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# From Reformation Wittenberg to Civil War Oxford: A Humanist Bible in the Fellows' Library of Jesus College, Oxford

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# FROM REFORMATION WITTENBERG TO CIVIL WAR OXFORD: A HUMANIST BIBLE IN THE FELLOWS' LIBRARY OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD

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*A Greek folio bible published in 1545, containing both Old and New Testaments, is testimony to the collaboration of two important figures: Philipp Melanchthon, author of the preface, and the Basel printer Johannes Herwagen. The volume's interest for the historian of the book is enhanced by inscriptions on its endpapers from Melanchthon and other humanists and reformers (Georg Major, Joachim Camerarius, Caspar Cruciger, Johannes Stigel, Georg Sabinus, Paul Eber, and Hubert Languet). This article traces the history of the volume from its origins in Basel through its stay in Wittenberg to its current resting place in Jesus College Fellows' Library, Oxford. It places it in the context of the upheavals of both the Schmalkaldic Wars and the English Civil Wars, considering the various networks in which the volume participates, and reproduces for the first time the inscriptions with translations.*

**KEYWORDS:** Philipp Melanchthon, Johannes Herwagen, Paul Eber, Hubert Languet, Georg Sabinus, Johannes Stigel, Josua Lagus, Caspar Cruciger, Georg Major, Joachim Camerarius, Francis Mansell, Basel, Wittenberg, Jesus College, Oxford, History of printing, Septuagint, Book history, Early modern networks

A Greek folio bible published in 1545, containing both Old and New Testaments, is testimony to the collaboration of two important figures: Philipp Melanchthon, author of the preface, and the Basel printer Johannes Herwagen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΤΗΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΓΡΑΦΗΣ, ΠΑΛΑΙΑΣ ΔΗΛΑΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ, ΑΓΑΝΤΑ [Tēs Theias graphēs, Palaias dēladē kai Neas Diathēkēs, hapanta]. DIVINAE SCRIPTURAE, VETERIS AC NOVI TESTAMENTI, OMNIA, innumeris locis nunc demum, & optimorum librorum collatione, & doctorum uirorum opera, multo quàm unquam antea emendatiora, in lucem edita. (Basel: Johannes Herwagen, March 1545), JCFL A.5.2. The volume is a folio in sixes.

The volume's interest for the historian of the book is enhanced by inscriptions on its endpapers from Melanchthon and other humanists and reformers (Georg Major, Joachim Camerarius, Caspar Cruciger, Johannes Stigel, Georg Sabinus, Paul Eber, and Hubert Languet).<sup>2</sup> This article opens up the volume to book historians, cultural historians and readers with an interest in biblical scholarship, academic history, the Wittenberg Reformers, and the English Civil Wars. It considers the different networks in which the volume participates: printers working with Greek texts in sixteenth-century Basel; the relationships between Wittenberg and other Reformation centres of printing; the friendship and acquaintanceship network within Wittenberg, where the volume functioned as a sort of *album amicorum*; and a network of seventeenth-century scholars in Oxford, committed to preserving and building up their library's collection. And now the volume enters new networks, as the transcription, translation and digitisation of the inscriptions make them available beyond the confines of the library. Contemporary interest in the volume is no longer what Melanchthon and Herwagen may have originally envisaged: the focus has largely shifted from the theological and linguistic to the antiquarian.<sup>3</sup> Rather than being one of many, one volume within a print-run, this particular volume has become exceptional and interesting to twenty-first century scholars primarily because of the Reformation 'relics' it happens to contain, as well as the interesting story it tells of how an object, travelling across time and space, can take up its place within and shed light upon different communities and concerns.<sup>4</sup>

Thanks are due to Katrin Kohl (Jesus College, Oxford), who drew my attention to this volume and suggested writing about it; to the late Wilfried Barner (University of Göttingen), to Johanna Loehr and Walter Thüringer, formerly of the Forschungsstelle Melanchthon in Heidelberg, for initial information about the inscriptions and contributors; to Sarah Cobbold, Owen McKnight and Oliver Miller, Librarians at Jesus College, Oxford, and Brigid Allen and Robin Darwall-Smith, Jesus College

Melanchthon's preface is reproduced in CR IV, no. 3082, cols 535–40. For its listing in bibliographies, see Ralph Keen, *A Checklist of Melanchthon Imprints Through 1560*, Sixteenth-Century Bibliography, 27 (St. Louis, Missouri: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Reproductions of all the images are available in the online edition, <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/melanchthon-bible>, along with the transcriptions and translations cited here. My thanks to Owen McKnight and Jesus College Oxford for permission to reproduce the images and to cite from the volume.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of how changing contexts change books as objects, see Henrike Lähnemann, 'From Devotional Aids to Antiquarian Objects: The Prayer Books of Medingen', in *Reading Books and Prints as Cultural Objects*, ed. by Evangelina Stead, New Directions in Book History (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 33–55.

<sup>4</sup> For the use of the term 'relics' to describe the inscriptions, see Werner Wilhelm Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch: Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Frühe Neuzeit, 78 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), p. 247; Ulinka Rublack, 'Grapho-Relics: Lutheranism and the Materialization of the Word', in *Relics and Remains*, ed. by Alexandra Walsham, *Past and Present*, supplement 5 (Oxford: OUP, 2010), pp. 144–66 (156). See also Ulrich Bubenheimer, 'Luthers Handschrift', in *Luther Handbuch*, ed. by Albrecht Beutel, 3rd edn. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 21–27 (27). The term 'relic' for such an inscription had already been used in the nineteenth century by C. Ullmann ('Eine kleine Reliquie von Melanchthon (Eine Bibelschrift von 1552)', *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, I (Hamburg: Perthes, 1828), pp. 794–96; cited in Schnabel, *Stammbuch, passim*).

Archivists, for access to the volume and assistance in navigating the archives and college records; to Jane Eagan (Head Conservator, Oxford Conservation Consortium) for generously sharing her expertise, especially with regard to the watermarks and the binding; to Dunstan Roberts (Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge) for information on the libraries of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and for helpful comments on the completed article; to Christos Simelidis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) and Hywel Clifford (Ripon College Cuddesdon, Oxford) for their assistance with transcribing and translating the Greek and Hebrew inscriptions respectively; to Nigel Wilson and Tom Earle for casting their eyes over the Latin, and especially to Ulrich Bubenheimer, not only for meticulously checking the transcriptions and translations, but also for his kindness in sharing his detailed knowledge about Reformation inscriptions.

### ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used: *CR* (*Philippi Melancthonis opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil (eds), *Corpus Reformatorum*, 28 vols (Halle: Schwetschke, 1834–60); *WA* (*D. Martin Luthers Werke. (Weimarer Ausgabe)*, part I, 71 vols (Weimar: Böhlau and Stuttgart / Weimar: Böhlau Nachfolger, 1883–)); *MBW* (Melancthon's Briefwechsel, a project of the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften — Forschungsstelle Melancthon: <https://www.hadw-bw.de/mbw-regest>); *VD16* (Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts: <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/sammlungen/historische-drucke/recherche/vd-16/>); *BL* (British Library); *BOD* (Bodleian Library, Oxford); *HAB* (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel); *JCA*: Jesus College Archive; *JCFL*: Jesus College Fellows' Library; *GG* (Frank Hieronymus (ed.), *Ἐν Βασιλείᾳ πόλει τῆς Γερμανίας. Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen*, catalogue for an exhibition held at the Universitätsbibliothek, Basel from 4 July to 22 August 1992, the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin from 28 January to 6 March 1993, and the Gutenberg-Museum, Mainz from 8 June to 29 August 1993, Publikationen der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 15 (Basel: Universitätsbibliothek, 1992) online at <http://www.ub.unibas.ch/cmsdata/spezialkataloge/gg/>). Bible verses are cited from the New Revised Standard Version.

### GREEK PRINTING IN BASEL

Basel was one of the great centres of early modern printing. A city which valued its printers enough to release them from certain trade restrictions,<sup>5</sup> it developed an international reputation, aided by the founding of the university in 1460 and the trade fair in 1471.<sup>6</sup> Many Basel printers were deeply interested in humanist

<sup>5</sup> A city council decree of 27 November 1508 declared printing a 'freie Kunst', and decreed that no printer had to belong to a guild, although most chose to do so: see 'Der Basler Buchdruck im ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert', in *Johannes Froben und der Basler Buchdruck des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Antonio Hernández, exhibition catalogue from the Gewerbemuseum, Basel on the occasion of the University of Basel's 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary, 19 June – 24 July 1960, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Basel: [1960]), unnumbered pages.

<sup>6</sup> For a more detailed discussion of Basel's printing history, see 'Der Basler Buchdruck', in *Froben*, ed. by Hernández; Paul Heitz and C. Chr. Bernoulli, *Basler Büchermarken bis zum*

scholarly endeavours, and developed classical type faces inspired by the work of the Venetian scholar and businessman Aldo Manuzio in Venice. Worthy of mention in this context is Johannes Froben, who achieved renown beyond Basel and the German-speaking territories for his Greek publications.<sup>7</sup> He had contacts with such learned men as Beatus Rhenanus and Oecolampadius, who worked for his press as correctors,<sup>8</sup> and in 1514 he pulled off his greatest coup when Erasmus visited Basel.<sup>9</sup> Erasmus had been greatly impressed by Froben's (unauthorised) 1513 edition of his *Adagia* (GG 12), and hoped that Froben would also publish his Greek and Latin New Testament and his edition of the works of St Jerome.<sup>10</sup> However, the connection did bring some restrictions for Froben: Erasmus prevented him from publishing Reformation writings,<sup>11</sup> and Johnson notes that Adam Petri therefore cornered this particular market in Basel.<sup>12</sup> Froben's edition of Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum*, the New Testament with its parallel Greek and Latin text, was published in 1516 (GG 16), and this was followed in 1519 with a new edition (GG 380). The basis for Froben's Greek font was the Aldine type, pioneered in Venice in the 1490s with a five-volume edition of Aristotle's works, which made Manuzio's name across Europe.<sup>13</sup> Froben would have known Manuzio's works through his father-in-law, Wolfgang Lachner, who was a bookseller in both Italy

*Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Büchermarken oder Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen, 3 (Strasbourg: Heitz and Mündel, 1895); Charles William Heckethorn, *The Printers of Basle in the XV. and XVI. Centuries. Their Biographies, Printed Books and Devices* (London: Gresham, 1897); Hans R. Guggisberg, *Basel in the Sixteenth Century. Aspects of the City Republic Before, During, and After the Reformation* (St. Louis, Missouri: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), pp. 9–10. Guggisberg argues that the strong printing industry in Basel was a major factor in attracting scholars to the city (p. 10), so that it could be said to have produced as well as responded to developments in scholarship.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Heckethorn, *Printers*, p. 88; Guggisberg, *Basel*, p. 23. See also Beat von Scarpatetti's article on Beatus Rhenanus and Hans R. Guggisberg's article on Oecolampadius in *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. by Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, 3 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985–87), I, 104–09 and III, 24–27.

