

**A Reception History
of the Letter to the Hebrews
in England, 1547-1685**

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Short Abstract

The interpretation of the letter to the Hebrews made a distinctive contribution to doctrinal construction, polemical controversy, and evolution of scripture-critical technique in the early modern period. This was because many of its themes and passages were considered significant to contemporary theological debates. Hebrews therefore offers an important case study for biblical reception history. This thesis adopts a diachronic approach, highlighting the priorities and worries of English Hebrews exegetes between the reigns of Edward VI and Charles II, and asks how these shifts catalysed hermeneutical advances towards higher biblical criticism.

Calvin interpreted Hebrews' theology of sacrifice as an antidote to Catholic christology, soteriology, and beliefs about the mass. His thinking was adopted by Elizabethan Protestant readers, popularised through public documents like the Reformation Bibles (chapter one), and analysed in detail by sermons and lectures (chapter two). The reception of Hebrews also illustrates established historiography about the break-down of Reformed hegemony in England. Chapter three demonstrates how the use of the epistle by anti-puritans clashed with the censored Reformed exegete William Jones.

Scholars of the seventeenth century have largely ignored how Hebrews' latent supersessionism promoted innovation in Church and society. Chapter four explores the way in which civil war Socinians expounded Christ's priesthood in terms of heavenly expiation, while radicals seized on the epistle's potential to support their vision of politico-religious liberation. Initially the Reformed countered by defending the trinity and Chalcedonian christology, as shown from mid-century exegesis in chapter five. However,

two writers realised the underlying challenge of supersessionism and wrote Hebrews commentaries which served as systematic rebuttals. William Gouge deployed typology and Ramism to rebind the two dispensations (chapter six), and John Owen revised received expressions of the covenant in order to permit more development within God's plan while retaining unity of purpose before and after Jesus (chapter seven).

Long Abstract

Confessionalisation during the Reformation era drove the twin processes of theological construction and dogmatic controversy. In turn, this served to catalyse advances in biblical-critical technique as disputants looked for more effective ways of establishing their authority and authenticity. Hebrews provided essential resources for a number of these debates and so the epistle is a valuable prism through which to view the changing landscape of English belief and practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The thesis begins in the reign of Edward VI, because this was when Protestant ideas began to be rolled out into local parishes. It concludes with the age of Charles II, at which time the most substantial English commentary ever written on the epistle was published, the *magnum opus* of John Owen, a work which stylistically stands on the cusp between early modern and modern exegesis.

Scholars have underestimated the significance of Hebrews interpretation in the early modern period. From the perspective of historical studies, the development of commentary on biblical passages and books is not a common theme for research, especially with respect to a culturally-remote text like Hebrews. Nonetheless, this approach can yield fresh insights into wider intellectual trends and changing political landscapes. From the perspective of theological studies, historical criticism of scripture has given way to more literary approaches, but biblical reception history is only an emerging field of research.

The main contribution of this study is therefore to highlight the constructive and controversial themes which were of central importance to Hebrews readers and to offer some explanation for the heightened profile of the epistle in Reformed commentary. During the reign of Elizabeth, the matter in hand was the nature of Christ's sacrifice and the

implications of this for the eucharist; this topic was central to the Protestant attack on Roman Catholicism. During the civil wars, the potential for supersessionist readings of Hebrews were seized upon by those with competing and sometimes revolutionary visions for change in English religion and society. Hebrews was thus a battleground throughout the English Reformation, but the nature of the battles changed with time.

Hebrews' strategic importance in validating competing constructive and controversial claims meant that the epistle was also at the forefront of biblical criticism. The other task of this study is therefore to locate Hebrews on the cutting edge of Reformation hermeneutics. Early Reformed writers abandoned the medieval use of allegory in favour of more literal readings of the text. Through this they could reject Catholic readings of Hebrews about the propitiatory value of the eucharist because of the epistle's critique of the repetitious nature of Old Testament sacrifices. By the mid-seventeenth century, new critical tools were emerging. Henry Hammond and John Owen honed Semitic language skills and the study of ancient near-eastern history.

These theologically constructive, controversial and biblically-critical patterns are analysed across seven chapters. An introduction locates the thesis within the discipline of biblical reception history and sets the early modern English use of Hebrews against a European backdrop, examining in particular the letter's authorship and canonical authority. The notion of a strong bond between the two dispensations ran counter to the radical discontinuity which Luther found in the cross. Moreover, Erasmus, Cajetan and Luther were all sceptical about whether Paul might have written the epistle. Calvin, however, found dogmatic value in Hebrews which cut through these doubts. The French reformer needed the letter for confessional apologetics: to shore up the canon against Protestant radicals and to attack

Roman Catholic ideas of the mass. The introduction concludes by considering the extent to which these questions transferred to English discourse. English exposition of the epistle was a centripetal vortex: theologians funnelled scholarship into England through their reading of continental Latin sources, but their output was in the vernacular and aimed at English readerships.

Calvin's emphasis on the value of Hebrews in asserting the uniqueness of Christ's salvific death and the implications of this for eucharistic doctrine were fundamental to the use of the epistle at the time of Reformed dominance in England. This anti-Catholic reception is explored in chapter one through the public documents of the Reformation: the Book of Common Prayer, the Homilies, and vernacular Bibles. Sacramental skirmishes rose to white-hot intensity in the clash between Protestant and Catholic commentators on the Bishops' Bible and Rheims New Testament. This illuminates our understanding of the role of biblical interpretation in confessional polemics, demonstrating the acute pressure put on particular verses (or even words) by diametrically opposed exegetes. Behind the public antagonism, however, Protestant respect for Gregory Martin's translation was evidenced by the covert inclusion of Rheims renderings within the King James Bible.

Chapter two explores Reformed Elizabethan preachers. The Hebrews preaching of puritan firebrand Edward Dering at St Paul's cathedral displayed a polarised worldview, pursuing a wholesale Protestant assault on the Church of Rome. Dering's style fitted the politically febrile atmosphere of the early 1570s. Over two decades later, the Cambridge lectures of William Perkins contained similar theological principles but enjoyed a presentational intricacy, breadth of topics, and attention to detail which Dering lacked. Perkins was also not exclusively focussed against Catholic opponents: he criticised Protestant separatists as

well. These differences reflect Perkins' relative moderation and superior scholarship, and are indicative of how English Protestantism was becoming fractured and introspective.

Chapter three demonstrates how the English use of Hebrews in the early seventeenth century accords with Nicholas Tyacke's explication of the effects of 'anti-Calvinism' upon the earlier Reformed 'consensus'. Lancelot Andrewes avoided discussion of sacrifice in the epistle, concentrating instead on the undogmatic exhortation of its final chapters to diligence in Christian living. The Laudian pre-publication censorship of a Reformed commentary by William Jones (1635) is an effective illustration of the shifting tide of influence. Passages by Jones about the mass were especially expunged. This conforms from the perspective of biblical interpretation to Anthony Milton's observations about how 'Arminians' sought to move away from the highly-charged rhetoric of Elizabethan anti-popery.

Religious and political upheavals in the mid-seventeenth century renewed interest in the radical potential of Hebrews, in particular its emphasis on how Christ's achievements might replace the earlier Jewish dispensation. Chapter four seeks to demonstrate how an appreciation of supersessionist readings of Hebrews can enhance our understanding of many civil war lobbyists. The Socinian commentary of Johann Crell and Jonas Schlichting translated into English by Thomas Lushington rejected the continuity across all ages which the Reformed found in Jesus' essential divinity. As a result, Socinians also denied the Reformed concomitant that believers before Christ's birth could enjoy saving faith. Similar patterns are found in the ostensibly mainstream Henry Hammond, notably in his belief that Christ's atonement was not offered on the cross but in heaven after his resurrection. The radical aspects of Hammond's approach were underlined by the more provocative statements which remained hidden from the presses in the manuscript precursor to his *Paraphrase and*

Annotations (1653). The exposé of Socinianistic aspects to Hammond's biblical exegesis reinforces the picture of Socinian influences which Sarah Mortimer has identified in Hammond's politico-legal writing. Hammond's theological supersessionism is of wider significance because of the way in which it resonated with his historiography. Following Grotius, Hammond showed some capacity to detach past events from contemporary concerns. Biblical texts were of discrete grammatical and historical interest and not just sources for homiletics and theology. However, Hammond could not wholly compartmentalise ancient text and present context. Thus his protestations of academic neutrality were partly a disingenuous shield behind which he sought to establish anti-Reformed thinking at the heart of his vision for the Restoration Church. The socio-political implications of radical readings of Hebrews are also revealed in chapter four through a consideration of Gerrard Winstanley and Peter Sterry. Winstanley abandoned institutional religion because he believed he was living in the age of the Spirit. To this end, he cited the seventh chapter of Hebrews in his campaigning against property rights, especially tithing. For his part, Sterry revelled in the letter's capacity to support his spiritualising platonic desire to escape the veil of the flesh.

The 1640s were the tipping point for Reformed writers on Hebrews. No longer were they on the offensive against Catholicism. Instead they became reactive and defensive. Early rejoinders to the new challenges were aimed at shoring up individual doctrines, in particular the trinity and Chalcedonian christology. Chapter five considers the way in which two Reformed readings of Hebrews complemented the better known anti-Socinian polemic of Francis Cheynell and John Owen. Edmund Porter's *Theos Anthropophoros* (1655) appreciated the integral connection between orthodox christology and soteriology but was limited in its effectiveness because of its tedious style and delayed publication. More important at a

national level were the 'English' *Annotations* on the King James Bible. These illustrate when and how the leaders of the Presbyterian national Church awoke to the threat posed by Socinianism. The first edition (1645) was published in the year before Lushington's translation of Crell. It reflected a quintessentially Elizabethan worldview, centred on a simple binary antipathy between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. By the time of the second edition (1651), a raft of new annotations had been inserted into the first chapter of Hebrews where traditional christology had come under attack from Lushington/Crell. The identification of this defensive turn in the publication history of the *Annotations* restores this commentary to a pivotal position within the story of English biblical exegesis.

More systematic Reformed ripostes were required than the ramblings of Porter and the brief *Annotations*. The magisterial *Commentary* of William Gouge has been valued for its size and detail, but my diachronic approach discovers its other great utility, setting Gouge's exegesis in the context of radical civil war readings of the epistle and showing how his advanced use of typological analysis and Ramist hermeneutics resisted emergent supersessionism. By linking Old Testament events and characters to their fulfilment in the ministry of Jesus, Gouge was able to mount a powerful defence of the unity of the Bible. However, Gouge evinced a traditional anti-papist mindset and failed explicitly to rebuff radical Protestant alternatives such as Socinianism. His exegesis also lacked the biblical-critical tools which were being honed by Hammond. In these respects, Gouge was reiterating the style of an earlier generation of commentary.

John Owen offered an alternative to Gouge in his *Exercitations and Exposition* (1668-84). A recent study by Sebastian Rehnman has drawn attention to the way in which Owen carefully distinguished the covenant of Sinai from the evangelical covenant. This thesis builds on

Rehman's insight, if not his precise divisions and terminology, locating Owen's federal scheme against the background of civil war supersessionism. By making superficial concessions regarding development between the dispensations, Owen was in a stronger position to reassert received Reformed teachings about God, christology and salvation. He was also more explicit than Gouge in his unabashed targeting of a wide range of opponents. Catholicism, Socinianism and Judaism were most prominent among these. Owen chose to counter his opponents with the same progressive critical devices which Grotius and Hammond had developed, making extensive use of manuscript study, near-eastern languages, and an understanding of ancient contexts. Owen is an obvious *terminus ad quem* for this study, not just because of the magnitude of his commentary but because his style and content delicately balance on the brink of the modern era.

The major shifts in constructive, controversial and critical readings of Hebrews in England between the mid-sixteenth and late-seventeenth centuries are part of a broader and ongoing exegetical evolution. Resting on the shoulders of John Owen, the conclusion to my thesis peers towards the modern world. Reception history is one aspect of that world, the capacity of biblical criticism to review its own historical manifestations. The trend for 'neutral' critical analysis has continued down to the present day. Even today, however, scholars still bring their theological preconceptions to the reading of the text. We are not so totally different from our early modern forebears. There is plenty to learn from their use, abuse, and approach to Hebrews, some of which is established and explored for the first time by this study.

Preface

The question at the heart of this thesis emerged at about 10.15am on Sunday 26th October 2003 during solemn mass in the English College in Rome. I was enjoying a long weekend's break from the rigours of theological study at Cuddesdon, visiting a fellow Anglican ordinand on placement at the *Venerabile*. I had left Oxford after Cuddesdon's Friday eucharist. During this service we had anticipated the readings of the following Sunday. The lessons were those for Year B Proper 25 of the Revised Common Lectionary. Among other things, we heard the description of Christ replacing the Old Testament priesthood from Hebrews 7.23-28: Christ, we were told, had no need to offer sacrifices day after day.¹ I left for the eternal city brimming with Protestant contentment. That Sunday, amidst the elaborate colours of the church of the English College, I heard the same Revised Common Lectionary readings - with one exception. The text from Hebrews 7 was omitted, supplanted by six verses from the beginning of Hebrews chapter 5. Instead of learning about Christ's unique sacrifice, the Catholic seminarians were reminded that each high priest offers sacrifices continually.² Doubtless this reading proved as satisfying to their ears as chapter 7 had to mine. A fundamental exegetical difference had been effected through a deft tweak of the lectionary. And if my antennae were raised in the early twenty-first century, how much more controversial would the epistle have proven four centuries earlier? Among the art and architecture of the English College, memorial in wood and stone to sixteenth-century Catholic suffering, I had been alerted to what a powerful and mysterious text the letter to the Hebrews must have been.

¹ *Revised Common Lectionary in NRSV: Sundays and Festivals: Principal Service Lectionary of the Church of England: Pew Edition* (London: Mowbray, 1998), 499.

² *The Roman Missal Revised by Decree of the Second Vatican Council and Published by Authority of Pope Paul VI: Lectionary I: Proper of Seasons: Sundays in Ordinary Time: Revised Edition approved for use in the dioceses of England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland* (London: Harper Collins, 1996), 817-19.

Methodology, Notes, Abbreviations and Acknowledgements

Methodology

The source material for this study is mainly printed. An EEBO subject search of 'Hebrews' and 'Hebraeos' identifies a total of 111 pertinent documents. This is far from comprehensive and must be supplemented by contemporary catalogues.¹ William Crowe listed a total of 168 additional publications, of which 132 can be traced.²

<p>254 <i>Philemon.</i></p> <p>Verse 14. part, <i>John Freß</i>, fol. p. 205 1650 15. part, <i>John Downe</i>, quarto, 1633 <i>Mrs. Kob. South</i> D. D. quarto, 1666 Chap. III.</p> <p>Verse 1, 2. A Sermon at <i>St. Paul's</i> cross, p. 80 1583 3. <i>Daniel Rogers</i>, quarto, 1640 3, 4, 5, &c. D R.</p> <p>From v. 4 to 8. <i>Nicholas Hemingius</i>, quarto, part 2. p. 7.</p> <p>Verse 5. <i>Joseph Mede</i>, quarto, p. 262, 1642, fol. 1664 <i>William Lyford</i>, quarto, 1648</p> <p>Verse 8. <i>Robert Wolcombe</i>, octavo, p. 160 1612 <i>John Gore</i>, quarto,</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Philemon.</i></p> <p>On the whole, <i>William Atterfol</i>, fol. 1612 <i>Daniel Dike</i>, quarto, 1618 <i>William Jones</i> D. D. fol. 1636</p> <p>Verse 2. <i>Nathaniel Hardy</i>, quarto, 1653 <i>John Goodwin</i>, quarto, 1645</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Hebrews.</i></p> <p>On the whole, <i>William Jones</i> D. D. fol. 1636 <i>Thomas Lushington</i> D. D. fol. 1640 <i>David Dickson</i>, octavo, 1635 <i>William Gouge</i> D. D. fol. 1657 <i>George Lawson</i>, fol. 1662</p> <p>On the first five Chapters and part of the sixth, <i>Edward Decing</i>, quarto, 1590</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chap. I.</p> <p>Verse 1. <i>John Kempfe</i>, quarto, p. 43 From v. 1 to 12. <i>John Bays</i> D. D. fol. p. 587 1622</p> <p>Verse 1, 2, 3. <i>Lancelot Andrews</i> Bishop, fol. p. 53, 1632 & p. 21 1661 <i>John Trap</i>, octavo, 1641</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Verse</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Hebrews.</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">255</p> <p>Verse 1, 2, 3. <i>Miles Smith</i> Bishop, fol. 3. <i>Richard Clerke</i> D. D. fol. p. 18 1637 <i>Isaac Ambrose</i>, quarto, p. 305 1640</p> <p>Verse 5. <i>Richard Clerke</i> D. D. fol. p. 25 <i>Richard Stock</i>, Of God the Father, quarto, pag. 268. 1641 <i>Ibidem</i>, Of God the Son, p. 279</p> <p>Verse 7. <i>John Trap</i>, fol. N. T. p. 1067 1656 8. <i>Richard Clerke</i> D. D. fol. p. 35 8, 9. <i>John Smith</i>, On the Creed, fol. p. 26 1632</p> <p>Verse 14. <i>Henry Wilkinson</i> D. D. quarto, Decad. 3. pag. 37. 1660 <i>Isaac Ambrose</i>, quarto, p. 191 1662 <i>William Brough</i> D. D. On Michaelmas day, octavo, pag. 195 1657 <i>Christopher Love</i>, A Treatise of Angels, quarto, 1657</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chap. I I.</p> <p>Verse 3. <i>Richard Eads</i>, octavo, 1656 9. <i>Thomas Moore</i>, quarto, 15. <i>Thomas Hodges</i>, The meditation of mortality, quart. 1658 House of mourning, fol. p. 33 1660 <i>Rob. Tatum</i>, Antidote against the fear of death, quart. 1665</p> <p>Verse 16. <i>Lancelot Andrews</i> Bishop, fol. p. 1. 1632 & p. 1. 1661 17. <i>Anthony Faringdon</i>, fol. p. 1 1657 17, 18. <i>William Bridge</i>, quarto, 1649</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chap. III.</p> <p>Verse 4. <i>Christopher Cartwright</i>, octavo, p. 60 1650 5. part <i>Theophilus Taylor</i>, quarto, 1629 From v. 7 to 12. <i>Hugh Roberts</i>, quarto, Verse 8. <i>Henry Lesly</i>, quarto, 1628 12. <i>Thomas Laibham</i>, The life of God, quarto, part 1. 1656 <i>John Gregory</i>, quarto, p. 163 1646 <i>John Abrenethy</i>, The evil heart of incredulity, quart. pag. 65 1630</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Verse</p>
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Exemplar entries in Crowe's Catalogue of our English writers (1668)

¹ There is nothing recorded in Verneuil, John, *A nomenclator of such tracts and sermons as have been printed or translated into English upon any place of holy scripture* (Oxford, 1637) which is not in [Crowe, William], *The Catalogue of our English writers on the Old and New Testament either in whole or in part: whether commentators, elucidators, adnotators, expositors, at large or in single sermons: corrected and enlarged with three or four thousand additional* (London, 1668). Crowe's work is sometimes alternatively attributed to John Osborne.

² As with EEBO, Crowe was not comprehensive: there are texts which an EEBO search identifies but which are not found in Crowe's catalogue, e.g. Dr Bates on Heb 11.6 in Case, Thomas (ed.), *The morning exercise methodized; or certain chief heads and points of the Christian religion opened and improved in divers sermons* (London, 1660), and Cartwright, Christopher, *The doctrine of faith, or, The prime and principall points which a Christian is to know and believe handled in sundry sermons upon texts of scripture selected and chosen for the purpose* (London, 1650). Texts which were recorded by Crowe but which appear to be no longer extant mainly date from the civil wars and may have been lost in the disruption of those years.

Comprehensive surveying of the primary sources becomes surprisingly more complicated in the later seventeenth century with no contemporary catalogue between Crowe (1668) and our close in 1685. Sampson Letsome's *Index to the sermons, published since the Restoration* (1734) goes some way to filling this gap. However, Letsome only recorded preachers (and not treatises) and he rarely listed dates.³ Letsome reveals 25 sermons that were demonstrably preached in or before 1685 (even if they were printed later) and which have not been identified by other means.⁴ Like Crowe before him, Letsome was not all-inclusive.⁵ A handful of other printed sources have been found in modern catalogues and through the footnotes of secondary literature.⁶ A number of manuscript sources have also been consulted, the majority of which are sermons. The handwritten precursor to Henry Hammond's *Paraphrase and Annotations* has proved a particularly important manuscript source.⁷ All in all, the total number of pertinent Hebrews-specific primary documents is a little shy of 350.

Over two-thirds of the relevant extant publications are sermons. Sermon sources are not without complications. There were inevitably differences between what preachers said and

³ Letsome, Sampson, *An index to the sermons, published since the Restoration. Pointing out the texts in the order they lie in the Bible, shewing the occasion on which they were preached, and directing to the volume and page where they occur* (London, 1734). Letsome's lack of dating in part reflected the growing trend for gathering up a divine's sermons towards the end of his life or even posthumously. Cf. Dixon, Rosemary, 'Sermons in Print, 1660-1700' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* ed. McCullough, Peter, Adlington, Hugh and Rhatigan, Emma (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 460-79, at 466.

⁴ A further 6 Letsome sermons fall within our period but have been identified already by other means; 49 definitely date from 1686 or later; 39 are impossible to date before or after 1685 and 10 cannot be located, a total of 129.

⁵ Even a preaching as prominent as Lucas, Richard, *The Christian race a sermon preach'd before the Queen at Kensington on Sunday the 31th of July, 1692* (London, 1692) escaped Letsome's notice. Likewise, there were collected works published after Letsome's catalogue which might contain sermons from our period, such as Robert South on Heb 2.16 in *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1842), iv.377-90.

⁶ In particular, McCullough, Peter, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Maclure, Miller, *Register of Sermons Preached at Paul's Cross 1534-1642* revised and expanded by Bush, Peter and Boswell, Jackson Campbell (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1989); Clancy, Thomas H., *English Catholic Books, 1641-1700: A Bibliography* revised edn. (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996); Gatiss, Lee, 'Adoring the Fullness of the Scriptures in John Owen's Commentary on Hebrews' (Cambridge PhD, 2014), 213-18.

⁷ Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Jones 45.

what their hearers understood them to have said. Moreover, preachers often refined and expanded their texts before they went to press, ‘especially as the printed text was often aimed at a different audience than the original congregation’.⁸ Opportunities for comparing the printed text and auditors’ notes are limited and, in the case of sermons based on Hebrews, this exercise adds little to what might be said about the theological reception of the epistle either by preachers or their hearers.⁹ An additional challenge to obtaining anything like a representative picture of preaching from Hebrews across England flows from the varying extent to which records of sermons have survived. Printed sermons, especially from the earlier part of this thesis, tended to come from senior clergy, often speaking on major occasions in the religious or national calendar, and/or at prominent venues such as Paul’s Cross.¹⁰ Moreover, there are doubtless manuscript records of sermons based on verses of Hebrews which it has not been possible to identify and consult. The complexity of making a systematic trawl of the traces of sermons left in different forms of manuscript evidence and scattered throughout local record offices is discussed by Ian Green in his lecture to the Friends of Dr William’s Library.¹¹ Opportunities remain for identifying, collating, and analysing these sources.

In addition to sermons, a further 36 primary sources might be collectively classified as one or other form of commentary. These include annotations, logical analyses, and postils. Additionally, there are 43 treatises citing a verse from Hebrews as an epigraph on their frontispiece; some engage in detailed analysis of their chosen text whereas others use them only as a point of departure. Contrast for example the in-depth analysis of Heb 6.2 in

⁸ Spurr, John, *The Laity and Preaching in Post-Reformation England* (London: Friends of Dr. William’s Library, 2013), 27.

⁹ Cf. below, 207 for an example; also Spurr, *Laity and Preaching*, 26, 30.

¹⁰ Green, Ian M. ‘Preaching in the Parishes’ in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, 137-54, at 137, 139, 150.

¹¹ Green, Ian M., *Continuity and Change in Protestant Preaching in Early Modern England* (London: Dr William’s Library, 2009), 19f.

Benjamin Camfield's defence of episcopal confirmation with Robert Abbot's rant against separatists which makes little use of its springboard from Heb 10.25.¹² The list of genres is completed by five catechisms, four of which are structured around the 'basic teaching' of Heb 6.1f. There are a few further documents which defy easy classification. This categorisation should not be taken too rigidly, because many English Hebrews commentaries in this period evolved out of prior preaching and some of the treatises were conducted in a catechetical style. Paralleling the evidential bias towards the sermon genre, there was also a preponderance of output by Anglican clergy. Many were bishops and senior leaders. Others were parish preachers whose occasional comment has been preserved for posterity. Important but infrequent incursions into this pattern were made by Roman Catholic priests and, later, by the advocates of non-episcopal ecclesiologies and un-Anglican dogma: Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Socinians. The vast majority of the writers were ordained.¹³ I have not found one who was female.

As a reception history, drawing principally on documents which consciously, systematically and explicitly exposit the letter to the Hebrews, there is not only an evidential bias towards churchmen whose views were mainstream and preserved for posterity, there is also a hermeneutical bias towards readers of Hebrews who chose to exposit the epistle by means of sermon or commentary. Some networks of thinking, such as the Diggers and Cambridge Platonists, did not write detailed commentaries on the text but this does not equate to a lack of influence. In some cases the ideas and language of the epistle pervaded their thinking.

¹² Camfield, Benjamin, *Of Episcopal confirmation in two discourses* (London, 1682); Abbot, Robert, *A triall of our church-forsakers. Or A meditation tending to still the passions of unquiet Brownists, upon Heb. 10.25* (London, 1639).

¹³ Exceptions include the following: Knatchbull, Norton, *Annotations upon some difficult texts in all the books of the New Testament* (Cambridge, 1693); Lambeth Palace Library, MS 4267 'Fairhurst Papers' which contain 'Notes by Sir Matthew Hale on St. Paul's letter to the Hebrews', fols 111-126 (two variant logical analyses of Hebrews, probably written for Hale's personal devotions); Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann, Loewenstein, David (eds.), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); only the last of these offers a novel angle on the epistle.

Indeed, the letter's message of moving beyond types and shadows to the rest of heavenly Canaan, even had an effect of *superseding itself*, locating Hebrews among those documents beyond which spiritualisers sought to move in the final age of illumination. For these thinkers, detailed exegesis of the text did not matter. Rather what was central was what the text enabled, bearing witness to the truth which they perceived within themselves. This thinking and the complexities which it throws up will be analysed in chapter four.

In terms of how I might present my results, three putative frameworks were possible. The material could have been ordered biblically around the structure of Hebrews itself. This approach works well for those scholars with a confined timeframe such as Lee Gatiss' study of John Owen¹⁴ or those like Bruce Demarest who wish to study many thinkers in relation to a restricted number of verses.¹⁵ The limitation of this approach is that it could give subjective priority to some parts of the epistle over others. Given that Hebrews was often just a backdrop for early modern contemporary debate, an alternative solution might have been to marshal the material thematically around major theological categories such as the doctrine of God, christology, sacramentology, and so on. However, such a framework would have obfuscated the diachronic changes in the constructive, controversial and critical use of Hebrews. For example, eucharistic issues were at the heart of disputation about the epistle in later sixteenth-century England but this centrality would have been lost because a theologically systematic framework would probably have relegated them to a later chapter of the thesis. Thus, the most effective way to present the material has been to weave a biblical and thematic weft onto a chronological warp. This structure permits clear analysis of how and why ideas and events affected ongoing development in the three key areas of

¹⁴ Gatiss, 'Adoring'.

¹⁵ E.g. Demarest, Bruce A., *A History of the Interpretation of Hebrews 7.1-10 from the Reformation to the Present* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1976).

theology, controversy and hermeneutics. I begin and end with substantive markers, starting with the Tudor liturgical and biblical reforms and ending with the outsize commentary of John Owen.

Notes

This study inevitably uses terms of complex or disputed meaning. Although mindful of the modern trend towards classifying Hebrews as a 'book', I use the terms 'letter' and 'epistle': this was the genre in which Hebrews was categorised throughout the period under consideration. For the sake of clarity, I deploy 'Protestant' to encompass all early modern religious protest against Roman Catholicism, including the Lutheran, Reformed, and Radical Reformed traditions. 'Puritanism' is notoriously difficult to define; I have used it as sparingly as possible to describe those who considered themselves among 'the godly' and 'true gospellers', and who pressed for further extensions of the English Reformation.¹⁶ 'Arminian' is used in the theological sense of those who sought to modify Calvinist theology (especially soteriology) akin to the ideas of Jacob Arminius. Chapter three includes under this term 'Arminians *avant la lettre*', those who pushed against the Reformed consensus from the 1590s even before Arminius became a controversial figure on the continent.¹⁷ Theological Arminians were connected to, but not identical with, 'Laudians', early Stuart liturgical progressives who promoted greater elaboration in worship after the example and inspiration of Charles I's infamous Archbishop of Canterbury.

¹⁶ Collinson, Patrick, *English Puritanism* (London: The Historical Association [General Series #106], 1983), especially 7-11; Morrissey, Mary, *Politics and the Paul's Cross sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 191-92.

¹⁷ Tyacke, Nicholas, 'Defining Arminianism', in *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 156-59; White, Peter, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), ch. 6; McGrath, Alister, 'The Emergence of the Anglican Tradition on Justification 1600-1700', *Churchman*, 98 (1983), 28-43, especially 29-30.

In terms of methodology, I share the ‘contextualist’ approach articulated by Chapman, Coffey and Gregory, based on the earlier work of Quentin Skinner. It is never possible to get into another’s head in any age. Nonetheless, scholars can and should strive to the best of their ability to understand an age in its own terms, ‘seeing things their way’.¹⁸ Despite being passionate about this principle, I have found it necessary to refer to ‘supersessionism’, a word which was not used in early modern Hebrews exposition but which is an important umbrella term for a major trend in the reception of Hebrews that re-emerged at the Reformation and which has a notable bearing on the latter half of this thesis. Supersessionists place comparatively little value on the old dispensation and believe that Christ largely or wholly displaced that which went before. Supersessionists are opposed by those who have a stronger sense of the New Testament being a fulfillment the Old. In contrast to supersessionists, prophecy-fulfillment readings of Hebrews try to bind the Old and New Testaments, for instance through allegory (if they are Catholic) or typology (if they are Protestant).

In transcribing primary sources I have retained original spelling and punctuation, while introducing some typographical modernisations such as rejoining words split at the end of a line without a hyphen. Italicisation, underlining, and capitalisation are as given in the source texts unless otherwise stated. All dates are given with the year beginning on January 1st. Biblical quotations are taken from pertinent early modern translations.

Abbreviations

¹⁸ Chapman, Alister, Coffey, John, Gregory, Brad S. (eds.), *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), especially 1-45, 134-53; Skinner, Quentin, ‘Motives, intentions and interpretations of texts’, *New Literary History*, 3 (1972), 393-408; Skinner, Quentin, ‘Some problems in the analysis of political thought and action’, *Political Theory*, 2 (1974), 277-303.

BB	Bishops' Bible (1568)
EEBO	Early English Books Online
GenB	Geneva Bible (1560 and later editions)
KJV	King James Version (1611)
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
RNT	Rheims New Testament (1582)

Biblical books are listed according to the style of the Society of Biblical Literature.¹⁹

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¹⁹ Cf. e.g. <http://byfaithweunderstand.com/2011/04/07/sbl-bible-book-abbreviations/> accessed on 10th March 2016.

were garnered, and to my examiners John Spurr and Andrew Atherstone. Inadvertent thanks to Neil Patterson for his invitation to Rome in October 2003 where the idea began. Especial thanks to Anna who made the mistake of marrying a man who relaxes in the seventeenth century.

Introduction: understanding Hebrews and early modern England

The letter to the Hebrews, described by one commentator as an ‘early Christian masterpiece’ for the elegance of its Greek and the sophistication of its theology, has been an important source for Christian thought since the first century.¹ The author touches on diverse and substantial themes: the nature of Jesus, how his sacrifice relates to God’s plan across time, structures and worship in the Church, and ethical expectations within a Christian community. All these issues were fundamentally re-examined during the early modern period and, as a result, the letter became a strategically significant battleground for Reformation protagonists wishing to assert their ideas and to dispute those of others.

These opening pages aim to introduce how this thesis fits into established patterns of biblical studies, doctrinal history, and Reformation historiography. A survey of scriptural reception history exposes the opportunities for further work on the letter to the Hebrews and what a reception history of Hebrews might contribute to our understanding of early modern England. I next set this against the backdrop of developments in early sixteenth-century European exegesis. Received assumptions about the authorship and authority of the epistle were challenged by Erasmus, Luther and Cajetan. John Calvin cut through such doubts by asserting the authority of the epistle and channelling its message of Christ’s unique oblation against Catholic adversaries. This was crucial for Elizabethan readings of Hebrews because of the influence of continental Reformed thought upon late Tudor and early Stuart England. The introduction closes with an outline of how the rest of the thesis builds on this foundation.

¹ Moffatt, James, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1924), x.

1. The reception history of Hebrews and early modern historiography

The rise of reception history as an academic discipline owes much to the evolution of critical method in the last half century. Modern biblical studies are the product of Enlightenment empiricism when scholars optimistically believed that they could view the objects of their study from a perspective of 'neutral' detachment. The result of this thinking was that scriptural books and passages came to be considered in relation to contemporaneous texts rather than how a text was interpreted in faith communities across time.² This approach had two major implications. Firstly, within the discipline of theology, the symbiotic relationship between Christian doctrine and Biblical learning became increasingly atomised.³ Secondly, biblical critics came to understand 'original' documents only through an ever-burgeoning volume of secondary studies. Windows of opportunity for genuine research were reduced. 'The picture... is one of a comparatively small and stable set of ancient texts and a welter of modern criticism. Yet what lies between these two has been given sparse attention: the manifold interpretative histories of the last two millennia.'⁴

Into this breach step the followers of Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002).⁵ In his seminal work, *Truth and Method*, this German philosopher of artistic interpretation and history argued that scholars cannot assume an objective vantage point from which they enjoy an independent view of the past. All interpretation is situated and caught up in the process of history. Gadamer said that 'historical objectivism conceals the fact that historical

² Roberts, Jonathan and Rowland, Christopher, 'Introduction', *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 33 (2010), 131-36, at 131.

³ Frei, Hans W., *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974); Legaspi, Michael C., *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁴ Roberts and Rowland, 'Introduction', *JSNT*, 132.

⁵ Cf. Roberts, Jonathan, 'Introduction', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible* ed. Lieb, Michael, Mason, Emma, Roberts, Jonathan, and Rowland, Christopher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1-8.

consciousness is itself situated in the web of historical effects'.⁶ Gadamer therefore proposed the need for *Wirkungsgeschichte*, 'effective history', a process by which the history of a text through time became key to its interpretation. Within *Wirkungsgeschichte* Gadamer envisaged a 'fusion of horizons' between the reader and his text. *Wirkungsgeschichte* thus requires a genuine diachronic approach to reading and that the meaning of a text is intrinsically multi-valent.⁷

Consciousness of being effected by history (*wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtsein*) is primarily consciousness of the hermeneutical *situation*. To acquire an awareness of a situation is, however, always a task of peculiar difficulty. The very idea of a situation means that we are not standing outside it and hence are unable to have any objective knowledge of it.⁸

Reflecting on these ideas, Christopher Rowland concludes that, 'following Hans-Georg Gadamer, text and interpreter can be seen as co-participants in a conversation that constitutes meaning rather than being secondary to some sort of prior, original meaning'.⁹

The possibilities inherent in *Wirkungsgeschichte* have accompanied and informed the rise of biblical reception history.¹⁰ In the German-speaking world, the ecumenical *Evangelisch Katholischer Kommentar* (EKK) series has brought the Catholic commitment to collective ecclesiastical reflection on scripture alongside the more Protestant tradition of biblical critical analysis.¹¹ More recently, the Blackwell commentaries have offered an English-

⁶ Gadamer, Hans-Georg, *Truth and Method*, trans. Weinsheimer, Joel and Marshall, Donald G. (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 311.

⁷ Roberts and Rowland, 'Introduction', *JSNT*, 132-33.

⁸ Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 312.

⁹ Rowland, Christopher, 'Re-imagining biblical exegesis', in *Religion, literature and the imagination: sacred worlds* ed. Knight, Mark and Lee, Louise (London: Continuum, 2009), 140-49, at 143.

¹⁰ The two disciplines are by no means identical. Leading disciples of Gadamer, Anthony Thistleton and Ulrich Luz, have stepped back from the more radical potential of his thought; both regard reception history as an activity which is independent from exegesis rather than intrinsic to it; Knight, Mark, 'Wirkungsgeschichte, Reception History, Reception Theory', *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 33 (2010), 137-46, at 142.

¹¹ Roberts, 'Introduction', *Handbook*, 3. The EKK commentary on Hebrews is Grässer, Erich, *An die Hebräer* 3 vols. (Zürich: Benziger, 1990-97).

language diachronic approach to the interpretation of a number of Old and New Testament books.¹²

Despite these developments, biblical reception history has gained only limited traction among early modernists. There are several historical surveys of Renaissance and early Reformation biblical scholarship; others have discussed the cultural history of the Bible in this period.¹³ While these illuminate the controversial early days of the Reformation, the chronological focus of these works tends to obscure the intense creative activity of seventeenth-century exegetes. As Paul Lim has observed, the ‘narrative of reception history tends to skip over the seventeenth century’.¹⁴ By contrast, my study spans the century and a half of the long English Reformation. It aims to show that Hebrews was debated and valued during the years of the Restoration just as much as it had been in the reign of Elizabeth. The topics and controverted verses changed but the overall importance of the epistle remained constant.

A number of biblical books, passages and issues have received attention by scholars of the period. These serve to show the multiplicity of approaches available and the wealth of opportunities which remain. Across his career, Christopher Hill demonstrated the all-

¹² Carruthers, Jo, *Esther through the centuries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008); Coggins, R.J. and Han, Jin Hee, *Six minor prophets through the centuries: Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011); Gillingham, Susan, *Psalms through the centuries* (Chichester: Wiley, 2008); Kovacs, Judith L., Rowland, Christopher and Callow, Rebekah, *Revelation: the apocalypse of Jesus Christ* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Riches, John, *Galatians through the centuries* (New York: Wiley, 2012).

¹³ Steinmetz, David C. (ed.), *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990); Burrows, M. S. and Rorem, P. (eds.), *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991); Bruns, Gerald L., *Hermeneutics Ancient and Modern* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Muller, Richard A., and Thompson, J.L. (eds.), *Biblical Interpretation and the Era of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 3-22, 335-45; Shuger, Debora K., *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice and Subjectivity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Griffiths, Richard (ed.), *The Bible in the Renaissance: Essays on Biblical Commentary and Translation in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

¹⁴ Lim, Paul Chang-Ha, *Mystery unveiled: the crisis of the Trinity in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 272.

pervasive importance of biblical literature in early modern England and the very different impact that it had upon readers of opposing ideologies in the seventeenth century.¹⁵ More specifically, an early study by Richard Bauckham details how the fierce symbolism of the book Revelation was both a response and contribution to sixteenth-century political tension and millenarian expectation.¹⁶ Natasha O’Hear, in *Contrasting Images in the Book of Revelation* (2011), promotes the usefulness of visual interpretation as a complement to textual exegesis through her study of the Apocalypse in seven pieces of late medieval and early modern art.¹⁷ Elizabeth Clarke has considered the diversity of ‘mainstream’ early modern readers of the Song of Songs, and the various literary frameworks through which they accessed and used this enigmatic biblical book. The Song could strengthen individual piety, provide a bridal metaphor for the Church’s collective identity, and offend conservatives by its erotic imagery.¹⁸ Yet another approach is taken in David Whitford’s *Curse of Ham in the Early Modern Era* (2009). Whitford offers an in-depth study of how the reception history of a single biblical chapter, Genesis 9, became woven into the narrative which justified the transatlantic slave trade.¹⁹ Further work is in progress. Kevin Killeen is hoping to build on recent articles by writing a monograph about the integral role which Old Testament kings and ideas of kingship played in Renaissance discourse about monarchy.²⁰ All these examples act as reminders of the significance of scripture in early modern European culture and the different ways in which a study of its reception can enhance our appreciation of the period.

¹⁵ Most comprehensively in Hill, Christopher, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolutions* (London: Penguin, 1993).

¹⁶ Bauckham, Richard, *Tudor Apocalypse: sixteenth-century apocalypticism, millenarianism and the English Reformation: from John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman* (Abingdon: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978).

¹⁷ O’Hear, Natasha, *Contrasting images of the Book of Revelation in late medieval and early modern art: a case study in visual exegesis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁸ Clarke, Elizabeth, *Politics, Religion and the Song of Songs in Seventeenth-Century England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011).

¹⁹ Whitford, David M., *The curse of Ham in the early modern era: the Bible and the justifications for slavery* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

²⁰ Killeen, Kevin, ‘Chastising with Scorpions: Reading the Old Testament in Early Modern England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73 (2010), 491-506; ‘Hanging up Kings: The Political Bible in Early Modern England’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72 (2011), 549-70; <http://www.york.ac.uk/english/our-staff/kevin-killeen/> accessed 5th February 2015.

Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene summarise the potential to which this diversity points when they argue for further work on the reception history of the Bible in the period.²¹

Hebrews is among the books which remain understudied. There has been some consideration of the letter in the patristic and medieval periods.²² With reference to the early modern age, the work of Kenneth Hagen on the introductory *argumenta* of sixteenth-century continental writers²³ bears closest comparison with the diachronic approach of this thesis. More focussed investigation has been undertaken by Brian Lee on an individual writer (Johannes Cocceius), and by Bruce Demarest on a single passage and the issues it raised for different readers.²⁴ The greatest of English commentators on Hebrews, John Owen, has received detailed attention from Henry Knapp and Lee Gatiss.²⁵ There are also a handful of

²¹ Hessayon, Ariel and Keene, Nicholas (eds.), *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 2-3.

²² Greer, Rowan A., *The Captain of Our Salvation: A Study in the Patristic Exegesis of Hebrews* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1973); Frisius, M.A., *Tertullian's Use of the Pastoral Epistles, Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, and Jude* (New York: Lang, 2011); Young, Frances M., 'Christological Ideas in the Greek Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews', *Journal of Theological Studies* New Series 20 (1969), 150-63; Guggenheim, A., 'Christ the High Priest and the connection between the Old and New Covenants in Saint Thomas Aquinas' "Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews", Chapters VIII-X', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et theologiques* 87 (2003), 499-523.

²³ Hagen, Kenneth, *Hebrews Commenting from Erasmus to Bezae, 1516-98* Beiträge zur Geschichte der Biblischen Exegese 23 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1981); cf. also Hagen, Kenneth, *A Theology of Testament in the Young Luther: The Lectures on Hebrews* (Leiden: Brill, 1974); Stephens, Peter, 'Bullinger's Commentaries on Hebrews: In Comparison with the Commentaries of Luther and Calvin', *Bible Translator* 55 (2004), 60-70; Parker, T.H.L., 'Calvin's Commentary on Hebrews' in *Church, Word and Spirit: Historical and Theological Essays in Honor of Geoffrey W. Bromiley*, ed. Bradley, James E. and Muller, Richard A. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987); Hansen, Gary Neal, 'Calvin as commentator on Hebrews and the Catholic Epistles' in *Calvin and the Bible* ed. McKim, Donald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 257.

²⁴ Lee, Brian J., *Johannes Cocceius and the Exegetical Roots of Federal Theology: Reformation Developments in the Interpretation of Hebrews 7-10* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2009); Demarest, Bruce A., *A History of the Interpretation of Hebrews 7.1-10 from the Reformation to the Present* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1976).

²⁵ Knapp, Henry M., 'Understanding the Mind of God: John Owen and Seventeenth-Century Exegetical Methodology' (Calvin Theological Seminary PhD, 2002); Gatiss, Lee, 'Adoring the Fullness of the Scriptures in John Owen's Commentary on Hebrews' (Cambridge PhD, 2014). Cf. also Tweeddale, John W., 'John Owen's commentary on Hebrews in context', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to John Owen's Theology*, ed. Kapic, Kelly and Jones, Mark, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 49-63; Knapp, Henry M., 'John Owen's Interpretation of Hebrews 6:4-6: Eternal Perseverance of the Saints in Puritan Exegesis', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 34 (2003), 29-52; Kapic, Kelly M., 'Typology, the Messiah, and John Owen's Theological Reading of Hebrews', in *Christology, hermeneutics, and Hebrews: profiles from the history of interpretation*, ed. Laansma, Jon (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 135-54; Peetoom, Jacob, 'John Owen's Biblical Interpretation as Illustrated by his Exposition of Hebrews' (Regent College Vancouver ThM, 1993).

other secondary articles in print.²⁶ However, there is no sustained presentation and analysis of the overarching patterns of Hebrews exegesis and hermeneutics across the English Reformation.

To this end, my thesis seeks to demonstrate three things about the reception of Hebrews. Firstly, that readings of the epistle made a crucial and evolving contribution to theological construction, from ideas as diverse as the Reformed emphasis on Christ's unique sacrifice to the Diggers' rejection of tithing. From this flowed the inevitable corollary that Hebrews became a subject of controversy, initially between Protestants and Catholics, and later between splintering expressions of Protestantism. Thirdly, the constructive and controversial relevance of Hebrews throughout this period meant that writers were keen to subject the letter to the latest techniques of scripture criticism.

2. European background: Hebrews reading in the Renaissance and early Reformation

Before considering these English patterns in depth, it is helpful to outline the continental context which increased the prominence and controversiality of the letter to the Hebrews in the early sixteenth century. *Hebrews Commenting from Erasmus to Bezae, 1516-98* by the late Kenneth Hagen is an important source in this regard because it is the only broad diachronic study of Hebrews during the Reformation period. Hagen's intention was to research a wide swathe of writers as succinctly as possible.²⁷ However, there are flaws in Hagen's approach. He concentrated on commentators' *argumenta* which are not necessarily

²⁶ Cf. also other contributors to Laansma, *Christology, hermeneutics, and Hebrews*; De Jonge, H.J., 'The character of Erasmus' translation of the New Testament as reflected in his translation of Hebrews 9', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14 (1984), 81-87; Fraenkel, Pierre, 'Matthias Flacius Illyricus and his *Gloss* on Hebrews 9', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14 (1984), 97-111; Perrottet, Luc, 'Chapter 9 of the Epistle to the Hebrews as presented in an unpublished course of lectures by Theodore Beza', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14 (1984) 89-96; Backus, Irena, 'Piscator misconstrued? Some remarks on Robert Rollock's "logical analysis" of Hebrews 9', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14 (1984), 113-19.

²⁷ Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting*, 1-2. Maschke, Timothy, 'In Memoriam - Kenneth Hagen (1936-2014)', <http://www.lutheranquarterly.com/essays.html>, accessed 27th November 2014.

representative of the commentaries which follow. In particular, the *argumenta* are heavily weighted towards consideration of the historically controverted question about the author of Hebrews.²⁸ While debates about who wrote the letter occur within the commentaries proper,²⁹ and while a theologian's views about Hebrews' penman were sometimes indicative of his wider orthodoxy or heterodoxy,³⁰ the *argumenta* are disproportionately preoccupied by the question of authorship.

Hagen's focus on *argumenta* also led him to underestimate the controversiality of the epistle.

He wrote that,

every temptation to treat the exegetes along denominational or sectarian lines has been avoided. In fact one of the by-products of this study is that such denominational determinants are largely non-existent because of the control of the text (Hebrews). Interpretations differ. Polemics enter in. But in large areas, e.g. authorship, authority of the epistle, Christology, even soteriology, Old Testament hermeneutic, interpretations are not along confessional lines.³¹

This claim is highly contentious. Much of the evidence presented in this thesis contradicts it. Hebrews was prominent in the adversarial early modern age precisely because it was a major New Testament text and because it touched upon sensitive topics. Again and again we will discover how and why the epistle was a battlefield, subject to competing denominational approaches and claims. This controversiality of Hebrews is not apparent in the *argumenta* but becomes obvious and explicit through the way in which the details of commentaries proper treat theologically significant verses of the epistle.³²

²⁸ Clement of Alexandria and Origen found resonance between platonic culture and Hebrews' message of progression from shadow to reality (Heb 10.1). They valued the epistle and so deemed it to be Pauline. By contrast, orthodox westerners were worried by the similarities between Hebrews' rigorism and the asceticism of Tertullian and Novatus. This in turn threw doubts on the letter's apostolicity. Even when Hebrews was definitively listed within the canon by the Council of Carthage (AD 397) it was cautiously recorded after 'the thirteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul' as 'of the same [author]'. Koester, Craig, *Hebrews*, Anchor Bible Commentary (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 19-27; Young, 'Christological Ideas', 150-63.

²⁹ Cf. treatments of Heb 2.3 in which the author implies that he was a second generation Christian.

³⁰ Cf. below, especially 132-35, 147-48, 155.

³¹ Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting*, 3.

³² The controverted passages shifted with time as debates evolved. Cf. below e.g. 108, 195-96.

A more helpful aspect of Hagen's *Hebrews Commenting* is the way in which it draws attention to growing disagreement among early sixteenth-century exegetes about the question of how the Old and New Testaments are related. This was an important consideration for Hebrews *argumenta*³³ and unlike the matter of authorship, covertly or consciously, a theologian's understanding of the relationship between the two dispensations was often crucial to the rest of what he wrote about the epistle.

On the eve of the Reformation, Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum* (1516) lit the touch paper to debate by questioning assumptions which had stood for a millennium.³⁴ Erasmus did not believe that Paul wrote Hebrews.³⁵ More importantly, his anti-Semitism³⁶ found expression in a supersessionist reading of the epistle. He opened his Hebrews' *argumentum* in the 1521 *Paraphrase*, '[n]o people resisted the gospel of Christ with more obstinate souls than the Jews'.³⁷ Against these Jews 'Paul'

declares that already with the dawn of the gospel of Christ the shadows of the Mosaic law cease, repeating much from the Old Testament and pointing to Christ. He teaches that one cannot hope to be saved by the observance of the law, which was given for a certain time and which was imperfect, but by faith...³⁸

Having thus deviated from medieval norms with regard to authorship and the relationship between the testaments, it is not incongruous to find Erasmus challenging the letter's orthodoxy: the 1516 edition of *Novum Instrumentum* accused Heb 6.4-6 of promoting a heretical denial of post-baptismal repentance.

³³ Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting*, 1.

³⁴ Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting*, 4-8.

³⁵ Erasmus' doubt drew on the uncertainty of early Church fathers about the letter's penman. Later, and in line with his move towards conformity, Erasmus stepped back from this more critical stance and disingenuously named 'Paul' as the letter's author.

³⁶ Cf. e.g. MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London: Penguin, 2003), 689.

³⁷ 'Nulla Gens obstinatoribus animis repugnabat Evangelio Christi, quam Judaeorum', Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting*, 4.

³⁸ 'declarat coruscante jam Evangelio Christi, cessasse umbras Legis Mosaicae, multa repetens ex Veteri Testamento, et ad Christum accommodans. Docet non ex observatione Legis ad tempus datae et imperfectae, sperandam esse salutem, sed ex fide...', Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting*, 4-5.

Erasmus' assault was echoed by Martin Luther. Luther's early lectures on Hebrews (1517-18) tentatively attributed the letter to Paul but questioned the traditional ascription on the grounds that the references in Heb 9.19-21 are difficult to reconcile with the Old Testament. While Erasmus retreated into safety, Luther became more outspoken. According to the preface of his *September Testament* (1522), the Wittenberg reformer rejected Pauline authorship on the grounds that Heb 2.3 excluded a first generation Christian author. Luther went on to claim that the author cannot be determined. Later still, in a sermon from 1537, Luther actively attributed Hebrews to Apollos.³⁹ As a result of his scepticism, he relegated the epistle to the back of the New Testament.⁴⁰

Luther's opposition of law and gospel readily connected with potentially supersessionist readings of Hebrews.⁴¹ Whereas the medieval *glossa* concluded that Christ was *excellior* (more excellent) than the characters of the Old Testament, Luther's *argumentum* stated that redemption came solely from Christ. 'Paul' shows that 'without Christ, neither the law nor the priesthood nor prophecy nor even finally the ministry of angels was sufficient for salvation... Therefore everything considered, he proposes that one should teach Christ alone'.⁴² For Luther, the gospel had replaced the law in all its ceremonial, judicial and moral elements. To this end he spent much time expounding Heb 7.12 ('when there is a change in

³⁹ Luther, Martin, 'Lectures on Hebrews' [1517] translated by James Atkinson in *Luther's Early Theological Works* Library of Christian Classics 16 (London: SCM, 1962), 163, 179, 238, 248; Hagen, *Theology of Testament*, 20-25; Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting*, 8-9. The case for Apollos was strangely revived in the twentieth century by Montefiore, Hugh W., *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Black, 1964), especially 9-11.

⁴⁰ Atkinson, *Luther's Early Theological Works* 16, 220; Hagen, *Theology of Testament*, 6-7. Luther's relocation of Hebrews was followed by his English disciple, William Tyndale. Tyndale, William, *The Byble that is to say all the holy Scripture: in whych are co[n]tayned the Olde and New Testamente, truly [and] purely tra[n]slated into English, [and] nowe lately with greate industry [and] dilige[n]ce recognised* (London, 1549), fols. c[r]- cxii[v]; McGrath, Alister, *In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible and how it changed a Nation, a Language and a Culture* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2001), 73, 94.

⁴¹ The revisionist Mickey Mattox stresses continuity between medieval theology and Luther's lectures but this does not diminish the German's supersessionist emphases. Mattox, Mickey, 'Christology in Martin Luther's *Lectures on Hebrews*', in Laansma, *Christology, hermeneutics, and Hebrews*, 100-19.

⁴² 'sine Christo nec lex nec sacerdotium nec propheciam neque denique angelorum etiam ministerium ad salutem satis fuerit... Omnino igitur solum Christum docendum proponit', Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting*, 8.

the priesthood, there is necessarily a change in the law as well'). Likewise, Luther did not follow the medieval exegetes in contrasting the priesthoods of the Old and New Testament (Heb 5.1); this was because he regarded the priesthood of Christ to be on a completely different level from that of Aaron.⁴³

Cardinal Cajetan was a third *agent provocateur*.⁴⁴ He shared some of the cautions which had been raised in the age of the early Church by Jerome about Pauline authorship. He also developed innovative arguments of his own based on what a Jewish readership would have considered a defective use of the Hebrew Scriptures. The Jews, Cajetan asserted, would have objected to the application of the prophecies quoted in Heb 1.5 to Jesus since they found literal fulfillment of these prophecies not in the Messiah but in Solomon. Likewise, the use of διαθήκη in chapter 9 is reliant on the Greek understanding of 'testament' in which the testator dies; this is not the Hebrew concept of covenant (*berith*) as described in Exodus 24. 'Each is highly unbecoming to the apostle, especially to the Hebrews who know the peculiar quality of the words of the Hebrew text'.⁴⁵ Cajetan's work is a good illustration of the impact which emergent Hebrew language skills were having on biblical studies.⁴⁶

Having rejected Pauline authorship, Cajetan became the most pronounced early sixteenth-century critic of Hebrews' canonicity. Biblical books were traditionally considered canonical because of apostolic authorship and because of theological conformity to the Church's teaching. Erasmus had confidence in the broadly Pauline spirit of the letter. Cajetan,

⁴³ Hagen, *Theology of Testament*, especially 56-70, 91-116; Atkinson, *Luther's Early Theological Works* 16, 105-07, 137-40; Hagen, Kenneth, 'The problem of Testament in Luther's *Lectures on Hebrews*', *Harvard Theological Review* 63 (1970), 61-90, especially 72-78.

⁴⁴ O'Connor, Michael, 'Cajetan and Paul', in Holder, R. Ward (ed.), *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 337-62 at 355-61.

⁴⁵ 'Quorum utrumque dedecet tantum Apostolum: ad Hebraeos praesertim, verborum textus Hebraici proprietatem scientes', Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting*, 7-8, 18-24.

⁴⁶ For an overview of the beginning of this process in England cf. Jones, Gareth Lloyd, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983); also below 119, 259-60.

however, placed a stronger emphasis on the actual penman. For him, because Hebrews was not apostolic, it was not canonical (*Epistolae*, 1532).⁴⁷ The Italian scholar was operating with relative exegetical freedom before the Council of Trent. Later Catholics would not enjoy such latitude. We will see in chapter 1 how Gregory Martin and Richard Bristow asserted the received Catholic assumption of Pauline authorship against what they saw as the dangers of Protestant assault against the tradition of the letter's penman.⁴⁸

3. John Calvin and Hebrews

Combined onslaught by Erasmus, Luther and Cajetan diminished the authority of Hebrews and revived supersessionist readings. In notable distinction from these critics, Reformed scholars took a more positive approach. Zwingli and Bullinger both placed a high value on the epistle. Bullinger wrote that Hebrews 'teaches about Christ more purely and better than any other writing'.⁴⁹ A little later, Calvin cut through the snares which bound Cajetan by grounding canonicity in the text's divine origins and self-authentication, and not in the apostolicity of its author.⁵⁰ Thus Calvin denied that Hebrews was Pauline but affirmed its authority. Hence throughout his commentary Calvin referred to the writer as 'the apostle'. In his *argumentum*, he stated that he cannot adduce any reason why Paul was the author. The letter is not stylistically Pauline and the Greek testamental application of διασηκη in chapter 9 rules out the possibility that the epistle was derived from a prior Hebrew text. If Paul had been trying to obscure himself, he would not have referred to Timothy in Heb 13.23. In his detailed commentary, Calvin observed that Paul thought of Timothy as a 'son'

⁴⁷ Parker, T.H.L., *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 109-11.

⁴⁸ Cf. below, 71.

⁴⁹ Quoted and translated in Opitz, Peter, 'Bullinger and Paul', in Holder, *Companion to Paul*, 243-65, at 251.

⁵⁰ Parker, *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries*, 112-13.

but in Heb 13.23 Timothy is termed a 'brother'. This, Calvin decided, was appropriate with authorship of the epistle by Clement or Luke.⁵¹

The question of Hebrews' author was of secondary importance for Calvin. What mattered was whether the letter spoke authentically and accurately about the things of God. Such truths were to be tested by the principle of the analogy of Scripture: did the message of the epistle cohere with the rest of the Bible? Calvin was unambiguously affirmative. The value of Hebrews' text lay in the quality and clarity of its witness:

Since the Epistle addressed to the Hebrews contains a full discussion of the eternal divinity of Christ, his supreme government, and only priesthood (which are the main points of heavenly wisdom) and as these things are so explained in it, that the whole power and work of Christ are set forth in the most graphic way, it rightly deserves to have the place and honour of an invaluable treasure in the Church.⁵²

Theodore Beza later went further. In his 1556 preface on Hebrews, Beza disassociated Hebrews from a named writer but explicitly affirmed its inspiration by God's Spirit: 'what is to be gained by arguing the name of the writer when the writer himself chose to be hidden? Let it suffice to know this, that it was truly dictated by the Holy Spirit'.⁵³

R. Michael Allen has helpfully argued in a recent article that Calvin should be viewed as the theologian of the letter to the Hebrews, just as Luther was the theologian of Paul's letter to the Romans.⁵⁴ Calvin set such store by the letter because it served his dual purposes against

⁵¹ Calvin, John, *Ioannis Calvin Opera Exegetica XIX Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, ed. Parker, T.H.L. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996), 11-12, 247-48.

⁵² 'Quum epistola quae ad Hebraeos inscribitur, uberem de aeterna Christi divinitate, summoque magisterio, et unico sacerdotio disputationem contineat (quae praecipua sunt caelestis sapientiae capita) et in his explicandis sic versetur, ut totam Christi virtutem ac officium nobis ad vivum exprimat; merito incomparabilis thesauri locum atque honorem in Ecclesia obtinere debet.' Calvin, *ad Hebraeos*, 4; translated in Calvin, John, *The Epistle of Paul The Apostle to the Hebrews and the First and Second Epistles of St Peter*, trans. Johnston, William B. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1963), ix.

⁵³ 'quid attinet de scriptoris nomine contendere quod scriptor ipse celatus voluit? Sufficiat hoc nosse, vere esse dictatam a Spiritu sancto', Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting*, 91-92.

⁵⁴ Allen, R. Michael, 'The Perfect Priest: Calvin on the Christ of Hebrews', in Laansma, *Christology, hermeneutics, and Hebrews*, 120-134, at 120.

Anabaptists and Catholics. The radicals' potential (as he saw it) to unravel social structures and received theological assumptions necessitated that he retained the traditional ordering of books in the Bible. He also needed the ethical discipline of the Old Testament.⁵⁵ Thus he sought similitude and congruence between the shadows of the old order and the truth which was revealed in Christ. As a matter of general principles, Calvin noted 'a difference in the nature or quality of the promises: the gospel points out with the finger what the law foreshadowed under types.'⁵⁶ More specifically, Calvin read from Hebrews that Christ was the end of the Law (*finem Legis*) which meant his doctrine was the fulfillment (*clausula*) of its prophecies, that his priesthood was more excellent (*praestantius*) and a spiritual accomplishment (*complementum*) of that in force under the Law, and that the new covenant was an improvement (*correctio*) of the old. Hebrews chapter 11 was important in this regard because it showed the presence of faith across both dispensations. Commenting on verse 8, Calvin wrote that Abraham was 'the principal father of the Church of God on earth'.⁵⁷ Later, on verse 24 he stated that '[t]he example of Moses ought to be remembered by the Jews above all others, because by his hand they were freed from slavery, the covenant of God with them was renewed and the foundation of the Church was laid with the promulgation of the Law.'⁵⁸ The long line of witnesses described in Hebrews 11 would also have a peculiar lure for Calvin's intellectual descendants in England. With Calvin they used these examples of godliness to affirm a unity of faith before and after the age of Christ.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Steinmetz, David C., 'John Calvin as an interpreter of the Bible', in *Calvin and the Bible* ed. McKim, 285-86; Allen, 'Perfect Priest', 124.

⁵⁶ Calvin, John, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. McNeill, J.T. and Battles, F.L., 2 vols. (London: SCM, 1960), i.426 (II.9.iii).

⁵⁷ 'qui praecipuus est in terris Ecclesiae Dei pater'. Calvin, *ad Hebraeos*, 192; English from Calvin, *Hebrews*, trans. Johnston, 166.

⁵⁸ 'Memorable prae aliis apud Iudaeos esse debuit Mosis exemplum, per cuius manum fuerant ex servitute manumissi, foedus Dei cum illis renovatum, status Ecclesiae publicata lege constitutus.' Calvin, *ad Hebraeos*, 202; English from Calvin, *Hebrews*, trans. Johnston, 176.

⁵⁹ Cf. below, 93 fn. 59.

In a move which anticipated the concerns of later English exegetes, Calvin found that Hebrews was speaking in a direct way to his divisive age. The Frenchman dedicated the first edition of his commentary (1549) to King Sigismund II of Poland, appealing for the new monarch to make good on the perceptions of reformers that he was sympathetic to their case. Calvin lauded Sigismund's concern for Christ's kingdom but warned of a clash with the corrupt institutions, profane worship, and overturned faith of the *Romano Antichristo*. In particular, Calvin sought to refute Johann Eck's *De sacrificio missae libri tres* (1526) which had been dedicated to the king's late father, Sigismund I. Hebrews was ideal because it implacably opposed Eck's eucharistic doctrine:

There is scarcely any book of Scripture that could be more fittingly chosen for this purpose. Here our apostle takes the greatest possible trouble to show that the sacrifice which Eck urges is clearly at variance with the priesthood of Christ. No mention is made here of the Mass, which Satan had not yet thrown up from the underworld. In his instruction to the Church to be content with the one, unique sacrifice which Christ made on the Cross, to do away with all sacrificial rites, he has surely barred the road to their new inventions. The apostle proclaims that Christ was sacrificed once for all on the Cross, while Eck invents the idea that this victim is renewed every day. The apostle declares that the Son of God alone was the fitting priest to offer himself to the Father, and for that was constituted by oath, while Eck says that priesthood does not rest in his Person only, but transfers his office to the hired sacrificers.⁶⁰

Here Calvin underlined the centrality of Hebrews to his polemic against Roman Catholic views on the eucharist. This argument would go to the heart of Elizabethan Protestant reception of the epistle. It also shows the usefulness of a limited supersessionism for early Reformed readers of Hebrews: they used the epistle to deny any propitiatory value to the eucharist and to reject sacrificial continuity between the priests of the Old Testament and

⁶⁰ 'Et sane vix ex tota Scriptura eligi ad eam rem aptior potuit ullus liber. Huc enim potissimum incumbit Apostolus noster, ut quod Eccius asserit sacrificium, cum Christi sacerdotio manifeste pugnare ostendat, Missae quidem nulla hic fit mentio, quam tunc Satan ex inferis nondum eructaverat. Sed dum unico sacrificio, quod in cruce peregit Christus, contentam esse Ecclesiam iubet, ut omnes immolandi ritus desinant, novis certe istorum commentis viam praecludit. Clamat hic Apostolus, semel duntaxat in cruce immolatum fuisse Christum: Eccius victimam hanc quotidie renovari fingit. Pronuntiat Apostolus solum Dei Filium fuisse idoneum Sacerdotum qui se Patri offeret, ideoque iureiurando constitutum: Eccius sacerdotium in eius persona residere negat, sed eius functionem ad conductitios sacrificos transcribit.' Calvin, *ad Hebraeos*, 7; English from Calvin, *Hebrews* trans. Johnston, xii.

the ministers of the New Testament. The attractiveness of Hebrews' supersessionism to the English Reformed would diminish as their theology assumed a position of mainstream establishment.

4. Hebrews and the English Reformed

The influence of continental Reformed thought on the Elizabethan Reformation is now well appreciated. Patrick Collinson, Richard Muller and others have deconstructed the earlier model which once pitted 'Calvin against the Calvinists'.⁶¹ Bullinger, Bucer and Vermigli were all important in late sixteenth-century England but Calvin was paramount. The records collated by Elizabeth Leedham-Green show that Calvin was the most-bequeathed writer in Cambridge wills in the last four decades of the sixteenth century, while Andrew Pettegree has demonstrated that Calvin was more translated into the vernacular in sixteenth-century England than in any other country.⁶²

The consumption of Calvin in England naturally included his commentaries. In 1605 Clement Cotton translated Calvin's Hebrews exegesis from French into English. Cotton claimed to speak for many when he wrote that the Christian Reader 'hast beene too long unfurnished' with this work.⁶³ English Protestants were summoned to share Cotton's praise for the Frenchman:

⁶¹ Collinson, Patrick, 'England and International Calvinism, 1558-1640', in *International Calvinism 1541-1715* ed. Prestwich, Menna (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 197-223; Muller, Richard A., *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1-102; Pettegree, Andrew, 'The Reception of Calvinism in Britain', in *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex* ed. Neuser, W. and Armstrong, B. (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997), 267-90, at 274-83; Ha, Polly and Collinson, Patrick (eds.), *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), especially xxvii-xxxvii, 63-81, 193-228. Cf. below, 91-92.

⁶² Leedham-Green, Elizabeth S., *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Pettegree, 'Reception of Calvinism, 275-79, 282.

