. It was well established that Christ had to conquer sin, death and hell to release mankind from their powers and ensure complete salvation.⁶³⁴ Christ's pains on the cross conquered sin; his immortal death conquered death, but these two were insufficient unless he also conquered hell. In Bilson's account, this conquering of hell was achieved through his local descent there, where he broke the gates of hell and spoiled its powers and principalities, thus vanquishing its power absolutely. This meant that a local descent was at a minimum essential in order to release man from the three 'foes' to which he was otherwise condemned. But it was also essential for a second reason: to ensure that the *whole* of man was released from condemnation. After all, man consisted of two parts: body and soul. And through Adam, both these parts had been separately condemned; his body to death and his soul to hell.⁶³⁵ The crucifixion, which according to the biblical proofs was a bodily, bloody event, saved man's body.⁶³⁶ But man's soul still needed to be saved; and this was why Christ's soul had to travel to hell, to vanquish the devil and thereby rescue man's soul from him. A local descent, then, was doubly essential for atonement.

Bilson's argument, which proceeded in scholastic manner, shows us how deeply the two issues, that of atonement and that of the descent, were intertwined. For once Bilson had established that a local descent was theologically essential for redemption, any attempted riposte would have to propose an alternative theory of satisfaction as well as an alternative interpretation of the descent in order to be a viable replacement. On a methodological level, this double-faceted approach to the descent also tended to split the

⁶³⁴ Bilson, *The effect of certaine sermons*, pp. 154-155.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., pp. 182-184.

⁶³⁶ Ibid., pp. 54-62; pp. 328-333.

more purely theological, scholastic analysis of the nature of redemption from the more philological analysis of the Hebrew and Greek terms used in the Creed and biblical proof texts. And indeed, it is not surprising that when Bilson arrived at this second, more philological part of his treatise, he argued that both of the key terms (ᾠδης and its Hebrew equivalent, שׁוֹל, sh'ol, used in the Psalm quoted by the key proof-text Acts 2.27) could and did, in the case of the descent, mean 'hell' in the sense of the place of the damned.⁶³⁷

This same double-faceted approach in content and method was taken up equally in the work produced by the godly semi-separatist minister Henry Jacob in response to Bilson's sermon.⁶³⁸ The first part of Jacob's treatise, printed in 1598, was devoted to rebuffing Bilson's understanding of atonement and advancing an alternative (Calvinist) explanation, while the second part was devoted to demonstrating how a complementary understanding of the descent could be proved from philological analyses of the relevant scriptural passages. In the first part of his work, Jacob expressed his broad agreement with Bilson that the whole man had to be freed for complete salvation, and that hell, death and sin all equally needed to be robbed of their power.⁶³⁹

But here their agreement ended, for Jacob went on to argue that Christ's final words on the cross, 'It is finished', meant this whole work of redemption had to be completed by the time of Christ's death on the cross: thus a local descent to hell after the crucifixion could not be efficacious.⁶⁴⁰ Moreover, Jacob argued for a kind of equivalence between Christ's saving work and mankind's punishments for sin: so just as Christ saved

⁶³⁷ Ibid., pp. 401-411.

⁶³⁸ It can also be seen in later discussions looking back on the descent controversy; see eg Hugh Sanford, *De Descensu domini nostri Iesu Christi ad Inferos* (Amsterdam, 1611), especially Books 1 and 2 v. Book 3 (Sanford supported Jacob against Bilson).

⁶³⁹ Jacob, *A Treatise of the sufferings and victory of Christ*, pp. 14-16.

⁶⁴⁰ See John 19.30. Jacob, *A Treatise of the sufferings and victory of Christ*, pp. 132-133, 158-64.

man from sin by being crucified himself for it, and Christ saved man from bodily death by dying himself, so too did he need to save man's soul from hell by experiencing the pains of hell in his own soul. These pains of hell were, following Calvin, the sense of being utterly forsaken and hated by God which was itself the greatest torment of the damned: Christ thus did not need literally to travel to hell to experience its worst feeling, i.e. God's wrath, on man's behalf.⁶⁴¹ Thus Jacob answered Bilson's demand for a twofold redemption of body and soul by showing how this redemption could still work (and from his perspective, fitted better with the scriptural proof texts) within the context of Calvin's theory of atonement. Interestingly, though, Jacob felt no need to make these hell pains on the cross the meaning of the descent article in the Creed: rather he put forward the Bucerian argument that both 'hades' and sh'ol meant merely the state of the dead or 'world of the souls' in abstract, and were used to refer to any soul, whether blessed or damned, after death.⁶⁴²

The theological difference, then, between Jacob and Bilson was essentially the difference between Calvin's penal substitution theory of atonement and a satisfaction theory of atonement similar to that propounded by Anselm.⁶⁴³ Jacob believed that Christ had to suffer on man's behalf the punishment for sin: his bodily death for man's bodily death, his hell-pains for man's hell-pains.⁶⁴⁴ Bilson on the contrary believed that, just as to release a prisoner condemned to death one would need to pay a ransom rather than die oneself, so too did Christ need to pay a ransom to God for man's freedom rather than suffer the exact punishment due to man.⁶⁴⁵ While their conclusions differed, however,

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 4-10, 33-45.

⁶⁴² Ibid., p. 97, 121.

⁶⁴³ See Anselm of Canterbury, *Cur Deus Homo*, ed. Hugo Laemmer (Berlin, 1857).

⁶⁴⁴ Jacob, *A Treatise of the sufferings and victory of Christ*, pp. 33-35.

⁶⁴⁵ Bilson, *The effect of certaine sermons*, pp. 261-2; 276-279.

both Bilson and Jacob broadly used the same methods of systematic theology to make their point.

This shared methodology did not extend, however, to the second question about the scriptural basis for the descent. Most drastically, Bilson objected point-blank to the use of classical or rabbinic sources in the exposition of the terms at stake. Unless Jacob was a pagan, or a Jew, Bilson argued, he should not be using such sources to expound the Creed or any other Christian text.⁶⁴⁶ Patristic sources, it was true, could shed some light on obscure scriptural terms, but all other extra-biblical literature was irrelevant. The Apostles spoke Greek in a fundamentally different way from their pagan contemporaries, because they were divinely inspired.⁶⁴⁷

In contrast to this, Jacob argued that the only sources which could properly expound these terms were ancient pagan and Jewish ones. This, Jacob argued, was because the work of the Latin Church Fathers, especially the later ones, had obscured the real meaning of 'hades' and its Hebrew synonym by translating them both with 'infernus', a word that in fact had a much greater semantic range than either 'hades' or sh'ol. Most importantly, the additional meanings of 'infernus' included the 'hell of the damned', which sense was not implied in either 'hades' or sh'ol but covered instead by the term gehenna (used in (Rabbinic) Hebrew גהנום and Greek, γέεννα).⁶⁴⁸ The true meaning of 'hades', therefore, had to be taken from the oldest Greek Fathers and the most ancient classical authors, which showed that the word simply meant the 'state of the dead' or 'world of souls'.⁶⁴⁹ Likewise, using Jewish sources, the Hebrew word sh'ol could be shown to mean the same.⁶⁵⁰ Against Bilson's argument for the special, divinely

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 366, 371-2, 378, 389.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 366-371.

⁶⁴⁸ Jacob, *A Treatise of the sufferings and victory of Christ*, pp. 95-109.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 110-111.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 121.

inspired status of New Testament Greek, Jacob argued that the Apostles had to use Greek just as contemporary Greek-speakers used it; otherwise no one could have understood them.⁶⁵¹ The Creed, like the New Testament, had to be read as an historical document reflecting contemporary problems, practices and patterns of speech. And indeed, by examining the Creed's immediate historical context one could even understand why the descent article had been inserted when it had: to combat contemporary heresies (such as Docetism) which claimed that Christ was only superficially a true man and did not really die.⁶⁵²

This overview of Bilson and Jacob's exegetical methods undermines some of the currently fashionable associations of conformist/proto-'Anglican' theology with 'patristic' and 'historical' approaches, and nonconformity with zealous literalism.⁶⁵³ In this case, the situation was entirely the opposite: Jacob was a philological contextualist who depended on contemporary extra-biblical sources, whereas Bilson insisted on the unique, inspired status of biblical Greek and on the authority of an under-historicized later ecclesiastical tradition to interpret it. And indeed, it was in his philological arguments that Jacob had a serious edge over Bilson: as later scholars noted with increasing consensus, 'hades' and sh'ol did primarily mean the 'world of souls' / 'state of death', and one could trace how this meaning had been followed by the earliest Greek Fathers until later Latin Fathers were misled by the translation 'infernus'.⁶⁵⁴ But to a certain extent this advantage meant less in practice than it might have done, since the peculiar way the debate had branched into two parts caused far more of the argumentative burden to be placed on the theological issue of redemption rather than the exegesis of proof texts, as reflected in the gradually expanding amount of space

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., p. 126.

⁶⁵² Ibid., p. 127-8.

⁶⁵³ See above, p. 235, fn569.

⁶⁵⁴ See, e.g., Walter Balfour, *An Inquiry into the scriptural import of the words Hades, Sheol, Tartarus and Gehenna* (Charlestown, 1825), pp. 1-77.

which both Jacob and Bilson allocated to the former over the latter.⁶⁵⁵ After all, it was no use advancing an explanation of the descent, no matter how philologically brilliant, if you left intact your opponent's claim that the descent as he understood it was essential to mankind's salvation. Jacob, Bilson, and other contributors to the descent controversy such as Richard Parkes and Andrew Willet, all understood this implicitly.⁶⁵⁶ Philology was not enough.

This overview prepares us to appreciate the most striking feature of Broughton's 1599 *An explication of the article*: his complete abandonment of Jacob and Bilson's shared interest in the dogmatic implications of biblical exegesis, and the scholastic methods used to explore them. Without invoking any theological questions about the nature of redemption, salvation, or atonement, Broughton's treatise treated the descent as an issue that could only be understood philologically, through a systematic reconstruction of the historical development of Hebrew and Greek from pre-biblical to Apostolic times.

Broughton began by outlining how, in the earliest times of Moses and even the Prophets, the Hebrew language had lacked any precise terms for the afterlife such as heaven or hell because these did not yet exist as theological concepts. Instead, imprecise circumlocutions like 'favoured by God' and 'loathed by God' were used to designate a vague sense that there should be some reward for piety and punishment for impiety.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁵ In the first round of debate, both Bilson and Jacob split their space roughly evenly between the two questions; but in the second round, the space each devoted to the theological question increased enormously while the space allocated to the exegetical question plummeted; Jacob's *A defence of a treatise touching the sufferings and victorie of Christ in the work of our redemption* (London, 1600) spent just under 70% of its pages on the nature of redemption, and just over 30% on the philological proof for the descent; Bilson's *The Survey of Christs sufferings* spent just over 80% on the former and just under 20% on the latter.

