Christian Hebrew Printing in the Sixteenth Century: Printers, Humanism and the Impact of the Reformation *

Christian printers of Hebrew books have long been recognized as a crucial factor in the spread of Christian Hebraism in early modern Europe [1]. Their works have traditionally been listed together with Jewish books in bibliographies such as Moritz Steinschneider's catalogue of books on Hebrew language instruction, and the Bodleian library's collection Hebrew imprints [2] since both contain Hebrew type, but grouping them together also blurs their distinctive features. Yet the business of Hebrew printing for Christians differed in character from Jewish printing in a variety of ways [3].

1 Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1983), 36-38.

2 *Bibliographisches Handbuch über die theoretische und praktische Literatur für hebräische Sprachkunde* (1959; reprint: Hildesheim: Olms, 1976), and *Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (1852-60; reprint: Hildesheim: Olms, 1964). Yeshayahu Vinograd continues this practice in his *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book*, 2 vols (Jerusalem: Institute for Computerized Bibliography, 1993-1995) [Hebrew].

3 See Alexandre Lorian, «L'imprimerie hébraïque 1470-1550: ateliers chrétiens et ateliers juifs» in: *Le Livre dans L'Europe de la Renaissance: Actes du xxviiie internationale d'Etudes humanistes de Tours*, ed. Pierre Aquilon and Henri-Jean Martin (Paris: Promodis, 1988), 219-229, and Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, vol. 68 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 39-47.

In this essay I will analyze the geographic distribution of non-Jewish Hebrew printing firms in sixteenth-century Europe and the kinds of books they produced, identify the most important Hebrew printers and the reasons for their success in this specialized field, and consider several effects of the Reformation upon Christian Hebrew printing.

Renaissance humanist scholarship was born in Italy. Just as Italian humanists provided a market for the Greek and Latin classics, encouraging the growth of presses specializing in such works, so they encouraged Christian Hebrew printing. Aldus Manutius' very short introduction to Hebrew grammar, frequently printed either with Konstantinus Lascaris' Greek grammar or with Manutius' own Latin grammar, was one of the earliest «best-sellers» among Hebrew grammars, with 17 printings in Italy and 7 elsewhere [4]. It was in Italy that Reuchlin caught Pico's enthusiasm for Kabbalah, and Reuchlin's Rudimenta was the first Hebrew work to be printed by Thomas Anselm in Hagenau [5]. Some of the humanist-trained scholars who edited the Complutensian Polyglot, came from Italy or were educated there as well [6]. When Francis I founded a trilingual college in Paris during 1530, some of the first scholars he invited to teach Hebrew there were also Italians [7]. Yet Italy never became a major center of Christian Hebrew scholarship or printing. While it would be a major center of Jewish printing throughout the sixteenth century, especially before 1550, the total output for

4 Manutius Hebrew grammar was printed in Augsburg, 1520; Basel, 1547; Cologne, 1517; Erfurt, 1502; Florence, 1515, 1516, 1519; Hagenau, 1519; Lyons, 1533; Naples, 1591; Tübingen, 1512; and Venice, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1508, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1523, 1533, 1540, 1546 and 1555.

5 See Hans Widmann, «Zu Reuchlins Rudimenta Hebraica», in: *Feschrift für Josef Benzing zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag 4. Februar 1964* (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler, 1964), 492-498.

6 Demetrius Ducas, who was probably the principal New Testament editor, has worked for Manutius editing classical Greek texts. Jerry H. Bently, *Humanist and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 77-78; Elio Antonio de Nebrija studied at the university of Bologna where he was exposed to the ideas of Italian humanists. See Arsenio Pacheco, «Elio Antonio de Nebrija», *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a biographical register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1985-1987), 3: 9-10.

7 These included Paul Paradisus and Agatha Guidacerius. See Friedman, *Most Ancient Testimony*, 30-31.

all Italian presses for Christian Hebrew works was a mere 44 books, about 5 % the total European output.

Northern Europe proved to be a far better market for Christian Hebrew books than southern Europe over the course of the sixteenth century. While Christian students of Hebrew could and did use Hebrew books intended for Jewish purchasers (Luther and his colleagues consulted both the 1517 and 1525 editions of the Bomberg rabbinical Bible while revising the German Old Testament in 1539-41 in Wittenberg) [8], grammar books, dictionaries, and other reference works written in Latin with a Christian readership in mind were essential if Hebrew learning was to spread beyond a narrow circle of devotees. For Hebraica books to be of any use to Christians they would, for the most part, have to be books containing Hebrew type rather than purely Hebrew texts with a few words of Latin on the title page. While Hebrew books for Christians were nearly always produced for export to distant markets, and not simply to supply local demand, production statistics are an indicator of the level of demand, especially for northern Europe.

TABLE 1

TOTAL PRODUCTION OF HEBREW BOOKS
FOR CHRISTIANS, 1501-1600 [9]

Holy Roman Empire & Swiss Confederation (except Geneva)	464	52 %
France	235	26 %
Spanish Netherlands	66	7 %

8 Melanchthon owned a copy of the 1517 rabbinical Bible and Caspar Crucius, and possibly Luther, owned copies of the 1525 rabbinical Bible. Hans Volz discusses the Hebrew Bibles and portions used by Luther and his associates in «Anhang IV. Hebräische Handpsalter Luthers», in WA Deutsche Bibel 10: 290-320; idem, «Melanchtons Anteil an der Lutherbibel, «*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 45 (1954): 202 and n. 28, and idem, introduction to Martin Luther, *Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch Wittenberg 1545* (München: Rogner & Bernahard, 1972), 43* n. 32, 105*.

9 I have rounded the percentages throughout to the nearest digit. These statistics reflect the following assumptions. 1. The books counted contain a substaintial number of Hebrew characters, and exclude biblical commentaries which contain occasional Hebrew words. 2. The count also excludes occasional works such as orations on the value of Hebrew learning, Hebrew poems published as broadsides, and dispu-

TABLE 1

TOTAL PRODUCTION OF HEBREW BOOKS
FOR CHRISTIANS, 1501-1600 *(Cont.)*

Italy	44	5 %
Netherlands	32	4 %
Geneva [10]	18	2 %
Spain	17	1 %
England	5	Less than 1 %
Portugal	4	Less than 1 %
Poland	2	Less than 1 %
TOTAL	**887**	

What is most remarkable about these national statistics is how Christian Hebrew printing was concentrated primarily in four

tations containing a few Hebrew words. These can be considered ephemeral products which bear witness to the capacities of presses to produce the odd Hebrew work, but are usually not counted by professional bibliographers when compiling imprint statistics for individual printers. 3. Bible translations so long as they do not contain a facing Hebrew text. Including even Luther's Bible imprints would distort any sort of count involving Hebraica books. I have included translations of post-biblical Jewish works whether or not they contain Hebrew type. 4. For monumental works such as the Complutensian Polyglot I have for statistical purposes counted them by volume rather than title, so the former is counted as 6 volumes rather than one. I have done this both to reflect more accurately the volume of work produced by individual presses (Manutius' tiny grammar is not directly comparable to a 6 volume folio set), and also because monumental works were frequently intended to be purchased by the volume and not only by the set, and more of one volume was produced than the total number of sets produced. For example, see Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, London, and New York: Vangendt & Company/Routledge & Kegan Paul/Abner Schram, 1969), 2: 169 n. 7; and Antoine August Renouard, *Annales de L'Imprimerie des Estienne ou Histoire de la Familie Des Estienne et de ses Éditions*, 2d ed. (1843; reprint: New York: Burt Franklin, n. d.), 54 concerning Robert Estienne's Hebrew Bible printing (1539-1541). Renouard noted, «Chacun des 12 Prophetes a son titre et son foliotage (hébreu) séparé», and I have identified separate copies of each of the twelve prophets which had been apparently sold as single books.