<sup>9</sup> GG 16; 'Johannes Froben (1460?–1527)', in *Froben*, ed. by Hernández; Guggisberg, *Basel*, p. 14; Valentina Sebastiani, *Johann Froben, Printer of Basel: A Biographical Profile and Catalogue of His Editions*, Library of the Written Word, 65; *The Handpress World*, 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 39–54. In *The Text of the Greek Bible. A Student's Handbook* (London: Duckworth, 1937), Frederic G. Kenyon states that Froben commissioned Erasmus (p. 155), and this is also suggested in the introduction to the catalogue *Basel und die Bibel: Bibelhandschriften und Bibeldrucke aus 13 Jahrhunderten: Katalog zur Ausstellung 100 Jahre Bibelsammlung der Basler Bibelgesellschaft 11. November – 23. Dezember 1995, Universitätsbibliothek Basel*, Publikationen der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 24 (Basel: Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, 1995) pp. 8, 24.

<sup>10</sup> A.F. Johnson, *The First Century of Printing at Basle*, Periods of Typography (London: Benn, 1926), p. 10. Cf. Guggisberg, *Basel*, p. 14; 'Johannes Froben', in *Froben*, ed. by Hernández; Bietenholz, 'Johann Froben of Hammelburg, c 1460–26 October 1527', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, ed. by Bietenholz and Deutscher, II, 60–63 (p. 61).

<sup>11</sup> 'Johannes Froben', in *Froben*, ed. by Hernández; Bietenholz, 'Johann Froben', p. 62.

<sup>12</sup> Johnson, *Printing*, p. 11. See also Guggisberg, *Basel*, p. 21 and Sebastiani, *Froben*, pp. 64–66. Heckethorn notes that Froben published a number of Erasmus's texts attacking Luther (*Printers*, p. 110).

<sup>13</sup> See Nicolas Barker, *Aldus Manutius: Mercantile Empire of the Intellect*, UCLA University Research Library, Department of Special Collections, Occasional Papers, 3 (Los Angeles: University of California, 1989), p. 16.

and Germany, and owned several Aldine editions.<sup>14</sup> In his work on Manuzio, Nicholas Barker writes of the Venetian's enormous influence on printers across Europe, and names Froben, Herwagen and Oporin (a later Basel printer) amongst his imitators and 'heirs'.<sup>15</sup>

Johannes Herwagen, the publisher of the 1545 Greek bible, began his career in Strasbourg, where from 1523–1528 he printed both scholarly and Reformation works.<sup>16</sup> In 1528 he moved to Basel, became a member of the 'Schlüsselzunft' and married Gertrud Lachner, the widow of Froben, who had died the previous year.<sup>17</sup> Taking on some of Froben's presses, Herwagen printed both on his own and in collaboration with Hieronymus Froben (his wife's stepson) and Hieronymus's brother-in-law, Nicolaus Episcopius.<sup>18</sup> He also worked with his younger stepson, Johannes Erasmus Froben, although from 1531 he was mostly printing alone.<sup>19</sup> Through the Froben family he had links with Erasmus, and he also formed contacts with other scholars; in 1532 he printed Michael Hummelberger's *Epitome grammaticae Graecae* which he had been sent by Beatus Rhenanus (GG 47). He soon established himself as a printer specialising in Greek. In 1532 he published the second edition of Demosthenes' speeches (GG 225), in 1533 an edition of Euclid's *Elements* (GG 283), and in 1535 an edition of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which was so popular that it was reissued in folio in 1541 (GG 167, 169). This was followed in March 1537 by the second complete edition of Euripides' tragedies (GG 194), in 1540 by his edition of Thucydides (GG 261), in 1541 by a Greek edition of Herodotus (GG 263) and the *Corpus iuris* in Greek and Latin (GG 374–75), and in 1544 by the first complete Greek edition of Epiphanius's writings (GG 442). In the 1530s he had collaborated with a number of Basel printers, including Johannes Erasmus Froben, on a five-volume edition of Galen's writings.<sup>20</sup>

Herwagen's connection with Melanchthon dates back over twenty years before their collaboration on the 1545 bible. In December 1522 in Strasbourg he had printed Melanchthon's *Declamatiunculae*, together with a letter to Melanchthon's friend Johann Hess,<sup>21</sup> and he followed this with editions of Melanchthon's *Loci*

<sup>14</sup> Heckethorn, *Printers*, p. 87; 'Johannes Froben', in *Froben*, ed. by Hernández. For information on Lachner, see Bietenholz, 'Wolfgang Lachner of Neuburg, d 27 January 1518', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, ed. by Bietenholz and Deutscher, II, 279–80.

<sup>15</sup> Barker, *Aldus Manutius*, p. 24.

<sup>16</sup> Heitz and Bernoulli, *Büchermarken*, p. xxix; Heckethorn, *Printers*, p. 117.

<sup>17</sup> For an account of Herwagen's life and career, see Josef Benzing, 'Herwagen, Johann', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 8 (1969), p. 719–20. [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119707950.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 6.6.2018); Heitz and Bernoulli, *Büchermarken*, pp. xxix–xxx; Heckethorn, *Printers*, pp. 117–24; and Bietenholz, 'Johann Herwagen of Waderdingen, 1497–c 1558', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, ed. by Bietenholz and Deutscher, II, 186–87.

<sup>18</sup> Heitz and Bernoulli, *Büchermarken*, p. xxix–xxx; Heckethorn, *Printers*, 117–18. For further information on Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius see Bietenholz's articles in *Erasmus*, II, 58–60 and I, 437–38 respectively.

<sup>19</sup> For information on Johannes Erasmus Froben, see Bietenholz, 'Erasmus Froben of Basel c.1515–1549', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, ed. by Bietenholz and Deutscher, II, 57–58.

<sup>20</sup> GG 337; see also Johnson, *Printing*, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> *Philippi Melanchthonis declamatiunculæ duæ in Diui Pavli Doctrinam. Eiusdem Epistola ad Ioannem Heßum Theologum* (Strasbourg: Johannes Herwagen, 1522).



*communes*, his annotations on Matthew, Romans and Corinthians, *Compendiaria dialectices ratio*, *Methodus*, *Quid in Evangelijs quærendum*, and *Institutiones rhetoricae*.<sup>22</sup> In Basel in 1533 Herwagen printed an edition of Virgil with contributions by Melanchthon, and in 1537 Melanchthon wrote a preface to Herwagen's reprint of a Latin translation of Euclid's *Elements* and Theon's commentary on it (GG 284). In 1541 Herwagen published Melanchthon's collected works, and Melanchthon's ongoing contact with Herwagen is confirmed by a work published in 1565 under the name of Josua Lagus, one-time owner of the Jesus College volume. The author reports that Melanchthon had sent something on the thorny issue of the real presence in the Eucharist to Friedrich Myconius in Gotha, and that Melanchthon had discussed this correspondence in a letter to Herwagen.<sup>23</sup>

The printing of the 1545 Greek bible came at a time of personal difficulty for Herwagen. In January 1542 he had been banished from Basel following a scandalous affair with Katharina Weckhart, the wife of his stepson Johann Erasmus, although his wife and children were granted permission to continue the business in his absence. He was only permitted to return to Basel in the month before the bible's publication after Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse, and the University pleaded on his behalf. This concession carried with it strict conditions, however; for another two years he was not allowed to be seen on the streets or at social gatherings, and even when his freedom of movement was restored, he was excluded for life from his guild.<sup>24</sup>

Melanchthon's preface to the bible is dated 25 November 1544, Encaenia, the feast marking the purification of the temple after the ejection of idols placed there by Antiochus IV.<sup>25</sup> This edition is clearly intended to be part of the equivalent purification of the church in Melanchthon's own time, effected not least by returning to purer sources of Holy Scripture. In the introduction Melanchthon claims that the Greek is closer to the sources than the Latin, although he does express some caveats:

Versionem uerò græcam prophetarum scio longe squalidiorem esse suis fontibus: sed tamen extare eam utile est, cū ea Græci etiamnum utantur, & collatio sæpe Latinis prodesse possit: denique cum sententiæ à Paulo citatæ ostendant, tunc eam in manibus Apostolorū fuisse.<sup>26</sup>

I know that the Greek version [the Septuagint] is in truth far rougher than its sources; but it is nevertheless useful that it exists, since the Greeks still use it, and it may always be usefully placed alongside the Latin: finally, since as maxims cited by Paul show, it was at that time in the hands of the apostles.

<sup>22</sup> See Keen, *Checklist of Melanchthon Imprints*, *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> Josua Lagus, *Antwort Josue Lagi Pomerani dieners des worts Gottes zu Heidelberg Auff Johann Marbachs vnd Joachim Mörllins Schrifften wider die Heidelbergischen Theologen*. M. D. LXV. (Heidelberg: Johannes Mayer, 1565), p. 26.

<sup>24</sup> For details of the affair and its aftermath, see Heitz and Bernoulli, *Büchermarken*, p. xxx.

<sup>25</sup> *ΤΗΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΓΡΑΦΗΣ*, fol. \*3<sup>v</sup> (reproduced in Melanchthon, *Opera*, CR, V, 535–40).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. \*2<sup>v</sup>. Melanchthon's preface is discussed in GG 382. It is also cited by Basil Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. by S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: CUP, 1963), pp. 38–93 (p. 57).



The bible contains Erasmus's Greek edition of the New Testament,<sup>27</sup> whilst the Old Testament is based on a corrected version of Manuzio's 1518 Venice Septuagint.<sup>28</sup> Herwagen's was an influential edition, forming the basis for the Kralitzer Czech bible from 1579 onwards.<sup>29</sup> It was also used, with the preface suppressed, as the basis for Greek bibles in Catholic Europe;<sup>30</sup> and it was in the library of William Branthwaite, one of the translators of the Apocrypha for the 1611 King James English bible.<sup>31</sup>

## THE PROVENANCE OF THE JESUS COLLEGE VOLUME

Melanchthon appears to have owned several copies of the 1545 bible, which he presented to friends and acquaintances, cementing networks of friendship and shared concerns through these gifts.<sup>32</sup> A copy now housed at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, contains a Greek inscription in Melanchthon's hand from 1554, and was donated to the library of the University of Helmstedt in 1702 by Duke Rudolf August of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel as its founding volume.<sup>33</sup> In autographing his own works (and those of others), Melanchthon was taking up Luther's mantle.<sup>34</sup> Werner Schnabel and Ulinka Rublack point to over three hundred extant autographs by Luther in books, which they consider as types of Lutheran relics.<sup>35</sup> According to Hans Volz, this practice really picked up for Luther with the publication of the 'Medianbibel' by Hans Lufft in 1541.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>27</sup> GG 382. It is identified as the fifth edition by both Hall ('Biblical Scholarship', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. by Greenslade, p. 57) and Scott Mandelbrote ('When Manuscripts Meet: Editing the Bible in Greek during and after the Council of Trent', in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honour of Anthony Grafton*, ed. by Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing, Scientific and Learned Cultures and their Institutions, 18, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 251–67 (265)).

<sup>28</sup> Mandelbrote notes that the Septuagint here was edited by Andrea Torresano (Scott Mandelbrote, 'The Old Testament and Its Ancient Versions in Manuscript and Print in the West, from c. 1480 to c. 1780', *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, III*, ed. by Euan Cameron (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), pp. 82–109 (99)).