⁶³ Calvin, John, *A Commentarie on the whole Epistle to the Hebrewes* trans. Cotton, Clement (London: 1605), Preface 'To the Reader'. It is hard to explain why Calvin's commentary was translated so late. Perhaps the need was not pressing because Calvin's most important ideas had been extracted for the general populace via

many chosen and worthy instruments has the Lord raised up here and there... [but] none for whom there is greater cause of thankfulness, than for that rare and excellent light of this age, *Mr. Calvin*: whether in respect of the large and many volumes, which with unwearable pains he has written, or the exceeding fruits which the Churches have thereby gained.⁶⁴

Thus while Erasmus, Luther and Cajetan illustrate the challenge to Hebrews reading from supersessionist tendencies, it was Calvin who shaped Elizabethan commenting on the letter. Calvin's approach successfully neutralised the question of authorship, reaffirmed the fulfillment of the old law in Christ, and harnessed the letter's potential for eucharistic controversy. As we will see, many Elizabethans were prepared to accept Hebrews as carrying apostolic weight whoever wrote it, and Calvin's assumptions about prophecy-fulfillment were almost universally received.

However, continental Reformed influence in England was never absolute. Firstly, there were domestic sources and conduits of Protestant theology. For example, more than a decade before Calvin wrote his commentary, William Tyndale had seen the usefulness of Hebrews for debates about the eucharist.

[T]here is no work in all scripture that so plainly declareth the meaning and significations of the sacrifices, ceremonies and figures of the old testament, as this epistle: in so much that if wilful blindness and malicious malice were not the cause, this epistle only were enough to weed out of the hearts of the papists that cankered heresy of justifying of works, concerning our sacraments, ceremonies and all manner of traditions of their own invention.⁶⁵

the biblical marginalia and sermons which are the subject of chapters 1 and 2. The apparent lateness of Cotton's translation should also be balanced with the absence of a complete commentary on Hebrews from an English writer for a further thirty years. Nonetheless the omission is still odd: Calvin's commentaries on the main Pauline epistles had all been translated more than twenty years previously.

⁶⁴ Cotton, Clement, 'To the Right Honourable Robert, Earle of Salisbury', in Calvin, John, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, accessed from www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/calcom44.iii.html on 11th September 2009. (I used this alternative source because the EEBO scanning of Cotton's translation listed in fn. 63 above has omitted a relevant page.)

⁶⁵ Tyndale, William, 'The Prologue to the Epistle of St Paul to the Hebrews', in *Tyndale's New Testament*, ed. Daniell, David (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 347.

These sentiments echo the value set on the epistle by Bullinger,⁶⁶ and the purpose for which Calvin believed Hebrews had been written. Tyndale had not been heavily influenced by either.

In addition, English commenting on Hebrews also assumed a different stylistic pattern to the continent. Mature purpose-built commentaries did not flow from English pens until the mid-seventeenth century when exclusion from public office afforded Henry Hammond and John Owen the time to write works of deliberate and extended scholarship. Before the civil wars, the overriding mode of English Hebrews exegesis was the sermon. This may reflect the puritan emphasis on practical divinity. As a result, English Hebrews commentaries from this period were collations of preaching, even if some (such as that of William Jones) were extensively reworked for publication. By contrast, although there was some interplay between Calvin's preaching and the construction of his commentaries,⁶⁷ his commentaries were written as a conscious expository counterpart to the *Institutes*.⁶⁸ English divines had less time for such purposeful exposition. Even the most advanced piece of Hebrews exegesis in English prior to Jones, the *Cloud of faithfull witnesses* by William Perkins, was shaped from earlier oral delivery. Indeed, it was posthumously published by third parties from lecture notes; Perkins himself did not have time or inclination to prepare the material for print.⁶⁹

A third distinctive feature of the early modern English reception of Hebrews was its sheer Englishness. English scholars absorbed material from continental presses. There is ample

⁶⁶ Cf. above, 33.

⁶⁷ Cf. Parker, T.H., *Calvin's Preaching* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 84-85.

⁶⁸ The Geneva *Congrégations* were studying Hebrews in early 1549 and there may have been preaching in that city on the epistle in the same year but Parker is of the opinion that Calvin had begun his commentary in 1548. Calvin, *ad Hebraeos*, ix-x; Parker, 'Calvin's Commentary', 135. Cf. also Hansen, 'Calvin as commentator on Hebrews', 257.

⁶⁹ Perkins, William, *A cloud of faithfull witnesses, leading to the Heavenly Canaan: or A Commentarie upon the 11. Chapter to the Hebrewes, preached in Cambridge* (London, 1608), frontispiece.

evidence of this in library catalogues⁷⁰ and marginalia which are shot through with references to continental works. There are also occasional examples of English Protestant polemic in Latin making reference to the epistle.⁷¹ However, there are very few examples of extended commentary specifically on Hebrews in Latin by an English commentator between 1547 and 1685; what little there is includes two academic lectures by John Prideaux and a list of brief *excursi* by John Doughty.⁷² This preponderance of vernacular material partly reflects a trend for commentary by means of sermon. Sermons were devised for oral delivery in the first instance and frequently spoke to issues of local or national concern. Those writers who could have contributed exegetical tomes to wider European debate (e.g. Hammond and Owen) still chose to publish in English. Comparison with Scotland is salutary. North of the border, a different political and religious climate produced two Latin commentaries on Hebrews before 1650.⁷³ In the larger kingdom to the south, scholarly attention was more inward-focused. A combination of need, history, insularity and *realpolitik*

⁷⁰ *Catalogus interpretum S. Scripturae, iuxta numerorum ordinem, quo extant in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Oxford, 1635); Owen, John, *Bibliotheca Oweniana, sive, Catalogus librorum plurimis facultatibus insignium, instructissimae bibliothecae Rev. Doct. Vir. D. Joan Oweni (quondam vice-cancellarii & decani edis-Christi in academia Oxoniensi) nuperrimè defuncti: cum variis manuscriptis Grecis, Latinis &c* ([London], 1684); Blatchly, John, *The Town Library of Ipswich Provided for the Use of the Town Preachers in 1599: A History and Catalogue* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989).

⁷¹ Cf. e.g. the citation of Heb 7 in Whitaker, William, *Ad Nicolai Sanderi demonstrationes quadraginta, in octavo libro visibilis Monarchiae positae, quibus Romanum Pontificem non esse Antichristum docere instituit, responsio Guilielmi Whitakeri, theologiae in Academia Cantabrigiensi professoris Regij Accessit eiusdem thesis de Antichristo, defensa in comitijs Cantabrigiensibus* (London, 1583), 241; cf. Gatiss, 'Adoring', 212-18.

⁷² Prideaux, John, *Viginti-duae lectiones de totidem religionis captivis, praecipue hoc tempore controversis, prout publicè habebantur Oxoniae in vesperis quibus accesserunt Tredecim orationes inavgrales de totidem theologiae apicibus scitu non indignis, prout in promotione doctorum in comitijs habebantur* (Oxford, 1648); Doughty, John, *Analecta sacra: sive excursus philologici, super diversis s. scripturae locis; praecipue, quà, cum moribus, ritibus, institutisque priscorum gentilium conspirant, aut per ea aliquo modo illustrantur* (London, 1660). There was also a printing in London of a continental Latin commentary and a sermon in French: Tena, Ludovico, *Commentaria & disputationes in Epistolam D. Pauli ad Hebraeos auctore* (London, 1661); Anon., *Sermon sur L'Épître de S. Paul aux Hebreux. Au Chapitre VI. Versets 4, 5, & 6* (London, 1686). The catalogues of Crowe and Verneuil focus solely on English texts and the inherent insularity of EEBO based on Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-title catalogue* is well known, but the lack of Latin output remains striking. Verneuil, John, *A nomenclator of such tracts and sermons as have been printed or translated into English upon any place of holy scripture* (Oxford, 1637); [Crowe, William], *The Catalogue of our English writers on the Old and New Testament either in whole or in part: whether commentators, elucidators, adnotators, expositors, at large or in single sermons: corrected and enlarged with three or four thousand additional* (London, 1668); Pettegree, Andrew, 'Afterword', in Ha and Collinson, *Reception of Continental Reformation*, 229-236, at 235-36.

⁷³ Rollock, Robert, *Analysis logica in epistolam ad Hebraeos* (Edinburgh, 1605); Dickson, David, *Expositio analytica omnium apostolicarum epistolarum, seu, Brevis introductio ad pleniore commentarios*, (Glasgow, 1645). Cf. comment on the central European influence on Rollock in Hotson, Howard, "'A Generall Reformation of Common Learning'" and its Reception in the English-Speaking World, 1560-1642', in Ha and Collinson, *Reception of Continental Reformation*, 193-228, at 215-16.

coalesced into a decidedly one-way street: European ideas flowed into England in Latin, but England's output was for the English.⁷⁴

The vernacularity of this commenting nuances recent academic emphases about England's intellectual relationship to the continent. Patrick Collinson rightly cautioned against studies which consciously or subconsciously over-emphasise British insularity. He helpfully noted the importance of Peter Brook's 1965 breakthrough which appreciated the German Lutheran and Swiss Reformed contributions to the formation of Cranmer's eucharistic doctrine. However, Collinson also acknowledged the presence of English 'exceptionalism'. By this he meant the impact of England's location 'beyond the seas' upon the English self-perception of difference. Collinson left open the question of just how exceptional this exceptionalism was.⁷⁵ English writers' choices about the genre and language of their Hebrews exegesis were examples of distinctiveness, even though many of the key issues which they discussed were informed by continental scholarship.

5. Outline of this study

The chapters which follow seek to show how and why a reception history of Hebrew offers a valuable prism through which to explore many aspects of theological history in England

⁷⁴ John Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (1660 and subsequent editions) demonstrated the depth of English scholarship and brought together a massive selection of continental Latin commentaries. Pearson was anticipated by John Mayer's collection of translations for a specifically English readership of continental exegesis. Pearson, John, *Critici sacri, sive, Doctissimorum vivorum in ss. Biblia annotationes, & tractatus opus summâ curâ recognitum, & in novem tomos divisum, quid in hoc opere praestitum sit praefatio ad lectorem ostendit* (London, 1660); Mayer, John, *A commentarie upon all the epistles of the apostle Saint Paul, being fourteene representing the divers expositions thereof, out of the workes of the most learned, both ancient Fathers and moderne writers, and hereby sifting out the true sense of every passage, for the benefit of all that desire to reade with understanding* (London, 1631).

⁷⁵ Cf. e.g. Collinson, Patrick, 'The Fog in the Channel Clears: The Rediscovery of the Continental Dimension to the British Reformation', in Ha and Collinson, *Reception of Continental Reformation*, xxvii-xxxvii; cf. also Muller, Richard, 'Reflections on persistent Whiggism and its antidotes in the study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century intellectual history', in Chapman et al (eds.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, 142, 149; McGiffert, Michael, 'From Moses to Adam: the making of the covenant of works', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19 (1988), 131-55, at 134; Brooks, Peter, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist: An Essay in Historical Development* 2nd edn. (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1992).

between the reigns of Edward VI and Charles II. This is a story of how and why Reformed thought and practice evolved from novelty and innovation, through a phase of confident establishment, and into an age of division, decline and defensiveness. An anti-Catholic impulse motivated early Protestant interpretations of christology, salvation and the eucharist in Hebrews. This drew on the epistle's message that there is a qualitative difference between the continuous sacrifices of the Old Testament and the one-off oblation of Christ in order to deny the connections made by Catholics between the priests of the Jewish Temple and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. However, the experience of radical supersessionism in the middle decades of the seventeenth century struck at established political, social and religious systems, and transformed the priorities of Reformed Hebrews scholars towards a defensive retrenchment of the continuities between the two dispensations.

The first two chapters flow from this introduction by showing how English exegetes took Calvin's soteriological and sacramental interest in Hebrews and applied it to eucharistic debate. Archbishop Cranmer embedded the sacrificial discourse of Hebrews 9 and 10 at the heart of his Passiontide lectionary, contributing to the cascade of Protestant ideas into parishes.⁷⁶ Elizabethan preachers broadened the use of the epistle. For Edward Dering, a fiery puritan lecturer, Hebrews was a background for his anti-Catholic invective. By contrast, the learned conformist William Perkins read continuity between the Testaments from the examples of faith among the patriarchs (Heb 11) and used this against Protestants who would separate from the fold of the Church of England.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ This accords with the importance of the Prayer Book as set out in Maltby, Judith, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 31-82.

⁷⁷ Cf. e.g. Lake, Peter, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Chapter 3 steps beyond the Tudor period to show how reception history lends weight to Nicholas Tyacke's presentation of the significance of anti-puritan innovation in the early seventeenth century.⁷⁸ This is evidenced by Lancelot Andrewes' disregard for Hebrews' discussion of sacrifice; when Andrewes did use Hebrews he was more interested in what the exhortatory material towards the end of the epistle might add to his campaign for diligence in Christian living. A generation later and the reception history of Hebrews reveals a stark illustration of the effectiveness of Arminian conspiracy to tone down vitriolic anti-Catholic Reformed invective. William Jones' commentary on the epistle suffered from controversial pre-publication censorship, thus demonstrating how scriptural exegesis was made to conform to the broader trends in early Stuart polemics which have been identified by Anthony Milton.⁷⁹

The fourth chapter reveals the usefulness of Hebrews' readings for a wide range of supersessionist thought during the civil wars. Hitherto, only Herbert McLachlan has appreciated how the English translation of Johann Crell's Hebrews commentary was at the forefront of the introduction of Socinian theology into England.⁸⁰ Moreover, there are important resonances between Crell's denigration of Christ's earthly atonement and the superficially more mainstream writings of Henry Hammond. Both associate Christ's priestly ministry not with substitutionary sacrifice on the cross but with intercession for sinners before the Father's heavenly throne. Hammond's controversiality is reinforced through

⁷⁸ Tyacke, Nicholas, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990); contra White, Peter, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁷⁹ Milton, Anthony, *Catholic and Reformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), chs. 1, 2 and 4.

⁸⁰ McLachlan, Herbert John, *Socinianism in Seventeenth England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), 108-17, 149.

evidence hidden in the manuscript precursor to his *Paraphrase and Annotations* (1653).⁸¹ This is a crucial document in need of further research. My identification of Socinian influence on Hammond's biblical exegesis complements Sarah Mortimer's recent discovery of socinianising influences within the political writings of Hammond and other interregnum episcopalians,⁸² and nuances earlier presentations of emergent 'Anglican' thought.⁸³ Towards the end of chapter 4, supersessionist readings of Hebrews are further discovered in writings as disparate as the anti-tithe campaigning of Gerrard Winstanley and the spiritualising philosophy of Peter Sterry.

Reformed rejoinders predictably followed these new challenges. Chapters 5 and 6 make the case that theological historians have paid insufficient attention to these ripostes. Chapter 5 analyses the knee-jerk reaction of Westminster Presbyterians to antitrinitarianism between the first and second editions of the 'English' *Annotations* on the King James Bible. A raft of trinitarian statements was added to the marginalia of Hebrews chapter 1 to shore up mainstream christology against Socinian assault.⁸⁴ These insertions indicate how this important document sat between two eras, delicately balanced between the binary anti-Catholic worldview of the Elizabethan Reformed and the more complex religious topography of the Restoration. William Gouge was more conscious than the Westminster annotators of the epistle's capacity to be read in a supersessionist way. Chapter 6 shows the

⁸¹ Hammond, Henry, *A paraphrase, and annotations upon all the books of the New Testament briefly explaining all the difficult places thereof* (London, 1653); Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Jones 45, Hammond, Henry, 'Paraphrase and Annotations'.

⁸² Mortimer, Sarah, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 63-146.

⁸³ Cf. below, 149-51.

⁸⁴ Downham, John (ed.), *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament wherein the text is explained, doubts resolved, Scriptures paralleled and various readings observed* (London, 1645); Downham, John (ed.), *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament this second edition so enlarged, as they make an entire commentary on the sacred Scripture: the like never before published in English* (London, 1651).

sophistication of his massive commentary⁸⁵ in which typology and a Ramist attention to detail were deployed to bind the Old and New Testaments together. Gouge's commentary has been sadly overshadowed because of the near-contemporary publication of the even more monumental *Exercitations and Exposition* of John Owen.

Owen's reliance on 'federal' (covenant) theology to defend the unity of God's plan across the old and new dispensations is the subject of chapter 7. Sebastian Rehnman has highlighted how Owen's prising apart of the Sinai and evangelical covenants represents an unusual move in Reformed soteriology.⁸⁶ My examination of Owen sets this development in historical context. Owen's presentation of the covenant conceded that there was some development between the time of Moses and the age of Jesus - but did so in such a way as to provide a platform from which he could confidently reassert traditional teachings about God, christology and salvation.

Across all seven chapters it will be seen how the relevance of Hebrews to early modern theology meant that the epistle was subjected to the cutting edge of biblical-critical techniques. The epistle affords a good example of hermeneutical development throughout the period. Protestant rejection of medieval allegory was useful in Elizabethan Hebrews commenting because it severed the comparison drawn by Catholics between the sacrificial ministers of the Old Testament and the eucharistic offering of the contemporary Church. By the seventeenth century, intra-Protestant debate indirectly encouraged the growth of ancient near-eastern language study and the application of nascent historical criticism to the text. Despite their opposing standpoints, John Owen and Henry Hammond both relied on

⁸⁵ Gouge, William, *A learned and very useful commentary on the whole epistle to the Hebrews wherein every word and particle in the original is explained* (London, 1655).

⁸⁶ Rehnman, Sebastian, 'Is the Narrative of Redemptive History Trichotomous or Dichotomous? A Problem for Federal Theology', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 80 (2000), 296-308.

these new interpretational skills. These patterns agree with recent research⁸⁷ which views modern biblical criticism primarily as the product of debate within the Church and not of outside assault from radicals like Spinoza.

⁸⁷ Levitin, Dmitri, 'From Sacred History to the History of Religion: Pagans, Jews and Christians in European Historiography from the Reformation to 'Enlightenment'', *Historical Journal* 55 (2012), 1117–60; Levitin, Dmitri, *Ancient wisdom in the age of the New Science: histories of philosophy in England, c. 1640-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Chapter I

Defining the text and seizing its authority:

Hebrews reading in the founding documents of the English Reformation

A recent strand of Reformation historiography has viewed the impact of early modern religious ideas as part of a process of 'confessionalisation'.¹ This research has underlined the political and social implications of religious belief and practice: European rulers and governments aligned with Catholic, Lutheran or Reformed systems, and thereby encouraged ecclesiastical distinctiveness within their territories. In turn, this reinforced the construction of their nation state. Peter Marshall observes that the 'confessionalisation thesis' has received more attention among continental scholars than in England. He attributes this in part to caution among revisionist English historians about grand narratives.² He also cites the vacillations of royal policy towards doctrine and practice between the latter years of Henry VIII and the settlement of Elizabeth I for creating an incomplete synthesis between English religious identity and the nation state. Although the Act of Uniformity required attendance at Church, significant puritan and Catholic minorities survived outside the established Church. Marshall concludes that England represents 'a case-study in failed, partial state-confessionalisation'.³ Thus there is much evidence in England for the lay reception of Protestant teaching but, when compared to the continent, this confessionalisation had less impact on state-formation.

¹ Schilling, Heinz, *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatbildung* (Gütersloh, 1981); Reinhard, Wolfgang, 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State: a Reassessment', *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989), 385-403.

² Marshall, Peter, 'Confessionalisation, Confessionalism and Confusion in the English Reformation', 1-15; downloaded from https://www.augustana.edu/Documents/history/marshall_reformation_paper.pdf on 12th March 2015.

³ Marshall, 'Confessionalisation', 9.

The use of the letter to the Hebrews in the foundational documents of the Edwardine and Elizabethan Churches bears out the thrust of Marshall's argument. This chapter will show from the Book of Common Prayer, the Homilies, and vernacular Bibles that readings of Hebrews were a useful vehicle for religious ideas about Christ's unique sacrifice and its implications for understanding the eucharist, but that the letter's contribution to state-formation was only indirect and inadvertent. An examination of the reception history of Hebrews in these foundational texts is an obvious place to begin this broader study of the epistle in early modern England because these books had a widespread circulation and were thus significant in undergirding the changing religious landscape of the whole country. Unlike on the continent where credal statements played a major role in confessionalisation,⁴ it was officially sanctioned liturgy and scripture which were at the forefront of cascading Reformation ideas down to the parishes of England.

Prayer Book and Homilies

The cultural significance of the Book of Common Prayer in the post-Reformation decades is now well appreciated.⁵ Judith Maltby in particular has shown how the regular recitation of familiar cadences inculcated a deep-seated 'Prayer Book Protestantism'.

Historical evidence suggests that, a generation or so into Elizabeth's reign, the English Prayer Book had "embedded" itself in lay consciousness in a way not dissimilar to the popular liturgical practice of the fifteenth century described by

⁴ Rohls, Jan, *Reformed Confessions: Theology from Zurich to Barmen* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1998); Cochrane, Arthur C. (ed.), *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2003).

⁵ Maltby, Judith, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Maltby, Judith, "'By this Book': parishioners, the Prayer Book and the established church", in *The Early Stuart Church 1603-1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham, (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1993), 115-37; Targoff, Ramie, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Rosendale, Timothy, *Liturgy and Literature in the making of Protestant England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Jones, Norman, 'Religious Settlements' in *A Companion to Tudor Britain* ed. Tittler, Robert and Jones, Norman (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 238-53 at 241-42.

Eamon Duffy. It is instructive to remember how quickly new religious practices can become “traditions”.⁶

Despite rising literacy levels, most could not read and write, and so it was in public worship that the majority of Englishmen encountered the letter to the Hebrews. This took place during the weekly recitation of matins, the occasional celebration of holy communion, and through citations and allusions in preaching.⁷ In particular, the Prayer Book made careful deployment of Hebrews in its eucharistic lectionary and liturgy.

In contrast to the Prayer Book, the Homilies have received less scholarly attention. They were nonetheless an important device for extending Protestant belief. For example, Ashley Null notes that the Homilies were a major reason for what Cardinal Pole saw as the corruption of English doctrine and practice.⁸ Readings of Hebrews in the Homilies were less focussed on soteriological and eucharistic issues but controversiality will be seen in how they cited the description of Christ’s death from Heb 9 and 10 in opposition to the Catholic idea of intercession for the dead.

Both the Prayer Book and Homilies were inspired by Thomas Cranmer,⁹ the long-standing Archbishop of Canterbury who found himself at the heart of the Edwardine regency. Catholic voices were rapidly excluded from court and England headed down an unambiguously Protestant road.¹⁰ Cranmer himself had made a long personal journey from

⁶ Maltby, Judith, ‘The Prayer Book and the Parish Church: from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Restoration’, in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* ed. Hefling, Charles and Shattuck, Cynthia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 79-92, at 92.

⁷ Green, Ian, ‘How Scripture knowledge was disseminated among the laity of the Elizabethan and Stuart England’, a lecture given at *The Bible in the Seventeenth Century: The Authorised Version Quatercentenary (1611-2011) Conference*, 7th – 9th July 2011, University of York.

⁸ Null, Ashley, ‘Official Tudor Homilies’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. McCullough, Peter E., Adlington, Hugh, Rhatigan, Emma (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 348-65, at 358.

⁹ Proctor, Francis and Frere, Walter Howard, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: MacMillan, 1951); Griffiths, John (ed.), *Book of Homilies* (Vancouver: Regent College, 2008), Editor’s Preface.

¹⁰ MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (New York: Palgrave, 1999), chs. 1 and 2; Loach, Jennifer, *Edward VI* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), ch. 3.

Catholicism, through Lutheranism, and finally into a Reformed expression of Protestantism.¹¹ Central to his final position was a conviction, influenced by Reformed critics of Luther, that Christ could not be ubiquitously physically present in more than one place at the same time. This eucharistic thinking was very important in Cranmer's use of Hebrews in the Prayer Book lectionary of 1549 and offers a foretaste of the broader English Protestant reception of the epistle under Elizabeth I.

Cranmer used Hebrews as the centrepiece of his Passiontide lectionary. He selected epistle readings from Hebrews on four occasions: from Heb 1.1-12 on Christmas Day, from Heb 9.11-15 on the Fifth Sunday in Lent, from Heb 9.16-28 on the Wednesday in Holy Week, and from Heb 10.1-25 on Good Friday. Appendix I shows that with only four citations across thirteen chapters, Hebrews was relatively underused in the 1549 communion lectionary. It ranks only joint 14th out of the 21 books cited, a lower position than major Pauline works like Romans (joint 7th) and Galatians (5th), and faring even worse than the notoriously awkward letter of James (9th). This relative underuse, however, needs to be set alongside the prominent occasions on which Cranmer selected Hebrews texts. His lections on Christmas Day and Passion Sunday were derived from ancient usage: Cranmer's choice generally followed a pattern of conservative retention from earlier lectionaries.¹² However, the choice of Hebrews for epistle readings on Holy Wednesday and Good Friday did not reflect Sarum practice and was probably the archbishop's innovation. The verses selected for Holy Wednesday follow immediately from the Hebrews text for Passion Sunday and immediately precede those used on Good Friday. *Pace* the Anglo-Catholic liturgist and

¹¹ MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 354f.

¹² Cf. Brightman, F.E., *The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, 2 vols. (London: Rivingtons, 1915), i. 220-23, 310-13, 348-51, 372-77; Proctor and Frere, *New History*, 522, 535. A century later, Anthony Farindon used the Christmas Day lection from Hebrews as part of his argument against the Cromwellian proscription of the festival. Farindon defended the observation of December 25th as 'a duty not onely of the Closet, but the Church'. Farindon, Anthony, *XXX sermons lately preached at the parish church of Saint Mary Magdalen Milkstreet, London* (London, 1657), 2.

historian Walter Frere, it is abundantly clear why this selection was made: it underlined Christ's death as a single offering for sin.¹³ This language of Christ's one-off sacrifice was important in denying that the eucharist had any value as a propitiatory sacrifice. Contemporary constructive and controversial agenda thus shone through the adjustments that Cranmer made to the liturgical year. Moreover, these were choices that would endure: the four Cranmerian Hebrews lections were retained in the Prayer Books of 1552, 1559 and 1662.¹⁴

The archbishop also set the uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice at the centre of his communion rite. He used words which picked up a Reformed sacramental exegesis of Heb 9 and 10:

O God heavenly father, which of thy tender mercie diddest geve thine only sonne Jesu Christ to suffer death upon the crosse for our redempcion, who made there (by his one oblacion once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifyce, oblacion, and satysfaccyon, for the sinnes of the whole worlde, and did institute, and in his holy Gospell commaund us, to celebrate a perpetuall memory of that his precious death, untyll his comming again...¹⁵

Cranmer's phraseology drew out the uniqueness of Christ's death. He wanted to underline the punctiliar nature and utter completeness of the sacrifice. There was no room left for repetitious propitiatory masses.

Cranmer's exegesis of Hebrews in the Book of Common Prayer is similar to the priorities of Calvin which were identified in the Introduction. However, as with Tyndale,¹⁶ Calvin did not have a direct influence on the archbishop. Calvin's commentary on Hebrews was published in May 1549, but by this time the Houses of Parliament were already scrutinising

¹³ Proctor and Frere, *New History*, 535.

¹⁴ In addition, the 1552, 1559 and 1662 Prayer Books also include a short Hebrews quote in the rite for communion of the sick: *The First and Second Prayer Books of King Edward the Sixth* (Everyman's Library No.448, London: Dent, 1927); *The booke of common praier, and administration of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies in the Church of Englande* (London, 1559); *The Book of Common Prayer [1662]* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, n.d.).

¹⁵ *First and Second Prayer Books*, 222.

¹⁶ Cf. above, 38-39.

the Prayer Book.¹⁷ A man who may have been a more direct inspiration was Peter Martyr Vermigli. Vermigli, an Italian reformer whom Cranmer invited to England, assumed the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford during the reign of Edward VI. David Steinmetz has analysed how he was responsible for the ‘rehabilitation of the idea of sacrifice within the framework of a Reformed doctrine of the Lord’s Supper’,¹⁸ in part through his reading of Hebrews. Vermigli set Hebrews alongside Paul’s injunction in Romans 12.1 that Christians be a living sacrifice. He did this in order to distinguish between propitiatory and eucharistic sacrifices. Working from Vermigli’s writings, Steinmetz writes that ‘when the church, in response to divine grace and in dependence upon it, gives alms, offers praise and thanksgiving, disciplines itself or loses itself in the service of men, it is offering God, not a meritorious service which can propitiate sin, but a eucharistic sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. The uniqueness of the cross did not exclude such eucharistic sacrifices. On the contrary, it evokes them.’¹⁹ Cranmer would have heartily agreed. In the prayer of oblation at the end of his communion rite, the priest was to instruct his congregation to ‘offre and present unto thee (O Lorde) oure selfe, oure soules, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee’.²⁰

Archbishop Cranmer had less personal input into the Homilies than the Book of Common Prayer, especially in their final Elizabethan manifestation. Nonetheless, it was his vision that initiated this didactic aid for clergy who did not have licences to preach. Marginal citations of Hebrews are to be found in many Homilies – although there are too many editions of the Homilies for any collation to be definitive. John Griffith’s nineteenth-century edition, based on the first volume of 1559 and the second volume of 1563, remains a respected critical

¹⁷ Calvin, John, *The Epistle of Paul The Apostle to the Hebrews and the First and Second Epistles of St Peter*, trans. Johnston, William B. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1963), xiv; Proctor and Frere, *New History*, ch. 3.

¹⁸ Steinmetz, David C., *Reformers in the Wings* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1971), 159.

¹⁹ Steinmetz, *Reformers in the Wings*, 160.

²⁰ *First and Second Prayer Books*, 223.

publication. However, it must be supplemented by other editions of the Homilies for Good Friday and Easter Day because Griffiths unhelpfully added references from Richard Taverner's *Postils* to his text of these two Homilies.²¹

Appendix 2 details the relative prominence of Hebrews within the Homilies. There are a total of 36 Hebrews citations. In terms of the frequency of citation, the epistle fares better in the Homilies than in the Prayer Book. Again it ranks 14th, but this is out of a much larger scriptural pool (63 books in total). Hebrews lags behind all the gospels - bar Mark - and some of the Pauline writings, but is notably ahead of Galatians (15th), Acts (=16th), II Corinthians (31st), and all books of the Old Testament. Hebrews citation is particularly concentrated in three of the homilies: the Homily Concerning Prayer, the Homily for Good Friday, and the Homily for Rogationtide each have six citations from the epistle. This concentration did not represent the niche interest of a single writer because Griffiths implied that there were different authors for each of these discourses.²² Nonetheless, these three Homilies are connected in that they were all first published in the second volume of 1563. On the one hand, there might be a hint here that leaders of the English Church in the 1560s were increasingly appreciating the expository value which Calvin set on the epistle. On the other hand, Hebrews in the Homilies was deployed more for broad moral exhortation than concentrated polemical dispute. The Homilies were primarily written to inculcate godly living in the masses. Thus, while the choice of Hebrews as an epistle lesson at communion on Good Friday in the Book of Common Prayer appears to have been dogmatically motivated, its citation in the Homily for Good Friday may have been more pastoral. The Homily has a practical bent in its injunction to avoid sin, to promote mutual

²¹ Griffiths, *Homilies*, xxxix-xlvi; *Sermons or Homilies appointed to be read in churches in the time of Queen Elizabeth of famous memory* (London: Prayer Book and Homily Society, 1824); Rickey, Mary Ellen and Stroup, Thomas B. (eds.); *Certain sermons or Homilies: Appointed to be Read in Churches, in the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547-1571)* (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1968), v-vi.

²² Griffiths, *Homilies*, xxvii-xxxvii; Null, 'Homilies', 359-60.

forgiveness, and to be thankful to Christ. Nonetheless, in its consideration of the flaws of the old Law, the more doctrinal Reformed interest in Hebrews shines through.²³ The predominantly pastoral use of Hebrews is also to be found in the Homily Concerning Prayer and the Homily for Rogationtide. In the first of these, Christ's unique oblation elicited three connected Hebrews references (9.14, 10.10, 10.14). The writer used these to place emphasis on the special purgative powers of Christ's death. However, the Homily also used these references to refute the Catholic notion of prayer for the dead. In the Homily for Rogationtide, three citations of Hebrews were taken from 1.3 but this was done in order to make uncontentious assertions about the nature of God.

The use of Hebrews in the Book of Common Prayer and the Homilies thus gives an early snapshot of the diversity of Reformed interest in the epistle. Some of this concerned pastoralia and practical questions of godly living. However, another strand was more dogmatic and controversial. Hebrews could have a powerful polemical use in promoting Reformed doctrines of salvation and opposing Catholic alternatives.

Vernacular Bibles

Akin to the processes observed by Maltby in the popularity of the Book of Common Prayer, Ian Green, among others, has gone to great pains to show the efforts made by the educated elite to inculcate Protestant biblical culture across English society.²⁴ Thus alongside the Prayer Book and Homilies, vernacular Bibles were another obvious device through which Protestant ideas might penetrate local communities and impact upon individuals' lives. Green explores how piety and profit combined to disseminate the Bible throughout

²³ *Sermons or Homilies* (1824), 426, 435; Griffiths, *Homilies*, 428.

²⁴ Green, Ian, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

England.²⁵ Diverse formats from folio to duodecimo brought the word of God to readers of different means. A range of interpretational aids such as illustrations, maps and versification all assisted the reader to break open the message of Scripture. Among these devices, commentary was of paramount importance. It evolved from the medieval model of gloss and scholion into a range of exegesis, some of which was basic and introductory, and some of which was much more exacting.

The different styles of scriptural commentary published within Elizabethan Bibles concur with Green's picture of a diverse and flourishing print culture. We will see how the short, punchy annotations in the margins of the Geneva text (1560) presented Calvin's emphasis on the eucharistic implications of Hebrews to a wide English audience. This focus on sacramentology and soteriology was concentrated into more detailed and vitriolic argument amongst the theologically educated in the translation and commentary which accompanied the publication of the Protestant Bishops' Bible and Catholic Rheims New Testament (RNT). Gregory Martin and Richard Bristow tried to seize back the epistle for the Catholic cause only to be answered by William Fulke and Thomas Cartwright. Both parties were aiming at a more exclusive readership than the Geneva marginalia. The chapter concludes by showing how this academic antagonism resolved into a degree of covert synthesis. The Church of England became more confident in its establishment and its biblical scholars came to draw quietly upon the RNT in their labours towards producing a new Bible for King James.

²⁵ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, ch. 2.

The 1560 Geneva Bible

The publication of the Geneva Bible in 1560 witnessed the first direct injection of Calvin's reading of Hebrews into the English commenting tradition.²⁶ The translators, all dedicated Marian Protestants, had been strengthened by continental Reformed thought during their period of exile. Calvin's French Bible was notably influential on the GenB. The verse division, italicisation of words not in the original text, maps and illustrations, parts of the preface, and – crucially - the use of marginal notes, all derived from Calvin's French text. Moreover, the actual content of the GenB annotations was often taken over from the French Bible or from the annotations made by Theodore Beza in his Latin Bible of 1556.²⁷

²⁶ The Genevan text of Hebrews was principally the work of William Whittingham and first appeared in his English NT of 1557. Greenslade, S.L., 'William Whittingham, Dean of Durham (1524-1579)', *The Durham University Journal* 39 (1946), 28-36. Cf. also Daiches, David, *The King James Version of the English Bible* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 48-69; Hall, Basil, 'The Genevan Version of the English Bible: Its Aims and Achievements', in *The Bible, The Reformation and the Church*, ed. Stephens, W.P. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 84-108; Berry, Lloyd (ed.), *The Geneva Bible* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 14.

²⁷ Hall, 'Genevan Version', 124, 130, 140-41.

THE EPISTLE TO the Ebrewes.

THE ARGUMENT.

Forasmuche as diuers, both of the Greke writers and Latines witnesseth, that the writer of this Epistle for iuste causes wold: not haue his name knowne, it were curiostie of our parte to labour muche therein. For seeing the Spirit of God is the autor thereof, it diminisheth nothing the autoritie, although we knowe not with what penne he wrote it. Whether it were Paul (as it is not like) or Luke, or Barnabas, or Clement, or some other, his chief purpose is to persuade vnto the Ebrewes (whereby he principally meaneth them that abode at Ierusalem, and vnder them all the rest of the Iewes) that Christ Iesus was not onely the redemer, but also that at his comming all ceremonies must haue an end: forasmuche as his doctrine was the conclusion of all the propheties, and therefore not onely Moses was inferior to him, but also the Angels: for they all were seruants, and he the Lord, but so Lord, that he hath also taken our flesh, and is made our brother to assure vs of our saluation through him self: for he is that eternal Priest, whereof all the Leuitical Priests were but shadowes, and therefore at his comming they ought to cease, and all sacrifices for sinne to be abolished, as he proueth from the seventh chap. verse 11. vnto the 12. chap. verse 18. Also he was that Prophet of whom all the Prophetes in time past witnessed, as is declared from the 12. chapter, verse 18. to the twentieth and sine verse of the same chapter: yea, and is the King to whom all things are subiect, as appeareth from that verse 25. to the beginning of the last chapter. Wherefore according to the examples of the olde fathers we must constantly beleue in him, that being sanctified by his iustice, taught by his wisdom, and gouerned by his power, we may stedfastly, and courageously perseuer euen to the end in hope of that ioye that is set before our eyes, occupying our selves in Christian exercises that we may bothe be thankfull to God, and dutifull to our neighbour.

CHAP. I.

1 He sheweth the excellencie of Christ 4 About the Angels, 7 And of their office.

a God, who is ever constant, and merciful to his Church, declared his wil in time past, not all at once, or at one forte, but from time to time, and in sondre fortess but now last of all he hath fully declared all truth to vs by his sonne
Wis. 7. 26.
col. 1. 14.
b So that now we may not erred in anie new reuelation after him
Psal. 27. chap. 1. 9. ad. 13. 33.
2 Sam. 7. 14. 3. chro. 22. 20. Psal. 97. 8.
c He entreteeth here of Christ, bothe as touching his persone, which is verie God, & verie man, by whom all things are made, and also as touching his office, whereby he is King, Prophet & Priest. d The true image and picture, so that he that seeth him, seeth the Father, to whom 14. 9. for els the persone of the Father is not seene, but apprehended by faith. e So that our finnes can be purged by some other means. f Muche more then then all other things created. g Because he was at the time appointed declared to the worlde.



T sondrie times & in diuers maners God spake in y^e olde time to our fathers by the Prophetes: In these last dayes he hath spoken vnto vs by his Sonne, to whom he hath made heir of all things, by whome also he made the worldes,

7 And of the Angels he saith, * He maketh the Spirits his messengers, and his ministers a flame of fyre.
8 But vnto the Sonne he saith, * O God, thy throne is for euer and euer: the scepter of thy kingdome is a scepter of righteousness.
9 Thou hast loued righteousness and hated iniquitie. Wherefore God, euen thy God, hath anointed thee with oyle of gladnes about thy fellows.
10 And, * Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast established the earth, and the heaucens are the workes of thine hands.
11 They shal perish, but thou dost remaine: and they all shal waxe olde as doeth a garment.
12 And as a vesture shalt thou folde them vp, and they shal be changed: but thou art the same and thy yeres shal not faile.
13 Vnto which also of the Angels said he at anie time, * Sit at my right hand, til I make thine enemies thy fote stole?
14 Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister, for their sakes which shal be heires of saluation?

15 And is made so muche more excellent then the Angels in as muche as he hath obtained a more excellent name then thei.
16 For vnto which of the Angels said he at anie time, * Thou art my Sonne, & this day begate I thee: and againe, I * wil be his Father, and he shal be my sonne?
17 And againe when he bringeth in his first begotten Sonne into the worlde, he saith: * And let ali the Angels of God worship him.

CHAP. II.

1 He exhorteth vs to be obedient vnto the new Law which Christ hath giuen vs, 9 And nos to be offended at the infirmite and lowe degre of Christ, 14 Because it was necessario that for our sakes he should take suche an humble state vpon him, that he might be like vnto his brethren.

1 Herefore we ought diligently to giue hede to the things w^{ch} we haue
CCc.ii.

Psal. 104. 4. h He compareth the Angels to the windes, which are here beneth as Gods messengers.
Psal. 45. 7. i The administration of thy kingdome is iust.
k This is meant in that that y^e word: is made flesh, and that the holie Ghost was powred on him without measure. f we may all receiue of him euenie one according to his measure.
Psal. 102. 26.
Psal. 110. 1. mat. 22. 44. cor. 15. 25. chap. 10. 12.

From Lloyd Berry's facsimile of the 1560 Geneva Bible (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 102.

Given the origins of the GenB and its influences, it is hardly surprising that its marginal notes to Hebrews were unambiguous in promoting a Reformed understanding of salvation and in attacking the Catholic concept of the sacrifice of the mass. These were the themes that

Calvin regarded as central to the epistle's usefulness.²⁸ Humans needed a high priest in order to have access to God. This was because of natural sinfulness and profanity (Heb 5.1). The priest is Jesus, the one whom Heb 1.3 asserts 'hathe by himself purged our sinnes'. The annotator read this line in an exclusive way, 'so that our sinnes can be purged by none other meanes'. Such 'other meanes' implicitly included the sacramental ministrations of the Catholic Church.

The GenB annotator outlined his belief in the Protestant doctrine of salvation *sola fide* and implicitly denied purgatory. On the clause in 3.13, 'while it is called Today', he pressed home the immediacy of the Gospel call to individuals: today 'is all yt time wherein God doeth call us: while he therefore speaketh, let us heare'. Related to this, the annotator used 2.10 and 6.11 to affirm the Protestant doctrine of assurance, 'whereby it may appeare, that you are fully psuaded of life everlasting'. Medieval theologians had argued that while Christians could have objective certainty that none of the elect would die in mortal sin, they denied that individuals could ascertain whether they themselves were saved (unless they were granted special revelation).²⁹ Luther, Calvin and Zwingli rejected this, equating faith with certitude.³⁰ The GenB followed their thinking.

While the above annotations built up a positive Reformed statement of salvation, the 1560 Genevan annotator also went on the offensive, making explicit use of the epistle against the sacrifice of the Mass. This strongly reflected the priorities already seen in Calvin's commentary on Hebrews, written in the same city only a decade earlier. The annotator's views are expressed principally in his consideration of Hebrews 9 and 10, those chapters

²⁸ Calvin, *Paul to the Hebrews*, I; cf. above, 34-37.

²⁹ Schreiner, Susan, "'The Spiritual Man judges all things': Calvin and Exegetical Debate about Certainty in the Reformation', in *Biblical Interpretation and the Era of the Reformation* ed. Muller, R.A., and Thompson, J.L. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 189-215, at 192.

³⁰ Schreiner, Susan, 'Spiritual Man, 193-94, 207-10.

which consider Christ's sacrifice. For example, alongside the statement of Heb 9.25 that Christ did not come to 'offer himself often' the annotator noted that 'to make any other offering or sacrifice for sinne after that Christs bodie was once offred, is blasphemie'. Likewise, he asserted that Christ takes away sacrifices (10.9) in order that we may 'stand content with Christs sacrifice'. Although Christ's sacrifice was a one-off event, the annotator argued that it is applied whenever people turn to him in repentance. This is the context in which he set the awkward assertion of 10.18 that 'where remission of these things is there is no more offering for sinne'. The annotator wrote on this verse that Christ's death washes away sins, 'and doeth ever a fresh whē sinners do repēt, there can be none other sacrifice but yt, & it can be no more reiterat'. The GenB annotator knew that his position from Hebrews about the mass was not without weaknesses. His marginal commentary on Heb 9.23 was defensive. Against the suggestion that the plural 'sacrifices' in this verse might imply ongoing propitiation, he reminded his readers that Christ's offering was singular. The plurality of 9.23 was to be explained as a result of this verse drawing comparison with the many animal sacrifices of the old order.

Calvin's belief about the congruence of the Old and New Testaments was also echoed in the GenB annotations on Hebrews. This was an implicit attack on radical protestants who held a more supersessionist reading of the epistle.³¹ Thus when Heb 11.2 says that the patriarchs 'were wel reported', the annotator explained that this meant they 'have bene approved, and so obtained salvacion'. In other words, they had saving faith. Abel was 'righteous' in Heb 11.4 because, 'God received him to mercies therefore he imputed him righteous'. The English exiles were seeking a middle course between Rome and the radicals.

³¹ Cf. above, 34-35; Murray, Stuart, 'Biblical Interpretation among Anabaptist Reformers' in *A History of Biblical Interpretation. Volume 2: The Medieval through the Reformation Periods* ed. Hauser, Alan J., and Watson, Duane F. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 403-27 at 413.

On the one hand they wanted to deny the Catholic claim that analogy could be drawn from the sacrificing priesthood of the old dispensation (Heb 5) to the ministry of the New Testament Church. On the other hand they could not afford to cut off society and government from the socio-political controls which were provided by the moral injunctions given at Sinai. However, the positioning of the GenB marginalia to Hebrews was strongly one-sided: the challenge posed by radical readings of Hebrews was perceived to be less serious than the cataclysmic struggle with Catholicism.

Laurence Tomson's 1576 New Testament: an unexpected reduction in polemic

Laurence Tomson, a notable linguist and firebrand Protestant, based his Genevan New Testament translation (1576) on Beza's Latin edition of 1565. In it, Tomson replaced the 1560 annotations with a mixture of Beza's notes plus a peppering of his own reflections.³² Basil Hall, Irena Backus and Ian Green all assert that the influence of Theodore Beza on Tomson's marginalia took his translation in a more markedly Reformed and controversial direction than the earlier Genevan New Testament.³³ A study of Tomson's notes on Hebrews qualifies this. Tomson's comments were generally more numerous and lengthy than those of 1560 but reveal no substantial alterations or acceleration of theology. Indeed, the wording of many comments is very similar.³⁴ Moreover, the 1576 marginalia to Hebrews were actually less polemical than those of 1560: a higher proportion were devoted to practical explication of the text and there was little baiting of Catholics. Crucially, Tomson

³² Berry, *Geneva Bible*, 15-16; ODNB, s.v. Tomson, Laurence; Backus, Irena, 'Laurence Tomson (1539-1608) and Elizabethan Puritanism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28 (1977), 17-27; Backus, Irena, *The Reformed Roots of the English New Testament: The Influence of Theodore Beza on the English New Testament* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pickwick, 1980), 18f; Pollard, Alfred W., *Records of the English Bible: The Documents Relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525-1611* (Milton Keynes: Lightning Source, n.d. [facsimile of 1911 edn.]), 28; Daniell, David, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 348f, especially 352. Tomson said that his comment contained summaries of doctrine from the gospels and Acts plus the method of the epistles taken from Beza and short expositions on the phrases and hard places taken by Villerius from the large annotations of Beza and Joachim Camerius; [Tomson, Laurence], *The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ translated out of Greeke* (London, 1576), frontispiece.

³³ Hall, 'Genevan Version', 144; Backus, *Reformed Roots*, 27; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 75.

³⁴ Cf. for example the notes of both editions on verse 1.1 'in these last dayes'.

included virtually nothing about the sacrifice of the mass. The 1576 annotation on 10.17 asking ‘where is the fire of Purgatorie, and that popish distinction of the fault, and the punishment’ was unusual in its explicit and disparaging assault on Catholic teaching.

An explanation for this unexpected pattern might lie in the fact that the 1560 exiles were operating at the peak of Calvin’s fame, and were writing in the wake of the publication of his commentary on the epistle. As a result, they reflected the eucharistic emphases of their spiritual leader. For Tomson, following Beza, anti-Catholic arguments from Hebrews regarding the mass were seemingly less of an issue. Nonetheless, wider English interest in Hebrews and the eucharist remained high. The most acrimonious exchange was yet to come.

The Bishops’ Bible and Rheims New Testament: the disputants

Exiled English Catholics in the seminary at Douai-Rheims inadvertently echoed the Genevan translating project by pouring philological and exegetical energy into the production of their own vernacular New Testament. The background to what they saw as an ‘acceptable’ translation and its opposition to the government’s official ‘Bishops’ Bible’ spawned the most frenetic and vicious of the Catholic-Protestant disputes over Hebrews. Debate concentrated around the eucharistic themes which had been important for Calvin and on which the Catholics urgently needed to reassert a traditional reading of the epistle.

The name most associated with the Rheims New Testament (1582) is Gregory Martin (1542?–1582).³⁵ Martin was one of the original scholars of St John’s College, Oxford,

³⁵ There is an excellent account of the making of the RNT in Bagley, E., ‘Heretical Corruptions and False Translations: Catholic Criticisms of the Protestant English Bible, 1582-1860’ (Oxford DPhil, 2007), ch. 2. Cf.

founded during the heyday of Mary I. Forced from England to the continent, Martin travelled to Douai where he undertook further study and was ordained. Between September 1578 and July 1580 he translated the entire Bible, although no funding became available to print his Old Testament until 1609-10 when the prospect of James I's new translation lurked on the horizon. Drawing on the medieval gloss and scholion, the RNT included long annotations and short marginalia. These were written by Richard Bristow (1538-1581), another exile from Oxford. Bristow was a former fellow of Exeter College, an early-Elizabethan bastion of Catholicism.³⁶

As soon as the RNT was published, Protestant adversaries moved in to attack. The most prominent of these was William Fulke (1536/37-1589). Fulke was a graduate and fellow of St John's Cambridge in the 1550s and 1560s where he showed puritan instincts through abandonment of the surplice in chapel.³⁷ He temporarily became an advocate of presbyterian Church governance but evolved into an establishment figure during the 1570s. Fulke acquired the mastership of Pembroke College Cambridge through the influence of the earl of Leicester. Richard Bauckham describes him as the 'acknowledged successor to John Jewel in the theological defence of the Church of England against Rome', and quotes Joseph Hall in describing him as "that profound, ready and resolute doctor, the hammer of heretics, the champion of truth".³⁸

Fulke wanted to write against every work written by Catholic controversialists during Elizabeth's reign. Among these, his *Defense of the Sincere and True Translation of the Holy*

Martin, Gregory, *Roma Sancta* ed. Parks, George Bruner (Rome, 1969), ix–xviii, for a detailed biography of Martin.

³⁶ ODNB, s.v. Bristow, Richard; Padley, Kenneth, 'Revising Early Modern Exeter', *Exeter College Association Register* (Oxford, 2000), 38-45.

³⁷ Porter, H.C., *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 119-31.

³⁸ ODNB, s.v. Fulke, William.

Scriptures (1583) was a response to Gregory Martin's *Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions* which had lambasted the translation of the BB. In the case of Hebrews, this generated disputes about 2.9, 5.7, 6.10, 10.20, 10.22, 10.29, 11.21, 12.23, and 13.4.³⁹ A recent commentator, Ellie Bagley, has disparaged Fulke's *Defense* as an inadequate answer to the Catholic charge that Protestant Bibles (and the manuscripts on which they were based) were not as authentic as the tradition of the Vulgate.⁴⁰ Bagley writes that Fulke makes 'weak and ambiguous answers, evidently the best he could give without expressing criticism of the Bibles he was duty-bound to defend.'⁴¹ Fulke's *Defense* was a rapid response to Martin's *Discoverie* and, as we will see, should be complemented with his magisterial *Text of the New Testament* (1589).

Fulke's attack on Bristow and Martin was supported by a similar work from the pen of Thomas Cartwright. Cartwright was a Reformed divine who, unlike Fulke, operated beyond the pale of the Elizabethan Church and State. Fulke and Cartwright make a telling comparison. Their early lives were similar and they held many opinions in common. Their differences also illustrate the narrowness of the boundary between religious acceptability and ostracisation. Born a year or two before Fulke, Cartwright (1534/35-1603) also became a student at St John's Cambridge. He rose to the Lady Margaret chair, which position he promptly lost after publically espousing presbyterianism. This was where the stories of Fulke and Cartwright diverged: Fulke returned to the mainstream but Cartwright was on a collision course with the authorities, in particular Archbishop John Whitgift. Whitgift ensured that Cartwright lost not only his Cambridge professorship but also his fellowship at

³⁹ [Martin, Gregory], *A discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the heretikes of our daies specially the English sectaries* (Rheims, 1582); Fulke, William, *A defense of the sincere and true translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue* (London, 1617 [first edition 1583]); *The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ Translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie at Rhemes ... Whereunto is added the Translation out of the Original Greeke, commonly used in the Church of England* (London, 1617).

⁴⁰ Bagley, 'Heretical Corruptions and False Translations', 21-42.

⁴¹ Bagley, 'Heretical Corruptions and False Translations', 88-89.

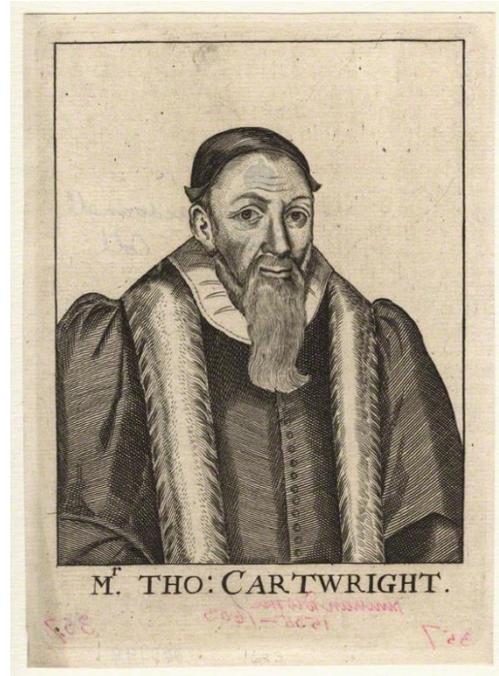
Trinity College. Throughout the early 1570s, Whitgift and Cartwright ferociously attacked one another about Church governance. Later that decade, Cartwright left England for the continent. It was from Antwerp that Francis Walsingham tempted him back with a £100 annual allowance and a commission to write a *Confutation of the Rhemists Translation*. Walsingham had hoped to re-assimilate Cartwright into the English Church but this prospect was met with renewed opposition from Whitgift. The upshot of the antagonism between Whitgift and Cartwright was that the *Confutation* was not published in full until 1618. Why it was published at this particular date is unclear: it was a long time after the Douai Old Testament (1610) and only a year after Fulke's *Text* had been reissued. Might it have been released to coincide with escalating tensions on the continent, among them the Synod of Dort?⁴²

It is fascinating to read Cartwright's *Confutation* alongside Fulke's *Text*. At an initial glance, they appear remarkably similar. The two men's arguments echo one another on most issues. Detailed reading, however, exposes the *Confutation* as decidedly inferior. Cartwright's argument is less detailed, less coherent, and often less concise (cf. for example on Heb 5.9 and 9.5). Even the work which was published in 1618 was incomplete: Cartwright's original manuscript had stopped at Revelation 15 and the remainder had suffered mouse damage. To correct these defects, Cartwright's editors decided to supplement from Fulke's *Text*. The only occasion on which supplementation occurred in the Hebrews annotations is on Heb 5.7.⁴³ Cartwright's significance alongside Fulke is most apparent in those four areas where he takes the debate further: by presenting arguments which are stronger than Fulke (e.g. in his

⁴² Cartwright, Thomas, *A confutation of the Rhemists translation, glosses and annotations on the New Testament* (Leiden, 1618); cf. the preface entitled 'Publisher to the Reader' for some history of the manuscript and its publication. ODNB, s.v. Cartwright, Thomas; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581-90* ed. Lemon, Robert (London: Longman, 1865) [1581-1590], 62, entry # 48; Walsham, Alexandra, 'Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible', *Journal of British Studies* 42 (2003), 145-47.

⁴³ Cartwright, *Confutation*, [A2v].

opposition to allegory), by presenting arguments additional to those of Fulke, by presenting views which are contrary to Fulke, or by tackling RNT annotations which Fulke leaves untouched.⁴⁴



Reformed writers of opposing fortunes: William Fulke, www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw145562/William-Fulke?LinkID=mp57780&role=sit&rNo=1 and Thomas Cartwright, www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw90841/Thomas-Cartwright?LinkID=mp72770&role=sit&rNo=1 both accessed 14th February 2013.

The Bishops' Bible and Rheims New Testament: sacramental clash

The marginalia and annotation exchange conducted between the Douai Catholics and the English Protestants centred on the eucharist. Battle was joined as early as the *Argumentum*. Bristow homed in on Luther's scepticism about the canonicity of Hebrews and claimed that Protestants would have excised this epistle from their Bibles were it not for their belief that it spoke against the sacrifice of the mass. Fulke replied that this was exactly what he thought

⁴⁴ Other English Protestants were also keen to reply to Martin and Bristow but their works were less comprehensive. George Wither (a sixteenth-century clergyman not the more famous seventeenth-century poet) wrote *A view of the marginal notes of the popish Testament, translated into English by the English fugitiue papists resiant at Rhemes in France* (London, 1588). The letter dedicatory to John Whitgift accepted that this was only a partial riposte and that greater works would follow.

Hebrews proved. Cartwright concurred: the epistle 'is indeed the *Masses* mallet to beat it to powder'.⁴⁵ Bristow followed the early signpost of his intentions with his first annotation on the text itself. Whereas most early modern readers found christological themes in Heb 1 and 2, Bristow turned immediately to the eucharist. Commenting on 1.3 he wrote that the Son is both a figure of the Father's substance and also of the same substance; just so, 'Christ's body in the Sacrament, and his mysticall death and sacrifice in the same, though they are called a figure, image, or representation of Christ's visible body and sacrifice upon the crosse, yet may be and is the selfe same in substance'. Fulke of course condemned this. The Son, he asserted, is the character of the Father's substance (1.3), therefore the Son is not the Father though of the same substance; hence 'the Sacrament is the figure, signe and representation of the body of Christ, *Ergo* it is not the body of Christ, but sacramentally, significatively, or representatively'.⁴⁶ The highlighting of this sacramental theme so early on and its integration into broader areas of christology and trinitarian theology set the scene for what followed; the sacrifice of the mass dominated Bristow's notes and the replies by Fulke and Cartwright.

Bristow of course believed that there was meritorious value in the repetition of the mass. Through this ritual Christ continued to offer a visible, external and propitiatory sacrifice in his Church. Annotating Heb 9.25, he observed that Christ can never be offered again in a violent, painful and bloody way, nor does he need to be since his action on the cross has made full ransom and remedy for the sins of the world; nonetheless, Christ is still offered in the unbloody sacrifice of the altar. A corollary of this implicit belief in a physical eucharistic presence was the adoration of eucharistic elements, a practice which Bristow found anticipated in the angelic worship of Heb 1.6. Bristow forged links to the mass whenever

⁴⁵ Fulke, *Text*, 725; Cartwright, *Confutation*, 595.

⁴⁶ Fulke, *Text*, 726.

and wherever he could. The reference to the blood of the Testament (10.29) was taken to be a verse against dishonouring the sacrament. The 'altar' of 13.10 and the 'hoste of praise' five verses later were upheld as further sacramental allusions. The letter to the Hebrews actually contains no explicit reference to the eucharist, so Bristow had to work imaginatively to make the connections he required. On three separate occasions (Heb 7.18, 8.10 and 9.20) he linked the epistle's general theme of sacrifice to his target by arguing that the covenant between God and the faithful which was ratified by Christ's death had been 'dedicated' in the chalice of the last supper the night before. '[I]t is plaine, that the B.chalice of the altar hath the verie sacrificall bloud in it that was shed upon the Crosse, in and by which, the new Testament... was dedicated, and doth consist'. Bristow entered into special pleading to explain the absence of more overt references in the epistle, arguing (on 5.11, 'inexplicable') that the first recipients of the letter were feeble in faith and weak of understanding such that the writer had been 'forced to omit diverse deepe points concerning the Priesthood of the new law. Among which (no doubt) the mysterie of the Sacrament and Sacrifice of the altar, called MASSE.' Bristow thus assumed that the author of Hebrews upheld Catholic teaching, traces of which he proceeded to read between the lines of his letter.⁴⁷

Fulke and Cartwright hit back hard: Christ's offering was one-off and completed. On Heb 8.3 both Protestants stressed that the verb is in the past tense: Christ had had something to offer – i.e. his offering on the cross; he did not continue to offer in the present. Christ's presence, Fulke asserted, is not physical but spiritual. 'By the sacrifice of his death therefore, his flesh and bloud, are made meate and drinke to feede us spiritually, both in the Sacrament, and without it, but not to be offered in the Masse'. Moreover the sacrifice of

⁴⁷ Fulke, *Text*, 726, 737, 745, 751, 752, 757, 758, 767, 778.

Christ's death works its effects through the Word rightly preached as well as through the sacraments. Fulke rejected any unbloody sacrifice in the eucharist: the Lord's supper is a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. Just so, Christ is our altar; 'altar' is not to be equated with the table of the Lord's supper. Cartwright wrote that '[t]he Writer to the Hebrewes proveth that Christ cannot be offered againe, not so much as once a yeare, much lesse daily, because hee cannot die againe, for that his sacrifice cannot be without his death.'⁴⁸ In stating the Reformed view that Christ cannot be corporally present in bread and wine, Fulke also denied any value to eucharistic adoration: Christ is not joined to the elements in unity of person and so cannot be adored in those elements, just as the Father is not adored in the sun or moon. Fulke mocked Bristow with a novel question about why Catholics did not follow their argument about corporeality to its logical conclusion and fall down before those who have received the sacrament.⁴⁹

The Bishops' Bible and Rheims New Testament: sacerdotal and christological clash

Integral with the annotators' rival views on the eucharist were their opposing understandings of ordained ministry and the priesthood of Christ. Bristow wished to draw positive parallels between the office of the high priest in the Old Testament (as cited in Heb 5) and the ministry of the contemporary Church. Both priesthoods mediated between God and man, offering up gifts and oblations to God for the sins of the people. Bristow accepted that the sacrifices offered by the Old Testament priests had been replaced by Christ with new and better ones (Heb 9.10), but in the priesthood of Melchizedek he found a figure of continuing significance. Melchizedek is a priest forever; therefore the offering of Christ's body and blood in the Church is perpetual. Against those Protestants whom he feared would have no priesthood, Bristow asserted that the abrogation of the old law was not an

⁴⁸ Fulke, *Text*, 751, 752, 755, 758, 779; Cartwright, *Confutation*, 621, 630.

⁴⁹ Fulke, *Text*, 727.

abolition of all priesthood but the introduction of a new priesthood. Against those Protestants who think that Christ is the only real priest of the new order, Bristow cited the prophecy of Isaiah 'you shall be called the priests of God'.⁵⁰ The vital issue here is the transition of priesthoods noted in Heb 7.12. For Bristow, 'no doubt is the Priesthood Leviticall properly turned into the Priesthood and Sacrifice of the Church, according to Melchisedechs rite, and Christs institution in the formes of bread and wine'.⁵¹ Bristow was trotting out the Tridentine line. The twenty-third session of the Council (on the doctrine of ordination) asserted with reference to Heb 7.12 that a visible priesthood is required to consecrate and administer the eucharist and that the old order has been translated into this order.⁵²

It will be seen in chapters 5-7 how seventeenth-century mainstream Protestants needed to defend the letter to the Hebrews against supersessionist prizing apart of the two Testaments. In their controversy with Martin and Bristow, Fulke and Cartwright were doing the opposite, using the supersessionist potential of Hebrews to their advantage. Both believed that Christ's death abolished the old propitiatory sacrifices. Bristow, by contrast, had a stronger conception of continuity between the Old and New Testaments, wanting to draw links between the sacrificing ministers of the old dispensation and the priesthood of the Catholic Church (Heb 5). Neither of the Protestants wanted to do away with the Old Testament witness, because the ceremonies of the first dispensation acted as sacraments to the faithful who had lived prior to Christ. Nonetheless, they pressed the difference in clarity between the sacraments of the two eras. Commenting on the 'shadow' of Heb 10.1, Cartwright said, '[t]here is not a shadow of a reason in this against the *spirit and grace*

⁵⁰ The RNT misrefers this to Isaiah 16; it is from Isaiah 61.6.

⁵¹ Fulke, *Text*, 732, 742-45, 748-49, 755, 764.

⁵² Schroeder, H.J., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (St Louis, MO: Herder, 1960), 23rd session, ch. I.

communicated with the Fathers under the Law - they were truly partakers of Christ, even though the representation was not as full as it is now.⁵³ Thus, while accepting a sacramental continuity between both Testaments which points to Christ, Fulke and Cartwright both rejected Bristow's attempts to draw a sacerdotal continuity between the Jewish high priests or Melchizedek and the priests of the Church. Both argued that Bristow was confusing the singularity of the Jewish high priest with the many priests of the Catholic Church.⁵⁴ Both played down Melchizedek's priestcraft: this ancient king brought forth bread and wine for refreshment not sacrifice.⁵⁵ Commenting on the crucial Heb 7.12, Fulke wrote

All externall Priesthood that was before Christ, ordained by God, was a figure of the eternall Priesthood of Christ, and of the spirituall Priesthood of all his members. Therefore the translation of priesthood, whereof the Apostle speaketh, is from Aarons order to Christ, where it resteth: and from whom it is not translated or removed unto anie other, by succession or anie other wayes.⁵⁶

For Fulke, the Catholic claim that their priesthood stands in the order of Melchizedek was to 'arrogate divinitie to everie hedge priest'. Fulke and Cartwright were both firm that the Isaiah passage cited by Bristow on Heb 7.23 referred to the priesthood of all believers.⁵⁷

The disputants' differences about the mass touched upon christological differences that went much wider than the nature of Jesus' priesthood. In expounding Heb 5.6, Bristow maintained that Jesus offered sacrifice as a man and received sacrifice as God. He decried the position which he termed Calvinist and Arian that Christ did sacrifice according to his Godhead. He returned to this when tackling Heb 10.5 ('but a body') by underlining that Christ's body was essential for the sacrifice of the cross and the altar. Fulke and Cartwright were at pains to parry this critique. Both cited Heb 9.14 that Christ offered himself by his

⁵³ Fulke, *Text*, 762, 764; Cartwright, *Confutation*, 633.

⁵⁴ Fulke, *Text*, 733; Cartwright, *Confutation*, 599.

⁵⁵ Lee Gatiss helpfully notes a similar observation in the review of the Tridentine decrees by Lutheran theologian Martin Chemnitz; Gatiss, Lee, 'Adoring the Fullness of the Scriptures in John Owen's Commentary on Hebrews' (Cambridge PhD, 2014), 209-10.

⁵⁶ Fulke, *Text*, 743-44.

⁵⁷ Fulke, *Text*, 745, 749; Cartwright, *Confutation*, 619.

eternal spirit to demonstrate that as a priest he was God and man. Fulke proceeded to find some distinction within this by writing that in priesthood there is ministry and authority; the one Christ performed his ministry as a man but in respect of authority he performed it as God. Fulke's conclusion on Heb 5.6 therefore threw the allegation of heresy back at Bristow: 'to say that Christ was a priest in respect of his manhood onely, savoureth ranckly of Nestorianisme'.⁵⁸ In all this, the opposing parties were struggling to outdo one another as champions of orthodoxy. Both wanted to claim the doctrinal high ground as descendants of the Council of Chalcedon.

The Bishops' Bible and Rheims New Testament: hermeneutical clash

Beyond christology and sacramentology, the dispute between Martin, Bristow, Fulke and Cartwright illustrates the fundamentally different assumptions about divine revelation and religious authority which divided Catholics and Protestants. Richard Bauckham helpfully summarises these when he writes that Tridentine Catholics view tradition as 'supplementary' to scripture but that Protestants see it as merely an 'ancillary' aid to interpreting the Bible.⁵⁹ These different understandings of theological authority became apparent as early as the RNT *argumentum* and the Protestant response. The RNT *argumentum* maintained the medieval tradition that the epistle was written by Paul but that the apostle to the Gentiles did not want to alienate his Jewish readers by revealing his identity. The RNT proceeded to assert Pauline authorship based on the authority of the Church, a reflection of the Roman Catholic view that canonicity is defined by the Church and not *vice versa*. Fulke could not accept this: he dwelt on the doubt in the early Church about the authorship of Hebrews, and reminded his readers that the titles and subscripts to

⁵⁸ Fulke, *Text*, 734-36, 763; cf. also on Heb 7.8 and 8.5 (Fulke, *Text*, 742, 752); Cartwright, *Confutation*, 600-01.