10 I have listed imprints from Geneva separately since its political affiliation with the Swiss Confederation changed over the course of the sixteenth century and its printers were primarily concerned with the French market rather than the German-speaking world. See Hans Joachim Bremme, *Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe: Studien zur Genfer Durckgeschichte, 1565-1580*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, n. 104 (Geneva: Droz, 1969), 79-80.

places: the Holy Roman Empire, France, and the Southern and Northern Netherlands, most works in the latter two produced by Plantin in Antwerp and his son-in-law Raphelengius in Leiden.

An analysis of trends in Hebrew printing only serves to underscore the absolute dominance of these four areas.

TABLE 2

TRENDS IN HEBREW BOOK PRODUCTION
(NUMBER OF BOOKS PRODUCED)

	1501-1520	1521-1540	1541-1560	1561-1580	1581-1600
HR Empire	49	101	108	70	136
France	11	54	98	50	22
Sp Netherlands	2	3	5	44	12
Italy	16	9	3	4	12
Netherlands................	0	0	0	0	32
Spain	7	2	2	4	2
Other	0	5	5	9	10
TOTAL	**85**	**174**	**226**	**181**	**226**

From 1521-1560 the Holy Roman empire and France together produced 90 % of all Hebrew books intended for Christian consumers throughout Europe. Before 1521 Italy's share of the market was more significant (19 % of total production), and the emergence of the Plantin firm of Antwerp as a major producer of Hebraica between 1561 and 1580 also cut into the dominance of Germany and France. German printers reasserted themselves after 1580, producing over 60 % of all Hebraica during the final decades of the sixteenth century. Dutch and English Hebrew printing were only in their infancy at the end of the sixteenth century, but printers in these two countries would become far more important in the first half of the seventeenth century.

A consideration of the cities where Hebrew printing took place during the sixteenth century and the number of firms involved underscores the importance of northern European presses for the spread of Hebrew learning. Only 59 European cities

played host to a total of 190 firms which printed one or more
Hebraica books for Christians in this period. In 35 of these
cities 5 or fewer books were produced. The major centers of
Hebrew printing are listed in Tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 3

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF HEBREW PRINTING BY CITY

Over 50 books:

Paris	206
Basel	148
Wittenberg	104
Antwerp	59

31-50 books:

Cologne	33

21-30 books:

Augsburg	25
Leiden	23
Venice	22

11-20 books:

Nuremberg	20
Geneva	19
Hamburg	17
Strasbourg	15
Frankfurt/Oder	15
Leipzig	15
Lyons	14
Isny	12
Frankfurt/Main	12
Rome	11

6-10 books:

Hagenau	10
Franeker	10
Alcala	9
Louvain	7
Heidelberg	7
La Rochelle	6

Not surprisingly 140 of these Hebrew presses (almost three quarters, 74 %) were located in university towns, since university professors and students were probably the most numerous customers for such works. The location of Hebrew presses in university towns may also reflect the growth of press controls and censorship, which was itself a consequence of the Reformation. Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire and King Francis I of France and their successors sought to hinder the spread of Protestant propaganda by requiring pre-publication censorship, and in the case of the German empire, required that presses be located either in university towns or residence cities [11]. Despite such restrictions, Hebrew printing flourished in these countries; 143 of the 190 presses that printed Hebrew works (75 %) were located on one of these two regions.

Germany and France together dominated the European market in another way as well: the sheer number of firms that printed Hebrew books both as market leaders and as occasional contributors.

TABLE 4

LOCATION OF HEBREW PRINTING FIRMS BY COUNTRY [12]

Holy Roman Empire		
(including Switzerland, except Geneva)	111	58 %
France	33	17 %
Italy	19	10 %
Geneva	10	5 %

11 On German press control laws, see Stephen G. Burnett, «The Regulation of Hebrew Printing in Germany, 1555-1630», in: *Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder , and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture,* ed. Max Reinhart and Thomas Robisheaux, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, no. 40 (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1998), 331-332. For France, see Francis M. Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne: A Bibliographical Study of Books in French Censored by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520-1551,* Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 172 (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 50-66.

12 Two of the Hebrew printers whose work is reflected here printed Hebrew books in two countries: Robert Stephanus worked in France and Geneva and Paul Helicz did so in Cracow, Poland and in Hundsfeld Germany.

TABLE 4

LOCATION OF HEBREW PRINTING FIRMS BY COUNTRY [12]
(Cont.)

Spanish Netherlands	5	3 %
Spain	5	3 %
England	4	2 %
Netherlands	2	1 %
Poland	2	1 %
Portugal	1	Less than 1 %

While printers in German university towns such as Helmstedt, Jena, and Leipzig produced relatively little Hebraica during the sixteenth century, there were firms in each town which could do so on an occasional basis, which helped to spread Hebrew studies beyond major university towns. The Holy Roman empire had by far the largest number of Hebrew printers during the sixteenth century, both large and small, which helps to account for its dominance in the field.

An analysis of the kinds of works produced by these printers underscores the close connection between Hebrew studies and biblical studies during the sixteenth century.

TABLE 5

TYPES OF HEBRAICA BOOKS PRODUCED
(BY NUMBER OF TITLES

Grammars	373	44 %
Hebrew texts	276	33 %
Dictionaries	48	6 %
Reference	68	8 %
Textbooks	25	3 %
Other	45	5 %

The most commonly produced Hebrew text was the Hebrew Bible, with 27 printings of the entire Bible (10 of them poly-

glots) [13], and 188 portions of the Bible. Apart from Bibles texts relating to chronology (11), Jewish law and prayers (15), Kabbalah (3), and written by Josephus (3) and Maimonides (5) were also published. Of the grammars, nearly all were devoted exclusively to biblical Hebrew; only 10 focused on Aramaic and/or Syriac. An additional 12 contained sketches of Aramaic grammar but were primarily devoted to Hebrew. The most common kinds of reference books were lists of the Hebrew names of persons, cities, geographic features and so on (20), biblical introductions (11), Kabbalah (9), and Hebrew composition aids (9). Hebrew textbooks were primarily either aids to Hebrew composition (14) or translations of Luther's small catechism (4) or Calvin's catechism (2) into Hebrew [14]. While at least some Christian Hebraists were interested in Kabbalah or post-biblical Judaism, the vast majority of Hebrew books produced for Christian users related to the Bible and to biblical Hebrew, the principal language of the Bible.