<sup>29</sup> GG 382.

<sup>30</sup> Mandelbrote, 'When Manuscripts Meet', in *For the Sake of Learning*, ed. by Blair and Goeing, p. 265.

<sup>31</sup> David Norton, *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today* (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), p. 65.

<sup>32</sup> GG 382. For another example of gifts and the written word as a glue binding networks together, see Edmund Wareham's Chapter 2.1 'Sozialer Kontext und Netzwerke' in the introduction to *Netzwerke der Nonnen. Edition und Erschließung der Briefsammlung aus Kloster Lüne (ca. 1460–1555)*, ed. by Eva Schlotheuber, Henrike Lähnemann, Simone Schultz-Balluff, Edmund Wareham, Philipp Trettin and Lena Vosding; digital edition: <http://diglib.hab.de?link=75>.

<sup>33</sup> HAB: Bibel-S. 2° 136 (see GG 382).

<sup>34</sup> See Hans-Peter Hasse, 'Wittenberger Theologie im "Stammbuch": Eintragungen Wittenberger Professoren im Album des Wolfgang Ruprecht aus Eger', in *Humanismus und Wittenberger Reformation. Festgabe anlässlich des 500. Geburtstages des Praeceptor Germaniae Philipp Melanchthon am 16. Februar 1997*, ed. by Michael Beyer and Günther Wartenberg (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1996), pp. 89–120; esp. 95–96.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. fn. 4.

<sup>36</sup> Hans Volz, 'Die Bibeleinzeichnungen der Wittenberger Reformatoren. Eine buchgeschichtlich literarhistorische Studie', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1971), 122–37 (p. 125). See also Hasse, 'Wittenberger Theologie', in *Humanismus und Wittenberger Reformation*, ed. by Beyer and Wartenberg, p. 92; Schnabel, *Stammbuch*, p. 246.

Several copies have inscriptions by Luther and other Reformers, such as the one in the British Library, with a citation from Psalm 23 in Luther's hand, dated 1542, and other inscriptions by Johannes Bugenhagen, Major and Melanchthon, the latter dated 1557.<sup>37</sup> The practice became so popular, especially in Wittenberg, that Volz has described it as a new literary genre.<sup>38</sup> Some of the books autographed were given by Luther as gifts, but others seem to have been brought to him by the owners,<sup>39</sup> and from around this time Luther was writing inscriptions for books authored by others, as well as for his own publications.<sup>40</sup> Soon other Reformers began to follow suit: as well as inscriptions by Bugenhagen and Major, there are a number by Cruciger and others.<sup>41</sup> But Melanchthon was a particularly diligent inscriber, as his biographer Camerarius notes.

Nunc hoc fiebat, vt nihil vacui temporis ipsi relinqueretur prorsus, sed et iis continuo occuparetur, quae supra indicaui, et nouo quodam mirifico labore insuper defatigaretur. Coeperant enim plerique ipsius et aliorum celebritate moti expetere, vt manu eorum aliquid in suis libellis perscriberetur, quod ostentare possent. Atque aliqui ad tales scripturas chartas conglutinatas, et libellos peculiare circumferre, cui rei incredibile est, quantum temporis operaeque tribuerit, cum, qualis res esset, animaduerneret, et negando tamen neminem vellet offendere.<sup>42</sup>

Now this took place, so that from thenceforth no free time was left to him, but he was continuously occupied, which I have indicated above, and he became wearied by this particular additional new and extraordinary work. For many of them, prompted by his fame and that of others, began to ask whether something might be inscribed in their books by [the Reformers'] own hand, that they would be able to display. And some carried sheets of paper bound together and other little books of their own for these inscriptions, so that it is incredible how much time

<sup>37</sup> BL 679.i.15–16. Luther's inscription is reproduced in Neil MacGregor, *Germany: Memories of a Nation* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), pp. 102–103. I am grateful to Susan Reed for discussions about these inscriptions.

<sup>38</sup> Volz, 'Bibeleinzeichnungen', p. 126. Rublack agrees that it is particularly associated with Wittenberg ('Grapho-Relics', in *Relics and Remains*, ed. by Walsham, p. 155); see also Schnabel, *Stammbuch*, p. 249. Hasse ('Wittenberger Theologie', in *Humanismus und Wittenberger Reformation*, ed. by Beyer and Wartenberg, pp. 92–93) and Wolfgang Klose ('Corpus Alborum Amicorum. Ein Bericht über die Sammlung und Beschreibung von Stammbüchern der Frühen Neuzeit', *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 10 (1985), 154–69, pp. 162–63) draw a distinction between these inscriptions and the *alba amicorum* or 'Stammbücher' that evolved from them, and which testify to a greater degree to friendship networks.

<sup>39</sup> Schnabel, *Stammbuch*, p. 246.

<sup>40</sup> Volz, 'Bibeleinzeichnungen', pp. 122, 125, 127.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129. See also Theodor Mahlmann, 'Das Herborner Melanchthon-Autographon', in *Melanchthon und die Marburger Professoren (1527–1627)*, ed. by Barbara Bauer, Schriften der Universität Marburg, 89, 2 vols (Marburg: [Universitätsbibliothek Marburg], 1999), I, 37–61.

<sup>42</sup> Joachim Camerarius the Elder, *De vita Philippi Melancthonis narratio ...*, ed. by Georg Theodor Strobel (Halle: Johann Jakob Gebauer, 1777), p. 62; cited in Hasse, 'Wittenberger Theologie', in *Humanismus und Wittenberger Reformation*, ed. by Beyer and Wartenberg, p. 89. See also Volz, 'Bibeleinzeichnungen', p. 129, Schnabel, *Stammbuch*, pp. 244–45, and Rublack, 'Grapho-Relics', in *Relics and Remains*, ed. by Walsham, p. 156.

and work he gave to this, so that it could be seen what sort of thing [what a huge burden] it was, and yet he did not wish to offend anyone by refusing.

The inscriptions were also established as a printed genre by Johannes Aurifaber of Weimar and Georg Röer, Luther's close friend and proof-reader, in two collections, both from 1547.<sup>43</sup> The title-pages emphasise the consolatory effects of reading these inscriptions, and in his preface, Röer describes it as:

seer nützlich/ das man viel besonderer fürnemer auserlesener Sprüche/ in frischer gedechtnis allezeit habe/ die vns bald erinnern/ vnterweisen/ vermanen oder trösten. [...] So geben diese kurtze Auslegungen/ darin der natürlich safft der Sprüche gefasst ist/ mehr verstand/ denn viel grosse alte Comment Originis/ oder vieler andern. (fols A5<sup>v</sup>)

The dating of such inscriptions can be difficult. Some are clearly dated, such as Luther's and Melanchthon's in the British Library Medianbibel. But as we can see from this example, Melanchthon's inscription comes fifteen years after Luther's, and other bibles paint a similar picture. Volz mentions a 1536 Wittenberg bible belonging to Kunigunde Gengenbach, wife of a Leipzig merchant. Luther autographed it in 1537, Jonas and Melanchthon added their inscriptions in 1539, and there are also undated entries by Bugenhagen and Cruciger.<sup>44</sup> Sometimes the inscriptions appeared in blank pages of printed books (printer's blanks), and sometimes loose sheets were autographed and then later bound in with a published text,<sup>45</sup> a practice not uncommon as books were very often sold unbound. They could even be pasted in from other sources, as can be seen in the example of Christoph von Teuffenbach, a student who brought a book to Melanchthon, Bugenhagen and Major to be autographed in 1548 and pasted in an autograph

<sup>43</sup> Johannes Aurifaber, *Auslegung/ etzlicher Trostsprüche/ so der Ehrwürdige Herr/ Doctor Martinus Luther/ jnn seiner lieben Herrn/ vnd guten Freunden Bibeln vnd Postillen/ mit eigener handt (zu seinem gedechtnis) geschrieben.* ([Erfurt: Wolfgang Stürmer, 1547]); Georg Röer, *Vieler schönen Sprüche aus Göttlicher Schrift auslegung/ daraus Lere vnd Trost zu nemen/ Welche der ehrwürdige Herr Doctor Martinus Luther seliger/ vielen in jre Biblien geschrieben. Dergleichen Sprüche von andern Herrn ausgelegt/ sind auch mit eingemenget ...* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1547). Whereas Aurifaber organized his work chronologically and only reproduced inscriptions by Luther, Röer included the words of other Reformers, and arranged the inscriptions in biblical order. Thus his work is easier for an early modern reader to navigate, but Aurifaber's volume shows us a development in Luther's inscription practice, although it is hard to know how Aurifaber decided on the placement of the undated inscriptions. For a discussion of these works, see Volz, 'Bibeleinzeichnungen', pp. 133ff; D. O. Albrecht's introduction to the inscriptions in *WA*, 48, pp. XV–XXII; Hasse, 'Wittenberger Theologie', in *Humanismus und Wittenberger Reformation*, ed. by Beyer and Wartenberg, p. 94; and Schnabel, *Stammbuch*, pp. 264–65.

<sup>44</sup> Volz, 'Bibeleinzeichnungen', p. 129; see also Schnabel, *Stammbuch*, pp. 246, 265. Luther's inscription is reproduced in *WA*, 48, no. 156. For brief information on Kunigunde and Peter Gengenbach, see *MBW*, XII, p. 132.

<sup>45</sup> See Klose, 'Corpus Alborum Amicorum', p. 155; Schnabel, *Stammbuch*, pp. 247, 252–53. Schnabel points out that inscriptions in bound books give a sense of a community of friends and acquaintances that cannot be replicated by inscriptions on the more easily portable but also fragmentary individual sheets (*Stammbuch*, pp. 124–25). However, these examples show that individual autographs could be incorporated into a whole to which they did not originally belong, sometimes creating a misleading impression of a community or network.

from Luther, who had died two years earlier.<sup>46</sup> These examples show that knowing the date of one inscription should not lead automatically to firm conclusions about the others.

The dating of the inscriptions in the Jesus College copy of the 1545 bible is a case in point. They are written on endpapers which are shorter than the text block, and which have been bound into the volume both before the title-page and after the colophon.<sup>47</sup> Jane Eagan has established that the paper-stock, which is the same for the flyleaves next to both the upper and lower boards, dates from the first half of the sixteenth century,<sup>48</sup> and patterns of damage by wood-borer insects on both the endpapers and the first pages of the text block, indicates that both were bound in a wooden-boarded binding, which is likely also to have dated from the sixteenth century:<sup>49</sup> this suggests that the printed text and the inscriptions travelled together to England. A cut page-edge after the colophon and before Eber's inscription suggests that something has been removed. As far as they are dated, they range from 1546 through to 1559. The first inscription, a Greek citation of John 14.23 followed by a Latin exegesis by Melancthon, is undated, but can almost certainly be placed after Luther's death on 18 February 1546. Rublack and Bubenheimer note that the practice of inscribing these books was extremely hierarchical,<sup>50</sup> so that if Luther had been alive, it is likely that Melancthon would have ceded first place to him, or left space for his inscription to come first.<sup>51</sup> Even had Melancthon taken precedence as author of the preface, Luther's signature would surely have followed before the others. Moreover, this citation from John 14 and the accompanying exegesis was often used by Melancthon between May 1546 and January 1547, which supports the dating.<sup>52</sup> As far as it is possible to reconstruct the movement of the other inscribers from Melancthon's correspondence, Cruciger

<sup>46</sup> See Richard G. Salomon, 'The Teuffenbach Copy of Melancthon's *Loci Communes*', *Renaissance News*, 8 (1955), 79–85 (pp. 80–81); cited by Schnabel, *Stammbuch*, 248–49 and Rublack, 'Grapho-Relics', in *Relics and Remains*, ed. by Walsham, pp. 157–58.