⁵⁹ Bauckham, Richard, 'Tradition in relation to Scripture and reason' in *Scripture, Tradition and Reason* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 117-145.

Biblical texts were not written by the apostles and therefore were not part of Scripture itself. Fulke advanced the Bezan line that God's Spirit authored the Bible and that this gave Hebrews greater weight than the authority of the Church. Fulke was personally ambivalent about Hebrews' authorship. He said no more than that it was the opinion of some Protestants that Paul did not write the letter. Cartwright was more particular. He rejected Pauline authorship on the basis of Heb 2.3: '[t]he evidence of truth driveth us to deny it [was] written by *Paul*'.⁶⁰ We will see later how this scepticism was rolled back in the seventeenth century as mainstream Protestant exegetes sought to stabilise the text by reaffirming Pauline authorship.⁶¹

Despite their differences about Hebrews' penman, Fulke and Cartwright both shared the same hermeneutical starting point, namely that the authority of the Bible did not need formal supplementation by the teaching of the Church. However, Scripture could sometimes be reinforced by the witness of early Church fathers. Fulke and Cartwright wanted to show that the Church fathers shared their view that Christ made a one-off oblation when tackling Heb 9.25. Cartwright asserted that those Church fathers which called the eucharist an unbloody sacrifice meant by this that it was a 'shew and thankfull commemoration of the sacrifice, and not the sacrifice it selfe'.⁶² A little further on, Fulke claimed that the fathers' description of the eucharist as a sacrifice was improper because it is actually a sacrament. '[T]he particule which they translate here [Heb 10.11] in the present time *offering*, as though Christ still offered, in the Greek of the preter tense or time past, and should have been translated after he hath offered, or having offered'.⁶³ Both Fulke and

⁶⁰ Fulke, *Text*, 724-25; Cartwright, *Confutation*, 595-96; Hagen, Kenneth, *Hebrews Commenting from Erasmus to Bezae, 1516-98 Beiträge zur Geschichte der Biblischen Exegese* 23 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1981), 5-6.

⁶¹ Cf. below, 132-35, 210-11.

⁶² Cartwright, *Confutation*, 631-32; Fulke, *Text*, 758-59.

⁶³ Fulke, *Text*, 766.

Cartwright would rather engage in philological gymnastics to retain the fathers on their side than to admit they were at variance.

The Bishops' Bible and Rheims New Testament: conclusion

Bristow, Martin, Fulke and Cartwright concentrated their arguments on the Eucharist but were prepared to squabble over any possible point of difference. In the Tridentine age, Protestantism and Catholicism were set on wholly divergent courses. Each camp needed to define itself against the other. Any point of difference was exploited to maximum effect. Thus Martin railed against the BB's rendering of *ἐκκλησία* as 'congregation' and not 'church' (Heb 12.23), exposing the threat of Luther's localised 'gemeinde'.⁶⁴ Likewise, the disputants clashed about whether the cherubim (Heb 9.5) and the patriarch's sceptre (Heb 11.21) justified adoration of images in church,⁶⁵ about whether the remembrance of prelates (Heb 13.7) permitted prayer to the saints, and about whether the bones of Joseph (Heb 11.22) were an injunction to the adoration of relics.⁶⁶

The RNT and its refutation were the high water mark of Protestant-Catholic polemic concerning Hebrews. It took Gregory Martin nearly two years to complete his translation of the Bible. The response to Richard Bristow's annotations consumed nine months of Fulke's time - plus that of two assistants.⁶⁷ Bristow and Fulke wielded the sharpest thinking on both sides of the divide, even if their discourse was guilty of the least edifying tactics. Stepping

⁶⁴ Fulke, *Defense*, 55; the etymology of *ἐκκλησία* is discussed in Midelfort, H.C. Eric, 'Social History and Biblical Exegesis: Community, Family and Witchcraft in Sixteenth-Century Germany', in *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Steinmetz, David C. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), 7-20; Tyndale, William, *Tyndale's New Testament*, ed. Daniell, David (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 359.

⁶⁵ Fulke, *Text*, 755, 770-71; Fulke, *Defense*, 184; Cartwright, *Confutation*, 642. Lurking behind this clash are different divisions of the Ten Commandments; MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London: Penguin, 2003), 145-46.

⁶⁶ Fulke, *Text*, 731, 754, 770; Cartwright, *Confutation*, 625, 640.

⁶⁷ ODNB, s.v. Fulke, William.

back from this intensity, the next Protestant translation of the Bible would become subtly reliant on the Douai fathers.

The King James Version

The Church of England was well-established by the early seventeenth century at both a local and national level.⁶⁸ Evidence of this maturity is apparent in the methodical conservatism of the six translation companies which produced King James' Bible.⁶⁹ The translators were instructed to return to the original Greek and Hebrew, but to follow the officially sanctioned BB, 'as little altered as the Truth of the original will permit'. Throughout this process, the translators held in tension the need for revision and their rejection of the Catholic claim that the Protestant text was corrupt. The Catholic allegation of corruption particularly exercised the writer of the KJV preface. Quoting from Heb 8.7, Miles Smith wrote that the translators were not making a bad translation good, but were making a good translation better. '*[I]f the former Law and Testament had bene sufficient, there had benee no need of the latter: so we may say, that if the olde vulgar had bene at all points allowable, to small purpose had labour and changes bene undergone, about framing of a new.*'⁷⁰ Here is an idiosyncratic prophecy-fulfillment reading of our epistle, seeking to justify the new translation while simultaneously reinforcing the continuity of the KJV from earlier Protestant Bibles. As Protestantism had become established, the usefulness of the supersessionist arguments about the displacement of the Old Testament priesthood were giving way to conformist permanence.

⁶⁸ Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, ch. 2.

⁶⁹ Opfell, Olga S., *The King James Bible Translators* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1982), 139-140. Cf. Moore, Helen Dale (ed.), *Manifold Greatness: the making of the King James Bible* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2011); Campbell, Gordon, *Bible: the Making of the King James Bible, 1611-2011* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Nicolson, Adam, *God Secretaries: The Making of the King James Bible* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003) for recent general treatments of the KJV.

⁷⁰ Pollard, *Records*, 367, 369; Weigle, Luther A. (ed.), *New Testament Octapla* (New York: Thomas Nelson: n.d. [c.1960]), ix.

Bolstered by such conservative confidence, the KJV translators made concessions to Catholicism which Fulke and Cartwright would never have permitted. Bishop Bancroft's rules required that 'old Ecclesiastical Words' such as 'Church' instead of 'congregation' were to be retained. This was to avoid what Miles Smith termed the 'scrupulositie of the Puritanes'.⁷¹ Crucially, the new Bible was to be depoliticised. There were to be no marginal comments, except for explanations of complicated Greek and Hebrew words. Marginalia had marred King James' appreciation of the GenB, infamously in the case of Exodus 1.19 which commended the Hebrew midwives' disobedience of Pharaoh.⁷² Most significant, however, the KJV translators made covert use of the RNT as a comparison text. Bancroft's rules listed '[t]hese translations to be used when they agree better with the Text than the Bishops Bible: *Tindoll's, Matthews, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva*'. Nonetheless, the translators also made extensive use of the RNT as well.⁷³

Hebrews provides a good prism through which scholars can examine these translational processes. Little can be ascertained about the theological flavour of the men who made up the second Westminster company which undertook the work on Hebrews.⁷⁴ However, their final rendering of the epistle can be analysed for its influences. An assessment can also be made of an interim stage because of the chance survival of MS Lambeth 98, a manuscript which contains either the deliberations of the second Westminster company, or of another company critiquing the work of the second Westminster company.

⁷¹ Pollard, *Records*, 375.

⁷² Nicolson, *Secretaries*, 58-59; cf. also Betteridge, Maurice S., 'The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and its Annotations', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14 (1983), 48-49.

⁷³ Opfell, *Translators*, 140; Pollard, *Records*, 37, 60f.

⁷⁴ Bagley, 'Heretical Corruptions and False Translations', 106; Willoughby, Edwin Elliott [sic], *The Making of the King James Bible: A Monograph, with Comparisons from the Bishops Bible and the Manuscript Annotation of 1602, with an original leaf from the great "She" Bible of 1611* (Los Angeles, CA: Plantin Press, 1956), 26.

The KJV of Hebrews included a total of 716 revisions from the BB.⁷⁵ Ward Allen shows the sources of these revisions. The largest number for Hebrews (281) came from sources other than the earlier English translational tradition. After this, in order, the most numerous are the RNT (159), Tyndale 1535 (105), the GenB 1560 (90), Whittingham's NT 1557 (66), the Great Bible 1540 (13), and the margins of the BB 1602 (2). In other words, although the RNT was not listed among the English biblical sources which the translators were invited to consult, it was the single most significant source for revisions in the KJV text of Hebrews. This was true both at the stage of the final text, and the intermediate stage of MS 98; of the 352 revisions proposed in MS 98, 126 come from sources other than the earlier English Bibles, 76 from the RNT, 63 from the GenB, 41 from Tyndale, 40 from Whittingham, 4 from the Great Bible and 2 from the margins of the BB. The RNT thus exercised a strong influence on both the earlier and later stages of the revision of the KJV. The English translational process had shifted from being radically controversial in the 1530s to becoming inherently traditional less than a century later. It had also reached a level of self-confidence that it could covertly draw upon the scholarship of Gregory Martin and Richard Bristow.

Conclusion

This chapter has used the public documents of the English Reformation to show how new ways of reading the letter to the Hebrews were initiated and established in England over a period of sixty years between the accession of Edward VI and the publication of the King James Bible. It would be a mistake to read Hebrews as a text that was imprisoned in a narrow theological debate centred on the eucharist. The Protestant reading of Hebrews' teaching about Christ's unique sacrifice bolstered their rationale for abandoning popery and for supplanting it with a robust Reformed settlement. Hebrews very rapidly became a key

⁷⁵ These and following figures are taken from Allen, *Translating*, appendices A and B.

battlefield on which neither side could afford to cede territory. Nonetheless, by the beginning of James' reign, mainstream Protestants were sufficiently established as to make covert use of Catholic exegesis through the inclusion of RNT translations in the KJV. The next chapter will draw on sermons to show that a parallel pattern of initiation, maturity and stasis was occurring within Elizabethan preaching on Hebrews. Official positions became fixed but, beneath the surface, alternative ideas were emerging. Chapter 3 will therefore move on to analyse new undercurrents: the rise of anti-Reformed soteriology and its implications for the Reformed reception of Hebrews.

Chapter 2

Hebrews preaching and the evolution of the Elizabethan Reformed 'consensus'

Until quite recently, interest in early modern sermons was largely the preserve of literary scholars. Theology and spirituality, let alone politics, were of secondary interest when compared to considerations of structure and rhetoric.¹ Fortunately the interest of revisionist historiography in local studies and its emphasis on religious faith as a motivational factor, as well as 'new historicism' and the turn to religion in literary studies, have sparked scholars' imaginations about the contribution of the content and context of sermons to an understanding of the Reformation period.²

There is a substantive corpus of extant sermons³ on Hebrews from two Elizabethan preachers: Edward Dering⁴ and William Perkins.⁵ Comparison of their exegesis is a revealing exercise in continuity and change within the constructive and controversial reception of the epistle in late sixteenth-century England. It is also illustrative of the way in which Hebrews

¹ E.g. Haller, William, *The rise of Puritanism: or, the way to the New Jerusalem as set forth in pulpit and press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938); Mitchell, William F., *English pulpit oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson: a study of its literary aspects* (London: SPCK, 1932); Blench, J.W., *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons 1450-c.1600* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964); Simon, Irene, *Three Restoration Divines*, 2 vols. (Paris: l'Universite de Liege, 1967). The changing face of sermon scholarship is described and analysed in McCullough, Peter and Ferrell, Lori Anne, 'Revising the study of the English sermon', in *The English sermon revised: religion, literature and history 1600-1750* ed. McCullough and Ferrell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 2-23; and Green, Ian M., *Continuity and Change in Protestant Preaching in Early Modern England* (London: Dr William's Library, 2009), e.g. 7.

² Edwards, Otis Carl, *A History of Preaching* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2004); Old, Hughes Oliphant, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, 7 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998-2010); McCullough, Peter, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); McCullough and Ferrell (eds.), *English Sermon Revised*; McCullough, Peter, Adlington, Hugh and Rhatigan, Emma (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³ Ian Green notes how sermon survival rates increased in the seventeenth century but that a preacher's public prominence was vital to securing publication in this earlier period; cf. Green, *Continuity and Change*, 9, 27; Green, 'Preaching in the Parishes', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, 137-54 at 137-39.

⁴ Dering, Edward, 'XXVII Lectures or readings, upon part of the Epistle written to the Hebrewes', in *M. Derings Workes* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1972).

⁵ Perkins, William, *A cloud of faithfull witnesses, leading to the Heavenly Canaan: or A Commentarie upon the 11. Chapter to the Hebrewes, preached in Cambridge* (London, 1608).

can illuminate wider social and political trends. Dering and Perkins were both thinkers in the Reformed tradition, and both are classified by Peter Lake as ‘moderate puritan’ conformists to the national Church.⁶ On the other hand, Dering and Perkins had significantly different priorities and presentation. Dering’s lectures in St Paul’s cathedral were delivered against the backdrop of ferocious strains between Catholics and Protestants - in England and across Europe. Dering spoke to his age by concentrating on Hebrews’ notion of Christ’s unique priesthood and its correlation with the Protestant keynotes of substitutionary atonement and justification by faith. Dering presented a unified Protestant rhetoric against Roman Catholicism, while at the same time lobbying the leaders of the English Church for further reformation. By contrast, the mature William Perkins of the 1590s was an altogether more comfortable apologist for the Church of England.⁷ His exposition of Hebrews 11 reflected the development from the 1580s of ‘practical puritan divinity’, a pastoral and ethical turn appropriate for an age in which Protestant piety had become firmly embedded in many parishes. By drawing on the research of Michael McGiffert and Michael Winship,⁸ I hope to show how the *Cloud of Faithfull Witnesses* functioned as an expository expression of Perkins’ ideas about covenant, faith and assurance. Perkins was among the earliest English theologians to draw on Ursinus’ notion that there was a covenant of nature/works in addition to the covenant of grace. This provided a strong theoretical basis on which he could develop his image of a moralistic Reformed society. For Perkins, the heroes and heroines of Hebrews 11 served as illustrations of how faith might be lived out by the elect. While continental political tension and anti-papery were still visible in Perkins’ commentary,

⁶ Lake, Peter, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 5-6, 10, 16-24.

⁷ Cf. Patterson, W.B., *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁸ McGiffert, Michael, ‘Grace and works: the rise and division of covenant divinity in Elizabethan puritanism’, *Harvard Theological Review*, 75 (1982), 463-502; McGiffert, Michael, ‘From Moses to Adam: the making of the covenant of works’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19 (1988), 131-55; Winship, Michael P., ‘Weak Christians, Backsliders, and Carnal Gospellers: Assurance of Salvation and the Pastoral Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity in the 1580s’, *Church History* 70 (2001), 462-481.

he had a more nuanced appreciation of the English religious landscape than Dering's binary conception of the world in which Christian truth locked horns with Romish falsehood. Perkins sought to repel the challenge from Protestant separatism as well as Catholicism. Thus the evolution of biblical interpretation will be seen to track broader trends within theoretical and practical divinity: from fiery polemic to pastoral piety.

Edward Dering (c.1540-1576), puritan archetype

Hughes Oliphant Old wrote that '[t]he traditional Puritan hagiography counts Edward Dering as the first truly popular Puritan preacher'.⁹ From gentry stock, Dering's early ministry took the familiar course of a career clergyman.¹⁰ He matriculated and graduated through Christ's College Cambridge, and was ordained deacon in 1561. He assumed a number of Cambridge posts before patronage from Archbishop Parker secured him the living of Pluckley in 1567. He was an absentee rector. However, Dering's path and opinions changed radically in the early 1570s. Maybe his passions were inflamed by his commission to write against Nicholas Sanders,¹¹ or by the more general anti-Catholic backlash after the northern rising and the papal excommunication of Queen Elizabeth. Collinson speculated as to whether Dering's radicalisation could have been because of a worrying illness, the influence of Thomas Cartwright, or the downfall of the duke of Norfolk to whom he had been chaplain.¹² Whatever the cause, Dering discovered a newfound conviction to preach the gospel and condemn corruption. He accused William Cecil of poor administration in his role as Chancellor of Cambridge. He accused Archbishop Parker of failing to improve the religious condition of his diocese. He even accused the queen - to her face - of personal

⁹ Old, *Reading and Preaching*, iv.256, drawing on the assessment of Leonard Trinterud.

¹⁰ Collinson, Patrick, 'A Mirror of Elizabethan Puritanism': The Life and Letters of "Godly Master Dering", in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 288-324; Collinson, Patrick, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), *passim*; Durston, Christopher and Eales, Jacqueline (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1996), 1-32.

¹¹ ODNB, s.v. Dering Edward.

¹² ODNB, s.v. Dering Edward.

responsibility for the failures of the national Church. Dering's oration before Elizabeth became the most printed sermon of the reign.¹³ Within a matter of months he had been transformed from an ambitious climber into 'the archetype of the puritan divine', a mirror which captured 'some authentic reflections of the spirit and the aspirations of the godly Elizabethan puritan tradition'.¹⁴ The only known image of Dering, an engraving printed in Henry Holland's *Herwologia Anglica* (1620), shows a stern clergyman with beard, fur and cap, reminiscent of Calvin and Beza.



The Reformed face of Edward Dering

www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw214676/Edward-Dering accessed 2nd March 2013

Patrick Collinson's earlier biography stated that Dering 'by comparison with many of his contemporaries appears to have been very little indebted to continental Reformed theology'.¹⁵ Dering does not quote from churchmen of whom he approves, but this is not because of lack of influence. As we will see, his theology of revelation permitted him to quote only from the Bible.

¹³ Collinson, 'Mirror', 305.

¹⁴ Collinson, 'Mirror', 290, 289.

¹⁵ Collinson, 'Mirror', 294; *pace* the omission of this notion from Collinson's later biography of Dering in the ODNB.

Sola Scriptura: divine revelation as the bedrock of Dering's puritanism

In 1572, Dering's new-found radicalism was expressed in his lecturing at St Paul's cathedral. Over a number of months, Dering delivered a weekly oration on Hebrews. Some of this preaching was later printed his *XXVII Lectures or readings, upon part of the Epistle written to the Hebrues*.¹⁶ It was a popular work.¹⁷ Dering's lectures worked progressively through the epistle, a biblically-determined '*lectio continua*'¹⁸ structure. This emulated Zwingli who, on arrival at the Grossmünster in Zurich, had commenced a cover-to-cover exposition of the Gospel of Matthew. Those who commented on the Bible in this way were implicitly preferencing the order, as they saw it, given by God to his word in Scripture over the order determined by the Church through the lectionary.¹⁹ By supplying a biblical structure to his lecturing, Dering declared his doctrine of revelation and indicated his commitment to a Zurich-style reform of the Church.

God's revelation was personalised for Dering in the immediacy of the preacher's call. God had stated his word, most particularly in Christ, and it was the task of the Church, through its ministers, to proclaim that word today. 'No minister ought to bee called in the Church, but hee whose calling may bee knowne to bee of God'.²⁰ Dering's fundamental scripturalism led him into explicit attack on speakers who 'fill the pulpets with Doctors and Counsels, and manie vanities, where they should onely speake the word of God, that our agreement may

¹⁶ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', 3[r]. Dering lectured up to Heb 10 but had only prepared to Heb 6.6 for print by the time he died.

¹⁷ The *XXVII Lectures* are among Ian Green's list of best sellers and steady sellers, going through six or more publications before 1614; Green, Ian, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 612.

¹⁸ Green, 'Preaching in the Parishes', 140; Old, *Reading and Preaching*, iv.257.

¹⁹ MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London: Penguin, 2003), 138. Other English churchmen had a more positive outlook on the lectionary and used it to structure their writing. Green, 'Preaching in the Parishes', 143-44. John Boys consciously located himself within the tradition of the postilators; Boys, John, *An exposition of al the principall Scriptures vsed in our English liturgie together with a reason why the church did chuse the same* (London, 1609), letter dedicatory. My thanks to Judith Maltby for introducing me to Boys.

²⁰ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', Y1[r].

be with the Apostles & Prophets, and with our Saviour Christ'.²¹ Dering refused to quote patristic or other authorities. This was because he argued that, in the extent to which earlier writers proclaim the truth, they were only proclaiming what was set forth in the Scriptures.

Augustine, Ambrose, Hierome, Gregorie,²² or any else, they had their owne charge of God, and wee have ours by warrant from God: they did speake, and so must we. If I speak out of the fathers of the Church, and knowe it to bee the woord of God, why doo I attribute it to man, rather than to God, whose truth it is? or if I speake of the fathers, and knowe it not to be the word of God, bee it never so true in the Doctors mouth, in mine it is sinne, because I speake not as I am taught of God.²³

The result of Dering's doctrine of revelation was a rather crude proof-texting. In this he differed from Fulke, and even from Cartwright, who were both keen on citing the fathers.²⁴

Later Hebrews commentators would go further. John Boys summoned scholastics including Lombard and Aquinas to his aid, while the Arminian John Featley was unashamed even to appropriate a contemporary Catholic writer such as Luis de Tena.²⁵

From his strict biblicism, Dering rejected extra-scriptural traditions taught on the authority of the Church. An exemplary list can be found in his seventh lecture (on Heb 2.1-4):

But tell me, is it the worde of Christ written, that wee should not worship Angels; and is it the word of Christ unwritten, that wee should pray unto them? Is it his word written, that we should not be bound to our fathers traditions; and is it his word unwritten, that our fathers traditions should bee to us as his Gospell? Is it his worde written, that wee should not observe daies, and times, nor make conscience of meate and drinke; and is it his word unwritten that wee should keepe Lent, Advent, Imber daies, make difference of flesh and fish? Is it his word written to forbid marriage, which is honorable in all estates [Heb 13.4];

²¹ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', [A5v].

²² The traditional four 'doctors' of the Western Church.

²³ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', [A5v].

²⁴ Cf. above, 72-73.

²⁵ Boys, John, *The workes of Iohn Boys Doctor in Diuinitie and Deane of Canterburie* (London, 1622), 272-73; for Featley cf. below, 114-15. Cf. Trueman, Carl, 'Preachers and Medieval and Renaissance Commentary' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, 54-71, at 64-65; Quantin, Jean-Louis, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), ch. 1.

it is the doctrine of divels: and is it his word unwritten, that Ministers shall be forbidden to marrie? ...²⁶

Dering thus adopted an exclusive reading of biblical permission. He permitted only that which was expressly condoned by Scripture and he rejected that about which Scripture was silent. Arguing from the structure of Heb 1.13 ('[u]nto which also of the Angels, said he at anie time, Sit at my right hand, til I make thine enemies thy fote stole'),²⁷ he reinforced this important exegetical point:

Because the Scripture said it not, therefore he prooveth it is not so: making the argument negatively from authoritie of Scripture: which in all things, whatsoever man is required to doo or knowe in matters of religion, is ever a most certaine conclusion; God spake it, therefore we must doo it; God spake it not, therefore wee have nothing to doo with it.²⁸

Dering's radical doctrine of revelation resonated with his other tenets, and it spoke to an age in which England was becoming a key player in pan-European Protestantism. But it also sets Dering apart from other English (and European) theologians, for example in their desire to demonstrate consistency with the early Church. In terms of scriptural exclusivity, Dering represents a conservative high water mark from which other Reformed Hebrews exegetes would retreat.

Dering's Reformed soteriology

Grounded in his doctrine of revelation, Dering concentrated his reading of Hebrews around questions of salvation. The structure of the epistle demanded this because of the way in

²⁶ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', G1[r].

²⁷ Dering was here avoiding the government-authorised Bishops Bible and quoting from the Geneva text; cf. Ferrell, Lori Anne, 'The Preacher's Bibles', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, 21-33.

²⁸ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', [B8v]; cf. also [S6v]. The Radicals in the seventeenth-century Scottish Kirk, who included another notable Hebrews exegete, David Dickson, held a similar position to Dering. They condemned liturgical practices such as the creed at baptism, praying in the pulpit before sermons, and the singing of doxologies because such forms were not justifiable from Scripture; Stevenson, David, *Union, Revolution and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), 135-42; also below, 101-02.

which the author framed his text around Christ's anointed offices of king, priest and prophet. Hebrews

teacheth this first, that hee is our Prophet, from the beginning of the iij. chapter, to the xiiij. verse of the iij: then, that he is our Priest, from thence to the xix. verse of the x. chapter. And though the Apostle, of purpose, and with great care, doo plainly teach, that Christ is our King; yet because this necessarily followeth of the other, & there was no doubt, but that Messias, their Priest and Prophet, should also be their Prince and King; therefore hee seemeth not to make any particular treatise of this, as of the other offices: but as he was a kingly Prophet, a kingly Priest, & the Sonne of God; so in prooffe of all these, hee maketh with them manifest prooves of his Kingdome...²⁹

This emphasis on the priestly and prophetic ministries of Christ at the expense of his kingship was lifted from Calvin.³⁰ Dering was not denying the presence of Christ's kingship in the epistle, but choosing to elevate his priesthood and soteriology.

As a priest, Christ makes substitutionary atonement. This is imputed to the believer in faith. Dering found Heb 2.9 ('that by Gods grace he might tast death for all men') a good occasion for explicating this ubiquitous Protestant doctrine.

Our sinnes are not imputed unto us, but they were imputed unto him. The punishment of them is forgiven us, but it was not forgiven him... He bare the condemnation of hell and death, that he might abolish it. He tooke upon him the guiltinesse of our sinnes, and bare them in his owne bodie, that he might naile them upon his crosse.³¹

Building up his soteriology, Dering pressed the Calvinist idea of the mystical union of the believer in Christ through the process of sanctification:

Even as the vine branch, can have no life nor bring foorth any fruite, except it abide in the bodie of the vine; no more have we either life or righteousnes, except we be, and abide in Christ. This is the mystical uniting, and spirituall joyning wee have with Christ; hee is our substance and being, in the inheritance of glorie: so his righteousnesse is our righteousnesse, his love is our love, his life is our life, his spirite is our spirite, of his fulnesse wee receive all.³²

²⁹ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', 2v, A3[r].

³⁰ Calvin, John, *Ioannis Calvin Opera Exegetica XIX Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, ed. Parker, T.H.L. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996), xxii.

³¹ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', [H8r-H8v].

³² Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', Q1[r]; cf. also [H7v] and [M8r-v].

Dering believed that, from God's perspective, those who are saved by engrafting into Christ are predestined. He also accepted the double-predestinarian corollary that the reprobate are doomed by God to damnation. Once more, God's word had a central role to play. Commenting on Heb 4.12 Dering wrote, '[s]o when the word is said to divide between the soule and the spirit, it noteth the mightie worke of it in the reprobate, to wound all their thoughts and desires with feare and terrour, and with astonishment of heart: contrarie in the elect, it crucifieth the old man with all the concupiscences & the desires of it'.³³ Dering contended that the elect will have assurance of their salvation. Saint Paul 'held the assurance of his election, not by his countrie or brethren, but by testimonie of his owne spirite, which feared not at the fall of other, but stood in the assurance of his owne predestination.'³⁴ Dering's sense that assurance could be asserted through internal spiritual testimony would prove too demanding a test for William Perkins.³⁵

Dering the enemy of Rome

Time and again, Dering found his teaching to be in diametric opposition to Catholicism. The controversiality of Heb 5 and its discussion of the Old Testament priesthood provided an obvious opportunity for Dering to affirm Christ's sacrifice as a one-off oblation.

As ofte as we speake of a mediatour, let us confesse, there can bee none among Angels, for they are no men; nor among the Saints, for they were all sinners: neither among all other creatures, for they are all corruptible: so that wee will not give neither gold nor silver for the redemption of our soules, nor trust in the merites of Saints and Angels, who all want vertue for this work: but when we thinke of any mediator, wee will confesse Jesus Christ the sonne of God, the sonne of David, the onely mediator, and purger of our sinnes.³⁶

For Dering, Reformed christological assertion was integrally bound up with an implacable refutation of the heretical alternative:

³³ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', [T6r]; cf. also I3[r]f and [M5r].

³⁴ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', [Q4v].

³⁵ Cf. below, 95-96.

³⁶ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', [Xv]-X2[r].

Therefore, their Masses are above all sacrilege accused, in which they say, that the Priest though unbloudilie, yet he offereth in a propitiatorie sacrifice the naturall and reall bodie of Christ, and not onelie thus they transferre the purgation of our sinnes from the Altar of the Crosse, where it was made by Christ, to the Altar of an Idoll, where they would doo it by a priest: but they doo not so much as confesse, that it was once perfect and full upon the crosse, and finde wants in it there offered.³⁷

This passage is clear in its promotion of an appreciation of Christ's unique and complete mediation and implacable in its rejection of the sacrifice of the mass. It resonates with the emphases uncovered in chapter I. However, it is the only major piece of eucharistic comment in Dering's lectures. Across his addresses, Dering did not give the eucharist the prevalence it received in the dispute about the BB and RNT. The mass for Dering was just one issue among many.³⁸ This probably reflected his different context from Fulke and Cartwright. The Protestant respondents to Martin and Bristow were focussed on a detailed erudite discussion of the eucharistic interpretation of Hebrews which dated back to Calvin's citation of the epistle against Eck.³⁹ Dering the preacher at Paul's Cross was more interested in throwing out a wide collection of tropes, some of which would hopefully be memorised by his audience. In her major study of Paul's Cross preaching, Mary Morrissey has observed the tendency of speakers to concentrate on issues which established the clearest differences between the English Church and Roman Catholicism, rather than on the matters of greatest theological significance.⁴⁰ The following purple passage typifies this trait in Dering. It roves far and wide, attacking the manifold failings of the Pope, but having little bearing on the text in hand (Heb 3.6):

³⁷ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', X2[r].

³⁸ Cf. Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', [A6v] for another occasion in which the sacrifice of the mass is mentioned. Once again, reference is made in the context of Dering's view of revelation: 'the Testament of Christ is still newe, yea though it were from the beginning, yet it is stil the same... [a]nd therefore it is no sacrifice of the new Testament, to have a masse, which waxeth olde, and when it is done, is not, but you must have a newe, and so fill your number'.

³⁹ Cf. above, 36.

⁴⁰ Morrissey, Mary, *Politics and the Paul's Cross sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 161.

[W]e have seene his wicked dispensations, the brother to marrie his brothers wife, and the sister to marrie her sisters husband, the uncle to marrie his neece, and the nephewe to marrie his aunt. Wee have seene his Bulls to make the subjects rebell against their Princes [*Regnans in Excelsis*]: wee have seene his Stues [brothels] in open and knowne places. The Turk hath no more defiled Jerusalem, than the Pope hath defiled Rome: and all the Altars of Mahomet are not so uncleane, as the Popes reverend Altars, which serve for Sodomites; and as the Popes honorable Churches, in which they nourish up amorous boyes.⁴¹

In summary, Dering's Reformed reading of Hebrews centred on soteriological matters. His acceptance of Christ's all-encompassing sacrifice led him to reject any ongoing propitiatory value in the eucharist. But as an unabashed enemy of Rome, he was more interested in piling up points of disagreement than in linking them logically to one another.

Dering's common cause with European Protestantism

The 1570s were a time of great tension. Dering needed to demonstrate solidarity with other Protestants. The northern rising had shown the desire of some Catholics to overthrow the regime and restore the old faith. The excommunication of Elizabeth by the Pope had stoked matters further because it asked English Catholics to choose between their political and religious allegiances. To follow one was to betray the other. Most immediately, in the year of Dering's preaching, Protestantism had taken a dramatic blow in France when its leaders, and many thousands of Huguenot brethren, had been slaughtered in the St Bartholomew's Day massacre. An eschatological battle for the hearts and minds of Europe was under way. As a result, Dering spoke and wrote in unity with continental Protestants and against Catholicism. Throughout the lectures, he permitted virtually no chink of light to pass between him and his co-religionists.

If this sat awkwardly with Dering's avowed desire for further reform with the Church of England he did not let it show: there were key aspects of his thought which he chose not to

⁴¹ Dering, 'XXVII Lectures', [N6v-N7r]. Cf. also C1[r]f, G4[r]f, [H4v] and [R6r].

express through his commentary on Hebrews. For instance, he maintained a façade of Protestant unity by avoiding divisive questions about ecclesiastical governance.⁴² On only one occasion in his Hebrews exegesis did Dering express a partisan view on this matter. His twenty-third lecture attacked orders within the Catholic Church before proposing an alternative structure which bore marked similarity to the Genevan Church. ‘Now, touching the office, whereunto GOD appointeth the ministers of his Gospell, is it not this: to preach his woord, and minister Sacramente [sic]? Other governors of his Church are they not for the peoples obedience unto this woorde, and, for provision of the poore?’⁴³ Here are three categories of ecclesiastical officer: ministers of the word, ministers of obedience, and ministers of the poor. The last two correspond neatly with Genevan elders and deacons. Most in the Elizabethan Church regarded bishops as differing in degree and not in kind from presbyters⁴⁴ so Dering presumably categorised bishops in common with presbyters under his category of ministers of the word. However, if this was a criticism of the English Church, it was oblique. Dering was determined to keep Catholicism as his principal enemy.

There are only two other occasions in the Hebrews lectures when Dering dropped his guard and revealed differences with other Protestants. In the eleventh lecture (on Heb 2.14-18), he attacked the practice of reserving consecrated bread and wine and its theological basis in the doctrine of eucharistic ubiquity. The Lutheran consubstantial understanding of Christ’s presence is effectively encompassed within Dering’s criticism.⁴⁵ Likewise, Dering criticised clerical pluralism and those who go ‘a whooring... after manie benefices’. This was a sin of which he himself had once been guilty,⁴⁶ but which he came to associate with the corrupt old order. Both these examples were Elizabethan commonplaces and neither

⁴² MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 382-89.

⁴³ Dering, ‘XXVII Lectures’, [Y1v]. Cf. Collinson, ‘Mirror’, 313-15.

⁴⁴ Milton, Anthony, *Catholic and Reformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 466-70.

⁴⁵ Dering, ‘XXVII Lectures’, [K6v-K7r].

⁴⁶ Cf. above, 80, and Dering, ‘XXVII Lectures’, X4[r].

appears to have been aimed at a particular target or expressed with particular force. The religio-political background to his lectures and his intention in publication kept the pan-European struggle with popery to the fore.

Edward Dering is listed among those ‘moderate puritans’ who dominate Peter Lake’s description of Elizabethan religion. Dering was ‘moderate’ to the extent that he conformed to the national Church and pursued reform from within. However, by comparison with other contemporary Reformed readers of Hebrews, Dering was an extremist. He was impassioned with populist fervour. He was unique in his refusal to cite non-scriptural authorities in support of his exegesis. He was unsurpassed in his exclusive use of the epistle against Roman Catholic teaching and practice.

William Perkins and practical puritan divinity

In contrast to Dering, William Perkins (1558-1602) was a theologian whose influence within the mainstream of the Elizabethan Church is now well appreciated. During his lifetime he was unrivalled in his vernacular output⁴⁷ and he has been described by Michael Jenkins as ‘perhaps the most significant English theologian of his age’.⁴⁸ Michael McGiffert shows how this reputation extended well into the seventeenth century, describing a ‘Perkinsian Moment’ in which Perkins’ thinking about the covenant came to dominate English Reformed theology for four decades after his death.⁴⁹ The second half of this chapter examines Perkins’ exposition of Hebrews 11 and argues that this understudied work deserves greater esteem alongside his more famous publications.

⁴⁷ Pettegree, Andrew, ‘The Reception of Calvinism in Britain’, in *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex*, ed. Neuser, W. and Armstrong, B. (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997), 267-90, at 282.

⁴⁸ ODNB s.v. Perkins, William; cf. also Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 125; Muller, Richard A., ‘Perkins’ *A Golden Chaine: Predestinarian System or Schematized Ordo Salutis?*, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9 (1978), 69-81, at 69.

⁴⁹ McGiffert, Michael, ‘The Perkinsian moment of federal theology’, *Calvin Theological Journal*, 29 (1994), 117-48.

The revival of interest in Perkins began with a biography by Ian Breward and the republication of some of his major writings.⁵⁰ More recently, Bryan Spinks and William Patterson have been leading advocates of the case for viewing Perkins as part of the ecclesiastical middle-ground.⁵¹ Patterson argues that Perkins' associations with 'puritanism' were confined to just two incidents. The first was his appearance before the court of the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge in 1587 for potentially criticising kneeling at communion. The second was his appearance before Star Chamber four years later regarding a conversation which he had had about Walter Travers' advocacy of Presbyterianism.⁵² Perkins' statements to Star Chamber 'suggest that he wanted to continue to exercise his ministry in conformity with the established Church and did not wish to be identified as subversive to the English Church or state'.⁵³ Patterson argues that the overall tenor of Perkins' mature writings should be set against these earlier and isolated incidents. *A Reformed Catholike* (1597) is an apology for the Church of England, and the argument of Perkins' exposition of the creed (1595) is that separation from a Church is only permissible if its worship or doctrines are corrupt 'in substance'.⁵⁴

One aspect of the rediscovery of Perkins as a mainstream divine has been a reappraisal of the claim by Robert Kendall that Perkins was a Calvinist whose clinical theology broke away

⁵⁰ Breward, Ian (ed.), *The Work of William Perkins* Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics 3 (Abingdon: Sutton Courtenay, 1970), 3-131; cf. also Porter, H.C., *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), especially ch. 12.

⁵¹ Spinks, Bryan D., *Two Faces of Elizabethan Anglican Theology: Sacraments and Salvation in the Thought of William Perkins and Richard Hooker* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1999), especially ch. 2; Patterson, *William Perkins*, especially 42-46 for the changing face of Perkins' historiography. Cf. also Kendall, Robert T., *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997), 53-54.

⁵² Patterson, *William Perkins*, 46-48.

⁵³ Patterson, *William Perkins*, 48.

⁵⁴ Patterson, *William Perkins*, 51-52.

from Calvin.⁵⁵ Against Kendall, Richard Muller is keen to show that Perkins' *Golden Chaine* centred not on abstract theology but the vital pastoral matter of individuals' salvation.⁵⁶ As such, Perkins was developing Reformed thought in response to practical need. Muller's approach is supported by McGiffert who has analysed how the gradual acceptance of the idea of a covenant of works (in addition to a covenant of grace) was a practical response to the cultural embedding of Protestantism in English parishes. Theologians felt a need to preserve the unconditionality of the promise of grace from the conditionality and contractualism of the Old Testament law. They could achieve this by paring law and works apart in a way which simultaneously avoided antinomianism and established a theological basis on which to build stable ethical living: 'the law of works for all and the gift of grace for some'.⁵⁷ The genius of Perkins' *Golden Chaine* was to pull together these developments in covenant theology and practical divinity with the codification of double-predestinarianism.⁵⁸

Perkins' practical faith

Muller, Patterson and McGiffert cite a number of Perkins' writings within their defence of his pastoral motivations - but they do not use his *Cloud of faithfull witnesses*. Had they done so they would have found a helpful complement to their picture of Perkins, justifying their presentation from a different angle, the medium of biblical exegesis. Close textual exposition of Hebrews 11 was an ideal framework on which Perkins could weave his practical divinity because its account of the Old Testament patriarchs and matriarchs provided example after example of godly living. Indeed, Perkins consciously intended the *Cloud* to support his more abstract theology. He opened the commentary with an insistence that every Christian should know the doctrine of faith and the practice of faith. His exposition of the creed

⁵⁵ Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, chs. 1-5. Earlier expressions of the 'Calvin against the Calvinists' thesis are catalogued in Muller, 'Perkins' *A Golden Chaine*', 69-70.

⁵⁶ Muller, 'Perkins' *A Golden Chaine*', 69-81.

⁵⁷ McGiffert, 'Grace and Works', especially 467, 502.

⁵⁸ McGiffert, 'Moses to Adam', especially 143-46.

attended to the first, his exegesis in the *Cloud* was intended to illustrate the second.⁵⁹ As Perkins' executors William Crashawe and Thomas Pierson announced in their dedicatory letter, the *Cloud* consists of 'most worthy Beleevers in all ages before CHRIST'S incarnation: all which shewed the life of faith by their workes; and we in them may see how to put our faith in practice': kings are to look to David, courtiers to Moses, soldiers to Samson, ministers to Enoch, mothers to Sarah, children to Isaac and Joseph, shepherds to Abel; even victuallers can find a relevant example of faith in the ambiguous character of Rahab.⁶⁰ The sheer size of Perkins' commentary conveys something of the significance which he accorded to this chapter of Scripture. Reaching to almost 600 pages, the *Cloud* is the most detailed exposition of any portion of Hebrews in sixteenth-century English.

Faith, Perkins argued, might be considered in three categories. 'Historical faith' is the process whereby the heart assents to truths. Even devils have this sort of faith. 'Miraculous faith' is an inward persuasion of the heart wrought by God's Spirit for the purposes of working miracles. Again, this faith can be found in unsavoury characters like Judas. And then there is 'saving faith', 'a speciall perswasion, wrought by the holy Ghost in the hert of those that are effectually called, concerning their reconciliation and salvation by Christ'.⁶¹ This emphasis on faith as persuasion is close to the doctrine of Calvin which Kendall accuses Perkins of trying to replace with a more voluntaristic appropriation of Christ.⁶²

⁵⁹ Perkins, *Cloud*, 1. Perkins was not alone among early modern English expositors in valuing the exemplary quality of the Old Testament heroes in Heb 11: Bird, Samuel, *The lectures of Samuel Bird of Ispwidge upon the 11. chapter of the Epistle unto the Hebrewes, and upon the 38. Psalme* (Cambridge, 1598); Manton, Thomas, *A third volume of sermons preached by the late reverend and learned Thomas Manton, D.D. in two parts : the first containing LXVI sermons on the eleventh chapter the of Hebrews, with a treatise on the life of faith : part the second, a treatise of self-denial, with several sermons on the sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, and other special occasions* (London, 1689); Shaw, John, *The pourtraiture of the primitive saints in their actings and sufferings according to Saint Paul's canon and catalogue, Heb. 11* (Newcastle, 1652); Shaw, John, *The catalogue of the Hebrew saints, canonized by St. Paul, Heb. 11th further explained and applied* (Newcastle, 1659).

⁶⁰ Perkins, *Cloud*, A3[r].

⁶¹ Perkins, *Cloud*, 3.

⁶² Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 61-62.

Hebrews 11 was exciting for Perkins because it was a chapter which exemplified saving faith. Commenting on 11.2, he held that faith is the means whereby a believer is approved of God. This quality was seen in the elders of the Old Testament who, through faith, had their sin imputed to Christ and his righteousness to them. Original sin cannot be cast off in this life, such that there can be no inherent justice for man. Even in his best works, 'till a man bee called, and his person is justified and sanctified, all that ever hee doth is sinne'.⁶³

Perkins' concern with the implications of sin informed those aspects of his soteriology which encouraged practical godly living in Protestant England: covenant, ethics, and assurance. Perkins embraced federal duality, a covenant of works alongside the covenant of grace. This made the law into a contractual bond on all people, while at the same time resting redemption in the pure promise of grace.⁶⁴ This federal thinking underpinned Perkins' rejection in the *Cloud* that faith could in any way be considered a work. On Heb 11.4 he wrote, 'Abel's faith made him just and righteous, not because his faith was an excellent quality of that vertue in it selfe, as to make him just; but because it was an instrument whereby he apprehended and applied to himselfe the righteousnesse of the Messiah to come, whereby hee might stand just before God'.⁶⁵ Perkins regarded Sarah (Heb 11.11) as mystically the mother of believers. While acknowledging male supremacy over women, he was pleased to report that Sarah's faith indicates that women have souls and the possibility of salvation.⁶⁶ In line with his Reformed forebears, justification for Perkins naturally proceeded to sanctification. The patriarchs not only received the grace of faith, but they grew in grace through their teaching of one another, and through prayer and meditation.⁶⁷

⁶³ Perkins, *Cloud*, 12ff, 51, 584-85.

⁶⁴ McGiffert, 'Grace and Works', 496-500; Muller, 'Perkins' *A Golden Chaine*', 78-79.

⁶⁵ Perkins, *Cloud*, 48.

⁶⁶ Perkins, *Cloud*, 237-39.

⁶⁷ Perkins, *Cloud*, 157, 280.

Faith, therefore, exhibited itself in good works. Perkins' *Cloud* is dense with moral applications of the eleventh chapter of the epistle. A number of these are innovative ethical insights which were not found in earlier English commentators and which were not repeated by later writers. For instance, when commenting on the world (Heb 11.3), Perkins was reminded of human sinfulness in everyday things. He did not deny the right of the rich to gorgeous apparel, but sought to remind them that they once had greater clothing than this in the simplicity of prelapsarian flesh. He did not deny the right to eat meat, but since Adam ate no meat, this habit should serve as a reminder of our fallen state. Hence also, Perkins believed that the eating of one animal by another was not the way they were made, but a disorder in creation brought about by the fall. Likewise, Adam had a more sumptuous palace ordained for him than any which man can build, so a glorying in earthly buildings is shameful.⁶⁸ Similarly, when expounding the next verse, Perkins gave advice about generosity following the example of Abel. Just as Abel offered a better sacrifice, so parents should give their most skilled son - not their youngest - to ordained ministry. Likewise, youths should give their best years to God and not just their old age. All Christians should serve God fully and not by halves.⁶⁹ Such was the steady, lifelong commitment demanded by practical puritan divinity in Elizabethan England.

On the matter of assurance, Michael Winship has shown how Perkins broke away from the early Reformation notion that assurance was effectively self-validating and virtually indistinguishable from faith itself.⁷⁰ For Perkins, assurance like this was too demanding for ordinary Christians. He wanted a practical piety which was encouraging rather than disheartening for 'weaker Christians'. Therefore he lowered the bar for identifying

⁶⁸ Perkins, *Cloud*, 26-31.

⁶⁹ Perkins, *Cloud*, 45-47.

⁷⁰ Winship, 'Pastoral Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity', 464-66; cf. also Schreiner, Susan, "'The Spiritual Man judges all things': Calvin and Exegetical Debate about Certainty in the Reformation', in *Biblical Interpretation and the Era of the Reformation* ed. Muller, R.A., and Thompson, J.L. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 189-215.

assurance. 'Assurance for Perkins could be based upon little more than a very fleeting glimpse of the will to believe, since such a glimpse confirmed that the entire process of salvation was in motion.'⁷¹

The characters of Hebrews 11 were promising illustrations of Perkins' portrayal of assurance for weaker Christians. Faith was clear and drove out doubt: those who have faith possess assurance.⁷² Nonetheless, assurance was exhibited in everyday piety not supernatural agency. God revealed to his servants 'the knowledge of their owne *election, of their justification, sanctification, and glorification to come*: though not by way of prophecie, yet by the working of his spirit in the ministerie and mediation of his word'.⁷³ Commenting on Heb 11.9, Perkins insisted that Abraham did not have assurance by special revelation but on the same basis as ordinary Christians since, according to Rom 4.11, Abraham is to be considered the father of all the faithful.⁷⁴ This passage was directed against the Roman Catholic attack on assurance which argued that Abraham was unusual in that he was granted special revelation. By emphasising the ordinary agency through which Abraham was assured, Perkins not only parried the theoretical Catholic attack but also contributed to his pastoral task of building confidence in everyday English Protestants.

Catholicism rejected by Perkins

Perkins' use of Heb 11.9 shows the more measured and articulate response taken by this Cambridge scholar to Catholicism than the impulsive invective of Edward Dering. Nonetheless, Perkins stood full-square behind the Paul's Cross preacher in reading Hebrews as a fundamentally anti-papist text. Since God's word leads to faith, Perkins denied that the

⁷¹ Winship, 'Pastoral Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity', 474.

⁷² Perkins, *Cloud*, 10, 339; cf. Patterson, *William Perkins*, 73f on assurance.

⁷³ Perkins, *Cloud*, 363.

⁷⁴ Perkins, *Cloud*, 222.

Church could predate the scriptures. The case of Abel (Heb 11.4) taught him that God had a Church from the foundation of the world but that the Scriptures were prior to this Church despite being penned later.⁷⁵ On several occasions, Perkins asserted the anti-Catholic consequences of the doctrine of *sola fide*; all routes to salvation other than by faith are misleading by-ways. He rejected the notion 'not of the Turke alone in his Alcaron, but of many others as ill, that every man shall be saved by his own religion, if he be devout therein'.⁷⁶ Thus it is that when God blessed all nations in Abraham (Heb 11.16, Gen 22.18), 'we must understand that (All) is not alwaies taken generally, but sometime indefinitely for many'.⁷⁷

Perkins used Hebrews against a comprehensive range of Catholic ideas and practice. Like Dering, he was not consumed with those eucharistic issues which had been central to Calvin, Whittingham, Fulke, and Cartwright. Once again, Perkins' creative flair is apparent, developing innovative anti-Catholic polemic not found in other writers. For example, he interpreted Heb 11.27 in a politico-theological light. Moses was working by an immediate command of God to take his people out of Pharaoh's land; had he done this on his own account he might have been worthy of censure as seditious and rebellious. The implicit target here was the education of English Catholics on the continent.⁷⁸ Elsewhere Perkins attacked the voluntary poverty of friars: that the Old Testament fathers were strangers and pilgrims (Heb 11.13) was not an injunction to mendicancy. He backed this up by arguing that the popish objection based on Jesus' instruction to the rich man in Mark 10 was invalid; Jesus' injunction to poverty was specific to the man in question.⁷⁹ Thirdly, Perkins betrayed the nervousness with which many in England viewed Catholicism when he even extracted

⁷⁵ Perkins, *Cloud*, 43.

⁷⁶ Perkins, *Cloud*, 49, 73.

⁷⁷ Perkins, *Cloud*, 306.

⁷⁸ Perkins, *Cloud*, 427.

⁷⁹ Perkins, *Cloud*, 289; cf. also 561 against eremitism.

from the epistle an allegation that the development of poisons was a product of popish inventiveness.⁸⁰

Prophecy-fulfillment and covenant: remedies from Hebrews against separatism

Catholicism was not the only threat facing the Church of England by the 1590s. Internal debate about further reform had been silenced, so Protestant criticism of the English Church now came from vociferous separatists like Barrow, Greenwood and Penry.⁸¹ One prolific 1590s separatist was 'Martin Marprelate'. 'Martin' used the letter to the Hebrews as part of his promotion of the Presbyterian cause. He argued that because Christ was pre-eminent over God's house (Heb 3.2, 3, 6), he had not left any discretion to the magistrate regarding forms of ecclesiastical government; therefore the structure of pastors, doctors, elders and deacons (which Martin believed to have been appointed by Christ) should be implemented in England.⁸²

Perkins' conformism turned the epistle back against separatists like Martin Marprelate. Hebrews 11 was ideal for this task because its discussion of faith could be read as binding the Old and New Testaments together and thus discouraging of further ecclesiastical disruption. Perkins argued that the patriarchs were aware of the future advent of Jesus. This was indicated by the definition of faith in Heb 11.1 as 'the ground of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen' (BB). Perkins wrote that 'faith gives to these things which yet are not (after a sort) a substance or subsistence in the heart of the beleever'. Some things of faith are unseen by the patriarchs and by Christians: justification, sanctification, the Resurrection, and life everlasting. However, some things of faith were unseen by the

⁸⁰ Perkins, *Cloud*, 470.

⁸¹ MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 382-88.

⁸² Black, Joseph L. (ed.), *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernised and Annotated Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 114-17, 149.

patriarchs but are now known to Christians, namely the incarnation of Christ and the publishing of the gospel.⁸³ The patriarchs and Christians therefore differ in degree and not kind. Of the patriarchs Perkins wrote, ‘the *Messias* was promised unto them; but they never saw his coming in the flesh, and yet they beleevd Gods promise, and died in that faith’.⁸⁴

The example of the faith of Enoch, and in particular his bodily translation to heaven before Christ’s ascension, was an important illustration for Perkins of his belief that the patriarchs had saving faith.⁸⁵ Against those who said that Enoch was only translated in his soul because no unglorified body can enter heaven, Perkins asserted that Enoch’s body was glorified prior to its entry to heaven. Against those who said that Christ was the first fruits of them that sleep, Perkins claimed that Enoch never died, never ‘slept’. Against those who quoted John’s gospel that none have ascended to heaven but him that descended [Jn 3.13], Perkins wrote that this part of Jesus’ discourse with Nicodemus was not about physical ascent but the understanding of mystical and heavenly things. Against the opinion of ‘most Papists’ that Enoch was only in Paradise, Perkins asserted that he enjoyed the full life of heaven: ‘[t]his holy man, by God’s special favour to him, was assumed into heaven both body and soule; his soule beeing perfectly sanctified, and his body glorified in the instant of his translation: and there he remaineth in glory, expecting the generall resurrection, and the full glorification of all God’s elect’.⁸⁶ The example of Enoch was, for Perkins, a demonstration that saving faith was operating and effective under the old dispensation as well as the new.

⁸³ Perkins, *Cloud*, 4.

⁸⁴ Perkins, *Cloud*, 275, 12.

⁸⁵ Perkins, *Cloud*, 59f. On this point Perkins lines up with Cartwright against Fulke, because Fulke thought that Christ was the first to enter heaven in bodily form; Cartwright, Thomas, *A confutation of the Rhemists translation, glosses and annotations on the New Testament* (Leiden, 1618), 631; Fulke, William, *The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ Translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traitorous Seminarie at Rhemes ... Whereunto is added the Translation out of the Original Greeke, commonly used in the Church of England* (London, 1617), 761. Cf. below 243-44 for Gouge and Owen on this matter.

⁸⁶ Perkins, *Cloud*, 61-63.

Grounded in his understanding of how the New Testament fulfilled the Old, and that believers were united in a covenant across both dispensations, Perkins was therefore more willing than Dering to lambast those who sought radical change in English ecclesiastical strategy. He promoted just war theory against the 'Anabaptists of Germany' by arguing from Heb 11.33-35 that God's servants could wage warfare if they did so in faith.⁸⁷ Likewise, he claimed that the deathbed posture of Jacob in Heb 11.21 justified kneeling to receive communion: God is to be worshiped with bodies as well as souls. Jacob's death offered Perkins a neat opportunity to refute the earlier allegation that he had once rejected kneeling for communion.⁸⁸ Thirdly, Perkins wheeled out Noah against antinomians who revelled in lawlessness and who claimed that salvation through faith negated the need for good works. Noah was persuaded that God would save him, but this did not stop him also from acting in his construction of the ark. 'Whence we learne, that though a man be *certaine* of his salvation, yet he is to use the *meanes* of salvation... God in his decree hath tied the *end* and the *meanes* together'.⁸⁹ Once again, Perkins' commentary exposes the fracturing face of English Protestantism and how this was weakening the earlier concerted effort against Rome.

Hebrews and separatism in other writers

Perkins was not alone in dropping Dering's façade of theoretical Protestant unity and adopting texts from Hebrews as a means of encouraging conformity to the Church of England. Two verses from Hebrews were particularly useful proof-texts against separatism. Preaching before the queen in 1581 on Heb 10.25 ('not forsaking the assembling of our selves together, as the maner of some is, but exhorting one another', BB), Tobias Matthew

⁸⁷ Perkins, *Cloud*, 503.

⁸⁸ Perkins, *Cloud*, 371; cf. above, 91; ODNB, s.v. Perkins, William.

⁸⁹ Perkins, *Cloud*, 125-26; cf. also 180.

attacked those ‘that of singularitie sorte them selves into privat conventicles’.⁹⁰ Years later, Robert Abbot would cite the same verse on the cover of his roving treatise against separatism.⁹¹

The other argument from Hebrews against separatism involved the use of Heb 13.17 to bolster the ministerial authority of the English Church.⁹² This verse conveniently urged readers to ‘obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account’ (KJV). Early in the seventeenth century, Heb 13.17 taught Francis Holyoake that God had made some people superior to others. Holyoake rejected a caricature of Anabaptists and Familists ‘who would have all men equal and all things in comon’.⁹³ Holyoake was preaching in response to puritan critics in Coventry who had denied that non-preaching clergy were true ministers. In defence of non-preaching clergy Holyoake argued that the form and essence of a minister stemmed from his outward calling and the way in which that calling was expressed.⁹⁴

The debate from Hebrews about separatism was by no means one-directional. David Dickson was numbered among the Radicals in the Scottish Kirk who favoured private prayer

⁹⁰ Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Top.Oxon.e.5, 232.

⁹¹ Abbot, Robert, *A triall of our church-forsakers. Or A meditation tending to still the passions of unquiet Brownists, upon Heb.10.25 Wherein is iustified, against them, that the blessed Church of England 1 Is a true Church. 2 Hath a true ministry. 3 Hath a true worship* (London, 1639). John Denison used the two verses immediately after Heb 10.25 in a Paul’s Cross sermon to take a middle line against, on the one hand, Bellarmine and the Rhemists who ameliorate the sin against the Holy Ghost by interpreting the verses as merely denying second baptism and, on the other hand, those rigorists ‘which through swelling pride did take to themselves the name of Puritanes’ and who like the Novatianists would make all gross sins to be irremissible; Denison, John, *Foure sermons* (London, 1620), 160, 173.

⁹² Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, ch. 9.

⁹³ Holyoake, Francis, *A sermon of obedience especially vnto authoritie ecclesiasticall, wherein the principall controuersies of our church are handled... being preached at a visitation of the right worshipfull M.D. Hinton, in Couentry* (London, 1613), 6-7.

⁹⁴ Holyoake, *sermon of obedience*, 10-12. Preaching in the same year as Holyoake, Thomas Willis demonstrated the combined usefulness of Heb 10.24-25 and 13.17 by citing both (plus Laurence Tomson’s marginal comment on the latter) in his sermon from Jude 19 against sermon-gadders and those who forsook the Church of England: Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawl. E.21, ‘Miscellaneous Sermons 1598-1661’, 62[r] – 80[r]; analysed in Hunt, Arnold, *The Art of Hearing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 190-91.

meetings that were distinct from public worship. Dickson read Heb 10.25 as condemning those who withdrew from the true Church but that Christian meetings of private Christians 'for mutuall conference, and exhorting one of another, is not to bee neglected, nor forsaken; but to bee used, for keeping unities in the Church: and not to foster Schisme, or hinder the publicke Assemblies.'⁹⁵ One solitary Hebrews sermon even supplied a voice to those puritans who resorted to self-imposed exile. An anonymous separatist printed in Rotterdam the sermon of a third party on Heb 6.18, 'that by two immutable things, in which it is impossible for God to lye we might have strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us'.⁹⁶ This verse and the sermon's provenance intuitively promise a signally political text. Alas, the writer made little polemical capital from the epistle. The bulk of his text was given over to extolling Christ's consolation and the free grace of God.

Summary

Reception history of the letter to the Hebrews in Elizabethan preaching supports the argument of Peter McCullough and others who have drawn our attention to the power of pulpit oratory as a means of religious communication and as a device for political and social control. As also seen in the documents examined in chapter 1, Hebrews was used by preachers to advance a range of constructive and controversial theological ends. However, unlike the public documents of the English Reformation, the 'fundamentally occasional'⁹⁷ nature of sermons meant that preachers from Hebrews could use the letter to engage a wider array of debates. The creative potential of preaching allowed Dering and Perkins to develop distinctive foci within their shared tradition. Dering's *XXVII Lectures* reaffirmed his

⁹⁵ Dickson, David, *A short explanation, of the epistle of Paul to the Hebrewes* (Aberdeen, 1635), 230; Stevenson, *Union, Revolution and Religion*, 99-101, 154.

⁹⁶ Anon., *The Saints refvge A sermon preached by a reverend divine, and now published by a welwiller to the truth for the comfort of Gods people* (Rotterdam, 1641), 5.

⁹⁷ McCullough and Ferrell, *English Sermon Revised*, 2.

reputation as a doyen of Elizabethan puritanism. Perkins' *Cloud of faithfull witnesses* supports the now received understanding of Perkins as a leading writer of theoretical and practical divinity, willing to defend the Church of England from both Catholic tyranny and separatist disintegration. Thus while Dering and Perkins conformed to the national Church, their differences exposed the diversity which was growing within the Elizabethan Reformed 'consensus'.

One particular idea set Perkins apart from Dering and pointed to future developments in Hebrews exegesis. Before Perkins, English writers had paid little attention to the idea of *foedus* (covenant) in Hebrews. This may seem strange given that Hebrews was the New Testament book in which διαθήκη / *berith* receives its most extensive treatment. Early English disinterest in the federal exposition of Hebrews may have been a by-product of the strictly binary Protestant-Catholic divide which Dering exemplified: issues of covenant would only become important when supersessionist readings threatened to undermine the hegemony of the Reformed understanding of the epistle. The presence of federal theology within the exegesis of Hebrews by Perkins is an indication that these challenges were becoming more pressing.

Dering and Perkins differed not only in the contents of their exposition. Their styles were distinctive too. Dering's lectures were disjointed and hastily compiled for publication, redolent of the urgency and fervour of his message. By contrast, Perkins' exposition was a refined and unified whole. This reflects his status as a mainstream divine and the maturity which had been achieved within English biblical commentary by 1600.

Visions of the Church of England's purpose and future would polarise further in the early Stuart period. Chapter 3 will consider the arrival on the scene of anti-puritans, most especially Lancelot Andrewes. These writers insisted on toning down the ferocity with which agitators like Dering used Hebrews in their attack on Catholicism. This approach was well suited to the political needs of James I, and connected with the ecclesiastical principles of the Laudians. However, it infuriated exegetes like William Jones who remained loyal to the Reformed priorities which had dominated the Elizabethan Church.

Chapter 3 Anti-puritan alternatives

Patterns of Hebrews reception readily fit into the broad historiographical framework which tracks a fundamental shift in tone from the diverse but strongly Reformed Elizabethan establishment, to the emergence of a more ceremonialist and anti-puritan ecclesiastical party: what Peter Lake has called ‘avant-garde conformity’.¹ Chapter 2 has already shown that there was a breadth of exegesis and hermeneutics applied to Hebrews in the Elizabethan Church: Edward Dering’s fiery use of the letter against the perceived eschatological threat of popery was contrasted to the more sophisticated conformism of William Perkins. Looking forward to the evolutions within the Jacobean Church, this chapter will locate Lancelot Andrewes at the vanguard of a new approach to the letter, part of a wider attempt to redefine the boundaries of conformity so as to include a critique of aspects of Calvinism within the bounds of what was acceptable in the Church of England. Superficially, Andrewes seems to have defused the controversial character of the epistle by concentrating on the practical application of the exhortatory chapters 12 and 13 and by aiming at a deliberately undogmatic exegesis. However, behind this seemingly innocuous moralism, dogmatic agendas were in play. Andrewes was steering away from Calvinist expressions of salvation by ignoring the soteriologically polemical central chapters of the epistle. Following in Andrewes’ wake, later anti-Calvinist and Laudian divines became more explicitly controversial. John Featley, for example, made high claims for episcopal authority from the thirteenth chapter of the letter. In addition to these changing exegetical emphases, this new generation of writers will be seen to handle the text of the letter very differently from the Reformed. They were not interested in rolling commentary so much as using verses of Hebrews as pegs onto which they could hang key ideas.

¹ Lake, Peter, ‘Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge and avant garde conformity at the court of James I’, in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* ed. Peck, L.L. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 113-33.

Historiography of Jacobean religion has been dominated by debates surrounding the pioneering insights of Nicholas Tyacke.² Tyacke's central thesis has inverted the earlier understanding of what was radical and conservative during the early Stuart period. Mid twentieth-century 'Marxist' and socialist historiography, epitomised by Christopher Hill, drew on the earlier notion of the civil wars as the product of revolutionary puritanism.³ In contrast, Tyacke explores how innovative 'Arminian' theology defied the Reformed ascendancy and influenced the Laudian policies of Charles I.⁴ Recent nuances to Tyacke's model have questioned the extent to which there was a Calvinist 'consensus' in the reign of Elizabeth against which the Arminians could react.⁵ This has focused attention onto the 1590s as the hinge decade in which *avant garde* critics of Calvinist soteriology began to erode Reformed hegemony.⁶ The use of Hebrews by Andrewes and his followers fits neatly into Tyacke's historiographical model, beginning in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign.

² Tyacke's ground-breaking article first published in 1973, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 132-39, was expanded into his *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

³ Hill, Christopher, *Society and Puritanism in pre-Revolutionary England* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1964); Greaves, Richard L., *Puritan Revolution and Educational Thought* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1969); Hill, Christopher, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London: Temple Smith, 1972); Ashley, Maurice, *Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution* (London: English Universities Press, 1972). Cf. Lake, Peter, 'Introduction: Puritanism, Arminianism and Nicholas Tyacke', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England*, ed. Fincham, Kenneth and Lake, Peter (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 1-15, at 2-3. The term 'puritan revolution' goes back to the nineteenth century; cf. Gardiner, Samuel R., *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1628-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889).

⁴ The implications of the Arminian and Laudian challenge for English politics and England's relationship with continental churches is explored in detail by Milton, Anthony, *Catholic and Reformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); cf. also Davies, Julian, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

⁵ The weightiest challenge to the idea of a Calvinistic consensus is to be found in White, Peter, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁶ Lake, 'Introduction' in Fincham and Lake, *Religious Politics*, 10-12.

Tyacke has been keen to allay the misperception that the rise of Arminianism implies that darkness descended on puritanism.⁷ His article on the ‘fortunes of English Puritanism, 1603-40’ shows that Reformed thought was very much alive in parishes across the land. Moreover, personal networks continued to link like-minded Reformed clergy, especially in London.⁸ As he writes:

Money, organisation and ideology give shape and substance to Puritanism under the early Stuarts. Although the symmetry of the Elizabethan classical movement was lacking, the variety of responses called forth by new circumstances more than compensated. The individual parish or congregation was now emphasised as the basic unit of reformation and the local support of the laity became increasingly crucial.⁹

The second half of this chapter will explore how the reception history of the letter to the Hebrews offers a robust example of the ongoing vitality of Jacobean puritanism, in the form of Reformed biblical criticism. There was furore in the mid-1630s when William Jones’ hefty commentary on the epistle¹⁰ was censored by the Laudians prior to publication. Jones’ opposition to Catholic eucharistic theology, that lodestone which had so enticed Calvin and his followers to the epistle, was substantially excised by Samuel Baker, chaplain to the bishop of London. We will see how this censorship coheres with the patterns described by Anthony Milton, in which Laudians did not seek to eradicate a basic anti-Catholic stance so much as to moderate the way in which anti-papery was presented.¹¹

⁷ Tyacke, Nicholas, ‘The fortunes of English Puritanism, 1603-40’ in *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 111-31.

⁸ Cf. below, 188-89, for the mid-century London network of Reformed biblical commentators.

⁹ Tyacke, ‘Fortunes’, 128.

¹⁰ Jones, William, *Commentary vpon the Epistles of Saint Paul to Philemon, and to the Hebrewes together with a compendious explication of the second and third Epistles of Saint John* (London, 1635).