Who were the most prominent printers of Christian Hebraica in the sixteenth century and why were they so successful? Historians of the book trade have long known that printing in this period was a major industry under the control of wealthy capitalists and dominated by major firms [15]. It should come as no surprise the most important printers of Christian Hebraica were firms that are well known to scholarship.

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13   Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, #26, 76, 79, 99, 114, 116, 191, 192, 193, 217, 249, 257, 264, 269 (possibly published over two years), 276, 276b, 277, 278, 307, 326, 331. For an analytical description of Hebrew Bible imprints produced at Frankfurt/Oder (which Steinschneider considered spurious in part), see Heinrich Grimm, «Der Verlag und die Druckoffizin der Buchbinder «Hansen und Friderichen Hartmann-Vater und Sohn Buchhendlern zu Franckfurt an der Oder» (1588-1631)», *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1960: 245-247. On the Hamburg Hebrew Bible imprints, see Herbert C. Zafren, «Elias Hutter's Hebrew Bible», in: *The Joshua Bloch Memorial Volume: Studies in Booklore and History*, ed. Abraham Berger, Lawrence Marwick and Isidore S. Meyer (New York: New York Public Library, 1960), 29-30.

14   Peter Canisius's Catholic catechism was also translated into Hebrew by Georg Mayr, a German Jesuit, in 1620.

15   Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, trans. David Gerard (London and New York: Verso, 1990), 187.

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TABLE 6

MOST IMPORTANT HEBREW PRINTING FIRMS, 1501-1600 [16]

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Over 50 Works:

Crato, Johann & heirs: Wittenberg	75
Plantin, Christoph: Antwerp	58

31-50 Works:

Petri, Heinrich: Basel	50
Le Jeune, Martin: Paris	49
Stephanus, Robert I: Paris & Geneva	42
Froben, J.: Basel	31

21-30 Works:

Froben, H/Episcopius, N: Basel	28 [17]
Wechel, Chretien: Paris	25
Raphelengius, F: Leiden	22

11-20 Works:

Stephanus, Carolus: Paris	20
Dietrich, Alexander Philipp: Nuremberg	15
Fagius, Paul: Isny	14
Stephanus, Robert II: Paris	14
Gourmont, Gilles: Paris	13
Anselm, Thomas: Pforzheim, Hagenau, Tuebingen	13
Hartmann: Frankfurt/Oder	11

6-10 Works:

Morel, Guillaume: Paris	10
Manutius, Aldus: Venice	10
Klug, J: Wittenberg	10
Radaeus: Franeker	9
Grim: Augsburg	7
Birckmann, Arnold, heirs: Cologne	7
Brocarius, Arnaldus Guillelmus: Alcala	7
Haultin: La Rochelle	6
Sachse: Hamburg	6

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16 For the sources of these production figures, see Appendix.
17 This figure includes two Hebrew books printed by H. Froben alone.

Only 25 printing firms produced more than 5 Hebrew books, and these firms together printed 563 works, 63 % of the European total. These firms, with a further 6 which produced Hebrew Bibles [18], dominated the Hebrew book market in this period.

Hebrew printing was an unusual specialty within the world of humanist printing and four factors affected both the production and profitability of these Hebrew printing firms: the relative number of Hebrew books produced when compared to its overall production figures, the availability of typesetters and especially proofreaders who could produce Hebrew books, the interest of a major Hebrew scholar, and sponsorship by a monarch, high churchman, or national government. Hebrew books then as now appealed to a limited clientele, and not every book that was printed was necessarily a commercial success. Even well-established firms printed books that for one reason or another did not find acceptance among customers, and therefore a broader offering also allowed printers to take greater risks.

TABLE 7

RATIO OF HEBREW TO OVERALL IMPRINTS FOR THE TOP TEN PRODUCERS

	Hebrew	Overall	Percentage
Crato: Wittenberg [19]	71	—	—

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18   These firms include Wolff (4), Lucius (4), and Jandeck (2) of Hamburg, Sanctandreana (4) and Commelinus (2) of Heidelberg, and Zechariah Crato of Wittenberg (3).

19   There is no accurate figure available for Crato and his heirs. Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Deutschen Sprachgebeit*, 2d ed., *Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen*, vol. 12 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982), 501 quotes a figure of 143 for Crato and his heirs, while Heinrich Kühne, «Der Wittenberger Buchdrucker Hans Krafft (Johannes Crato)», *Marginelien* 61 (1976): 40, attributes 106 imprints to the elder Crato alone. Using only H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1967), Ralph Keen, *A Checklist of Melanchthon Imprints through 1560*, Sixteenth Century Bibliography, n. 27 (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), and the online catalogues for the Tübingen University Library, the Württembergische Landesbibliothek and the Bayerische Bibliotheksverbund I was able to identify 225 imprints for the sixteenth century, though this figure too is almost certainly too low for Crato's overall production.

TABLE 7

RATIO OF HEBREW TO OVERALL IMPRINTS
FOR THE TOP TEN PRODUCERS (Cont.)

	Hebrew	Overall	Percentage
Plantin: Antwerp	58	2.057	3 %
Stephanus, Robert: Paris & Geneva	54	549	10 %
Petri, Heinrich: Basel	49	353	14 %
Le Jeune, Martin	49	208	23 %
Froben, Johann: Basel	31	320	10 %
Raphelengius: Leiden	30	750 [20]	4 %
Froben/Episcopius: Basel	26	360	7 %
Wechel, Chretien: Paris	25	261	10 %
Stephanus, Charles: Paris	20	101	20 %

Hebrew books could prove to be difficult to sell for a variety of reasons. Christopher Plantin was unable to sell the Antwerp Polyglot for five years after it was finished because of a series of theological objections raised by both papal and Spanish theologians [21]. Other books simply did not find enough interested customers. In 1510 Johannes Reuchlin was informed that about 700 (of 1500) copies of his Rudimenta were as yet unsold [22]. The inventory catalogues of Johann Herwagen and Heinrich Petri, dating from 1553-1554, list copies of no fewer than 8 of Sebastian Münster's books which had been printed more than 20 years before and were still available for purchase. Although some of Münster's books, notably his Opus Grammaticum Consummatum (1542, 1544, 1549) and Hebrew dictionary (1523, 1525, 1535, 1548) had to be reprinted regularly to keep up with demand, not all

20 Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*, 1: 17 and n. 34 give the overall production figure for Raphelengius's firm through the year 1619 and I have used this figure to put the number of Hebrew imprints produced into better perspective, since I could not find an accurate statistic for the sixteenth century alone.

21 See Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 1: 60-64 and B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598)*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. 33 (London and Leiden: Warburg Institute of the University of London and E. J. Brill, 1972), 55-64.