⁶⁵⁶ The debate between Parkes and Willet, though on a smaller scale, expanded in a theological direction in much the same way as Jacob and Bilson's: see Richard Parkes, *A briefe answere unto certaine obiections and reasons against the descension of Christ into hell, lately sent in writing unto a Gentleman in the country* (Oxford, 1604) (against a manuscript treatise by John Rainolds) and Andrew Willet, *Limbomastix* (London, 1604) to Parkes, *An Apologie of three testimonies of holy Scripture* (London, 1607), especially sigs. ¶6v, Aa2v-Aa3r, and Willet, *Loidoromastix* (Cambridge, 1607).

⁶⁵⁷ Broughton, *An explication of the article*, pp. 28-29, 36-40.

Due to this lack of knowledge, equally ambiguous and imprecise vocabulary was used to describe the state one's soul would experience after death: sh'ol, which came from the Hebrew שאל 'to ask/require', since everyone was required to go there after death.⁶⁵⁸ It was only after the Hebrew Bible's composition that more specific terms came into being, when the most ancient 'Rabbis' (the most learned of the Jews living in intertestamental times) split the different senses captured in the term sh'ol into separate terms such as gehenna, 'the second death', 'the world to come' and 'the garden of paradise.' They conceived the ideas behind these more precise terms by carefully studying the writings of Moses and reflecting on their inner meanings.⁶⁵⁹

While these ancient Rabbis were improving the lexis of Hebrew, Alexander the Great's ever-expanding empire was disseminating knowledge of Greek across an immense geographical area. Furthermore, a series of great Greek writers beginning with Homer helped not only to perfect Greek but also to standardise it, as their fame meant that they were imitated across the Greek-speaking lands. Greek still lacked any kind of theological precision, as the pagans had no clear knowledge of the afterlife, but the positive upshot of its range and fame was that by the time the Apostles composed the New Testament, there was an enormous consent as to the meaning of its words and phrases. The Apostles therefore would have abided by these usual significations for the sake of being clearly understood by the common people to whom they preached: this was the whole point of using the best-known language of the period.⁶⁶⁰ Pre-Christian words such as 'hades' therefore were used by the Apostles following their imprecise heathen signification: in this case, the vague concept of the 'world of souls' to which all souls, pious and impious, went after death.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 44-45.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 46-52.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 1-9.

To express their novel theological concepts and doctrines the Apostles did not uproot classical terms, but rather imported the terms refined by the ancient Rabbis. Gehenna was one such word borrowed to express the new concept of hell as the location of the damned.⁶⁶² However, this refinement of ‘afterlife vocabulary’ had an impact on the meaning of older terms, as the specificity of words like ‘paradise’ forced the meaning of vague words like ‘hades’ to become equally narrow. In this case, as ‘hades’ was often opposed to paradise, it underwent pejoration, and by the fourth century was used near-universally to mean ‘hell.’ However, later writers had not recognised this semantic shift, and thus various heresies and incorrect exegeses (such as that of Christ’s local descent to hell) had arisen.⁶⁶³

It was this theory of historical linguistic development, Broughton argued, that explained how the four dialects of the New Testament (as discussed in the previous chapter) had arisen: the ‘Attique’ dialect was the old imprecise Greek, ‘Talmudique’ Greek was the imported set of refined Rabbinic terms as well as a handful of other terms concerning religious rituals, and ‘Judean’ and ‘Apostolique’ Greek were the two types of Greek denoting influence from the Hebrew Bible.⁶⁶⁴ And this, in turn, provided a sufficient argument for why ‘hades’ could only mean ‘world of souls’ and not hell: it belonged to the ‘Attique’ dialect, could thus only be expounded with pagan writers, and Broughton’s potted history of linguistics made it impossible for these heathen authors to have perceived the theological concept of hell and invented a word for it. Broughton even noted, somewhat spikily, that too often he had noticed ‘extensive study of the

⁶⁶² Ibid., pp. 53-55.

⁶⁶³ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 43.

Fathers' was used merely as an excuse for not adequately understanding the Semitic and classical influences on the New Testament.⁶⁶⁵

Broughton's work in the *Explication* is strikingly different from any other contemporary work on the descent, firstly for its understanding of the descent as a problem to be studied only within the context of Hebrew and Greek linguistic history, secondly for its historically sensitive accounts for why words are coined and how their meanings change over time, and thirdly for its unshakeably strong sense of the Bible as a product of its time. It is true that some aspects of Broughton's history appear in Jacob's publications (though it worth noting that the basic outline was present in Broughton's 1597 comments on the descent, which Jacob likely read), but Jacob comes nowhere close to what Broughton aimed to do in this work: to reconstruct the history of the development of Hebrew and Greek and thus present an image of the Bible as an organic whole that evolved over centuries, with contours and shadings created by stylistic and linguistic variations that ultimately had their basis in historical events.⁶⁶⁶ This greater context for his analyses of 'hades' and sh'ol is also what separates him from those of his predecessors, such as Bucer, who nevertheless came to similar conclusions about their basic meaning. Not even Drusius, who specialised in minute philological reconstruction, went as far as Broughton in his own analysis of the terms.⁶⁶⁷

But perhaps even more unusual than the extent of Broughton's linguistic history is his absence of any explicit theological discussion. This is not to say that Broughton's account was free of religious considerations: Broughton believed that the entirety of the linguistic history outlined above was providentially designed to ensure that the New Testament would be maximally comprehensible. But on the central issues of atonement

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 10. Revealingly enough, later scholars such as Johann Dietelmaier saw Broughton as the defender of the Church Fathers' opinion against men like Bilson; Dietelmaier, *Historia dogmatis de descensu Christi*, p. 204.

⁶⁶⁶ Broughton, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, pp. 35-46.

⁶⁶⁷ Drusius, *Miscellanea locutionum sacrarum*, p. 52.

and redemption, by now so important to the descent, Broughton was completely silent. Of course, it could be argued that this was simply because, at this stage, he was still unaware of Bilson's work: his *Explication* was aimed wholly at Whitgift. This argument is weak on its own terms, as Broughton had read Hume and Hill, who were easily enough to make him aware of the descent's theological dimension. However, the truly telling point is that even after Broughton received copies of Bilson and Jacob's works and printed fresh rebuttals, he still did not see any need to devote himself to the question of atonement; he simply rejected both theories of atonement as wrong and propounded his history of linguistics again.⁶⁶⁸ He even claimed, somewhat astonishingly, that this historical analysis should settle all the questions, theological and semantic, around the descent.⁶⁶⁹ This insistence that historical, philological analyses alone could form the basis for fundamentally theological positions would have been a radical position for Broughton to take even in theory at this point in time, let alone to put into practice in the middle of a high-stakes doctrinal controversy.

Unsurprisingly, Broughton's strange approach to the descent controversy soon garnered ridicule from his opponents in form of the anonymously published *Master Broughtons Letters*. This biting satire focussed especially on Broughton's inability to discuss the real issues of theology like the 'substantiall points of saluation', and his diversion when faced with them to comparatively trivial questions of history, grammar or chronology.⁶⁷⁰ It mocked just as ruthlessly what it called his 'Heathenish diuinitie', namely his unwavering assertion that the Creed, New and Old Testament alike ought to be interpreted with reference to ancient classical and Rabbinic works: it was patently

⁶⁶⁸ See Broughton, *Declaration of generall corruption of religion, Scripture and all learning; wrought by D. while he breedeth a new opinion, that our Lord went from Paradiseto [sic] Gebenna, to triumph over the devills* (Middelburg, 1603) and, written after he had received Bilson's 1604 *The Survey of Christs suffering*, his *A replie vpon the R.R.P. Th VVinton. for beads of his divinity in his sermon and survey* (Amsterdam, 1605).

⁶⁶⁹ Broughton, *Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς Γενεβαίους*, p. 86.

⁶⁷⁰ Bancroft and Barlow, *Master Broughtons Letters*, pp. 23-26.

ridiculous, the satire claimed, to expound 'Christian oracles' with 'light from their Heathenish Ignis fatuus.'⁶⁷¹ In a cutting comparison, Broughton was placed in the same category as those 'Mathematicians so senseless, as to avouch that the earth went round [the Sun]' - an unwittingly fitting analogy given that Broughton's exegesis, just like the work of those senseless mathematicians, would eventually be proven correct.⁶⁷²

But perhaps more damning than the intellectual content of this satire were the hints of who had supported its publication. Broughton worked out relatively quickly that William Barlow and Richard Bancroft had been the authors of the work, but what worried him far more than this was the evidence it contained that Whitgift had tacitly approved it.⁶⁷³ Most revealingly, the satire cited various private letters Broughton had written to Whitgift, including one particularly sensitive letter in which Broughton defended himself against accusations that he had neglected his father.⁶⁷⁴ Bancroft and Barlow also seemed to have had access to the letters Broughton sent to William Cecil (then deceased) and Thomas Stallard.

These hints were more than enough to convict Whitgift in Broughton's eyes; and he was not made any less furious when news finally reached him, around the time of the satire's publication, of Bilson's 1598 sermon and Whitgift's support of it. With any lingering hope that he might yet sway the bishops destroyed, Broughton went over the archbishop's head and wrote directly to Queen Elizabeth complaining both about the publication of Bancroft and Barlow's satire and about Whitgift 'ratifying D Bilsons sermones'. In a final desperate plea, Broughton begged Elizabeth to force both Whitgift

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 36-43.

⁶⁷² Ibid., p. 20.

⁶⁷³ See Broughton's notes in London, British Library, MS Egerton 791 fol. 28r. It seems that the style of the pamphlet gave away its authorship: an annotated copy of *Master Broughtons Letters* in Washington D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library, shelf mark STC 3864 2/8/43 has the comment 'Stilus similis Barlowj Episcopi of Lincoln' at sig. A2v.

⁶⁷⁴ Bancroft and Barlow, *Master Broughtons Letters*, p. 5, 9, 14; see p. 17 for Broughton's father, citing Broughton's letter to Whitgift in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 114, fol. 141.

and Bilson to retract their opinions on the descent, which he called ‘a foolery to stayn all religion.’⁶⁷⁵

As damaging as the 1599 satire might have been to the reception of Broughton’s work on the descent, it was even more damaging to his ongoing attempts to secure funding for a full response to the letter from Abraham ben Reuben.⁶⁷⁶ Particularly harmful was the satire’s claim that Broughton had forged Reuben’s letter for his own financial gain.⁶⁷⁷ This accusation was baseless, but Broughton found it almost impossible to shake off: when he reprinted some of his pamphlets on Reuben’s letter seven years later, with no funding yet forthcoming, he was still having to fight off the rumour, as he would in fact do for the rest of his life.⁶⁷⁸

Despite all the problems that had beset him so far, if Broughton thought he had reached his lowest point by end of 1599, he was sorely mistaken. For his fortunes would in fact take another turn for the worse (or at least for the more complicated) when, in late May 1600, Broughton decided to make a trip to Geneva.

iv. ‘The Genevans disease’: Broughton, Beza and the Jesuits, June 1600-24th

March 1603

Broughton had not previously been to Geneva, but he had had some earlier contact with Beza. In 1598 Broughton had sent Beza a letter on the occasion of the seventh edition of his annotated New Testament, warning him that his frequent changes to the New Testament’s text were damaging its authority, and had even caused some in Cambridge to

⁶⁷⁵ Broughton to Queen Elizabeth, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 114, fol. 148r.