¹¹ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, chs. 1-3; Milton, Anthony, ‘Licensing, censorship, and religious orthodoxy in early Stuart England’, *Historical Journal* 41 (1998), 625-51, especially 644-46; Hunt, Arnold, ‘Licensing and Religious Censorship in Early Modern England’, in *Literature and Censorship in Renaissance England* ed. Hadfield, Andrew (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 127-46, at 139-41.

Avant garde conformity:¹² Lancelot Andrewes on Hebrews

The generation of *avant garde* clergy sometimes labelled 'Arminians',¹³ like their Reformed contemporaries, recognised Hebrews as an important battleground as they constructed and articulated their theology. However, different sections of Hebrews excited each school of thought. Moreover, each drew competing theological concepts from the epistle, partly because the style of their hermeneutics was markedly different. Lancelot Andrewes and his Laudian successors did not produce any rolling commentary that bears comparison with the expositions of Dering and Perkins. (The document which comes closest was written in the 1650s by Henry Hammond. However, his *Paraphrase and Annotations* defies theological categorisation and his ideas will be shown to have similarities with aspects of Socinianism.)¹⁴ As a result, anti-puritan readings of Hebrews must be carefully reconstructed from the sermons of individual preachers. Interest in Hebrews among those sympathetic to Andrewes majored on parts of the epistle which had little dogmatic appeal to the Reformed. They did not want to dwell on disputed matters of the eucharist, sacrifice and priesthood which had attracted the Reformed to Heb 5-10. They were much more interested in the letter's encouragement to live a good Christian life and the related emphasis on individual choice, which resisted the fatalist implications of high Calvinist soteriology. This drew them towards the hortatory chapters 12 and 13. At first sight, this new style and tone of Hebrews commentary appears self-consciously uncontroversial in both genre and ideological content. However, the appearance is deceptive, and conceals the ways in which Hebrews remained a dogmatic resource for all its readers.

¹² McCullough, Peter, *Lancelot Andrewes Selected Sermons and Lectures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge'; Tyacke, Nicholas, 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism', in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660*, ed. Lake, Peter and Questier, Michael (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 5-33; Lossky, Nicholas, *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher (1555-1626): The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

¹³ My note on nomenclature (cf. above, 18) considers the difficulties involved in defining English 'Arminianism'. Included under the term in this chapter are 'Arminians *avant la lettre*', theologians like Lancelot Andrewes who pushed against the Reformed consensus even before Arminius became a controversial figure on the continent.

¹⁴ Cf. below, 158-61.

Lancelot Andrewes is one of Peter Lake's *avant garde* conformists. He was committed to the Church of England but sought to remodel the English conception of orthodoxy. Tyacke speculates as to whether the preaching of Andrewes against final perseverance in 1594 might have influenced the controversial attack by William Barrett on elements of Reformed soteriology in Cambridge in 1595.¹⁵ Certainly five years later Andrewes would use Heb 6.11¹⁶ as the basis for modifying the Reformed line on assurance when preaching to his London parish of St Giles Cripplegate.¹⁷ Andrewes' emphasis throughout was on diligence in hope. His concluding sentence asserted that '[i]f we use diligence, and shew forth our diligence in doing those works of love, we shall attain to hope, and that not faint or feeble, but of full measure, even the full assurance of hope; which shall not be for a time, or an hour, and so fail, but it shall continue even to the end.'¹⁸ According to Andrewes' presentation, diligence in hope is so necessary that it implicitly becomes a working element in salvation. Here is soteriology of a pointedly different hue from Reformed *sola fide*.

Andrewes' star was rising. In 1601 he became dean of that most un-puritanical of institutions, Westminster Abbey.¹⁹ In tandem with his rising fortunes, he became increasingly bold in his articulation of anti-Calvinist theology. He used texts from Hebrews as the basis for sermons on several important occasions. On Good Friday 1605 he presented a novel

¹⁵ Tyacke, 'Lancelot Andrewes', 19. For an account of the controversy cf. White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 101-123. Barrett had been influenced by Peter Baro, a French exile, who in turn was protected by the Master of Peterhouse, Andrew Perne. Perne was alleged by the Jesuit John Gerard to be a secret papist, and Perne's secretary, Robert Shelford, pops up in the 1630s as a staunch Arminian. MacCulloch, Diarmaid, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies* 30 (1991), 17; also MacCulloch, Diarmaid, 'The Latitude of the Church of England', in Fincham and Lake, *Religious Politics*, 41-59 at 49-51.

¹⁶ Andrewes was working from the Latin '[c]upimus autem ut unusquisque vestrum idem studium ad finem usque ostendat, ad certam spei persuasionem'. The Bishops' Bible translated this verse 'wee desire that every one of you doe shew the same diligence, to the full assurance of hope unto the ende.' The Geneva translation is similar. Weigle, Luther A. (ed.), *New Testament Octapla* (New York: Thomas Nelson: n.d. [c.1960]), 1251.

¹⁷ Andrewes, Lancelot, *Apospasmata sacra, or, A collection of posthumous and orphan lectures delivered at St. Pauls and St. Giles his church* (London, 1657), 578-85.

¹⁸ Andrewes, *Apospasmata sacra*, 585.

¹⁹ MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London: Penguin, 2003), 509-12.

interpretation of Hebrews' soteriology before James I. Cranmer had chosen Heb 10.1-25 for the epistle reading at communion on Good Friday. This was because it suited his programmatic emphasis on Christ's unique sacrifice during Passiontide.²⁰ (Tobias Matthew, dean of Christ Church and later archbishop of York, had shared Cranmer's agenda and grounded his Good Friday court sermon in 1581 on the last seven verses of the same passage.²¹) Andrewes, however, chose to work from Heb 12.2, 'looking unto Jesus, the Author and finisher of our Faith; who for the joy that was set before Him, endured the Cross, and despised the shame; and is set at the right hand of the Throne of God.'²² While Andrewes accepted that Christ's death was a ransom, he did not specify how this might be so. His focus instead was on how the tenor of Christ's whole life could be a salvific example to Christians: '[n]ow, our *faith* is made perfect by *workes*, or *well-doing* (saith S.James:) it will therefore set us in a course of them. Of which, every vertue is a *stadium*, and every *act* a *stepp* toward the *end* of our *race*.'²³ There is resonance here with Andrewes' Cripplegate sermon on Heb 6.11. However, on this occasion, Andrewes' message was presented with greater clarity and before the king himself. Peter McCullough deftly identifies a particular emphasis within this sermon on the verb to 'look', an exhortation in words to the sensory engagement which Catholics enjoy in worship.²⁴ The stress on good works is a characteristic which McCullough discovers throughout Andrewes' sermons.²⁵

²⁰ Cf. above, 50-51.

²¹ Matthew, Tobias, 'Two sermons made upon a parte of the tenth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews. One before the Q Majestie at St James: upon good Fridaie the xxiiiith of marche. The other at the Spittle the mundaie following being the xxviith of the same month' (1581), Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Top.Oxon.e.5, 149-239.

²² Andrewes, Lancelot, *XCVI sermons by the Right Honorable and Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes, late Lord Bishop of Winchester* (London, 1629), 365. Andrewes' choice of translation on this occasion was an interesting preferencing of the Geneva Bible over the official Bishops' Bible.

²³ Andrewes, *XCVI sermons*, 379, 381.

²⁴ McCullough, *Andrewes Selected Sermons*, 366.

²⁵ McCullough, *Andrewes Selected Sermons*, xxx.

For Andrewes, the importance of God assuming flesh in Jesus was allied to the working element in faith. Now Bishop of Chichester, Andrewes returned to court on Christmas Day in 1605 to promote the role of the incarnation in the salvation of humanity. Once again, he chose a Hebrews text for this important venue and festival. His text was Heb 2.16, 'for, he in no wise took the angells [sic]: but, the seede of Abraham he tooke'.²⁶ Heb 2.16 taught Andrewes that Jesus needed to become human in order to go through death and destroy the lord of death, the devil.²⁷ Andrewes' model echoes the '*Christus Victor*' model of the atonement which Gustav Aulén traced back to the early Church. Aulén located Jesus' life within a cosmic conflict between good and evil, God and the devil. He claimed that this was the authentic patristic understanding of the atonement.²⁸ By refocussing the soteriological lens away from the cross and onto the prior necessity of God assuming human flesh, Andrewes effectively de-emphasised the Reformed doctrine of Jesus' death as a satisfaction and a sacrifice.

Towards the end of this Christmas sermon, Andrewes introduced two ideas which were unfamiliar in earlier English Protestant Hebrews exegesis. He associated the incarnation with an elevated appreciation of eucharistic worship, and he implied that the sacrament had a deifying effect on the recipient.

It is most kindly, to take part with Him, in that, which He took part in, with us; and that, to no other end, but that He might make the *receiving* of it by us, a meanes, whereby He might *dwell in us, and we in Him...* He *taking our flesh*, and we *receiving His spirit...* That, as He, by ours, became *consors humanæ naturæ*; so we, by His, might become *consortes Divinæ naturæ*, partakers of the Divine nature.²⁹

²⁶ This was Andrewes' own translation; Andrewes, *XCVI sermons*, 1.

²⁷ Andrewes, *XCVI sermons*, 4-6.

²⁸ Aulén, Gustav, *Christus Victor: an Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement* (London: SPCK, 1940), 20-23; McCullough, *Andrewes Selected Sermons*, xxiv.

²⁹ Andrewes, *XCVI sermons*, 9.

There is a vivid literal reading here; cautious reliance on symbolism is thrown to the wind. Jesus is received as Word and sacrament and, because he took our nature, Christians may partake of his. Andrewes was promoting a doctrine of *theosis*,³⁰ an elevated expression of salvation, in which humans are conceived as being called to participate in the divine nature.

Another of Andrewes' Hebrews sermons about the nativity builds on these implications of the incarnation for baptismal and eucharistic efficaciousness. He wrote on Heb 1.1-3 that

[t]here be two defiling sinnes, and two waies He purgeth them. *Cleane* we are, from the first, as washing from the *originall* uncleannesse of our Nature, and that, by the *Laver of regeneration*. And, *whole* we are, as *purged* within from the *actuall* sinnes of our persons; and that, by the *cup of the New Testament*, which we *bless in His Name*.³¹

In this passage Andrewes implicitly asserted baptismal regeneration and attributed an actual repetitive purgative effect upon eucharistic communicants. These ideas would not have sat comfortably with many contemporary clergy.

Andrewes' sacramental emphases were related to the value which he attributed to participation in public liturgy and on the importance of ordained ministry.³² He used Hebrews to encourage attentiveness during worship and a greater appreciation of the shape and flow of liturgy. His Easter sermon in 1624 argued that worshippers should remain for the final priestly blessing and not slope off early. In this address, he worked from the priestcraft of the great shepherd (Heb 13.20) to the importance of the sacerdotal power of the minister. 'Not onely the power to pray, to preach, to make and to give the Sacrament;

³⁰ Cf. Allchin, A.M., *Participation in God: a forgotten strand in Anglican Tradition* (London: Darton Longman and Todd, 1988), 15-23; Chapman, Raymond, *Before the King's Majesty: Lancelot Andrewes and his writings* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2008), 10-13.

³¹ Andrewes, *XCVI sermons*, 59; cf. also 589.

³² Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge', 115-16, 128.

but the power also to *blesse* you, that are GOD's people, is annexed, and is a branch of our, of the *Priest's Office*.³³

Andrewes lacked the personal penchant for Hebrews which is evident in many Reformed writers. The index of McCullough's *Selected Sermons* proves that his quotation from the letter was infrequent when compared to narrative texts like Genesis and Matthew, or the liturgical poetry of the Psalms.³⁴ Nonetheless, Andrewes chose Hebrews as the basis for several prominent orations, and his large corpus of extant sermons renders him the most illuminating example of Jacobean anti-Calvinist preaching from the epistle. His volume of activity was sufficiently large for us to determine which parts of Hebrews were of interest to him and which were not. The pattern is markedly different from the use of the epistle among Andrewes' Reformed contemporaries. Andrewes signally avoided citation of the central soteriological chapters. McCullough lists Andrewes as making only two references to verses from Heb 6-9 inclusive.³⁵ Andrewes thus adopted a strategy of silence on the theme of sacrifice in Hebrews, bypassing the central controversial chapters and concentrating instead on pastoral passages. Andrewes' use of Hebrews is a signpost to trends in non-Reformed exegesis which would become more explicit in the Caroline era.

Other anti-Calvinist exegetes: Buckeridge, Featley, Duppa, Curll

John Buckeridge was a good friend of Andrewes, but was prepared to push beyond Andrewes' reticence towards exploring the theme of sacrifice in Hebrews.³⁶ Buckeridge used the occasion of Andrewes' funeral (1626) to give what McCullough describes as 'an

³³ Andrewes, *XCVI sermons*, 577.

³⁴ McCullough, *Andrewes Selected Sermons*, 476-77.

³⁵ McCullough, *Andrewes Selected Sermons*, 477.

³⁶ ODNB, s.v. Buckeridge, John.

extremely careful exposition of the anti-Calvinists' theological position on sacrifice'.³⁷ Andrewes and Buckeridge had worked together as anti-puritan chaplains to Archbishop Whitgift. Like Andrewes, Buckeridge rose steadily during the reign of James I. He had been Laud's tutor at St John's Oxford, and preceded him as president of that college. He succeeded Andrewes in the major London living of St Giles Cripplegate. In the funeral sermon for his friend, Buckeridge worked from the liturgically prominent³⁸ Heb 13.16 ('to do good, and to distribute forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased') to make explicit assertions about the salvific value of good deeds. On the one hand Buckeridge rejected Catholic notions of merit but on the other hand he commended charity, alms and good deeds in un-Reformed terms. 'God cannot forget them [alms], if we do remember and performe them: Nay God holds them at a great rate, he accepts them as *sacrifices*, and such *sacrifices* as both *pacifie* and *please* him'.³⁹ By attributing value to good deeds in the eyes of God, Buckeridge was building on the ethical framework instigated in England by Andrewes and which would be capitalised upon by Restoration latitudinarians.

Two decades later and an ambitious young cleric, John Featley, promoted a Laudian appreciation of the authority of bishops from Hebrews. His text was Heb 13.17 ('obey them that have the rule over you'). Featley was unlike Francis Holyoake who had taught that this verse referred to all ministers;⁴⁰ Featley applied Heb 13.17 exclusively to bishops. Submission to bishops should be 'not only in things directly commanded in sacred writ; but also even in things which are added by the *reverend Fathers*; conducing neither to the peace of the Church, or to the good behaviour of men; yea, though in themselves things be

³⁷ ODNB, s.v. Buckeridge, John; Buckeridge, John, 'A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God Lancelot late Lord Bishop of Winchester', in Andrewes, *XCVI sermons*, final sermon, 5-14.

³⁸ This verse was among those listed by Cranmer for the offertory during communion. *The First and Second Prayer Books of King Edward the Sixth* (Everyman's Library No.448, London: Dent, 1927), 219.

³⁹ Andrewes, *XCVI sermons*, final sermon, 12.

⁴⁰ Cf. above, 101.

indifferent.⁴¹ Featley assumed that a magisterial teaching authority resided within the leaders of the Church. He cited the Spaniard bishop of Tortose, Luis de Tena (d. 1622) in support of this position. Here is both a Catholic doctrinal argument about authority and leadership in the Church, plus a new hermeneutical approach in Hebrews commentary, namely the explicit positive appropriation of a Tridentine theologian by a priest of the Church of England.⁴² John Featley's doctrine of revelation and his perception of the Church of England's relationship to other denominations were radically different from the position of Edward Dering.⁴³

Brian Duppa was another Hebrews commentator whose writing drew on contemporary Catholic exegesis. Duppa's sermon at Whitehall in 1628 on Heb 3.15 ('to day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation', KJV) was complimentary about Cardinal Bellarmine's interpretation of God's voice. Duppa was seeking a middle ground on divine revelation, '[n]ot ye Rowling Tradition of ye Papists, or ye Running Frenzy of ye Schismatiques'.⁴⁴ This desire for a golden mean echoes the infamous description by the controversial Caroline anti-puritan Richard Montagu that the Church of England stood 'in the gap against Puritanisme and Popery, the Scilla and Charybdis of antient piety'.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Featley, John, *A sermon of obedience and submission preached at St. Sauours-church in South-warke, at a visitation, on Tuesday, the eighth [sic] day of December, anno Dom. 1635* (London, 1636), 25. John Featley is not to be confused with his famous uncle Daniel, whose Reformed annotations on Hebrews will be analysed in chapter 5. Heb 13.17 would later suit the needs of Restoration episcopalians seeking to reaffirm bishops within the national Church; among them Stileman, John, *Kalos proestotes, or, A view of church-government wherein the proper church-governors are demonstrated, their office, duty, work and employment ... is declared ...* (London, 1663), 1.

⁴² Carl Trueman notes the gradual appropriation of medieval and contemporary Catholic thinkers in seventeenth-century preaching. Trueman, Carl, 'Preachers and Medieval and Renaissance Commentary', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* ed. McCullough, Peter, Adlington, Hugh and Rhatigan, Emma (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 54-71, at 64.

⁴³ Cf. above, 88-90.

⁴⁴ Duppa, Brian, 'A Sermon preached att Whitehall upon our Lady day in Lent. 1628', Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawl. E.21, 116-125, at 118[r].

⁴⁵ Cf. discussion in Brydon, Michael, *The evolving reputation of Richard Hooker: an examination of responses, 1600-1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 17.

Duppa's Hebrews sermon also lacked the precision which characterised Reformed dogma. He did not want to delve too deeply into God's permission and action in the matter of Pharaoh's hardened heart. He also prevaricated on the question of baptismal regeneration, the waters of which '(if not washed away) yet supplied' the original crust of hardness in us.⁴⁶ Duppa was a complex character. He followed Montagu as Bishop of Chichester where, Nicholas Tyacke notes, he issued visitation articles that built on the work of his predecessor.⁴⁷ However, Duppa was sufficiently circumspect to continue his rise at a time when other Arminian stars were waning. He was translated to Salisbury in 1641 as part of Charles I's moderate episcopal appointments of that year.⁴⁸ Duppa's true colours are perhaps indicated by the way in which he bridges the lives of two other anti-Calvinist Hebrews exegetes. He was a student of Lancelot Andrewes, and was a clandestine correspondent with Henry Hammond in the 1650s.⁴⁹

The diplomatic way in which Andrewes and Duppa both avoided dogmatism acquired political and military implications in the Hebrews reading of Walter Curll, dean of Lichfield. Curll's court sermon for Low Sunday in 1622 railed against the ravages of religious contention. 'There is nothing but Fraction and Faction, Schisme and Separation in the Church of Christ, which is his bodie: Church against Church: Altar against Altar, Priest against Priest, Religion against Religion, Christian against Christian; Nay, if I may so say, Christ against Christ, and God against God...'⁵⁰ Curll's proposed remedy from Heb 12.14 was the pursuit of peace with all men and holiness. Importantly for Curll, peace came first and then holiness. In setting amity above theological precision, he exposed himself not to be

⁴⁶ Duppa, MS Rawl. E.21, 121[v], 122[v].

⁴⁷ Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 206-07.

⁴⁸ ODNB, s.v. Duppa, Brian.

⁴⁹ ODNB, s.v. Duppa, Brian.

⁵⁰ Curll, Walter, *A sermon preached at White-Hall, on the 28. of April, 1622* (London, 1622), 10.

a doctrinaire Calvinist.⁵¹ Alas, his preaching did not elicit the desired response: Curll repeated exactly the same sermon during a public fast in Oxford at the height of the civil war - presumably to similarly limited effect.⁵²

The readings of Hebrews by *avant garde* conformists represented a clear challenge to the exposition which dominated the reign of Elizabeth. The clash was most apparent in the fields of soteriology, sacramentology, and ecclesiology. Andrewes upheld the importance of bearing the fruit of good works within his model of salvation and evidenced this from Hebrews when promoting diligence in hope. His spirituality was centred on the mysterious depths of the eucharist, and this in turn elevated his understanding of priesthood. Anti-Calvinist readings of Hebrews not only offered an alternative to the prevailing exegesis. There was an evolution in hermeneutics as well. John Featley was willing to draw on Luis de Tena, and Brian Duppa quoted Robert Bellarmine, while Walter Curll and Duppa displayed a purposeful and practical principle of adiaphora. These widespread differences of method and interpretation contributed to the explosive conflict which attended the publication of William Jones' *Commentary* on the epistle.

William Jones: Cambridge puritan, Suffolk minister, Reformed expositor

Early 'Arminian' exegetes of Hebrews by no means silenced the Reformed position. Indeed, it was a sermon on Hebrews which occasioned the first recorded attack on 'Arminianism' at Paul's Cross.⁵³ Samuel Ward⁵⁴ chose Heb 13.18, 'for wee are assured, that wee have a good

⁵¹ Cf. Griffin, Martin I. J., *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 5.

⁵² Curll, Walter, *A sermon preached at the publike fast at S. Maries in Oxford, the tenth day of May, 1644* (Oxford, 1644). Curll's frustration must have been exacerbated by those who preached the opposite position from the same scriptural book. Shortly after the outbreak of what became the Thirty Years' War, Jeremy Leech manipulated Heb 12.4 ('[y]ou have not yet resisted unto Bloud') to commend the military preparedness of the London Artillery Society. Leech, Jeremy, *The trayne souldier: A sermon preached before the worthy societie of the captaynes and gentle men that exercise armes in the artillery garden* (London, 1619).

⁵³ Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 257.

Conscience, desiring in all things to walke honestly',⁵⁵ as an occasion for promoting the doctrine of assurance. He feared that assurance was under assault from popery and now also from 'the old Leven of *Pelagius* newly worse sowed by *Arminius*'.⁵⁶ Andrewes' stance on diligence will have been among the targets which Ward had in mind as he developed his oration. His tactic, which would become conventional, was to bind papists and Arminians together. This approach was echoed by Jeremiah Dyke when preaching before Parliament on a fast day in 1628. Dyke worked from the preparedness of Noah in Heb 11.7 to encourage the Commons to look to the nation's enemies. Dyke thought that twin forces had combined to sap England's strength and were threatening retribution from above. 'What else meanes the spread, and growth of Popery and Idolatry? What else meanes the departure of our old Truth to the increase of Arminianisme?'⁵⁷ Despite the zeal of Ward and Dyke, it is William Jones' *Commentary* which provides the best case study of the ongoing vitality of detailed English Reformed exegesis of Hebrews. The size and tone of Jones' tome illuminates the stark contrasts between Reformed and anti-Calvinist readings, and its pre-publication censorship represents the collision of these different approaches.

Jones (1561-1636) was very much a product of his age. He had been educated during the zenith of the Elizabethan 'consensus'. After study at Trinity and Clare Colleges in Cambridge he joined Laurence Chaderton, one of Peter Lake's leading 'moderate puritans', as a

⁵⁴ Ward was one of several early Stuart Reformed preachers who were attracted to Hebrews as a source of constructive and controversial theology. He will have known both Samuel Bird and William Jones - and probably also Peter Gunter. Bird, Samuel, *The lectures of Samuel Bird of Ispwidge upon the 11. chapter of the Epistle unto the Hebrewes, and upon the 38. Psalme* (Cambridge, 1598); Gunter, Peter, *A sermon preached in the countie of Suffolke before the clergie and laytie, for the discoverie and confutation of certaine strange, pernicious, and hereticall positions, publicly deliuered, held, and maintayned, touching iustification, by a certaine factious preacher of Wickam Market* (London, 1615). Ward's *Balme from Gilead to recouer conscience In a sermon preached at Pauls-Crosse, Octob. 20. 1616* (London, 1617) was published by Thomas Gataker whose extensive puritan contacts in London with other protagonists for Hebrews will be unpacked below, 188-89.

⁵⁵ Ward, *Balme from Gilead*, 1. The first ten words of the verse used by Ward correspond to the GenB text; the final clause appears to be Ward's own translation.

⁵⁶ Ward, *Balme from Gilead*, 59, 81.

⁵⁷ Dyke, Jeremiah, *A sermon preached at the publicke fast To the Commons house of Parliament. April. 5th. 1628* (London, 1628), 25; cf. also 43, 46.

founding fellow of Emmanuel College in 1584.⁵⁸ His sympathies were exposed in 1589 when he petitioned in favour of Francis Johnson, an imprisoned advocate of presbyterianism.⁵⁹ Congregational involvement in his appointment as Rector of East Bergholt also reveals something of his ecclesiology. 141 villagers subscribed a letter saying that it had 'pleased god to move us heretofore to send for you'.⁶⁰

The parishioners of East Bergholt particularly covenanted with Jones for his teaching. In their letter, they promised to submit 'to all that counsaile of God which you shall truly deliver to us out of his written word'.⁶¹ This delivery found written form in a *Commentary vpon the Epistles of Saint Paul to Philemon, and to the Hebrewes together with a compendious explication of the second and third Epistles of Saint John* (1635).⁶² Although the book was a commentary on four New Testament letters, Jones devoted over six times as much space to Hebrews than to the other three epistles combined. His treatment of Hebrews is significant because of its size and comprehensive coverage. It moved beyond the sixteenth-century marginalia to provide the first complete running exegesis of the epistle published in English and by an Englishman. It also took the debate beyond Clement Cotton's translation of Calvin (1605),⁶³ for example in the way it responded to Bellarmine. In terms of hermeneutics, Jones was among the first English writers on the epistle to reference the Hebrew language as well as Greek,⁶⁴ and the length of his commentary rivalled the scale of Perkins' work on Heb 11. Personally for Jones, the *Commentary* was the culmination of

⁵⁸ ODNB, s.v. Jones, William; Lake, Peter, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), ch. 3.

⁵⁹ ODNB, s.v. Jones, William; Johnson, Francis.

⁶⁰ Quoted in MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500–1600* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 319.

⁶¹ MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, 319.

⁶² Like Dering, Perkins and Bird, Jones' printed exposition was based on preaching; Jones, *Commentary*, [A4r]. His text made few references to contemporary events such that it is not possible to date his original sermons. Cf. Jones, *Commentary*, 622-23 for a rare dateable referent, the Gunpowder Plot. The sheer size of the *Commentary* suggests that Jones' sermons had been accumulated over many years.

⁶³ Cf. above, 37-38.

⁶⁴ e.g. Jones, *Commentary*, 60, 335, 505.

decades of scholarly parish ministry. Like Dering before him, and Gouge and Owen afterwards, Jones found in Hebrews a text which spoke so profoundly to his soul that his *Commentary* would become his legacy and career climax, the longest and last of his publications.

Jones' traditional theology

Hebrews was a text which convinced Jones of the veracity of Reformed thought. He summarised the contents of the epistle to his dedicatee, Lord Rich, 'as a Christall glasse wherein we may behold the natures of our Saviour Christ, his Offices, Kingdome, Priesthood, and Prophetie, as likewise the hand that apprehendeth and applieth him to us, which is faith, as also hope and charity, the necessary fruits and effects of faith.'⁶⁵ The epistle, for Jones, contained a distillation of the major elements of christology and salvation. For example, he held that Christ's death was sufficient for all, but effectual only for those that believe.⁶⁶ People are saved by faith, even those like Rahab (Heb 11.31) in whom belief is weak:

Though she did spake nothing of the promised *Messiah*, the true and proper object of *faith*: yet it may bee, shee had some glimmerings of that heavenly mystery, specially before the spies departed out of her house; they perceiving good affections in her already might Catechise her further in the principles of religion; certaine it is, that she had *faith*.⁶⁷

God, Jones thought, had fitted such justification by faith into a plan of absolute double predestination. 'There are but two sorts of people, godly, and wicked reprobates.'⁶⁸ The faithful are blessed with signs of assurance because good works act as 'tokens of faith'. Such works are as

⁶⁵ Jones, *Commentary*, [A2v].

⁶⁶ Jones, *Commentary*, 94.

⁶⁷ Jones, *Commentary*, 516.

⁶⁸ Jones, *Commentary*, 224-25.

...pledges of eternall life: by them we may know whether *our names are written in heaven* or not: wee must know that, not *à priori*, for who at any time was *Gods counsellour?* but *à posteriori*: hast thou workes? then thou hast faith: are there fruits? then there is a roote: hast thou faith? then thou hast *Christ*: hast thou *Christ?* then thou hast the kingdome of heaven.⁶⁹

Unsurprisingly, Jones did not view good works as meritorious. He felt challenged to deny the 'Jesuit' argument that the meritoriousness of works could be justified from Heb 6.10 ('[f]or God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love...', KJV). Jones replied that those who entered God's vineyard (Mt 20.1-16) at the last hour were as fully rewarded as those who entered at first, 'not of merit, but of covenant'.⁷⁰ God does not forget good works, and indeed gives heaven to good works, 'as they are the fruit of faith, though he give it not for the worthinesse and dignity of your workes.'⁷¹ It is a theme to which Jones returned when considering the respect which Moses had 'unto the recompence of the reward' (Heb 11.26, KJV). Jones wrote that those who perform works only for a reward are mercenary but Christians expect a reward not on merit but on promise. *Promissum* and *merces* are relatives, but *merces* and *meritum* are not.⁷²

Jones' traditional opponents

In 1635, Jones was publishing at the height of Laudianism. However, his doctrine of salvation admitted no awareness of this context. He professed a position that was inherently anti-Arminian but his presentation was cast in the earlier mould of concentrating animosity against Catholicism. Indeed, his concentration on Christ's sacrifice and the mass, those topics which had fired Calvin, Whittingham and Fulke, reverted back beyond the breadth of

⁶⁹ Jones, *Commentary*, 232; cf. also 200, 230, 582, 595.

⁷⁰ Jones, *Commentary*, 227.

⁷¹ Jones, *Commentary*, 230.

⁷² Jones, *Commentary*, 501-02; cf. also 431. Two generations later, the thoroughly Reformed Robert South would push these distinctions further. His sermon from the example of Moses in Heb 11.24-26, while not according meritorious value to good works, argued that to be motivated by hope of reward is not a source of shame but a product of human understanding and will as God has created them; South, Robert, *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1842), ii.429-53.

themes which Perkins had found in the epistle. A notable example of Jones' priorities is found in his rejection of sacrificing priesthood and propitiatory eucharist from Heb 5:

The *Jesuits* will have a perpetuall Priest-hood to be heere described and ordained in this place. There must be Priests to the end of the world, to offer sacrifice for sinne: whereas it is as cleare as the nounge day, that this description is borrowed out of the law to set forth the spirituall Priest-hood of *Christ* withal. The Apostle here teacheth us, not what must be in the time of the Gospell, but what was in the time of the law, applying it to *Christ*.

An external sacrifice propitiatory for sin (as they will have it) is injurious to the blessed and perfect sacrifice, which *Christ* offred on the Crosse for the sins of the world. All outward sacrifices for sinne must now cease, the bloud of *Christ* shed on the cross having purged us from all sinne.⁷³

For Jones, Christ's sacrifice was sufficient, efficient, glorious and victorious. The Lord has no need to offer fresh sacrifices, but waits patiently in heaven.⁷⁴

Jones not only revisited the eucharistic issues beloved of his early Elizabethan predecessors and the opponents whom they rebuffed. He was prepared to confront the leading contemporary Catholic controversialist, Robert Bellarmine. Bellarmine's use of Hebrews had been hitherto unchallenged in English. Bellarmine had used Hebrews in defence of the mass, making particular use of the parallels drawn in Heb 7 between Christ's priesthood and that of Melchizedek.⁷⁵ Jones sidestepped this chapter of the epistle and developed his response to Bellarmine from Heb 9 and 10. He used 9.22 ('without shedding of blood is no remission') to argue that only the bloody sacrifice of the cross could remit sin. Heb 9.22 implied that the unbloody mass has no propitiatory value.⁷⁶ Jones seized on Hebrews'

⁷³ Jones, *Commentary*, 195.

⁷⁴ Jones, *Commentary*, 396-97, 417.

⁷⁵ Bellarmine, Robert, 'De Sacrificio Missæ', in *Disputationum Roberti Bellarmini Politiani, S.R.E. Cardinalis, Tit. S. Mariæ in via. De Controversiis Christianæ Fidei, Adversus Huius Temporis Hæreticos*, 4 vols. (Ingolstadt, 1601), iii.926-1043. Jones was fortunate to live near the robust theological library in Ipswich. A copy of Bellarmine's *Disputationes* (1613) is known to have been deposited in this library some time before 1644; Blatchly, John, *The Town Library of Ipswich Provided for the Use of the Town Preachers in 1599: A History and Catalogue* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), 89.

⁷⁶ Jones, *Commentary*, 367-68. Jones' citation from Bellarmine is incorrect; cf. Bellarmine, 'De Sacrificio Missæ', iii.1035-43.

present tense to answer Bellarmine's cavil that the verse was only about blood in Old Testament times. Next, Jones dismissed Bellarmine's argument that the mass represented the power of blood-shedding to the worshipper. Heb 9.22, he argued, said nothing about the *power* of shedding blood, only about the *actual* shedding of blood; there was no actual shedding of blood in the mass, ergo this verse could not be about the mass. Thirdly, Christ could not be said to shed blood under the species of wine because this would mean suffering more than once.

Jones also chose to assail Bellarmine when expositing the offering for sin which is discussed in Heb 10.18. Jones denied Bellarmine's argument that for something to be capable of being sacrificed it must be destructible, and therefore Christ is destroyed sacramentally in the mass because the priest eats the host. Jones rebutted, 'I [aye] but in a *sacrifice* there must be a physicall and reall destruction of the *thing sacrificed*, otherwise no sacrifice'.⁷⁷ In his writing on both Heb 9.22 and 10.18, Jones was bringing the debate up to date, unafraid to take on a major continental opponent.

Eucharist and sacrifice lie at the heart of Jones' critique of Catholicism, but he also used Hebrews against other popish targets. The worship offered by Jacob was of God and not an idol (Heb 11.21). The bones of Joseph were not adored (11.22). The injunction to approach the throne of grace with boldness (4.16) ruled out the invocation of mediate mediators like saints. The instruction to remember religious leaders in 13.7 was an encouragement to follow their faith, not to venerate their relics, nor to pray to them, nor to visit their sepulchres.⁷⁸ On marriage, Jones rejected the translation of Heb 13.4 by Gregory Martin which rendered 'sacrament' for *μυστηριον* because 'if every Mystery should be a *Sacrament*,

⁷⁷ Jones, *Commentary*, 401.

⁷⁸ Jones, *Commentary*, 66, 188-89, 484, 488, 620.

there should not be seven, but seventy *Sacraments*, and more'.⁷⁹ Jones accepted the general Protestant line that 'among all' in Heb 13.4⁸⁰ refers to persons and not to things. As a result, priests were permitted to marry. Indeed, Jones took the sterner Protestant line,⁸¹ turning the permission of Heb 13.4 into a requirement, and insisting that not only was it lawful and convenient for ministers to marry but that it was necessary 'for all without exception'.⁸²

Alongside his use of Hebrews against Catholic theology and practice, Jones shared Perkins' dislike of Protestant separatists.⁸³ For Jones, this was bound up with anti-popery because separatism threatened the cause of Protestantism against the greater enemy. (There is an echo here of the common political association of Arminianism with Catholicism, seen above in Samuel Ward and Jeremiah Dyke.)⁸⁴ Jones spoke of the French, English, Dutch and Genevan churches as an implicit unity. He stressed that matters such as the use of the cross in baptism and kneeling at the communion were adiaphorous when compared with the wider need for solidarity. Arguing from the regulations for worship given under the first covenant (Heb 9.1) Jones wrote that 'no Christian Church can consist without some externall rites and ceremonies, which if they be not repugnant to the Word of God, are to be observed by us, as these ordinances were by the Jewes'.⁸⁵ On some passages Jones was prepared to open a dual attack on sectaries and Catholics. He did not extend the separation permitted by Heb 7.26 to include either monastic withdrawal from the world or the 'brethren of separation' such as the Brownists: '[w]ee must not separate our selves from

⁷⁹ Jones, *Commentary*, 602.

⁸⁰ Jones, *Commentary*, 607. Jones adopts the GenB translation here.

⁸¹ Parish, Helen, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation: precedent, policy, and practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 60-2, 174.

⁸² Jones, *Commentary*, 644.

⁸³ Cf. above, 98-100.

⁸⁴ Cf. above, 117-18.

⁸⁵ Jones, *Commentary*, 328; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, ch. 8.

the spouse of *Christ*, because of some pretended wrinkles in her face'.⁸⁶ Jones could, on occasion, go further and attack extreme Protestantism without a balancing critique of Catholicism. He likened the fracturing of Protestant unity by sectaries to the process of one scabbed sheep infecting an entire flock.⁸⁷ Jones sought the health of Christ's whole flock because that was its best protection against the greater predator, the ravenous Roman wolf.

Laudian censorship of Jones' attacks on the mass and anti-popish vitriol

Jones' hope for a united front which included separatists and Presbyterians flowed from a very different image of the Church of England than the Laudian vision of episcopalianism. It is therefore perhaps not too surprising that opposition to Jones' commentary came not from Catholic writers but government censors. Scholarly opinion is divided about the effectiveness of press censorship in this period. It suited the historiography of Whig and Marxist historians to emphasise the oppressiveness of censorship as a contributory factor in the run-up to the civil wars. Revisionist reaction swung in the opposite direction, and questioned whether the government had either the power or the will for effective licensing of the press. The revisionist position has itself been tempered by scholars who note that, while not all-embracing, censorship was a very real challenge to mainstream writers who wanted the prestige and approval of having a licit publication.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Jones, *Commentary*, 303; cf. 414, 440.

⁸⁷ Jones, *Commentary*, 563.

⁸⁸ Milton, 'Licensing'; McElligott, Jason, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), chs. 7-8; Como, David R., 'Print, Censorship and Ideological Escalation in the English Civil War', *Journal of British Studies* 51 (2012), 820-57; Mutchow Towers, S., *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England* Studies in Modern British Religious History 8 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003). By the 1630s there was a move away from the latitude afforded by *nihil obstat* licensing and towards the issuing of *imprimatur*, a positive recommendation of a book's acceptability; Hunt, 'Licensing', 143.

Jones was one of those mainstream writers. His *Commentary* was among the thirty or more books which are known to have been amended by Laudian censors in the 1630s.⁸⁹ Sir Edward Dering claimed that over 500 additions and subtractions were made to Jones' text.⁹⁰ Many of these were recorded by William Prynne in his *Index Expurgatorius*.⁹¹ Arminian preaching was thus transformed by the Laudians into active repression of opponents. In the case of the reception history of Hebrews, this repression was achieved via a targeted attack on precisely those sacramental ideas which had attracted first generation reformers to the epistle. According to Prynne, Samuel Baker, the chaplain of the bishop of London, purged 'all the principall clauses... against Altars, Images, Masse, Transubstantiation, Popery, Papists, and for the sanctification of the Lord's day' and that this censorship so deeply affected Jones 'that he fell sick through discontent, and soon after dyed'.⁹² This might be hyperbole, depending on when Jones wrote his preface 'to the Christian reader'. Jones' preface implies that he had become too physically deteriorated to preach.⁹³ Whatever the truth of the matter, Prynne's assertion that Jones' writing against Catholic eucharistic doctrine was substantially softened by Baker's censorship is correct. Jones was censored more deliberately in his writing about sacramental matters than on any other theological topic.

⁸⁹ Milton, 'Licensing', 644.

⁹⁰ Dering, Edward [Sir], *A discourse of proper sacrifice, in way of answer to A.B.C. Jesuite, another anonymus of Rome: whereunto the reason of the now publication, and many observable passages relating to these times are prefixed by way of preface* (Cambridge, 1644), d[r]. Cf. also the manuscript precursor for this part of Dering's publication which is found in notes for a Parliamentary speech delivered in 1642; Lambeth Palace Library, MS 943, 'Laudian Papers', 735-37; Hunt, 'Licensing', 138 fn. 24.

⁹¹ Prynne's *Index* was part of the evidence presented against Laud during his trial in 1644. Laud did not censor Jones personally but Prynne found him guilty by association with Baker, 'a great Instrument of the Archbishop's, to license for the Presse'. Prynne, *Canterburies Doome, or, The First Part of a Compleat History of the Commitment, Charge, Tryall, Condemnation, Execution of William Laud, Late Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* (London, 1646), 255. Laud did not deny the censorship but was not prepared to accept responsibility for Baker's actions. Bliss, James (ed.), *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D. sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Parker, 1854), iv.283; but cf. Hunt, 'Licensing', 136-37.

⁹² Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 255. Dering, *Discourse of proper sacrifice*, d[r], claims that Jones wept when he saw the deformity which had been imposed on his text.

⁹³ Cf. Jones, *Commentary*, [A4].

Prynne listed 77 topical categories that Laudians had expunged from several writers.⁹⁴ Overall, this censorship covered the complete spectrum of Reformed ideas and polemic, from the condemnation of merit and supererogation (heading #22), to a necessity of hearing God's word (#34), to criticisms of papal power (#54). Jones' printed *Commentary* included material which fell into at least half of Baker's categories. However, much of this material was not expunged. What this reveals is that Baker did not aim at systematic obliteration so much as a targeted approach to certain controversies. His particular targets can be identified from the 68 excisions which Prynne identified from Jones' manuscript. Nearly half of these fall into three categories. The most numerous were 11 instances of censorship 'concerning the Sabbaths morality, perpetuity, strict sanctification, and against the prophanation of it'.⁹⁵ However, 10 of these represent a particular sensitivity which Baker seems to have had to Jones' phrase 'the prophanation [sic] of the Sabbath'.⁹⁶ There may be residual sensitivities to the Book of Sports controversy here.⁹⁷ Prynne's next most numerous category included passages purged 'against seducing traitorous Papists, Popish Priests, Jesuits, Monks, Arminians; our toleration of, and remissnesse in executing Lawes against them, and revolting to Popery'.⁹⁸ This category was a large bucket into which a disconnected selection of anti-Catholic tropes were deposited.

⁹⁴ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 245-347; Prynne listed 77 categories, but did not numerate a 58th heading; there is also a degree of repetition among the ideas covered by his headings.

⁹⁵ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 337-38.

⁹⁶ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 338.

⁹⁷ Lambeth Palace Library, MS 943, 736; and cf. below, 252-53, for a discussion of Hebrews and seventeenth-century sabbatarian controversies.

⁹⁸ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 267.

3. Passages purged out of new licensed Books, against seducing traitterous Papists, Popish Priests, Jesuits, Monks, Arminians; our toleration of, and remissness in executing Lawes against them, and revolting to Popery.

DOctor Jones in his written Commentary on the Hebrewes, had these ensuing passages against Papists, Jesuits and their errors. expunged: page 446. One Papist if he be permitted, will quickly make many Papists: p. 148. If we happen to be seduced by Papists or other Hereticks: page 348. Though the Papists be many and we but few, yet we may be of the Church: page 161. This was called confirmation, whereas the Papists afterwards abused it, and made a Sacrament of it, exalting it above Baptisme: page 90. God hardneth not only permissive, as Bellarm. and the rest of the Papists contend: page 101. Not to seek salvation by the observation of the Law, as the Papists doe: page 241. We need not stand a loose, as the Papists would have us: page 137. The Papists this day cleave hard to the Pope, nothing shall separate them from him: page 201. Both the Jesuits and theirs, cannot avoid this place. See. page 341. To deny Christ, saith Bellarmine, is an heretic, or an error next doore to heretic; yet *Ferorism* the Jesuit denies that they be in that Paradise wherein *Adam* was; therefore he is neere to an Heretick, See.

The third of the 77 categories in William Prynne's *Index Expurgatorius*, a random assembly of anti-popish commonplaces; *Canterburies Doome*, 267.

Therefore it is among the 9 '[p]assages expunged against the Popish Masse, Transubstantiation, [and] adoring the Hoast'⁹⁹ that Baker's most concentrated and deliberate attack on Jones' text took place. In what Prynne regarded as the most important lost passage in this category, Jones rejected corporeal presence on the grounds that Christ's body must be in heaven;¹⁰⁰ Christ's oblation was asserted to be on the cross and not in the last supper, therefore adoration of the sacrament was ridiculed as idolatry. For Prynne, 'the deleting of such a notable passage as this discovers a professed designe to bring in Popery among us again, without the least opposition'.¹⁰¹ This is an over-simplification (as will be shown shortly) but Baker disliked the way in which Jones expressed his eucharistic ideas. To give a further example, Baker axed an attack on the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice. Jones had said that the chalice of the last supper could not contain the blood of the cross because

⁹⁹ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 323-24.

¹⁰⁰ MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 249-51.

¹⁰¹ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 323.

a testament has no force until the death of the testator (Heb 9.16).¹⁰² Another anti-mass passage in Jones was confusingly listed by Prynne under a separate heading, clauses ‘against adoring the eucharist’; Baker expunged Jones’ clause ‘how sharply are the papists to be reproved, that worship a piece of bread in the Sacrament’.¹⁰³

Baker’s excisions of utterances against the mass were by no means comprehensive. He removed Jones’ claim that Heb 9 might be called ‘the cut throat of the Masse’ but failed to spot an almost identical assertion that Christ’s death ‘is a knife to cut the throat of the masse among the Papists’.¹⁰⁴ He also permitted the printing of a less vituperative paragraph against corporeal presence:

[I]t is his will that CHRIST in respect of his humanity should be in heaven, till the day of judgement: therefore he cannot doe this, make his body to be here on earth. The Papists set Gods omnipotency on the tainters, and stretch it too farre, as some bad clothiers deale with cloath.¹⁰⁵

Nonetheless, there is pointedness in Baker’s approach to Jones’ writing about the eucharist when compared to the excisions he made of other topics. Prynne categorised these under eleven heads: against popery in general (category #1 of the *Index Expurgatorius*), against papal supremacy, power and pride (#2), against the saints’ perseverance in grace (#8), against assurance in this life (#10), against arbitrary kingship and resistance of their tyranny (#12), against blind obedience (#13), against popish writers and in defence of Calvin and Luther (#15), against universal election (#33), affirming justification *sola fide* (#37), against the constancy of God’s love (#41), and defence of clerical marriage (#43). The published *Commentary* retained Jones’ opinions on many of these subjects. Indeed, there is only one

¹⁰² Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 324.

¹⁰³ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 261 [271 - mispagination].

¹⁰⁴ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 323; Jones, *Commentary*, 304. This excision was one of the five which Sir Edward Dering particularly wanted the Commons to know about; Lambeth Palace Library, MS 943, 737.

¹⁰⁵ Jones, *Commentary*, 129; cf. also 187, 199.

category on which Prynne claims that Jones was censored (#13 - against blind obedience) that I cannot find an equivalent passage which succeeded in passing into print.

The imprecision and incompleteness of Baker's censorship militates against Prynne's interpretation that Laud was using censorship as part of a plot to return England to Roman allegiance. An alternative explanation is supplied by Anthony Milton. Milton links Laudian censorship to an aversion to vicious anti-papalism and the personal, political, and ecclesiastical consequences which this could generate.

[N]egative anti-papal reaction now threatened to frustrate Laudians' attempts to revive old ceremonies, to promote the beautification of churches and to re-establish a doctrinal balance in the church. In the short term, at least, it was necessary to place more emphasis on criticism of Protestant overreaction than on the Romanist errors that had provoked it.¹⁰⁶

Arnold Hunt agrees with Milton's assessment: the licensers were not seeking to eradicate a basic anti-Catholic stance but to moderate it into a more persuasive presentation.¹⁰⁷ The implication for Hebrews commenting was that the ideas in which Jones had been inculcated since his youth were still permissible within the bounds of the Church of England, but if those ideas were expressed in such a way as might exclude Arminian alternatives, or foment a socially or politically unacceptable level of anti-Catholicism, that exegesis was liable to be censored. These restrictions would not last long: impaired government control over the press under the Long Parliament would not only permit the publication of commentaries which may be read sympathetically alongside William Jones, but also the printing of radical supersessionist alternatives.

¹⁰⁶ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 67; cf. also Milton, Anthony, 'The Church of England, Rome, and the True Church: the Demise of a Jacobean Consensus', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. Fincham, Kenneth (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1993), 187-210.

¹⁰⁷ Hunt, 'Licensing', 141.

Milton's analysis of the Laudian 'criticism of Protestant overreaction' offers a more accurate explanation of Baker's censorship than Prynne's allegation that he was part of a popish conspiracy. First and foremost, Baker was concerned with Jones' most vituperative passages. For example in his manuscript copy on changing priesthood and law (Heb 7.12), Jones prayed that 'England that was ever rude and barbarous, is now become civill and religious; and all that ever received the Beast's mark, have now banished the Beast; and GOD GRANT MAY NEVER CHANGE FROM THAT'.¹⁰⁸ Prynne suspected Baker of being a Romish beast for axing such a sentence, but in reality it was the political unhelpfulness of such sentiments which spurred the purgation. Likewise, Jones' commentary on Heb 3.9 about the desirability of children not repeating the mistakes of their fathers included a reference to infection with 'Romish pox'. Such deliberate provocation was unacceptable to Baker.¹⁰⁹ Elsewhere there were obvious grounds for chopping passages which attacked papal pretensions and the grandeur of papal titles, or which highlighted biblical examples of resistance to ungodly kings.¹¹⁰ Jones' manuscript commentary on the sensitive matter of the obedience of Moses' parents (Heb 11.23) asserted that earthly kings were to be honoured as God's vice-gerents but were not to be feared above the ruler of heaven. Baker, presumably well-informed about the tetchiness of James I concerning the Geneva Bible's exposition of the Hebrew midwives (Ex 1.19), thought it preferable to omit such a potentially seditious passage.¹¹¹ Laudian liturgists and Arminian theologians were therefore not seeking a return to Roman allegiance as Prynne feared. However, the efforts of Jones and others to perpetuate a Protestant-versus-Catholic mindset did not serve Caroline

¹⁰⁸ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 259.

¹⁰⁹ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 259; Jones, *Commentary*, 128.

¹¹⁰ Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 259-60, 290-91.

¹¹¹ Cf. above, 75. James' suspicion that those midwives might encourage subordination continued throughout the century; Nicholas Phillips cited their example in his sermon from Heb 11.25 on Moses' afflictions. Phillips' aim was to encourage rank and file soldiers on the Scilly Isles to challenge the misappropriation of monies which had been intended for the poor; Phillips, Nicholas, *The holy choice, or, Faith's triumph over all worldly pomp & glory a sermon preached in St. Maries in Scilly, Oct. 14, 1677* (London, 1679), A2[r] – 7, especially 2.

efforts to relocate the self-understanding of the Church of England. Laudians saw religious truth not in binary terms but as a spectrum on which the Church of England occupied the middle ground, straddling that gap which Montague and Duppa identified between 'Puritanisme and Popery'.

Authorship and authority: hermeneutical regression

Jones' constructive and controversial preoccupations from an earlier age were notably supported by retrogression in another area of Hebrews exegesis: Jones opened his *Commentary* with a defence of Pauline authorship. This is a striking claim, at variance from Jones' Reformed English forbears and also from Calvin. Jones' ascription of the letter to Paul exposes the shifting sands on which the Suffolk rector balanced his *Commentary*. Although his writing was confident and assertive, his need for support from the most robust of scriptural penmen represents a defensive turn.

Jones argued that the phrases and methodology of the epistle are characteristic of Paul, and that the vast majority of patristic authors and scriptural manuscripts attributed the letter to this apostle. Jones also claimed that II Pet 3.15 refers to Hebrews as a Pauline letter. Against the fact that Paul is not named in Hebrews, Jones mounted the medieval *modus scribendi* defence¹¹² that the apostle concealed his identity in order to preserve his credibility among a Jewish readership. Against the argument that Heb 2.3 could not have been written by a first-generation Christian, Jones stated that either Paul spoke in this verse about something other than his own doctrine, or that he 'in modesty and humilitie puts himselfe in the number of

¹¹² Hagen, Kenneth, *Hebrews Commenting from Erasmus to Bezae, 1516-98* Beiträge zur Geschichte der Biblischen Exegese 23 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1981), 5-6.

the common Saints and Christians, to whom the Gospell was confirmed by the miracles of the Apostles, or by the Apostles that heard *Christ*'.¹¹³

This re-identification of Paul as the writer of Hebrews was part of a wider conservative trend. It speaks volumes about how the theological confidence of the late-Elizabethan establishment (represented among Hebrews commentators by William Perkins) rapidly developed a brittle vulnerability to change and challenge. A historical parallel might be drawn with those who, against the rising tide of liberal secularism since the nineteenth century, have maintained the inerrancy of Scripture. A survey of the shift away from ambivalence about Pauline authorship might take its departure in 1580, the year in which Bartholomew Chamberlain paid mere lip service to the concept that Hebrews was 'written by *S.Paul* (as some thinke) but sprung from the holi-ghost, as the catholike church beleeveth'.¹¹⁴ Thirty years later, Samuel Ward longed for Pauline authorship - but it was seemingly against his better judgement: '[w]hich Text when I reade and pronounce... me thinke I heare *Pauls* voyce, and discerne his Spirit, as the Mayd knew *Peters* voyce'.¹¹⁵ In the same era as Ward, Francis Holyoake flatly refused to discuss the subject of authorship.¹¹⁶ Travelling further forward in time and towards the conservative end of the spectrum, the Irish writer known

¹¹³ Jones, *Commentary*, 49-50, 83-84.

¹¹⁴ Chamberlain, Bartholomew, *The Passion of Christ and the [benefits thereby] preached at S. [James before] the [-] honorable lordes [of] her Maiesties priuie councel, the 25 of Aprill, 1580* (London, 1595), [A2v]. Fifty years later Charles Fitz-Geffry appeared rather more unusual when grounding the worth of the epistle on the Holy Spirit and not a particular human author. Fitz-Geffry, Charles, *Compassion towards captives chiefly towards our brethren and country-men who are in miserable bondage in Barbarie. Vrged and pressed in three sermons on Heb. 13.3. Preached in Plymouth, in October 1636* (Oxford, 1637), 1.

¹¹⁵ Ward, *Balme from Gilead*, 7.

¹¹⁶ Holyoake, Francis, *A sermon of obedience especially vnto authoritie ecclesiasticall, wherein the principall controuersies of our church are handled... being preached at a visitation of the right worshipfull M.D. Hinton, in Couentry* (London, 1613), 1.

only as 'S.I.' accepted Pauline authorship but noted the doubt of pious and judicious divines, including Calvin.¹¹⁷

The tendency towards asserting Paulinicity cut across the Reformed-Arminian divide, and was perhaps catalysed by the growth of that gulf. John Buckeridge and John Donne both thought that Paul wrote Hebrews.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the frantic scramble for authority which underlies this conservative turn was occurring not only within the English Church. A similar movement may be seen among Scottish and Dutch divines.¹¹⁹ There is not an exact chronological progression but the overall direction is clear.

Several factors account for the reversion towards ascribing Hebrews to St Paul. Firstly, there was a need to remove ambiguity about the letter's authority. The humanist spirit which had bred Calvin's scepticism had been replaced by a desire for clarity within the polemic of established churches. Querying Paulinicity in the sixteenth century had suited the reformers' dispensationalist case against medieval ecclesiastical tradition. By the seventeenth century, the tendency of divines to read the letter through Paul's eyes gave extra credibility to their exegesis. It also anticipated the writers who will be encountered in the next two

¹¹⁷ S.I., *The soules centinell ringing an alarum against impietie and impenitencie, or Paules trumpe of terrour against hypocrites, back-sliders, and finall impenitents. First blowne by the breath of preaching before the state in Christs Church in Dublin* (Dublin, 1631), 3.

¹¹⁸ Buckeridge, 'Sermon Preached at the Funeral', 3; Donne, John, *LXXX sermons* (London, 1640), 213. Gregory Martin and Richard Bristow never abandoned the traditional Catholic ascription of Hebrews to Paul; Fulke, William, *The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ Translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traitorous Seminarie at Rhemes* (London, 1617), 724. John Wallis would later cite the KJV superscription attributing Hebrews to Paul as evidence for the official Church of England position on the matter. Wallis, John, *The life of faith in two sermons to the university of Oxford, at St. Mary's Church there, on the 6th of January 1683/4 and June the 29th following* (London, 1684), 24. In Wallis the argument from tradition comes full circle and reveals the conservatism of the Restoration Church; contrast Fulke's rejection of Paulinicity on the grounds that superscriptions to Biblical texts were not written by the apostles and therefore were not scriptural; Fulke, *Text*, 725.

¹¹⁹ Dickson, David, *A short explanation, of the epistle of Paul to the Hebrewes* (Aberdeen, 1635), 1-3, 215; Haak, Theodore (trans.), *The Dutch annotations upon the whole Bible, or, All the holy canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testament together with, and according to their own translation of all the text, as both the one and the other were ordered and appointed by the Synod of Dort, 1618 and published by authority, 1637* (London, 1657), Argumentum to Hebrews.

chapters, for whom the issue of penmanship would become totemic: Reformed scholars asserted Paulinity, but denials of the apostle's authorship constituted a strong indicator of heterodoxy.

Summary

This chapter has illustrated the parallel and mutually reinforcing tendencies towards an emphasis on the pastoral and moral use of Hebrews among the *avant garde* conformists (promoting a theological agenda that is often, though not always, implicit) on the one hand, and an assertive, controversial and dogmatically precise use by their opponents on the other. The different genres employed for Hebrews commentary by the opposing parties exemplified and mediated their antagonistic approaches to the text. These changing patterns of Hebrews reception reflect received historiography of the polarisation of early seventeenth-century religion in England. An analysis of biblical interpretation offers an alternative but illuminating window into these developments. Beginning with Lancelot Andrewes, the emergence of anti-Calvinist readers of Hebrews gradually increased in number and confidence. By the reign of Charles I, two Protestant interpretations of the epistle were evident, leading readers and audiences down alternative exegetical tracks. Anti-puritan preachers adopted a quietist approach to the letter's soteriological chapters, promoting a diligent pursuit of Christian living from chapters 12 and 13. William Jones emerged as the flag-bearer of the Reformed opposition, reiterating Calvin's emphasis on the cross and the vociferous anti-popish sacramentology which had characterised earlier Elizabethan expositors. Jones' choice of the commentary genre also underlined the hermeneutical differences between the Laudians and Reformed. Both sides of the debate, however, needed the solidity of tradition which they sought through claims that the epistle was written by St Paul.

The censorship controversy surrounding the publication of Jones' *Commentary* threw these differences of exegesis and hermeneutics into sharp relief. While hardly a staging post to civil war, Baker's censorship fits into the broad 'Tyackian' and 'Miltonian' patterns of clashes between traditional anti-popery and a new, less eschatological, outlook, which was hostile to puritanism. Government control and licensing of the press would weaken during the civil wars, with the result that intra-Protestant acrimony was destined to increase. The supersessionist disregard for a strong bond between Old and New Testaments would receive renewed vivacity among exponents of Socinian theology and radical politics, in order to advocate drastic changes in English society and the Church.

Chapter 4 Supersessionist challenge

The previous chapter explored the diverging trends of controversial and pastoral uses of Hebrews within an increasingly polarised environment for biblical interpretation. This chapter illustrates how the violently disruptive climate of the mid-seventeenth century contributed to a fresh exegetical divergence: between highly-charged political appropriations of the Old Testament, and scepticism about the contemporary significance of an obsolete dispensation. The letter to the Hebrews focused attention on the relationship between dispensations in salvation history, and so in the years of the civil war and interregnum the epistle came to carry heavy interpretational burdens.

Historians of the British civil wars have long appreciated the importance of Old Testament imagery for Parliamentary and radical protagonists. This emphasis in the secondary literature has had the indirect effect of deflecting attention away from a theological movement in the opposite direction, downplaying the role and value of the Old Testament. This chapter considers such supersessionists, those whose appetite for the Hebrew Scriptures was limited by their rejection of the Reformed notion of a unified salvation history spanning both dispensations. Hebrews was a major influence on civil war supersessionists because the epistle could be read as justifying the abandonment of former 'shadows' following the inauguration of Christ's new order.

Whig and Marxist historians incorporated the ascent and eclipse of the Old Testament into their narrative of the advent of modernity. Karl Marx observed in his commentary on the French coup of 1851 that seemingly progressive revolutions were paradoxical in seeking justification from earlier movements in history. Thus 'Cromwell and the English people had

borrowed speech, passion and illusions from the Old Testament for their bourgeois revolution. When the real aim had been achieved, when the bourgeois transformation of English society had been accomplished, Locke supplanted Habakkuk.’¹ Christopher Hill modified this prism in his monumental *English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution*.² Hill charted how the characters, events and imagery of the Old Testament inadvertently served polemical purposes in an age of high scriptural literacy and febrile politics – and in so doing hastened the demise of the Bible as an authoritative arbiter. Hill noted how the majority of fast sermons preached before the Long Parliament were drawn from the Old Testament.³ Sometimes these compared Charles I to kings like Manasseh and Nebuchadnezzar who were noted for their wickedness and/or their unfortunate ends. In the same vein, ‘Egypt, Babylon and Antichrist were used as traditional symbols for evil regimes.’⁴ Hill also uncovered plenty of Old Testament polemic among interregnum radicals, for example in the concept of jubilee as a metaphor for social justice. ‘Seventeenth-century radicals could derive fighting creeds from the Old Testament, for use both in opposition and after victory. Puritans emphasized the Old Testament rather than the New... In the Old Testament respect for the poor, the fatherless and the widow was strongly expressed, notably in the Psalms.’⁵

Although later historians have moved beyond Hill’s historiographical agenda, they have reiterated his emphasis on the contribution of Old Testament rhetoric to civil war polemic. John Coffey has recently underlined the usefulness of the exodus paradigm for campaigns for liberation across the centuries, including in civil war England:

¹ Marx, Karl, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (London: Electric Book Company, 2001), 9.

² Hill, Christopher, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London: Penguin, 1993).

³ Hill, *English Bible*, 83.

⁴ Hill, *English Bible*, 103.

⁵ Hill, *English Bible*, 155, 156.

Throughout the 1640s and 1650s, no story captured the imagination of the godly quite like this one. Exodus provided a way of reframing and making sense of England's troubles. The parliamentarians were not seditious rebels; they were the oppressed children of Israel, suffering under Egyptian taskmasters, and then being led out of bondage by Mosaic leaders.⁶

Likewise, John Morrill has pointed out that Oliver Cromwell represented the mosaic leader *par excellence*. Cromwell

never hailed himself as Moses, but he constantly compared the English people's experiences as being those of the Exodus: of deliverance from Egyptian (=Stuart) tyranny; of a crossing of the Red Sea (=Regicide); of being led by the pillar of Fire (=God's Providences on the battlefield); and of being in the desert for many years unable to reach the Promised Land because of a lack of submissiveness to the will of God. In such a schema, Cromwell himself had to be a type with [*sic*] Moses. Others made this explicit.⁷

In addition to the burgeoning secondary literature on exodus imagery, several studies have documented the influence of the Old Testament on early modern resistance theory,⁸ and the relevance of Psalms and prophets to the experience of religious and political exile.⁹

The Old Testament had undoubted practical usefulness for many mid-century controversialists, but this chapter will complement this analysis by explaining why some theologians, generally hostile to the resurgent Reformed thinking of the Westminster divines, were moving in the opposite direction. Supersessionists did not necessarily stop using the Old Testament¹⁰ but, to a greater or lesser extent, they downplayed continuity with the Old Testament in contemporary salvation history. Exegesis of Hebrews was crucial

⁶ Coffey, John, *Exodus and Liberation: Deliverance Politics from John Calvin to Martin Luther King Jr* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 26.

⁷ Morrill, John Stephen, 'Cromwell and his contemporaries', in *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* ed. Morrill, John Stephen (London: Longman, 1990), 259-81, at 271; cf. also Coffey, *Exodus and Liberation*, 47-48. Earlier in his career Cromwell had drawn inspiration from other Old Testament heroes; cf. Morrill, John and Baker, Philip, 'Oliver Cromwell, the Regicide and the Sons of Zeruah', in *Cromwell and the Interregnum: The Essential Readings* ed. Smith, David Lee (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 15-36, especially 31-32.

⁸ Cf. e.g. Collinson, Patrick, *Elizabethans* (London: Hambledon, 2003), 44-46.

⁹ Major, Philip, *Writings of Exile in the English Revolution and Restoration* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), especially 21-35, 166.

¹⁰ Cf. Coffey, *Exodus and Liberation*, 44, 50f for the expository use of the Old Testament by Peter Sterry and Gerrard Winstanley, two supersessionists discussed later in this chapter.

to this process.¹¹ The writers considered in this chapter are an eclectic gathering: supersessionist readings of Hebrews were developed by theologians of different hues. They explode on the scene with the publication of an English translation of the Socinian commentary of Johann Crell and Jonas Schlichting.¹² They found further expression through the pens of Henry Hammond,¹³ a royalist architect of the Restoration; Cromwell's Calvinistic chaplain, Peter Sterry¹⁴; and William Erbery,¹⁵ an ardent independent. In the same way that many parliamentarians, radicals and even some royalists were united by reliance on the motif of exodus,¹⁶ the supersessionists considered in this chapter were united by claiming Hebrews in support of their diverse campaigns for altering English religion and society.

Supersessionism and soteriology

Socinianism fostered a particularly aggressive supersessionist reading of Hebrews. Socinians were supersessionist because their conception of salvation history was more temporally disjointed than Reformed thinkers: they did not accept the Reformed picture of time centred upon the cross, nor the idea that God's elect were united by faith across the new and old dispensations. This shift was evident in Thomas Lushington's translation of Johann Crell's commentary on Hebrews. Lushington's commentary displayed a linear understanding

¹¹ Cf. Bauckham, Richard, et al (eds.), *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 151-225.

¹² Lushington, Thomas / Crell, Johann, *The expiation of a sinner in a commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrewes* (London, 1646).

¹³ Hammond, Henry, *A paraphrase, and annotations upon all the books of the New Testament briefly explaining all the difficult places thereof* (London, 1653).

¹⁴ Wallace, Dewey D., 'Peter Sterry: Calvinist Mystic' in *Shapers of English Calvinism 1660-1714: Variety, Persistence and Transformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), ch. 2; Sterry, Peter, *The rise, race, and royalty of the kingdom of God in the soul of man opened in several sermons upon Matthew 18.3: as also the loveliness & love of Christ set forth in several other sermons upon Psal. 45. v. 1, 2: together with an account of the state of a saint's soul and body in death* (London, 1683).

¹⁵ Erbery, William, *General Epistle to the Hebrews, that is to the Jews, the Ministers of London Churches in The bishop of London, the Welsh curate, and common prayers, with apocrypha in the end* (London, 1652 [1653]).

¹⁶ Cf. Coffey, *Exodus and Liberation*, 49-55.

of time, a chronology which had the effect of shifting the locus of the atonement from the cross and onto Christ's latter-day pleading for sinners in heaven.

The linear approach of Socinians to salvation history resonated with the exegesis contained in the *Paraphrase and Annotations* of Henry Hammond. The congruence between aspects of Hammond's scriptural exposition and the Socinian reading of Hebrews is particularly clear when Hammond's printed commentary is compared with its more radical manuscript precursor,¹⁷ a document which has been underappreciated by historical theologians. Furthermore, a line of influence may be traced from Hammond's scriptural supersessionism to the evolution of modern historiography. Hammond was renowned as a historian as well as a theologian, and his theological paring apart of the contemporary world from the age of Christ echoed the detachment which he sought and claimed from the past in order to be able to more accurately analyse the events of history.