<sup>47</sup> Copies of the volume in other libraries have varying numbers of endpapers.

<sup>48</sup> This was established by comparing the watermark found on both the front and back free endleaves — a bull's head with a snake and cross — with others noted in Charles M. Briquet's *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Paris and London: Picard; Quaritch, 1907), VI, 774 from sixteenth-century German paper: see especially Briquet 15439, <https://memoryofpaper.eu/briquet/?refnr=15439> (accessed 5 March 2021); also Briquet 15345–38. Eagan notes that the paper stock is different in the text-block, which appears to come from two sources: one is fine white paper with no watermark, and the other white paper with a posthorn mark. My thanks to Jane Eagan for her kind assistance with this.

<sup>49</sup> Eagan notes that new boards were put in, probably sometime between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, and it is likely that the volume was re-backed in the nineteenth century.

<sup>50</sup> Rublack, 'Grapho-Relics', in *Relics and Remains*, ed. by Walsham, p. 157; Ulrich Bubenheimer, 'Die Lutherbibel des Hallenser Schultheißen Wolfgang Wesemer. Ein Stück Kulturgeschichte von den Einzeichnungen der Wittenberger Reformatoren bis zur Ausstellung auf der Wartburg', in Ulman Weiß and Ulrich Bubenheimer, *Schätze der Lutherbibliothek auf der Wartburg. Studien zu Drucken und Handschriften*, ed. by Grit Jacobs (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2016), pp. 99–147 (110–14). See also Schnabel, *Stammbuch*, p. 247.

<sup>51</sup> Schnabel discusses a case where Luther ensured that pages were left blank in a book he autographed for his barber so that Melancthon, Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Cruciger could add their inscriptions at a convenient time (*Stammbuch*, p. 246).

<sup>52</sup> Melancthon's use of this passage is discussed in the appendix below.

could have inscribed the volume at any point between Luther's death and 1 November 1546, the date of Eber's inscription. Major was in Regensburg on 22 February 1546, the day of Luther's funeral, when Melanchthon wrote to tell him of Luther's death (MBW 4166a), but his name appears on a number of letters of reference and documents from Wittenberg between the end of May and mid-September (MBW 4276, 4283, 4330, 4365, 4373a, 4379, 4389), which suggests that his inscription was made during these months. Camerarius, then based in Leipzig, visited Wittenberg around 24/5 February (MBW 4168), on 5 April to read Luther's epitaph (MBW 4217), and in late October 1546 (MBW 4420). Stigel was in Tiefert on 23 February when Melanchthon conveyed the news of Luther's death (MBW 4168), and possibly in Weimar on 5 April (MBW 4217). In May there is discussion of him returning to Wittenberg (MBW 4250), and by July he was in the city (MBW 4345). Sabinus, who lived in Königsberg, and received letters there in August (MBW 4352), was in Wittenberg in mid-September (MBW 4388), but had returned home by 7 October (MBW 4403a). As there is another letter from Sabinus in Königsberg dated 30 October (MBW 4426), it is a safe assumption that the final 1546 inscription, Eber's, which is dated 1 November 1546, came later than the others. The fact that it alone among the 1546 inscriptions appears at the end of the text, on the leaf following the colophon, supports this assumption. What we cannot determine is whether the other 1546 autographs were all written at the same time.<sup>53</sup>

Eber's inscription came at a dark time for the Reformers in Wittenberg. Comforting words from Romans 8 — 'If God is for us, who is against us? ...' — are accompanied by a Latin couplet which refers to Luther's death and the 'savage [Schmalkaldic] war' which was destroying 'unhappy Germany'. It was written as many, including Melanchthon, prepared to leave Wittenberg.<sup>54</sup> Eber's inscription appears to have been signed in the bottom right-hand corner of the page, but the signature has been removed, and the neat excision suggests that this was done by design rather than by accident. Between Eber's exegesis and the couplet, a later hand has written in 'Martinus Lutherus scripsit: Memoriam ergo 1545' (Martin Luther wrote this. Therefore [it serves as] a memento. 1545'.<sup>55</sup> The use of the earlier date, together with the inept attempt to reproduce Luther's signature and the fact that Eber's signature is removed, suggests that a later unscrupulous owner had intended to increase the market value of the

<sup>53</sup> Johannes Bugenhagen and Justus Jonas the Elder are missing from the volume altogether. Volz claims that Bugenhagen only autographed books occasionally ('Bibeleinzeichnungen', p. 132), and Jonas was living and working in Halle. For biographies of Bugenhagen and Jonas, see Wolf, Ernst, 'Bugenhagen, Johannes', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 3 (1957), p. 9 f. [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118517287.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 2.7.2018) and Delius, Walter, 'Jonas, Justus', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 10 (1974), p. 593 f. [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118712926.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 2.7.2018).

<sup>54</sup> See Melanchthon, *Opera*, CR, VI, p. ix: 'Exardet bellum in ripa Albis, dissipatur Schola Wittebergensis. Multi se conferent Magdeburgum.' (As war breaks out on the bank of the Elbe, the University of Wittenberg is scattered. Many gather at Magdeburg.) In a letter to Veit Dietrich written on 1 November, it is clear that Melanchthon was prepared to have to leave at short notice (MBW 4428), and by mid-November he was in Zerbst (MBW 4447–57).

<sup>55</sup> My thanks to Walter Thüringer of the Forschungsstelle Melanchthon for confirming Eber's hand in information enclosed in a letter from Wilfred Barner to Katrin Kohl, 8 January 2001. For further details, see the appendix below.

volume.<sup>56</sup> It certainly came later than Eber's inscription, as did the unattributed inscription in a third hand: these have left an ink trace on the colophon page, which is now the verso of the leaf directly preceding the inscriptions, but Eber's inscription has not.<sup>57</sup>

The final inscriptions, which follow on from Eber's, but are dated twelve and a half years later, are a poem by Marcantonio Flaminio and a dedication, signed by the Burgundian theologian, Hubert Languet, a long-term inhabitant of Wittenberg and close friend of Melanchthon and Camerarius, who had, in that year, entered the Elector's service.<sup>58</sup> On 12 April 1559 he presented the volume to his friend Magister Josua Lagus,<sup>59</sup> whom he had almost certainly met in Wittenberg, and letters exchanged in 1559 and 1560 testify to an acquaintance that continued at least for a couple of years.<sup>60</sup>

Relatively little can be said with certainty about Josua Lagus. Born in Stolp, Pomerania, he attended Wittenberg university from 1553.<sup>61</sup> By 1563 he was living in the Palatinate,<sup>62</sup> where he collaborated with Lambertus Pithopaeus, shortly to become his brother-in-law, on the Latin translation of the Heidelberg Catechism, published in January 1563.<sup>63</sup> He may well be the M.J.L. who translated the catechism into Low German in the same year.<sup>64</sup> He would have worked closely

<sup>56</sup> C.J. Fordyce and T.M. Knox, *The Library of Jesus College Oxford With An Appendix of The Books Bequeathed Thereto by Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Biographical Society, vol. V, part II (Oxford: OUP, 1937), p. 63.

<sup>57</sup> My thanks to Owen McKnight for pointing this out. An intermediate flyleaf between the colophon and Eber's inscription has been removed.

<sup>58</sup> See Béatrice Nicollier-de Weck, *Hubert Languet (1518–1581): Un réseau politique international de Melanchthon à Guillaume d'Orange*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 293 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1995), *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> See the inscription in the appendix.

<sup>60</sup> Nicollier-de Weck, *Languet*, pp. 16, 69, 498, 502 and 107. Parts of the correspondence can be seen online at the Bibliothèque nationale de France: Latin 8583: 'Philippi Melancthonis, Joannis Metelli, Hermanni Wilkindi, Martini Helsingi, Joachimi Camerarii, aliorumque ad Hubertum Languetum epistolae autographae', fols 72–75: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107212204> (accessed 15.6.2018).

<sup>61</sup> His name was entered in the matriculation records on 13 May 1553: Karl Eduard Förstmann, *Album Academiae Vitebergensis ab a Ch. MDII usque ad a MDLX* (Leipzig: Karl Tauchnitz, 1841), p. 281, as Thüringer also notes (cf. fn. 55). Jacobus Revius places Lagus in the Netherlands from 1569 to 1580: see *Licht op Deventer. De geschiedenis van Overijssel en met name de stad Deventer*, 5 (1578–1619), trans. and ed. by A.W.A.M. Budé, G.T. Hartong and C.L. Heesakkers (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995), p. 74. According to the biography by Schwarz in *Altpreußische Biographie*, ed. by Christian Krollmann, vol. I (Königsberg: Gräfe and Untzer, 1941), p. 379, Lagus was awarded his MA in 1559 and became a member of the Philosophy Faculty in 1560. He is only mentioned in one letter from Melanchthon's correspondence: in November 1555 Martin Weiher, Bishop of Kammin, wrote to Melanchthon, about his two nephews, who were coming to study at Wittenberg (MBW 7637). Melanchthon appears to have recommended Lagus to him as a tutor for the young men.

<sup>62</sup> He is listed in the matriculation records for the University of Heidelberg on 21 February 1563: Gustav Toepke et al. (eds), *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, 7 vols (Heidelberg: University of Heidelberg, 1884–1916; repr. Nendeln: Kraus, 1976), II, 31.

<sup>63</sup> See note 285 in Revius, *Deventer*, p. 74; Jacob-Izaak Doedes, *De Heidelbergsche Catechismus in zijne eerste levensjaren, 1563–1567*, Historische en bibliografische nalezing (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1867), pp. 42–43.

<sup>64</sup> *Catechismus offte Christlicke underricht/ also de in Kercken vnde Scholen der Kōrförstlicken Paltz gedreuen werdt. Vth dem Hochdüdschen in Sessische sprake gebracht* ([n.p.: n.pub.], 1563). This is the assumption made by Doedes, *De Heidelbergsche Catechismus*, pp. 61–62.



with Zacharias Ursinus, whom he almost certainly knew from Wittenberg.<sup>65</sup> In 1565 a work appeared under Lagus's name defending the Philippist position on the Eucharist against attack by Gnesio-Lutherans: *Antwort Josue Lagi Pomerani dieners des worts Gottes zu Heidelberg Auff Johann Marbachs vnd Joachim Mörlins Schrifften wider die Heidelbergischen Theologen*.<sup>66</sup> However, this work has always been attributed to Ursinus, not least because a Latin translation appears in Ursinus's collected works.<sup>67</sup> Boris Wagner-Peterson notes that many of Ursinus's apologetic works appeared either anonymously or under pseudonyms, but he suggests that they may well have been collaborations, even though later editors ascribed them exclusively to Ursinus, perhaps in recognition of the leading role he played in their conception.<sup>68</sup> This association with Ursinus has been to some degree detrimental for Lagus because it makes tracing him in library catalogues very difficult.