⁶⁷⁶ Only a short while before the satire was published Broughton had issued a brief pamphlet stressing the urgency of granting Abraham ben Reuben’s requests: Broughton, *Epistolae variae et variarum linguarum de Byzantiacis Hebraeis* (Basel, 1599).

⁶⁷⁷ Bancroft and Barlow, *Master Broughtons Letters*, p. 10.

⁶⁷⁸ Broughton, *Two epistles vnto great men of Britanie, in the yeare 1599* (Amsterdam, 1606), sigs. A4v-A5v. Broughton never received his desired funding.

believe that it was corrupt.⁶⁷⁹ In a separate letter Broughton had also informed Beza of the opportunity to convert the Jews of Constantinople raised by Abraham ben Reuben's letter and provided him with a copy of Reuben's epistle.⁶⁸⁰ It is not clear whether Broughton was angling for some kind of financial support from Geneva, or just showing off, but either way, these initial overtures were not well received. Indeed, the contemptuous remarks Beza made about Broughton's rude and strange correspondence were recorded in no less than the 1599 *Master Broughtons Letters*, where he was reported to have called Broughton a 'very vaine man' and, observing his penchant for writing long letters in Greek, wished he would write in Latin instead.⁶⁸¹

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that Broughton's close friend Johannes Boreel, who had just finished translating Broughton's Daniel commentary into Latin, warned Broughton before he left to be wary of Beza, who had been riled by Broughton's criticisms of his New Testament editions and so would not want him in Geneva.⁶⁸² Broughton's host in the city, a student, assured him that as long he did not preach in public or make any risky political comments, Beza could not harm him. Accordingly, Broughton began his stay by teaching in private, receiving only occasional visits from interested colleagues like Jacques Lect and Anthony Faius. But, despite his best efforts, he soon found himself drawn into a disputation stirred by the Professor of Hebrew at

⁶⁷⁹ As explained in the *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze* (1600), the 1598 is the fifth edition reviewed by Beza but the seventh if editions published outside of Geneva are counted; see *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze: Tome XLI (1600)*, ed. Kevin Bovier, Alain Dufour and Hervé Genton (Geneva, 2016), p. 81; no. 2691, pp. 81-82.

⁶⁸⁰ Beza mentions this in the start of his letter to Jean Castol; *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze* (1600), no. 2692, p. 84. This is corroborated by Broughton, who mentions that he used Paul Estienne as messenger: see Broughton's letter to Casaubon, October 26/ November 5 1602, London, British Library, MS Burney 363, no. 69.

⁶⁸¹ Bancroft and Barlow, *Master Broughtons Letters*, p. 10, 15.

⁶⁸² ...ἐγνώρισε Βορ[ηλιος] ὡς ἐχθρὸς εἶχε πρὸς ἐμὲ διὰ μέμψιν ἐπανορθώσεων τῆς ἀκηράτου γραφῆς · οὐκ ἤθελεν ἰέναι με πρὸς γεβεέννην [sic] ὅλως, Broughton to Jacob Zwinger, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Frey-Gryn Mscr II 9:Br.65.

the Genevan Academy, the youthful Giovanni Diodati, who had heard of Broughton's difference from Calvin on the matter of the descent and challenged him to defend it.⁶⁸³

Word of Broughton's discussion of the descent, and particularly his refutation of Calvin's opinion, spread fast. It was not long before Beza heard about it. Worried enough by this instance of Broughton's public preaching, Beza became even more anxious when he managed to get hold of one of Broughton's published works on the matter.⁶⁸⁴ To Beza, it looked distinctly like Broughton was trying to sour relations between the English and Genevan churches by highlighting their difference on the descent, and he was no less alarmed by the report that Broughton rejoiced in the then-circulating rumours of Queen Elizabeth's death. Viewing the matter as urgent, Beza persuaded the Company of Pastors to present Broughton's poor behaviour to the civil magistrates at the Small Council, which they did on the 6/16th June 1600.⁶⁸⁵ Foremost among the issues discussed at this meeting were Broughton's outrageous opinions on the descent and his infamous clashes with Whitgift. Eventually, it was decided that three representatives, Michel Roset, Jean Maillet and Lect, would talk to Broughton and ascertain whether it was safe to allow him to remain in Geneva.⁶⁸⁶

Broughton, meanwhile, had heard of the Small Council and Company's deliberations, and suspected that Beza and his closest allies (Jean Pinault and Johannes Grynaeus) had instigated the proceedings against him. Angry at the lies being spread about him (especially some accusations that he had rejoiced in the Queen's alleged passing), he wrote a brief letter to Grynaeus complaining of his injuries, and a tractate to Beza defending his position on the descent. On this latter front, Broughton was above all

⁶⁸³ See the letter from Broughton to Whitgift in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iii.753.

⁶⁸⁴ See Beza to Jean Castol, no. 2692 in *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze (1600)*, pp. 84-85.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid. The Company's concerns about Broughton, especially his opinions on the descent, are recorded in the Councils' Registers; see Geneva, Archives d'Etat de Genève, *Les Registres des Conseils*, vol. 95, fol. 85r.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., and see also the record in *Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Genève*, vol. 8, ed. Gabriella Cahier and Matteo Campagnolo, (Geneva, 1986), p. 25.

confused as to why was he was so prosecuted for a position which was, at heart, the same as that held by the Swiss Reformed and openly propounded in the Zurich confession.⁶⁸⁷

On the 9/19th June Broughton was summoned before Roset, Maillet and Lect.⁶⁸⁸ Broughton recorded their discussion in various letters, which show that the Council was especially concerned with the issue of the descent, asking how Broughton differed from Calvin and Beza on this matter and what Whitgift thought of Calvin's interpretation. As well as explaining his own opinion Broughton did not hesitate to describe the grave problems the Genevan interpretation of the descent had caused in England, inducing a 'war' (πόλεμος) between the followers of Calvin and those who, like Whitgift, supported a local descent.⁶⁸⁹ The three councilmen decided against forcing Broughton out of the city then and there, though they did warn him that if he did not behave in a manner more in line with the Genevan Church, they would have no choice but to expel him.⁶⁹⁰

Despite the peaceable conclusion drawn by the Council, Beza decided independently that the risk of a 'scandal' was too high to allow Broughton to remain in Geneva, and resolved only the next day, 10/20th June, to expel him.⁶⁹¹ This disjunction between Beza's decision and the magistrates' is telling, and demonstrates how Broughton split the opinions of the Council and the Company of Pastors, with the latter leading the charges against him while some of the former, especially Lect and Maillet, were actually

⁶⁸⁷ See the letter from Broughton to Whitgift in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iii.753.

⁶⁸⁸ Geneva, Archives d'Etat de Genève, *Les Registres des Conseils*, vol. 95, fol. 86v.

⁶⁸⁹ See Broughton's letter to Casaubon, October 26/November 5 1602, London, British Library, MS Burney 363, no. 69; also the account in the letter from Broughton to Whitgift in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iii.753-54.

⁶⁹⁰ Geneva, Archives d'Etat de Genève, *Les Registres des Conseils*, vol. 95, fol. 86v.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 87r.

quite sympathetic.⁶⁹² Unwilling to cause a major conflict, Broughton left the city shortly after Beza's intervention, but not happily. Angered by Beza's last-minute involvement, only a few days after his departure on 13/23 June Broughton sent one brutal letter to the city magistrates insulting Beza and another to Jean Lucas threatening to cause a rift between Geneva and England.⁶⁹³ Unfortunately for Broughton, his plan backfired. These parting shots entirely obliterated the fragile good-will of the magistrates, and the Small Council in response appointed Simon Girard of Mongin to find Broughton and arrest him - though, as Girard reported a couple of weeks later, he had arrived too late at Bern to catch him.⁶⁹⁴

At this point, Broughton was already beginning to regret how things in Geneva had panned out. He sent a conciliatory letter to Jean Maillet shortly after Girard filed his report, apologising for being too hard on the council magistrates, hoping to regain whatever sympathy they may have had towards him.⁶⁹⁵ But the damage was done. Worst of all, Beza, concerned that Broughton might actually carry out the threat in his letter to Lucas, wrote a long account of the events in Geneva to Jean Castol, minister of the French Church in London.⁶⁹⁶ Beza intended this letter to be widely disseminated across the English ecclesiastical establishment to preserve the good relations between the

⁶⁹² Geneva, Archives d'Etat de Genève, *Pièces historiques*, no. 2251. Broughton even claimed that some members of Council wanted to retain him as a Professor of Hebrew at the Genevan Academy, though this seems unlikely and is uncorroborated. See Frédéric Gardy, 'Les démêlés du théologien anglais H. Broughton avec Théodore de Bèze et les Genevois (1600-1601)', *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève* 2.2 (1904), 385, who provides a macroscopic outline of the incident in this and in his introduction to Melchior Goldast, *Histoire de la supervenue inopinée des Savoyards en la ville de Genève*, ed. Frédéric Gardy (Geneva, 1902-1908), pp. 159-161.

⁶⁹³ See Geneva, Archives d'Etat de Genève, *Pièces historiques*, no. 2251.

⁶⁹⁴ Girard gave his report to the city council on June 24/July 4 1600; see Geneva, Archives d'Etat de Genève, *Les Registres des Conseils*, vol. 95, fol. 93r; see also the summary in Beza's letter to Jean Castol, no. 2692 in *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze (1600)*, p. 86.

⁶⁹⁵ Geneva, Archives d'Etat de Genève, *Pièces historiques*, no. 2251.

⁶⁹⁶ Beza to Jean Castol, June 20/30 1600, no. 2692 in *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze (1600)*, pp. 83-87. See also the note of this letter in *Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Genève*, p. 28.

Genevan and English churches; but for Broughton's reputation, of course, its effects were disastrous. News of it soon spread far beyond England and Geneva, and, meanwhile, the Council and the Company of Pastors continued to track Broughton's movements, hoping for a chance to arrest him.⁶⁹⁷

No doubt the audacity of Broughton's behaviour was one of the reasons behind Beza's desire to see him out of Geneva and appropriately punished. But the ferocity of Beza's actions against him speak to more than just personal irritation: Beza evidently saw Broughton, and particularly Broughton's teaching on the descent, as a very real threat. In fact, Beza had a longstanding history of conflict with Reformed theologians over the descent. In particular, it had been one of the major sticking points in his controversy with Sebastian Castellio in the 1550s/60s, which flared up after Calvin and Beza brutally attacked Castellio's biblical translations and smeared him as the 'chosen instrument of Satan'.⁶⁹⁸ Castellio responded in turn by targeting the most vulnerable parts of Calvin and Beza's French Bible, as well as Beza's more recent 1556 Latin New Testament; one of these weak spots was Beza's retranslation of 'hades' as 'sepulchrum' in Acts 2.27, which was mirrored in his French Bible with 'Car tu ne delaisseras point mon ame au sepulchre'.⁶⁹⁹ Against this translation Castellio argued that it was wrong to translate 'hades' with 'tomb': the literal meaning of 'hades' was simply 'the condition or state of death' whether those dead were buried or unburied. By rendering 'hades' with 'tomb'

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 31-32; see Geneva, Archives d'Etat de Genève, Les Registres des Conseils, vol. 95, fol. 97v.