22 Widmann, «Reuchlins Rudimenta», 494.

of his works sold out [23]. Smaller Hebrew printers suffered more acutely from slow sales and debt. Paul Fagius, Alexander Dietrich, and the various Hamburg firms that printed the works of Elias Hutter all had serious difficulties meeting their financial obligations or had difficulty selling off old stock. The Hamburg firms in particular resorted to a variety of repackaging/reissuing schemes to clear their shelves of old Hutter Bibles [24].

The availability of Hebrew type and of learned personnel, both proofreaders and typesetters, were important limiting factors for Hebrew printing. The availability of Hebrew type was not as serious a problem. Before 1520 printers frequently had either special woodcut blocks created for pages with Hebrew type, or they had individual Hebrew letters out for use in typesetting which were then discarded either after they were no longer needed or when they wore out [25]. By 1520, however, a number of presses such as Anselm and Froben had cast Hebrew type at their disposal. Having a sufficient quantity of type cast could be expensive, but was wholly not beyond the means of interested individuals. Chaim Schwarz, a Jewish printer of early sixteenth-century Augsburg, had his own type and would use the press of Silvan Otmar to print books under his own name [26]. Elias Hutter also provided the Hebrew type for the Hebrew books he printed in Hamburg [27].

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23 A. van der Linde, «Drei Baseler Verlags- und Lagerhauskataloge aus den Jahren 1553 und 1554», *Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekswissenschaft* 46 (March-April 1885): 67-69, 73-77 (numbers 39, 48-49, 71, 90, 206, 286, 298).

24 Richard Raubenheimer, *Paul Fagius aus Rheinzabern: Sein Leben und Wirken als Reformator und Gelehrter*, Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Pfälzische Kirchengeschichte, vol. 6 (Grünstadt/Pfalz: Verein für Pfälzische Kirchengeschichte, 1957), 25-26, 43-45; Lore Sporhan-Krempel and Theodor Wohnhaas, «Elias Hutter in Nürnberg und seine Biblia in etlichen Sprachen», *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 27 (1986): 157-162, and Zafren, «Hutter's Hebrew Bibles», 29-39. Sigmund Grimm's Augsburg press also encountered serious financial difficulties, but Hebraica/Judaica was a relatively small part of its offerings (7 books out of 247 produced). Künast, *Getruckt zu Augspurg*, 66-70.

25 Alexander Marx, «Notes on the Use of Hebrew Type in Non-Hebrew Books, 1475-1520», in idem, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1944), 301-307, 316, 333-334, 344-345.

26 Künast, *Getruckt zu Augspurg*, 84 and n. 16.

27 Benzing, *Buchdrucker*, 181, in his entries for Johann Sachse and Jakob Wolff.

Finding personnel who could use such type correctly though was a greater challenge. The most obvious place to look for learned personnel would have been to make use of Jewish presses staffed with experienced Hebrew proofreaders and typesetters, but apart from Italy few non-Jewish authors did so. Of the 190 firms that printed Christian Hebrew books, only 14 of them regularly produced books for Jewish customers [28]. The largest «Jewish» printing firm was Paul Fagius' private Hebrew press which was created in large part to print his own Hebrew books. By persuading the aged Elias Levita to leave Venice and work at his Hebrew press in Isny, Fagius was briefly able to run a business which served the needs of both Jewish and Christian customers [29]. Only Ambrosius Froben and Conrad Waldkirch, both of Basel, sought out both Jewish and Christian clients, though Froben was primarily a Jewish printer [30]. Other better known Jewish presses such as Bomberg and di Gara of Venice would occasionally print a Hebrew book for a Christian client, but such works formed a tiny fraction of their overall output [31]. The only Hebrew printing firm in the top 25 which was known to employ Jewish printers was Fagius.

For the vast majority of Christian Hebrew presses it was non-Jewish typesetters and compositors who manufactured Hebrew books. Plantin's firm had an immediate advantage in that his son-in-law Franz Raphelengius, one his most important employees, was a gifted oriental linguist and could handle most ordinary Hebrew printing projects. Raphelengius was not able, by himself, to perform all of the tasks necessary to manufacture the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, and so Plantin was obliged to hire a number of other scholars to complete the task [32]. The

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28 The Plantin firm, while not strictly speaking a Jewish press, was able to sell many Hebrew Bibles to north African Jews through merchant intermediaries. Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 2: 392 and n. 4.

29 Raubenheimer, *Fagius*, 26-39, 129-132.

30 See Prijs, *Basler Hebräische Drucke*, 175-188, 245, on both printers, and Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, 35-50 on Waldkirch.

31 For current listings on the output of both printers, see Vinograd, *Thesaurus*, 2: 243-265.

32 Plantin had earlier hired Prof. Johannes Isaac of the University of Cologne to proofread two books for the press in 1563-64. Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 2: 286 n. 4. For a discussion of the newly hired scholars who helped to edit the Polyglot, see Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 1: 63-64.

firm of Froben/Episcopius, apart from its own experienced per-
sonnel, also on occasion hired Jacob Kündig (Parcus), another
Basel Hebrew printer to work for their press when they printed
Hebraica [33]. When Hans and Friedrich Hartmann decided to
start producing Hebraica in an effort to become the official
printer for the university of Frankfurt/Oder, they were able to
do so relatively quickly by hiring away five experienced work-
man from a Wittenberg firm which was experiencing financial
difficulties [34]. These compositors and proofreaders were usually
not as capable as experienced Jewish printers and special allo-
wances had to be made at times for their abilities. On one occa-
sion Johannes Buxtorf, himself an employee of the Waldkirch
firm, was obliged to transcribe a book manuscript from cursive
into square Hebrew script so that the typesetters could compo-
se type from it [35]. The presence of other Hebrew presses in the
same city meant that a somewhat larger pool of learned per-
sonnel was available and could be drawn upon either by hiring
workers for a specific job or by dividing up the work and
jointly manufacturing or paying for a work, such as the first
printing of Sebastian Münster's Hebrew Bible with facing Latin
translation [36]. Eighteen of the top twenty Christian Hebrew prin-
ters also printed Greek books, which posed similar problems in
terms of availability of proper type and learned personnel [37].
While the challenge of printing Hebrew books without using

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33   Prijs, *Basler Hebräische Drucke*, 164.

34   Heinrich Grim, «Der Verlag und die Druckoffizin der Buchbinder «Hansen
und Friderichen Hartman-Vater und Sohn Buchhendlern zu Franckfurt an der Oder»
(1588-1631)», *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1960): 244-245. Grim mistakenly believed that
the team included a Jewish worker since he understood the Hebrew colophon of a
book produced by the firm as refering to a Jew—instead it identified the publisher of
the book—Johann and Conrad Rühel.

35   Elia Loanz was similarly obliged to transcribe a book he wanted to have
printed in Basel into square script. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Stu-
dies*, 39 and n. 19.

36   Johann Bebel, Michael Isingrin and Heinrich Petri all played a role in the
production of the first printing of Münster's annotated Hebrew Bible. Prijs, *Basler
Hebräische Drucke*, 67-69.