Socinian supersessionism: expiation in heaven

The earliest example of civil war supersessionism in the exegesis of Hebrews came from a Socinian commentary on the epistle. Taking its name from the Italian Faustus Sozzini, 'Socinianism' flourished most famously at Rakov in Poland. Socinians rejected the doctrine of the trinity, substitutionary theories of the atonement, and Reformed understandings of justification. Early studies of Socinianism were dominated by Unitarians,¹⁸ and modern scholars have also tended to dwell on the antitrinitarian aspect of the movement's thought.¹⁹

¹⁷ Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Jones 45.

¹⁸ McLachlan, Herbert John, *Socinianism in Seventeenth England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951); Wilbur, Earl Morse, *History of Socinianism: in Transylvania, England and America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952); Williams, George Huntston, *The Polish Brethren: Documentation of the History and Thought of Unitarianism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the Diaspora, 1601-1685* Harvard Theological Studies 30 (Missoula, MT: Montana, Scholars Press, 1980).

¹⁹ Dixon, Philip, *Nice and Hot Disputes: The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventeenth Century* (London: T&T Clark, 2003).

A new perspective on the movement has been offered by Sarah Mortimer. Mortimer highlights the influence of Socinian legal ideas on wider intellectual currents in England. Socinus came from a family of Italian jurists and this informed his ideological separation of natural and divine law. Socinus rejected the notion that humans had innate ideas of God and so he fell back on discursive reason as a tool for unlocking religious truth. This epistemological move necessitated increased human freedom, a need which Socinus meshed with an understanding of Christianity as a means of creating an ethos of virtue in which Christ saved people not by sacrifice but by teaching and example.²⁰ Mortimer shows how this legalistic aspect of Socinian thought could be seen within the Great Tew Circle, several years before the printing of explicitly Socinian theological works turned the movement into a source of public scandal.²¹ Mortimer's research has shifted attention away from publically visible antitrinitarian pariahs like John Biddle and Paul Best²² and onto the more subtle and pervasive influence of Socinian ideas.

A pseudonymous English commentary on Hebrews made a major contribution to this advance. The Socinian *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos* originated in 1634 in collaboration between Crell (1590-1631) and Schlichting (1592-1661).²³ Their *Commentarius* was introduced into Britain as *The Expiation of a Sinner*, the very first Socinian work published in England or in English.²⁴ Although dated 1646, there is a possibility *The Expiation* may have been produced as early as 1644, because a riposte to *The Expiation* by Edmund

²⁰ Mortimer, Sarah, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1-38.

²¹ Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 39-118.

²² Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 158-67.

²³ Crell, Johann, *Opera omnia exegetica sive eius in plerosque novi testamenti libros commentarii maximam partem hactenus inediti in duos tomos distincti*, 2 vols. (Eleutheropoli [Amsterdam], 1656), ii.64-5; translation from Wallace, Robert, *Anti-Trinitarian Biography* (London: Whitfield, 1850), 567. Jackson, Samuel Macauley (ed.), *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1951-54), x.489; von Hirtenberg, Joachim 'The Life of the Franconian John Krell written down a few years ago [1668]' in Williams, *Polish Brethren*, especially 140.

²⁴ Porter, Edmund, *Theos anthropophoros. Or, God incarnate. Shewing, that Jesus Christ is the onely, and the most high God*, 4 books in one volume, (London, 1655), i.5; McLachlan, *Socinianism*, 108.

Porter was completed by early 1648 and included a claim by John Downham to have seen the Socinian text '[a]bout four years sithence'.²⁵ It is a lacuna of scholarship that Herbert McLachlan is the only modern writer to recognise the innovative significance of *The Expiation*.²⁶

Crell's commentary was translated into English by Thomas Lushington (c.1589-1661)²⁷ and published under the initials 'G.M.'. Lushington was one of those clergymen who enjoyed and eschewed controversy in equal measure. A sermon which he preached in Oxford in 1624 showed such contempt for Parliament that he was forced to recant. However, the controversy never quite escaped Lushington: the sermon and its recantation were printed under a pseudonym in 1659. The Oxford sermon and its publication, chronologically sandwiching the translation of *The Expiation*, reinforces the impression that Lushington was a sly creature of habit.²⁸

Lushington's agenda was subtly to promote Socinian views within the permitted boundaries of the national Church. The emergence of antitrinitarian views within the Church of England has been associated with characters such as Arthur Bury in the 1680s.²⁹ However, *The Expiation* displayed similar trends over four decades earlier. Lushington used the KJV as his base text, challenging the 1611 translators where needed but not attempting a completely fresh rendering. In other words, Lushington's battle was to be waged within the Church of

²⁵ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, [flyleaf, A6r]; cf. below, 177f. Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, was entered in the Stationers' Register by Master Downham on 8 January 1646; *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640-1708*, 3 vols. (London: Roxburghe Club, 1913-14), i.210.

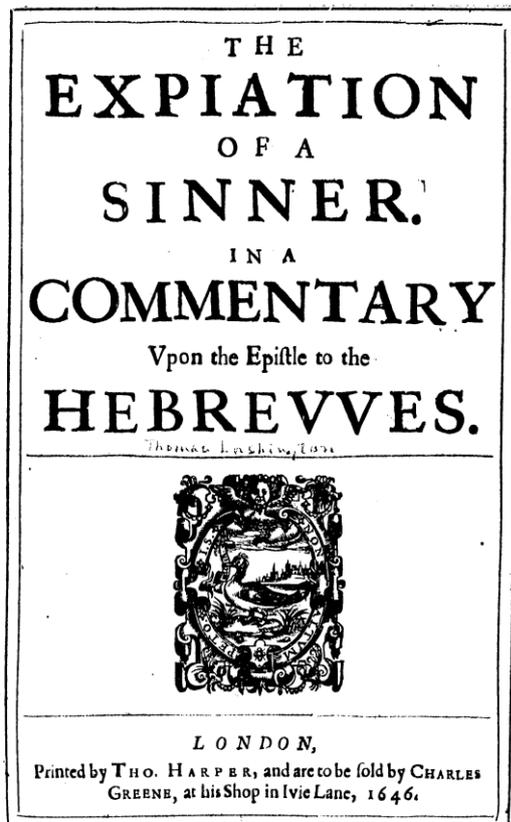
²⁶ McLachlan, *Socinianism*, ch. 7.

²⁷ Foster, Joseph, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Parker, 1891-92), ii.950.

²⁸ *Contra* ODNB, s.v. Lushington, Thomas, this 1659 publication is extant: [Lushington, Thomas], *The Resurrection rescued from the souldiers calumnies, in two sermons preached at St. Maries in Oxon. By Robert Jones D.D.* (London, 1659). There are numerous MS editions of the 1624 sermons, among them Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawl. E.21, 'Miscellaneous Sermons 1598-1661', 105f.

²⁹ Dixon, *Nice and Hot Disputes*, ch. 4.

England using its own documents. Unlike the outspoken views of Biddle from the margins, Lushington made a parasitic attempt to incorporate a whole new theological system within the parameters of a pre-existing institution. It should be stressed that Lushington was hardly a disinterested translator; his work was a free paraphrase with personal additions.³⁰ For this



reason I adopt the term 'Lushington/Crell' when referring to the author of the English *Expiation*.

The title page of Crell's commentary; note the ascription to Lushington in a later hand. (EBO copy from Union Theological Seminary (New York))

Lushington's translation of Crell realigned the theological debate about Hebrews. He displayed no interest in sacramentology, and upheld a soteriology that was radically different from Reformed orthodoxy. The supersessionist element of his translation is exposed by his understanding of the title word 'expiation'. Lushington/Crell thought that Christ's expiation was a present event in heaven. His death on the cross was but a prelude to this ministry. This was why Lushington/Crell was particularly interested in Hebrews: as he stated on the first page of his preface, the history of Christ was recorded in the gospels, '[b]ut the *Mystery of Christ*, for the reasons, causes and effects of his sufferings and actions, especially since his ascension into heaven and session on the Throne of God, is exactly revealed in the Epistle to the Hebrewes; which seems in manner

³⁰ McLachlan, *Socinianism*, 116; cf. below, 161 for an example of this.

of an Appendix unto the Evangelists'.³¹ As an 'appendix', Lushington/Crell viewed Hebrews not just as an explanation of the gospel narrative, but crucially as a chronological continuation of the gospels' record of the earthly life of Christ in its description of his subsequent celestial activity.

Hebrews' discussion of the high priest passing through the veil was of obvious significance for Christ's heavenly expiation. Lushington/Crell understood the sanctification of the people with Christ's own blood (Heb 13.12) to mean that the crucifixion was the act by which Jesus entered the heavenly tabernacle and it is in the latter place that he makes expiation. There is a sharp separation being drawn here between the acts of mactation (killing) and oblation (offering).³² The end result was that Christ's blood was not of itself expiatory, but was necessary for his passage into heaven:

the Author, though he had occasion to speak of Christs blood brought into the heavenly Tabernacle, whereto his comparison and resemblance of Christ to the legall high Priest might invite him; yet doth purposely avoide it, and useth onely words, from which it might appeare, that our sinnes were expiated by the blood of Christ, yet not as brought into the Tabernacle of heaven and offered unto God, but onely as it was shed, and prepared entrance for Christ into heaven, there to help himselfe unto God.³³

By pushing Christ's priestly activity up into heaven, Lushington/Crell underlined his belief that the cross does not make substitutionary atonement. Once in heaven it is 'by way of resemblance, to the legall Priest' that Christ is said to make intercession (Heb 7.25). His expiation would seem to be by act of fiat because Lushington/Crell believed that Christ in heaven has been given all power from God to expiate sins such that he cannot be said to

³¹ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, A3[r]; his italics.

³² Rogers, John, 'Milton and the heretical priesthood of Christ' in *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early Modern English Culture* ed. Loewenstein, David, and Marshall, John (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 209.

³³ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 347.

sue for that which he has already been given by the Father.³⁴ By exercising the power granted to him, Christ removes all punishment from the believer.

Expiation for Lushington/Crell is not a one-sided process on God's part. It requires cooperation between the strength which Christ supplies to his people and the strivings of those people in their afflictions.³⁵ The scope for increased human freedom is clear: salvation is not something achieved solely through faith in Christ but requires a working element as well. The letter to the Hebrews therefore not only explains what Christ does for the believer but also the duties laid upon the faithful to render Christ's benefits 'effectually to their salvation, which without holiness can never be attained'.³⁶ Writing on Heb 1.3, Lushington/Crell noted that the oblation of Christ is only effected when 'we on our part perform our office, by believing in Christ and obeying him'.³⁷ Obedience thus became a condition *sine qua non* of redemption. There are important similarities here with the anti-Calvinist ideas studied in the last chapter where we saw Andrewes read Heb 6.11 as saying that diligence in works of love could bring about the full assurance of hope.³⁸ According to Lushington/Crell, the just person described in Heb 10.38

shall live, because he wholly trusteth upon God, and relying upon his goodnesse, power, wisdom, and promises, do never let fall their courage, what ever difficulties and impediments they meet... For faith in this place is considered, as it is accompanied with patience, constancie, pietie and justice, and as it is a living and a lively faith that is exercised and delighted in good workes. For life is not promised to every man upon faith, but to the just and righteous man, and to this faith is opposed *drawing backe* in the words following [Heb 10.39].³⁹

³⁴ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 139; [Smalcus, Valentin], *The Racovian Catechisme* (Amsterledam [sic], 1652), 138-39.

³⁵ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 38-39.

³⁶ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, [A3v].

³⁷ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 4.

³⁸ Cf. above, 109; and Hampton, S.W.P., *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 39-51. Both the Arminian and Socinian schools of thought were also in agreement in their abandonment of final perseverance and assurance; cf. Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 46, 56-59, 107.

³⁹ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 240; [Smalcus], *Racovian Catechisme*, 140-44.

Lushington/Crell elsewhere illustrated the importance of obedience from the examples of Abraham and Rahab.⁴⁰

The Socinian fusion of faith and obedience was reiterated in the other Crell/Schlichting work translated by Lushington. In *The Justification of a Sinner Being the Maine Argument of the Epistle to the Galatians*, Paul's epistle was perceived to be occasioned by those in Galatia who would super-add circumcision to faith and holiness as necessary for salvation. In this book, Lushington/Crell argued that the right of the believer's inheritance rests on a cause procreant (faith) and a cause conservant (works of love).⁴¹ The uniting of faith and works in this way broke the Reformed distinction between the punctiliar act of justification and the lifelong process of sanctification. The Socinian exegesis of Galatians was clearly an important Pauline work which Lushington wanted to bring to an English readership. Nonetheless, because of the importance which he placed on Hebrews as the theological prism through which the gospels should be viewed, he chose to translate and publish Crell's commentary on this epistle first.

Socinian supersessionism: further consequences and correlations

Two hermeneutical implications flowed from the soteriology of *The Expiation*. As with other writers considered in this thesis, the constructive, controversial and biblical-critical aspects of Lushington/Crell's writing were mutually reinforcing. Firstly, he was ambivalent about the author of the epistle. As we saw in the last chapter, most mid-seventeenth-century scholars were moving in a conservative direction, reaffirming St Paul as Hebrews' penman.⁴² Lushington/Crell felt no such compunction. He cited Heb 2.3 against Pauline authorship and

⁴⁰ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 53, 280.

⁴¹ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 306; Lushington, Thomas / Crell, Johann, *The Justification of a Sinner Being the Maine Argument of the Epistle to the Galatians* (London, 1650), [A1v, A2v].

⁴² Cf. above, 132-35.

concluded that the epistle must have been written by some other person from the apostolic age.⁴³ The author did not matter for Lushington/Crell because the present-mindedness of his soteriology reduced the relevance of historic authorial witness. The message of *The Expiation* was that Socinians should not dwell in the age of the cross (and of St Paul). What mattered was Christ's present work in heaven.

Allied to this present-mindedness was an abandonment of the Reformed typological binding between the Old and New Testaments. Where Reformed typology identifies characters and events from the Old Testament which find precise fulfillment in the life and work of Jesus, Lushington/Crell explored more oblique 'literal' and 'mystical' senses of Old Testament meaning. For example, Lushington/Crell took the use of Ps 8 in Heb 2.6 ('what is man?') as 'literally' referring to the provision made by God for Adam to have dominion over the world, and 'mystically' to the dominion of Christ over the world to come. Likewise, he read 'the son of man' in the same verse as referring literally to the descendants of Adam ruling the world in his stead, and mystically to the future reign of Christ's sons (the godly). Superficially, this appeared to be similar to Reformed typology, but there were important differences. The *Expiation* reads as if it is the rational ingenuity of the reader which identifies the mystical meaning and gives it value. The Reformed notion of a typological binding originating within the providential plan is absent. Moreover, within the Socinian scheme, the binding between the two events, literal and mystical, was weaker than in Reformed typology. For Socinians, the literal sense was trapped in the past, a historical meaning from the time when the text was composed. By contrast, the mystical sense was not tied to the past age of Jesus but found its principal value in the present.⁴⁴

⁴³ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, I, 20, 116, 362.

⁴⁴ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 22-23, 30, 153-54.

The implications of Socinian supersessionism cohered naturally with that more familiar Socinian tenet, denial of the trinity. The quotation of Ps 2 by Heb 1.5 about the begetting of God's Son was taken by *The Expiation* to refer to the resurrection, because only after the resurrection could Lushington/Crell's soteriology conceive of Christ being made an 'immortall and universall King' exercising a priestly ministry.⁴⁵ Likewise, when Heb 1.2 refers to Christ's role in making the worlds, this was assumed by Lushington/Crell not to refer to the act of creation, but to the recreation of the redeemed in faith.⁴⁶ Thirdly, when considering Christ taking the nature of angels (Heb 2.16), Lushington/Crell departed from the KJV text, claiming that *επιλαμβανεται* signifies a taking by the hand. Lushington translated the clause as 'no where he taketh hold of Angels', thus eliminating the incarnational implications of the verse. This translation accords with the interpretation of Grotius.⁴⁷ These observations from Heb 1 and 2 had the effect of relocating the controversial epicentre of the epistle. Just as the Reformed had a particular attachment to Heb 9 and 10 and the Arminians to chapters 12 and 13,⁴⁸ the Socinians needed to stake their antitrinitarian claims against potential readings of Jesus' divinity from chapter 1 and the connected exploration of his humanity in chapter 2.

Henry Hammond: supersessionism and the new approach to theological history

There are important resonances between the Socinian reading of Hebrews and the exposition of the epistle by the leading interregnum royalist and episcopalian, Henry Hammond (1605-60). Classic historical-theological narratives treated Hammond as a

⁴⁵ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 5-6, 81.

⁴⁶ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 3. Socinus argued the same about John 1; [Smalcus], *Racovian Catechisme*, 45-48.

⁴⁷ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 33; Grotius, Hugo, *Annotationes in Vetus & Novum Testamentum* (London, 1727), 369; cf. below, 154 for Socinian influence on Grotius. Robert South would later defend the incarnational understanding of *επιλαμβανεται* against Grotius on the grounds that context and patristic support should countermand the argument from etymology; South, Robert, *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions*, 5 vols., (Oxford, 1842), iv.379-80.

⁴⁸ Cf. above, e.g. 50-51, 108f.

mainstream precursor of the Restoration Church; he occupies a prominent position in both Henry McAdoo's *Spirit of Anglicanism* and Christopher Allison's *Rise of Moralism*.⁴⁹ A whiff of Whiggish inevitability hangs over the way in which both the positive perspective of Bishop McAdoo and the more critical assessment of Bishop Allison locate Hammond within the lineage of modern Anglican thought. This positioning owes much to the historiographical search of the Oxford Movement for its anti-Calvinist forebears.⁵⁰ Within the seventeenth century itself, the evolution of Hammond's thought⁵¹ was complex and nuanced.

Hammond has been categorised by some modern writers as an 'Arminian'.⁵² His debt to intellectual rationalists such as Grotius and the Great Tew Circle has long been appreciated.⁵³ Excellent articles by Neil Lettinga and Michael McGiffert have shown how Hammond turned Reformed covenant theology upside down, denying the notion that postlapsarian Adam was totally depraved and thus permitting a view of the covenant of grace as a contract offered to all and requiring obedient response.⁵⁴ A new line of enquiry has been opened up by Sarah Mortimer. She detects Socinian strands within Hammond's political theology.⁵⁵ This thesis builds on Mortimer's discoveries by identifying Socinian ideas within Hammond's biblical commentary. In particular, Hammond's exposition of Hebrews included the idea that Christ exercises a Melchizedekian priesthood in heaven. This was present-minded atonement theology akin to that already been seen in *The Expiation of a*

⁴⁹ McAdoo, H.R., *The Spirit of Anglicanism: A Survey of Anglican Theological Method in the Seventeenth Century* (London: A&C Black, 1965); Allison, C. F., *The Rise of Moralism: the Proclamation of the Gospel from Hooker to Baxter* (London: SPCK, 1966).

⁵⁰ Spurr, John, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 394-95.

⁵¹ McGiffert, Michael, 'Henry Hammond and covenant theology', *Church History*, 74 (2005), 255-85.

⁵² Cf. Packer, J.W., *The Transformation of Anglicanism 1643-1660 with special reference to Henry Hammond* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), 61.

⁵³ Cf. e.g. McAdoo, *Spirit of Anglicanism*, especially 12, 36-37; cf. McGiffert, 'Hammond and covenant theology', 256.

⁵⁴ Lettinga, Neil, 'Covenant Theology Turned Upside Down: Henry Hammond and Caroline Anglican Moralism: 1643-1660', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993), 653-669, at 655-59; McGiffert, 'Hammond and covenant theology', especially 277-78.

⁵⁵ Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, chs. 3-5.

Sinner. It challenged the Reformed retrospection towards the axiomatic centrality of the sacrifice of Calvary.

After studies at Eton College and Magdalen, Oxford, Henry Hammond rose to become archdeacon of Chichester and chaplain to Charles I. His *Practical Catechism* (1645) promoted the keynote anti-Reformed idea of a general atonement.⁵⁶ Excluded from office in 1648, he turned to dreaming and writing about the Restoration of the Church of England. Hammond hoped that this renewed institution would uphold bishops as of the esse of the Church and would adopt an anti-Calvinist soteriology. Part of his vision involved a new translation of the Scriptures plus an accompanying commentary. In this, Hammond was making an audacious attempt to supplant the KJV with a new Bible for a new Church in a new age.⁵⁷ His manuscript blueprint (MS Jones 45)⁵⁸ languishes in the Bodleian Library in need of comprehensive study. Hammond rightly feared the effect of publishing this manuscript in full. His *Paraphrase and Annotations* (1653) therefore did not include his fresh translation of the New Testament. Instead, it retained the KJV as his base text.⁵⁹ Also significant, as will be seen shortly, was the fact that some of Hammond's more pointed commentary in the manuscript did not enter the public arena.

Hammond's exegetical innovation was undergirded by hermeneutical novelty.⁶⁰ Like Socinus, he sought to anchor Christian faith in discursive reason and not innate natural ideas,⁶¹ nor in the Reformed argument that Scripture might be verified by the testimony of the Holy Spirit.

⁵⁶ Hammond, Henry, *A Practicall Catechisme* (Oxford, 1645), 7.

⁵⁷ Packer, *Transformation of Anglicanism*, 33, 91. For a descriptive approach to Hammond and his scriptural commentary cf. Hibbitts, J.B., 'Henry Hammond (1605-1660) and English New Testament Exposition' (Oxford DPhil, 1954).

⁵⁸ Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Jones 45; Hammond, Henry, 'Paraphrase and Annotations'.

⁵⁹ Hammond, *Paraphrase, and Annotations, To the Reader* [n.p.]; Packer, *Transformation of Anglicanism*, 91.

⁶⁰ Packer, *Transformation of Anglicanism*, 88-89.

⁶¹ Mortimer, Sarah, 'Kingship and the "Apostolic Church", 1620-1650', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 13 (2011), 221-42, at 230-39.

The reasonableness of faith would become a watchword among Hammond's intellectual successors, the latitudinarians of the Restoration Church.⁶² Hammond's rational emphases prioritised the need for accurate historical study of the life and message of Jesus. Christianity was a faith grounded in a particular person, event and age.⁶³ As a result, Hammond undertook in-depth study of the ancient near east and he was to be found on the cutting edge of seventeenth-century textual research. His *Paraphrase and Annotations* compared the received Greek of the New Testament with three other manuscripts: one in his old college of Magdalen, Codex Bezae in Cambridge, and Codex Alexandrinus.⁶⁴ As far as Hebrews was concerned, Hammond identified very few textual differences and none had a bearing on interpretation. Nonetheless, his method was revolutionary when compared to earlier exegetes of the epistle.⁶⁵

There were important limits to Hammond's intellectual detachment. He claimed that he wanted people to know the Bible clearly, to rescue it from human glosses, to stop divisions in the Church, and to advance true Christian living. To this end he promised to abstain from 'all *doctrinal* conclusions and *deductions*'.⁶⁶ This was disingenuous. The preceding chapters have all shown theologians making doctrinal deductions from Hebrews, often with resulting controversy. While Hammond's annotations at the foot of each chapter generally tackled points of grammar and translation with neutrality, the interlinear paraphrases were

⁶² Spellman, W.M., *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England, 1660-1700* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1993), ch. 4; Griffin, Martin I. J., *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), ch. 4.

⁶³ Mortimer, 'Kingship and the "Apostolic Church"', especially 238.

⁶⁴ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, To the Reader [n.p.]; Aland, Kurt and Aland, Barbara, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995, 4-9, 107-110; Mandelbrote, Scott, 'English Scholarship and the Greek text of the Old Testament, 1620-1670: The Impact of Codex Alexandrinus' in *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England* ed. Hessayon, Ariel and Keene, Nicholas (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 74-93; Knapp, Henry M., 'Understanding the Mind of God: John Owen and Seventeenth-Century Exegetical Methodology' (Calvin Theological Seminary PhD, 2002), 132. Scholars were relatively slow to make use of Alexandrinus; it was not included by Brian Walton in his influential polyglot and John Fell failed in his hope of seeing it published.

⁶⁵ Cf. Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 771 and 810 for two interesting but minor variants.

⁶⁶ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, To the Reader [n.p.].

doctrinally loaded, offering the 'ignorant' reader a rolling expansion of what the text was trying to say - that is, what Hammond thought the text was trying to say. For instance, his comment on Jesus' suffering of death (Heb 2.9) presumed an unlimited atonement; Christ was humbled on the cross, 'for the benefit of all mankind and every man in the world'.⁶⁷ Hammond's hermeneutical style was thus caught between the past that he wanted to study objectively, and the tumultuous present from which he could not mentally escape. Despite only partial sincerity and success, Hammond's self-distancing from the material of his research represented an ideological separation of subject and object which was hitherto unseen among readers of Hebrews. The historiographical by-product of Hammond's theological supersessionism thus contained the seed of a sea change in the way that historians viewed the past.⁶⁸

Hammond's ideas and methods have been compared with those of his hero, the Dutch Remonstrant Hugo Grotius (1583-1645).⁶⁹ Like Hammond, Grotius resists strict categorisation: 'he was and remained *sui generis*'.⁷⁰ As a young man, Grotius had experienced the repressive vitriol of the Calvinists. He had been arrested alongside Oldenbarneveldt (1618) and later forced to escape Loevestein castle in a chest of books. As a result he longed for a wider toleration than that permitted by the Synod of Dort.⁷¹ Critics such as André Rivet decried Grotius as Socinian. However, Grotius vociferously attacked Socinians in a letter of 1611⁷² and his *De Satisfactione Christi* (1618) defended the view that Christ

⁶⁷ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 768.

⁶⁸ Cf. below, 258-62, for similar traits in John Owen and Dmitri Levitin's analysis of why such different theologians should simultaneously foster similar historiographical approaches.

⁶⁹ Cf e.g. Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 120f.

⁷⁰ Meyjes, G.H.M. Posthumus, 'Grotius as Theologian', in *Hugo Grotius: A Great European 1583-1645* ed. Eyffinger, Arthur; trans. Hyams, P.J.E. (Delft: Meinema, 1983), 51.

⁷¹ Wilson, Charles, 'Hugo Grotius and his World', in *The World of Hugo Grotius (1583-1645): proceedings of the international colloquium* (Amsterdam: APA Holland University Press, 1984), 1-11.

⁷² Heering, J.P., *Hugo Grotius as Apologist for the Christian Religion: a Study of his Work De Veritate Religionis Christianae (1640)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 119.

made expiation on the cross before his translation to heaven. Grotius relied heavily on Hebrews in *De Satisfactione*, writing that Christ was appointed to expiate the sins of his people (Heb 2.17) and that he appears in heaven through his sacrifice (Heb 9.26) where he is seated only after having made expiation on earth (Heb 1.3).⁷³ However, the sympathies of the later Grotius were more complicated. He wrote warmly to Crell and fellow Socinian Ruarus in the 1630s.⁷⁴ It is also now known that Socinus' *De Auctoritate Sacrae Scripturae* (1588) was the major influence on the second and third books of Grotius' *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* (1627).⁷⁵ Hammond defended Grotius against his English detractors but John Owen identified links between the two men and, through them, to Socinianism.⁷⁶

Grotius inspired Hammond's biblical scholarship and theology. The defence of scripture mounted in *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* books two and three (based on Socinus' *De Auctoritate*) avoided circular arguments about divine inspiration in preference for evidence such as the support of miracles and the trustworthiness of the evangelists. Grotius was trying to set Christianity on a rational footing using arguments extracted from history, and to explain the language of scriptural writers in the light of ancient authors and the context of ancient culture.⁷⁷ These principles took shape in his *Annotationes in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, a work begun at Loevestein but not fully published until 1650, the year before

⁷³ Grotius, Hugo, *Defensio Fidei Catholicae de Satisfactione Christi adversus Faustum Socinum Senensem* ed. Rabbie, Edwin (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1990), 247, 273, 277, 537-38.

⁷⁴ Heering, *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*, 204.

⁷⁵ Heering, *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*, 46, 94.

⁷⁶ Owen, John, 'A review of the Annotations of Hugo Grotius in reference unto the doctrine of the deity and satisfaction of Christ' in *The Works of John Owen, D.D.*, ed. Goold, William H. (London: Johnstone and Hunter, 1853) xii.617-37. The input of Grotius and Socinianism into *avant garde* English thought at Great Tew is well documented, as is the output of that circle into Commonwealth and Restoration Arminianism: Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 25-27, 81-101, 228; Barducci, Marco, 'Clement Barksdale, Translator of Grotius: Erastianism and Episcopacy in the English Church, 1651-1658', *The Seventeenth Century* 25 (2010), 265-80; Trevor-Roper, Hugh, *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1992), 81-82.

⁷⁷ De Jonge, Henk Jan, 'Grotius' view of the gospels and the evangelists' in *Hugo Grotius Theologian: Essays in Honour of G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes* ed. Nellen, Henk J.M. and Rabbie, Edwin (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 67-72; Heering, *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*, 127-31.

Hammond completed MS Jones 45. Grotius' *Annotationes* were an important source for Hammond; for example, Hammond privately concurred with Grotius' claim that St Luke was the probable penman of Hebrews.⁷⁸ Authorship by Luke would have conveyed apostolic authority, while circumventing the weaknesses in the case for St Paul. Despite their agreement about Hebrews' penman, the expositions of Hammond and Grotius were by no means identical. Hammond's *Paraphrase and Annotations* were much more detailed than Grotius' *Annotationes* and, at least in the exegesis of Hebrews, Grotius' influence over Hammond was greater in terms of style than specific analysis.⁷⁹

Henry Hammond: supersessionism and soteriology

As with Lushington/Crell, Hammond's understanding of salvation included a divorce between the Old and New Testaments. Although he was comfortable with a revised theology of covenant,⁸⁰ Hammond did not envisage a unified plan that ran across the two dispensations. Quite the opposite: Hammond stressed the distinct covenants which God made with the Church of the Jews and the Church of the Christians.⁸¹ As we have already seen, he rejected the Calvinist belief in a limited atonement, asserting instead that Christ died 'for the benefit of all mankind and every man in the world'.⁸² He thought that this

⁷⁸ Hammond, MS Jones 45, 483[r]; Grotius, *Annotationes*, 349-51, 362-63; contrast Hammond's public ambivalence about Hebrews' author in *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 765. Ironically, the window of humanist freedom which had opened in the early sixteenth century had allowed Calvin to propose Lucan authorship too; cf. above, 34.

⁷⁹ De Jonge, Henk Jan, 'Grotius as an interpreter of the Bible, particularly the New Testament', in *Grotius: Great European*, 59; Grotius intended his *Annotationes* to complement Erpenius' prospective but aborted polyglot; by comparison, Hammond was a committed supporter of Brian Walton; Packer, *Transformation of Anglicanism*, 103.

⁸⁰ Lettinga, 'Covenant Theology Turned Upside Down', 659.

⁸¹ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, preface postscript iv, 770, 798, 805. Grotius' prizing apart of the obligations laid down by Moses and Christ proved one of his attractions to Hammond; Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 83.

⁸² Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 768. Hammond would have found support in this from Thomas Moore who dedicated a whole work to expounding the principle that Christ died for all and not just an elect, based in part on a Hebrews verse. Moore, Thomas, *The universality of God's free-grace in Christ to mankind. Proclaimed and displayed from I Tim. 2.6. and Hebr. 2.9. according to their genuine sense. That all might be comforted, encouraged; every one confirmed and assured of the propitiation and death of Christ for the whole race of mankind, and so for himself in particular* (London, 1646). In his preface, Moore declared his opposition to the

atonement is accessible to those who have a sincere and working faith. On Heb 11.1 Hammond described faith as a conviction of the truth of things for which we have no sensible demonstration. Faith in this articulation was essentially an intellectual exercise; the Reformed insistence on *fiducia* (personal trust) was absent.⁸³ As with Lushington/Crell, obedience for Hammond was a necessary adjunct to faith as the condition of the second covenant. He wrote on Heb 10.10 that,

by this gracious will of God... by offering that body once for all, and not by those legal sacrifices, which were oft repeated, all our sins are expiated,... and we received into Gods favour, as many of us, as by performing the condition of sincere obedience, still required of us, are rendred capable of that great benefit purchased for us by the sufferings of Christ.⁸⁴

The need for Christian obedience to the offer of salvation is found in several of Hammond's other paraphrases. For example, he believed that God's promises belonged to 'all *constant* Christians'.⁸⁵

Hammond deployed deft translational tweaks to reinforce his anti-solifidian agenda. On Heb 4.6 and 4.11, he disapproved of rendering ἀπειθεία as 'unbelief'. He preferred 'disobedience'. (Grotius reads *inobedientiam*.)⁸⁶ The effect of this change is obvious: according to Hammond, those who fell in the Sinai wilderness did so not because they lacked faith but because, in disobeying the laws of God, they revealed that they did not have *obedient* faith. Secondly, without a fiduciary element in his understanding of justification, Hammond rejected the notion that believers might be assured of salvation. Hence he translated πληροφωρία in Heb 6.11 as 'consummation of your hope' in preference to the

alternatives which, he thought, required God to hate the majority of mankind from eternity. Moore did not claim that Christ died for all men alike, or that all are saved eternally, but strongly affirmed a general atonement. In the next century, Charles Wesley can be found versifying similar sentiments out of his reading of Hebrews texts: 'For all and every child of man / That was, or shall be born, he died.' Wesley, Charles, *Short hymns on select passages of the Holy Scriptures*, 2 vols. (Bristol, 1762), ii.346; cf. also 345, 347, 351, 360, 363, 364.

⁸³ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 796, 805; cf. Hammond, *Practical Catechisme*, 47.

⁸⁴ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 791.

⁸⁵ On Heb 6.17; my italics; Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 779.

⁸⁶ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 773; Grotius, *Annotationes*, 381.

KJV 'full assurance'.⁸⁷ Once more, Hammond was in agreement with Grotius who wrote on this verse, 'this is not certainty, but fulfillment or completion'.⁸⁸ To the same end of encouraging human cooperation in the salvific process, MS Jones 45 proposed that two verses in the KJV of Hebrews should be translated differently. He gave a more active connotation to *παρρησια* in 10.35, crossing out the KJV 'confidence' and replacing it with 'boldness'.⁸⁹ Again, on Heb 12.1, Hammond rejected passive 'patience' as the quality with which Christians should run the race (KJV, Latin *patientiam*), preferring to translate *υπομονη* with the more active 'perseverance'. Grotius' Latin of Heb 12.1 notably reads *constanter*.⁹⁰

Readers of Hammond's moralist theology might think that he would set much store by the codified rules of the Old Testament. However, Hammond was reacting against the Reformed obsession with the unity of faith which Christians enjoyed with the Hebrew patriarchs. (The fascination of Hebrews chapter 11 for Perkins, Bird, Manton, and Shaw provides ample evidence of this trend in Reformed exegesis.⁹¹) For the Reformed, the good deeds which were performed by the ancient heroes and heroines were an outworking of their saving faith. The anti-Reformed were keen to break this link. Hammond's theology demanded as much: his doctrine of unlimited atonement concentrated attention on the offer of salvation in Christ, not the passive election of the people of Israel under Moses. Hammond's linear view of history required the same: the moral code and heroes of the Old Testament were not to be abandoned as worthless, but they were reduced to regulations and examples from an age before the complete revelation of Christ.

⁸⁷ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 778; cf. also in 10.22: Hammond, MS Jones 45, 501[v].

⁸⁸ 'hic non est *certitudo*, sed *impletio* sive *consummatio*'; Grotius, *Annotationes*, 403.

⁸⁹ Hammond, MS Jones 45, 502[v].

⁹⁰ Hammond, MS Jones 45, 508[r]; Grotius, *Annotationes*, 493.

⁹¹ Cf. above, 93 fn. 59.

Everything seen in Hammond so far might be expected from an Arminian writer. However, similar to Lushington/Crell, Hammond emphasised that Christ's oblation takes place in heaven not on earth. He read the use of Ps 2.7 in Heb 5.5 to mean that Christ's kingship and priesthood postdate his resurrection and ascension. God 'bestowed this special dignity upon thee to be a King and Priest after thy resurrection, i.e. upon the ascending of Christ, which was his going into the holy of holies, whither none but the high priest went.'⁹² This was not a reading of Heb 5.5 which Hammond obtained from Grotius' *Annotationes*, but it did echo *The Expiation* on this verse.⁹³ Five verses later and Hammond may be found promoting related ideas. On Heb 5.10 he wrote that Christ negotiates in the business of souls,

as the priest did consecrated by his sufferings, ... presents himself now at his right hand in heaven by way of intercession for us, for pardon and for grace, and by that means if we live sincerely, though not perfectly obedient to him, becomes unto us the author of eternal salvation, being after his resurrection from the grave, pronounced, or declared by God an high priest, such an one as Melchizedek was.⁹⁴

Hammond was not unaware that his claims about the locus of Christ's priesthood were controversial. This is exposed by his manuscript translation of *ευραμενος* in Heb 9.12. The KJV of this verse (following GenB) refers to Christ entering the holy of holies through his death 'having obtained eternal redemption for us'. This rendering ties the death of Jesus and his oblation closely together, naturally associating Christ's death with the moment when redemption was won. MS Jones 45, however, was ambiguous, preferring a more literal

⁹² Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 775; cf. Hammond, *Practicall Catechisme*, 30.

⁹³ Grotius, *Annotationes*, 390; Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 80.

⁹⁴ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 775-76; cf. also 768 (on Heb 1.7), 770 (Heb 3.1), 782 (7.16), 788 (9.7), and 810 (13.20).

rendering of εὐραμένος, 'having found a perpetual redemption'.⁹⁵ Interpreted in a minimalist fashion, 'found' could mean no more than that the cross was a moment of revelation, a discovery of the truth that Christ's priesthood would be exercised in heaven. Admittedly 'found' was also the translation favoured by William Tyndale and Gregory Martin for Heb 9.12, but in the context of the 1650s it would have had a more loaded interpretation than in the sixteenth century. The translation in MS Jones 45 may reflect Hammond's disinterested scholarship but it is telling that he did not print this variant in his *Paraphrase and Annotations*.⁹⁶

Suspicious of Hammond's heterodoxy in the matter of Christ's sacrifice had predated the 1650s. Francis Cheynell had alleged that Hammond's *Practical Catechism* portrayed Christ's death as a human, Aaronical, sacrifice which consecrated him for a heavenly priesthood after the order of Melchizedek. For Cheynell, this was an unacceptable downplaying of the cross.⁹⁷ Hammond's response was to affirm that Christ's death was as an Aaronical priest that prepared him for a heavenly Melchizedekian priesthood, but that this did not invalidate the expiation and satisfaction of his earthly death.⁹⁸ Such sophistry would not have satisfied Cheynell. It might also be significant that Edward Stillingfleet, one of Hammond's latitudinarian successors, discerned that Hammond's hero, Grotius, was vulnerable to the same attack that Cheynell had mounted against Hammond. Stillingfleet's *Discourse concerning the true reason of the sufferings of Christ* (1669) insisted that Jesus was not a bare

⁹⁵ Hammond, MS Jones 45, 498[r].

⁹⁶ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 788.

⁹⁷ Hammond, Henry, *A copy of some papers past at Oxford, betwixt the author of the Practicall Catechisme, and Mr. Ch.*, (London, 1647), 62.

⁹⁸ Hammond, *A copy of some papers*, 99-100.

metaphorical high-priest; his death was not merely a preparation for entry into heaven and his expiation was made on earth.⁹⁹

Hammond trod a precipitously narrow path. On the one hand he found himself in agreement with Lushington/Crell that Christ was the sponsor of the covenant (Heb 7.20-22) 'and Surety for God, that it should be made good to us on Gods part (on condition we performed that which was required of us)'. On the other hand, he also maintained, *contra* Lushington/Crell, that Christ is a surety for the believer as well, writing on Heb 9.28 that he bears our sins on the cross and 'dyed as our surety or proxy'.¹⁰⁰ Even if Hammond did not go so far as Lushington/Crell in stripping all oblatory efficacy from Christ's death, both writers placed far more weight on Christ's present heavenly activity when compared to the Reformed concentration on the crucifixion.

Having found socinianising tendencies in Hammond's understanding of Christ's oblation, might his christology be unusual in other regards? Nothing irregular jumps out of the *Paraphrase and Annotations* but in the unpublished exposition of MS Jones 45 Hammond took a potentially more heterodox line on Heb 3.2. This verse in the KJV urged readers to consider Jesus who was faithful to the one who 'appointed' him (ποίησαντι). Hammond preferred a more literal rendering, translating the Greek to read that Christ was 'faithfull to him who made him'. Once again, Hammond's choice of English may reflect innocent philological disinterest, a choice which places him back in the unusual company of Tyndale and Martin. However, in an era which was scandalised by antitrinitarianism, Hammond will have known the dangers of rendering *ποίησαντι* as 'made'. Back in the fourth century,

⁹⁹ Stillingfleet, Edward, *Six sermons with a discourse annexed, concerning the true reason of the suffering of Christ, wherein Crellius his answer to Grotius is considered* (London, 1669), 450-54.

¹⁰⁰ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 782, 790.

Arians had read as much from Heb 3.2 in support of their idea that Christ's divinity had been created.¹⁰¹

Among contemporary writers, Hammond's manuscript translation of ποιησάντι is closest to the Latin of Crell. His thinking was not the same as Grotius, who considered Heb 3.2 to be about appointment to ministry, equivalent to God's appointment of Moses and Aaron as his agents in Egypt (I Sam 12.6).¹⁰² Lushington's English also expounded the theme of appointment.¹⁰³ In this, however, Lushington's free translation was some way from Crell's original. For Crell, the verse concerned appointment - but he did not lose the opportunity to remind his readers that he believed Christ's essence and person had been made: 'he made the Word, in this place it does not seem to refer to the essence or the person of Christ, although in respect of that Christ was made by God; but [it does refer] to the duties of which we spoke'.¹⁰⁴ The agreement between Hammond and Crell (and against Grotius and Lushington) is striking. Once again, Hammond chose not to print his inflammatory translation: the *Paraphrase and Annotations* offered no alternative to the KJV's translation of ποιησάντι as 'appointed'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Hammond, MS Jones 45, 485[r]; Greer, Rowan A., *The Captain of Our Salvation: A Study in the Patristic Exegesis of Hebrews* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1973), 88, 94-95. Arminius had insisted on a certain subordinationism of the Son to the Father; Bangs, Carl O., 'Arminius and Socinianism' in *Socinianism and its Role in the Culture of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* ed. Szczucki, L. (Warsaw, 1983), 81-84; Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 153.

¹⁰² Grotius, *Annotationes*, 371.

¹⁰³ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*. 41.

¹⁰⁴ 'Verbum fecit, hoc loco non videtur referri ad Christi essentiam vel personam, quamvis & illius respectu Christus a Deo factus sit; sed ad eius munera, quae diximus.' Crell, *Opera omnia*, ii.100-01.

¹⁰⁵ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 770.

The impact of Hammond's supersessionism

The moralism of Hammond's *Practical Catechism* exercised a significant influence on the Restoration Church,¹⁰⁶ and his *Paraphrase and Annotations* became a popular resource for parish preachers.¹⁰⁷ The *Paraphrase and Annotations* would be cited by Peter Sterry and Henry More, two Cambridge Platonists whose supersessionist use of Hebrews will be considered shortly.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, the latitudinarian Gilbert Burnet taught the clergy of Salisbury diocese that Hammond's exposition ranked alongside the work of Grotius and Lightfoot as the best New Testament annotations.¹⁰⁹ (Burnet not only approved of Hammond's scriptural exegesis; we will later discover similarities between the two men's style of historiography.¹¹⁰)

Hammond's exegesis and hermeneutics were thus neatly complementary. His supersessionist approach to Hebrews reinforced his claim to analyse the past from the impartial position of the present, supported his separation of Christ's earthly mactation and heavenly oblation, and underpinned his commitment to a working concomitant to faith. Elements of the Arminian approach to salvation and the Socinian understanding of Christ's priesthood combined with his advances as a historian and with his ecclesiastical agenda to build a morally superior England in the wake of the civil wars.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. e.g. Lettinga, 'Covenant Theology Turned Upside Down'; McGiffert, 'Hammond and covenant theology'; McGrath, Alister, 'The Emergence of the Anglican Tradition on Justification 1600-1700', *Churchman*, 98 (1983), 28-43.

¹⁰⁷ Green lists perhaps a dozen editions by 1702; Green, Ian, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 625. An incidental use of Hammond's commentary on Hebrews is found in the adoption of his comparison of the Christian life with the ancient Olympic Games by the anonymous Worcester author (perhaps John Evans) in a 1682 sermon about running the race of Heb 12.1; Ashmolean Museum Department of Antiquities, Oxford, MS JE/A/6/1, 'Sermon Books of Unknown Author', [2v, 7v]; Evans, Joan, *Time and Chance: The Story of Arthur Evans and his Forebears* (London: Longmans, 1943), 397; cf. Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 806. Hammond had spent his last decade just ten miles away at the house of Sir John Pakington; Trevor-Roper, Hugh, *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1987), 217.

¹⁰⁸ The *Paraphrase and Annotations* was the only biblical commentary listed on a brief inventory of books which Sterry had with him in 1663; Hibbitts, 'Hammond and English New Testament Exposition', 520, 524.

¹⁰⁹ Burnet, Gilbert, *A Discourse of the Pastoral Care* (London, 1692), 166.

¹¹⁰ Cf. below, 260-61.

Supersessionism and spiritualism

Henry Hammond was theologically and politically poles apart from Peter Sterry and Gerrard Winstanley. However, these men, in their own ways and for their own ends, were also supersessionist readers of Hebrews. Sterry and Winstanley both adopted a spiritualising approach to the epistle. Indeed, they took supersessionism further than Lushington/Crell and Hammond in that they realised that not only might Hebrews liberate from obligations to the Old Testament, but might liberate the believer from the text of the Bible itself. Through the Spirit, they were united with Christ in his priesthood and so entered the rest of the heavenly Canaan in the present age.

According to a recent account, Peter Sterry's combination of Calvinism and mysticism made him 'an enigmatic and eccentric figure who variously baffled and outraged his contemporaries'.¹¹¹ A puritan education in Emmanuel College Cambridge propelled Sterry towards a career as a leading minister in Cromwell's circle, a preacher of millenarian eschatology and deterministic soteriology. Equally formative was the Platonic philosophy of Benjamin Whichcote. Platonism must have contributed to Sterry's admiration of Hebrews. He once wrote a letter to his son about the books of the Bible in which he especially commended the study of Hebrews, Psalms and Proverbs.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Wallace, *Shapers*, 51. Cf. also ODNB, s.v. Sterry, Peter; Pinto, Vivian de Sola, *Peter Sterry, Platonist and Puritan, 1613-1672: a biographical and critical study with passages selected from his writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), 3-86.

¹¹² Pinto, *Peter Sterry*, 54.

Sterry was attracted by the conversation in Heb 9 and 10 about pressing beyond types and shadows to the reality of God himself.¹¹³ For Sterry, this process was part of the mystery of salvation, a movement in which Christ indicated the path his followers would tread:

The *Body of Flesh* is a *Vail* upon this *True Body*, which is an Immortal Spirit. So it is expressly named, *Heb. 10. v. 20.* where *Christ* is said to have entered, and made a living way for us into the most Holy Place, *by the rending of the Vail that is, His Flesh.* The true Body is a Spirit and Spring, of Immortality in the most Holy Place, the Eternal Spirit.¹¹⁴

Life is a process which begins in God and returns to God.¹¹⁵ The body is just a cover for a person's true self. When the Spirit

cometh forth from thence into the open streets, and fields of this Creation, it casteth over itself the Vail of this Fleshly Body. In Death it rendeth, and casteth off this Vail of Flesh; so it returneth pure, and naked in the Resurrection into the most Holy Place, into the Eternal Spirit again, where it ever stood after an unchangeable manner in its simple, and unvailed Beauties.¹¹⁶

Christ's role as light played a prominent part in Sterry's soteriology.¹¹⁷ Christ's light could pierce superficiality and expose an individual's true identity. This in turn was bound up with Christ's role as Logos and God's self-understanding. Once more, Hebrews was important to Sterry's exegesis. Christ

is the true, Supreme, and universal Light. *All things are naked, and manifest before him: Heb. 4. 13.* This is that Divine Light, in which every thing appeareth in its Divine Form, in its naked Substance, and Essence, uncloathed of every Disguise, and Vail, as it lieth in the Divine Understanding, which is the measure of all Truth. Therefore our Lord *Jesus* in that place, *Heb. 4. 12.* where all things are said to be naked and manifest before him, is in the verse before called; the *Word of God; the living Word; the living Word of the Divine understanding,* in which it bringeth forth at once, and eternally all knowledge to itself, and beholdeth, as in a Glass, the eternal Truths, and Essences of all things.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Cf. Wallace, *Shapers*, 73 fn. 107 for Sterry's allegorised reading of the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron (Heb 9.4).

¹¹⁴ Sterry, *Rise, race, and royalty*, 262.

¹¹⁵ Wallace, *Shapers*, especially 75.

¹¹⁶ Sterry, *Rise, race, and royalty*, 262; cf. also 148, 176, 438.

¹¹⁷ Wallace, *Shapers*, 62-63.

¹¹⁸ Sterry, *Rise, race, and royalty*, 239. On Christ's mediatory work, cf. also Matar, Nabil I. (ed.), *Peter Sterry: Select Writings* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 171.

Sterry's interest in Christ's light resonated with his view that the Father's qualities have been injected into humanity. He asserted that '[e]very man in his Natural State is a divine Spirit, an Immortal Soul, an Image of God, a Son of God in a deep Sleep'.¹¹⁹ With pointed controversiality, Sterry was alleged to have applied this emanationist thinking to Richard Cromwell, praying that God would 'make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person'.¹²⁰ While Henry Dawbeny, a devotee of the exodus analogy, likened Richard Cromwell to a second Joshua, the man who would complete Cromwell/Moses' leadership into the promised land,¹²¹ Sterry's spiritualising supersessionism compared the second Lord Protector to divinity itself. This incident indicates Sterry's overall significance as a reader of Hebrews: his Calvinist mysticism combined ideas which would have seemed incompatible in most other thinkers. His unique theological amalgam was Reformed in its commitment to the Trinity and an earthly atonement, anti-Socinian in its criticism of sterile rationalism,¹²² yet Platonic in its strongly supersessionist reception of Hebrews.

Echoes of Sterry's exegesis are to be found in the writing of another Cambridge Platonist, Henry More (1614-87).¹²³ Preaching on Heb 13.16, 'to do good and communicate forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased' (KJV), More gave vaunted status to the true Christian who as a priest might offer acceptable sacrifice to God.¹²⁴ More shared Sterry's vision of Christ as the one who can bridge heaven and earth and so inaugurate the Calvinist goal of mystical union:

¹¹⁹ Sterry, *Rise, race, and royalty*, 497; Pinto, *Peter Sterry*, 89-91, 96.

¹²⁰ Burnet, Gilbert, *The History of My Own Times*, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1823), i.141; cf. Pinto, *Peter Sterry*, 35.

¹²¹ Coffey, *Exodus and Liberation*, 48.

¹²² Wallace, *Shapers*, 75-76, 84.

¹²³ Wallace, *Shapers*, 57, notes that More also gave consideration to Sterry's doctrine of apokatastasis, the belief that all things would be restored into a state of unity with God.

¹²⁴ More, Henry, *Discourses on several texts of Scripture* (London, 1692), 314-68. The date of the sermon is unknown.

Who more gracious with God than he? Who more loving to men than he? Who therefore more fit to make Prayers and Supplications for the People than he? That Life which is in him, even the Spirit of Christ, doth adopt him into an higher Order, than the Order of *Aaron*. Or rather Christ whose Spirit of Life is in him, is that High-Priest, higher than the Order of *Aaron*.¹²⁵

Henry More was suggesting that the believer joined with Christ in the priestly order of Melchizedek; both were charged with offering a ministry of intercession, here and now.

Sterry and More had a strongly internalised sense of salvation. William Erbery and Gerrard Winstanley adopted a similar exegetical approach but harnessed it to concrete agenda. Erbery,¹²⁶ a fiery army preacher, was full of praise for Sterry in his *Sword Doubled* (1652). However, he felt that Cromwell's chaplain had failed to realise the implications of his own thinking for institutional religion. Sterry, along with William Sedgwick and Joshua Sprigg, had attained 'the knowledge of Christ in the Spirit', which Erbery regarded as the fourth and highest level of preaching. However they had not yet reached Zion [Heb 12.22-24]. This achievement would be marked with 'such a glorious appearance of God in men, that all shall see and hear him in them... man shall be nothing and God shall be all in all; yet man shall be all in God, and nothing but God shall appear in man.'¹²⁷ In the new age which Erbery foresaw, there would be no need for clergy like Sterry because all Christians would be ministers, and no need for organised religion because righteousness would be all-pervasive.

Erbery wrote a pamphlet entitled *The General Epistle to the Hebrews; that is to the Jews, the Ministers of London Churches*.¹²⁸ This document was not an analysis of Hebrews. It did not even cite the letter in its marginalia. Nonetheless, it seized what Erbery understood to be the ultimate thrust of the epistle. As his title implied, Erbery thought that he was writing a

¹²⁵ More, *Discourses*, 352.

¹²⁶ Morgan, John I., *The honest heretique: the life and work of William Erbery (1604-1654)* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2012), part I.

¹²⁷ Erbery, William, *The Sword doubled to cut off both the righteous and the wicked* (London, 1652), 32.

¹²⁸ Erbery, 'General Epistle to the Hebrews'.

new epistle to the Hebrews, a letter for his own day. Erbery accused the ministers of the London churches of behaving like first-century Jews, failing to appreciate that Christ came to liberate them from the shackles of religion.¹²⁹ Organised churches, he thought, always drove out true saints. The story of England was marked by the oppressed becoming the oppressor: Papists on protestants, protestants on puritans, presbyterians on independents.¹³⁰ As a result he concluded that

[n]ext to my eternal being in God with Christ, and Christ in me, by the Spirit of holiness, coming forth in part, and carrying me out in all things to be an honest man, My Religion is, to be of no Religion, with man; that is, to have fellowship with none, and yet to have fellowship with all in God.¹³¹

Erbery's mission was to break the cycle of intolerance, because the fire of the age of the Spirit would consume and confound the institutional churches.¹³² In this extreme form of supersessionism, the letter to the Hebrews effectively inspired supersession *of itself*: Erbery believed that mediation was not needed if God spoke directly to human hearts.¹³³

The instincts of Erbery were shared by Gerrard Winstanley (1609-76), a radical who is well-known to historians.¹³⁴ Winstanley was a man of contradictions, an unsuccessful merchant taylor in his youth and a respected gentleman in his twilight years. However, between 1648 and 1652 he published a series of radical pamphlets and broadsheets urging common ownership of land and freedom from the oppressive powers of king, clergy and lawyers. This literary flourishing found practical manifestation in the Digging community at Walton and Cobham in Surrey.

¹²⁹ Erbery, 'General Epistle to the Hebrews', frontispiece.

¹³⁰ Morgan, *Honest Heretique*, 146-49; cf. Erbery, 'General Epistle to the Hebrews', 2-3.

¹³¹ Erbery, 'General Epistle to the Hebrews', 6.

¹³² Erbery, 'General Epistle to the Hebrews', 5.

¹³³ Cf. the use of Jer 31.31-34 in Heb 8.8-12.

¹³⁴ ODNB, s.v. Winstanley, Gerrard; Gurney, John, *Brave Community: The Digger Movement in the English Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Alsop, James, 'Gerrard Winstanley: What Do We Know of His Life?' in *Winstanley and the Diggers, 1649-1999* ed. Bradstock, Andrew (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 19-36; Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann, Loewenstein, David (eds.), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), i.1-59.

Thomas Corns has usefully shown how Winstanley's reading of Genesis and Revelation became the exegetical ignition for his 'heretical dynamic'.¹³⁵ Winstanley's treatment of the two witnesses in Revelation 11 in *The Breaking of the Day* (1649) was crucial 'since it relates to how the apocalyptic transformations of the last days may come about, and specifically to how the biblical prophecy may be mapped on to immediate experience of contemporary events.'¹³⁶ At around the same time, in *The Myserie of God*, Winstanley conceived of Adam as the prototype of all who fall through the privileging of self-interest.¹³⁷

If Revelation and Genesis were the springboard for Winstanley's Digging, it was the eschatological potential of a doctrine of the Spirit drawing on a radical supersessionist reading of Hebrews which gave substance to his millennial vision. Winstanley had little interest in those chapters of Hebrews which had dominated English attention to date. His works made only three references to the Old Testament rituals of Heb 9 and none at all to the Old Testament heroes of Heb 11. For Winstanley, all these had passed. What did interest him was the age of inward illumination foreseen by Jeremiah and which was such an important backdrop for Hebrews' understanding of Jesus (Jer 31.31-34; Heb 8.8-12). God's Spirit

should in these last dayes be sent into the whole man-kind, and every branch shall be a joint or member of the mysticall body, or severall spreadings forth of the vine, being all filled with the one Spirit, Christ the anointing, who fills all with himself, and so he becomes the alone [*sic*] King of Righteousnesse and peace that rules in man.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Corns, Thomas N., 'The road to George Hill: the heretical dynamic of Winstanley's early prose' in *Heresy, Literature, and Politics* ed. Loewenstein, and Marshall, 185-202.

¹³⁶ Corns, 'Road to George Hill', 191.

¹³⁷ Corns, 'Road to George Hill', 194.

¹³⁸ 'The New Law of Righteousnes' in, Corns *et al.*, *Gerrard Winstanley*, i.484. Jer 31.34 is one of the two verses quoted on the frontispiece of Winstanley's 'Saints Paradise'; cf. Corns *et al.*, *Gerrard Winstanley*, i.313.

For Winstanley, humans had an innate capacity for salvation, including before the time of Christ. His emphasis on the fullness of eternity in the present clashed with the chronologically-minded majority who envisaged successive ages of Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

Winstanley's conception of internalised Christian freedom mirrored the spiritual vision of Peter Sterry. However, as with Erbery, Winstanley pushed further - towards political and ecclesiastical consequences which would have appalled Sterry. Christ the 'King of Righteousness and Peace' (Heb 7.2) liberated from external oppression.¹³⁹ His dying and rising took place within the believer and this abrogated the need for external structures, including in the Church. Therefore 'preaching shall cease and verbal worship shall cease, and they that do worship the Father, shall worship him by walking righteously in the Creation'.¹⁴⁰

This antipathy to organised religion had obvious implications for ecclesiastical property, in particular for tithing. The generosity of Abraham towards Melchizedek (Heb 7.2) had long been a source of discussion among English exegetes of Hebrews. In line with their breaking of the Catholic link between Old Testament sacrifice and Christian priesthood, William Fulke and Thomas Cartwright had insisted that the payment of tithes was a ceremonial duty abrogated by the death of Christ. Nonetheless, neither divine envisaged an unsupported ordained ministry. Cartwright said that clergy should be liberally supplied through a system of voluntary generosity. Fulke argued for ministerial maintenance of 'more or lesse then the tenth part'.¹⁴¹ In the early seventeenth century John Selden tried to further detach tithes

¹³⁹ Corns et al., *Gerrard Winstanley*, i.413-14 fn. 49, 475 fn. 16, 479 fn. 38, ii.287 fn. 28.

¹⁴⁰ Corns et al., *Gerrard Winstanley*, i.357 fn. 380, 508 fn. 271, 546-47 fn. 537.

¹⁴¹ Fulke, William, *The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ Translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traitorous Seminarie at Rhemes ... Whereunto is added the Translation out of the Original Greeke, commonly used in the Church of England* (London, 1617), 742; Cartwright, Thomas, *A confutation of the Rhemists translation, glosses and annotations on the New Testament so farre as they containe manifest impieties, heresies, idolatries,*

from *iure divino* right by insisting that tithes were grounded in English customary practice and not the revealed will of God.¹⁴² The fourth chapter of his monumental *Historie of Tithes* demonstrated that no tithes were paid in the first four Christian centuries. For Selden, the seemingly open-ended life of Melchizedek ('of whom it is witnessed that he liveth', Heb 7.8) did not prove the contrary.¹⁴³ Selden was not without his critics. Two decades later, John Carter attempted to reassert from Hebrews that tithes were owed by divine right.¹⁴⁴ Carter assumed a high level of bonding between the Old and New Testaments in order to advance the case that tithes are an eternal due, because Christ had an eternal priesthood after the order of Melchizedek. John Trapp was similar, writing on Heb 7.5 that

[i]f tithes be Jewish, saith on, and yet Ministers must have a maintenance, how will men satisfie their consciences in the particular quantity they must bestow upon them? The Scripture speaks only of the tenth part. Can any shew us where the old apportion is reversed, and which is that quota pars now that conscience must rest in?¹⁴⁵

In the absence of any other scriptural directive, Trapp was loathe to abandon the Hebrew practice of tithing to support the ordained ministry.

Civil war radicals had no time for the arguments of Trapp and Carter. This was because they thought that faith and conscience were individually owned and so had no bearing on corporate obligations and dues.¹⁴⁶ For Winstanley, the freedom of the age of the Spirit meant an end to covetousness which stemmed from the Fall. This included property rights.

Referring to Heb 4.15 he wrote that

superstitions, prophanesse, treasons, slanders, absurdities, falsehoods and other evils (Leiden, 1618), 611. Cf. also Brace, Laura, *The idea of property in seventeenth-century England: tithes and the individual* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 16.

¹⁴² Selden, John, *The historie of tithes that is, the practice of payment of them, the positive laws made for them, the opinions touching the right of them : a review of it is also annex, which both confirms it and directs in the vse of it* (London, 1618); Barbour, Reid, *John Selden: measures of the holy commonwealth in seventeenth-century England* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2003), ch. 5.

¹⁴³ Selden, *Historie of Tithes*, 35-45, 460.

¹⁴⁴ Carter, John, *Vindiciae decimarum. Of tithes, a plea for the ius divinum. Drawne from the text* (London, 1640).

¹⁴⁵ Trapp, John, *A commentary or exposition upon all the Epistles, and the Revelation of John the Divine* (London, 1647), 371.

¹⁴⁶ Brace, *Idea of Property*, 5.

Christ was tempted in all things, like as we are tempted. Now how are we tempted? but by presentment of outward objects before us, and when the life of the five Sences closes therewith, thinking to finde content therefrom, we are deceived, and so fall from innocencie.¹⁴⁷

Winstanley read from Heb 7.12 that the coming of Christ superseded both tithing and the greed which inspired it.¹⁴⁸ For his part, Erbery was a clergyman employed by the Commonwealth government and so had more to lose than Winstanley. However, the power of his own logic drove him to reject the £100 annual stipend which he received under the Act for the Better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales. He wrote *The Grand Oppressor or the Terror of Tithes* to justify his renunciation of this payment.¹⁴⁹ Personal penury flowed from the force of Erbery's theological conviction: he had moved beyond formal religious structures and so moved beyond their means of support. In the wake of the depredations of civil war, tithes would remain a popular target for dissatisfaction. Arguments for their abolition were readily supported by the new readings of Hebrews which taught that the advent of Christ displaced the strictures of the old dispensation.¹⁵⁰

Synopsis

Supersessionist exegesis of Hebrews offered an alternative basis for change from the exodus imagery which has been examined by Coffey and Morrill. The proponents of supersessionism came from diverse stables: royalist priests, Cambridge philosophers, political and military agitators. The topical content of these commentators was highly mixed, and they presented their material in stylistically different ways, yet each in their own fashion

¹⁴⁷ 'Fire in the Bush' in, Corns *et al.*, *Gerrard Winstanley*, ii. 221 fn. 191.

¹⁴⁸ 'Truth Lifting up his Head' in, Corns *et al.*, *Gerrard Winstanley*, i.451 fn. 243.

¹⁴⁹ Erbery, *The Sword doubled*, 1-15; Morgan, *Honest Heretique*, 99-102.

¹⁵⁰ Skipp, Edmund, *Declaration of several baptized believers, walking in all the foundation principles of the doctrine of Christ, mentioned in Heb. 6. 1, 2* (n.p., 1659); cf. also Brace, *Idea of Property*, 141-46.

found support from supersessionism for their vision of England's future. Each was strongly present-minded: some were consumed by the socio-political issues of the day (Erbery and Winstanley), some searched fervently for higher spiritual truth in an age of shifting certainties (Sterry and More), and some accorded greater value to discursive reason within their evolving approaches to theology and history (Lushington/Crell and Hammond). Hebrews was a resource to be mastered and deployed by these protagonists. Its exploration of Christ's priestly oblation was vital for Lushington/Crell and Hammond because of its potential to deflect attention from the historic sacrifice of the cross in the past. Its praise of the liberation which Jeremiah had prophesied as characterising the age of the Spirit was crucial to radicals.

The radical potential of supersessionist readings of Hebrews was most fully realised in the pamphlets of Winstanley and Erbery. However, it was the ostensibly conformist Henry Hammond who would have the profoundest effect on the future of English religious culture. The Reformed would be permitted a place within restored episcopalianism,¹⁵¹ but their voices would not dominate as they had throughout the preceding century. The Laudian attempt to marginalise Reformed argument, as seen in chapter 3, had had an immediate and controversial impact on the publications of men like William Jones. However, it was Hammond's presentation of new ideas under the guise of acceptability that shifted the perception of the centre ground within emergent 'Anglicanism'. Likewise, Hammond's paring apart of the Old Testament from the New nurtured a more linear approach to the study and writing of history. For Hammond, the life of the ancient world, both Christian and pre-Christian, was locked in the past and so had become the object of dispassionate analysis.

¹⁵¹ Hampton, *Anti-Arminians*, *passim*.

Most of the supersessionist writers considered in this chapter sought a greater scope for human freedom and reason within their theological systems.¹⁵² As such they were reacting against the providential determinism which had dominated much of the preceding century and which found renewed vigour in the theology of the Westminster divines. The use of Hebrews to promote discursive reason or liberation from religious institutions mounted a theoretical challenge to the Reformed edifice which had been built on the principle of *sola scriptura*. Theological history had come full circle. The Reformed had once been rebels on the offensive against Roman Catholic notions of sacrifice and the sacraments. In that conflict they had used a mild supersessionist reading of Hebrews to deny any continuity between the Old Testament priesthood and the ministry of the contemporary Church. By the mid-seventeenth century they found themselves on the defensive, responding to much more aggressive supersessionism which threatened to undermine their whole system. The remainder of this study will consider the arguments and effectiveness of their rejoinders.

¹⁵² Peter Sterry is the obvious exception to this pattern. His supersessionism was spiritualised and internal in such a way as not to challenge ecclesiastical or political structures, or the edifice of Reformed theology.

Chapter 5

Trinitarianism defended: Edmund Porter and Parliament's annotators

Chapter 4 considered the eruption of supersessionist approaches to Hebrews in the late 1640s and early 1650s. Supersessionism made immediate and wide-ranging contributions to fevered mid-century debates about theology, ecclesiology, politics and society. The response of the Reformed orthodox initially concentrated on defending those doctrines which were most fundamental and which were felt to be most threatened by the innovations of the era. In particular, this meant the doctrine of the trinity and, closely related to it, Chalcedonian christology. Francis Cheynell's *Divine Trinitunity* and John Owen's *Vindiciae Evangelicae* were at the vanguard of this riposte.¹ Reception of the letter to the Hebrews also had a role to play, just as it had done in the Socinian assault.