⁶⁹⁸ Theodore Beza and John Calvin, *Le Nouveau Testament: c'est à dire, la nouvelle alliance de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ* (Geneva, 1560), p. 4. In fact Calvin had been aware before this that Castellio mocked his opinion on the descent: see the letter from Calvin to Pierre Viret, March 1544, in *Letters of John Calvin*, vol. 1, ed. Jules Bonnet, (London, 1855), letter no. 115.

⁶⁹⁹ Beza, *Nouum testamentum*, fol. 138; Beza and Calvin, *Le Nouveau Testament*, p. 321.

therefore Beza had managed to produce an even more misleading translation of the verse than the original Vulgate rendering.⁷⁰⁰

Castellio's attack put enough pressure on Beza that he felt forced to change his translation of Acts 2.27 back to its traditional rendering for his New Testament's second edition, even though in his annotations he insisted that the 1556 translation had been perfectly adequate.⁷⁰¹ But the overlap between Castellio's interpretation of 'hades' and Broughton's would not have gone unnoticed by Beza: to him, it may well have seemed that Broughton was deliberately reopening old wounds, and reviving the vitriolic debates Beza thought he had managed to quell so many years earlier.

If Beza had hoped to silence Broughton by public humiliation, for a short while his plan seemed to have worked. A few months after he left Geneva, Broughton was preoccupied by an illness he had contracted in Nuremburg; by the end of the year he had recovered, but found himself increasingly isolated as he stopped receiving letters from some of his oldest correspondents.⁷⁰² Returning to England was not an option: he was still worried about what Whitgift might do to him should he come back, and

⁷⁰⁰ Castellio, *Defensio suarum translationum Bibliorum, & maxime noui foederis* (Basel, 1562), pp. 188-189. Castellio's solution was to translate as 'quoniam tu animam meam non relinques in Orco', though in his French Bible he stuck to the traditional 'mon ame en Enfer'; Castellio, *Biblia Interprete Sebastiano Castalione vna cum eiusdem annotationibus* (Basel, 1551), col. 138; idem, *La Bible nouvellement traduite* (Basel, 1555), col. 228.

⁷⁰¹ Beza, *Responsio ad defensiones et reprehensiones Sebastiani Castellionis, quibus suam Novi Testamenti interpretationem defendere adversus Bezam* (Geneva, 1563), pp. 95-98; Beza, *Iesu Christi D.N. Nouum testamentum* (Geneva, 1565), ii.12-13.

⁷⁰² See Broughton to Jacob Zwinger, November 15/25 1600, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Frey-Gryn Mscr II 9:Br.58.

furthermore, on the tail of Beza's letter, fresh rumours were flying into court about the atrocious things Broughton had allegedly said of Queen Elizabeth.⁷⁰³

Eventually Broughton had enough, and took matters into his own hands. In the spring of 1601 he wrote letters to Beza accusing him of slander, of continuing to pervert the New Testament in his editions, of ignorance as to how post-biblical Jewish sources influenced Apostolic Greek and of refusing to admit error in the case of the descent.⁷⁰⁴ Simultaneously, Broughton began a carefully calibrated programme of damage control: he wrote to Whitgift explaining that he had answered Beza's charges and gave his own detailed narration of the events in Geneva.⁷⁰⁵ He even retracted some of his earlier comments, asserting that he no longer blamed Whitgift for Bancroft and Barlow's comments or for Bilson's sermon, and craved pardon for earlier injuries.⁷⁰⁶ In addition Broughton contacted English nobles who, he felt, would share his dislike of Barlow, such as Anne Dudley.⁷⁰⁷ On the continental side, Broughton wrote to Melchior Goldast, the Swiss jurist he had met while in Geneva, asking him to remind the Small Council and

⁷⁰³ See Broughton to Whitgift, February 25/March 7 1600/1601, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 76 fol. 123. William Knyght claimed he heard Broughton assert that the Queen had given birth in secret, paid a midwife to burn the child and then poisoned the midwife to ensure her silence: 'Queen Elizabeth - Volume 279: April 1601', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1601-3 with Addenda 1547-65*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1870), no. 48, p. 24. For the context of these infanticide rumours, see Carole Levin, *The heart and stomach of a king: Elizabeth I and the politics of sex and power* (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 66-90.

⁷⁰⁴ This first letter from Broughton to Beza, dated April 10/20 1601, is only preserved in Cornelius Schulting, *Bibliothecae Catholicae Et Orthodoxae contra summam totius theologiae Calvinianae* (Cologne, 1602), iv.2v-3r; a second dated May 3/13 1601 is MS Tanner 76, fol. 143; and a third on May 15/25 1601, in *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze: Tome XLII (1601-1602)*, ed. Kevin Bovier, Alain Dufour and Hervé Genton (Geneva, 2016), no. 2730.

⁷⁰⁵ Broughton to Whitgift in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iii.752-54.

⁷⁰⁶ Broughton to Whitgift, May 22/ June 1 1601, MS Tanner 76, fol. 145r.

⁷⁰⁷ Broughton to Anne Dudley, May 16/26 1601, MS Tanner 76, fol. 144r.

Lect to reply to his letters, and inquiring somewhat optimistically if there had been any further movements on the Professorship some there had wished for him.⁷⁰⁸

While Broughton tried in vain to marshal support, his fortunes took an unexpected turn when he received a surprise visit from Nicolaus Serarius, Professor at the College of Jesuits at Mainz. Serarius informed Broughton that he had heard of his excellent work on chronology and ‘τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ λύτρωσιν’ (‘redemption through Christ’) and wished to let him know of the good-will the recently elected Archbishop of Mainz, Johann Adam von Bicken, had towards such learned men.⁷⁰⁹ Serarius’s reference to redemption through Christ was a clear nod to the controversies over the descent, and a hint at one of the major motivations behind his overture: the fact that Broughton had successfully caused more problems for his fellow Protestants than the Catholics had, and that his isolation from his coreligionists might make him a potential target for conversion.

Either blissfully unaware of Serarius’s underlying motivations, or simply not caring, Broughton headed to Mainz with the Jesuit, where he took part in a disputation that covered classic proof-texts of inter-confessional debate, such as Matt. 16.18.⁷¹⁰ After many further conferences about topics of faith, and hearing more about his problems with Beza, Bilson and the English Bishops, Serarius and another Jesuit, possibly Balthasar Ezelsius, encouraged Broughton to print a little Greek ‘epitome’ of his theology on the descent, and offered him use of the press at Mainz to do so.⁷¹¹ Broughton, who had always struggled to print his works, did not hesitate to accept the offer, even writing to

⁷⁰⁸ Broughton to Melchior Goldast, May 15/25 1601, in *Virorum doctorum ad Melchiorem Goldastum epistolae*, ed. Heinrich Günther Thülemeyer (Frankfurt 1688), no, LV, p. 70.

⁷⁰⁹ Broughton to Cardinal Baronius, February 1/11 1602/3, in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iv. 723.

⁷¹⁰ Broughton, *A Revelation*, pp. 200-205.

⁷¹¹ Broughton to Cardinal Baronius, February 1/11 1602/3, in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iv. 723.

Beza boasting of the support offered to him by the Jesuits, and warning him about his forthcoming epitome.⁷¹²

It is difficult to overstate how controversial this epitome, entitled *Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς Γενεβαίους* (Oration to the Genevans), was upon its publication. Indeed, it caused such a stir that the Swiss humanist Johann Lavater identified it as the trigger that prompted him to return to the subject of the descent only two years after the controversy had died down.⁷¹³ It is also easy to see why the Jesuits would have been so eager to see such a work published, even if it did argue against the literal descent they advocated. The confessional points it scored against Reformed theology were too valuable to be left unsaid. For, within this work, Broughton launched a devastating attack on Calvin's theory of atonement, Beza's Latin New Testaments and Beza's personal conduct.⁷¹⁴ The doctrine of Christ suffering hell-pains on the Cross, Broughton argued, came from the same misunderstanding of 'hades' as did the erroneous idea of a local descent, for both relied on the word containing a strong negative element (like 'hell' or 'terrible pains') which was not present in its classical uses.⁷¹⁵ It was true that Christ's sufferings on the cross were very great, but no more than was appropriate to his terribly wounded body, and their nature or extent could not be surmised from the word 'hades' alone, which simply designated the world of souls.⁷¹⁶ By failing thus to understand the

⁷¹² Broughton to Beza, September 4/14 1601, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Dupuy 268, fols. 210r-211r.

⁷¹³ Lavater, *Κατάβασις εἰς ᾄδου*, sig. *2v.

⁷¹⁴ Calvin's theory of atonement was very strongly opposed by the Jesuits (see Robert Bellarmine, *Disputationes*, Vol. I, IV.vi-xvi.521-559), who would therefore have welcomed a so-called Reformed scholar rebutting it for them.

⁷¹⁵ Broughton, *Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς Γενεβαίους*, p. 61.

⁷¹⁶ 'Ἐξ ᾄδου δὲ περὶ ἐκείνων λέγειν, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος· μᾶλλον δὲ λῆρος', *ibid.*, pp. 64-65; p. 41. For more on Broughton's objections to this doctrine see his 'An Answer about hell torments to these objections', in *Works*, ed. Lighfoot, iii.786-7.

word ‘hades’ as it was used by the ancient pagans, both Bilson and Calvin had forged deeply misguided theories of atonement.⁷¹⁷

It was bad enough that Calvin’s false doctrine had originated in a simple philological error, but what was even worse, according to Broughton, was the way that Beza had retained Calvin’s bad theology while simultaneously propagating a new misinterpretation of ‘hades’ with his New Testament translation ‘grave’. In addition to the evidence provided by classical sources, Broughton used the method of Hebrew Bible-Septuagint-New Testament correspondence we saw in the previous chapter to demonstrate that ‘hades’ could not literally mean grave, which was designated properly by the word *τάφος*.⁷¹⁸ Furthermore, Broughton actually blamed Calvin and Beza for the appearance of errors such as Bilson’s, as their doctrine of Christ’s hellish suffering was so patently wrong that it emboldened men like Bilson to refute it who, in doing so, fell into different errors.⁷¹⁹ In this respect, Broughton believed that the Genevans were ultimately responsible for the surge in Englishmen arguing for a local descent.