Lagus's name also appears in connection with another Gnesio-Lutheran, Nicolaus Selnecker, who had authored a work on the Eucharist in 1561.<sup>69</sup> In the same year as the attack on Marbach and Mörlin, Lagus's name was put to a work which intersperses the German version of Selnecker's text with passages of (disparaging) commentary.<sup>70</sup> Selnecker was clearly of the opinion that his opponent was

<sup>65</sup> There may also have been a family connection: a Gregor Lagus, also from Stolp, had matriculated in April 1549, one day before Zacharias Ursinus (Förstemann, *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, p. 254).

<sup>66</sup> This work was part of an ongoing printed dispute. In 1560 *Bericht vnnnd Rhatschlag des Herren Philippi Melanthonis! ... vom stritt des haylichen Nachtmals! vnnnd zänckischen Kirchen-dienern* had been published in Heidelberg. Mörlin responded in the same year (*Auff den Bericht vnd Radtschlag! So vnter dem namen des Herrnn Philippi Melanthonis zu Heidelberg gedruckt vnd ausgegangen ist! Antwort und Bericht ...* ([Magdeburg: Ambrosius Kirchner], 1560). This was followed by a work issued under the name of the theologians at the University of Heidelberg in 1564: *Gründtlicher bericht Vom heiligen Abendmal ...* (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1564), whereupon Mörlin published *Wider die Landtlügen! der Heidelbergischen Theologen ...* (Eisleben: Andreas Petri, 1565). It is to this last text that *Antwort Josue Lagi* responds.

<sup>67</sup> Zacharias Ursinus, *Opera Theologica ...*, 3 vols (Heidelberg: Jonas Rosa [publisher] and Johann Lancelot [printer], 1612), II, 'Ad Ioh. Marbachii ... et Ioachimi Morlini ... Scripta quaedam contra Heidelbergenses Theologos anno MDLXV divulgata, Responsio succinta & solida D. Z. Ursini, Sub nomine Iosuae Lagi edita Germanice, iam Latine versa ...', pp. 15[0]9–49. (The German text has appended *Antwort auff Joachim Mörlins land lügen! wider die Heydelbergischen Theologen außgangen*, which is not in all respects the same as the Latin appendix. For the attribution of works published under Lagus's name to Ursinus, see Jakob Wilhelm Feuerlein, *Bibliotheca Symbolica Evangelica Lutherana [...]*, ed. by Johann Bartholomaeus Riederer (Nuremberg: Wolfgang Schwartzkopff, 1768), p. 208, no. 1207, which in turn cites as its authority Valentin Ernst Löscher, *Ausführliche Historia Motuum zwischen den Evangelisch=Lutherischen und Reformirten [...]*, II (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Johann Grosse's heirs, 1723), p. 236. The discussion is of Nicolaus Selnecker's *Libellus brevis et vtilis de coena Domini* (1561). 'Ursinus hat dieses Buch als bald zu Heidelberg widerlegt, unter dem Titul, *Scholia ad Seln. librum de Coena*, welches T. II. Operum Vrsini zu lesen ist, gleichwie er auch unter dem Nahmen Jos. Lagi eine deutsche Declaration dawider ediret' (Löscher, *Historia Motuum*, II, 236).

<sup>68</sup> Boris Wagner-Peterson, *Doctrina schola vitae: Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1583) als Schriftausleger*, *Refo500 Academic Studies*, 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), pp. 36–37.

<sup>69</sup> Selnecker, *Libellus brevis et vtilis de coena Domini ...* (Leipzig: Ernst Vögelin, 1561). Cf. fn. 67.

<sup>70</sup> *Bericht Von der waren gegenwertigkeit des leibs vnd bluts vnsers Herrn Jesu Christi in seinem H. Abendmal! gestellt durch M. Nicolavm Selnecker. Samt notwendiger vnd Christlicher erklärung Iosvae Lagi Pomerani ...* (Heidelberg: Johannes Maier, 1565).



Lagus. He names him as his adversary in a pamphlet he published eighteen years later to respond to another attack from the Palatinate, this time from someone naming himself ‘German Beyer von Hall’, which had been published in 1579 in Neustadt an der Haardt, where Ursinus was living and working. In his response Selnecker recalls the attack made in Lagus’s name in 1565:

Es sind jetzt bey achtzehen Jaren/ da wolte zu Heidelberg einer mit Namen Josias Lagus Pomeranus/ auch an mir Ritter werden/ wegen meines Büchlin/ vom heiligen Abendmal/ vnd er lies ein gros Buch dawider *cum gratia & priuilegio*, &c. außgehen. Was that ich? Jch schweig still/ befahl Gott die sach vnd rache/ vnd lies ihn walten. Ob nu wol auch etliche hohe Potentaten sich mit demselben Buch kützelten/ jedoch wehret es nicht lang/ sondern Gott kam zu dem elenden Menschen/ vnd lies jhn jämmerlich sterben vnd verderben. Damit höret der trotz auff.<sup>71</sup>

Unfortunately for Selnecker, Lagus was very much alive and kicking, and a response was issued with great gusto: ‘Hactenus Selneccerus [Stop right there, Selnecker!]. Sagte Herr Doctor/ es möchte der Lagus wieder auffwachen. Dann/ Gott lob/ ich lebe noch ...’.<sup>72</sup> He attacks Selnecker’s character, claiming that he only became a preacher out of thwarted ambition, after being passed over for the post of organist at the Schloßkirche in Wittenberg. It is hard to know whether this response was the work of Lagus himself, who was by then in Danzig, or whether it was also penned by Ursinus. But again Selnecker assumed it was Lagus, attacking his ‘Schmehkarten’ in a text appended to his counter-attack on another Reformed theologian, Lambertus Danaeus, also in 1581.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, Selnecker accuses Lagus of cowardly writing the earlier tract under the name German Beyer:

Was den ertichten namen German Beyers belangt/ mag Lagus entschuldigen/ was/ vnd wieuuel er kan. Das ist aber bey allen Christlichen vnd erbarn Leuten/ gewis vnd warhafftig/ das es ein vnerbar stück ist/ einen wollen antasten/ vnd sich darzu nicht bekennen.<sup>74</sup>

From 1565 Lagus may have been pastor at St. Aegidius in Speyer,<sup>75</sup> and in 1568 he took up a post at the Pädagogium in Heidelberg.<sup>76</sup> He left in 1570, according to

<sup>71</sup> Selnecker, *Kurtze einfeltige antwort/ auff das Examen vnd vnchristlich Lesterbuch eines Sacramentarischen Mammelucken/ der sich nennet German Beyer von Hall/ ...* (Leipzig: Jacob Berwald’s heirs, 1580), fol. Aiiij<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Lagus, *Kurtze Antwort Auff D. Selneckers Lügenhafftigs vnd Lesterlichs Tractätlein ...* (Neustadt an der Hardt: Mattheus Harnisch, 1581), fol. Aij<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Selnecker, ‘Kurtze antwort auff Iosuaë Lagi Schmehkarten’, published with *Christliche kurtze Antwort auff die Lesterung vnd Sacramentirische schmehschrift Lamberti Danaei ...* (Leipzig: Georg Defner, 1581), fols Eiiij<sup>v</sup>–F4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. E4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule in Heidelberg: von ihrem Ursprunge im 12. Jahrhundert bis zu ihrer Aufhebung im Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg: Mohr, 1849), p. 45.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45; Hautz, *Die erste Gelehrtenschule reformirten Glaubensbekenntnisses in Deutschland oder Geschichte des Pädagogiums zu Heidelberg unter dem Kurfürsten Friederich III. von der Pfalz in den Jahren 1565–1577* (Heidelberg: Mohr, 1855), pp. 9–10, 12.

Johann Friedrich Hautz on grounds of ill health, and became Superintendent in Neustadt an der Haardt (now Neustadt an der Weinstraße), afterwards taking up a teaching post in Amberg.<sup>77</sup> He then spent some time in the Netherlands, working as a Reformed pastor, before taking up the post of pastor to the Dutch Reformed congregation in Danzig in 1581, where his lively preaching style earned him the suspicion of the city council, who prohibited the services.<sup>78</sup> In 1586 he left Danzig for the Palatinate. He sat on the church council in 1587, and he became pastor in Wölchingen, where he died in 1597.<sup>79</sup>

If we work from the assumption that the inscribed leaves were with the printed bible from the 1540s, there appear to be five possible routes for its passage from Melanchthon to Lagus. The first is based on the assumption that Melanchthon asked friends for inscriptions, according to contemporary practice, kept the volume and presented it to Lagus in April 1559. The second is that Melanchthon presented the volume to someone (X), possibly one of the inscribers, in 1546, and that X passed it onto Lagus in Languet's presence in 1559. If this is indeed the case, then X cannot have been Cruciger, who died in 1548, and he is unlikely to have been Sabinus or Stigel, both of whom were living away from Wittenberg, Stigel at Jena, and Sabinus at Frankfurt an der Oder, although often travelling in the service of the Hohenzollerns.<sup>80</sup> This would leave Major or Eber as the strongest contenders. The third possibility is that X is another person altogether. In this scenario, Melanchthon passed the volume to X, X presented it to Languet sometime after the latter's arrival in Wittenberg in 1549, and in 1559 Languet passed it on to Lagus. The fourth possibility is that Melanchthon asked friends to inscribe the bible in 1546, kept in his own possession before presenting it to Languet sometime after his arrival in Wittenberg. Languet then passed it onto Lagus in 1559. Finally, it is possible that someone bought the book through a bookseller, brought it to Melanchthon and others for autographs, according to the custom of the day, and it came eventually into the possession of Lagus, who did the same in 1559, asking Languet to sign it as a man of note.

## OXFORD

The route by which the volume travelled to England is by no means any clearer, and we cannot say with certainty when the volume came to Jesus College Oxford. The rebuilding and relocation of the college library under Principal Francis Mansell between 1639 and 1642 meant that its books had to be taken into temporary storage, many in the custody of individual Fellows. Slips of paper in the college

<sup>77</sup> Hautz, *Gelehrtschule*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>78</sup> See Schwarz, 'Lagus, Josua', in *Altpreußische Biographie*, ed. by Krollmann, p. 379; Eduard Schnaase, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Danzigs actenmäßig dargestellt* (Paris: Bertling, 1863), p. 546.

<sup>79</sup> Hautz, *Gelehrtschule*, p. 12.