Historians are well apprised of the trinitarian controversy in seventeenth-century England, but the relevance of Hebrews to protagonists on both sides has not been adequately documented. Herbert McLachlan's *Socinianism in Seventeenth England* (1951) is unusual in being aware of the innovative role played by Lushington's *Expiation* as the first Socinian work printed in English and in England.² McLachlan's weakness lay in his one-sided coverage of the debate. As a Unitarian, McLachlan eulogised his denominational forebears, giving little or no space to their opponents' replies. The characters of McLachlan's study line up in an inexorable Whiggish ascent from Erasmus to the Enlightenment. Three recent studies have extended McLachlan's work. Philip Dixon traces the seeds of the antitrinitarian disputes of the 1690s to Socinian agitation in the 1640s. Dixon associates the arrival of Socinian

¹ Cheynell, Francis, *The divine trinitunity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit* (London, 1650); Owen, John, *Vindiciae evangelicae or The mystery of the Gospell vindicated, and Socinianisme examined* (Oxford, 1655).

² McLachlan, Herbert John, *Socinianism in Seventeenth England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), ch. 7.

controversiality with the publically excoriated ideas of Paul Best and John Biddle. As a result, he misses the challenge to Reformed soteriology from Thomas Lushington's subtle lobbying within the Church of England.³ Sarah Mortimer's monograph considers the relationship between English Socinianism and the natural law tradition; her lens is inevitably less focussed on questions of biblical reception.⁴ The third and largest of the recent monographs is by Paul Lim.⁵ Lim offers an antidote to the linear portrayals of McLachlan and Dixon by giving due weight to the protrinitarian reply to Socinianism. Lim is also alert to the role of scripture in the controversy. However, by concentrating on the gospel of John as 'the major arsenal for both sides of the trinitarian divide',⁶ he supplies no sustained analysis of controverted passages and issues which are exposed by an exploration of the reception of Hebrews. For instance, Lim spends some time examining what Edmund Porter wrote in *Trin-Unus-Deus*, including a defence of trinitarianism from John's gospel, but passes over Porter's first foray into publishing which was ignited by his loathing for *The Expiation of a Sinner*.⁷ Moreover, Lim joins Dixon in commencing his study with the high-profile controversialists Biddle and Best before turning to their opponents, bypassing the contribution of Lushington and his critics.⁸ This chapter therefore seeks to add a new dimension to the attention which Dixon, Mortimer and Lim have rightly given to controversy about the trinity in the 1640s and 50s by showing how orthodox rejoinders used Hebrews in their arguments. As a heavy-weight New Testament text with material that touched on the nature and mission of Jesus,

³ Dixon, Philip, *Nice and Hot Disputes: The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventeenth Century* (London: T&T Clark, 2003).

⁴ Mortimer, Sarah, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁵ Lim, Paul Chang-Ha, *Mystery unveiled: the crisis of the Trinity in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁶ Lim, *Mystery unveiled*, 14, ch. 6.

⁷ Porter, Edmund, *Trin-unus-deus, or, The trinity and unity of God* (London, 1657); Porter, Edmund, *Theos anthropophoros. Or, God incarnate. Shewing, that Jesus Christ is the onely, and the most high God*, 4 books in one volume, (London, 1655); Lim, *Mystery unveiled*, 137-38, 293-94.

⁸ Lim, *Mystery unveiled*, 67, 300; chs. 1 and 3.

Hebrews was an obvious battleground for theological construction and controversy about the Godhead.

Two sources provide alternate approaches to this story. Edmund Porter's *Theos Anthropophoros* sought to scandalise Lushington by stripping away his anonymity. Porter argued that Lushington's articulation of Socinian teaching threatened both the doctrines of God and salvation. *Theos Anthropophoros* was a ragged publication and, because it was structured dogmatically, it made no attempt to offer a verse-by-verse defence of protrinitarian beliefs in relation to the epistle. This lacuna was filled in the first instance by the scripturally-linear Parliamentary *Annotations* on the King James Bible.⁹ The *Annotations* were initially published a year before Lushington's *Expiation* and contained a confident traditional presentation of the doctrine of God. However, the second edition (1651) made significant expansion of the comment on the first chapter of Hebrews in an attempt to secure the opening verses of the epistle against antitrinitarian interpretation. These additions demonstrate the abrupt *volte face* which had to be made in the constructive and controversial agenda of the Reformed reception of Hebrews in the 1640s, away from assailing Catholic sacramentology and towards defence of the doctrines of God and Christ against the supersessionist Protestant fringe. The third edition (1657) did not contain a single further revision of the Hebrews marginalia. This argues that the momentous

⁹ Downham, John (ed.), *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament wherein the text is explained, doubts resolved, Scriptures paralleled and various readings observed* (London, 1645). The second edition implied that the original *Annotations* were given to the stationers in 1642 - although the stationers do not record this document until October 1645; Downham, John (ed.), *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament this second edition so enlarged, as they make an entire commentary on the sacred Scripture: the like never before published in English* (London, 1651), preface; *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640-1708*, 3 vols. (London: Roxburghe Club, 1913-14), i.198.

transformation in the priorities of Reformed exegesis of Hebrews took place in the later 1640s.¹⁰

Edmund Porter's personal animosity

Edmund Porter (c.1595-1670) was horrified by Lushington's *Expiation of a Sinner*. A middle-aged country clergyman, Porter was hitherto unpublished but felt spurred into action by what he perceived to be a threat of unprecedented seriousness to Christian England contained within Lushington's text. He informed his dedicatee, Lord Coventry, that Lushington was not tinkering with minor issues such as surplices and stained glass, but had laid an axe at the root of Christianity itself, 'un-Godding Jesus Christ' and denying his work of redemption. The translator was nothing less than a 'Primogentium Satanæ' whose effrontery had emboldened others.¹¹

Porter's first aim was to expose the identity of *The Expiation's* author. The translation of Crell had been published under the initials 'G.M.', but Porter reported that the actual 'G.M.' was a citizen and merchant, and neither a heretic nor a meddler. His initials had been misappropriated by one whose name begins with the same letter as Legion from whom Jesus drove many demons. This demoniac had studied at Broadgates Hall (before it became Pembroke College), Oxford and he was now resident in Norfolk.¹² Porter proceeded to claim that Lushington's involvement in the publication of *The Expiation* was an open secret among local gentry. Lushington, Porter thought, was especially dangerous because he was in the influential position of being a chaplain to the king.

¹⁰ Downham, John (ed.), *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament this third, above the first and second, edition so enlarged, as they make an entire commentary on the sacred scripture: the like never before published in English* (London, 1657). In one case the third edition even carried over a spelling mistake made by the 1651 edition to the 1645 text ('gaol' for 'goal' in Heb 4.1).

¹¹ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, [A4r – A4v]; cf. below, 189 fn. 53 for further members of the Coventry family.

¹² Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, [A4r], i.1-11.

Three decades ago, an attempt was made to disassociate Thomas Lushington from *The Expiation of a Sinner* on the grounds that the traditional identification of Lushington as Crell's translator was based solely on *Theos Anthropophoros*.¹³ Frank Huntley dismissed Porter's allegation as uncharacteristic of the rest of Lushington's ministry. Huntley is an isolated and biased voice. He was seeking to exculpate Lushington in order to preserve the reputation of the other subject of his article, Sir Thomas Browne. If Porter's allegation about Lushington's role as translator of *The Expiation* was libellous, there are no records of the libel ever being challenged by contemporaries - including by Thomas Lushington!

Before Porter could commence his case against Lushington, he felt compelled to express dismay at the contribution of another person to the publication of *The Expiation*. The presbyter responsible for licensing Lushington's translation was John Downham (1571-1652).¹⁴ Downham is an important, if complex, cross-over figure: not only did he license *The Expiation* but he also chaired the committee of divines who produced the *Parliamentary Annotations*, marginalia whose thoroughly orthodox exegesis will be considered shortly. Publically, Downham was a leading member of London's presbyterian establishment. However, his motivations in licensing *The Expiation* have drawn him into controversy. Herbert McLachlan described him as either 'inefficient' in the conduct of his office or 'sympathetic' to the arguments advanced in *The Expiation*.¹⁵ Ariel Hessayon presses the case for Downham being 'sympathetic', drawing my attention¹⁶ to Downham's licensing of two other controversial books a few years later, the first English translation of *The Alcoran of*

¹³ Huntley, Frank, 'Dr. Thomas Lushington (1590-1661), Sir Thomas Browne's Oxford Tutor', *Modern Philology* 81 (1983), 14-23 at 20-21.

¹⁴ [Lushington, Thomas], *The expiation of a sinner in a commentary vpon the Epistle to the Hebrewes* (London, 1646), [A1v], [A4v].

¹⁵ McLachlan, *Socinianism*, 114.

¹⁶ In conversation.

Mahomet (1649) and TheaurauJohn Tany's *Aurora* (1651).¹⁷ Hessayon reads this as evidence that Downham was deliberately permitting a diversity of views to pass through the presses. In addition to the texts cited by Hessayon, Downham was also responsible for licensing Hobbes' *Leviathan*, plus texts by Grotius and Henry Hammond.¹⁸ However, the allegation of deliberate liberalism seems incongruous with the tenor of Downham's public career. His position as a leading establishment divine of the 1640s is evidenced by his signature at the head of the list of subscribers to *The Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ* (1647), a condemnation of a list of heresies abroad in England, Socinianism included.¹⁹ Moreover, as Anthony Milton has noted, licensers of the press faced a crippling workload (especially during the 1640s). Sometimes they only glanced at texts which were set before them.²⁰ Downham was well into his seventies by the time he saw *The Expiation* and, although he was not a member of the Westminster Assembly, he may have been busied by other work around the capital.²¹

Whatever the truth of the matter, Downham made a fulsome expression of regret about his lax censorship of *The Expiation*. Porter positioned this apology prominently at the front of

¹⁷ Du Ryer, André, *The Alcoran of Mahomet, translated out of Arabique into French; by the sieur Du Ryer, Lord of Malezair, and resident for the King of France, at Alexandria. And newly Englished, for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities* (London, 1649); Tany, TheaurauJohn, *Theauraujoh[n] his aurora in tranlagornm in Salem Gloria. Or The discussive of the law and the gossell betwixt the Jew and the Gentile in Salem resurrectionem* (London, 1651).

¹⁸ Hessayon, Ariel, 'Gold Tried in the Fire'. *The Prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 201-02; Matar, Nabil, I., *Islam in Britain 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 73-77; *Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers*, i.305, 358, 361, 364. Parliament was so horrified by the 'Turkish Alcoran' that it ordered the serjeant-at-arms to search for the press where it was being printed; *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series*, ed. Green, Mary Anne Everett (London: Longman, 1875) [1649-50], 42. Richard Baxter attacked Downham for holding a Grotian view of episcopacy; Barducci, Marco, 'Clement Barksdale, Translator of Grotius: Erastianism and Episcopacy in the English Church, 1651-1658', *The Seventeenth Century* 25 (2010), 265-80, at 275-76.

¹⁹ *A testimony to the trueth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the errors, heresies and blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them* (London, 1648), 35.

²⁰ Cf. Milton, Anthony, 'Licensing, censorship, and religious orthodoxy in early Stuart England', *Historical Journal* 41 (1998), 625-51 at 627.

²¹ ODNB, s.v. Downham, John. For a recent treatment of the context in which Downham will have worked as a Parliamentary licenser cf. Como, David R., 'Print, Censorship and Ideological Escalation in the English Civil War', *Journal of British Studies* 51 (2012), 820-57; cf. above, 125, for broader debate on the aims and effectiveness of press regulation in this period.

Theos Anthropophoros. In his apology, Downham asserted that he had written to the author of *The Expiation* (he did not mention Lushington by name) with some objections to the initial text. The author had responded, 'wherein he did not at all maintain those errors' and permitted Downham to revise the text as he thought fit. However, Downham continued, 'the Work being long, and my time short, divers other faults and errours escaped unobserved by me, they being comprized in few words and short passages, and so the more easily passed over without my observation.'²² Edmund Porter had put John Downham in an awkward position. Downham needed to distance himself from *The Expiation* but also wanted to minimise his own failings. One way he achieved this was by implying that Lushington did not hold the views which he was translating. In this at least, Downham was being disingenuous: Porter also printed in *Theos Anthropophoros* a letter from Downham to an unnamed bishop, dated 1 May 1646, in which Downham suspected that Lushington (again unnamed) or his agent had annexed a 'Stet' over the purgations which he had made from *The Expiation*.²³ In other words, Lushington lacked the disinterested neutrality which was later attributed to him by Downham's apology – and Downham had known as much when he wrote the apology. Thus not only did Porter air his dislike of Lushington but exposed a little of the dynamics of the licensing system and the failings of Downham which had collaborated to bring *The Expiation* to birth.

Porter's orthodoxy: defence of the Trinity shoring up christology and soteriology

Following his very personal opening pages, Porter turned to more theological argument against Lushington. Porter's work is regrettably sprawling. The structure of *Theos Anthropophoros* does not follow the text of Hebrews but is ordered thematically into four books within a single volume. The first book is about revelation, creation and death, the

²² Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, adjacent to title page.

²³ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, i.9-10.

second concerns christology, the third considers the Incarnation, and the fourth deals with baptism. Porter's underlying assumption is that trinitarian theology (in particular its implications for the identity and purpose of Christ) and salvation are fundamentally linked. Lushington/Crell had not performed two separate actions in un-Godding Jesus Christ and denying his work of redemption, but was promoting a unified heresy. This integral connection between the doctrine of God and soteriology is illustrated by Porter's understanding of the Covenant.²⁴

The *Eternal Covenant*, was made between the Father and the Son, to mans behoofe, before the World, and in this everlasting Covenant of grace, was the whole Mystical body of Christ included, and by vertue of that Covenant, and in Christ, they were Predestinated, decreed, purposed, and Elected to life, and by that Covenant so transacted secretly, the Son of God undertooke for man, and became *a suertie* for him to performe whatsoever was required.²⁵

Hence Christ became the great shepherd of the sheep (Heb 13.20), uniting truths about salvation and divinity. Against the separation by Lushington/Crell of the dispensations before and after the age of Christ, Porter reunited the two periods. After the creation, God the Son entered into the same covenant with humanity which he had made in eternity with the Father. This one covenant was made with Adam and Abraham. Through the law it was also made with Moses, the same covenant which was finally delivered in full clarity in the gospel. Thus the legal and evangelical covenants for Porter were one, the new covenant being 'new' only in the sense that it was renewed, just as the new moon is the old moon newly enlightened.²⁶

Porter made an ingenious defence of Chalcedonian christology in tandem with Reformed soteriology by explicating the unforgiveable sin (Heb 10.26) as a denial of the divinity of

²⁴ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros* [B3v]-B4[r], iii.30-35.

²⁵ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, iii.30; cf. also Lim, *Mystery unveiled*, 125.

²⁶ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, iii.33.35.

Christ.²⁷ He argued that within the one person of Christ are his human spirit (soul) and his divine spirit. The 'Holy Spirit' in the sin against the Holy Spirit is to be understood *pro deitate* (i.e. including the Godhead of Christ) and not *personaliter* (the third person of the trinity considered alone). This means that the sin against the Holy Spirit is exhibited in denials of Jesus' divinity. Indeed, Porter wanted to promote the idea that the unpardonable sin particularly fixed on those who deny the divinity of the Son. This was because, while denial of the Godhead of any of the persons is 'destructive to salvation', the role of Christ in effecting salvation makes an acknowledgement of his divinity essential to redemption. Porter's case for the sin against the Holy Spirit amounting to a condemnation of the divinity of Christ was very clever, albeit clumsily presented. He recapitulated this central argument at the end of the fourth book.

The grand blasphemy of denying the Godhead of Jesus Christ, doth utterly root up the very foundation of Christian religion, it nullifieth the wonderfull and gracious work of redemption, for if the Lord Jesus be not the only *Jehova*, the Supream and most high God, then he hath not, nor could redeem us; and if we do not firmly believe this, and adhere to him, in this most necessary faith, we cannot receive the end and benefit of his redemption.²⁸

Springboarding from this exegesis, Porter had all that was needed to reaffirm a traditional doctrine of God, christology and soteriology. He believed in the trinity on scriptural grounds and read the divinity of Jesus from the pages of Hebrews: 'this Divine Epistle doth so clearly demonstrate the Godhead of Jesus, as if St Paul had writ it whilst he was in his rapture in the third heaven; or that it had been written immediately with the finger of God'.²⁹ This sentence is another instance of the growth in conservative arguments about Hebrews' penman and the theological motivations which underpinned it. Porter associated

²⁷ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, ii.1-23, 52f; iv.52f, 97.

²⁸ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, iv.97.

²⁹ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, B3[r], i.19.

Lushington/Crell's denial of Paulinity with Arianism.³⁰ He may well have been right. We saw in chapter 4 how Lushington/Crell's supersessionism rendered the question of Hebrews' authorship to be adiaphorous,³¹ as well as obviating the need for a trinitarian articulation of the atonement. Conversely, orthodox readings of the epistle were increasingly tied to the defence of Pauline authorship and authority, a rhetorically understandable if logically unnecessary symbiosis which persisted until the nineteenth century.

At the end of his first book, Porter provided a long list of '[b]laspemies against the Godhead of Jesus Christ' and 'against the Incarnation of the Son of God, and his Work of Redemption' which he proposed to refute in the second and third books.³² In tackling these long lists of errors, Porter worked hard to split apart some of the associations forged by Lushington/Crell and to re-forge the classical connections which Lushington/Crell had sought to break. In book two, Porter came down hard against the view that Christ was deified at his resurrection. Christ's exaltation and subjection did not touch on the eternity of his Godhead.³³ Similarly, Porter wanted to reassert that Christ's priesthood was compatible with traditional christology. He did this by turning the argument of Lushington/Crell on its head. He agreed with his opponent that God cannot be said to pray because there is none to whom he might pray, but this was not to be taken as evidence against Christ's divinity but rather that God was incarnate in Christ. Christ became a priest by his assumption of manhood, 'as he was a *perfect Man*; so might he pray for us; and as he was *perfect God*, so we may and must pray to him'.³⁴ Thirdly, whereas Lushington/Crell disconnected adoration of Christ from an acknowledgement of divinity, Porter affirmed this

³⁰ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, i.15-16.

³¹ Cf. above, 147-48.

³² Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, i.48-51.

³³ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, ii.38-41.

³⁴ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, ii.66.

exclusive association; bowing the knee to Jesus (Phil 2.10) must be an acknowledgement of his Godhead.³⁵

Not only did Porter want to demonstrate the robustness of Nicene-Chalcedonian theology; he also felt the need to prove the orthodoxy of Eusebius of Caesarea. Eusebius' reputation was important because of his significance as the first historian of the patristic church and as a key player in the Council of Nicaea.³⁶ In particular, Porter wanted to rebuff the allegation of Lushington/Crell from the hospitality of Abraham (Gen 18, Heb 13.2) that Eusebius had denied that Jesus was the most high God (αὐτο θεος).³⁷ Porter set out a range of patristic interpretations of Genesis 18, before proceeding to affirm that Eusebius' position (that the one who appeared to Abraham and the prophets was God in the person of the Son and therefore not the Father) was acceptable because Eusebius was not denying the Son to be God, merely asserting that the Son was distinct from the Father.³⁸ While Porter needed to rescue the reputation of Eusebius from vulnerability, he was keen to distance himself from other historical figures and thereby establish a lineage of heterodoxy for the ideas of his opponent. For Porter, poor soteriology and poor christology had historically reinforced one another. Lushington, he alleged, stood in the tradition of Arius in denying the Son's divinity, and in the tradition of Peter Abelard in denying Christ's work of satisfaction. Porter regarded Abelard as 'a principal Patriarch' of Socinian tenets.³⁹

³⁵ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, ii.71.

³⁶ Hall, Stuart G., *Doctrine and Practice in the Early Church* (London: SPCK, 1991), 128-33.

³⁷ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 331-32; Porter, *Trin-unus-deus*, preface. Hampton, S.W.P., *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 166-89 outlines the importance attached by the Reformed to defending the notion of Christ as αὐτο θεος.

³⁸ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, iii.1-5.

³⁹ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, B2[r], i.1-2,5, iii.1f; cf. Dillistone, F.W., *The Christian understanding of atonement* (Welwyn: Nisbet, 1968), 324f. Henry Hammond sidestepped any suggestion that Heb 13.2 and Gen 18 might be used to affirm the trinity by insisting that it was angels which had appeared to Abraham; Hammond, Henry, *A paraphrase, and annotations upon all the books of the New Testament briefly explaining all the difficult places thereof* (London, 1653), 808.

Christ's satisfaction and substitutionary atonement were keynotes in Porter's campaign to reassert traditional doctrine. These concepts were connected both to the hypostatic union in Christ and to Christ's union with believers in faith. Christ, for Porter, offered a sacrifice on earth, a sacrifice prefigured by the high priest entering the Holy of Holies. God could have chosen to forgive sins by mere fiat, but it was more fitting to his justice and his word that death should fall upon transgressors of the Law and that satisfaction should be made. For this reason, Porter thought that the incarnation was a necessity and he rejected redemption through mere pleading in heaven. Having made satisfaction on earth, Christ's work in heaven cannot be one of pleading, but - after the order of Melchizedek - is a priesthood of blessing.⁴⁰ The sins of the elect, in Porter's view, were laid on Christ since Christians are united with him in the mystical body of the Church of which he is the head. Within the Church, Christ's benefits are communicated to the believer as the believer's faults are communicated to him.⁴¹

Having waded through the prolix argument of Porter's first three books, the devotion of his fourth book to the subject of baptism makes eminent sense. True baptism for Porter can only be made in the name of the trinity. Baptism is the outward sign of the grace onto which faith latches. Given this, Porter affirmed the acceptability of sincere deathbed repentance. There is always hope for the sinner if they repent, even from the unpardonable sin. Infant baptism is to be encouraged on the analogy of circumcision. Infants possessing God's Spirit may be said to have faith 'in radice,... potentia, actu primo, & in fundamento'. Since salvation is through Christ's grace there is no need for rebaptism as the Anabaptists claim. Rebaptism for Porter was nothing less than a re-crucifying of Christ (Heb 6.6) and failed to

⁴⁰ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, ii.54, iii.27, 38-40; Porter, *Trin-unus-deus*, 117-21.

⁴¹ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, [B7v-C2r]; cf. ii.23.

appreciate the fullness of what Christ achieved through his sacrifice.⁴² Once again, for Porter, if one element of the tradition was removed, the whole dogmatic house became imperilled; if they were reasserted together, centred on the doctrine of the trinity, the edifice remained robust.

Although personal and pointed in his reassertion of traditional orthodoxy, Porter appreciated the internal systematic coherence of Socinian thought. However, his effectiveness was limited by a rambling style and delayed publication. His text had been written shortly after Lushington went to press. His letter dedicatory was dated 21st March 1647 [1648] and his report towards the end of his third book that his son had been successfully touched for scrofula by the king on 18th June 1647 ‘and hath so continued ever since, for the space of more than 5 Moneths’ suggests that he was coming towards the end of his composition by late 1647.⁴³ The book was not printed, however, until 1655. This was the year in which Owen published *Vindiciae Evangelicae*. Porter’s later work, *Trin-unus-deus* (1657), stated that he had been imprisoned and implied he had been prohibited from preaching. Might *Theos Anthropophoros* have been blocked from publication or failed to find a publisher until such a time as its content became politically valued, and not just a matter of concern among theologians?⁴⁴

Parliament’s 1645 annotators: cautious retrospectives

Porter was not alone in appreciating the threat posed by *The Expiation of a Sinner* to trinitarian readings of Hebrews. Produced on the orders of the Long Parliament, the *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament* deserve to stand alongside what

⁴² Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros*, iv.2-3, 5, 11-30, 44-45.

⁴³ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros* [A6r, A8v], iii.74.

⁴⁴ Porter, *Theos Anthropophoros* [A6r], iii.74; Porter, *Trin-unus-deus*, [A2v].

Benjamin Warfield called the four 'points or parts of uniformity' of the Westminster Assembly (the reordering of Church governance, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith, and the Catechisms).⁴⁵ The *Annotations* are theologically revealing because they were not a static document. The first edition illustrates the establishment mindset which pervaded the London Reformed in the early 1640s. The second edition exposes the panic which had set in by the early 1650s. Defensive marginalia were hastily added to the earlier annotations of Hebrews in order to shore up official dogma. Greater awareness is needed of this evolution in the *Annotations*. Lim, for example, cites only the third and final edition of the *Annotations* in his bibliography. However, it is the differences between the first and second editions which are crucial to the value of this document to historians.⁴⁶

The *Annotations* were retrospective in concept. They were inspired by the marginal commentaries of the early Reformation.⁴⁷ The 1645 preface reported that the stationers and printers had petitioned the Commons for a license to print the Geneva annotations or that new notes might be fitted to the English Bible. The Commons approved the latter idea and potential annotators were approached. The annotators were instructed to study other established marginalia: the annotations made in Dutch after the Synod of Dort, and the

⁴⁵ Warfield, B.B., *The Westminster Assembly and its Work* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1931), 25.

⁴⁶ Lim, *Mystery unveiled*, 435.

⁴⁷ Femke Molekamp has drawn my attention to *The Holy Bible containing the Old Testament and the New... with most profitable annotations upon all the hard places and other things of great importance* (Amsterdam, 1642). This was a hybrid publication: the KJV text onto which the 1599 GenB annotations had been appended. Like all GenB materials after 1616, this edition was sufficiently controversial as to require publication on the continent; Berry, Lloyd (ed.) *The Geneva Bible* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 14. The publication of the new Dutch Bible with annotations plus the work undertaken to translate Diodati into English will have added momentum to the argument for home-grown annotations. Diodati, Giovanni, *Pious annotations, upon the Holy Bible expounding the difficult places thereof learnedly, and plainly: with other things of great importance* (London, 1643), especially [A4v]; Haak, Theodore (trans.), *The Dutch annotations upon the whole Bible, or, All the holy canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testament together with, and according to their own translation of all the text, as both the one and the other were ordered and appointed by the Synod of Dort, 1618 and published by authority, 1637* (London, 1657), B3[r]–[B3v]. Diodati and Haak do not require separate analysis in this thesis: theirs are solid but uncontroversial Reformed expositions; likewise the Hebrews comment of Trapp, John, *A commentary or exposition upon all the Epistles, and the Revelation of John the Divine* (London, 1647), and the layman Edward Leigh, *Annotations upon all the New Testament philologicall and theologicall* (London, 1650).

Italian annotations of Genevan minister Giovanni Diodati.⁴⁸ With Laud imprisoned and his instruments of government abolished, the preface to the *Annotations* was free to promote the completion of the changes begun a century earlier. Edward VI and Elizabeth I had been God's instruments to advance the cause of true religion against popery. The Reformation had been 'brought onwards towards perfection; toward it we may say, not to it, for God reserved further advances and neerer approaches, to that faire marke for aftertimes'.⁴⁹ The preface traced a gradual improvement in English religion by means of vernacular scriptures and the assistance given to readers through the provision of annotations. Annotations helped to render the right meaning from the words of the translation, just as a good translation helped to obtain the right meaning from the words of the original.⁵⁰

Parliament's commentators were as conservative as their collective project. Several lists, with slight variations between them, record the names of the annotators.⁵¹ Among the core of the 1645 group were John Downham, Thomas Gataker, Daniel Featley, William Gouge, and John Ley. Some but not all were members of the Westminster Assembly.⁵² They shared a strong commitment to Reformed doctrine, and mostly favoured presbyterian Church

⁴⁸ Diodati had been printed in English in 1643 and the *Dutch Annotations* would follow in 1657, both by order of Parliament.

⁴⁹ Downham (ed.), *Annotations* (1645), B[1r]. Other writers also depicted England in a long Reformation which needed Parliamentary support for further change. William Dell and Thomas Fuller chose the apposite 'until the time of reformation' (Heb 9.10) to argue from Christ's replacement of the old rites that wherever the gospel is preached, a constant spirit of reformation should be found. Fuller, Thomas, *A sermon of reformation. Preached at the church of the Savoy, last fast day, July 27. 1643* (London, 1643), 2-4; Dell, William, *Right reformation: or, The reformation of the church of the New Testament, represented in Gospell-light. In a sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons, on Wednesday, November 25. 1646* (London, 1646), 3-4. Similar sentiments, less graciously expressed, were found in Thomas Wilson's attack on Strafford and Laud through commentary on Heb 11.30; *Jerichoes down-fall as it was presented in a sermon preached in St. Margarets Westminster before the honourable House of Commons at the late solemne fast, Septemb. 28, 1642* (London, 1643).

⁵⁰ Downham (ed.), *Annotations* (1645), [B1v – B3r].

⁵¹ Downham (ed.), *Annotations* (1645), [B4r]; Downham (ed.), *Annotations* (1651), Preface; Reid, James, *Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of those Eminent Divines who convened in the famous Assembly at Westminster, in the Seventeenth Century* 2 vols. (Paisley, 1811-15), ii.301-02; Neal, Daniel, *The History of the Puritans; or Protestant Nonconformists; from the Reformation in 1517 to the Revolution in 1688*, 5 vols. (London: William Baynes, 1822), iii.413-14. Cf. also the EEBO records for all three editions of Downham (ed.), *Annotations*.

⁵² Van Dixhoorn, Chad B., *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly, 1643-1652*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), i.106-47.

governance. Their associations and activities rank them among Tom Webster's 'Caroline puritans'. Their average age was fairly high and many had known one another for years. For example, Downham and Gataker enjoyed a common patron in the Haberdashers Company, Gataker was close enough to Featley to preach the funeral sermon of his wife, and Featley and Gouge wrote prefaces to a KJV concordance made by Clement Cotton, the man who had earlier translated Calvin's Hebrews commentary. Featley, Ley and Gataker had been among those writers who endured Laudian censorship in the 1630s.⁵³ Most revealingly, Downham, Gouge, Ley and Featley had all been involved with John Dury's internationalist project, the *Instrumentum Theologorum Anglorum*, an early 1630s petition seeking accommodation between the Calvinist and Lutheran churches of Europe⁵⁴ – even if in practice a government-endorsed English Reformed biblical commentary was inimical to this idea of European ecumenism.⁵⁵ Considering all this, the claim of the 1645 preface that the annotators were merely disinterested servants of Parliament cannot be maintained. They held a common ideological agenda which included a belief in the value of annotating the Bible.

There is a tantalising possibility that puritan lobbying for annotations can be dated back to the publication of the KJV itself. In 1612 John Howson, a confrère of Laud, condemned the

⁵³ Webster, Tom, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c.1620-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Seaver, Paul, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1970), 200; Tyacke, Nicholas, 'The fortunes of English Puritanism, 1603-40' in *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 111-31; Milton, 'Licensing, censorship, and religious orthodoxy', 640-42, 645; ODNB s.v. Featley, Daniel; Calvin, John, *A Commentarie on the whole Epistle to the Hebrewes* (London: 1605); Cotton, Clement, *A complete concordance of the Bible of the last translation by helpe whereof any passage of Holy Scripture may bee readily turned unto* (London, 1631), A3[r]–[A6v]. Members of the Coventry family and their clients enact several cameos in the reception history of Hebrews in seventeenth-century England. Clement Cotton's *Concordance* was dedicated to the Keeper of the Great Seal, Thomas, Lord Coventry. Coventry's family was extensively associated with the Great Tew Circle, including his son Francis, the translator of Grotius' *De Veritate*, and his daughter Dorothy who would shelter Hammond throughout the 1650s. Lord Thomas' other son (also Thomas), the second Lord Coventry, would be the dedicatee of Porter's *Theos Anthropophoros*; Trevor-Roper, Hugh, *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1987), 217-18; Trevor-Roper, Hugh, *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1992), 81-82.

⁵⁴ Webster, *Godly Clergy*, 255-260.

⁵⁵ Cf. also Tyacke, 'Fortunes', for the networks which held together the English Reformed.

Genevan annotations from the pulpit of St Mary's church in Oxford. Anthony à Wood claimed that John Ley began his publishing career in reply to Howson through an *Apology in Defence of the Geneva Notes on the Bible*. If true, this would be a scintillating connection between the earliest days of the KJV and the membership of the group who would annotate it thirty years later.⁵⁶ When, after extensive searching, I failed to find a copy of Ley's *Apology*, I turned to William Barker who follows Anthony à Wood in ascribing the *Apology* to Ley.⁵⁷ When pressed about this, Professor Barker was unable to locate a copy of Ley's *Apology* either and concluded that the book had been written but was no longer extant.⁵⁸ Whatever the facts, at the very least the godly forebears of our London coterie had a historic concern to promote the value of annotations against all who opposed this means of semi-official commentary.

While the 1645 preface argued for new annotations on the basis that 'people' had been complaining they could not understand Scripture as they once might, it is apparent that the contributors strongly approved of this means of biblical control. For them the great strength of the GenB over the KJV was the dogmatic and ethical reins which it applied to readers through the guidance of annotations. This was a scheme to restore the principles of the Genevan commentators, organised by divines who rightly regarded themselves as the intellectual heirs of Whittingham and his colleagues.⁵⁹ It is perhaps no coincidence that the

⁵⁶ Wood, Anthony à, *Athenae Oxonienses: an exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford* ed. Bliss, Philip, 4 vols. (London, 1813-20), iii.570; cf. also Fullwood, Francis, *The church-history of Britain from the birth of Jesus Christ until the year M.DC.XLVIII endeavoured by Thomas Fuller* (London, 1655), x.58-59; Betteridge, Maurice S., 'The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and its Annotations', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14 (1983), 47-48; ODNB s.v. Howson, John.

⁵⁷ Barker, William, *Puritan Profiles: 54 Influential Puritans at the time when the Westminster Confession of Faith was written* (Fearn: Mentor, 1996), 240.

⁵⁸ I am grateful to Professor Barker and his daughter Annie for their time expended in revisiting this loose end.

⁵⁹ Downham (ed.), *Annotations* (1645), [B4r]. The enthusiasm of committed reformers for marginalia goes back to the earliest days of the Reformation in England; Miles Coverdale had argued for detailed annotations to be added to the Great Bible but had been overruled; Green, Ian, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 73-74. David Dickson's *A short explanation, of the epistle of Paul to the Hebrewes* (Aberdeen, 1635) takes the form of a commentary and not annotations. Nonetheless, it was

first edition of the English *Annotations* was printed a year after what we now know would be the final early modern edition of the Geneva Bible (1644).⁶⁰ With the arrival of Parliament's new commentary on the new text of the English Bible, the great translation of the Marian exiles was finally eclipsed.

Daniel Featley: episcopalian conservative

Unlike the KJV, the committee responsible for the English *Annotations* did not engage in mutual criticism and correction. The work of each annotator seems to have been accepted *in toto* and placed alongside that of his colleagues to make up the whole. This method became a source of embarrassment when the 1645 annotations to Ezekiel, Daniel and the minor prophets were revealed to have been extensively plagiarised by 'Pemberton' from Diodati's Italian.⁶¹ More positively, this scheme of work allows a clear attribution of the Hebrews annotations to the pen of one man, Daniel Featley (1582–1645).⁶² Featley was educated in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the age of John Rainolds and spent much of his life in vigorous opposition to Roman Catholicism and Arminianism. Daniel Neal lists Featley as the English annotator on Paul's epistles, and since the *Annotations* agree with the KJV that Hebrews is Pauline, we must conclude that he was the 1645 annotator of Hebrews. Featley was unusual. He shared the theological assumptions of the Assembly but differed from the majority in his increasingly outspoken commitment to episcopalianism. His position on Church governance led him to reject the Solemn League and Covenant, and shortly

conceived within a scheme similar to the Parliamentary *Annotations*: simple exegesis aimed at a widespread readership and written in blocks by a committee of like-minded scholars; Tweedie, W.K. (ed.), *Select Biographies*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1847), ii.13.

⁶⁰ Berry, *Geneva Bible*, 22.

⁶¹ Downham (ed.), *Annotations* (1651), Preface; Neal, *History of the Puritans*, iii.414. Elizabeth Clarke identifies the plagiarist as Francis Pemberton; Clarke, Elizabeth, *Politics, Religion and the Song of Songs in Seventeenth-Century England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 110. However, Francis Pemberton (1624-97) would have been much younger than the rest of the team and was a lawyer not a theologian. Moreover, the scandal is not mentioned in ODNB, s.v. Pemberton, Francis.

⁶² Downham (ed.), *Annotations* (1645), Hebrews 'Argument'; Neal, *History of the Puritans*, iii.414. The 1651 annotator felt the need to justify Paul's authorship whereas Featley merely assumed it; Downham (ed.), *Annotations* (1651), Hebrews 'Argument'.

afterwards he was expelled from the Assembly on allegations that he had been spying for the king. Featley's episcopalianism left an indelible mark on his annotations of Hebrews. While he acknowledged that the laying on of hands in Heb 6.2 might refer to ordination (something consonant with presbyterian as well as episcopalian governance), he considered the principal referent to be the rite of confirmation - which necessitates a bishop. It is testament to the respect which the annotators had for each other's independence that Featley's pro-episcopalian statement on Heb 6.2 was retained in all three editions of the *Annotations*.⁶³ This is despite the 1645 preface drawing attention to Featley's anomalous views on bishops - precisely in order to reject them.⁶⁴ In an illuminating note, Arnold Hunt records how, when Featley was a censor of the press in the 1620s, he was reluctant to alter an author's words without their consent.⁶⁵ Might his colleagues on the *Annotations* project have posthumously afforded him the same privilege?

Antitrinitarianism was a matter of considerable concern for Featley in his later years. In *Dippers Dipt* (1645) Featley recounted a debate that he had had with a Scottish Anabaptist

⁶³ Cf. also similar sentiments on Phil 1.1 and I Tim 3.1, 5.17.

⁶⁴ Barker, William S., *Puritan Profiles*, 43-50; ODNB, s.v. Featley, Daniel; Downham (ed.), *Annotations* (1645), [B5r]-[B6r]. After the death of James Ussher in 1656, his former chaplain, Nicholas Bernard set about trimming the archbishop's posthumous publications to the ecclesiological winds of the day; ODNB, s.v. Ussher, James. Among these is Ussher's reading of the 'laying on of hands' in Heb 6.2, in which verse he accepted that many writers discerned confirmation but that this rite was not a fundamental and so 6.2 must refer to holy orders. With typical moderation, Ussher thus strongly defended ordained ministry within the Church but was not as adamant as Featley that the ministry envisaged was episcopal. Ussher, James, *The judgement of the late Arch-bishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland... Of laying on of hands (Heb. 6. 2.) to be an ordained ministry* (London, 1659), 176-90. An alternative compromise would be proffered by William Gouge. Writing on Heb 6.2, Gouge argued that confirmation was not explicitly set down in scripture but had been gathered from it by the 'ancient orthodox fathers'. As a presbyterian, Gouge had presumably disconnected the rite of confirmation from any need for episcopal leadership. Gouge, William, *Commentary on Hebrews* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1980), 390. Mid-century divisions between dissenters and conformists threw up many protagonists for Heb 6.2. After the Restoration, proponents of confirmation such as Taylor, Jeremy, *Chrisis teleiotike, A discourse of confirmation for the use of the clergy and instruction of the people of Ireland* (Dublin, 1663) and Camfield, Benjamin, *Of Episcopal confirmation in two discourses* (London, 1682) would largely win the case for popular support of the rite. Opponents who disagreed with their analysis included Gosnold, John, *Of laying on of hands Heb. 6. 2.* (London, 1656) and Cowell, John, *Divine oracles*, (London, 1664), 55-56. Cf. also Turrell, J.F., "'Until such time as he be confirmed': The Laudians and Confirmation in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England", *Seventeenth Century* 20 (2005), 204-22.

⁶⁵ Hunt, Arnold, 'Licensing and Religious Censorship in Early Modern England' in *Literature and Censorship in Renaissance England* ed. Hadfield, Andrew (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 127-46 at 131-35.

and a London Baptist Minister. The thrust of his case in *Dippers Dipt* was essentially the same as Edmund Porter's in the fourth book of *Theos Anthropophoros*, namely that errors about baptism were also corrosive to the doctrine of the trinity.⁶⁶ However, because Featley's scriptural annotations predated the publication of *The Expiation of a Sinner*, his fears about antitrinitarianism did not find a voice in his reception of the letter to the Hebrews. His marginalia displayed no evidence that he was concerned about anyone using the epistle to attack the trinity and his commentary reads as if issues surrounding the doctrine of God were dormant, the answers long established.⁶⁷ Thus Featley trotted out received doctrine in his comment on the opening verses. The God mentioned here is the Father; 'for when the name [God] is mentioned in the Scriptures, with relation unto the Sonne, thereby we are to understand God the Father'. The Son is distinct from the Father (Heb 1.2), '[t]hat is, his naturall Sonne, coessentiall, or of the same essence with the Father, called therefore the onely begotten'. The Son is heir of that Father, which refers not to his common dominion with the Father, but to his delegated responsibility as the mediator of the new testament, 'whereunto he was foreordained before the foundations of the world.' Featley went on to echo the patristic model by describing the relationship of the Son to the Father as a beam of light from a 'lightsome bodie' (Heb 1.3).⁶⁸

This relaxed and confident approach was echoed in Featley's annotations on the christology of Hebrews. The Son's eternity meant that he could be known before the birth of Jesus; Featley believed that Christ was the one whose presence, power and providence the patriarchs had doubted in the wilderness (Heb 3.9). Furthermore, Christ possesses qualities

⁶⁶ Featley, Daniel, *Katabaptistai kataptystoi. The dippers dipt. Or, The Anabaptists duck'd and plung'd over head and eares, at a disputation in Southwark* (London, 1645); Lim, *Mystery unveiled*, 91-94. Cf. above, 185-86.

⁶⁷ None of the editions of the *Annotations* were paginated so the references which follow refer solely to the biblical text on which the annotations are based.

⁶⁸ Heb 1.3 was a *locus classicus* for anti-Arian patristic writers: Young, Frances M., 'Christological Ideas in the Greek Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews', *Journal of Theological Studies* New Series 20 (1969), 150-63, at 151.

of omniscience and omnipotence as the Word of the Father (Heb 4.12). Likewise, the assertion of Heb 13.8 that Jesus Christ is the 'same' is interpreted as meaning he is 'unchangeable in his Essence, promises and doctrine'. From this lofty position, the Son became incarnate 'in all things', sin excepted (Heb 2.17); '[h]ereby we are given to understand that Christ was perfect man, consisting of a humane body and a humane soule, subject to all the common infirmities and weaknesses of both; or all those infirmities, whether of body or soul, which imply neither pollution nor impotencie in his sufferings.' There is nothing in any of Featley's Hebrews annotations to suggest nervousness on the part of the mainstream about the potential of the epistle for use in christological heterodoxy. Comparison with Ephraim Pagitt is noteworthy. Like Parliament's annotators, Pagitt's *Heresiography* was printed in the year before Lushington's *Expiation*. Pagitt used only one Hebrews reference to refute antitrinitarians and none against Socinians.⁶⁹ Such equanimity would evaporate after 1646.

The 1651 annotator on Hebrews

The English *Annotations* on Hebrews were pointedly expanded in the second edition of 1651. Featley had died in 1645 and, frustratingly, it has not been possible to identify the annotator who added to his marginalia. The anonymous annotator did not rewrite Featley's text and, while he omitted a few of the 1645 notes, these deletions are of little or no theological consequence.⁷⁰ The significance of the 1651 annotator therefore lies in what he added. His additions were few compared to the overall size of the commentary (just over an eighth of the 1645 total), but they were sufficient in number to illustrate the theological fronts which

⁶⁹ P[agitt], E[phraim], *Heresiography: or, A description of the heretickes and sectaries of these latter times* (London, 1645), 115-19.

⁷⁰ Cf. on Heb 1.5, 7.2, and 13.20 for possible exceptions to this rule.

had opened up since 1645 and the perceived weakness of Featley's text in addressing these challenges.

The 1651 additions can be roughly divided into four categories: reinforcing orthodox christology, reinforcing Reformed soteriology, moral exhortation, and better explanation of the text.⁷¹ The content of the first two categories are of particular relevance for this chapter. The christology of the 1651 *Annotations* was responsive to contemporary debate in a way in which the marginalia of Featley were not. For example, the anonymous annotator made a significant number of additions to Hebrews 1 in order to head off the Socinian idea that Jesus was deified at his resurrection.⁷² Thus while Featley had interpreted Ps 2.7 in Heb 1.5 ('unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee? ...', KJV) in a spirit of openness, referring to the eternal generation of the Son and/or his incarnation and/or his resurrection, the 1651 annotator was proscriptive. For him, the application of Ps 2.7 to Christ must be about the resurrection because this best reflects the doctrine which Paul taught from Ps 2.7 in Antioch (Acts 13.33). Moreover, Ps 2.7 cannot be about Christ's eternal generation because this does not fit the context of the literal sense of David being exalted into his kingdom. In other words, the annotator, who accepted that Christ's divinity is from eternity, tried to disconnect Heb 1.5 from the view that Jesus became God. He achieved this precisely by buying into Lushington/Crell's argument that Ps 2.7 is about the resurrection.⁷³ Working from the same starting point, he pulled in the opposite direction.

⁷¹ Cf. appendix 3.

⁷² Cf. above, 183, for Porter's identification of this belief as a particular concern in Lushington/Crell.

⁷³ Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 5-6; cf. Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations*, 775.

Further notes were also added to Heb 1.9, once again supporting Christ's pre-existence. This was a verse which Featley had almost entirely ignored. The clause under scrutiny said that 'therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness'. The annotator argued that 'therefore' in this verse cannot mean Christ's entering into glory, because the preceding verse has already described Jesus to be administering his kingdom with justice. Christ 'was first to be seated in his Kingdome, before he could administer it with justice: So that by (*Therefore*) we are to understand the cause wherefore God did anoint him, and not the fruit or effect of Christs righteous government.' This cause was the work of redemption, for which work the Son was anointed with the Holy Spirit – that is the oil of gladness - when he assumed human nature into the unity of his person.

V. 8. *Thy throne*] P^{sal.} 45. 6. E^{sa.} 9. 7. The Psalm whence this is taken is allegorical; see the notes thereon; expressing the spirituall marriage betweene Christ and his Church; and therefore here it is properly applyed.
V. 9. *bath anointed thee*] E^{sa.} 42. 1. & 61. 1.
V. 10. *And thou*] P^{sal.} 102. 25. E^{sa.} 34. 4. Ver^{s.} 2.
V. 11. *Sit*] Reigne: as it is expressed in C...

Matth. 6. 10.
V. 8. *Thy throne*] P^{sal.} 45. 6. E^{sa.} 9. 7. The Psalm whence this is taken, is allegorical; see the notes thereon; expressing the spirituall marriage betweene Christ and his Church; and therefore here it is properly applyed.
V. 9. *Therefore*] Rather for this end God did anoint thee: for if we understand by anointing, Christs seating in his Kingdome, or entring into his glory, the sense will be absurd, viz. Thou hast administred thy Kingdome with justice, therefore God hath seated thee in thy Kingdome: He was first to be seated in his Kingdome, before he could administer it with justice: So that by (*Therefore*) we are to understand the cause wherefore God did anoint him, and not the fruit or effect of Christs righteous government.
anoynted] Qualified thee with the gifts of his Spirit, for the administration of thy Kingdome. See Luk. 4. 18.
oyl] With his Spirit: compared to oyl, because as oyl strengtheneth the body, so the Spirit of God strengtheneth and rejoyceth the soul, 1 The^{ss.} 5. 6. This anoynting was when the Son of God assumed our humane nature into the unity of his person; whereby the Spirit of God and all the graces of his Spirit were communicated unto his humane nature, so far as it was capable of them.
above] Not by measure, but in fulnesse; that all others of his fulnesse might receive grace for grace, John 1. 14. & 3. 34. Col. 1. 19.
fellows] All men; because all men are his fellows in respect of our humane nature which he assumed. Or, all those who

The 1645 and 1651 Annotations,
showing significant expansion of anti-Socinian material on Heb 1.9

The annotator further underlined the incarnation in his additions on Heb 8.2 and 10.20. Also, another plank in his argument was to strongly distinguish Christ from the angels and to claw back the argument from the Socinians about messengers of God in the Old Testament. While accepting that Heb 2.2 refers to 'any doctrine or admonition whatsoever,

which God sent to man by the ministry of Angels under the Old Testament', the annotator went out of his way to prefix this with a refutation of the view that the law was given by the ministry of angels.⁷⁴

Soteriology was the second major area of expansion in the 1651 *Annotations*. Featley had affirmed a traditional Reformed position within a mindset characterised by the earlier Catholic-Protestant polarity. Under God's plan, Christ came to make sacrifice and satisfaction; this was the most admirable solution to fit the wisdom, justice and mercy of God (Heb 1.3, 2.10, 10.10), a process which involved his taking 'the guilt of our sin upon himself' (Heb 9.28, 10.29), and making a sacrifice of his own body, of which the Levitical sacrifices were types and shadows (Heb 5.1, 7.16, 8.3). Featley's note on Heb 5.7 ('heard in that he feared' (KJV)) raked over the ashes of a controversy from the previous century. Gregory Martin and Richard Bristow had challenged the BB which followed Calvin's translation of *εὐλαβείας* as *metus* by referencing Christ's 'fear'. By contrast, the RNT had echoed Chrysostom in arguing that the verse described Christ's 'reverence'.⁷⁵ Featley, for his part, sought to turn the sword of the Catholic argument by accepting that the verse might mean 'for his piety', or 'from his pious feare'. Nonetheless, he then proceeded to affirm Calvin's point that this must be a reference to 'that cup of anguish, those unknown pains which [Christ] suffered in his agony, when the whole power of darknesse set upon him'. While not making explicit reference to the Catholic position, Featley showed awareness of the 1580s controversy and, while accepting the weakness of the KJV and

⁷⁴ Cf. Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 16.

⁷⁵ Fulke, William, *A defense of the sincere and true translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue against the manifold caulls, friuolous quarrels, and impudent slaunders of Gregorie Martin, one of the readers of popish diuinitie in the traiterous Seminarie of Rhemes* (London, 1617), 93-94; Fulke, William, *The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ Translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie at Rhemes* (London, 1617), 736; Cartwright, Thomas, *A confutation of the Rhemists translation, glosses and annotations on the New Testament* (Leiden, 1618), 602-03. Calvin, John, *Ioannis Calvin Opera Exegetica XIX Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, ed. Parker, T.H.L. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996), 79, 81-82.

earlier Protestant translations of εὐλαβείας, he upheld the traditional position that the verse refers to Christ's substitutionary atonement. Building on this Reformed scheme of salvation, Featley repeated a number of Reformed commonplaces about how Christ's work is applied to humans. The calling of God on the redeemed is effectual (Heb 9.15), and faith is that grace which unites people to Christ (Heb 11.6). These people are elect and united in a single Church, part of which is in heaven and part on earth (Heb 12.23). Such people will have full assurance without anxiety or doubt (Heb 6.11, 10.22).

In contrast to Featley's retrospection to the 1580s, the 1651 annotator felt the need to enlarge the *Annotations'* exposition from Hebrews about soteriology and in doing so to make a response to Socinianism. The discussion of messengers in Heb 5.1 led the annotator to distinguish between God's human and angelic agents. The high priests of old were 'subject to' human infirmities and Jesus was 'clothed with' human infirmities; this fundamental identification between the two meant that both could have compassion. However there were differences:

Aaron and his successours laid both their hands, in the name of the people, upon the head of the Scape-goat, confessing their sins, and sending him into the wilderness; by this sign discharging them, and laying all the burthen of their sins upon the beast, which was a figure of Christ, who bare our sins upon the Crosse [Heb 10.3].

It was for his work of a priest that Christ was 'appointed' (Heb 3.2), a word which the annotator conceded may be translated 'made', but which does not teach that Christ is a creature.⁷⁶ Christ's ministry was conducted both on earth and in heaven, an opinion which Lushington/Crell denied. '[H]aving fulfilled and accomplished all things required of him, as a priest upon earth: and therefore his ministry would have ended, but now he was to fulfil also that which remaineth of his priestly office in heaven, in the Holy of Holyes' (on Heb 8.4).

⁷⁶ Cf. above, 160-61, for the controversiality of this verse in Hammond's manuscript.

Christ's righteousness is imputed to the believer; the covering mercy seat in the Tabernacle (Heb 9.5) was a figure of Christ's mediation, in that he is a propitiation or covering mercy seat, 'because by his obedience all our unrighteousness is covered'.

On several verses the 1651 annotator also chose to expand Featley's comments about faith. Faith is necessary to enter heaven (Heb 3.11). Abel exhibited such saving faith (Heb 11.4); despite the fact that the etymology of his name, his profession, and his position as the second son of Adam all ranked him below Cain, Abel's sacrifice embraced God with affection in a way that Cain's did not. This faith presumably accorded in the annotator's mind with the Reformed notion of *fiducia*, an act of the will and not just the mind. The additional 1651 note on Heb 11.1 reads 'faith assents not onely to the promises of God as true, but likewise as good, and that above all, which the world can yield unto us.'⁷⁷ Those who have faith become united to Christ, holy brethren in whom he works by his Holy Spirit (Heb 3.1, 13.21): 'he calls them brethren, not by merit in respect of their carnal generation; but because they were all partakers of the same holy and precious faith now with him'. Faith gives to the soul an assurance of the 'certain truth of those things which appear not unto sense, because it resteth it self upon the immutable truth of Gods Word, and the infinitenesse of his power' (Heb 11.1).

Christology and soteriology were not the only contemporary challenges about which the 1651 annotator felt compelled to make comment. Perhaps in response to millenarianism, he was eager to explain that the 'last days' in Heb 1.2 were not a reference to the end of the

⁷⁷ Muller, R. A., *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms Drawn Principally from Protestant Scholastic Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1985), 115-16; Yuille, J. Stephen, *Puritan Spirituality: The Fear of God in the Affective Theology of George Swinnoock* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007), 32-34. For an indication that Lushington/Crell considered faith an essentially intellectual activity, cf. Lushington/Crell, *Expiation*, 243-44, but cf. also Godbey, John C., 'Fiducia: A Basic Concept in Fausto Sozzini's Theology', in *Socinianism and its Role in the Culture of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* ed. Szczucki, L. (Warsaw, 1983), 59-67, for a more Reformed view in Socinus himself.

world but rather to the era of the gospel: 'we are not to expect any other revelation'. Likewise, he would not have approved of the application of supersessionist ideas by Diggers like Winstanley to the practice of tithing.⁷⁸ On Heb 7.2 he stood with John Carter and John Trapp in closely binding the remuneration of ministers under the old dispensation to that which should attain under the new. 'Seeing our Lord remaineth for ever a Priest after the order of Melchisedec why should not tythes, belong unto him, and in him those who in his stead exhort us to be reconciled unto his father'. Considered altogether, the second edition of the *Parliamentary Annotations*, at least as far as the letter to the Hebrews is concerned, is a much more reactionary document than the 1645 edition.

Summary

As the years of the long Reformation passed, readings from the letter to the Hebrews were brought to bear on an ever-broadening array of doctrine and practice. The simple binary division between Catholics and Reformed which had dominated the reign of Elizabeth was eroded by the arrival of 'Arminian' alternatives from the 1590s onwards. During the civil wars, the interpretative possibilities opened up by supersessionist readings attracted new exegesis of the epistle from readership as diverse as the rationalising Lushington and Hammond, socio-political revolutionaries like Winstanley, and spiritualisers who found justification in the letter for 'perfection proclaimed'. The eucharistic and sacerdotal concerns of Elizabethan anti-papal controversialists were not forgotten by Reformed like Daniel Featley but the profile of these issues fell in response to the shift of debate onto arguments about the doctrine of God and christology. Chapter 4 uncovered how the controversiality of *The Expiation of a Sinner* has been underappreciated by early modernists. Likewise, the place of Hebrews in the protrinitarian riposte needs to be brought out from

⁷⁸ Cf. above, 170-71.

under its bushel. Evolving dogmatic concerns naturally affected the scriptural passages which bore the greatest exegetical scrutiny. As a result of the trinity controversy, the polemical epicentre of the reception of Hebrews moved out of the central, priestly, chapters and onto the christologically significant opening verses.

Recognition of the new-found attention given to Hebrews I in the mid-seventeenth century suggests some fruitful areas for future research. Greater understanding is needed of the role played by the English *Annotations* in the Parliamentary effort to define and control religious normality. A critical edition of the *Annotations* would raise awareness of what this document contributed to presbyterian efforts to reshape the Church of England, and the responsiveness of the second edition to contemporary theological warfare. Another route for future research might be an extensive tracking of the use of Hebrews I throughout seventeenth-century antitrinitarian and protrinitarian literature. Paul Lim's research includes an introduction to this labour, with scattered examples of the reliance placed on Heb I by orthodox defenders of the trinity.⁷⁹

An example of the significance of Hebrews within a heterodox alternative can be found in the writing of that perennial subject of curiosity, the closet antitrinitarian John Milton. Amid the private musings of *De Doctrina Christiana*, Milton said that he did not know anywhere where the generation of the Son's 'divinity' was better explained than Heb 1.2-3. What can these verses mean 'but that God imparted the Son as much as he wished of the divine nature, and indeed of the divine substance also? But do not take *substance* to mean total essence.'⁸⁰ Rereading *Paradise Lost* [PL] through the prism of *De Doctrina* gives arresting

⁷⁹ Lim, *Mystery unveiled*, 4, 6, 30, 87, 146, 147, 158, 163, 168; cf. 291.

⁸⁰ Milton, John, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. Wolfe, Don M. et al, 8 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953-82), vi.211.

insight into the influence which these verses had on Milton's theology. Heb 1.3 is far and away the most referenced Hebrews verse in PL.⁸¹ Hugh MacCallum acutely observes how Milton interpreted its message to deny that the Son was God's ray *per se* but rather that he was the one on whom the Father's 'rays direct / Shone full' and on whom 'the effulgence of his glory abides' (PL 6.719-20).⁸²

When faced with such subtle, sophisticated and diverse challenges to traditional theology and accompanying readings of Hebrews, the personal invective of Porter and the pithy marginalia of the Parliamentary *Annotations* were an insufficient rebuttal. Preaching before the House of Commons in 1647 from Heb 4.13, ('all things are naked and open unto the eyes of him, with whom we have to doe', KJV), Matthew Newcomen described the enormity of the challenge which now faced the Reformed mainstream. He warned of a multi-headed hydra:

There is scarce any truth of Christ, any Doctrine of the Gospel, any point of our Religion, but by some temerarious hand or other hath been invaded, assaulted, maimed, ready to be slain. The Doctrine of the Trinity, of the God-head of Christ, and of the holy Ghost, of the verity of the Scriptures; the Doctrine of Election, of Redemption, of Vocation, of Justification, of Sanctification; the work of the Spirit, the rule of life, of holinesse; the Doctrine of the Sacraments, of the Immortality of the soul, &c. We may say with the Prophet Isaiah, Truth is fallen in the streets, Isa.59.14.⁸³

⁸¹ Milton, John, *Paradise Lost: A Biblically Annotated Edition*, ed. Stallard, Matthew (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2011). Although the product of much labour, Stallard's selection is prone to inevitable subjectivity: he does not, for example, note the important inference to Heb 1.3 in PL 6.719-20.

⁸² MacCallum, Hugh, *Milton and the Sons of God: The Divine Image in Milton's Epic Poetry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 76-77; cf. also PL 3.138-40, 3.385-88, 5.719-20, 6.680-82, 10.63-68, and perhaps 7.196. *Samson Agonistes* 83 also resonates with the christology seen in *De Doctrina Christiana*: 'O first-created beam, and thou great Word' (my italics); Milton, John, *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (London: JM Dent, 1919), 331. Milton's obsession with Heb 1.3 may be a response, conscious or unconscious, to the load placed on this verse by early Church campaigns against Arianism. Heen, Erik M. and Krey, Philip D.W. (eds.), *Hebrews, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture 10* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter Varsity, 2005), xviii, xxv, 10-18; Young, , 'Christological Ideas', 151.

⁸³ Newcomen, Matthew, *The all-seeing vnseen eye of God* (London, 1647), 45. Cf. Webster, Tom, 'Preaching and Parliament, 1640-1659' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* ed. McCullough, Peter, Adlington, Hugh and Rhatigan, Emma (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 404-20. Newcomen's complaint was a variation on the theme of Thomas Edwards' popular *Gangraena* (London, 1646), 14-17, about the fracturing of Protestant unity. For an assessment of the mindset of Edwards and other mid-century heresiographers cf. Hughes, Ann, 'Thomas Edward's *Gangraena* and heresiological traditions' in *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early*

The doctrine of the trinity and the divinity of Christ headed the list of doctrines which Newcomen, Porter, and the 1651 annotator felt to be under threat. However, the underlying problem of supersessionism remained. As far as the Reformed reception of Hebrews was concerned, supersessionism was the body of the hydra from which sprang many heretical heads. Tackling such a monster would demand the monumental typological analysis of William Gouge (chapter 6) and the federal theology of John Owen (chapter 7).

Chapter 6

One plan, two dispensations: William Gouge and typology

William Gouge (1575-1653) has been understudied and underestimated. When the Hebrews commentary of this presbyterian-minded London minister was printed two years after his death it was a work of enormous erudition and size, the largest exposition on the epistle in English to date.¹ However, Gouge's *Commentary* has been overshadowed by the even larger *Exercitations and Exposition* of John Owen.² Gouge's polemical exegesis also appears retrospective because it tended to maintain the polite fiction of Elizabethan vintage which consisted of concentrating on explicit criticism against Roman Catholicism while presenting only implicit opposition to alternative Protestant positions. This chapter looks at Gouge afresh, and suggests that he made important advances on earlier Reformed Hebrews exegetes like Perkins and Jones. While reiterating their views on the theology of revelation, doctrine of God, christology and soteriology, he was subtly responsive to the challenges thrown up by the new protagonists of the civil war era. This impression is illustrated by his targeted comment on specific aspects of sacramentology, eschatology and ethics.

¹ Gouge, William, *A learned and very useful commentary on the whole epistle to the Hebrews wherein every word and particle in the original is explained* (London, 1655).

² John Owen's commentary was published under various titles between 1668 and 1684: *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (London, 1668); *Exercitations concerning the name, original, nature, use, and continuance of a day of sacred rest* (London, 1671); *Exercitations on the epistle to the Hebrews, concerning the priesthood of Christ* (London, 1674); *A continuation of the exposition* (London, 1680); *A continuation of the exposition* (London, 1684). Gouge's *Commentary* was nearly one million words long. Owen's work was twice that length; Owen, John, *Hebrews* (Wheaton, Ill: Crossway, 1998), ix. The size of Gouge and Owen's commentaries necessitated that I read both in print format and not on a screen from EERO. As a result, my references are taken from their modern editions: Gouge, *Commentary on Hebrews* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1980) and Owen, *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews with Preliminary Exercitations* ed. Goold, William H., 7 vols. (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1854-55, reprinted Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1991). The 1991 reprint of Owen uses different volume numbers from the nineteenth-century edition, so I label Owen's *Hebrews* volumes i – vii (i.e. where they appear within his Hebrews commentary alone, rather than their numeration within one or other of the Goold series). My quotations from the modern editions of Gouge and Owen have been checked for accuracy against the originals.

There is an inevitably descriptive aspect to the first third of this chapter because it begins by distilling the major ideas of a *Commentary* which has received little scholarly attention, and to relate these ideas to the key developments in the reception history of Hebrews in England in the decades either side of its publication. In doing this, two notable facets of Gouge's hermeneutics will be shown to stand out. Firstly, his *Commentary* identified exacting correspondences between the characters, events and objects of the Old Testament with the narrative and doctrine of the New. This typology opposed the supersessionism which was analysed in chapter 4 because it implied a unified witness across both dispensations. Secondly, Gouge's typological technique was reinforced by a Ramist style of exposition. In unparalleled detail, Gouge divided and sub-divided each verse into its constituent parts. This allowed him to maximise the inferences deducible from the Old Testament passages which are referenced in the epistle. The most exaggerated example is his reflection on the furnishings of the tabernacle which are discussed in Heb 9. The detail of analysis permitted by Gouge's style also enabled him to use the epistle as the basis for comment on more topics than any other commentator, John Owen included.

Typology was a Reformed hermeneutic which had been used since the sixteenth century, and Ramism had permeated many educational establishments across Europe by the time of Gouge's education. Nonetheless, it was the extent to which Gouge used these devices which made his *Commentary* unique. He applied traditional approaches in defence of traditional doctrines in such a way as to make a fresh contribution to the constructive and controversial reception of Hebrews. His example is important in showing how one Reformed response to the theological challenges of the mid-seventeenth century was not to abandon familiar hermeneutics but to dig deeper into time-honoured practices. Consideration of his *Commentary* alongside other studies of typology calls for greater

awareness of what typology brings to our understanding of Early Modern religion in general and to Reformed reception of Scripture in particular.

Conservative roots

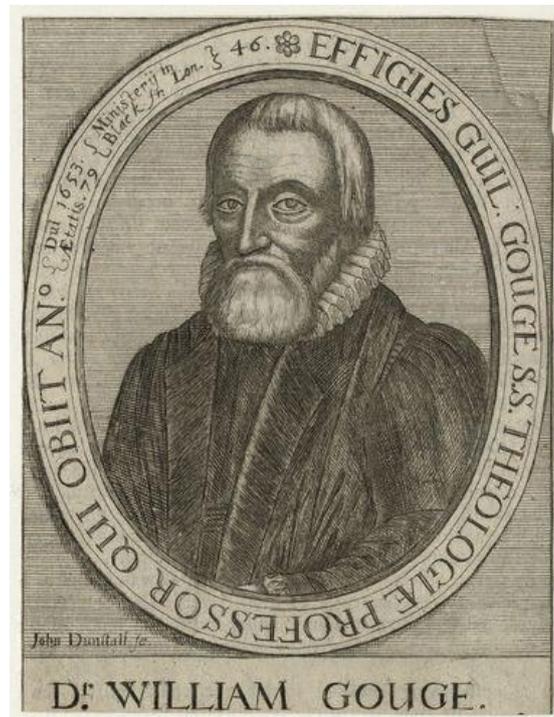


Image from http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/19/William_Gouge.jpg accessed 9th July 2015³

Gouge's character was moulded during the years of Elizabethan Reformed hegemony.⁴ Born to middling parents in Middlesex, he was marked as an 'Arch-Puritan' by the time of his student days at King's College Cambridge.⁵ Ordained ministry took him to St Anne's Blackfriars in 1608, a church where a committee acting on behalf of the parish used their

³ Also reproduced in a less defined form in Clarke, Samuel, *A collection of the lives of ten eminent divines famous in their generations for learning, prudence, piety, and painfulness in the work of the ministry* (London, 1662), 94.

⁴ Biographical information about Gouge principally stems from the 'Life' (presumed to have been written by his eldest son, Thomas) published in Clarke, *Divines*, 95-125.

⁵ Clarke, *Divines*, 99; Jones, Gareth Lloyd, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 206-07.

control of the advowson to secure a series of firmly Reformed incumbents.⁶ Gouge was associated with St Anne's for the rest of his life. His ministry there was grounded in preaching: he lectured twice on Sundays and once on Wednesdays. He is said to have refused to read the book of sports, and was reported for irregularities in his conduct of holy communion.⁷ As seen in the last chapter, Gouge was connected with puritan London clergy who rose in prominence during the civil war.⁸ He was a member of the Westminster Assembly and he was the Parliamentary annotator on I Kings to Job.⁹

Gouge's formative period thus fell at the height of the 'immortal feud' between English Protestantism and Catholicism. This was reflected in the style and content of his biblical exegesis. Like earlier Reformed writers, he derived his commentary from sermons preached throughout the long years of his career. Like earlier Reformed writers, he kept returning to Elizabethan England for inspiration and ideas. One of his auditors, Robert Saxby, a clothier, noted how Gouge 'shewed by very many places & profes of the lords mercy unto ous in sparing us so long & giving ous so larg a time of Repentance: wherein the glorious gspell have many yers ben plentifully preched Amongest us ever sense quene Elizebeth of famos memery began hir Reigne Amongest ous...'¹⁰ The age of Elizabeth was, for Gouge, the high-water mark of the Reformation.