37   On the diffculties that early Greek printers encountered in Germany, see
Niklas Holzberg, *Willibald Pirckheimer: Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland*,
Humanistische Bibliothek, Reihe I: Abhandlungen, Band 41 (München: Wilhelm Fink,
1981), 85-86.

Jewish printers might seem daunting, for the largest and most successful of these firms it was all in a day's work.

Whether a printing firm was large or small, the presence of one or more gifted, motivated Hebrew scholar in the vicinity was often decisive in convincing its owner to print Hebrew books. The publications of a best-selling Hebrew scholar could form a large proportion of a city's total output of such works. University professors of Hebrew were frequently involved in producing new books on Hebrew and helping see them through the press. Sebastian Münster, for example, wrote, edited or translated works which resulted in 74 Basel imprints during the sixteenth century, roughly half of all of the city's Hebraica output. Jean Mercier (27 imprints), Gilbert Genebrard (24 imprints), and Jean Cinqarbres [Quinquarboreus] (21 imprints), all professors at the College royal, did not dominate the Paris Hebrew printing firms in quite the same way, but together they accounted for over a third of all Paris Hebraica imprints (35 %). Johannes Isaac Levita, professor of Hebrew at the university of Cologne, wrote or edited 13 works, accounting for 39 % of all Cologne Hebrew imprints. Quite apart from the enthusiasm of professors of Hebrew for their own work, they could also provide invaluable production assistance for such unusual books. While it was uncommon for authors to proofread their own works for the press during the sixteenth century, Hebrew printing did not necessarily follow the trend [38]. Sebastian Münster was deeply involved in the life of the Heinrich Petri firm in Basel, helping produce works as well as writing for it [39]. Johannes Isaac Levita himself spent a year as a house guest of Plantin (1563-64), overseeing the printing of his own *Grammatica Hebraea Absolutissima,* and for a new edition of Santes Pagninus's *Thesaurus linguae sanctae* and was paid handsomely for it [40].

While professors enjoyed the prestige and permanence of a university appointment, and the ability to assign their publications as textbooks to students, Hebraists who worked as schoolmasters or in some other profession were also able on occasion to interest local printers in their publications. Hieronymous Haul-

38   Voet, *Golden Compasses,* 2: 300-301.
39   Burmeister, *Münster,* 62-63
40   Voet, *Golden Compasses,* 1: 367.

tin produced only 6 Hebrew books in his firm at La Rochelle, but all of them were the Hebrew and Aramaic grammars of Pierre Martinez, the rector of the local academy [41]. Paul Fagius was unusual in that he was able to found his own Hebrew printing firm and find a financial backer to print his own works [42]. Johannes Boeschenstein was able to find enough support to produce 12 Hebrew books in Augsburg between 1514 and 1524 without any kind of regular teaching appointment there. Elias Hutter, however, enjoys the dubious distinction of being both the most persuasive free-lance Hebraist in convincing printers to produce his work, and the least commercially successful, leaving debts and masses of unsold stock behind him in both Hamburg and Nuremberg [43]. For good or for ill, the enthusiasm and technical knowledge of Hebrew scholars was often a decisive factor in whether a particular firm produced Hebrew books or not.

A final factor in Hebrew printing, especially of monumental works, was patronage. Both the Complutensian Polyglot (1514-1517) and the Antwerp Polyglot Bibles (1568-72) were truly enormous undertakings, each requiring a large editorial staff of experts and costing a fortune to produce. Cardinal Jiménez, the principal patron of both the trilingual College of San Ildefonso and of the Polyglot Bible project, spent 50,000 gold ducats on the work [44]. Christopher Plantin was not only given explicit permission by King Philip II of Spain to produce the Antwerp Polyglot, but also received a royal grant of 12,000 guilders to underwrite the costs [45]. Elias Hutter was able to pursue his grandiose polyglot Bible project in Nuremberg because the city council was willing to loan him enormous sums of money [46]. Sanctes Pagninus enjoyed the patronage of no fewer than three popes, Leo X, Adrian VI, and Clement VII, in underwriting his pioneering Hebrew grammar, dictionary, and

41   Louis Desgraves, *L'Imprimerie a la Rochelle, 2: Les Haultin 1571-1623* (Geneve: Droz, 1960), xxx-xxxi.
42   Raubenheimer, *Fagius*, 25-26.
43   Sporhan-Krempel and Wohnhaas, «Hutter», 160-161, and Zafren, 30-39.
44   Basel Hall, «The Trilingual College of San Ildefonso and the Making of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible», *Studies in Church History* 5 (1969): 145.
45   Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 1: 61.
46   Sporhan-Krempel and Wohnhaas, «Hutter», 157-161.

new Latin translation of the Bible [47]. While most Hebrew prin-
ting ventures did not enjoy such lavish support, the importance
of patronage for pioneering and monumental Hebrew printing
projects is clear.

The Protestant Reformation profoundly affected Hebrew
scholarship, especially in Germany, by drastically increasing
the size of the market for Hebrew books, and indirectly affec-
ting it elsewhere in Europe through the imposition of Catholic
censorship. Bernd Moeller has characterized the relationship of
German humanists to Luther and the early Protestant reformers
as a «constructive misunderstanding» since they supported his
affirmation of the primacy of scripture and his attacks on scho-
lastic theology without realizing that some elements of the new
faith were a threat to their ultimately Catholic religious assump-
tions [48]. While some humanists ultimately found that they could
not support Luther, James Tracy has shown that there was a
clear correlation between pre-Reformation German humanists,
especially those born after 1480, and new Protestants [49]. Al-
though many humanists, most notably Erasmus, rejected Luther
and remained faithful to the old church there was a noticeable
correlation between humanism and Protestantism, a connection
made, ironically, through the biblical humanism of Erasmus.

In 1518, Philipp Melanchthon, the first professor of Greek
at Wittenberg university, declared in his inaugural lecture that

> Since theological writings are partly in Hebrew, partly in
> Greek —for we Latins drink from these streams— we must learn
> foreign languages lest we go into our encounters with theolo-
> gians blindfolded. It is language studies that bring out the splen-

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47   Joseph D. Gauthier, «Sanctes Pagninus, O. P.», *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
7/2 (1945): 177-180.

48   Bernd Moeller, «The German Humanists and the Beginnings of the Refor-
mation», in idem, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*, ed. and trans.
H. C. Erik Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards, Jr (Durham NC: Labyrinth, 1982), 29.
The original article was first published in 1959.

49   James D. Tracy, «Humanism and the Reformation», in: *Reformation Euro-
pe: A Guide to Research*, ed. Steven Ozment (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Rese-
arch, 1982), 34. See also Erica Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the
Renaissance & Reformation* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press,
1995), 131.

dor of words and the meanings of idioms and... as we turn our minds to the sources, we begin to savor Christ [50].