<sup>80</sup> Stigel was certainly at Jena on 21 February (MBW 8870). For biographies, see Hartfelder, Karl, 'Stigel, Johann', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 36 (1893), pp. 228–30 [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd104318864.html#adbcontent> (accessed 21.6.2018). Scheible, Heinz; Ebner, Bernhard, 'Sabinus, Georg', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 22 (2005), pp. 320–21 [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116713550.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 21.6.2018)

archives, mostly dating from 1640, testify to this.<sup>81</sup> However, the information they give is often vague: they are a reminder of the number and type of volumes with the aim of assisting with the eventual reestablishment of the library in its new location, rather than detailed bibliographical records. For example, in 1640 Jonathan Edwards signed for a ‘Biblia graece’, which could have been any one of several volumes.<sup>82</sup> Other books appear to have been stored in a room above the kitchen and buttery.<sup>83</sup> However, the rebuilding was disrupted by the war, and many Fellows fled, in most cases returning the books, but leaving the library in confusion.

Mansell was in the second of three separate terms as Principal.<sup>84</sup> In 1646 the Garrison of Oxford surrendered to the Parliamentary troops, and 1647 saw the Parliamentary Visitation of the University. Mansell published his Non-Submission to the Visitors in May 1648 and began to make preparations to leave Oxford,<sup>85</sup> attempting to secure the future of his college and its assets before he went:

While the Reformers were buisy [*sic*] in Turning out of him and his Society, he was as Active as if no such thing had been, in settling the Possessions and ascertayning the future Revenewes of the Colledge, with all the Application possible, nay in Ordering new Accessions from himselfe and others to the succeeding Intruders ...<sup>86</sup>

Mansell’s importance for the library collections is twofold. First, it was through his efforts that the bequest of Latin and Greek books belonging to Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury and kept at his house in London, was secured in 1648, a particular coup given that Lord Herbert was not an alumnus of Jesus College.<sup>87</sup> This bequest, granting ‘all my printed bookes in Latin & Greeke ... for the use of the colledge and as an Inception of a library there’,<sup>88</sup> contained a number of volumes published in Basel between 1525 and 1553, including the 1541 edition of Erasmus’s

<sup>81</sup> JCA LI.2 (a).

<sup>82</sup> JCA LI.2 (a).

<sup>83</sup> See Fordyce and Knox, *Library*, p. 54. This is supported by the fact that, in the college archives, there is a list of books found in various places, dated to around 1657, which includes a section ‘Libr Bookes brought out of Left hand Middle chamber by the Cook’ JCA LI.4 (a). For a further discussion of Jesus College Fellows’ Library, see Sarah Cobbold, ‘A True and Princippall Ornament’, *Jesus College Record* (2002), 36–47.

<sup>84</sup> For an account of Mansell’s life, see the biography published in the nineteenth-century, but written by his immediate successor, Leoline Jenkins: *The Life of Francis Mansell, D.D., Principal of Jesus College in Oxford* (London: Whittingham, 1854)

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12–14.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>87</sup> See Fordyce and Knox, *Library*, p. 62; Cobbold, ‘Ornament’, p. 36. On 4 September 1648 Mansell, Thomas Ellis and James Vaughan signed for 137 works (JCA LI.3 (e)), but this was not the extent of the bequest, as can be seen by comparing this document with ‘A Catalogue of the Bookes bestowed upon the said Colledge by the right Honourable Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury’ (1649) (JCA PR. MANSELL/C.1, fols 24<sup>r</sup>–33<sup>v</sup>). The books in London were, moreover, not the sum total of Lord Herbert’s books: another collection was housed at Montgomery Castle. For information on this, see Dunstan Roberts, ‘“Abundantly replenisht with Books of his own purchasing and choyce”: Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s Library at Montgomery Castle’, *Library and Information History*, 31 (2015), 117–36.

<sup>88</sup> Manuscript note containing a clause from Lord Herbert’s will (JCA LI.3 (e)).

*Novum Instrumentum*.<sup>89</sup> Second, Mansell donated a substantial part of his own library to the college in 1646:

[...] it was then that he by a rare Example, being Cast out of his beloved College, left behind him in it his owne Library which was a very compleat one, and suitable to his Great and Universall Knowledge, whether wee consider the choice or the number of the Books, there being in it nothing but that was fitting for a great Theologue to be furnished with either in Order to ancient Learning or moderne Controversy, but especially to Practicall Piety, he being eminent in all these Acquisitions that accomplish a great Theologue as well as a good Christian.<sup>90</sup>

One manuscript catalogue, ‘Bookes of Dr Mansell’s Gift to bee sold or exchanged in regard the Coll. Library is furnished w[i]th the same’,<sup>91</sup> testifies to Mansell’s desire to build up an extensive library for his college: he was concerned with breadth of coverage rather than the number of volumes. It is not clear how Mansell acquired his impressive personal collection: the list of his own books in his study numbers well over 500.<sup>92</sup> One item, a Latin Vulgate published in Paris in 1564, had belonged to a Roderick Lloyd.<sup>93</sup> This volume is in the catalogue of Mansell’s books not yet in the college library, so it appears to have been given to him as an individual rather than donated to the library.<sup>94</sup> Books could therefore come through college connections and yet not belong to the college itself, and the slips of paper detailing which library books the Fellows had taken into their custody served not only to protect and keep track of the library books, but also to safeguard the Fellows’ own collections against being assimilated into the library when the rebuilding was complete.

One of Mansell’s last services to the college before being ejected was to make an inventory of college possessions, including the books in the library, in order to hand over everything in good order to his Parliamentary successor, Michael Roberts.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>89</sup> This volume (JCFL A.5.7) was published by Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius. It is listed in the 1649 catalogue of the Herbert bequest (JCA PR. MANSELL/C.1, fol. 24<sup>r</sup>, according to the new numbering of 2016): ‘Novum Testamentum GL cum Añotat: Erasmi, Basil. 1541’. A bookplate also testifies to its provenance.

<sup>90</sup> Jenkins, *Mansell*, pp. 15–16. For a record of the bequest, see JCA LI.3 (a).

<sup>91</sup> JCA LI.3 (b).

<sup>92</sup> JCA LI.3 (d).

<sup>93</sup> JCFL A.9.11: information on SOLO (Oxford Libraries Online). It is not clear whether this was the Roderick Lloyd who matriculated at Jesus College in February 1593/4 and came from Merioneth, or the Roderick Lloyd from Cardiganshire, later of All Souls and registrar of the university, who matriculated at New College in 1581 (see *Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. II (1571–1622), part II, ed. by Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), pp. 199, 109. Roderick Lloyd of All Souls left bequests to one of Mansell’s predecessors, Griffith Powell (see *Cardiganshire County History Volume 2: Medieval and early modern Cardiganshire*, ed. by Geraint H. Jenkins, Richard Suggett and Eryn M. White (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019) p. 492).

<sup>94</sup> It appears in this catalogue as ‘Sacra Biblia emendata a D. Renato Benedicto’ (JCA LI.3 (c), no. 12), and reappears in the 1649 list of books given by Mansell in 1649 as ‘Biblia sacra iuxta vulgat. Editionem Lutetia<sup>e</sup>’ (JCA PR.MANSELL/1, fol. 39<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>95</sup> The inventory of books (JCA PR.MANSELL/C.1, fol. 39<sup>r</sup>) has a receipt written in Mansell’s hand and signed by Roberts, dated 29<sup>th</sup> May 1649. Below it there is a note testifying that some volumes are missing, including a copy of Beza’s New Testament in Greek and Latin, and

The inventory of library books in the college's possession in 1649, 'A Perfect and entire Catalogue of all the Bookes belonging unto Jesus College in Oxford', comprises three lists. The first, 'A Catalogue of Bookes belonging of old unto the Library of the said College',<sup>96</sup> lists a 1518 Greek bible in folio, clearly identifiable by its date and place of publication (Venice) as the Aldine edition, which was donated by Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster.<sup>97</sup> Fordyce and Knox suggest that the books in this first list had been acquired by 1631, with the theological volumes mostly coming into the collection between 1620 and 1630.<sup>98</sup> The second list is 'A Catalogue of the Bookes bestowed upon the said Colledge by the right Honourable Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury', which shows the full extent of the bequest, and not just the 137 volumes received from Lord Herbert's brother on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1648.<sup>99</sup> The third list is 'A Catalogue of Bookes given to the Colledge by D<sup>r</sup> Mansell Principall'.<sup>100</sup> These catalogues, together with the earlier lists of books in Mansell's study, of Mansell's books not yet in the library, of duplicate books which could be sold or exchanged for others, and the slips of paper signed by the Fellows around 1640, provide both an opportunity and a challenge for anyone attempting to trace a particular volume. They were compiled by different people at various times for varying purposes, and consequently the quality and quantity of the information they give varies from list to list, and the same volume may be given more than one short title across the catalogues.

The 1649 list of Mansell's donation contains an entry under the folio listings: 'VT Versio Gra<sup>c</sup>. Septuagint. Basil. 1545'.<sup>101</sup> In a separate list of 'A Catalogue of Mr Principalls books found in his study', a Greek Septuagint is listed, which suggests that he already owned it by the mid 1640s.<sup>102</sup> This is the only item which appears to correspond to the Herwagen volume, and neither the current library catalogue nor the 1801 catalogue has other works published in Basel in 1545.<sup>103</sup> Nor do there appear to be any other bibles published in Basel in 1545 which contain both

suggesting that 'those Fell[ows] of the Coll[ege] who had the key of the Library in the Pr[inci]palls Absence' should be asked if they know of their whereabouts (JCA PR.MANSELL/C.1, fol. 39<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., fols 18<sup>r</sup>–23<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> JCFL A.5.1. See JCA PR.MANSELL/C.1, fol. 18<sup>r</sup>; Fordyce and Knox, *Library*, p. 59. This was one of the books 'brought out of Left hand Middle chamber by the Cook' around 1657 (JCA L.I.4(a)), no. 9. With it was one volume of the eight-volume Plantin polyglot. In the late 1640s the folio edition of the polyglot had been listed in as the first item in both the list of books in Mansell's study (JCA LI.3 (d)) and in the 1649 catalogue of Mansell's donation (JCA PR.MANSELL/C.1, fol. 34<sup>r</sup>). Several volumes are also listed in the catalogue of 'Bookes belonging of old unto the Library of the said Colledge' (JCA PR.MANSELL/C.1, fol.18<sup>r</sup>). As the library now owns more than one copy of various volumes, it is hard to ascertain which was with the Aldine edition until 1657: Mansell's copy was in folio, and other editions are in octavo and sextodecimo, but the 1657 list does not specify the format.

<sup>98</sup> Fordyce and Knox, *Library*, p. 61.

<sup>99</sup> JCA PR.MANSELL/C.1, fols 24<sup>r</sup>–33<sup>r</sup>; compare with JCA LI.3 (e).

<sup>100</sup> JCA PR.MANSELL/C.1, fols 34<sup>r</sup>–39<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., fol. 34<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> JCA LI.3 (d), no. 37.

<sup>103</sup> *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegii Jesu in Academia Oxoniensi*, 3 vols (1801), JCFL MSS 349–351 The Herwagen volume is listed in volume I (MS 349), p. 7.