Remarkably, despite rejecting both Bilson and Calvin’s account of Christ’s sufferings, Broughton did not advance any alternative of his own. Nor did he demonstrate any awareness that there might be a theological imperative to formulate a new theory of atonement if the two most prominent Reformed options were so fundamentally flawed. Instead, he simply replaced their accounts with his theory of the four dialects, his description of the development of New Testament Greek and a historical explanation for how the descent article came to be admitted into the Creed.⁷²⁰ On the basis of the literal meaning of ‘hades’ plus comments by ancient Greeks and

⁷¹⁷ Broughton, *Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς Γενεβαίους*, p. 54.

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁷¹⁹ ‘Καὶ μᾶλλον σκληρύνεται [Βιλσωνὸς], ὅτι αὐτός τε δοκεῖ δαμάσαι ὑμῶν τὰ γενναῖα πάθη...’ *Ibid.*, p. 74, 78-80.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*, 14, 30, 88.

Romans on the nature of the soul, Broughton claimed that the article must have been included to demonstrate the immortality of the soul at a time when it was broadly believed by non-Christians that the soul was mortal.⁷²¹

At this point in the period, it was almost inconceivable for an English Reformed scholar to censure Calvinist doctrine so harshly while simultaneously excoriating the opinion of conformist English bishops, and all the while doing it in a work entirely financed by the Jesuits. To top it off, Broughton ended his *Λόγος* with a description of the pernicious influence of Beza's New Testaments in England, and a report of Beza's moral failings during their interactions in Geneva.⁷²² The confessional implications of publishing such a document, even in Greek, were serious, and it is perhaps significant in this respect that Broughton put much effort into emphasising the common ground his interpretation of the descent shared with the *Τίτυοι*, the Swiss Reformed in Zurich.⁷²³ Indeed, Broughton's later, uncharacteristically flattering letters to Caspar Waser (1565–1625) and the Consulate of Basel testify to the importance Broughton placed on this connection with the Swiss Reformed, his last remaining Protestant link.⁷²⁴

Unfortunately for Broughton, these passing mentions of the Swiss did not convince anyone, and very soon after its publication word started to spread, even to the

⁷²¹ Ibid., p. 4–6.

⁷²² Ibid, pp. 89–93.

⁷²³ Ibid., p. 7, 16, 20, 23, 24, 50. Broughton had previously emphasised this commonality in his letter to Queen Elizabeth, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 114, fol. 148r.

⁷²⁴ Broughton to Casper W[aser], undated in Broughton, *De Gebenna episcoporum Angliae et Genevae* (Middelburg?, 1609), sig. Br and Broughton to the Consulate and Senate of Basel, *ibid.*, sigs. B6r–B7v: note Broughton's revealing final request in the latter, 'Oro vt habeam exemplar querelae, vti sum confessionis vestrae satelles', sig. B7v.

University of Basel itself, that Broughton had converted to Catholicism.⁷²⁵ Broughton's friends, who had already been alarmed by his dealings with the Genevans, became progressively more distressed. This can be seen most distinctly by the series of panicked letters Broughton sent to Zwinger from late 1601 to early 1602. These simultaneously attempted to counteract the narrative of events which Beza's letter to Castol had disseminated across Europe, and also reassure Broughton's worried friend about the significance of his interactions with the Jesuits.⁷²⁶ Broughton maintained that Beza been the primary instigator of the controversy in Geneva, and that his friendship with the Jesuits was both providential and totally harmless, since they only wished to hear about his rabbinical scholarship: nothing doctrinal.⁷²⁷ Zwinger, unsurprisingly, was wary and unconvinced.⁷²⁸ But despite everything that had happened, and the problems he was now facing in England and elsewhere, Broughton did not move from his previous position,

⁷²⁵ See the rumours recorded in Thomas Coryate, *Coryats crudities hastily gobbled vp in five moneths trauels in France, Sauoy, Italy, Rhetia co[m]monly called the Grisons country, Heluetia aliàs Switserland, some parts of high Germany, and the Netherlands; newly digested in the hungry aire of Odcombe in the county of Somerset, & now dispersed to the nourishment of the traueiling members of this kingdome* (London, 1611), pp. 439-440; the letter from Henry Goodyere to John Donne, 1608, in, *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's*, ed. Edmund Gosse (London, 1899), i.196-198; and Thomas Morton, *A full satisfaction concerning a double Romish iniquitie; hainous rebellion, and more then heathenish aequiocation* (London, 1606), p. 18.

⁷²⁶ See for instance the letter Broughton sent to Zwinger on September 15/25 1601, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Frey-Gryn Mscr II 9:Br.60, with its opening line Ἐντυγχάνων, ὦ φίλε, ὑπὲρ τῶν Γενεβαίων ἀδικεῖς; Βήζας ἐγραψε ψευδίστατα εἰς Ἀγγλίαν...

⁷²⁷ For Broughton's description of events in Geneva, see his letter to Zwinger in Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Frey-Gryn Mscr II 9:Br.65, and for his defence of his friendship with the Jesuits see his letter to Zwinger dated October 20/30 1601, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Frey-Gryn Mscr II 9:Br.61: Συνέκυρσεν ἐμοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἰησουῖτας φιλία · καὶ περ πεπεισμένους οὐδένα τῶν ὄντων ἥττον τὰ κείνων δοκιμάζειν · ἀλλ' ἰμείρονται πόρον εὐρεῖν τῶν Θαλμυδικῶν.

⁷²⁸ Jacob Zwinger to Broughton, November 5/15 1601, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Frey-Gryn Mscr I 22:Bl.20r: ...ἀλώπεκες εἰσιν ἐνδεδομένοι προβάτων δέρματα...

and still promised to print further works in defence of his interpretation of the descent against the Genevans.⁷²⁹

And all the while he was becoming increasingly isolated from his fellow Protestants, Broughton's friendship with the Jesuits became closer and closer. When the Latin version of his *Concent* was published in September 1602 it (unsurprisingly, given the findings of Chapter 1) found a warm reception among the Jesuits, especially for its exposition of the seventy sevens.⁷³⁰ Moreover, Broughton showed himself happy to help the Jesuits in ways that had the potential to cause even more damage to Reformed orthodoxy, by sending Serarius copies of his letters to Beza which ruthlessly criticised both Beza's morality and his New Testament scholarship. Such confessions of Reformed error from a Reformed mouth were quickly utilised by controversialists: Cornelius Schulting, a canon of Cologne, obtained these letters from Serarius and published them in 1602 at the start of his anti-Reformed *Bibliothecae*, and Serarius himself deployed scattered (anonymised) comments from both the letters and the *Oration* as weaponry against Beza in his controversy with Drusius and Scaliger over the Jewish sects.⁷³¹

The situation would actually worsen for Broughton's reputation posthumously, when the Jesuit hagiographer Heribert Rosweyde misidentified the anonymous Protestant cited by Serarius as Drusius. Sixtinus Amama was forced to step in and defend the by

⁷²⁹ Broughton described the problems he was facing after the Genevan controversy to Zwinger in an undated letter (probably from late 1601/early 1602). See Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Frey-Gryn Mscr II 9:Br.67: ταῦτα τυπώσω σὺν Θεῷ κατ' αὐτῶν [i.e. the Genevans], Broughton to Zwinger, February 1/11 1601/1602, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Frey-Gryn Mscr II 9:Br.59.

⁷³⁰ Broughton, *A Revelation*, pp. 11-12.

⁷³¹ Cornelius Schulting, *Bibliothecae Catholicae et Orthodoxae*, iv.2v-3r; Nicolaus Serarius, *Minerval divinis Hollandiae, Frisiaeque grammaticis, Ios. Scaligero, et Io. Drusio, trihaeresij auctati ergo, e grammatico, ethnico, theologicoque saccello, libra librorum quinum Paraenetica & Antirrhetica, depensum* (Mainz, 1605), p. 60, p. 74, pp. 142-143. For this debate see Johannes van Berg, 'Proto-Protestants? The Image of the Karaites as a Mirror of the Catholic-Protestant Controversy in the Seventeenth Century', in *Religious currents and cross-currents: essays on early modern Protestantism and the Protestant enlightenment*, ed. Johannes van den Berg, J. de Bruijn, P. N. Holtrop, and Ernestine van der Wall (Leiden, 1999), pp. 43-57.

now deceased Drusius from the libel, in the process identifying Broughton (also then deceased) as the true author.⁷³² As Amama saw it, Broughton was quite obviously the naïve victim of Jesuit cunning, as his supposed Catholic ‘friends’ had deliberately inflamed his disputes with Beza for their own controversial gain.⁷³³ However, given how common these kinds of manipulations were in the world of early modern scholarship, it is easy to see how Broughton’s apparent disregard as to how his comments, letters and works might be appropriated by Catholic controversialists could itself be taken as a sign that he was ready to convert, both by his own anxious coreligionists as well as by eager Jesuit onlookers. And so, at some point near the end of 1602, with Broughton’s detachment from those of his own confession at its peak, Serarius and Ezelius made their move, conveying to Broughton that Cardinal Baronius would try to wrangle a cardinalship for him if only he converted. Broughton refused, but his association with the Mainz Jesuits remained close: as mentioned earlier, Serarius even promised to help him print his planned monograph on the Talmudic roots of the New Testament.⁷³⁴

In many ways, Broughton’s correspondence with Isaac Casaubon in the latter half of 1602 is indicative of the state of affairs at this time. He first wrote to Casaubon around August 1602, having been encouraged by Henry Wotton and Jacques Bongars: his hope was for a learned correspondence, with a scholarly exchange of ideas and resources. His first letter therefore focussed mainly on several points of chronology (including the incompatibility of a long Persian monarchy with the seventy sevens) and concluded with

⁷³² Heribert Rosweyde, *Anti-Capellus, sive, explosio naeniarum Iacobi Capelli quas funeri Isaaci Casauboni ad legem xii. tabularum, in vindiciis suis accinuit* (Antwerp, 1619), p. 31; Sixtinus Amama, letter to Sibrandus Siccama in *Ioh. Drusii de sectis Iudaicis commentarii*, ed. Sixtinus Amama, (Arnhem, 1619), fols. (·)(·)2r-(·)(·)4r.

⁷³³ ‘Novit enim universa Anglia, omnis Germania quàm acris contentionis serram (nec enim est quod hoc dissimulemus, nec est quod Papistae eo nomine nobis insultent. *Trojanos intra muros peccatur & extra*) Cum Beza & Livelejo reciprocaverit. Notunt hoc optimè Moguntini Iesuitae qui à se oleum in hunc ignem contra Legis praescripta injectum non ibunt inficias.’ Ibid., fol. (·)(·)3v.