The Protestant Reformation was less than a year old and already Melanchthon had stated publicly what would become one of the distinctive beliefs of Protestants: that the ultimate authority of the biblical text in its original languages. Protestantism has long been characterized in its approach to Scripture as standing for the primacy of the Greek and Hebrew original texts of the Bible, espousing vernacular Bible translations and individual exegetical initiative, while Catholicism asserted that the Latin Vulgate was the more perfect version of Holy Writ and emphasized Church authority. Strictly speaking Catholics were not opposed to studying the Greek and Hebrew versions of the Bible, but only to characterizing them as «uncorrupted originals» since all versions of the Bible, including the Vulgate had suffered corruption over time. Catholic scholars were also permitted to translate the Bible into vernacular languages and were allowed a considerable amount of freedom in biblical interpretation so long as they were willing to adhere to the fathers, the Councils, and the Pope as the final arbiters of faith and morals [51]. But for most of the sixteenth century it was Protestants who most publicly and adamantly espoused the role of Hebrew and Greek philology in interpreting the Scriptures and using the information found in the original texts to attack what they considered erroneous Catholic doctrines and practices, and above all corruptions and errors in existing Latin translations of the Bible. Catholic humanists, especially those who taught at the College royal in Paris, the universities of Louvain and Douai in the Spanish Netherlands, and the editors of the Antwerp Polyglot all saw the need to master Hebrew philology as a weapon for confronting Protestants [52]. But Catholic theolo-

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50 Rummel, *Debate*, 115.
51 L. W. B. Brockliss, *French Higher Education in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 236-237.
52 See Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano*, 46-47, Thomas Francis Knox, historical introduction to *The First and Second Diaries of the English College Douay and an Appendix of Unpublished Documents*, (1878; Farnborough, Hants: Gregg International Publishers, 1969), xl, and Fernando Dominguez Reboiras, *Gaspar de Grajal (1530-1575). Frühneuzeitliche Bibelwissenschaft im Streit mit Universität und Inqui-*

gians only succeeded in formulating successful responses to these Protestant attacks at the end of the century, leaving Protestants to dominate Hebrew studies for most of it.

The ideological commitment of Protestants to using the original texts of the Bible to settle controversies, together with their belief that clergy should be educated, meant that they were also necessarily committed to supporting Hebrew instruction, especially at the university level. Of the sixteen pre-Reformation universities in Germany, nine of them would become Protestant by the end of the sixteenth century and a further 9 universities and academies would be founded in Protestant-ruled territories, all of which had professors of Hebrew. Catholic territories, by contrast had only ten universities by the end of the sixteenth century, nine of which offered Hebrew [53]. In at least some cases Catholic university authorities felt that they had to make the effort to hire Hebraists in order to keep up with the Protestants. Father Jajus wrote to Ignatius Loyala in 1550, urging him to work toward the creation of a Jesuit college in Vienna, and insisting that it include Greek and Hebrew instruction in its curriculum since «it is of great importance in Germany, because a professor's learning is accounted as little if he is not a good Latinist and at the same time has a moderate understanding of Greek and Hebrew» [54]. The disparity in numbers of Hebraists between Protestant and Catholic institutions is even greater when the actual number of incumbents for these chairs are taken into account. By the end of the sixteenth

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sition, Reforamtionsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Bd. 140 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1998). See also Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics, vol. 2: Holy Scripture: The Cognitive Foundation of Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), 418-437.

53 Protestant universities and academies, and the first year Hebrew offered: Witttenberg (1518), Leipzig (1519), Ingolstadt (1520), Heidelberg (1521), Tübingen (1521), Basel (1524), Strasbourg (1525), Marburg (1527), Bern (1528), Frankfurt an der Oder (1538), Jena (1549), Königsberg (1546), Rostock (1553), Zurich (1560), Erfurt (Arts faculty Lutheran-1566), Helmstedt (1578), Altdorf (1581);   Catholic Universities: Freiburg in Breisgau (1521), Vienna (1533), Prague (Jesuit Academy 1556), Cologne (1552), Mainz (1563), Dillingen (1564), Würzburg (1586), Graz (1591). Trier did not have a professor of Hebrew in this period.

54 Bernhard Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, vol. 1: *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1907), 45.

century 126 men had served as professors of Hebrew at German Protestant universities, while only 59 had done so in Catholic institutions. The Protestant commitment to Hebrew learning on the university level helps to explain why the vast majority of Hebrew printers were active in Germany and where they could expect to find customers for their wares [55].

These statistics are especially striking when compared with the number of Hebrew professors active elsewhere in Europe at the same time. A mere 18 professors of Hebrew taught in sixteenth-century France (7 Protestant, 11 Catholic), 12 of them at the College royal [56]. In the Spanish-ruled southern Netherlands the universities of Louvain and Douai had 8 and 3 Hebrew professors respectively (all Catholic), and the newly founded Dutch universities of Leiden and Franeker a mere six incumbents (all Protestant). Geneva, the earliest educational center for French Protestantism, had 4 professors of Hebrew during the sixteenth century. England could boast a number of highly motivated scholars (42) who taught at Oxford and Cambridge either as professors or lecturers (14 Catholic and 28 Protestant), but was at this time still an importer rather than a producer of of printed Hebrew books [57]. Italy had a few university professors of Hebrew (I have identified 12) since it was considered to be primarily a theological subject and theology was primarily taught in religious houses rather than at the university [58]. Apart from accounts of the team which produced the Complutensian Polyglot of Alcala, the story of Spanish and Portuguese Christian Hebraism has yet to be told, although preliminary indications are that there were relatively

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55 The place of Hebrew instruction in German school instruction during the sixteenth century is still a virtually unexplored topic. See Ludwig Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland vom Ende des XV. bis zur Mitte des XVI Jahrhunderts* (Breslau: Schletter'sche Buchhandlung, 1870), 123-129, and Otto Kluge, «Die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft in Deutschland im Zeitlater des Humanismus», *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 3 (1931): 81-97.

56 Of these twelve, only Jean Mercier was a Protestant. The other six professors of Hebrew from outside of Paris were also Protestants.

57 See G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).

58 Rummel, *Debate*, 72. Professor Paul Grendler, who is currently writing a book on Italian universities during the Renaissance kindly provided me with information on the universities of Bologna, Florence, Pavia, Pisa and Rome, allowing me to identify these professors.

few professors of Hebrew who wrote little in their field[59]. Apart from Spain and Portugal only 93 professors of Hebrew taught outside of Germany during the sixteenth century, most of them at universities located north of the Alps, with 48 Catholic and 45 Protestant Hebrew instructors. Taken together, the proliferation of chairs of Hebrew at older universities and sixteenth-century foundations are a remarkable indicator of how important Hebrew studies had become for Christians, and of a new, growing market for Hebrew books.

By the mid-sixteenth century Catholic authorities in France, the Spanish Netherlands, Italy, and Spain came to believe, with some reason, that biblical scholarship employing Hebrew was primarily a Protestant pursuit and that it should be carefully controlled through censorship and government oversight of the book market[60]. Catholicism was at this time on the defensive, seeking to stem the Protestant tide and regain lost ground. Questioning the precise wording of the Vulgate Bible text in favor of the Hebrew and disputing the authority of traditional Catholic interpretations of particular passages were far more of a threat to Catholicism than to Protestants who had no theological stake in the exact wording of the Vulgate. Professional Catholic theologians had always been suspicious of the pretentions of Catholic biblical humanists in any case and sought to rein them in, as the quarrel between the Sorbonne theologians and Hebrew and Greek lecturers at the College royal in 1534 illustrates[61]. At first Catholic religious authorities

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59 See Santiago García Jalón, «La Gramática Hebrea en la Península Ibérica en el Siglo XVI», *Estudios Bíblicos* 54 (1996): 349-359 and the bibliography cited there.