Old and New Testaments in Greek.<sup>104</sup> The entry in the 1649 list is the basis for Fordyce and Knox's claim that the autographed Herwagen bible belonged to Mansell.<sup>105</sup> The sticking point is, of course, the description: Herwagen's bible is not only a Septuagint, but also contains the New Testament within a single volume. But it is possible that in the haste to catalogue the books before Mansell's ejection, it was only necessary to identify the volume rather than to provide an accurate description. Moreover there are other precedents for the use of the term 'Septuagint' to refer to a volume containing both Old and New Testaments in Greek, and another example from Oxford shows this clearly: the Bodleian copy of the same Herwagen bible, which was given to or purchased by John Dee in 1549 during his time at Louvain University has 'Septuagint' printed across the fore-edge of the two-volume set.<sup>106</sup> On Mansell's death in 1665 the remainder of his library passed to the College, to which he had returned as President from 1660-1661, but there is no list of the books which this bequest contained. It is interesting to note that none of the early catalogues or lists mention the inscriptions: the volume's primary interest in the seventeenth-century does not yet appear to have been as a repository of Lutheran 'relics', but rather as a building block in the construction of a well-stocked and creditable collection.

Jesus College Fellows' Library contains a number of volumes published by Froben, Herwagen and other Basel printers,<sup>107</sup> and around 50 of Herwagen's publications also found their way to other Oxford libraries, with the Bodleian Library and the college libraries of Magdalen, Christ Church and All Souls holding the most. These testify to the regard in which Herwagen's publications were held across Europe, and there are copies of the 1545 bible in the Bodleian and in All Souls, Magdalen and Wolfson College libraries. But proof of an English market for Herwagen's books sheds no further light on the provenance of the Jesus College bible because this volume appears not to have come to England from the press in Basel via book-sellers, but from Wittenberg, perhaps via the Palatinate or Danzig, both areas connected with Lagus and which had strong links with Britain, dynastic in the one case and trading links through the Hanseatic League in the other. There is no way of knowing how it came to Mansell, if he was indeed the means by which it entered the library.

Any attempt to claim a definitive and unbroken provenance for the 1545 Jesus College volume is condemned to failure. We know that the inscribed leaves passed through the hands of key Wittenberg Reformers after Luther's death, and that they belonged at some point to Josua Lagus. It is likely that they were with the volume from the 1540s, but this cannot be proved. We pick up the volume's scent again in the 1649 Jesus College library catalogue which indicates that it came into the college as the property of Francis Mansell. But what happened to it in the intervening ninety years remains shrouded in mystery. It appears to have been in Wittenberg at the outbreak of one civil war, and it reappears in written

<sup>104</sup> VD16 lists two editions of the Greek New Testament published in that year, one by Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius, and the other by Hieronymus Curio. There is also a trilingual Psalter with parallel Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts, published by Heinrich Petri.

<sup>105</sup> Fordyce and Knox, *Library*, p. 63.

<sup>106</sup> BOD: T. 1.6,7 Th.Seld.

<sup>107</sup> JCF: K.9.4; K.2.5/1-2; B.15.12 (1-3); B.15.11; O.13.12(1); A.6.18.

records as the result of another, and we can state confidently that the beginning and end of the trail see the volume in the hands of two inspirational men and dedicated scholars: Melanchthon, the ‘Praeceptor Germaniae’, and Mansell, whose concern for the posterity of his college overrode his own interests, and whose unstinting efforts secured the future of an enviable library, even during the upheavals of the late 1640s.

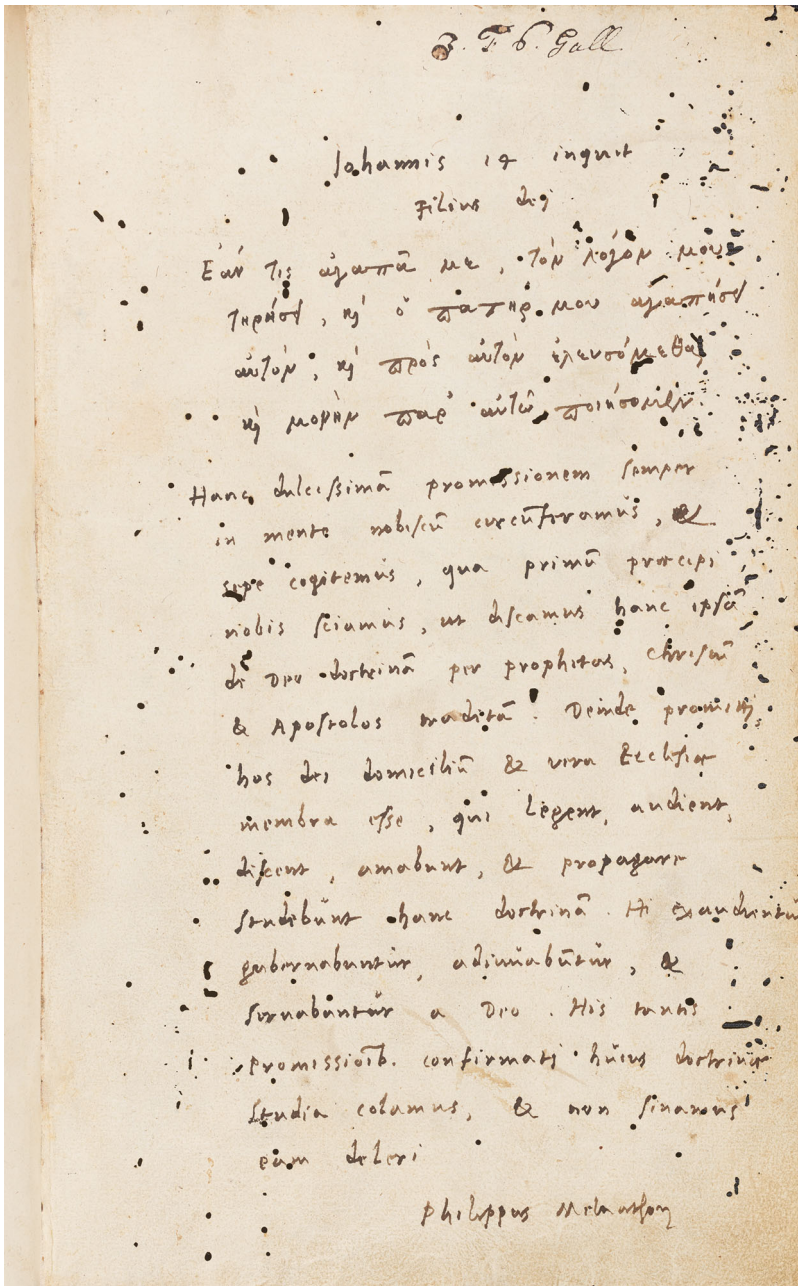
## APPENDIX: INSCRIPTIONS, TRANSCRIPTIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

A digital edition with a facsimile, transcription, and translation of the inscriptions by Melanchthon and his circle in the 1545 Greek Bible (Oxford, Jesus College, Fellows’ Library, A.5.2) is open access available on <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/melanchthon-bible>, the Digital Editions website set up by Emma Huber for the quincentenary of the German Reformation in 2017. The transcription and translation by Anna Linton were encoded in TEI P5 XML by Owen McKnight in 2021-2022. Publication: Taylor Institution Library, one of the Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford, 2022. XML files are available for download under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) License. Images are available for download under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) License. Scribal abbreviations have been expanded.



PHILIPP MELANCHTHON (1497-1560)

John 14. 23 cited in Greek followed by a Latin exegesis.  
Front free endleaves, 1<sup>r</sup>



This verse was often chosen by Melanchthon for autographing books, particularly around this time: examples survive in Latin, Greek and even German, and the exegesis is always similar.<sup>108</sup> Walter Thüringer has pointed out that it was used around May 1546, but that the citation there is Latin.<sup>109</sup> This may be because the autographed volume was a Latin text. Most of the citations date from 1546, with a cluster around the autumn, which fits well with the possible dating of the Jesus College volume.<sup>110</sup>

Iohannis 14 inquit Filius dei  
 "Εάν τις ἀγαπᾷ με, τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσει, καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονήν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιήσομεν.  
 Hanc dulcissimā promissionem semper in mente nobiscū circūferamus, & saepe cogitemus, qua primū praecipi nobis sciamus, ut discamus hanc ipsā de Deo doctrinā per prophetas, Christū & Apostolos traditā. Deinde promitti, hos dei domiciliū & vera Ecclesiae membra esse, qui legent, audient, discant, amabunt, & propagare studebunt hanc doctrinā. Hi exaudientur, gubernabuntur, adiuuabūtur, & servabuntur a Deo. His tantis promissiōib.[us] confirmati huius doctrinae studia colamus, & non sinamus eam deleri.  
 Philippus Melanthon

In John chapter 14 the Son of God says:  
 Those who love me will keep my word, and my Father will love them, and we will come to them and make our home with them.  
 Let us always carry this most sweet promise in our mind, and often reflect on it, first that we may know it is taught to us so that we may learn this very doctrine of God, handed down by the prophets, Christ and the Apostles. Next, it is promised that they shall be the dwelling of God and true limbs of the church, who shall read, listen, learn, love, and strive to spread this doctrine. They will be heard, directed, sustained, and watched over by God. Let us cultivate the pursuit of this doctrine, assured by these great promises, and let us not allow it to be erased.  
 Philipp Melanthon

#### CASPAR CRUCIGER (1504–1548)

Isaiah 59.21 cited in Hebrew and Greek, followed by a Latin exegesis.  
 Front free endleaves, 2<sup>r</sup>

Cruciger, Professor of Theology at Wittenberg University, here demonstrates his credentials by citing from Isaiah in both Hebrew and Greek (from the Septuagint).<sup>111</sup> Hywel Clifford notes that in elongating the final form of the final form of מ (mēm), which is ׀, Cruciger followed a well-established scribal practice that ensured a relatively straight left-justified margin of Hebrew text.<sup>112</sup> He follows the citation with a Latin exegesis. The inscription is signed with his name and a lower-case 'd'. Although this can in some cases indicate the

<sup>108</sup> See Volz, 'Bibeleinzeichnungen', pp. 131–32. A German variant is cited in Röer, *Sprüche*, fols Rij<sup>v</sup>–Rij<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> Thüringer (cf. fn. 55). See CR, VI, no. 3466. A note which appears in this volume before the inscription — 'Manu sua folio disiecto Philippus Mel. inscripsit haec' [This was written by Philipp Melanchthon's hand onto an unbound sheet] — shows that this inscription was also written on a loose leaf which was then later bound in. (The dating comes from the following inscription by Bugenhagen, which is dated 16 May.)

<sup>110</sup> See Volz, 'Bibeleinzeichnungen', pp. 131–32. Some were inscribed after Melanchthon's departure from Wittenberg in November 1546: see, for example, CR, VI, 3648, where it is written on sheets added into a Hebrew Bible and dated 6 December 1546, when Melanchthon was in Magdeburg. The earliest example cited by Volz is the Bible for Kunigunde Gengenbach, with Melanchthon's inscription of 1539 (see above).