⁷³⁴ Broughton to Cardinal Baronius, February 1/11 1602/3, in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, iv. 723. See above, pp. 173-74.

his intentions to write a Latin commentary on Revelation.⁷³⁵ It is difficult not to wonder whether Broughton deliberately avoided any talk of the descent controversy in the hope that Casaubon had not yet heard of it. Even if this were the case, however, Broughton found himself unable to avoid the issue. Bongars had a few months earlier given Casaubon a copy of the *Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς Γενεβαίους*, and its reception had not been favourable. Casaubon wrote back to Broughton warily, careful not to praise anything within the *Λόγος*, urging him to tone down his attacks against the Genevans and focus instead on finishing his work on Revelation.⁷³⁶ Broughton wrote back hastily, ignoring Casaubon's chronological question, summarising instead what had happened with Beza in Geneva as well as the conflicts in England between the supporters of a local descent and the followers of Calvin.⁷³⁷ Evidently, Broughton was so on edge about the events in Geneva and the reception of the Mainz oration that even Casaubon's slight, guarded comments were enough to put him on the defensive.

When Casaubon replied, he wrote with equal circumspection but far more concern. Avoiding all mention of Beza or Whitgift, Casaubon said simply that he had heard about Broughton's animosity towards certain 'heads of Reformed orthodoxy', and though he himself was confident in the firmness of Broughton's belief, he was worried nevertheless that Broughton might be at risk of exploitation (or conversion) by manipulative Catholics.⁷³⁸ Once again, Casaubon ended his letter by trying to push Broughton towards further work on the Antichrist and the New Testament (and,

⁷³⁵ Broughton to Casaubon, London, British Library, MS Burney 363, no. 71.

⁷³⁶ Casaubon to Broughton, September 4 1602, in *Isaaci Casauboni epistolae, insertis ad easdem responsionibus*, ed. Theodoor Jansson van Almeloveen (Rotterdam, 1709), p. 600.

⁷³⁷ Broughton to Casaubon, October 26 / November 5 1602, London, British Library, MS Burney 363, no. 71.

⁷³⁸ ...καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχεις πρὸς τινὰς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀρθοδοξοῦσι κορυφαίων εἶναι δοκούντων, ἐκεῖθεν μαθὼν...οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει σε, ὦ τὰν, πῶς φῦσαν τοὺς γναθοὺς, καὶ μεγάλα πνεῖν τὰς ὀφρὺς ἐπηκότες, οἱ τῆς Ἑπταλόφου εἰώθασι, εἰποτέ τινα φρενῶν παρέπλαξαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Casaubon to Broughton, November 29 1602, in *Isaaci Casauboni epistolae*, p. 600.

implicitly, away from anything, like the descent, that might cause more controversy among his fellow Protestants).⁷³⁹ Casaubon had evidently heard of Broughton's close relationship with the Jesuits, and was trying his best to steer him away their pernicious influence, while also avoiding further alienating him from Protestants by directly criticising his conduct in Geneva.

But Casaubon's cagey response did not satisfy Broughton. In the final letter we have in their correspondence (though we know it lasted longer), Broughton expressed relief that Casaubon believed his faith was firm, but nevertheless pushed for an explicit condemnation of Beza and commendation of Broughton's interpretation of the descent.⁷⁴⁰ He explained, this time slightly more tensely, how ignorance of the proper meaning of 'hades' had caused the rift between the Calvinists and conformists in England, and how his own attempts to make peace between the two factions had merely led to him being attacked.⁷⁴¹

We do not know how Casaubon replied to this letter, although it seems likely that he would have maintained the evasive tone of his earlier letters to Broughton, which showed a deep disinclination to criticise Beza or Calvin, directly or indirectly. This caution and reluctance to give an unfiltered declaration of support to Broughton contrasts very strongly with Casaubon's letter to Bongars. There Casaubon stated with unwavering conviction that Broughton's interpretation of the descent was 'without any doubt right.'⁷⁴² He even declared his confidence that if Calvin were to live again, he would change his mind about the meaning of the descent, and expressed bewilderment

⁷³⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁰ Casaubon records in his diary that he wrote letters to Broughton on December 31 1603: see Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, ed. John Russell (Oxford, 1850), i.529. I would like to thank Nicholas Hardy for bringing this reference to my attention.

⁷⁴¹ Broughton to Casaubon, December 7 / 17 1602, London, British Library, MS Burney 363, no. 70.

⁷⁴² 'Interpretatio illius τῆς εἰς ᾗδου καταβάσεως absque ullo dubio recta est. Nunquam aliter pronunciabant Graecè docti, cujus linguae magnae usum video illum habere.' Casaubon to Bongars, February 13 1602, in *Isaaci Casauboni epistolae*, p. 596.

as to why Beza, a man otherwise erudite and thoughtful, had not yet accepted its true meaning.⁷⁴³ These were words Broughton would have given very much to hear from Casaubon at this point, but the reason Casaubon withheld them is obvious from the second part of the letter: because he did not like the way Broughton had used the single, minor cause of the descent to animadvert so acerbically against Calvin and Beza.⁷⁴⁴ In other words, although Casaubon thought Broughton was, in the pure scholarly facts of the matter, correct, in his eyes the confessional implications of Broughton's work against the Genevans outweighed its philological or scholarly merits, and he clearly disapproved not only of Broughton's publication of the Mainz Oration but even of Bongars' admiration for it. If Broughton had hoped, as he evidently had, that erudition alone would be enough to compel his fellow Protestants to join his cause against the philologically unsound Genevan descent, he was sorely mistaken. Those who agreed with him intellectually, like Casaubon, would not support him in undermining the heads of Reformed orthodoxy merely for the sake of scholarship. Even if the confessional implications of his intellectual positions were not in themselves enough to alarm other Protestants, the way in which Broughton's own tactless and self-destructive behaviour amplified such problems would have sufficed.

v. 'By boldness a confuter of himself': Conclusion, 24th March 1603-1610

Despite his ever more difficult situation, Broughton continued to produce works advocating his own interpretation of the descent, sticking to his original arguments about the true meaning of 'hades' and the methods needed to understand it.⁷⁴⁵ The succession of James VI to the English throne in March 1603 infused Broughton with fresh hope: he

⁷⁴³ 'Quae de cruciatibus interpretatus est magnus Calvinus, si reviviscat, sententiam mutaret. Omnino ejus interpretatio verbis Graecis accommodari non potest; ut persaepe mirari subierit, Theodorum Beza, virum hac eruditione & judicii tam limati, rectam viam interpretandi eorum verborum non esse ingressum': *ibid.*

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 596-97.

⁷⁴⁵ See, eg., Broughton's 1603 *Declaration of generall corruption of religion*.

had always believed James to be better inclined towards his scholarship than Elizabeth, and felt his chances of preferment would drastically improve under the new king. A few months later, for the first time in years, Broughton returned to England. Initially, at least, his hopes seemed to be well-founded. His former student Rowland Cotton had been appointed one of the young prince Henry's retainers, and in August Broughton received an invitation to preach before the Prince's household at Oatlands. Rather than attempt to quieten the controversy, however, Broughton used the occasion to reiterate his position on the descent, outlining the theory of language that lay behind his interpretation of 'hades' and propounding his interpretation of the descent in public once more.⁷⁴⁶

With renewed hopes came a renewed onslaught of publications, which tried to undermine the Genevan and English conformist interpretations at once by identifying their shared origins in an erroneous understanding of 'hades'.⁷⁴⁷ When Bilson published his *Survey of Christs sufferings* in 1604, Broughton quickly obtained a copy and wrote another rebuttal, invoking no new arguments though expressing in even stronger terms his shock that Bilson should so audaciously reject heathen and Jewish sources, and that such a position should be commended by public authority, first by Whitgift and now (after Whitgift's death) by Bancroft.⁷⁴⁸ For the next five years Broughton would incorporate comments on the descent into almost every work he published: for example,

⁷⁴⁶ See McCullough, *Sermons at court*, p. 184. This sermon was printed posthumously in 1613 by an admirer. The discussion on the descent appears in an appendix at the end: see Broughton, *An Exposition upon the Lords Prayer, compared with the Decalogue, as it was preached in a sermon, at Oatlands* (Amsterdam?, 1613?), pp. 7; 32-34. It likely that this discussion was delivered by Broughton orally after the sermon, as he notes in a draft letter (possibly to William Cecil) that the bishops 'rage[d] at my sermon delivered at Oatlands', and there was little in the main substance of the sermon itself to cause such offence. London, British Library, MS Sloane 3088, fol. 189r.

⁷⁴⁷ See the conclusion to Broughton, *An advertisement*, sigs. O2r-O4r; or his *Two little workes defensie of our Redemption, that our Lord went through the veile of his flesh into heaven, to appeare before God for vs* (Middelburg, 1604), both of which were mostly against Bilson, while works like his *Positions of the word hades* (Middelburg, 1605), focussed more (though not exclusively) on disproving the notion that Christ suffered hell-pains in his soul on the cross.

⁷⁴⁸ Broughton, *A Replie vpon the R. R. F. Th. Winton*, p. 6, pp. 26-27.

the 1607 reprint of his Daniel commentary included a new insert at Dan. 9.24 on this matter, and his 1608 summary of his debate with Rabbi David Farar ended with a short insert headed ‘Ο συγγραφεύς τοῖς Γενεβαίοις (‘The author to the Genevans’), in which Broughton used the debate between himself and Farar to reflect on the problems in the Genevan interpretation of the descent.⁷⁴⁹

With no response forthcoming, however, by 1609 it must have been clear to Broughton that even the new king was not willing to upset the bishops and the continental Reformed by promoting the opinions of the ever-more marginal and controversial Hebraist. Nor did it look as if opinion was shifting in his favour elsewhere. Bilson had yet to recant, despite the stream of epistles and pamphlets Broughton wrote demanding that he do so.⁷⁵⁰ Although Whitgift had died, his successor, Richard Bancroft, was even less open to Broughton’s ideas than his predecessor, having been one of the authors of *Master Broughtons Letters* in 1599.⁷⁵¹ On the Genevan front, while Broughton had hoped that the death of Beza at the close of 1605 might empower sympathetic Genevans to reconsider their position on the descent, his letters to the Senate were never answered.⁷⁵² From a confessional perspective, aware that his faith was still generally doubted, Broughton continued to affirm loudly his devotion to Protestantism, though such declarations often sat uneasily beside comments that revealed his proximity to the

⁷⁴⁹ Broughton, *Daniel with a brief explication* (Hanau, 1607), pp. 59-62; Broughton, Broughton, *Ovr lordes famile*, sigs. Kr-L2v (sig. L2).

⁷⁵⁰ See the stream of post-1604 publications against Bilson, which place especial emphasis on his rejection of extra-biblical sources: see ‘Positions of a man learned but by boldness a confuter of himself’ and ‘Articles of Friendly warning to the R. R. F. D. F. Bil. L. Wint.’, in *Works*, ed. Lighftoot iii.769-770; 771-774; also Broughton, *A petition tho the Lordes chancelours of both vniversities, & to all the noble LL of Albion & Jerne, to help reformation of errours bred by Knowving that To Kathelthein eis adou in the Crede meaneth A going vp to Paradise* (Middelburg?, 1609?).