Like Elizabethan expositors such as Edward Dering and Thomas Cartwright, Gouge maintained the polite fiction of explicitly criticising Roman Catholicism while dealing with

⁶ There are parallels with the congregational appointment of William Jones. Cf. above, 119. Burch, Brian, 'The Parish of St. Anne's Blackfriars, London, to 1665', *The Guildhall Miscellany* 3 (1969-71), 1-54, especially at 11-12.

⁷ ODNB, s.v. Gouge, William; Burch, 'St Anne's', 28; Clarke, *Divines*, 114.

⁸ Cf. above, 188-90.

⁹ Clarke, *Divines*, 113.

¹⁰ Cambridge University Library, Add MS 3117, 5[r]; quoted in Craig, John, 'Sermon Reception', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* ed. McCullough, Peter, Adlington, Hugh and Rhatigan, Emma (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 178-97, at 192. Cf. also a comment about the days of Mary I in Gouge, *Hebrews*, 1094.

other opponents obliquely. He viewed Hebrews as ‘the maul of popery, which is a mass of heresies. Popish heresies are most against the offices of Christ, especially against his priesthood’.¹¹ This outlook was typified by the way in which Gouge praised providence for the infamous catastrophic collapse of a garret in Blackfriars in 1623, which killed over ninety people who had been listening to the Jesuit Robert Drury.¹² By contrast, Gouge was often unwilling to name his non-Catholic adversaries. He preferred to tilt against historical opponents from the early Church rather than attack contemporary Protestants. So it was that Manichees and not Socinians were reproached for abandoning the Old Testament. Likewise, ancient ‘Atheists’ (rather than emergent modern biblical critics) were opposed for their attack on the facticity of the ark: Apelles for saying that it was too small to hold all creatures, and Celsus for alleging that it was too big to be built.¹³ Only rarely did Gouge drop this mask of obfuscation which cloaked his targets within Protestantism. One example may be found in his comment on the exhortation of Heb 10.25, that many do forsake to meet together, ‘some by popery, some by Arminianism, some by anabaptism, some by libertinism, some by one means, and others by other’.¹⁴ Behind his mask, Gouge conformed to the Long Parliament’s vision of a national presbyterian church which rejected independent and radical alternatives, but his concentration on overt anti-Catholic polemic was informed by the style which had flourished during his youth.

The aura of anachronistic conservatism which surrounds William Gouge has been underlined in secondary literature by a tendency to focus on his patriarchal views on marital

¹¹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 3-4.

¹² Walsham, Alexandra, “‘The Fatall Vesper’: Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London’, *Past and Present* 144 (1994), 36-87; Walsham, Alexandra, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 266-80; Burch, ‘St Anne’s’, 20.

¹³ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 643, 772.

¹⁴ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 719.

relations.¹⁵ A number of wealthy wives in his congregation disliked his preaching that they might not dispose of the common goods of the family without their husbands' consent. Gouge made his response in *Of Domesticall Duties*, a conduct manual about evangelical family life.¹⁶ *Of Domesticall Duties* showed Gouge's pastoral concern for his parishioners' happiness. However, his understanding of female inferiority, based on his reading of Genesis 3, left little room for concessions to his female parishioners' desire for greater autonomy.¹⁷ *Of Domesticall Duties* was a contemporary best-seller and became Gouge's most celebrated work. However, it was his *Hebrews Commentary* which represented the considered theology of his entire ministry.

Gouge's reputation as a biblical scholar has further suffered through posthumous mishap. His *Commentary* was overshadowed by Owen's *Exercitations and Exposition* and, as a result, has failed to attract much scholarly acclaim. 'We greatly prize Gouge', wrote C.H. Spurgeon. Spurgeon's successor at London Metropolitan Tabernacle, Peter Masters, states that 'the user will find no other work of Hebrews in the same category' as Gouge.¹⁸ However, praise for Owen has been more abundant and effusive. One seventeenth-century observer called Owen 'the Calvin of England'.¹⁹ The nineteenth-century Scottish minister Thomas Chalmers described *Exercitations and Exposition* as the 'greatest work of John Owen... a work of gigantic strength as well as gigantic size'.²⁰ Chalmers contemporary, William Orme, was similarly lavish, proclaiming *Exercitations and Exposition* to be 'the most valuable exposition of

¹⁵ Schücking, Levin Ludwig, *The Puritan Family: a Social Study from the Literary Sources* (London: Routledge, 1969), *passim*; Fletcher, Anthony, 'The Protestant idea of marriage in early modern England', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Fletcher, Anthony and Roberts, Peter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 161-181. Contrast the more positive assessment by Brett Usher in ODNB, s.v. Gouge, William.

¹⁶ A father of 13 children, Gouge was not without experience in this field. Gouge, William, *Of domesticall duties eight treatises* (London, 1622); cf. Clarke, *Divines*, 101-02.

¹⁷ Fletcher, 'Marriage', 165-175.

¹⁸ Gouge, *Hebrews*, vii.

¹⁹ Longstaffe, W.H.D. (ed.), *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes, late Merchant and sometime Alderman of Newcastle upon Tyne* (London: Surtees Society, 1866/67), 16.

²⁰ This and other plaudits may be found in Owen, *Hebrews*, i.xi.

the Epistle to the Hebrews ever published'.²¹ More recently, James Packer has written that Owen's Hebrews commentary 'dug into the text itself in minutest detail and on the grandest scale. Nothing to match Owen's achievement was done before him, nor has been done since his day'.²² Although Gouge's *Commentary* covered more topics than Owen (especially in the field of ethics), and despite presenting his material in a crisper and more inviting way, his exegesis has been side-lined.

Reformed commonplaces

It is evident throughout Gouge's *Commentary* that his conservative roots found expression in familiar Reformed positions on the theology of revelation, the doctrine of God, christology, and soteriology. Unsurprisingly, these were accompanied by a vitriolic rejection of Roman Catholic teaching. Even within these fields, however, Gouge revealed a responsiveness to new challenges.

Before launching into his commentary proper, Gouge took a few thousand words to outline a traditional understanding of Hebrews' author, canonicity and structure. He wrote that the evidences 'more than probably evince' the letter to be by St Paul. Among the evidence he cited are the letter's early acceptance in the Greek church, its agreement in matter, manner and style with other Pauline writings, and its reference to Timothy in chapter 13.²³ Gouge challenged objections made to a Pauline ascription from Heb 2.3: '[f]rom the expression "confirmed to us by them that heard him," we may well infer that this epistle was written in

²¹ Orme, William, *Bibliotheca Biblica: a select list of books on sacred literature, with notices biographical, critical, and bibliographical* (Edinburgh: Black, 1824), 336. Cf. further gushing praise from the seventeenth and twentieth centuries in Tweeddale, John W., 'John Owen's Commentary on Hebrews in Context', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to John Owen's Theology* ed. Kapic, Kelly M. and Jones, Mark (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 49-63, at 49; Toon, Peter, *God's Statesman: The Life and Work of John Owen: Pastor, Educator, Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1971), 173-76;

²² Owen, *Hebrews* (Wheaton, 1998), x.

²³ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 4.

the apostle's days; yea and by one of the apostles'. Gouge considered that Paul might have been speaking of himself in the first person under 'us' (as in I Cor 15.51), or have received confirmation of the gospel from other apostles even though it was revealed to him directly by Jesus, or have received confirmation of the gospel through the miracles wrought by the apostles.²⁴

Beyond the arguments about Pauline authorship, however, Gouge asserted that the letter is divine in authority and so canonical in status: its material surpasses human invention, its manner is majestic and grave, its content congruous with other biblical writings. Gouge pointed out elsewhere that the canonicity of the epistle was to be maintained against '[s]ome of the Latin fathers and others, papists and Lutherans'.²⁵ From this he observed on Heb 4.7-8 that '*The whole Scripture is given by inspiration of God*, 2 Tim.iii.16. We may not therefore think the least tittle therein to be in vain.' Gouge joined other Reformed divines in maintaining God's will to be both secret and revealed. The former is known to God alone and is the basis of what Francis Junius termed archetypal theology: only God can have perfect knowledge of himself. The latter underlies ectypal theology, the finite theology which coordinates with the capacity of finite humans to encounter God.²⁶ This meant for Gouge that Scripture drove theology and should form the basis for human society. It surpassed all other religious writings in its scope (stretching in its description from the beginning of the world to eternity), in its miraculous contents, in its mysteries such as the trinity, and in its truthfulness and profitability for readers.

The Turk's Alcoran, the Jew's Cabala, the papist's traditions, the dictates of philosophers or poets, or any other inventions of men, which are by ignorant and foolish persons made the grounds for their faith and rules for their

²⁴ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 103-04.

²⁵ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 3, 401.

²⁶ Muller, R. A., *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms Drawn Principally from Protestant Scholastic Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1985), 299-301; Trueman, Carl R., *John Owen: Reformed Catholic, Renaissance Man* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 36-37; Gouge, *Hebrews*, 110, 254, 315.

obedience, are with indignation to be detested, especially when they are obtruded instead of Christ's voice.²⁷

Revelation for Gouge could extend to deductions correctly made from Scripture. This was not the same as an addition to the Scriptures; it could and should include true preaching. 'Preaching is a clear revelation of the mystery of salvation by a lawful minister'; 'the word written is as a sermon spoken'.²⁸ Revelation, however, did not include the non-scriptural traditions of Roman Catholicism. The Rhemist argument from Heb 6.1 that there was a need for instruction derived from a period before the time when the Scriptures were written should be rejected, because, according to Gouge, the word of mouth taught to the catechised was none other than the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, just under a different means of delivery. Gouge circumvented the argument for the authority of Church traditions from the saints' sufferings listed in Heb 11.35 (but which are not found in the Old Testament), by arguing that Paul was specially aided by the Holy Ghost to discern between truth and error in human traditions.²⁹

Gouge wanted to conserve certainty. He was committed to a geocentric universe that was less than six thousand years old and which had been created in seven days; his was a pre-modern mindset in which souls were immortal, rational explanations of miracles such as the crossing of the Red Sea should not be sought, and blood was 'a liquor consisting of the four humours'.³⁰ In an age of epistemic instability, Gouge rejected the nascent claims of biblical criticism. When discussing the weakly attested *πειρασθησαν* in Heb 11.37 (KJV 'were tempted'), he expressed antipathy towards textual criticism. Some conceived that

²⁷ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 238.

²⁸ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 101, 261, 324, 1073.

²⁹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 894.

³⁰ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 73, 163, 301-02, 391, 437, 481, 846. Owen also rejected heliocentricity: Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.310.

επειρασθησαν 'was not here inserted by the apostle, but put in the margin by some that would give a sum of all the trials here mentioned, and that afterwards it was by others put into the text. But thus it would imply a mixture of human inventions with sacred Scripture, which is not to be admitted'.³¹ Gouge, however, was a man caught between two eras. He was informed by the humanist learning of the early reformers and wanted to use it, even if he disliked the textual-critical advances which others were building upon it. In defence of his case that the letter was written by Paul, he speculated that Heb 2.3 might have been mis-transcribed:

The two Greek pronouns of the first and second persons plural, ημεις, υμεις, have so small a difference, and that in one only letter, as one may soon be put for the other. Judicious Beza saith that he hath oft noted this mistake. If, therefore, the second person plural were here put, thus, "was confirmed *to you*," εις υμας, that scruple is clean taken away.³²

In this passage, Gouge was struggling with the Reformed principle of the analogy of Scripture, that God's word is self-verifying and that therefore obscure passages should be interpreted in the light of more transparent ones. He was prepared to accept the possibility of unattested scribal error in the Greek of Heb 2.3 because it suited his case, built up from other evidence, that Hebrews was written by Paul.

A similar conflict is apparent in the way Gouge was defensive about quotes inaccurately derived from the Old Testament. Commenting on ουκ ευδοκησας (KJV, 'thou hast no pleasure') in Heb 10.5-7, Gouge admitted that there is a difference with the Septuagint ουκ εζητησας ('not required'), but tried to pass this off as '[o]ne small difference'. He then turned to his main bulwark in the analogy of scripture against what he saw as the corrosive potential of textual criticism: '[p]enmen of the New Testament were not translators of the

³¹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 901.

³² Gouge, *Hebrews*, 104. Judicious Gouge omitted to note that Beza rejected Pauline authorship; cf. above, 34.

Old, but only quoted them for proof [of] the point in hand; so as they were not tied to syllables and letters, but to the sense.’ Support was to be found in the internal reliability and self-verification of Scripture because the apostle at all times sought to convey the true sense of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament, albeit using different words. The arguments of papists and atheists about the imperfections of scripture were therefore not to be countenanced.³³ This understanding of the unity of God’s word was incorporated into Gouge’s perception of salvation history and his belief that the Bible was a single record of God’s providential plan. He argued that the New Testament is the culmination of God’s gradual revelation to his people (Heb 1.1). The New Testament is complete: Christians are living in the last days (Heb 1.2) of the world. No further revelation is to be expected because the covenant of grace is fully revealed.³⁴

Complementing his traditional Reformed views on revelation, Gouge articulated an orthodox treatment of the doctrine of God. On several occasions he savoured the majesty and infinity of the almighty. God, he said, is spirit, dwelling beyond the possibility of corruption. This meant that references to bodily parts in God such as ‘hands’ (Heb 1.10) are metaphorical.³⁵ All qualities in God are perfect and without limit: justice, power, jealousy, wrath. God is moved solely by his own will since nothing can compel him to desire anything.³⁶ Dwelling in eternity, his perspective on time is different from our own; to God, ‘all things past and future are as present. What he once knoweth he always knoweth. His memory is his very essence’. His counsel is immutable because any change in that counsel would be for the better (which is impossible) or for the worse (which is insufferable).³⁷

³³ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 683-84; cf. also 154, 816, 1063.

³⁴ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 8-12.

³⁵ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 74.

³⁶ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 442, 686, 1017.

³⁷ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 330-32, 452, 702, 916.

God is trinity, three persons who 'are one in essence, mind, will, and work, John v.17-20. What the one doth, the other also doth, so as the same act may be applied to any one of them', although acts of God in reference to creatures are most properly the acts of the Son. On Heb 3.7, Gouge made use of 'the Holy Ghost saith' to assert that the Spirit is true God, a distinct person, existing before Christ was exhibited in the flesh, and giving divine authority to the Scriptures. Although Gouge did not name any opponents, as we saw in chapter 5, reassertions of trinitarian belief were significant by the 1650s, because the doctrine was perceived to be under unprecedented assault.³⁸

The christology of Gouge's *Commentary* was equally orthodox, but again, this does not mean it was unresponsive to contemporary polemic. Gouge's concentrated exegesis of the first two chapters of Hebrews resonated with the shift of controversial attention away from the soteriological centre of the epistle and onto the christological opening chapters.³⁹ Even though Gouge did not enter into explicit dialogue with the Socinians he was aware of the pressures that they were putting on the text. Time and again he used Hebrews 1 to remind his readers of the eternity and divinity of their saviour and the reality of the incarnation. Godhead dwells in Jesus bodily, *σωματικως*, '[n]ot as in mere men, by assistance, efficacy, or power, but essentially and personally; that is, by union of the deity with the humanity in one person.'⁴⁰ Gouge was particularly exercised in his exposition of Heb 1.5 ('[f]or unto which of the angels said he at any time, [t]hou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee? ...', KJV). Gouge admitted that there are different uses of the term 'Son of God' in the Bible, including for those creatures who are sons by grace and favour, but '[m]ost properly by nature and eternal generation', in which latter sense Christ alone is held to fulfil the words from Ps 2

³⁸ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 71, 235.

³⁹ Cf. above, 149, 195-96.

⁴⁰ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 10.

quoted in this verse. From this Gouge argued that the Father begat the Son in eternity ('this day'). Father and Son are ομοουσιος, distinct persons yet the same essence. Hence all the incommunicable properties found in God are attributed to the Son:

as eternity, Isa.ix.6, Col. i.17; ubiquity, Mat.xviii.20, and xxviii.20; omnipotency, Philip.iii.21; immutability, Heb.i.12; omniscience, John i.48, and xxi.17. The like may be said of divine effects done by the Son; as creation, John i.3; sustentation, Col i.17; miracles, John xv.24; remitting sin, Mat.ix.6; quickening the dead in sin, John v.21; raising himself, Rom.i.4; raising others, John v.28,29.⁴¹

This mounting up of qualities and activities, supported by proof texts is a reprise of the anti-Socinian argument published by Francis Cheynell a few years earlier:⁴² by sheer enormity and splendour of texts, both writers hoped to overwhelm their opponents.

Having outlined his christology from Hebrews I, Gouge used other passages to defend his traditional doctrine. He dismissed the Arian interpretation of ποιησαντι in Heb 3.2. The apostle in this verse was not speaking about Christ's divine nature but may be speaking of his prophetic office, or about his apostleship and high priesthood which are recorded in 3.1. Further, the word ποειν does not always signify the giving of being to a thing, and therefore the KJV 'appointed' is entirely appropriate. Although Henry Hammond's provocative translation of ποιησαντι was never printed, Gouge's exposition of this verb implies that he was alert to speculations like those of Hammond.⁴³ Similarly, Gouge's articulation of Christ's three offices suggests that he was conscious of the Socinian opinion that Christ's atonement was principally or solely offered in heaven. Gouge believed that Jesus made a substitutionary atonement. 'Christ and Christ alone was a true priest, in that all things requisite for a true priest were found to be in him, and in him alone; for he was

⁴¹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 30-36; cf. also 11, 14-15, 24-25, 59, 165-66.

⁴² Cheynell, Francis, *The divine trinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit* (London, 1650).

⁴³ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 211; cf. above, 160-61.

both God and man, and, as God-man in one person, he was our priest.⁴⁴ Christ's expiation was a satisfaction of God's justice and his blood became the 'meritorious cause whereby heaven is opened': God was never properly wrathful against the person of his Son, but only to the extent that Jesus stood as a surety in the place of sinners.⁴⁵ After Jesus had offered his sacrifice he entered into τὸν ἁγίον, the sanctuary (Heb 8.2), which was read by Gouge to mean heaven. Although Christ's sacrifice was made on earth, he offers up a continual intercession in heaven.⁴⁶ Jesus' atonement is effective for the elect only. Resonating with his earlier comment about the Koran, Gouge wrote that '[i]t is a pestilent opinion to conceit that a man may be saved in any religion'.⁴⁷ This understanding of Christ's priestly office set Gouge against both Catholic and Protestant opponents. He openly acknowledged the first but was more reluctant to name the latter. For example, just before he criticised papists for heaping up too many mediators, he attacked those who would have no mediator at all. This included both pagans who have no knowledge of Jesus, and Christian heretics 'that deny either of his natures, or the union of them in one person, whereby he becomes fit to be a mediator; yea, and all incredulous persons who believe not on him'.⁴⁸ Once again, Gouge's critique was articulated against early Church heretics such as Arius even though he almost certainly had Socinians in view as well.

A similar pattern can be seen in another aspect of Gouge's soteriology, his treatment of the five points of the Synod of Dort. He reiterated each of the five points on a number of occasions. Man before coming to Christ is dead by nature in sin.⁴⁹ Commenting on the sin which so easily besets us (Heb 12.1), Gouge pressed the seriousness of original sin against

⁴⁴ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 182; cf. also 19, 168, 184, 188, 347, 360-61, 631-32.

⁴⁵ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 131, 360-61, 705.

⁴⁶ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 537, 539, 626.

⁴⁷ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 707; cf. also 129, 160-62, 180, 370; cf. above, 212.

⁴⁸ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 554.

⁴⁹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 158.

papists and the reality of original sin against 'Pelagians', an early Church stooge for Arminian and Socinian contemporaries who denied the doctrine of total depravity.⁵⁰ God planned unconditionally to elect from eternity a limited number:

Christ perfecteth such as are set apart by his Father, even such as by God's eternal decree are ordained to life. These are they that are *given* to Christ by his Father, John vi.37. Eight times doth Christ make this the ground of that which he did; namely, that such and such were given unto him of God, John xvii.2,6,7,9,11,12,24. Clearly is this manifested by the apostle's golden chain, the first link whereof is predestination, Rom viii.30.⁵¹

This meant that the ministry of Christ's offices (and the preaching of his Church) were effective only for the elect. Christ's death was sufficient for all - and indeed the offer is made to all, leaving the reprobate without excuse, even though only the elect will respond with faith.⁵² Gouge was conscious that his soteriological teaching contradicted both Catholics and those spiritualising sects which he regarded as the intellectual descendents of Augustine's opponents:

What cause have we in our days to be instant and earnest against the mass of popish heresies and superstitions! and so against the revived errors of Pelagians and semi-Pelagians, about election upon foreseen grace, universal redemption, universal graces, free will, total and final apostasy of the saints, and other like erroneous and pernicious doctrines?⁵³

This confirms the pattern established elsewhere: Gouge saw Socinians and Arminians as the revivers of Pelagian and semi-Pelagian error, but preferred not to name them among his targets.

Typology

We have seen so far that while much of the exegesis within Gouge's *Commentary* reflected the constructive and controversial theological agenda of his youth, he was not un-alert to

⁵⁰ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 923.

⁵¹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 698; cf. also 32, 160.

⁵² Gouge, *Hebrews*, 133, 151, 668-69.

⁵³ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 678; cf. also 804.

more recent developments. Indeed, he went beyond the partial ripostes to the innovations analysed in chapter 4 which had been made by Edmund Porter and the anonymous Parliamentary annotator of 1651.⁵⁴ Unlike Porter and the annotator, Gouge's *Commentary* got behind the hotly debated foreground issue of the trinity and offered a comprehensive alternative to the supersessionist readings on which the Socinian view of history was grounded. Gouge's answer was grounded in typology, a technique which he used to an extent not seen in earlier expositors. This was his most distinctive contribution to the reception history of Hebrews. Theological historians have been largely inattentive to the significance of typology within Gouge - and within early modern religion more generally.

From the earliest days of the Reformation, Protestant writers rejected Catholic allegory and sought to return to the 'literal' text of scripture. Literal readings, however, were held to include typology. This was because typology requires a tight relationship between events and characters in one age and their fulfillment in another. For example, George Lawson noted that the words 'I will be to him a Father and he shall be to me a Son' (Heb 1.5 quoting II Sam 7.14) were originally written about Solomon but that Solomon's kingship was a type of Christ, so that

the words understood both of the Type and the Anti-type make but one literal sense: For that I call the literal sense which is intended by the Spirit. And this is the excellency of the Scripture, that by the same word it signifies not onely one but several things, and that as the words signify things immediately, at first hand, so these things signify other things, things past, or present, or things to come.⁵⁵

Modern readers have approached typology from several angles. Biblical critics have commented at the theoretical level, for instance in the classic articles of Lampe and

⁵⁴ Cf. above, ch. 5.

⁵⁵ Lawson, George, *An exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrewes wherein the text is cleared, Theopolitica improved, the Socinian comment examined* (London, 1662), 9.

Woollcombe.⁵⁶ More specifically, two monographs have recently been published on the comparison of Joshua and Jesus in Hebrews 4.⁵⁷ Secondly, patristic scholars have reflected on the uses of typology in the early Church. The Catholic Jean Daniélou and the Anglican Richard Hanson offered answers which resonated with their denominational beliefs to the question of whether Origen might have known a tradition of treating the Old Testament typologically which was independent of the New Testament.⁵⁸ Frances Young has subsequently argued that ‘typology’ is anachronistic when applied to the patristic period, and that early Church practice might be classified as either Antiochene ‘iconic mimesis’, which sought a genuine connection between the text and its spiritual meaning, and the looser ‘symbolic mimesis’ of the Alexandrians, who understood biblical words to be tokens of secondary realities that needed decoding.⁵⁹ A third tranche of scholarly interest in typology flourished a generation ago, mainly in American literature faculties, regarding the question of what typology might bring to the understanding of seventeenth-century prose and poetry.⁶⁰ Barbara Lewalski traced the use of typology in Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and Traherne. Paul Korshin showed how mid-seventeenth-century typology expanded to include imagery from pagan mythology, for example regarding Hercules and Pan as pre-Christian types of Christ, shadowy forebears of the true religion which was to come.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Lampe, G.W.H. and Woollcombe, K.J., *Essays on Typology Studies in Biblical Theology* 22 (London: SCM, 1957); cf. also more recently Le Donne, Anthony, *The Historiographical Jesus: Memory, Typology, and the Son of David* (Waco, TX: University of Baylor Press, 2009).

⁵⁷ Ounsworth, Richard, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2012); Whitfield, Bryan J., *Joshua traditions and the argument of Hebrews 3 and 4* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013); cf. also Goppelt, Leonard, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982), ch. 7.

⁵⁸ Daniélou, Jean, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers* (London: Burns and Oates, 1960); Hanson, R.P.C., *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture* (London: SCM, 1959).

⁵⁹ Young, Frances M., *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002), 152. Cf. also Ribbens, B.J., ‘Typology of Types: Typology in Dialogue’, *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 5 (2011), 81-95.

⁶⁰ Galton, Joseph A., *Typology and seventeenth-century literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975); Miner, Earl (ed.), *Literary uses of typology from the Late Middle Ages to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977); Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), ch. 4; Korshin, Paul J., *Typologies in England, 1650-1820* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982).

⁶¹ Korshin, Paul, *Typologies in England*, 5.

A more recent literary approach to typology has been made by Kevin Killeen, who explores how seventeenth-century commentators applied Old Testament typology to contemporary events.⁶² 'Old Testament kings provided both a model for chastising rebellion and, in other hands, the primary mandate and language of protest.'⁶³ Killeen shows how the example of Jeroboam, the usurper who established a non-Levitical line of priests, lent weight both to condemnations of the regicide and to justifications of Cromwell's protectorate.⁶⁴ Just as biblical typology runs the risk of breaking down into more generalised allegory, some of Killeen's political typology is little more than illustration and example.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, his articles find their mark in the charge that the obscurity of Old Testament imagery can dissuade political historians from giving adequate recognition to arguments drawn from the Hebrew Scriptures.⁶⁶ A similar caution may be at work within historical theology. The distinctive use of typology in William Gouge's reception of Hebrews and defence of orthodox theology has been passed over without comment in the secondary literature.

In his introduction to Hebrews, among the excellencies which Gouge attributed to the letter he listed '3. Explication of legal types: and application of them to their distinct truths. No other book is herein comparable to this epistle.'⁶⁷ Therefore, throughout his *Commentary*, Gouge made rigorous study and application of Old Testament types in the epistle in order to show the united witness of both dispensations to salvation history.

⁶² Killeen, Kevin, 'Chastising with Scorpions: Reading the Old Testament in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73 (2010), 491-506; 'Hanging up Kings: The Political Bible in Early Modern England', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72 (2011), 549-70; 'Veiled Speech: Preaching, Politics and scriptural typology' in *Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* ed. McCullough, et al., 387-403.

⁶³ Killeen, 'Chastising with Scorpions', 498.

⁶⁴ Killeen, 'Chastising with Scorpions', 498-505.

⁶⁵ Cf. Morrissey, Mary, 'Elect nations and prophetic preaching: types and examples in the Paul's Cross Jeremiad', in *The English sermon revised: religion, literature and history 1600-1750* ed. McCullough, Peter and Ferrell, Lori Anne (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 43-58.

⁶⁶ Killeen, 'Chastising with Scorpions', 492.

⁶⁷ Gouge, *Hebrews*, I.

Gouge identified a collection of types about Christ's leadership. Joshua (Heb 4.8) was an especial type of Christ because his vanquishing of Israel's enemies and settling them in Canaan was a foretaste of Christ's overcoming Satan and leading the saints into heaven. 'It pleased God to raise up such temporal saviours to his people, to nourish their hope in that true Saviour the Lord Jesus, who should save them from all their spiritual enemies'.⁶⁸ Melchizedek (Heb 7) was a type of Christ because he was both a king and a priest; Gouge lost no opportunity here to contrast Jesus with the papal usurpation of secular and sacred leadership.⁶⁹ Likewise, Gouge outlined no fewer than eleven points of typological agreement between Moses (Heb 11.24) and Jesus: both had extraordinary births; both were sought by wicked kings; both lived in Egypt; both were 'born in the lowest ebb of the church'; both had shining faces; both were deliverers of God's people; both exercised princely, priestly, and prophetic powers; both conveyed God's message; both were mediators; both were grieved at the sins of the people; and both were punished for the people.⁷⁰ In a similar vein, Gouge stressed the unity of purpose in Scripture shown in the many allusions to Old Testament sacrifice in Hebrews, namely in the work of the Tabernacle (Heb 8.3), the red heifer (Heb 9.13-14), and the offering of Isaac by Abraham (Heb 11.17-19).⁷¹ A third collection of typological allusions pointed to the promise of heaven through Christ: the rest of Canaan (Heb 4.1), the Holy of Holies (Heb 6.19-20), and Noah's ark (Heb 11.7).⁷²

Gouge not only worked typological connections from the most important Old Testament characters to some of the greatest Christian doctrines, he lent weight to his argument by finding typology in mind-boggling detail within obscure passages. His most extended typological exposition was his treatment of the furnishings and furniture of the tabernacle in

⁶⁸ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 311.

⁶⁹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 470; cf. also 182, 496.

⁷⁰ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 827.

⁷¹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 542, 628, 807-10.

⁷² Gouge, *Hebrews*, 292, 462, 773.

Heb 9. Unlike modern readers who might be stretched to find relevance in these objects, Gouge thought that they had a clear and present purpose because of what they foreshadowed. He considered the typology of the candlestick (Heb 9.2) under four different headings, and within each heading there were further subdivisions. Taken in general, he saw the candlestick as a type of the Church, just as the seven churches of Revelation 1-3 are resembled by seven candlesticks. Like a candlestick, the Church has no light of itself but can emit light which has been placed within it. The candlestick may also, in general, typify Christ himself, the head of the Church, who holds all Christians together like the stem of the candlestick holds its branches. Secondly, the 'matter' of the candlestick was pure gold. This shows that the Church is 'the purest society in the world', cleansed by Christ's blood and sanctified by his Spirit and word. The gold also shows the esteem which God has for the Church. Thirdly, there were the 'parts' of the candlestick. Some of these were for use. The seven lamps were a type of the graces of God's Spirit and the six branches that supported the lamps were a type of the ministerial functions which Christ sanctified in his Church. Some of the parts of the candlestick were for ornament, among these the 'knops' and flowers; Gouge took these to typify God's care in beautifying and adorning his Church with ordinances and privileges, and his liberality in giving different graces to its members. Finally, the candlestick was graced with a number of 'appurtenances'. Among these were the golden tongs and snuff dishes which 'typified that ecclesiastical discipline and government which is grounded on God's word, and thereby comes to be pure and precious as gold'.⁷³ Having expounded all the aspects of the candlestick, Gouge undertook a similarly detailed study of the table, the showbread, the sanctuary, the holy of holies, the veil, the censer, the ark, the manna, Aaron's rod, the tables of the covenant, the mercy-seat, and the cherubim.⁷⁴

⁷³ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 593-94.

⁷⁴ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 594-609.

Typology for Gouge had several purposes. It left the ancient Jews without excuse. Had they understood the meaning of their Scriptures they would have been more receptive to the advent of Christ. For instance, God instituted the sacrifices of the old order '[i]n regard of man's need. For they were shadows, types, and looking-glasses to shew Christ unto them, and steps to raise them up to behold Christ afar off, and schoolmasters to bring them to Christ.'⁷⁵ The level of detail in Gouge's typology far exceeded that in other early modern Hebrews commentators. Despite their intricacy, Gouge regarded these typological applications to be sufficiently specific as to reject any suggestion that they departed into allegory. He regarded Ps 2 (quoted in Heb 1.5) as 'wholly prophetic'. He therefore rejected the Jewish historical application of this psalm to King David and his earthly kingdom. 'It is much more to the purpose of the Holy Ghost that if anything be there spoken of David, it be taken to be spoken of him as of a type of Christ, and so, not by way of allegory or allusion, but truly and principally, prophesied of Christ.'⁷⁶

If typology left ancient Jews without excuse for their failure to recognise the culmination of God's promises in Jesus, much more it exposed the inadequacies of those who wanted to prise apart the Old and New Testaments in the contemporary Church. Such dilution 'was an error of Servetus, and sundry others': they had a deficient understanding of typology, being unable to read the temporal blessings before Christ as types of heavenly blessings. 'As the covenant made with them was the same in substance with that which is made with us, so they had the same object of faith and hope that we have.'⁷⁷ Typology was an ideal scholarly tool for Gouge. It allowed him to maximise the connections between the two testaments and so communicate his belief in the indispensability of the Old as an

⁷⁵ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 686.

⁷⁶ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 30.

⁷⁷ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 569.

interpretative key to the New. It also allowed him to maintain the traditional Reformed posture, concentrating on overt polemic against Roman Catholicism, while upholding an implicit defence against the supersessionist tendencies which sought to pull apart Scripture and undermine received doctrines.

Ramist attention to detail

Gouge supported his typological arguments against supersessionism with a highly structured Ramist style of classification and analysis. He divided and sub-divided the text and its topics into smaller and smaller parts, as seen *ad absurdum* with regards to the fittings of the tabernacle. Gouge's fascination with the logic of Ramus dated from his days as a Cambridge undergraduate.⁷⁸ Our understanding of the meaning and influence of Ramism has been much revised in recent years. Mordechai Feingold has revived the idea of Walter Ong that Ramism made little headway in England, arguing that scholars have too readily jumped upon 'traces', 'tendencies' and 'shared outlooks' as evidence of influence.⁷⁹ Howard Hotson has countered Feingold by showing the influence in England of Ramist writers from central Europe,⁸⁰ among them the biblical exegete Johannes Piscator, professor at Herborn from 1589 to 1623. Hotson discusses how Piscator applied Ramism to the scriptures in his *Analysis logica*.⁸¹ Piscator first examined the definitions, sections and argument of each chapter. Next he dealt with any complex philology and theology arising from the passage. Finally he summarised the doctrinal implications of the text in systematic order.⁸² William Gouge was using a similar

⁷⁸ Clarke, *Divines*, 96.

⁷⁹ Mordechai Feingold, 'English Ramism: A Reinterpretation' in *The Influence of Petrus Ramus* ed. Feingold, Mordechai, Freedman, Joseph S., and Rother, Wolfgang (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), 127-176.

⁸⁰ Hotson, Howard, "'A Generall Reformation of Common Learning'" and its Reception in the English-Speaking World, 1560-1642' in *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain* ed. Ha, Polly and Collinson, Patrick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 193-228.

⁸¹ Piscator, Johannes, *Analysis logica omnium Epistolarum Pauli videlicet ad... Hebraeos. Uná cum scholiis & observationibus locorum doctrinae* (London, 1594), 685-821.

⁸² Hotson, 'Generall Reformation', 216; cf. also Greg Kneidel, 'Ars Prædicandi: Theories and Practice' in *Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* ed. McCullough et al., 3-20, at 12-18.

method more than a generation later. In support of Hotson, it is worth noting that Piscator's *Analysis logica* was one of the very few Latin expositions of Hebrews published in England during the period of this thesis.

Hotson has also rebuffed the close association between Ramism and New England puritanism. This was an idea promoted by Ong and his forebear, Perry Miller.⁸³ Hotson breaks the link between Ramist analysis and firebrand Calvinist controversialism by showing that the attractiveness of Ramism lay in its pedagogical utility, not in its confessional association with a prominent Huguenot victim of the St Bartholomew's Day massacre. To students who were poor (as Ramus had been), or those who studied at the emergent universities nearer the fringes of European learning, Ramism offered a highly efficient means of getting to grips with the university curriculum.⁸⁴ The implication of this, *contra* Christopher Hill's application of the Miller-Ong thesis,⁸⁵ is that the relationship between Gouge's Reformed theology and his Ramism was more coincidental than causal. Ramism was a powerful hermeneutical tool through which Gouge could reinforce his beliefs, including the explication of typological minutiae.

The result of Gouge's Ramist dissection of Hebrews offers a second ground on which to build a case for the significance of his *Commentary*. Although his exegesis is only half the length of John Owen's more famous *Exercitations and Exposition*, it covers more topics than any other English commentary on the epistle. Unlike Owen, whose dogmatic theology was spread across a number of major writings, Gouge's *Commentary* contained, if not a systematic theology, then the author's considered views on the whole gamut of theoretical

⁸³ Hotson, Howard, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 3-16.

⁸⁴ Hotson, *Commonplace Learning*, 16-51, 286-87.

⁸⁵ Hill, Christopher, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution Revisited* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 260.

and practical divinity. Therefore, although we have seen Gouge reserve his most vitriolic criticism for popery, it is not surprising that his cornucopious exegesis used the epistle as a springboard for comment on a novel range of issues which had been hitherto unexplored in the commentaries of others. This is most evident in the fields of sacramentology, eschatology, and ethics.

On the sacraments, Gouge shared the exegetical conclusions which had been exemplified in his infancy by commentators such as Fulke and Cartwright. However, he did not accord such a high priority to answering Catholic views on the mass from the text of the epistle. In contrast to the Fulke-Bristow exchange which began to examine eucharistic themes in the first chapter of Hebrews,⁸⁶ Gouge did not significantly touch on the subject until he was writing on Heb 4.3. Commenting on the completion of God's works in that verse, he wrote,

[h]ere by the way take notice of the absurd doctrine of popish transubstantiation, whereby papists imagine such a creature to be made as God never made: a body that cannot be seen or felt; an human body in the form of bread; and blood which likewise cannot be seen nor felt, but appears in the show of wine. To omit other absurdities, this seemeth to add a strange new creature to the creatures which God made in the six days, as if he had not then finished all.⁸⁷

In this and other passages, Gouge reiterated the sentiments of the earlier English writers, including denials of the propitiatory sacrifice in the mass and the need for churches to be furnished with altars.⁸⁸

More reflective of English debate in his own day, however, Gouge drew evidence from Hebrews in support of the baptism of infants. With a nod to the Old Testament, and

⁸⁶ Cf. above, 65-66.

⁸⁷ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 301.

⁸⁸ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 389, 482, 520, 532-34, 629, 649, 660, 1085-86, 1101.

following his Reformed forebears, he held that baptism was analogous to circumcision.⁸⁹ The children of believing parents are within the covenant of grace. They should be baptised and instructed about its meaning as soon as they reach an age of understanding.⁹⁰ Gouge was prepared to term baptism the ‘sacrament of regeneration’,⁹¹ but wrote that baptised infants do not have imputed holiness until they achieve individual faith.⁹² A further Old Testament parallel could be drawn here: ‘[a]ll that are baptised are not saved, though baptism be a means to help on their salvation: so neither all that entered into the ark can be concluded to be heirs of eternal salvation, for cursed Ham entered thereinto’.⁹³ Within the field of sacramentology, Gouge can thus be seen straddling the old world in which he was born and in which Fulke and Cartwright set the eucharist at the heart of their reception of the epistle, while elsewhere challenging the swelling tide of those who by the mid-seventeenth century were advocating believers’ baptism.

Turning from this world to the next, Gouge’s eschatology also displayed signs of Interregnum debate. Traditional Reformed views on the second coming,⁹⁴ the day of judgement,⁹⁵ and bodily resurrection were reiterated.⁹⁶ Moreover, on several occasions he went out of his way to criticise millenarianism, the notion popular in the 1650s that Christ would reign on earth for a thousand years. Christ for Gouge could not be on earth because he is in heaven. Hebrews states that Jesus did not assume the nature of angels (Heb 2.16), such that Gouge refuted ‘Chiliasts or Millennaries, who hold that the very devils shall be

⁸⁹ Spinks, Bryan D., *Reformation and Modern Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From Luther to Contemporary Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 33-34, 41, 46-47.

⁹⁰ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 645.

⁹¹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 389.

⁹² Gouge, *Hebrews*, 752-53.

⁹³ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 773.

⁹⁴ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 671.

⁹⁵ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 391.

⁹⁶ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 391, 1113-14.

released out of hell after a thousand years': only Christ might free creatures from hell, but devils have no affinity of nature with Christ, therefore Christ cannot free devils from hell.⁹⁷

Finally, in the field of ethics, Gouge's Ramist method once again permitted him to touch on a plethora of contemporary concerns. Along with many presbyterians, he opposed the execution of Charles I and was an advocate of a non-absolute monarchism. He argued from the kingship of Melchizedek (Heb 7) 'that monarchical government and kingly authority is both ancient and warrantable... As most states in all ages have been after that manner governed, so their wise and learned philosophers have upon discussing the point, concluded a monarchical government to be the best kind of government'. Magistrates, however, have a duty to set up God's word in the places under their command. Also, wise monarchs have counsellors: 'there were Ephori among the Lacedæmonians, for their kings to consult withal, and consuls and senators at Rome in the emperors' times.' In this passage, Gouge differed from the famous sentences at the end of Calvin's *Institutes* in which these secondary magistrates were exhibited as potential checks on ungodly rulers.⁹⁸ For Gouge, the Ephors and Consuls existed merely in an advisory capacity. The people should be subject to their kings and pray for them. 'Herein they manifest subjection to God himself, whose image monarchs bear. In doing this they will bring much outward and inward peace to themselves, and avoid temporal and eternal vengeance.' Elsewhere, however, Gouge asserted that '*Kings in sinful things are not to be obeyed.*'⁹⁹

Gouge was clearly a proponent of strong government and found justification in Hebrews for several tools with which authorities might maintain order. That despisers of God's law died

⁹⁷ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 175, 671.

⁹⁸ Burch, 'St Anne's', 30; Gouge, *Hebrews*, 468-69; cf. also 52, 257; Calvin, John, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. McNeill, J.T. and Battles, F.L., 2 vols. (London: SCM, 1960), IV.xx.31.

⁹⁹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 127, 469, 478, 824-25.

without mercy (Heb 10.28) was taken as evidence for the right of magistrates standing in God's stead to perform executions. Similarly, the Lord's judging and recompensing (Heb 10.30) was used to support the legitimacy of magistrates, masters, and parents in punishing their inferiors.¹⁰⁰ Social stability clearly sat alongside cosmic stability for Gouge. Another important area of political theology concerned warfare. Gouge approved the conduct of just war on the basis of the example of Melchizedek's hospitality to soldiers (Heb 7.1-3) and the subjugation of kingdoms by God's servants in Heb 11.33.¹⁰¹ If a war could be justified, Gouge was prepared to condone underhand Machiavellian tactics. The use of spies found precedent in the hospitality of Rahab to Joshua and Caleb (Heb 11.31), as did the pursuit of enemies by night (Gen 14.15) and the setting of ambushes (Josh 8.3). 'Where the war is just, enemies may be surprised or vanquished by fraud, or force, openly or secretly.'¹⁰² However, Gouge was cautious about warfare between Christians. God's people waged war in Heb 11.34 against 'aliens' (non-believers); 'for God's confederates to fight one against another without just cause, is to make God to fight against himself: or rather to make God to be on neither part, but in justice to suffer them to devour one another, Gal.v.15.' Perhaps this reflected revulsion from the bloodshed of the civil wars, or regret at the Protestant disunity exposed by the Anglo-Dutch conflict of 1652-54.¹⁰³

The well-known importance of family to Gouge was also captured in the multifarious ethical advice which his *Ramist Commentary* derived from Hebrews. He pressed home the responsibility of householders to care for the spiritual health of their children and servants by ensuring that they are catechised (Heb 5.12). Christian houses should be viewed as

¹⁰⁰ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 729, 734.

¹⁰¹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 471, 883, 912.

¹⁰² Gouge, *Hebrews*, 858, 862.

¹⁰³ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 891.

churches, akin to the households of the patriarchs (Heb 11.4).¹⁰⁴ Gouge's exposition also contained echoes of that famous dispute with the women of Blackfriars.¹⁰⁵ Although denigrated for his conservatism, Gouge's attitude to women was certainly warmer than the perfunctory acknowledgement by William Perkins that women might have faith.¹⁰⁶ Writing on Heb 11.11 Gouge stated that '[m]ost unjust, therefore, and undue, are the invectives of many men against the female sex, as if they were the corruption of nature, as if they were without souls, as if they were an imperfect kind, and many the like more than monstrous absurdities.' However, a rather less progressive line was taken only a few pages later when he listed ninth among the woes of poor Jacob that '[b]y his wives' importunity he was forced to go in to their maids, Gen.xxx.3,9'.¹⁰⁷ While not passing comment on the sensitive topic of familial wealth, Gouge's *Commentary* did state that men and women bear joint responsibility for their families, an example being found in the parents of Moses (Heb 11.23).¹⁰⁸

Gouge wrote more extensively about moral matters than any other writer on Hebrews in this period: charity, swearing, equivocation, hiding, abortion, suicide, hospitality, marriage, clothing, soldiering, eremiticism, travel, and food are all subjects on which he expressed an opinion.¹⁰⁹ This range of ethical concerns, and the tone in which he handled them, reveal a pastoral sensitivity borne out of many years of parish ministry. For example, he observed like Esau to Isaac that '[p]ious parents may have most impious children', and he wrote knowingly about the discontent which people can feel who do not have children.¹¹⁰ Gouge's regimented Ramist style thus allowed him to frame his *magnum opus* and career climax

¹⁰⁴ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 153, 257, 374, 763, 783.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. above, 209.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. above, 94.

¹⁰⁷ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 784, 814.

¹⁰⁸ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 821.

¹⁰⁹ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 421, 425, 443, 471, 822, 859, 869, 872, 883, 903, 906, 1026, 1083, 1094.

¹¹⁰ Gouge, *Hebrews*, 895-96, 978, 1055-56.

around a single biblical book; Hebrews was the loom onto which he wove his opinions about every topic of theological, political and social significance.

Conclusion

William Gouge embodied both the message and the medium of his *Learned and very useful commentary*. His exegesis and hermeneutics straddled two ages: the sixteenth-century world in he was born, when firebrands like Edward Dering raged exclusively against popish error, and the convoluted world in which he died, when a myriad of competing Protestant voices were tearing apart the English Church. Gouge bridged that historical and cultural gap by proclaiming the unity of scripture: two testaments that jointly witnessed to God's single plan of redemption. Gouge's penchant for thematic division and detail strengthened his typological analysis and permitted him to use Hebrews as the basis for comment on an eye-wateringly wide range of topics. Ideas which were worked out across four decades in response to the parochial needs of St Anne's Blackfriars were reshaped into a continuous whole in his *Commentary*.

The deployment of typology by Gouge was itself a strange amalgam of old and new. As a hermeneutical device, it had been in use among Reformed writers since the Reformation. Gouge took it to new levels though, squeezing meaning and connections even from those knops and appurtenances of the tabernacle's candlestick. Further study is needed to establish a comparative context: which contemporary exegetes were using such extensive typology, based on which biblical texts, and to what ends? Not only, as Killeen has shown, did typology have a role to play in the political and religious discourse of a scripturally-literate society: it was also part of a conversation about the nature and meaning of the Bible

itself. While Gouge is remembered for his controversial views on domestic relations in the 1620s, his broader legacy is his work as a biblical expositor, and as a typologist in particular.

Gouge's reception of Hebrews was not without its weaknesses. Firstly, the impact of his argument never fully hit the mark because of his reticence to challenge non-Catholic opponents. More fundamentally, although he insistently tied his Old Testament types to their specific fulfillment in Christ, the detail of his typology was so fissiparous that it threatened to collapse back into the allegory which reformers had shunned since the sixteenth century. The extent to which Gouge felt forced to develop his typological hermeneutic ultimately pointed to its vulnerability. In addition, typology was self-verifying and open to charges of artificiality. To the supersessionist, typology was culturally contextualised and only convincing to those who already accepted a close correspondence between the Old and New Testaments. An alternative or complementary buttress against supersessionism was required. A niche remained for the exegesis of John Owen. Unlike Gouge, Owen was willing to name Henry Hammond among his opponents and to engage him with his own tools, those same latent historical-critical techniques which Hammond had wielded in the *Paraphrase and Annotations*. Moreover, Owen would not ground his opposition to supersessionism on typology. Instead, he reprised the idea of covenant as the core of his stand for the Reformed worldview.

Chapter 7

One plan, three ways of salvation: John Owen and the covenant

An appreciation of the challenge of supersessionism to received readings of Hebrews supplies a fresh perspective on John Owen's exegesis of the epistle. By pressing the differences between the covenant of Sinai and the covenant of the gospel,¹ Owen allowed progression from the Old Testament to the New Testament without abandoning a traditional Reformed understanding of providence working across both. This chapter will show how Owen's federal theology was integrally interwoven with the constructive and controversial claims of his *Exercitations and Exposition* (1668-84),² developing a robust alternative to the defence which had been mounted by the typological exegesis of William Gouge. Owen's articulation of the covenant and his use of cutting-edge biblical critical techniques reinforced other patterns that have been identified by Owen scholars, lending weight to the picture of Owen as a theologian immersed in the issues of his era and not just a repristinator of sixteenth-century commonplaces.³ This in turn supports the suggestion of Lee Gatiss that *Exercitations and Exposition* deserves better recognition within Owen's corpus.⁴ It also conforms to the recent argument of Dmitri Levitin that confessional

¹ Rehnman, Sebastian, 'Is the Narrative of Redemptive History Trichotomous or Dichotomous? A Problem for Federal Theology', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 80 (2000), 296-308.

² Owen's 1668 volume (Heb 1-2) and 1674 volume (Heb 3-5) contain significant prefatory material termed 'exercitations'. The exercitations explore questions of Hebrews' authorship and canonicity, the Messiah as promised in the Old Testament, the Church and Law before Christ, and Christ's priesthood. A fifth exercitation on sabbatarian controversies was drawn forth early in a separate publication of 1671. Owen had hoped to write more exercitations in volume three (Heb 6-10, 1680) but by then his energy was running low. His commentary was completed with volume four (Heb 11-13) in 1684. Owen, John, *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews with Preliminary Exercitations* ed. Goold, William H., 7 vols. (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1854-55, reprinted Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1991), i.16, 19; vii.28. The 1991 reprint of Owen uses different volume numbers from Goold's nineteenth-century edition, so I label Owen's *Hebrews* volumes i – vii (i.e. where they appear within the Hebrews commentary alone, rather than their numeration within one or other of the Goold series).

³ Cf. e.g. Trueman, Carl R., *John Owen: Reformed Catholic, Renaissance Man* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

⁴ Gatiss, Lee, 'Adoring the Fullness of the Scriptures in John Owen's Commentary on Hebrews' (Cambridge PhD, 2014).

controversy and not philosophical rationalism was the driving force behind the emergence of modern historical disciplines.⁵

Owen scholarship and the covenant

Modern study of John Owen (1616-1683) began on both sides of the Atlantic nearly fifty years ago.⁶ Peter Toon found a tension between the public and private sides of Owen's life: Owen was a theologian with a voluminous output, but he left no diaries to give insight into his private thoughts. He rose to prominence through his defence of Reformed orthodoxy during the civil war, becoming vice-chancellor of Oxford (1652) and a confidant to Oliver Cromwell. However, exclusion from office under the Restoration meant time in exile which he used for extensive writing. Scholars have studied most aspects of Owen's theology, with doctorates and monographs issuing forth on his doctrine of God, christology, soteriology, devotional life, and pastoral theology.⁷ In addition, both his theological and exegetical methodologies have received critical scrutiny.⁸ However, the recent Cambridge doctorate of Lee Gatiss is the only full-length study of Owen's exposition of Hebrews.⁹ Gatiss'

⁵ Levitin, Dmitri, 'From Sacred History to the History of Religion: Pagans, Jews and Christians in European Historiography from the Reformation to "Enlightenment"', *Historical Journal* 55 (2012), 1117–60; Levitin, Dmitri, *Ancient wisdom in the age of the New Science: histories of philosophy in England, c.1640-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁶ Wallace, Dewey D., 'The Life and Thought of John Owen to 1660: A study of the significance of Calvinist theology in English Puritanism' (Princeton University PhD, 1965); Toon, Peter, *God's Statesman: The Life and Work of John Owen: Pastor, Educator, Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1971).

⁷ Kay, Brian, *Trinitarian Spirituality: John Owen and the Doctrine of God in Western Devotion* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007); Trueman, Carl R., *The Claims of Truth: John Owen's Trinitarian Theology* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998); Kopic, Kelly, *Communion with God: the Divine and the Human in the Theology of John Owen* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2007); Spence, Alan, *Incarnation and Inspiration: John Owen and the Coherence of Christology* (London: T&T Clark, 2007); Griffiths, Steve, *Redeem the Time: the problem of sin in the writings of John Owen* (Fearn: Mentor, 2001); Clifford Alan, *Atonement and Justification: English Evangelical Theology 1640-1790 An Evaluation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), ch. 1; Payne, Jon D., *John Owen on the Lord's Supper* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2004); Ferguson, Sinclair, *John Owen on the Christian Life* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1987).

⁸ Rehman, Sebastian, *Divine Discourse: the theological methodology of John Owen* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002); Knapp, Henry M., 'Understanding the Mind of God: John Owen and Seventeenth-Century Exegetical Methodology' (Calvin Theological Seminary PhD, 2002).

⁹ Gatiss, 'Adoring'. More-focussed studies on *Exercitations and Exposition* include Knapp, Henry M., 'John Owen's Interpretation of Hebrews 6:4-6: Eternal Perseverance of the Saints in Puritan Exegesis', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 34 (2003), 29-52; Kopic, Kelly M., 'Typology, the Messiah, and John Owen's Theological Reading of Hebrews', in *Christology, hermeneutics, and Hebrews: profiles from the history of interpretation*, ed. Laansma, Jon

research is hugely valuable in restoring Owen's commentary to a position of prominence alongside his other writings.¹⁰ Owen regarded *Exercitations and Exposition* as the climax of his career. He wrote in his first exercitation that Hebrews ranked at the forefront of biblical books because it distinctly expressed the whole scope of Scripture, 'from the very foundation of calling men to the knowledge of God and obedience, unto the utmost end of his glorifying himself in their salvation by Jesus Christ'.¹¹ It was reported at Owen's funeral that on finishing the commentary, he laid down his pen and said 'now my work is done; it is time for me to die!'¹²



John Owen, attributed to John Greenhill, c. 1668¹³

One of the major innovative contributions of the *Exercitations and Exposition* was Owen's expression of covenant theology. He was not comfortable with the majority view that the

(London: T&T Clark, 2012), 135-54; Peetoom, Jacob, 'John Owen's Biblical Interpretation as Illustrated by his Exposition of Hebrews' (Regent College Vancouver ThM, 1993).

¹⁰ Cf. also the case made by Tweeddale, John W., 'John Owen's commentary on Hebrews in context', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to John Owen's Theology*, ed. Kacic, Kelly and Jones, Mark, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 49-63, at 51-54. Tweeddale argues that Owen regarded Christ's priesthood as polemically important from the early 1640s, and that probably before he left public office he was eager to explore this in a commentary on Hebrews.

¹¹ Owen, *Hebrews*, i. 49.

¹² Tweeddale, 'John Owen's commentary', 54; Clarkson, David, 'Funeral Sermon on Dr John Owen' on <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/clarkson/owenfuneral.i.html> accessed 10th September 2015, 453-54; Owen, *Hebrews*, i.xi.

¹³ From <http://media-1.web.britannica.com/eb-media/88/37588-004-DBAEF967.jpg> accessed 9th July 2015.

covenant of Sinai and the covenant of the New Testament were just two administrations of a single covenant of grace. Rather they were ‘two distinct covenants’.¹⁴ He argued against the received identification of the ‘other covenant’ (Heb 8.6) with the covenant of nature; Owen instead applied this passage to the covenant which was made at Sinai.¹⁵ Heb 8.6 could not be referring to displacement of the covenant of works made with Adam because the verse refers to a covenant which is also a διαθήκη (testament). A testament requires ratification by death; the Adamic covenant was not ratified by death, but the Sinaitic covenant was. In addition, Owen argued, the Adamic covenant ceased in its usefulness after the Fall, and so it does not fit the timeframe envisaged by Heb 8.6.

The pages of *Exercitations and Exposition* that followed pushed beyond typical Reformed federal theology as Owen proceeded to articulate an understanding of the Sinai agreement as a specific and time-bound covenant between God and the Jewish people which might be considered distinct from the perfect covenant of the New Testament. He began by trying to avoid any misinterpretation. ‘[T]he way of *reconciliation with God*, of justification and salvation, was always one and the same; and that from the giving of the first promise none was ever justified or saved but by the new covenant, and Jesus Christ, the mediator thereof.’¹⁶ Furthermore, Owen held that the Old Testament contained and declared this doctrine of salvation by Christ and that the Church walked in this faith before Jesus was born. However, the Sinai covenant ‘was so different from that which is established in the gospel after the coming of Christ, that it hath the appearance and name of another covenant’.¹⁷ The covenant of Sinai had a particular aim over and above the aims of the covenant of grace. It was for ancient times and seasons, making some order for sins and

¹⁴ Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.76.

¹⁵ Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.60-63.

¹⁶ Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.71.

¹⁷ Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.71.

transgressions before the coming of Christ. The covenant of Sinai gave to the Jews a land and laws to govern it, in order that Christ might have somewhere stable to be born. Owen concluded that the Sinai arrangement was an '*especial covenant*' for the Jewish people, a 'particular, temporary covenant it was, and not a mere dispensation of the covenant of grace'.¹⁸

Sebastian Rehnman concludes from this treatment of Heb 8.6 that Owen's federal theology was 'trichotomist'. He challenges Brian Armstrong's monograph on Amyraldianism, which regarded trichotomous federalism as a distinguishing feature of Salmurian theology.¹⁹ Rehnman names Wilhelm Momma and Samuel Petto among other non-Salmurian trichotomists. Owen notably wrote a commendation for Petto's *Old and New Covenant* (1674).²⁰ The presbyterian lecturer Samuel Annesley should also be noted within this network. Preaching on Heb 8.6, Annesley identified a 'natural' covenant of works, a 'legal' covenant which flourished until Jesus' ascension, and a 'gospel' covenant which obtains from Christ until the end of time.²¹ Annesley was a student in Oxford at the same time as Owen. His sermon on Heb 8.6, notably at least twenty years before Owen's exposition of the same verse, indicates a cadre of theologians committed to Reformed soteriology but who had a long-standing dissatisfaction with received expressions of federal relations.²²

¹⁸ Owen, *Hebrews*, v.82 (Owen's italics), 86.

¹⁹ Rehnman, 'Trichotomous or Dichotomous?', 297. Armstrong, Brian, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth-Century France* (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). Cf. also earlier but limited awareness of Owen's distinctive federal theology in Griffiths, *Redeem the Time*, 24-27; Ferguson, *Owen on the Christian Life*, 27-32. Cf. below, 254-55 for Owen's outlook on Amyraldians.

²⁰ Rehnman, 'Trichotomous or Dichotomous?', 299-300. Petto, Samuel, *The difference between the old and new covenant stated and explained with an exposition of the covenant of grace in the principal concernments of it* (London, 1674), A4[r], [A6r].

²¹ Case, Thomas (ed.), *The morning exercise methodized; or certain chief heads and points of the Christian religion opened and improved in divers sermons, by several ministers of the City of London in the monthly course of the morning exercise at Giles in the Fields* (London, 1660), 220-29.

²² The thinking of Johannes Cocceius should also be noted in this regard. For Cocceius, Christ was the substance of a single *testamentum* which spans both old and new dispensations, and which expressed itself in multiple *foedera*. The *testamentum* endures; the *foedera* change. Lee, Brian J., *Johannes Cocceius and the Exegetical*

These mainstream writers will have known the delicacy with which they had to express federal relations. Near the start of the civil war, the antinomian preacher Tobias Crispe had based a case for supersession of the Old Testament on a trichotomous reading of Heb 8.6. He claimed that the 'perfect' covenant of grace in the New Testament had wholly displaced the 'weak' covenant of grace from Sinai.²³ Crispe argued that the first covenant of grace must have been annulled before the second was implemented, that God had not placed any antecedent conditions under the New Testament covenant, and that therefore the elect were liberated from ethical shackles.²⁴

Rehman's analysis of Owen's federal theology has been qualified by Mark Jones and Lee Gatiss. Jones insists that Owen was a federal dichotomist because '[i]n terms of soteric principles, only two covenants could ever save, the covenant of works and the covenant of grace.'²⁵ Jones cites Owen on Heb 7.9-10, where he wrote that 'there were never absolutely any more than two covenants; wherein all persons indefinitely are concerned' – the covenant of works made with Adam and the covenant of grace made with Christ. Jones and Gatiss point out that, when interpreting Heb 8.6, Owen was distinguishing between two ways of salvation and different legal constitutions of those ways of salvation.²⁶

It is not easy to get a handle on this debate. Rehman's language of dichotomy and trichotomy is anachronistic. Moreover, all parties accept that Owen's federal theology

Roots of Federal Theology: Reformation Developments in the Interpretation of Hebrews 7-10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2009), 113-49, 179, especially 130.

²³ Crispe, Tobias, *Christ alone exalted; in seventeene sermons: preached in or neare London, by the late Reverend Tobias Crisp Doctor in Divinity, and faithfull pastor of Brinkworth in Wiltshire, as they were taken from his owne mouth in short-writing, and compared with his notes. Volume II.* ([London], 1643), 42; Como, David R., 'Print, Censorship and Ideological Escalation in the English Civil War', *Journal of British Studies* 51 (2012), 820-57, at 831-48.

²⁴ Crispe, *Christ alone exalted*, 50, 57-58, 68. Cf. below, 255, fn. 102.

²⁵ Jones, Mark, 'The "old" covenant', in *Drawn into Controversie: Reformed Theological Diversity and Debates within seventeenth-century British Puritanism* ed. Haykin, Michael and Jones, Mark (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2011), 183-203, at 201; Owen, *Hebrews*, v.391.

²⁶ Gatiss, 'Adoring', 189-90.

resists easy categorisation. Gatiss concedes that Owen may have been inconsistent and that his thinking is complex to grasp.²⁷ For his part, Rehnman admits that in one place Owen seemed to describe the Sinaitic and new covenants as subdivisions of the same covenant of grace.²⁸ Whether Owen's thought wavered, and/or whether he struggled to articulate sufficiently the difference between covenants and their expressions, he undoubtedly felt a stronger need than his forebears to emphasise the inadequacies and specificities of the covenant of Sinai in comparison with the eternity and completeness of the covenant of grace in the New Testament.

Commentators have struggled to identify a motivation for Owen's revision of Reformed federal structures. Steve Griffiths implies that it was of little consequence. 'Whether there be, in strict accordance with Calvin only one covenant, or in accordance with the Westminster Confession two covenants or whether, as with Owen, more are accepted, there need not be a cause for division.'²⁹ This sentence hardly does justice to the considerable effort which Owen put into his exposition of Heb 8.6. For Rehnman, '[t]he reason why Owen desires a formulation of two distinct covenants is the already-but-not-yet character of the Old Testament ... It consisted only in a promise and was not formally a covenant.'³⁰ However, if Rehnman is correct, why did Owen feel this character of the Old Testament more strongly than earlier Reformed theologians? An answer may lie in the heterodox readings of Hebrews considered in chapter 4. The federal theology of Annesley, Petto and Owen broadened the scope for progression between the two dispensations while (unlike Crispe) retaining the providential unity of history centred on the atoning sacrifice of the cross. It was an ingenious and novel bastion for Reformed thinking in an age when the

²⁷ Gatiss, 'Adoring', 190.

²⁸ Rehnman, 'Trichotomous or Dichotomous?', 303.

²⁹ Griffiths, *Redeem the Time*, 27.

³⁰ Rehnman, 'Trichotomous or Dichotomous?', 304.

scholarly understanding of time and history was changing. In the rest of this chapter we will see how Owen's revision of the covenant impinged upon many broader theological topoi in his commentary, as well as bolstering his case against Catholic, Socinian, Jewish, and other opponents.

Covenant and constructive theology

Owen asserted that the historical covenant of grace was grounded in a prior covenant of redemption made in eternity between the Father and Son. He argued that this covenant presupposes that the Father and Son are distinct persons, capable of entering a voluntary agreement. Covenant theology thus necessitated a classical doctrine of the trinity.³¹ Owen considered the objection to the *pactum salutis* between Father and Son that the divine essence is one, and that the will, as a natural property, pertains to God's essence. 'For such is the distinction of the persons in the unity of the divine essence', he argued, 'that they act in natural and essential acts *reciprocally* one towards another, namely, in understanding, love, and the like; they know and mutually love each other. And as they subsist distinctly, so they also act distinctly in those works which are of external operation.'³² The will of God is in each person with respect to the peculiar acts ascribed to him. Carl Trueman argues that Owen's concern for the divinity of Holy Spirit is such that his pneumatology makes a particular contribution to the covenant of redemption, explicating the role of the Spirit in Christ's incarnation and earthly ministry.³³

Among the divine attributes, Owen was fascinated by God's justice. He had written a *Dissertation* on the subject against the Arminians and Socinians in which he asserted that

³¹ Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.84-87; iv.411-14; vi.309-11. Cf. Thomas, G. Michael, *The Extent of the Atonement: A Dilemma for Reformed Theology from Calvin to the Consensus (1536-1675)* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997), 197.

³² Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.87-88.

³³ Trueman, *Reformed Catholic, Renaissance Man*, 83-87, 97-98; Toon, *God's Statesman*, 56; Owen, *Hebrews* vi.234-35.

God does not merely forgive sins but requires satisfaction.³⁴ Owen repeated this claim in his 1668 exercitations. He claimed that it is impossible for God to remit sin by fiat because the sentence of condemnation against sinners proceeds from God's righteousness. His holiness and justice require vengeance. God 'cannot deny himself'.³⁵ Once again, Owen tied this back to federal relations. The covenant of redemption was the ground for Christ's work as mediator and priest, because the Son agreed with the Father that he should undergo in his own person everything necessary to the end of bringing sinners to obedience and glory. This led to the incarnation and substitutionary atonement.³⁶

Owen examined the incarnation through the prism of Hebrews in his 1674 exercitation on the sacerdotal office of Christ. 'God did not pre-ordain the priesthood of Christ with respect unto the obedience of man under the law of creation; nor did he appoint either priesthood or sacrifice, properly so called, in that state of things whilst it did continue; nor should any such have been, upon a supposition of its continuance.'³⁷ However, Adam having fallen, Christ as a priest would offer the necessary sacrifice to fulfil the obligations of the new covenant. Owen was revealing himself as a sublapsarian: 'the foresight of the fall, and the decree of the permission of it, cannot with any reason be supposed to be consequential to the decree concerning the incarnation of the Son of God', because the end of Christ's taking flesh is the redemption of humanity.³⁸

The sacrifice which Christ would offer was his own body upon the cross. Owen observed on the 'suffering of death' (Heb 2.9) that '[t]he Lord Jesus Christ in his death did undergo

³⁴ Owen, John, 'A Dissertation on Divine Justice', in *The Works of John Owen, D.D.*, ed. Goold, William H. (London: Johnstone and Hunter, 1852) x.482-624.

³⁵ Trueman, *Reformed Catholic, Renaissance Man*, 42; Owen, *Hebrews* i.161-62, iii.287.

³⁶ Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.92-95.

³⁷ Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.16; cf. also ii.97-138, iii.305, 504.