60 Protestants too were involved in censorship of books, but were not so concerned that books on Hebrew language and with Old Testament commentaries were potential sources of heresy as were Catholic authorities. See Hans-Peter Hasse, «Bücherzensur an der Universität Wittenberg im 16. Jahrhundert», in: *700 Jahre Wittenberg: Stadt Universität Reformation*, ed. Stefan Oehmig (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1995), 187-212, Bremme, *Buchdrucker*, 76-88 (Geneva), and concerning Basel, see Frank Hieronymus, «Gewissen und Staatskirchenraison: Basler Theologie und Zensur um 1578», *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 82 (1991): 209-238 and Carl Roth, «Die Bücherzensur im Alten Basel», *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 31 (1914): 49-50.

61 See Higman, *Censorship*, 31-32 and James K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France: The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500-1543*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, no. 32 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 205-206.

attempted to control the spread of Protestant approaches to biblical interpretation through regional indexes, such as those in Paris, Louvain, Venice, Portugal, Spain and Liege, but ultimately the Roman Index superseded these in specifying which books Catholics might not read and providing Catholic secular authorities with guidance for which books to suppress [62]. While historians of the book often stress how ineffectual the Index and other instruments of censorship were in stopping the spread of such books, it did serve to hinder communication between Protestant and Catholic Hebraists and could prove a severe handicap to Catholics seeking to publish their work, as the reception of Sebastian Muenster's *Biblia Hebraica* illustrates.

In 1534-35 Sebastian Münster's Hebrew Bible with a facing Latin translation and extensive annotations drawn primarily from the Jewish biblical commentaries of Rashi, David Kimhi, and Ibn Ezra was published in Basel. Münster's annotations and translation were written in the tradition of biblical humanism. He sought to explain the linguistic difficulties of the Hebrew text, often by quoting from Jewish commentators. His most polemical comments were directed against the foibles of Jewish commentators and secondarily against the earlier commentary of Agostino Steucho. Swiss Reformed theologians were pleased with Münster's achievement and made extensive use of it. Within five years Münster's Latin Old Testament translation was reprinted in a Zurich Latin Bible, and Heinrich Bullinger's heavily annotated personal copy attests to how useful he found Münster's Hebrew Bible over the course of his long career [63]. In Geneva John Calvin too made extensive use of Münster's Bible over the course of his career when preaching and lecturing on the Old Testament [64].

Lutheran acceptance of Münster's work was not quite as whole-hearted as it was among the Reformed, but nonetheless it attracted very serious attention. Münster's Hebrew scholarship

62 In general, see Herman H. Schwedt, «Der Römische Index der Verbotenen Bücher», *Historisches Jahrbuch* 107 (1987): 296-314.

63 «Eine Handbibel Bullingers: Erster Ankauf für das Zwinglimuseum», *Zwingliana* 1 (1897): 17-18.

64 Max Engammare, «Joannes Calvinus Trium Linguarum Peritus? La Question de l'Hébreu», *Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 58 (1996): 41.

was already well-known by 1536 when Luther first began to
mention Münster's Bible in his *Table Talk*. In that same year the
Wittenberg university library held no fewer than 17 of his books,
out of a total of 25 books on Hebrew-related subjects [65]. Luther
was ambivalent about Münster's achievement in translating and
annotating the entire Bible, and praise mixed with criticism of
Münster can be found in close proximity throughout Luther's
corpus until his death in 1546 [66]. Perhaps Luther's most striking
comments are to be found in the seldom-read conclusion to his
fiercely antisemitic treatise *On the Ineffable Name* (1543).

> [T]he two fine men, Sanctes [Pagninus] and Münster have
> translated the Bible with incredible zeal and matchless diligen-
> ce, accomplishing much good. But the rabbis were sometimes
> too powerful for them, so that they chipped away at the analogy
> of faith, and were too dependent on the rabbinical glosses [67].

Luther's criticism here was not that Pagninus and Münster
used Jewish commentators in order to elucidate the text, but that
they had done so in what he considered a grossly unselective
and naïve fashion. Luther never condemned Münster and his
work out of hand, but rather argued that Christian Hebraists
should recognize that theological implications of their studies.
He once lamented that he wished that Münster had had the chan-
ce to work in Wittenberg with Luther and his colleagues and
seen a proper theological approach to the Hebrew text modeled
for him [68]. Luther never condemned Münster's works outright,
nor could he have done so, since censorship was strictly a mat-
ter for the secular authorities in Protestant states and territories
throughout Europe. For all of Luther's reservations about Müns-

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65 Sachiko Kusukawa, *A Wittenberg University Library Catalogue of 1536*,
Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 142 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval
& Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), 1-3.

66 In his Table Talk, see WA TR 3: 362, 12- 363, 6 (#3503), 12-16 December
1536, and WA TR 5: 218, 8-14 (#5533), Winter 1542-3 = LW 54: 445-6. Hans Ulrich
Delius noted 67 passages in the Genesis lectures where Luther quoted from Müns-
ter's biblical annotations. *Die Quellen von Martin Luthers Genesis Vorlesung, Beiträ-
ge zur evangelischen Theologie*, Band 111 (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1992), 42-46.

67 Martin Luther, *Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi*, WA
53: 647, 27-31.

68 WA TR 5: 218, 8-14 (#5533), Winter 1542-3 = LW 54: 445-6.

ter's annotations, he made extensive use of them and never doubted the usefulness of rabbinical commentaries for certain kinds of information, a state of affairs completely misrepresented by Friedman in *The Most Ancient Testimony* [69].

Münster's Bible initially received a positive reception by Catholic scholars, but even within his lifetime the book was proscribed by Catholic authorities. Münster himself had been in contact with Catholic theologians who read, often critically, his Bible translation and annotations. According to his eulogist Schreckenfuchs, Münster corresponded with Catholic theologians in Cologne, Italy, France and Spain about his annotations. Taddeo Cucchi, an Italian Benedictine scholar, made extensive use of Münster's annotations in his commentary on the Vulgate text (1542) [70]. Even before Münster's death, however, Catholic authorities moved to prevent Catholic readers from using it. It was condemned first in the Louvain Index of 1546, then in the Spanish Index of 1554, and finally in the Roman Index of 1559 [71]. All of Münster's books without exception were condemned in the Venice Index of 1554, and in the Spanish and Roman Indexes of 1559 [72]. One of the most prominent victims of this condemnation was a Catholic, not a Protestant: Christopher Plantin, the most prominent Catholic printer in Europe.