⁷⁵¹ Broughton complained at length about Bancroft’s obstructionist behaviour towards him in his letter to James and to the ‘English orthodoxy’ in *Querelae de quodam scoparcha*, sigs. +2r-8v; +9r-10v, as well as his *A petition to the Lords, to examine the religion and cariage of D. Ban. Archbb* (Amsterdam?, 1608).

⁷⁵² See the hopeful but uncompromising letter Broughton sent to the Senate of Geneva in *De gehenna episcoporum Angliae et Genevae*, sigs. B2r-B5v.

Jesuits, as in the case of his 1609/10 letter to Jacques Lect.⁷⁵³ Unsurprisingly, rumours of his conversion never abated. Moreover Broughton was now encountering further opposition after a trip to Marburg around 1608/9 brought him into contact with a new group of theologians set against his interpretation of the descent.⁷⁵⁴ As was the case in so many of his endeavours, Broughton would die having made little progress from his opening position. If anything, the way in which the controversy had progressed over years had only made it harder for Broughton's contemporaries to accept his opinion about the descent, regardless of their feelings about its intellectual merit.

One of the many remarkable features of the narrative told by this chapter is that, despite the fact that even men such as Casaubon thought he was right on a scholarly front, Broughton never persuaded anyone to admit to his interpretation of the descent. There are two reasons why this was the case. The first is intellectual. For most of its participants, the debate about the descent was structured by theological, not philological, issues. Bilson and Jacob disagreed about the meaning of 'hades', but the heart of their conflict was about the price of redemption. In contrast to this, for Broughton, doctrinal problems could live or die by philological analysis and historical scholarship, without needing to be explored on conventional systematic-theological grounds. It is difficult to think of others in the period who were quite so willing to base their whole theology on such unconventional grounds; indeed, later admirers of Broughton were forced to

⁷⁵³ '...ego profiteor me tueri eam religionem, quam vos cupitis muniri: quam etiam probarunt Iesuitae Moguntini, mea Graecanica oratione apud eos impressa: & eorum Doctiss. in Linguis Balthasar Ezellius: qui mihi dixit ipsos probare omnia; quae in libello de Concentu Scripturae scripsi. Vestram religionem tuebor obnixie manibus pedibusque...', Broughton to Jacques Lect, in Broughton, *Querelae de quodam scoparcha*, sig. +11.

⁷⁵⁴ Broughton to Prince Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel in *ibid.*, sig. +9r; Broughton to the same, in *Works*, ed. Lightfoot, ii.343.

defend him from accusations that his work was irredeemably weakened by its absence of explicit theological engagement.⁷⁵⁵

Of course, it is important to remember that behind Broughton's unusual devotion to scholarly methods was a fundamentally providential mode of thinking. In Broughton's view, the historical change in Hebrew and Greek he described had been divinely ordained by God, and events such as the enormous geographical spread of the Macedonian Empire were not chance but intended to produce a certain result essential for Christianity.⁷⁵⁶ Equally, at least one non-scholarly reason why Broughton turned to historical methods in this debate was because, unlike Bilson and Jacob, he cared deeply about how any given Christian position might be received by Jewish readers.⁷⁵⁷ Theories of atonement or redemption would not convert any Jews to Christianity, but historical arguments might. However, even these non-scholarly features should not subtract from the fact that in Broughton's hands a scholastically orientated, heavily theological debate that revolved around the finer points of atonement was turned into a discussion of the historical background of the New Testament and the importance of extra-biblical sources in sacred exegesis. Nor should it eclipse the significance of Broughton's belief, while his fellow Englishmen were preoccupied with the technical details of salvation, that the only argument necessary to end the debate over the descent was a systematic reconstruction of the linguistic history of Hebrew and Greek.

This willingness to refute or advance doctrinal positions based on the results of scholarly analyses (even if, as in the case of the descent, such analyses led him to unpopular and unorthodox opinions), also marks Broughton out from those who were closest to him, the Swiss Reformed. Zwingli and his followers did adopt an interpretation

⁷⁵⁵ See the preface by an anonymous admirer in Broughton, *An Exposition upon the Lords Prayer*, sig. A3r.

⁷⁵⁶ Broughton, *An explication of the article*, pp. 1-9.

⁷⁵⁷ This interest in what Jews would make of the descent is clear in Broughton, *An explication of the article*, pp. 32-33; idem, *An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie*, p. 41.

of 'hades' and thereby the descent that turned out to be philologically correct, but this was not why they supported it. Rather, as mentioned earlier, their position arose directly out of Zwingli and Luther's arguments over the eucharist: the earliest discussions do not even seem aware of the philological advantage the interpretation holds.⁷⁵⁸ Broughton's interpretation of the descent, on the other hand, was drawn directly from his reading in Greek, Hebrew and Latin sources. Moreover, he argued for it despite the fact that he had no theological incentives to do so, given his lack of interest in formulating his own alternative theory of atonement. Indeed, there were if anything strong incentives for Broughton not to make his arguments at all, since they would pit him against the two major parties in England. In this respect, the extent of Broughton's adherence to 'heathenish divinity' in controverted questions of dogmatic theology makes him one of the more radical and determinedly scholarly thinkers of his generation.

Indeed, it was Broughton's willingness to be guided by philological considerations (and therefore ignore confessional boundaries) that made him so vulnerable to the exploitation of the Jesuits at Mainz, and that ironically ended up weaponising his work for confessional conflict in a far more potent way than if he had followed the expected theological route. This Catholic exploitation was precisely what Casaubon had foreseen, and it says much that, in order to make Broughton's work less controversial, Casaubon had tried to push him into more overtly controversial areas, like the Antichrist.⁷⁵⁹

This summarises the intellectual and confessional reasons why no one supported Broughton, but equally important were the personal reasons. Broughton's position on the descent would have been confessionally problematic no matter how he had presented it, but there can be no doubt that his own behaviour, especially in Geneva and Mainz, was what truly condemned it to toxicity. Even when small opportunities opened up for him,

⁷⁵⁸ See the works cited in fn590, p. 246 and Bucer, *S. psalmorum libri quinque*, fols. 89r, 92v-93v.

⁷⁵⁹ For Casaubon's belief that the Pope was the Antichrist, see Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, 73-4, 102-3.

such as the accession of the sympathetic James, or the chance to preach before Prince Henry's household, Broughton repeatedly chose not to pacify but to provoke, raising all the old vexations without any attempt at amelioration. He was almost pathologically blind to the severe problems his work caused for his coreligionists as well as the advantages it offered to Catholics. Even a scholar of considerable diplomacy and sensitivity would have found it difficult to promote a position like Broughton's without causing great upset, and Broughton was incapable of even the most basic levels of tact. He managed to make not only his own scholarship dangerous, but even the slightest association with himself. This is most likely why it was only several generations after Broughton lived that theologians such as Dietelmaier could accept his ideas as correct: once the confessional and political perils had diminished, scholars could afford to examine Broughton's work on a more purely intellectual basis. Until then, however, the stakes were simply too high. In short, the conclusion to this chapter must be mixed. On the one hand, we have seen that Broughton was a rare example of a scholar willing to advocate for historical methods in fields so hostile and unforgiving that even the best of his contemporaries preferred to remain silent. On the other hand, we have also seen that it was partly because of Broughton's actions that silence became the preferable option.

Conclusion

As the introduction to this thesis described, Broughton was a confusing and complicated figure for his contemporaries. This comes as something of a surprise to modern scholars given that, for a long time now, Broughton's religious and intellectual identity has seemed so certain and so clear-cut. In many ways, the chief aim of this thesis has been to explain why this discrepancy exists, and how it came to be. In doing so, it has covered three broad areas of significance to Broughton's life and works: scholarship, controversy and the English Bible.

Thanks to Lightfoot, Broughton has always had a place in the history of scholarship, though his status has also always been complicated by his Reformed scripturalism, i.e. the 'radical' Protestantism that modern historians have judged to be the most important feature of Broughton's corpus.⁷⁶⁰ This was not the way his contemporaries perceived him. In his own time, Broughton was indeed mocked for holding comically extreme positions, both in satires with a serious intellectual purpose like the 1599 *Master Broughtons Letters*, as well as more light-hearted works such as Donne's satirical catalogue of imaginary books, *The Courtier's Library*, and Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1605) and *The Alchemist* (1610). However, the extreme position for which he was derided was not his radical stance on the Bible - even though such works did lampoon those perceived to hold laughable theological views (such as Luther in Donne's catalogue). Rather, in all four

⁷⁶⁰ As described above, p. 10, fn12.

works, Broughton was ridiculed on the basis of his obsession with Hebrew, his difficult English prose style and his inflated self-confidence.⁷⁶¹

In line with the evidence provided by these contemporary satires, this thesis has argued that Broughton's scripturalism has received disproportionate attention in modern scholarship, at the expense of a proper examination of his life, methods and ideas. This overemphasis reflects a larger tendency to study Reformed scholars, especially those who subscribed to scripturalism, not as scholars in their own right, but rather as foils to their more historically minded, humanist colleagues.⁷⁶² Recent work has begun to challenge this dichotomy by revising the other side of it: that is, by complicating our notion of canonical late humanism, and arguing that it was both less monolithic and less purely historical in character than previously supposed.⁷⁶³ But not even the most revisionist assessments of the humanists have imagined that figures previously placed at the opposite end of the spectrum, such as Broughton and Béroalde, might also turn out to have made major contributions to the development of biblical criticism. Now that those

⁷⁶¹ "The sub-savior: in which the enlightened, but barely enlightening, Hugh Broughton surprisingly teaches that the Hebrew language is the secret of health, and that his teachings are the secret of the language", in Piers Brown, "'Hac ex consilio meo via progredieris': Courtly Reading and Secretarial Mediation in Donne's *The Courtier's Library*", *Renaissance Quarterly* 61.3 (2008), 833-866 (pp. 860-861), see pp. 860-863 for an edition and translation of the work; see *Volpone*, II.ii.94-113; *The Alchemist*, II.iii.237-246; IV.v.1-32 in Helen Ostovich (ed.), *Jonson, Four Comedies* (London, 2013).

⁷⁶² See above, p. 10, fn12-14. The problems caused by projecting modern preconceptions onto the biblical literalism of past scholarship have been sensitively discussed for the period 1700-1900: Scott Mandelbrote, 'Biblical hermeneutics and the Sciences, 1700-1900: An overview', in *Nature and Scripture in the Abrahamic Religions: 1700-present*, ed. Jitse M. van der Meer and Scott Mandelbrote (Leiden, 2008), pp. 5-37.