³⁸ Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.36-37.

the penal sentence of the law, in the room and stead of them for whom he died'.³⁹ The covenant could not be fulfilled other than by a substitutionary atonement. Owen was keen to point out that Christ's priesthood was not a sponsorship from God to man but from man to God.⁴⁰ This was a defence against the socinianising tendency to see the end of the incarnation as principally revelatory; for Owen, the Son took flesh because he was bound by covenant to perform what humanity could not.⁴¹

Since Christ is the 'only real and proper priest of the Church',⁴² it was axiomatic for Owen to uphold a single Church crossing both the Old and New Testaments. Those, like Abraham, who believed in the promise before the birth of Christ were to be accounted as saved in Christ. 'Believers of old, who lived under the law, did not live upon the law, but upon the hope of Christ, or Christ hoped for.'⁴³ (There is circularity of evidence here, since on Heb 9.15 Owen wrote, '[t]hat the efficacy of the mediation and death of Christ extended itself unto all the called under the old testament, is an evident demonstration of his divine nature, his pre-existence unto all these things, and the eternal covenant between the Father and him about them.'⁴⁴) The fathers who died before Jesus were not destined for limbo but went to heaven.⁴⁵ Crucially, however, Owen limited their enjoyment of paradise prior to Christ's ascension, in accordance with the stress which he placed on Christ's actuation of the promises of the covenant of grace. The patriarchs 'were not admitted within the veil, into the most holy place, where all the counsels of God in Christ are displayed and represented ... This none could or were to behold before his own entrance thither'. Thus Jesus was a forerunner (Heb 6.20) for the patriarchs as well as for believers of the Christian

³⁹ Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.373; cf. also the use of the scales of justice image in iv.508.

⁴⁰ Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.14-21.

⁴¹ Trueman, *Reformed Catholic, Renaissance Man*, 109-11. Cf. above, 160.

⁴² Owen, *Hebrews*, v.330.

⁴³ Owen, *Hebrews*, v.477; cf. also iii.543, vii.5, 339.

⁴⁴ Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.334.

⁴⁵ Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.237-38, vii.216.

era.⁴⁶ William Gouge, with a more traditional understanding of the covenant of grace, was less cautious. Commenting on the covenant of grace in Hebrews 8, Gouge believed that the souls of the faithful before Christ had passed into the same place as the souls of the faithful who die after the ascension.⁴⁷

Covenant and controversy: Catholics

The covenant theology of Owen's *Exercitations and Exposition* was not only interwoven into his christology and soteriology. It equally informed his extensive and explicit opposition to non-Reformed theologians. Indeed, polemic was an important motivating factor behind the composition of Owen's commentary. Whereas earlier English Hebrews exegetes focused their invective either exclusively or predominantly against popery, Owen fired in all directions against multifarious opponents. In his preface to the Christian reader (1668), he accepted that some good commentaries on Hebrews were available in English, but that the key tenets of the letter, such as Jesus' personhood and priestly ministry, 'have received a more eager and subtile opposition since the labours and endeavours of the most in the exposition of it, than they had done before'.⁴⁸ Principally in his sights here was the introduction and growth of Socinianism. Owen's choice and ranking of Catholicism, Socinianism, and Judaism as his most significant opponents emulated the priorities of Johannes Cocceius, an important contemporary Dutch expositor of Hebrews.⁴⁹

Owen followed the earlier English Reformed commentators in sharing the fundamental conclusion of Calvin that the epistle implacably opposed Catholic teaching and practice. He

⁴⁶ Owen, *Hebrews*, v.289.

⁴⁷ Gouge, William, *A learned and very useful commentary on the whole epistle to the Hebrews wherein every word and particle in the original is explained* (London, 1655), 569-70. Cf. also above, 99, fn. 85.

⁴⁸ Owen, *Hebrews*, i.6.

⁴⁹ Lee, *Cocceius*, 101-02, 163.

believed that most if not all Catholics hated Christ and were bound for hell.⁵⁰ Owen's *Church of Rome no safe guide* (1679) set this opinion within an eschatological context, viewing the rise and fall of Catholicism as part of God's promise that true religion would triumph in the last days.⁵¹ Although Owen was generally less vituperative than the pre-civil war writers, he could on occasion use provocative language that was reminiscent of William Jones. For instance, writing of Christ's adversaries from Heb 10.37-39, Owen referred to 'the *apostate Church of Rome*, or the New Testament Babylon'. Christ had begun to execute his judgments against this antichristian state, but would come to 'destroy the man of sin, the head of that apostasy'.⁵²

Misunderstanding of the covenant was one explanation given by Owen for the existence of Roman Catholic error. Commenting on unbelief (Heb 3.12-14), he suggested that Catholics underestimate what Christ's death achieves. They do not realise that Jesus is the only source of forgiveness and so they seek refuge in human inventions: the sacrifice of the mass, indulgences, penance, purgatory, monasteries, pilgrimages, intercession of saints and auricular confession, 'with the remainder of their abominations. All these things spring from no other root but this, - namely, that from the power of their unbelief, men think it a foolish thing to look for pardon and righteousness solely from another, and not to trust to themselves in any thing.'⁵³

Achieving a right understanding of priesthood and sacrifice were therefore central to Owen's anti-popish invective. These in turn were underpinned by a correct appreciation of

⁵⁰ Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.319.

⁵¹ Toon, *God's Statesman*, 142.

⁵² Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.584.

⁵³ Owen, *Hebrews*, iv.120-21; cf. also ii.5-6, vi.485-86 on general anti-popish themes; for further attacks on penance cf. v.165; on purgatory v.129-30, 165, vii.329, 345; on saints iii.535, 550-51, v.531-32; on confession vi.438-39.

the relations between the old and new dispensations. Owen rebuffed any suggestion from Heb 5.1 that the Levitical priesthood in the Old Testament requires an ongoing sacrificing priesthood in the contemporary church. The Levitical order had been superseded. The purpose of the apostle in Heb 5.1 is 'to prove that all priesthood properly so called, and all proper sacrifices to be offered up by virtue of that office, were issued in the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ, seeing the sole use and end of them [the Levitical priests] were to represent and prefigure these in the church'.⁵⁴ Christ needed no material altar (Heb 13.10), therefore none other should now be introduced.⁵⁵ Similarly, Christ had no successor in priestly office (in particular Peter); hence Owen could not accept papal supremacy.⁵⁶ Christ is the only head of the Church. The usurpation of this title by the pope gives the lie to his claim to be the 'servant of servants'.⁵⁷ Moreover, angels belong to the same church as saints below (Heb 12.22). This makes nonsense of the papal assertion because the pope is hardly set over the angels.⁵⁸ Owen's rejection of the Catholic theology of ordination naturally chimed with his sacramentology. He denied that there was any eucharistic reference in the flesh and blood mentioned in Heb 2.14, or in Abraham's offering to Melchizedek (Heb 7.2).⁵⁹ The sacrifice of Christ was unique, so that Owen rejected unbloody sacrifice in the eucharist and the assertion of the Council of Trent that Christ had offered himself in the last supper.⁶⁰

Like his doctrine of the covenant, Owen's attitude to Catholic theologians exposed the evolving face of Reformed scriptural reception. He was thoroughly informed about Catholic expositors of Hebrews. He cited Ribera, Tena, Maldonate, à Lapide, Lyra, Cajetan,

⁵⁴ Owen, *Hebrews*, iv.444.

⁵⁵ Owen, *Hebrews*, v.438, vii.440.

⁵⁶ Owen, *Hebrews*, v.341, 518.

⁵⁷ Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.329, 568.

⁵⁸ Owen, *Hebrews*, vii.337.

⁵⁹ Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.438, v.304-05.

⁶⁰ Owen, *Hebrews*, v.572, vi.368, 390-92, 397, 434.

Carthusianus, Gatenus, Adamus, Hesselius, and Bellarmine.⁶¹ Usually, of course, Owen cited Catholic writers in order to rubbish them, deploying his breadth of reading in order to expose inconsistencies between them. For example, he found them greatly divided about whether Heb 6.10 refers to those in a state of deadly sin or to justified persons. ‘The reader who desires to see such chaff tossed up and down, may find these things debated in Aquinas, Adamus, Estius, à Lapide, Ribera, Maldonatus, de Tena, and others of them on the place.’⁶² However, Owen’s commitment to good scholarship led him to acknowledge those occasions when he found himself in agreement with Catholic authors. In particular, he commended Estius, ‘one of the most modest and judicious expositors of the Roman church’.⁶³ Owen approved of Estius’ view that the altar in Heb 13.10 is solely a reference to Christ and his sacrifice. However, Estius ‘adds withal, that because the fathers (that is, some of them, for all do not) do expound it of the altar for the sacrament in the church, the heretics are to be urged with their authority for a material altar and sacrifice in the church – wherein he extremely departs from his wonted modesty.’ Despite his sobriety, Owen thought that Estius remained in bondage to tradition.⁶⁴

Covenant and controversy: Socinians

If federal theology centred on Christ’s redemptive sacrifice supported Owen’s reiteration of the anti-Catholic exposition of earlier Hebrews exegetes, it was even more fundamental to his response to the supersessionist challenge of Socinianism. The seriousness of the Socinian threat led Owen to follow Cocceius in making Crell the most frequent interlocutor of his

⁶¹ Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.38-39, iii.109, iv.350, v.160, vi.238. As Carl Trueman has helpfully shown, private libraries such as those of Owen, Baxter and Tillotson (plus the diversity of reading which was encouraged by academics like Thomas Barlow in his *Autoschediasmata*) indicate that English clergy were familiar with a breadth of theological thinking that far transcended their own confessional traditions. Trueman, Carl, ‘Preachers and Medieval and Renaissance Commentary’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* ed. McCullough, Peter, Adlington, Hugh and Rhatigan, Emma (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 54-71, at 60, 65.

⁶² Owen, *Hebrews*, v.160.

⁶³ Owen, *Hebrews*, vii.344; cf. also vi.368.

⁶⁴ Owen, *Hebrews* vii.439.

Hebrews commentary.⁶⁵ Also like Cocceius, Owen treated the much more prevalent Arminianism as if it were just a subset of Socinianism. Owen's *Vindiciae Evangelicae* had already highlighted the connections between Socinianism and Hugo Grotius. *Exercitationes and Exposition* included Henry Hammond within this chain, snidely referring to Hammond as Grotius' 'follower'.⁶⁶ Owen frequently connected ideas in these writers, most strikingly on the sacrifices of the high priests for their own sins in Heb 7.27-28.

[C]ontrary unto the sense of the whole church of God, contrary to the analogy of faith, and with no small dander in the expression, Socinus first affirmed that the Lord Christ offered also for himself, or his own sins. And he is followed herein by those of his own sect, as Schlichtingius on this place: and so he is also by Grotius and Hammond; - which is the channel whereby many of his notions and conceptions are derived unto us.⁶⁷

Thus, while Owen was aware of Lushington's translation of Crell, he deemed the Grotius-Hammond axis to be a more malevolent factor. Hammond was revered in the Restoration Church⁶⁸ and so demanded Owen's full attention.

Owen's critique of Crell-Schlichting revolved around their failure to appreciate Christ's priesthood and sacrifice. He joined Gouge in using Hebrews 1 and 2 to reassert a traditional christology. He rejected the argument that the Son of God cannot be *Deus altissimus* ('most high God') because

God is called ... "the high," or "most high God," with reference to his sovereign and supreme exaltation over all his creatures, as the next words in the place where that title is given do declare: ... "Possessor of heaven and earth," Gen.xiv.19. He is not termed "Deus altissimus," "the most high God," as though

⁶⁵ Lee, *Cocceius*, 60, 105-06. Owen's commentary worked from the original Latin of Crell-Schlichting, although he also owned the English translation of Lushington; Owen, John, *Bibliotheca Oweniana, sive, Catalogus librorum plurimis facultatibus insignium, instructissimae bibliothecae Rev. Doct. Vir. D. Joan Oweni (quondam vice-cancellarii & decani edis-Christi in academia Oxoniensi) nuperrimè defuncti : cum variis manuscriptis Grecis, Latinis &c* ([London], 1684), Latin 4.131; English 3.112.

⁶⁶ Lee, *Cocceius*, 58; Blom, Hans W., 'Grotius and Socinianism', in *Socinianism and Arminianism: Antitrinitarians, Calvinists and cultural exchange in seventeenth-century Europe* ed. Mulsow, Martin and Rohls, Jan (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 121-47; Trueman, *Reformed Catholic, Renaissance Man*, 26-27. Owen, *Hebrews* vii.85, 97.

⁶⁷ Owen, *Hebrews*, v.566; cf. also v.468-89, 499, vii.46, 212, 338.

⁶⁸ Cf. above, 162.

there were another “Deus altius,” “a high God,” that is not the “altissimus;” which is the sense of the Socinians.⁶⁹

The Son is God’s agent in creation. Commenting on Heb 1.2, Owen attacked Grotius’ claim (following Enjedinus) that $\delta\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ (*by whom he also created the worlds*) should be read as $\delta\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ (*for whom he also created the worlds*), by advancing the grammatical argument that $\delta\iota\alpha$ plus the genitive never denotes a final cause but rather an efficient cause - therefore the Son was with the Father, cooperating in the act of creation.⁷⁰ To a similar end, when commenting on $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ (Heb 1.6), Owen rejected the argument of Crell-Schlichting that Christ’s sonship from the Father might be shared by others. Christ alone is begotten; Christians are children by adoption.⁷¹

Grotius and the Socinians were next attacked for giving undue attention to Jesus’ prophetic office. In denying his divine nature they did their utmost ‘to take the minds of men from a regard unto his person, and would reduce all religion unto a mere obedience unto his commands’.⁷² Against this Owen asserted that Christ exercised a priestly function on earth, making purgation for sins (Heb 1.3) by his death.

This purging, then, of our sins, which the apostle declareth to have been effected before the ascension of Christ and his sitting down at the right hand of God, consisteth not in the actual sanctification and purification of believers by the Spirit, in the application of the blood of Christ unto them, but in the atonement made by him in the sacrifice of himself, that our sins should not be imputed unto us.⁷³

Owen thus offered an alternative to the Socinian attitude to time and history, which undermined Christ’s historic death and concentrated on present-day atonement in heaven.

The utility of covenant theology in this argument is obvious. The promises of the covenant

⁶⁹ Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.41; cf. also v.321. Cf. above, 184.

⁷⁰ Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.69-70; cf. also Knapp, ‘Mind of God’, 138-46.

⁷¹ Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.157-58.

⁷² Owen, *Hebrews*, v.498; cf. also iii.413.

⁷³ Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.111; cf. also iv.488-89, vi.34, vii.348.

of grace coalesced around the cross and created a unified body of believers in all ages, a theme which Owen particularly emphasised in his treatment of chapter 11.⁷⁴

Federal theology was by no means the only weapon in Owen's arsenal against the Socinians. His typological exegesis⁷⁵ of the tabernacle echoed Gouge's approach to Hebrews 9. Owen argued that the Socinians failed to understand how Christ's sacrifice related typologically to the entry of the high priest into the holy of holies (Heb 9.12). The entrance of the high priest into the holy place was not his sacrifice. Rather, his sacrifice had been made beforehand at the brazen altar. Christ 'entered into heaven by virtue of his sacrifice... but his entrance into heaven was not the sacrifice of himself'.⁷⁶ His death on the cross was thus a real sacrifice and not a metaphorical one.⁷⁷ Only after he had made this purgation was he exalted (Heb 1.4).⁷⁸ Therefore, the world into which the Father brought the Son to do his work (Heb 1.6) was not the world above, as Grotius and Crell-Schlichting argued, but the habitable world of earth.⁷⁹

Covenant and controversy: Judaism

Owen's conception of the passing nature of the Sinaitic covenant underscored much of his case against Judaism, his third major opponent. Anti-Jewish argument is most evident in Owen's exercitations, those extended pieces of commentary which explored thematic issues from across the epistle. Owen felt that the message of Hebrews about Judaism had been downplayed by previous expositors.⁸⁰ However, the question of readmitting Jews to

⁷⁴ Owen, *Hebrews*, v.216, vii.54-55, 67-70, 85, 96-97, 124, 157, 212.

⁷⁵ Cf. Knapp, 'Mind of God', ch. 6, for an overview of Owen's use of typology.

⁷⁶ Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.273, 388.

⁷⁷ Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.300-01, 332, 376.

⁷⁸ Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.125; cf. vi.451, v.451-52, 568.

⁷⁹ Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.155-56. Most of Owen's points against the Socinians on Christ's priesthood were drawn together in his exercitation on 'The nature of the priesthood of Christ', *Hebrews* ii.139-66.

⁸⁰ Owen, *Hebrews*, i.6.

Britain, scholarly interest in Hebraic learning, and aspects of English sabbatarianism had all conspired to raise its profile.

John Owen had been among the members of the Whitehall conference (1655) called by Cromwell to consider the matter of Jewish 'readmission' to Britain.⁸¹ Toon thought it 'very probable' that Owen favoured readmission on a strictly controlled basis, although Toon supplied no evidence for this supposition. Within the exercitations, Owen's references to Menasseh ben Israel are not positive.⁸² Jews for Owen dwelt 'in the dust of [confusion] ... loving this darkness more than light, because their deeds are evil'.⁸³ They failed to grasp the promise of Christ contained in the Old Testament, and as a result they clung to defunct regulations.⁸⁴ 'The Messiah came, in whom the carnal covenant was to expire, and they rejected and slew him, justly deserving their perpetual rejection from it and disinheritance.'⁸⁵ (This reference to the 'carnal covenant' is significant because it suggests that Owen's thought regarding the arrangements of Sinai and their relationship to the New Testament had reached maturity when he published this exercitation (1668), twelve years before his more detailed work on the theme of the covenant based on Heb 8.6 went to the press.) Owen underlined his assertion by running through the evidence that Jesus was the Messiah, witnessed by the time of his coming and in his fulfilment of prophecy.⁸⁶ Owen wanted to leave his countrymen in no doubt that tacit readmission of Jews to England did not negate their descent from a tradition which had been annulled by Christ.

⁸¹ Katz, David S., *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), ch. 6; Katz, David S., *The Jews in the History of England 1485-1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 116-19; ODNB, s.v. ben Israel, Menasseh.

⁸² Owen, *Hebrews*, i.256, 278; Toon, *God's Statesman*, 97; Katz, *Jews in the History of England*, 119-44.

⁸³ Owen, *Hebrews*, i.132.

⁸⁴ Owen, *Hebrews*, i.141-233, 262-367, 528.

⁸⁵ Owen, *Hebrews*, i.355.

⁸⁶ Owen, *Hebrews*, i.367-424.

A specific Jewish issue that confronted Owen was the long-standing English fascination with the sabbath.⁸⁷ Much of the debate on this topic in England had predated the civil wars. For many this led to a strict observance of Sundays.⁸⁸ For a few it involved marking the seventh day of the week (Saturday) instead of the first.⁸⁹ For liberationists like Winstanley, it required the rejection of any sabbath practice whatsoever.⁹⁰ Owen clearly felt an acute need in 1670 to respond to seventh-day Sabbatarianism by advancing material to the presses which would otherwise have appeared in his 1674 Hebrews volume.⁹¹ His precise motivations for publication in 1670 are unclear. His exercitation on the sabbath was presented to the stationers on 8 October 1670 but there had been no publications on seventh-day sabbatarianising since the time of his 1668 Hebrews volume. The major developments in Saturday-sabbatarianising had yet to come to pass: the arrest of members of the radical Bell Lane chapel in July 1671, and the release from prison of Francis Bampfield in May 1672.⁹² Perhaps Owen had detected a groundswell of concern. John Cowell later observed that seventh-day worship had become more evident about 1671.⁹³

⁸⁷ Parker, Kenneth L., *The English Sabbath: A study of doctrine and discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Equivalent processes were at work on the continent. The Leiden Sabbath debates (1655-60) influenced Cocceius' commentary. Lee, *Cocceius*, 109-110.

⁸⁸ William Gouge was among this number: G[ouge], W[illiam], *The sabbaths sanctification herein I. The grounds of the morality of the Sabbath, II. Directions for sanctifying it, III. Proofs that the Lords day is the Christians Sabbath, IIII. Aberrations about the Sabbath, V. Motives to sanctifie the Sabbath* (London, 1641).

⁸⁹ ODNB, s.v. Traske, John; Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, 9f; Katz, David S., *Sabbath and Sectarianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Leiden: Brill, 1988); Ball, Bryan. W., *The Seventh-Day Men: Sabbatarians and Sabbatarianism in England and Wales, 1600-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); Como, David R., 'The Kingdom of Christ, the Kingdom of England, and the Kingdom of Traske: John Traske and the Persistence of Radical Puritanism in Early Stuart England' in *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England*, ed. McClendon, M., Ward, J. and MacDonald, M (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 63-82.

⁹⁰ Corns, Thomas N., Hughes, Ann, Loewenstein, David (eds.), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), i.449 fn. 231.

⁹¹ Owen, *Hebrews*, i.16.

⁹² *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640-1708*, 3 vols. (London: Roxburghe Club, 1913-14), ii.416; *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series*, ed. Blackburne Daniell, F.H. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1897), 597; Ball, *Seventh-Day Men*, 106-07, 345-46; Katz, *Sabbath*, 90-105.

⁹³ Cowell, John, *The Snare Broken* (London, 1677), 11. Before this recantation of Saturday-sabbatarianism, Cowell's earlier pamphlet, *Divine Oracles*, touched on the letter to the Hebrews to urge his readers to 'remember the Day as well as the Duty, which is the seventh'; Cowell, John, *Divine oracles, or, A testimony to established truths in a declining day* (London, 1664), 18. Another protagonist in the sabbatarian debate was Nicholas Smith, a Hertfordshire Vicar who argued from the rest of Heb 4.9 to support the use of Sunday for activities such as attendance at Anglican worship and recreational sports; Smith, Nicholas, *A Sabbath of rest to be kept by the saints here* (London, 1675), especially 11-13.

In his exercitation 'concerning a day of sacred rest', Owen argued that wrangling about the sabbath was leading to profanity and apostasy. It needed resolution for the good of the country.⁹⁴ Debate about the sabbath, of course, was one facet of the broader issue of the relationship between the Old and New Testaments.⁹⁵ It was a topic on which Owen needed to achieve a delicate balance. On the one hand he asserted that the sabbath is a moral law, perpetual and unalterable in itself. Radical supersessionists like Winstanley were wrong to neglect worship in a hebdomadal cycle. However, Owen denied that 'the *precise observation of the seventh day* in the hebdomadal revolution lieth under a command moral and indispensible'.⁹⁶ An alteration had been made under the gospel from the seventh day of the week (Saturday) to the first (Sunday).⁹⁷ The Jewish observation of the seventh day was part of that covenant which passed with the coming of Christ, whereas the moral duty to observe one day in seven remained, and had been transferred to the day of the resurrection.⁹⁸ Commenting on God's rest in Heb 4.10, Owen reiterated his position:

[t]he first day of the week, the day of the resurrection of Christ, when he rested from his works, is appointed and determined for a day of rest or Sabbath unto the church, to be constantly observed in the room of the seventh day, appointed and observed from the foundation of the world under the old testament.⁹⁹

The sense of urgency with which Owen joined the sabbath debate and the precision of his commentary illustrates the tightrope which he sometimes walked between loyalty to received tradition and its need for reappraisal. His treatment of the covenant was a product of this tension as well as his contribution to it.

⁹⁴ Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.261-460.

⁹⁵ Katz, *Sabbath*, xiii.

⁹⁶ Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.331.

⁹⁷ Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.360.

⁹⁸ Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.385-410.

⁹⁹ Owen, *Hebrews*, iv.336; cf. also ii.544, iv.277.

Covenant and controversy: other opponents

In addition to Catholicism, Socinianism and Judaism, Owen aimed his exposition of Hebrews against a plethora of minor opponents. His enthusiasm for theological engagement on all fronts was very different from the reticence of Gouge. Owen was writing a generation later and was more realistic about the inter-confessional topography of the mid-seventeenth century. Much of Owen's controversial theology with minor opponents connected in one way or another with his federal theology or at least with his motivations for developing it. Owen was seeking to re-present mainstream Reformed thought at a time when that thought was hard-pressed from many directions. His doctrine of the covenant reflected his need for flexibility to answer multiple critics without conceding any substantive ground.

In distinguishing the temporary, localised covenant of Sinai from the eternal covenant of grace, Owen had to avoid charges that his federal framework was akin to Amyraldianism. Amyraldians attempted to placate the critics of double predestination by advancing a doctrine of hypothetical universal predestination, in which the covenant of grace was subdivided into a conditional covenant of universal grace, and an unconditional covenant of particular grace; the former required faith in order to be actualised, the latter created faith in the elect. For Amyraldians, God wills the salvation of all on condition that they believe, but his unconditional will to save some is hidden, such that Christians should not speculate about who is saved.¹⁰⁰

Owen's distinction of the Sinaitic covenant from the covenant of grace could be likened to Amyraldian trichotomous federal theology. However, Owen had always asserted the particularity of the atonement. This can be seen in his early work *The Death of Death*

¹⁰⁰ Elwell, Walter A. (ed.), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* (Basingstoke: Marshall Morgan & Scott, 1985), 41; Thomas, *Extent of the Atonement*, 168-80.

(1647).¹⁰¹ It was a position which he repeated in his *Hebrews Exposition*. Within his detailed analysis of Heb 8.6 Owen wrote that

[t]he promises of the covenant of grace are better than those of any other covenant ... especially because the grace of them prevents any condition or qualification on our part. – I do not say the covenant of grace is absolute without conditions, if by conditions we intend the duties of obedience which God requireth of us in and by virtue of that covenant; but this I say, the principal promises thereof are not in the first place *remunerative* of our obedience in the covenant, but *efficaciously assumptive* of us into covenant, and establishing or confirming in the covenant.¹⁰²

Thus, while the Saumur theologians were similar to Owen in modifying their doctrine of the covenant in order to counter criticism of Reformed thought, Owen's formulation remained faithful to the principles of Dort, whereas the Amyraldian solution departed from the mainstream.

The Church of England was another concern for Owen. *Hebrews* had been written to discourage Christians from falling back into first-century Judaism and so served as an ideal prop for Owen's encouragement of post-Restoration non-conformity. He read the plural *ἡγουμενοι* in Heb 13.17 as evidence for many 'elders' or 'bishops' in each new testament congregation; there was 'no room left for a single bishop, and his rule in the church, much less for a pope'.¹⁰³ Owen also defended dissent when commenting on congregational gatherings in Heb 6.10: 'those who would persuade us to forsake these assemblies, and to

¹⁰¹ Clifford, *Atonement and Justification*, 9; Toon, *God's Statesman*, 26. In an appendix to his *Aphorismes of Justification* (1649), Baxter attacked the view which Owen expressed in the *Death of Death* that Christ paid the exact price for the sins of the elect (the *solutio eiusdem*), preferring instead an equivalent payment (the *solutio tantidem*); Clifford, *Atonement and Justification*, 10; Toon, *God's Statesman*, 40.

¹⁰² Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.68-69; Klempa, William, 'The concept of the Covenant in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Continental and British Reformed Theology' in *Major Themes in the Reformed Tradition* ed. McKim, Donald (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1998), 94-107, at 100; cf. Torrance, James B., 'Covenant or contract? A study of the theological background of worship in seventeenth-century Scotland', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 23 (1970), 51-76, for the complications of conditionality in federal theology. The attention which Owen drew to the duties of obedience required under the covenant effectively supplied his answer to the antinomian reading of Heb 8.6 by Tobias Crispe; cf. above, 239.

¹⁰³ Owen, *Hebrews*, vii.463. Owen had earlier attacked Henry Hammond for his defence of the authenticity of the seven Ignatian epistles. These documents were sensitive because, if genuine, they implied an early development of episcopacy; ODNB, s.v. Owen, John.

break up their societies, that returning into the larger communion of the many, we may have and exercise love, do but persuade us to cast away our food that we may be strong, and to throw away our clothes that we may be warm'.¹⁰⁴

Exegetes lined up for and against this position. Samuel Tomlyns wrote a whole treatise based on the injunction given to the faithful in Heb 13.13 to venture beyond the camp to the place where Jesus is found.¹⁰⁵ Richard Baxter would have approved, writing on Heb 3.13 that 'Christians, for three hundred years, assembled, when forbidden'.¹⁰⁶ Anglicans hit back with alternative proof texts. Joseph Briggs cited the discouragement to backsliding in Heb 10.25.¹⁰⁷ Francis Fullwood promoted the importance of worship as part of the 'general assembly' (Heb 12.23).¹⁰⁸ Benjamin Laney defended the Prayer Book liturgy from Heb 13.15.¹⁰⁹ Thomas Reeve hagiographically applied the example of Abel (Heb 11.4) to the martyrdom of Charles I.¹¹⁰ The patience of Heb 10.36 urged John Moore to be obedient to the lawful authority:

He then in whom this vertue of Patience dwells keeps a due regard to the commands laid upon him to submit himself to the supreme Powers, and he dares not lift up a hand against the Lord's Anointed, or levy war upon the most plausible account whatsoever: nay to him it cannot but seem a wonder that the

¹⁰⁴ Owen, *Hebrews*, v.178-79.

¹⁰⁵ T[omlyns], S[amuel], *The great duty of Christians to go forth without the camp to Jesus set forth in several sermons on Heb. XIII. 13* (London, 1682).

¹⁰⁶ Baxter, Richard, *A paraphrase on the New Testament with notes, doctrinal and practical, by plainness and brevity fitted to the use of religious families, in their daily reading of the Scriptures: and of the younger and poorer sort of scholars and ministers, who want fuller helps: with an advertisement of difficulties in the Revelations* (London, 1685), [no pagination].

¹⁰⁷ Briggs, Joseph, *Sound considerations for tender consciencies wherein is shewed their obligation to hold close union and communion with the Church of England and their fellow members in it, and not to forsake the publick assemblies thereof* (London, 1675); reissued without the author's name as *Weighty considerations for tender conscientious Protestants wherein is shewed their obligation to hold close union and communion with the Church of England and not to forsake the publick assembly thereof* (?London, 1687). Cf. above, 100-02, for other disputants for Heb 10.25.

¹⁰⁸ Fullwood, Francis, *The general assembly, or, The necessity of receiving the communion in our publick congregations evinced from the nature of the Church, the Word of God, and presbyterian principles, in a sermon lately preached in the Cathedral Church of Exeter* (London, 1667).

¹⁰⁹ Laney, Benjamin, *A sermon preached before His Majesty at Whitehal, April 5, 1663* (London, 1663).

¹¹⁰ Reeve, Thomas, *A dead man speaking, or, The famous memory of King Charles the I delivered in a sermon upon the 30th of Jan. last, in the parish church of Waltham Abbey* (London, 1661).

doctrine of Resistance should have gone down so glibly with any, who have read the New Testament, and are baptized into the Christian Faith.¹¹¹

Although Moore's sentiments were politically adroit in early 1684, they did not oblige him to the inconvenience of refusing the oaths to William and Mary five years later. He transferred his obedience to the Orange regime and was rewarded with the bishopric of Norwich.¹¹²

Other Christian denominations need not detain us long. Owen spent less time engaging with them. Lutherans and Mennonites were despatched because they held deficient christologies.¹¹³ Federal theology offered Owen a perfect framework for criticising Baptists, because the children of Old Testament patriarchs were conceived as falling under the covenant.¹¹⁴ He also disliked Quakers, having expelled some from the city of Oxford during his time as Vice-Chancellor.¹¹⁵ Quakers were supersessionist, relying on inward illumination which, Owen thought, led them either to eisegesis of the gospel, or to despising it entirely.¹¹⁶

In addition to Judaism, Islam was the only other non-Christian tradition which was of passing interest to Owen. This was because he could set it in a chain of influence between early Church heresy and Socinianism. In one of his most excoriating passages, Owen accused Socinians of sharing the christology of the Ebionites, a sect which in time 'brought forth Mohammedanism in the east; for the religion of the Mohammedans is nothing but that of the

¹¹¹ Moore, John, *Of patience and submission to authority a sermon preach'd before the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen at Guild-Hall Chapel on the 27th of January, 1683/4* (London, 1684), 19.

¹¹² ODNB, s.v. Moore, John.

¹¹³ Owen, *Hebrews*, iv.118, 425, 526, v.453, vi.12.

¹¹⁴ Owen, *Hebrews* v.391-92, vi.354, vii.145-46.

¹¹⁵ Toon, *God's Statesman*, 76, 119; Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.188, iv.118.

¹¹⁶ Owen, *Hebrews*, iii.188-89, 526, iv.118-19. John Tillotson used Heb 6.16 against the Quaker aversion to oaths in *The lawfulness, and obligation of oaths a sermon preach'd at the assises held at Kingston upon Thames, July 21, 1681* (London, 1681), esp. 11-21.

Ebionites, with a superaddition of the interests and fanatical brain-sick notions of the impostor himself.¹¹⁷ Owen's tendency to view Muslims as a secondary historic curiosity concurs with the argument of Nabil Matar that Islam was increasingly viewed in late seventeenth-century England as a tradition of the past because the declining threat from the Ottoman empire reduced the significance of Muslims to European politics.¹¹⁸ Compared with his fascination with Judaism, Owen was relatively ignorant about Islamic belief and practice. He had studied Arabic but this was to help his understanding of early Christian texts.¹¹⁹

In summary, Owen's minor targets were identified in their own right but often connected to his more substantial opponents. Owen thought that all his adversaries failed because they substituted false, human, authorities for the truth of the gospel. Christ's enemies either opposed his person or his office, two concepts irrevocably bound together in Owen's understanding of the covenant.¹²⁰ Owen's tendency to forge real or imagined links between opponents was enshrined on his epitaph which compared Owen to Hercules, battling against a hydra with Arminian, Socinian and Catholic heads.¹²¹

Change and continuity in Owen's hermeneutics

Owen's variation of Reformed federal thinking not only fitted his constructive and controversial theology. It was also in keeping with his willingness to use cutting-edge biblical

¹¹⁷ Owen, *Hebrews*, ii.432. For other comments by Owen on Islam, including further comparisons with the doctrine of Socinianism, the compulsion of popery, and the worship of the Jews cf. *Hebrews*, iii.29, 500, 545, iv.132, v.132-33, 355.

¹¹⁸ Matar, Nabil, I., *Islam in Britain 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 184-91.

¹¹⁹ Matar, *Islam in Britain*, 187. The only other early modern English exegete of Hebrews who made more than a passing reference to Islam was Charles Fitz-Geffry in his *Compassion towards captives chiefly towards our brethren and country-men who are in miserable bondage in Barbarie*. (Oxford, 1637).

¹²⁰ Owen, *Hebrews*, vi.490.

¹²¹ Toon, *God's Statesman*, 182-83. Such collective castigation was a well-travelled path: cf. above, 202-03, and Lee, *Cocceius*, 157, 163.

critical tools in defence of long-established ideas and values. Indeed, some of Owen's hermeneutical methodology bears striking resemblance to that of his implacable opponent Henry Hammond.¹²²

On occasion Owen exposed the interpretational world in which he had been raised, for example accepting the Ussherian dating of the universe.¹²³ At other times he was a paradigm of nascent modern criticism. He deployed early examples of textual-critical logic, for instance correctly rejecting the manuscript tradition which included $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \sigma\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ ('being barren') in Heb 11.11.

[I]t is far more probable that these words were inserted in one or two copies, than that they were left out of all the rest: for there is no colour of reason why they should be omitted; but the addition of them, especially containing a truth, seems to set out more fully the greatness of the instance proposed.¹²⁴

By comparison with William Gouge, Owen was much more willing to go into detailed consideration of the manuscript tradition.

Further evidence for the sophistication of Owen's biblical criticism may be found in his linguistic skill. He commented not only on Latin, Greek and Hebrew but showed awareness of Ethiopic, Syriac and Arabic as well.¹²⁵ The extent of Owen's near-eastern philology and his study of major rabbinic writers set him apart from earlier English readers of Hebrews. The rabbis had bequeathed Owen a Jewish perspective on aspects of the epistle which, in turn, served to stimulate his pondering about Jews in England. In one of his 1668 prefaces he wrote that, unless 'the case of the Jews is particularly heeded, our Exposition will, it may be, seem oftentimes to go out of the way, though it constantly pursue the design and scope of the

¹²² Cf. above, 151-53.

¹²³ Owen, *Hebrews*, vii.5.

¹²⁴ Owen, *Hebrews*, vii.73-74.

¹²⁵ Cf. Smith, Miles, *Sermons of the Right Reuerend Father in God Miles Smith, late Lord Bishop of Glocester. Transcribed out of his originall manuscripts, and now published for the common good* (London, 1632), 197, for an earlier Hebrews preacher claiming knowledge of both Arabic and Syriac.

apostle.¹²⁶ The growing English appreciation of Hebraic learning was undoubtedly one of the factors behind Owen's engagement with Judaism. David Katz lists the development of humanistic study of Hebraic culture among the precursors to political debate about Jewish readmission to Britain.¹²⁷

At times, Owen's fascination with the Hebraic background to the epistle shifted his horizons away from contemporary concerns and onto issues which might have confronted Jewish Christians in the first century. In turn, this bolstered his claims to academic objectivity. Owen wrote in his preface to the 1680 volume that 'there is not any thing in this now published to condite it unto the palate of the present age, in personal contests and reflections, in pleading for or against any party of men or especial way in the profession of religion; only the fundamental truths of the gospel are occasionally contended for'.¹²⁸ In a similar statement prefacing his 1674 volume, he sought to rise above denominational divisions:

I used the utmost sincerity whereof I am capable in the investigation and declaration of the mind of the Spirit of God in the text, without the least respect unto any parties of men, opinions, ways of worship, or other differences that are amongst us in and about the affairs of religion, because I feared God; so in the issue and product of my endeavours, the reader will find nothing savouring of an itch after novelty or curiosity, nothing that will divert him from that sound doctrine and form of wholesome words wherein the professors of this nation have been educated and instructed.¹²⁹

Owen claimed to rest his neutral disinterest on Scripture as given by the Spirit and on his own scholarly detachment. However, his protestations read rather like the statements of Henry Hammond which we saw in chapter 4. They also bear comparison with the style adopted by a leading Restoration historian, Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715). Burnet peppered his

¹²⁶ Owen, *Hebrews*, i.13.

¹²⁷ Katz, *Jews in the History of England*, 109f.

¹²⁸ Owen, *Hebrews*, i.19.

¹²⁹ Owen, *Hebrews*, i.16; cf. also ii.277, 365.

writing with disingenuous proclamations of impartiality, and was reticent about explicitly connecting the past with events of his own day. In the *History of his Own Times* Burnet stated ‘that I tell the truth on all occasions, as fully and freely as upon my best inquiry I have been able to find it out’.¹³⁰ His *History of the Reformation* sought to be of ‘neither party’.¹³¹ However, on other occasions, Burnet accepted that the aim of history had a contemporary need, namely to make men better.¹³² Thus, Burnet used biography because, ‘no part of history is more instructive and delighting than the lives of great and worthy men’.¹³³ In reality, Burnet’s historiography was part of an elaborate attempt to justify a position for anti-Calvinism within the ambit of the English Church.¹³⁴ He admitted that his Arminian *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles* was composed as ‘a proper addition to the *History of the Reformation*, to explain and prove the doctrine which was then established’.¹³⁵ Owen, like Burnet, made historically precocious use of claims to objectivity as a subtle means of promoting dogma.

Connections can therefore be drawn in the writing of Henry Hammond and John Owen between emergent biblical criticism and an aspirational yet flawed striving for a detached perspective on history. Research into the history of scholarship explains why this should not necessarily come as a surprise. A major article and recent monograph by Dmitri Levitin challenges the traditional conception of the ‘enlightenment’ as originating in an external

¹³⁰ Burnet, Gilbert, *The History of My Own Times*, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1823), i.5.

¹³¹ Burnet, Gilbert, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1865), ii.5.

¹³² Burnet, *History of Own Times*, vi.171.

¹³³ Varhus, S.B., ‘Lively Examples: Gilbert Burnet’s Use of Biography’, *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 11 (1987), 18-30; Burnet, Gilbert, *The Life of Sir Matthew Hale* (London: Pickering, 1820), i. (By tangential coincidence, Hale is one of the few laymen whose thinking about Hebrews survives from this period; Lambeth Palace Library, MS 4267, ‘Fairhurst Papers’, 111-26. Largely an abbreviated paraphrase, perhaps a logical analysis, Hale seems to have written his folios as a personal devotional exercise; they are not of wider significance.)

¹³⁴ Cf. Claydon, Tony, ‘Latitudinarianism and Apocalyptic History in the Worldview of Gilbert Burnet, 1643-1715’, *Historical Journal* 51 (2008), 577-597.

¹³⁵ Burnet, *History of Own Times* iv.408.

attack on Christianity by philosophical rationalists.¹³⁶ Levitin replaces the familiar heterodox trajectory from Spinoza to Hume with an argument that confessional polemic a generation before Spinoza catalysed progressive historical techniques and inspired the publication of new aids to biblical study such as the Paris and London polyglots. Churchmen who occupied positions as contradictory as Scaliger and Buxtorf were pioneers in realising that the Bible itself had a history. Hammond and Owen are important early English examples of this trend.

The similarities in biblical critical approach between Hammond and Owen reveal that supersessionism and present-mindedness were not the only *termini* for the new perspective on history. Or, to put it another way, defenders of traditional Reformed ideas were not excluded from use of emergent hermeneutics. This should not be seen as an amendment to Levitin's theory; rather it conforms to it. Levitin stresses that the historicisation of the sacred past was a product of confessionalisation and that theological controversy fostered the emergence of new techniques. 'As historians have begun to explore this world of antiquarian / contextual Old Testament exegesis and *historia sacra*, they have begun to emphasize that mid-seventeenth-century "orthodox" approaches were neither stale nor defensive, and some fascinating (and often important) figures have been rediscovered or rehabilitated.'¹³⁷ John Owen is hardly a figure in need of rediscovery, but his position in scriptural reception history might need reappraisal in the light of Levitin's arguments. Owen's federal theology has a fundamental role to play in this reassessment. His greater sense of evolution within God's covenantal plan permitted him to reconcile the new historical appreciation of the linear progression of time with the Reformed belief in God's eternal oversight and providentialism.

¹³⁶ Levitin, 'From Sacred History to the History of Religion'; Levitin, *Ancient wisdom*.

¹³⁷ Levitin, 'From Sacred History to the History of Religion', 1133.

Conclusion

John Owen's *Exercitations and Exposition* sits comfortably alongside Gouge's *Commentary on Hebrews* as an alternative response to the mid-seventeenth-century challenge of supersessionism. Owen and Gouge both wrote massive exegeses as the pinnacle of their publishing careers. Each viewed the epistle as a summary of the whole gospel and believed that it had a vital contribution to make to English discussions about Christ and salvation. Nonetheless, Owen represented a sea-change in the English commenting tradition. Writing a generation later than Gouge and with a greater willingness to admit contemporary confessional disagreement, his hermeneutics afforded a partially-detached perspective on the age in which Hebrews had first been written. In this, Owen's hermeneutics bore a resemblance not to Gouge but to his inveterate opponent Henry Hammond.

Owen thus represents the culmination of the constructive, controversial and critical processes visible among expositors of Hebrews in this era. The range of doctrines which were positively asserted burgeoned as writers took increasing time and care in their commentaries, finding the letter capable of sustaining entire doctrinal systems. Meanwhile, lying behind the twin processes of dogmatic assertion and refutation were evolving methodologies of biblical reception. A growing mastery of the manuscript tradition, augmented language skills, the study of ancient history, and an idealised yearning for objectivity were used as tools in increasingly complex ideological battles. These developments, however, meant that such handmaids to pre-modern theology were now on the verge of throwing off subservience and assuming supremacy within the study of ancient texts and contexts.

Conclusion

Constructive, controversial, critical - and complex

Among all the passages and portions of Scripture, which yeeld fit mater of discourse, (and which doe not, even from the beginning of Genesis, to the latter end of the Revelation) there is none, in my judgement, that affordeth greater store either of heavenly doctrine, or spirituall comfort, than this doth that I have in hand.¹

Bishop Miles Smith thus captured something of the magnetic attraction which many of his contemporaries felt towards the letter to the Hebrews. Smith was extolling the opening of the first chapter, but others might have applied his words to the rest of the epistle. Dering, Jones, Gouge and Owen made Hebrews the subject of their longest and/or most significant works, implicitly echoing Smith's sentiment about the letter's store of heavenly doctrine. Others would have concurred with his assessment of Hebrews' spiritual value. Poignant verses proved a particular strength in times of adversity. On his deathbed, Dering reminded those around him of their union with the saintly 'clowde of witnesses' (Heb 12.1).² Archbishop Laud drew on the same lines in his speech from the scaffold.³ The eighteenth-century collator of the writings of George Hickes implicitly likened his non-juring forebears to the patriarchs of Heb 11, men 'being dead yet speak... of whom the world was not worthy'.⁴ As Smith had accurately pinpointed, there was something in the rhetoric as well as the theological depth of the text which ensured it a lively and engaged readership in this period.

¹ Smith, Miles, *Sermons of the Right Reuerend Father in God Miles Smith, late Lord Bishop of Gloucester* (London, 1632), 197.

² Dering, Edward, 'M. Derings words, spoken on his death-bed at Toby. The 26. of June. 1576' in *M. Derings Workes* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1972).

³ Laud, William, *The Archbishop of Canterbury's speech, or, His funerall sermon preacht by himself on the scaffold on Tower-Hill on Friday the 10 of January, 1644 upon Hebrews 12. 1,2* (London, 1644 [1645]), 7. Thomas Manton likewise looked to the cloud of witnesses when he faced exclusion from the restored Church of England; Calamy, Edmund (ed.), *An Exact collection of farewell sermons preached by the late London-ministers viz. Mr. Calamy, Mr. Watson, Mr. Jacomb, Mr. Case, Mr. Sclater, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Jenkin, Dr. Manton, Mr. Lye, Mr. Collins* (London, 1662), 309-26.

⁴ Translation from the flyleaf of Lambeth Palace Library MS 3171, iii, 'Heb.XI.4 αποθανων επι λαλειται 38. ων ουκ ην αξιος ο κοσμος'.

There was of course a shadow-side to this inspirational potency. When writing on disagreements about the letter's penman, John Wing inadvertently summarised the wider contemporary controversiality of the epistle.

It would weary and tyre any man, and make him to mourne in his very soule, to see how men of eminent excellency, and worthy parts, have toyled in this *titular*, (I had almost sayd, *triviall*) businesse, disputed between *Papist* and *Papist*, betweene *Protestant* and *Papist*, yea, between *Protestant* and *Protestant*...⁵

In an age of confessional strife, constructive exegesis of the epistle was inevitably dogged by a symbiotic controversiality.

Constructive, controversial and critical processes were of course at work in the early modern English reception of other parts of scripture, but Hebrews received more attention than most. Exegetes of diverse confessional hues knew that mastery of the interpretation of this epistle was key to their dominance of prominent theological debates. As such, Hebrews offers a case study of the changing culture of biblical interpretation. Issues that inspired and divided both country and continent hung on the minutiae of the exegesis of a few verses or even words.

When I began this study, I was labouring under the over-optimistic anticipation that a single major process might be discerned in the story of Hebrews in early modern England. I thought that this process might be a widening and intensifying polemic between Protestants and Catholics, a pattern reflective of the genesis of the thesis during my trip to Rome in 2003.⁶ However, the Reformed *volte face* of the 1640s taught me that the story of the

⁵ Wing, John, *The saints advantage: or the well-fare of the faithfull in the worst times A sermon, preached at the Hage the 18. of May, before the most high, and mighty princesse, Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of Bohemia, Countesse Palatine of the Rhene, Dutches of Bavaria, &c.* (London, 1624), 3.

⁶ Cf. above, 12.

letter's confessional controversiality was more complex. Mainstream writers were increasingly forced to confront alternative Protestant readings as much as the perceived threat of popery. Moreover, towards the end of my primary research, I became acutely aware of the capacity for the reception of Hebrews to feed back on the task of biblical reading itself, revisiting the ancient dilemma about the relationship between the Old and New Testaments and its massive implications for related theological topoi.

This is primarily a theological project, but the reception of Hebrews has been seen to supply an underused lens onto a number of topics which are of interest to historians. To name a few, these include: the extent to which English scriptural exegesis and theology was influenced by continental writers, the importance of liturgical and biblical texts to the process of confessionalisation in England, the challenge of Arminianism to the way in which Reformed polemic was articulated, the complexity of the influences on and from Henry Hammond, the importance of supersessionism in the crises of the mid-seventeenth century, and the significance of typology and federal theology within the later seventeenth-century reassertion of Reformed doctrine and practice.

It has not been possible to pursue all the byways which diverge from the main path of this thesis, but two in particular should not pass unmentioned. Firstly, study of the Lollard use of Hebrews confirms the scepticism of Richard Rex that Lollardy had little or no influence on the ignition and spread of Reformation ideas in England.⁷ The two Wycliffite recensions of Hebrews made conservative translational choices⁸ and the accompanying marginal

⁷ Rex, Richard, *The Lollards* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), ch. 5; *contra* Dickens, A.G., *The English Reformation* 2nd edn. (London: Batsford, 1989), ch.3.

⁸ Forshall, J. and Madden, F. (eds.), *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1850), iv.488, 500, 503.

commentary drew extensively on the *argumentum* of Jerome and the *glossa ordinaria*.⁹ Neither presented a theological challenge to the medieval Catholic reception of the epistle. By contrast, much more radical readings of Hebrews were found among Elizabethan Familists. Drawing on the spiritualising ideas of their Dutch founder, Hendrik Niclaes, Familists were an isolated early example of the supersessionist readings which flourished during the civil wars.¹⁰ It was the publication of Lushington's translation of Crell which spearheaded the profusion of supersessionism in England, but the Familist reception of the epistle might serve as a footnote to the debate among historians about the survival of this earlier heterodoxy beyond the opening decades of the seventeenth century.¹¹

Ongoing patterns

The evolution of the reception of Hebrews in relation to changing contemporary need was of course by no means confined to our period. In the early Church, the christology of Antiochene and Alexandrian writers had developed in tandem with the exegesis of their opponents. 'The theological problems raised by the Arian controversy are not merely reflected in the orthodox exegesis of Hebrews, but actually determine it at important points. The theological response to Arianism governs the questions asked of the text, and the answers found are in this way determined theologically.'¹² Likewise, in the decades after the period covered in this study, writers would continue to bring presuppositions to their

⁹ Cf. e.g. Forshall, and Madden, *Holy Bible*, iv. 480, 484, 488, 494.

¹⁰ E.g. N[iclaes], H[endrik], *Reuelatio Dei The reuelation of God, and his great propheetie: which God now; in the last daye; hath shewed vnto his elect. Set-fourth by HN, and by him perused anew and more distinctlie declared. Translated out of Base-almayne* (Cologne, 1575), 40, 53; N[iclaes], H[endrik], *Terra pacis A true testification of the spirituall lande of peace; which is the spirituall lande of promyse, and the holy citee of peace or the heauenly Ierusalem; and of the holy and spirituall people that dwell therein: as also of the walking in the spirit, which leadeth therunto. Set-fourth by HN: and by him newly perused and more-playnly declared.* (Cologne, 1575), 2, 42, 54, 78.

¹¹ Marsh, Christopher W., *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 236-37; Smith, Nigel, 'The Writings of Hendrik Niclaes and the Family of Love in the Interregnum' in Smith, Nigel, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion 1640-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 144-84.

¹² Greer, Rowan A., *The Captain of Our Salvation: A Study in the Patristic Exegesis of Hebrews* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1973), 126; cf. also 357f.

reading of the epistle. Braunius wrote an anti-Socinian Reformed commentary in 1705. This included the use of a ‘trichotomous’ federal theology.¹³ Franz Delitzsch published a famous Lutheran exposition in 1857,¹⁴ and Brooke Foss Westcott tackled the letter from a broadly Arminian standpoint in 1889.¹⁵ The interplay between the text and event continued into the twentieth century. Post-holocaust writers have rightly exposed the anti-Semitic factors lying behind some earlier supersessionist readings of the epistle.¹⁶ Down to the present, a flurry of twenty-first-century publishing declares the particular attachment of evangelicals to the epistle. Some are keen to use the epistle to assert that the Bible is one book which tells one story, a single providential scheme across two dispensations. Theologians like John Fesko continue to ‘read the Old Testament in the light of the New Testament’ and to find Christ within its pages.¹⁷ As Gadamer was well aware, scholars can never fully evade the presuppositions bequeathed by their upbringing, faith and context. The very growth of reader-response criticism reflects an acceptance of this inability to escape eisegesis entirely.

Future opportunities

Research inevitably generates more questions than answers. Further work needs to be done on the use of the Bible in the lectionary of the Book of Common Prayer and in the Homilies. Useful comparative study could be undertaken between the English and Scottish

¹³ Rehnman, Sebastian, ‘Is the Narrative of Redemptive History Trichotomous or Dichotomous? A Problem for Federal Theology’, *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 80 (2000), 296-308, at 299.

¹⁴ Delitzsch, Franz, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 2 vols. trans. Kingsbury, Thomas (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1868).

¹⁵ Westcott, B. F., *The Epistle to the Hebrews: The Greek Text with Notes and Essays* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2001).

¹⁶ Bauckham, Richard, et al (eds.), *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 151-225. Cf. above, 30 fn. 36 for Erasmus, anti-Semitism and supersessionism.

¹⁷ Fesko, J.V., *Christ and the Desert Tabernacle* (Darlington: EP Books, 2012), 133; Carson, D.A. (ed.), *The scriptures testify about me: Jesus and the Gospel in the Old Testament* (Nottingham: Inter Varsity, 2013). Cf. also the tangential debate about whether there are christophanies in the Old Testament and their importance for conservatives in refuting the inclusivist argument that one need not recognise the person and work of Jesus in order to be saved. Malone, Andrew S., *Knowing Jesus in the Old Testament? A fresh look at Christophanies* (Nottingham: Inter Varsity Press, 2015); reviewed by Barton, John, ‘What’s exercising Evangelicals’, *Church Times* (23rd October 2015), 31.

contexts, in particular the Ramist exposition of Hebrews by Robert Rollock and its relationship to his exposition of the covenant.¹⁸ The manuscript precursor to Hammond's *Paraphrase and Annotations* is crying out for comprehensive study, and a critical edition of the *English Annotations* might usefully chart the evolution of Westminster theology, complementing Chad van Dixhoorn's magisterial compilation of the work of the Assembly.¹⁹ Others might be interested in applying reception-critical techniques to the early modern use of alternative biblical texts. The gospels of Matthew, Luke and John, and several of the Pauline epistles would almost certainly benefit from study in this way.

So much for exegesis; in terms of hermeneutics, while Hans Frei and Michael Legaspi are among those who have written about the rise of modern biblical criticism in the eighteenth century,²⁰ their books serve only as extended afterwords for the early modern period: a full-scale project to document the contribution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the rise of biblical criticism is needed. Dmitri Levitin has made an important contribution towards filling the gap.²¹

In addition to identified opportunities, new sources for early modern reception history will become available (or at least more evident) in the years to come. The catalogues of manuscripts in local archives are variable in content, quality and accessibility. Access to these can only improve and become more integrated through online search-engines.

¹⁸ Rollock, Robert, *Analysis logica in epistolam ad Hebraeos* (Edinburgh, 1605); Michael McGiffert, 'Grace and works: the rise and division of covenant divinity in Elizabethan puritanism', *Harvard Theological Review*, 75 (1982), 463-502, at 468 fn. 6; McGiffert, Michael, 'The Perkinsian moment of federal theology', *Calvin Theological Journal*, 29 (1994), 117-48, at 145-46.

¹⁹ Van Dixhoorn, Chad B., *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly, 1643-1652*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

²⁰ Frei, Hans W., *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974); Legaspi, Michael C., *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

²¹ Levitin, Dmitri, *Ancient wisdom in the age of the New Science: histories of philosophy in England, c.1640-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Similarly, it is to be hoped that the utility of secondary literature to reception history will also increase as more authors are inclined to add biblical indices within their publications.

Westcott knew as well as any of the writers in this study the way in which Hebrews had an irresistible draw for his faith. 'No work in which I have ever been allowed to spend many years of continuous labour has had for me the same intense human interest as the study of the Epistle to the Hebrews.'²² Despite the deeply alien cultural context of this first-century document, it has a startling timelessness. 'Every student of the Epistle to the Hebrews must feel that it deals in a peculiar degree with the thoughts and trials of our own time.'²³ The letter captures the imagination of Christians yesterday today and forever, and so will remain a fruitful subject for Christian theologising, and therefore also for reception history.

²² Westcott, *Hebrews*, ix.

²³ Westcott, *Hebrews*, v.

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Appendix I

Incidence of epistle readings in the lectionary for holy communion
on Sundays and saints days in the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549)

	Incidence	Chapters per book	Incidence per chapter	Ranked incidence
Old Testament				
Proverbs	1	31	0.032258065	20
Isaiah	4	66	0.060606061	19
Jeremiah	1	52	0.019230769	21
Joel	1	3	0.333333333	jt 12
New Testament				
Acts	13	28	0.464285714	11
Romans	12	16	0.75	jt 7
1 Corinthians	9	16	0.5625	10
2 Corinthians	4	13	0.307692308	jt 14
Galatians	5	6	0.833333333	5
Ephesians	9	6	1.5	1
Philippians	4	4	1	jt 3
Colossians	3	4	0.75	jt 7
1 Thessalonians	1	5	0.2	17
2 Timothy	1	4	0.25	16
Titus	1	3	0.333333333	jt 12
Hebrews	4	13	0.307692308	jt 14
James	3	5	0.6	9
1 Peter	6	5	1.2	2
1 John	4	5	0.8	6
Jude	1	1	1	jt 3
Revelation	4	22	0.181818182	18
Unused New Testament books				
2 Thessalonians	0	3	0	
1 Timothy	0	6	0	
Philemon	0	1	0	
2 Peter	0	3	0	
2 John	0	1	0	
3 John	0	1	0	
Comparative incidence of gospel readings				
Matthew	33	28	1.178571429	
Mark	5	16	0.3125	
Luke	29	24	1.208333333	
John	25	21	1.19047619	

Appendix 2 Incidence of biblical citations from the *Book of Homilies* (in biblical order)

A	B	C	D	E	F*
Biblical Book	Citations	Chapters per book	Citations per chapter	Rank of D [out of 77]	Citations per homily [B/33]
Old Testament					
Genesis	43	50	0.86	32	1.303030303
Exodus	16	40	0.4	48	0.484848485
Leviticus	12	27	0.444444444	44	0.363636364
Numbers	18	36	0.5	jt 42	0.545454545
Deuteronomy	29	34	0.852941176	33	0.878787879
Joshua	3	24	0.125	57	0.090909091
Judges	4	21	0.19047619	55	0.121212121
Ruth	0	4	0	jt 64	0
1 Samuel	40	31	1.290322581	jt 23	1.212121212
2 Samuel	31	24	1.291666667	22	0.939393939
1 Kings	9	22	0.409090909	47	0.272727273
2 Kings	3	25	0.12	58	0.090909091
1 Chronicles	1	29	0.034482759	62	0.03030303
2 Chronicles	15	36	0.416666667	46	0.454545455
Ezra	1	10	0.1	jt 60	0.03030303
Nehemiah	0	13	0	jt 64	0
Esther	1	10	0.1	jt 60	0.03030303
Job	11	42	0.261904762	50	0.333333333
Psalms	111	150	0.74	35	3.363636364
Proverbs	40	31	1.290322581	jt 23	1.212121212
Ecclesiastes	15	12	1.25	25	0.454545455
Song of Solomon	0	8	0	jt 64	0
Isaiah	45	66	0.681818182	37	1.363636364
Jeremiah	20	52	0.384615385	49	0.606060606
Lamentations	0	5	0	jt 64	0
Ezekiel	11	48	0.229166667	52	0.333333333
Daniel	8	12	0.666666667	jt 38	0.242424242
Hosea	10	14	0.714285714	36	0.303030303
Joel	6	3	2	jt 16	0.181818182
Amos	1	9	0.111111111	59	0.03030303
Obadiah	0	1	0	jt 64	0
Jonah	4	4	1	jt 27	0.121212121
Micah	1	7	0.142857143	56	0.03030303
Nahum	0	3	0	jt 64	0
Habakkuk	3	3	1	jt 27	0.090909091
Zephaniah	0	3	0	jt 64	0
Haggai	3	2	1.5	20	0.090909091
Zechariah	3	14	0.214285714	jt 53	0.090909091
Malachi	2	4	0.5	jt 42	0.060606061

A	B	C	D	E	F*
Biblical Book	Citations	Chapters per book	Citations per chapter	Rank of D [out of 77]	Citations per homily [B/33]
Apocrypha					
Esdras	0	9	0	jt 64	0
Tobit	3	14	0.214285714	jt 53	0.090909091
Judith	4	16	0.25	51	0.121212121
Wisdom	29	19	1.526315789	19	0.878787879
Ecclesiasticus	22	51	0.431372549	45	0.666666667
Baruch	6	5	1.2	26	0.181818182
3 Holy Children	0	1	0	jt 64	0
Susanna	0	1	0	jt 64	0
Bel	0	1	0	jt 64	0
Manasses	0	1	0	jt 64	0
Maccabees	1	56	0.017857143	63	0.03030303
New Testament					
Matthew	165	28	5.892857143	2	5
Mark	9	16	0.5625	40	0.272727273
Luke	96	24	4	jt 8	2.909090909
John	104	21	4.952380952	6	3.151515152
Acts	56	28	2	jt 16	1.696969697
Romans	61	16	3.8125	10	1.848484848
1 Corinthians	70	16	4.375	7	2.121212121
2 Corinthians	12	13	0.923076923	31	0.363636364
Galatians	14	6	2.333333333	15	0.424242424
Ephesians	33	6	5.5	4	1
Philippians	13	4	3.25	12	0.393939394
Colossians	16	4	4	jt 8	0.484848485
1 Thessalonians	8	5	1.6	18	0.242424242
2 Thessalonians	2	3	0.666666667	jt 38	0.060606061
1 Timothy	17	6	2.833333333	13	0.515151515
2 Timothy	3	4	0.75	34	0.090909091
Titus	4	3	1.333333333	21	0.121212121
Philemon	0	1	0	jt 64	0
Hebrews	36	13	2.769230769	14	1.090909091
James	25	5	5	5	0.757575758
1 Peter	29	5	5.8	3	0.878787879
2 Peter	10	3	3.333333333	11	0.303030303
1 John	34	5	6.8	1	1.03030303
2 John	0	1	0	jt 64	0
3 John	1	1	1	jt 27	0.03030303
Jude	1	1	1	jt 27	0.03030303
Revelation	12	22	0.545454545	41	0.363636364

* column F assumes a total of 33 homilies, including that against Wilful Rebellion, and treating the material for Good Friday as a single homily.

Appendix 2 Incidence of biblical citations from the *Book of Homilies* (in rank order)

A	B	C	D	E
Biblical Book	Citations	Chapters per book	Citations per chapter	Rank of D [out of 77]
1 John	34	5	6.8	1
Matthew	165	28	5.892857143	2
1 Peter	29	5	5.8	3
Ephesians	33	6	5.5	4
James	25	5	5	5
John	104	21	4.952380952	6
1 Corinthians	70	16	4.375	7
Luke	96	24	4	jt 8
Colossians	16	4	4	jt 8
Romans	61	16	3.8125	10
2 Peter	10	3	3.333333333	11
Philippians	13	4	3.25	12
1 Timothy	17	6	2.833333333	13
Hebrews	36	13	2.769230769	14
Galatians	14	6	2.333333333	15
Joel	6	3	2	jt 16
Acts	56	28	2	jt 16
1 Thessalonians	8	5	1.6	18
Wisdom	29	19	1.526315789	19
Haggai	3	2	1.5	20
Titus	4	3	1.333333333	21
2 Samuel	31	24	1.291666667	22
1 Samuel	40	31	1.290322581	jt 23
Proverbs	40	31	1.290322581	jt 23
Ecclesiastes	15	12	1.25	25
Baruch	6	5	1.2	26
Jonah	4	4	1	jt 27
Habakkuk	3	3	1	jt 27
3 John	1	1	1	jt 27
Jude	1	1	1	jt 27
2 Corinthians	12	13	0.923076923	31
Genesis	43	50	0.86	32
Deuteronomy	29	34	0.852941176	33
2 Timothy	3	4	0.75	34
Psalms	111	150	0.74	35
Hosea	10	14	0.714285714	36
Isaiah	45	66	0.681818182	37
Daniel	8	12	0.666666667	jt 38
2 Thessalonians	2	3	0.666666667	jt 38
Mark	9	16	0.5625	40

A	B	C	D	E
Biblical Book	Citations	Chapters per book	Citations per chapter	Rank of D [out of 77]
Revelation	12	22	0.545454545	41
Numbers	18	36	0.5	jt 42
Malachi	2	4	0.5	jt 42
Leviticus	12	27	0.444444444	44
Ecclus	22	51	0.431372549	45
2 Chronicles	15	36	0.416666667	46
1 Kings	9	22	0.409090909	47
Exodus	16	40	0.4	48
Jeremiah	20	52	0.384615385	49
Job	11	42	0.261904762	50
Judith	4	16	0.25	51
Ezekiel	11	48	0.229166667	52
Zechariah	3	14	0.214285714	jt 53
Tobit	3	14	0.214285714	jt 53
Judges	4	21	0.19047619	55
Micah	1	7	0.142857143	56
Joshua	3	24	0.125	57
2 Kings	3	25	0.12	58
Amos	1	9	0.111111111	59
Ezra	1	10	0.1	jt 60
Esther	1	10	0.1	jt 60
1 Chronicles	1	29	0.034482759	62
Maccabees	1	56	0.017857143	63
Ruth	0	4	0	jt 64
Nehemiah	0	13	0	jt 64
Song of Solomon	0	8	0	jt 64
Lamentations	0	5	0	jt 64
Obadiah	0	1	0	jt 64
Nahum	0	3	0	jt 64
Zephaniah	0	3	0	jt 64
Esdras	0	9	0	jt 64
3 Holy Children	0	1	0	jt 64
Susanna	0	1	0	jt 64
Bel	0	1	0	jt 64
Manasses	0	1	0	jt 64
Philemon	0	1	0	jt 64
2 John	0	1	0	jt 64

Appendix 3

Additions to English Annotations 1645 (Wing / D2062) made in 1651 (Wing / D2063)

				1651 Additions:				
Hebrews chapter	Number of annotations in 1645	Number of additions in 1651	1651 Additions as a % of 1645 annotations	to reinforce orthodox christology	to reinforce Reformed soteriology	for moral exhortation	to better explain the text	for other purposes
Argumentum	1	1	100					authorship
1	42	11	26.2	vv 3, 5, 6, 9, 9, 9, 9, 9	vv 2, 14		v 12	
2	51	8	15.7	vv 2, 7, 9		vv 1, 1	vv 2, 2, 4	
3	53	5	9.43	vv 1, 2	v 11		vv 1, 11	
4	38	6	15.8			v 13	vv 1, 2, 6, 12, 16	
5	41	4	9.76	v 1			vv 1, 2, 4	
6	43	11	25.6		vv 10, 11	vv 1, 1, 16	vv 2, 2, 9, 13, 17, 17	
7	57	11	19.3		v 18	v 2	vv 1, 1, 6, 7, 7, 8, 8, 8, 20	
8	23	9	39.1	vv 1, 4, 4			vv 1, 5, 8, 9, 9, 9	
9	95	2	2.11	vv 5, 7				
10	114	11	9.65	vv 3, 20	v 16	v 26	vv 26, 29, 35, 37, 37, 38, 39	
11	115	6	5.22		vv 1, 40		vv 1, 1, 4, 4, 5	
12	89	12	13.5	vv 1, 2, 2	vv 9, 18	vv 1, 2	vv 1, 3, 5, 10, 12	
13	55	13	23.6	v 21	vv 20, 20, 20	v 4	vv 1, 3, 11, 13, 21, 21, 22, 23	
TOTALS	817	110	13.5	25	14	11	59	1