Benito Arias Montano, editor of the Plantin Polyglot, traveled to Rome in 1572 to obtain permission to sell the monumental new work, printed with the blessing and financial support of the Spanish King Philip II. He was shocked to learn

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69 Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony*, 164-169. Friedman's use of Forster as the best representative of a «Wittenberg school» of Hebraica is misleading, since nearly all of Forster's career took place outside of Wittenberg (he did not teach there until after Luther's death). More seriously, Friedman failed to consider Luther's actual use of Hebraica in both the translation of the German Bible, as represented in the final text and in the translation protocolls of his discussions with Melanchthon, Cruciger and others of how to best translate particular passages (WA DB 3-4), and in his Genesis Lectures (WA 42-44), which span the last ten years of Luther's academic life. When assessing Luther's opinion of Jewish Bible commentaries his actual use of them is at least as important as his off-the-cuff remarks.

70 Burmeister, *Münster*, 94-95.

71 *Index de L'Inquisition Espagnole 1551, 1554, 1559, Index des Livres Interdits*, vol. 5 (Québec and Geneva: Centre d'études de la Renaissance and Droz, 1984), 282 #14.

72 Ibid., 435.

that the authorities in Rome felt it necessary to launch an investigation over the propriety of allowing the sale of the Polyglot. Montano had quoted, among other authorities, the Talmud and Sebastian Münster in his extensive biblical apparatus, and both were prohibited by the Roman Index. Even when sale of the Bible was allowed to proceed, the taint of official disapproval resulting from the investigation was enough to discourage sales among the Catholic customers for whom it was intended [73].

Differing Catholic and Protestant perspectives on the role of Hebrew scholarship in theology and the imposition of Catholic censorship affected Hebrew printers primarily in places whose confessional conflict was sharpest, notably in Paris and in Antwerp, and in places such as Reformed Basel which was dependent upon exports to Lutheran and Catholic cities and territories. In Paris especially both the King and the Paris theologians, who had the right by law to censor theological books, gradually tightened press restrictions throughout the 1540's. The most dramatic response to this tightening was a split within the Stephanus family, with Robert leaving for Geneva and his son Charles remaining a Catholic and staying in Paris [74]. Chrétien Wechel was able to remain in Paris, printing as a Protestant until his death in 1554, but his son Andre left France in the 1560's to seek better, safer opportunities elsewhere [75]. Paris remained a center for Hebrew printing after 1551 when the Sorbonne theologians received full authority to censor all theological books, but the Hebraica produced tended to be narrowly philological or overtly Catholic materials such as those produced by Gilbert Genebrard [76]. In Reformed Basel, printers such as Heinrich Petri and Hieronymus Froben also sought, in all of their printing, to stay out of theological controversy and produce books whose appeal would go beyond

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73 Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano*, 55-57.

74 Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne Royal Printer* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1954), 211-227

75 R. J. W. Evans, *The Wechel Presses: Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572-1627*, Past and Present Supplement no. 2 ([Oxford]: Past and Present Society, 1975), 2.

76 For a description and assessment of the Sorbonne's new powers, see Higman, *Censorship*, 64-69.

narrow confessional audiences [77]. Hebrew printing was accepta-
ble to both Catholic and Protestant authorities so long as it did
not transgress certain theological limits.

Throughout his career Luther constantly emphasized the
point that a philological approach to the Bible had theological
implications [78]. Hebrew printing in sixteenth-century Europe
cannot be understood without reference to the Protestant and
Catholic reformations. The major centers of production throug-
hout the century were in Germany, France, and the Spanish Net-
herlands and the Dutch Republic, the heartland of Lutheranism
and the front lines of the confessional war between Tridentine
Catholicism and advocates of the Reformed confession. The
sheer number of professors of Hebrew and their students in
these areas ensured steady business for Hebrew printers. Chris-
tian Hebraism, which began as a humanist-inspired quest for
intellectual access to the Hebrew Bible, and also to Kabbalistic
and other non-biblical texts, grew into a major new academic
discipline which encouraged publication and consumption of
Hebrew books written by and for Christians.

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77   Frank Hieronymus, introduction to *1478 Petri-Schwabe 1988: Eine tradi-
tionsreiche Basler Offizin im Spiegel ihrer frühen Drucke*, 2 vols (Basel: Schwabe
Verlag, 1997), 1: E6-E8.
78   Raeder, *Grammatica Theologica*, 34-36 and idem, «Voraussetzungen und
Methode von Luthers Bibelübersetzung», in: *Geist und Geschichte der Reformation:
Festgabe Hanns Rückert zum 65. Geburtstag*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, n. 38
(Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1966), 154.

SOURCES FOR CHRISTIAN HEBREW BIBLIOGRAPHY

Moritz Steinschneider's Herculean bibliographical efforts of the last century have laid the foundations not only for Jewish bibliography, but also for non-Jewish Hebrew scholarship. In compiling my bibliography of Christian Hebraica for the sixteenth century I began with Steinschneider's entries, primarily from his *Biographisches Handbuch,* and supplemented them with further titles from Vinograd's *Thesaurus.* I also made thorough use of studies of Hebrew printing in particular cities or regions, such as Fuks/Fuks Mansfeld for the Netherlands, and Prijs for Basel. I have added dramatically to the number of imprints first by identifying professors of Hebrew at European universities during this period and then looking for their publications through biographical dictionaries, union catalogues such as the *National Union Catalogue* and *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD-16) and Adams's Cambridge university's library catalogue. I have also made extensive use of online library catalogues, both for individual libraries, notably Tübingen university library (www.uni-tuebingen.de/ub) and the Württembergische Landesbibliothek (www.wlb-stuttgart.de) which allow searches of individual printers as well as author/title, and German regional online catalogues, especially the Südwestdeutsches Bibliotheksverbund (www.bsz-bw.de), Bibliotheksverbund Bayern (www.ocac.bib-bvb.de), and the Gemeinsamer Bibliotheksverbund (www.brzn.de). Once I had identified printers I was able to consult bibliographies of individual printing houses and to search computer catalogues for the imprints of specific printers. I have also made extensive use of the Basel Buchdrucker und Verlegerkatalog, a card catalogue in the reading room of Basel university library which represents the only reliable, comprehensive listing of Basel imprints during the early modern period. Since the focus of this article is on Hebrew printing firms I am appending a bibliography of these cities, printers and other resources which link Hebrew printers to Hebrew imprints.

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RESUMEN

En este artículo, el autor examina, en primer lugar, las circunstancias de impresión y publicación de libros hebreos en círculos cristianos en el siglo XVI, sirviéndose para ello de datos estadísticos comentados. A continuación, centra su exposición en la Reforma como uno de los factores decisivos para el desarrollo de las prensas cristianas involucradas en la edición de obras hebreas.

ABSTRACT

In this article, the author firstly examines the circumstances of printing and publication of Hebrew books among Christians in the 16th century; for this purpose, he makes use of statistics, adding some remarks. Next, he focuses on the Reformation as one of the outstanding factors to the development of Christian printing involved in the edition of Hebrew works.