⁷⁶³ See especially Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*. For more general essays on the non-historical elements of historical scholarship, see: Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation, 1378-1615* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Jean-Louis Quantin, *Le catholicisme classique et les pères de l'Eglise: un retour aux sources (1669-1713)* (Paris, 1999); the essays in Nicholas Hardy and Dmitri Levitin, eds, *Faith and History: Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, forthcoming); Dmitri Levitin, 'John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1683-85) and "Enlightened" Sacred History: A New Interpretation', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 76 (2013), 49-92; idem, 'From Sacred History to the History of Religion: Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity in European Historiography from Reformation to "Enlightenment"', *The Historical Journal* 55 (2012), 1117-60; William Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and Its Empire, 1648-1715* (Cambridge, 2015).

contributions have been identified and evaluated, it may finally be possible to write a genuinely pluralist, non-linear and anti-teleological history of early modern biblical scholarship: one in which theological and historical techniques intersect unpredictably; in which underrated sub-disciplines, such as exegesis and the study of prophecy, generate major innovations of their own; and in which relativising, de-Christianising forms of scholarship are answered by intellectually cogent defences of the Bible's value and authority, rather than announcing the triumph of secularism.⁷⁶⁴ At the very least, it is now possible to appreciate that scholarship inspired by scripturalist beliefs could be just as innovative, original, and worthy of a place in the development of historical biblical criticism as that which stemmed from more traditional humanist scholarship.

If Broughton's place in the world of erudition forms one important feature of his reception, his involvement in the world of controversy must be viewed as equally important. It is well known that Broughton's life was fraught with controversy. Thus, another goal of this thesis has been to explain why this controversy arose, and how it was inflamed or, less commonly, mitigated. The answer to these questions has concerned, in significant part, Broughton's own personality and behaviour. But an equally significant part has concerned the connections between erudition and confession in the early modern period, and the enormous potential for controversy such connections held. It was not only overt works of theology (which Broughton never produced) that were read through the lens of doctrine. Subtle confessional signals could be emitted both through the ways in which authors disseminated and advertised their works, as well as within

⁷⁶⁴ The importance of exegesis to Reformed theologians' intellectual achievements has been highlighted by Richard Muller, 'The Problem of Protestant Scholasticism: A Review and Definition', in *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise*, ed. W. J. van Asselt and E. Dekker (Grand Rapids, 2001), pp. 45–64. On the importance of exegesis more generally, see Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, 'The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: Rise, Decline, Rebirth', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 102 (1983), 365–399, and Basil Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 3, The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. S. L. Greenslade, (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 38–93 (especially pp. 76–79).

works of seemingly neutral scholarship, thanks to the ways in which they overlapped with straightforwardly theological works. Sometimes these signals were deliberate; other times, they were not. But, as the controversy with Rainolds shows, such signals mattered deeply to contemporary scholars, regardless of the intention behind them, simply because of the extent to which erudition and historical scholarship was still a confessionally and theologically driven practice.

In this respect, this thesis has built on recent studies which have shown how complicated, shifting and yet nevertheless strong the connections between erudition and confession were in the early modern period. These have demonstrated the ways in which confessional controversy could stimulate scholarly progress, but have also problematised the very idea of ‘historical’ scholarship, as well as the networks that supposedly supported it, by reading it through the lens of theological conflict.⁷⁶⁵ In these accounts, theology can not only provide powerful explanations for otherwise puzzling features or inconsistencies in the actions of authors and their reception, but can also give us a renewed appreciation for the rich complexity of canonical works of scholarship by unveiling the ways in which they were engaging with genres, topics and authors far beyond their purported scope.⁷⁶⁶ This dissertation, and especially the first part, confirms the findings of these recent works and extends them into new areas of scholarship such as chronology. It also, however, shows more generally how a heightened appreciation for the impact of confessional pressures can make far better sense of the muddled and confusing course of Broughton’s career and reception than frameworks that are more purely scholarly or literary in emphasis.

⁷⁶⁵ See above, fn763. See also Jean-Louis Quantin, ‘Erudition and Orthodoxy: John Fell and Patristic Scholarship in Restoration Oxford’, *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 1 (2016), 43-78; idem, ‘Reason and Reasonableness in French Ecclesiastical Scholarship’, *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 74 (2011), 401-436.

⁷⁶⁶ See especially Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, pp. 112-152.

One such framework in which Broughton has often been studied is that of the English Bible. While some fields of English literature have adopted an increasingly interdisciplinary approach to their subjects (most notably in the study of early modern sermons), studies of the English Bible have yet to incorporate fully the relevant findings of other disciplines, especially those of the history of scholarship and ecclesiastical history. Such interdisciplinarity is especially important for the study of Broughton's work on a new English Bible, which is very difficult to analyse without a proper understanding of continental, neo-Latin scholarship. By paying careful attention to such contexts, this thesis has reconstructed various neglected aspects of Broughton's translation work, from his New Testament translations to his work on the book of Daniel to the genealogical diagrams he co-authored with Speed. In doing so, it has emphasised above all the importance of avoiding insularity, especially in studies of vernacular religious culture.

Additionally, this reconstruction has led to a revisionist account of the relationship between elite learning and lay reading. Using the evidence provided by Broughton's work and its reception, this thesis has argued firstly that early modern scholars could be deeply concerned about making even the most abstruse, specialised results of their research accessible to unlearned readers. This can be shown not only by Broughton's active effort to make his more demanding works accessible to readers, as in the case of his genealogical diagrams, but also by the very fact that he wrote his most sophisticated and intellectually difficult works in English. Perhaps more importantly, this thesis has argued that it was not just the learned scholars who cared about the accessibility of their work. Rather, on the basis of evidence about market demand, print history and reading habits, this thesis has also argued that there was a strong demand for the fruits of erudition among unlearned readers.

This complication of the common opposition between Latin and vernacular culture, and elite and lay readers, chimes also with one of the general aims of this thesis to challenge

the consideration of scholars in binary terms such as theological versus philological; Protestant versus Catholic; and classical versus biblicist. Indeed, beyond the three areas outlined above, this thesis has argued for the enduring value of sensitivity to the contingency and flexibility of events and individuals, at a time when longer-term and more comparative approaches to the history of scholarship are becoming popular.⁷⁶⁷ This can be seen in one of the most unexpected and strangest conclusions of this thesis: that Broughton's work was most controversial not, as we have long thought, because of its association with nonconformist Protestantism, but because of its association with Catholicism. This can perhaps be best seen in the anxious letter John Donne sent to Henry Goodyere in 1608. In this, Donne worried about the rumour drifting from the continent that Broughton had turned Catholic, and expressed his fear that such a conversion could cause great scandal for the English Church.⁷⁶⁸ It is revealing that the conversion of Broughton, 'a radical Protestant divine' was once viewed as so implausible that Donne's comment on the possibility was read as ironic.⁷⁶⁹ In light of this thesis, such

⁷⁶⁷ The argument for longer-term studies has been made explicitly in Dmitri Levitin, *Ancient wisdom in the age of the new science: histories of philosophy in England, c. 1640-1700* (Cambridge 2015), pp. 2-3; see also Anthony Grafton and Glenn Most, 'How to do things with texts: an introduction', in *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices: A Global Comparative Approach*, ed. Anthony Grafton and Glenn Most (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 1-14; James Turner, *Philology: the forgotten origins of the modern humanities* (Princeton, 2014).

⁷⁶⁸ 'A gent. that visited me yesterday told me that our Church hath lost Mr. Hugh Broughton, who is gone to the Roman side. I have known before that Serarius the Jesuit was an instrument from Cardinal Baronius to draw him to Rome to accept a stipend, only to serve the Christian Churches in controversies with the Jews, without endangering himself to change of his persuasion in particular deductions between these Christian Churches, or being inquired of, or tempted thereunto. And I hope he is no otherwise departed from us. If he be, we shall not escape scandal in it, because, though he be a man of many distempers, yet when he shall come to eat assured bread and to be removed from partialities, to which want drove him, to make himself a reputation and to rise up favourers; you shall see that in the course of opposing the Jews, he will produce worthy things: and our Church will perchance blush to have lost a soldier fit for that great battle, and to cherish only those single duellisms between Rome and England, or that more single, and almost self-homicide between the unconformed minister and bishops.' Donne to Goodyere, 1608 in Gosse (ed), *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, i. 196-197.

⁷⁶⁹ Dennis Flynn, 'John Donne and Hugh Broughton', *Seventeenth-Century News* 27.3-4 (1979), 71-72.

a rumour can no longer be seen as far-fetched. Rather than being ironic, Donne was expressing a genuine anxiety that the English Church would come to regret its obsession with inter- and intra-confessional controversy if men like Broughton were to convert to Catholicism and then convince large numbers of Jews to follow them.

Donne's comments reveal more than just his personal anxieties. For Donne, like his contemporaries, did not put Broughton in a stable, unchanging category such as 'radical Protestant divine', but instinctively understood how a complex intersection of different factors and developments might turn an irritating 'eccentric puritan' into a seriously threatening Catholic scholar. He recognised that Broughton's current polemics were merely the product of his immediate circumstances, and so appreciated how given a different setting, a different focus, and a convergence of Broughton's interests with those of the Jesuits, his loss could prove to be a greater embarrassment to the English Church than his membership of it. It is above all this sense of contingency and particularity that this dissertation has tried to capture in outlining disparate events from Broughton's life and works. In this way, it has tried to create a portrait of an individual scholar that takes seriously the sense of intellectual possibility and opportunity that animated his life when living, and shows how our perception of him posthumously is created by a cumulative series of adventitious occurrences.

Indeed, larger-scale, diachronic studies that assume the integrity and legitimacy of a predetermined canon of scholarly or literary achievements will always be vulnerable to the more targeted inversions of conventional wisdom which this dissertation aims to encourage: not only because they can expose errors concerning particular cases, but also because revisionist accounts of individuals can lead to important reinterpretations of much grander narratives. This dissertation has offered several such reinterpretations, all of which resulted from its close study of Broughton. These include its account of the hitherto overlooked energy and dynamism of biblical genealogy; its analysis of the roots of comparative linguistics in sixteenth-century biblical criticism; its reconstruction of the

exegetical tradition in early modern chronology, as well as its confessional overtones; and, finally, its assessment of the scholarly precision and historical sensitivity with which readers of the English Bible could study their sacred text. But more fundamentally than this, this thesis has provided a radically different image of Broughton to those which have prevailed until now. The new Broughton is a complicated, ambiguous and even contradictory figure. In many ways he was deeply self-destructive, lacking in the political and confessional diplomacy necessary to succeed in the early modern world of scholarship, and remarkably blind to the dangerous theological ramifications of his work. But, despite these failings, he was not working without grand intellectual ambitions. Rather, he believed that his studies, despite their scattered and miscellaneous nature, were all working towards one centrally important goal: to demonstrate that the best tools of historical and philological criticism were allies, rather than enemies, of the Bible's divinity and all its manifold implications. This may well sound like a ridiculous belief to modern ears, but to early modern scholars like Broughton, who had already seen such tools shed unprecedented light on the biblical text, it would have appeared as the most natural assumption.

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