<sup>111</sup> Volz notes that Cruciger liked to use inscriptions to demonstrate his knowledge of Hebrew and skill in writing it ('Bibeleinzeichnungen', p. 131). For his biography, see Kähler, Ernst, 'Cruciger, Caspar', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 3 (1957), p. 427 f. [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118670646.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 29.6.18).

<sup>112</sup> Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Medieval Manuscripts* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1981), 87–103, esp. p. 87. My thanks to Hywel Clifford for his detailed notes on this inscription.

donor of a volume, as Volz suggests for Luther,<sup>113</sup> here it stands for ‘doctor’, indicating Cruciger’s academic status. This is supported by Cruciger’s signature on Luther’s will in 1542, which uses the same lower-case ‘d’ after his name.<sup>114</sup>

Esaiæ LIX.

נאני זאת בריתי אִתְּכֶם  
אמר יהוה רוחי אשר עליך  
ודברי אשר שמתי בפיך  
לא ימוש מפיך ומפי נרצך  
ומפי נרע נרצך אמר יהוה  
מעתה ועד עולם:

αὐτῆ αὐτοῖς ἢ παρ’ ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, εἶπε κύριος· τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐμὸν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ σοί, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα, ἃ ἔδωκα εἰς τὸ στόμα σου, οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπη ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ σπέρματος σου, εἶπε κύριος ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Suauißima promissio de Ecclesia, continens doctrinā & consolationē dulcissimā. Docet n [enim] et quæ sit Ecclesia, et ubi sit videlicet ubi sonat vox Evangelij divinitus patefacta, qua voce spiritus sanctus est efficax in cordibus ut semper sit aliquis coetus credens Evangelio et confessione sua propagans doctrinam. Et addi[t] consolationē, quod Deus velit seruare Ecclesiam ad omnē posteritatē contra omnes furores satanæ & mundi, etiā in confusionib.[us] et ruinis imperior[um] postremi temporis. Quare sciamus et nunc deū servatur[um] esse Ecclesias in quib.[us] sonat vox Euangelij ad posteritatē et defensurū, ne deleatur doctrina coelestis.

Caspar Cruciger d.  
1546

Isaiah 59

And as for me, this is my covenant with them, says the Lord: my spirit that is upon you, and my words that I have put in your mouth, shall not depart out of your mouth, or out of the mouths of your children, or out of the mouths of your children’s children, says the Lord, from now on and forever. (Isaiah 59.21)

This is a most delightful promise concerning the church, containing the sweetest doctrine and consolation. It teaches namely both what the church is, and where it is, namely where the voice of the Gospel, divinely revealed, is heard, by which voice the Holy Spirit is effective in our hearts, so that there may always be a community believing in the Gospel and, by avowal of belief, spreading the doctrine. And it adds the consolation that God wishes to guard the church for all posterity against all the fury of Satan and the world, even in the confusions and ruins of the empires of the last time. And therefore may we know both that God will now watch over churches in which the voice of the Gospel resounds into posterity, and defend them, so that the heavenly doctrine may not be wiped out.

Caspar Cruciger d[octo]r  
1546

GEORG MAJOR (1502-1574)

Ephesians 2.19-21 followed by a Latin exegesis.  
Front free endleaves, 3<sup>f</sup>

In this exegesis of Ephesians 2. 19-21, the theologian Georg Major, who had been made Professor in the previous year,<sup>115</sup> also cites from John 1.12: ‘But to all [who received him,] who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God’, and he alludes to Matthew 6. 20 (‘[S]tore up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither

<sup>113</sup> Luther often put ‘d.d.’ (‘dono dedit’ [given as a gift]) after his signature in inscriptions for books he was presenting, according to Volz (‘Bibeleinzeichnungen’, p. 123).

<sup>114</sup> The will is held at the Landesmuseum der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Budapest. In other instances, Cruciger uses the more common upper-case ‘D’, for example in his signature on the 1537 manuscript of the Schmalkaldic Articles (see the reproduction in Siegfried Hermle, ‘Luthers Schmalkaldische Artikel’, *KulThür: Online-Journal für Thüringer Kulturgeschichte*, <https://kulturerbethueringen.wordpress.com/2011/11/02/luthers-schmalkaldische-artikel/> (accessed 29.6.2018).

<sup>115</sup> Junghans, Helmar, ‘Major, Georg’, *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 15 (1987), p. 718 f. [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116689781.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 2.7.2018).

moth nor rust consumes and where thieves do not break in and steal'). The inscription is not signed, but Thüringer has identified the writing as Major's hand.<sup>116</sup> This is confirmed by comparison with other signed inscriptions.<sup>117</sup>

Ephes: 2.

Ergo iam non estis hospites & adüenæ, sed estis ciües sanctorüm, & domestici dei, süperædificati süper fündamentüm Apostolorüm & prophetarüm, ipso sümo angüleri lapide Christo Iesü, in qüo omnis aedificatio constrücta, crescit in templüm sanctüm in domino.

Ephes[ians] 2

So then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are citizens with the saints and also members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the cornerstone. In him the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord. (Ephesians 2. 19-21)

Egrefia sententia, qüæ primüm monet, qüid sit Ecclesia, ciüitas nempe, domüs seü templü dei, fündata süper Christo, & exstrücta scriptis prophetarüm & Apostolorüm, qüib.[us] nititür & consistit Ecclesia. Eiüs aut[em] ciüitatis & domüs gübrenator & paterfamilias, est deüs, dominüs coeli & terræ.

An excellent saying which shows us first what the church is: certainly a community of citizens, a household or temple of God, founded on Christ and constructed from the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, on which the church depends and stands. Moreover the governor and *pater familias* of state and house is God, the Lord of heaven and earth.

Necesse igitür est illam ciüitatem esse sanctissimam & munitissimam, qüam DEVS ipse gübernat et pro ea excübat. Necesse est in ea ciüitate & domo, in qüa DEVS habitat, esse iüstitiam, vitam & omnia coelestia bona, & illa omnia ciüib.[us] inter se esse commünia. Datür aut[em] ciüitas ijs, qui credünt in Iesüm Christüm filiüm dei, iuxta illüd Dedit ijs potestatem filios dei fieri, his qui credünt in nomine eiüs [etc.] Beatos vero ciües, qui in hac ciüitate florentissima, süb deo gübernatore & defensore, non in cadücis & mox interitüris bonis, sed in coelestib.[us] & aeternis sedent, [etc.]

Therefore it is necessary for this state to be most holy and most well protected, which God himself governs and over which he keeps watch. It is necessary that in this state and house, in which God dwells, there should be justice, life and all heavenly goods, and that the citizens should have all these things in common. Moreover this city is given to those who believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, just as it is said: he gave to those who believe on his name the power to become sons of God etc. Truly they are blessed citizens, who in this most prosperous state, under God the governor and defender, dwell not among goods that are perishable and soon destroyed, but among those which are heavenly and eternal, etc.

JOACHIM CAMERARIUS THE ELDER (1500–1574)

Two citations from the works of Chrysostom  
Front free endleaves, 3<sup>r</sup> (below Major's inscription)

Camerarius is here identifiable by the shortened version of his first name, Joachim.<sup>118</sup> As a scholar of Greek, it is highly fitting that he should have chosen to cite from the works of John Chrysostom. The citations are both taken from *De fato et providentia* (*Concerning Fate and*

<sup>116</sup> Cf. fn. 55 above.

<sup>117</sup> See Major's signed contribution to Wolfgang Ruprecht's autographed volume (Hasse, 'Wittenberger Theologie', in *Humanismus und Wittenberger Reformation*, ed. by Beyer and Warthenberg, p. 119), and to a volume of Melanchthon's collected works (Wittenberg, 1562–64) in the Special Collections at St John's College, Cambridge: [https://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/images/library/special\\_collections/major.jpg](https://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/images/library/special_collections/major.jpg) (accessed 18.6.2018).

<sup>118</sup> Thüringer (cf. fn. 55). For biographical details, see Stählin, Friedrich, 'Camerarius, Joachim', in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 3 (1957), p. 104 f. [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118518569.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 2.7.2018).

*Providence*).<sup>119</sup> The first is a quotation from I Corinthians 15.33, in which St Paul in turn cites a proverb which has been attributed both to Euripides and to Menander.<sup>120</sup>

φθειρουσιν ἤθη χρηστ' ὀμιλίας κακαί. Io[hannes] Chrysost[omus]	Bad company ruins good morals. John Chrysostom.
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ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν χρόνος, βραχὺ τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐφόδιον. ἂν οὖν αὐτὸν τὸν βραχὺν χρόνον, τὸν δοθέντα ἡμῖν πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν τι τῶν χρησίμων, εἰς περιττὰς καὶ ἀνονήτους καὶ βλαβεράς ἀναλώσωμεν ἀκροάσεις, πότε λοιπὸν εὐπορήσομεν ἐτέρου πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ κατεπιγόντα;	Life is short, the supply of salvation limited. So, if we waste this short time, which was given to us to learn something useful, on unnecessary, unprofitable and harmful teachings, when will we find the time to learn the necessary and urgent things?
--	---

Ioach.[imus] scrib.[scribit? scribebat?]	Joachim [writes / wrote] this.
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JOHANNES STIGEL (1515–1562)

Poem based on Psalm 1, followed by Greek citation (Psalm 1.6)

Front free endleaves, 3<sup>v</sup>

At the time of this autograph, Stigel was Professor of Latin at Wittenberg and an accomplished neo-Latin poet, who had been laureated in 1541.<sup>121</sup> Melanchthon commissioned Stigel to write a poem marking Luther's death,<sup>122</sup> and he often enclosed Stigel's poems in letters to acquaintances.<sup>123</sup> This poem, a versification of Psalm 1, is also a parody of Horace's second epode, echoing both its famous opening line – 'Beatus ille qui ...' – and its form. Stigel had already published several poems based on Psalms.<sup>124</sup> In 1566 they appeared together in the first book of his collected poems, although the version of Psalm 1 is not identical to the one inscribed here.<sup>125</sup>

Ps. 1.  
Beatus ille qui procul congressibus  
Remotus est ab impijs,  
Nec impium uocatus in consortium  
Gradu stat imperterritus.  
Nec castra falsa plena conscientiae  
Secutus, abnegat Deum:

Psalm 1.  
Blessed is he, who is far  
from the wicked assemblies,  
And who, not called to the fellowship of the wicked,  
stands firm with fearless step.  
Nor having followed the false camps  
with heavy conscience, denies God.

<sup>119</sup> John Chrysostom, *De fato et providentia* 2, in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 50. 759, 760, cols 756–57.

<sup>120</sup> See P. H. Ling, 'A Quotation from Euripides', *Classical Quarterly*, 19 (1925), 22–27, and the response in the following issue: H. J. Rose, 'Evil Communications', *Classical Quarterly*, 19 (1925), 92–93. Chrysostom also cites it elsewhere. My thanks to Christos Simelidis for this information and the translation.

<sup>121</sup> For biographical details, see Hartfelder, 'Stigel' (cf. fn. 80).

<sup>122</sup> MBW 4168. Stigel's Latin and German verse commemorating Luther was published in various editions in 1546 as *De viro sancto Martino Luthero*.

<sup>123</sup> For examples from 1546, see MBW 4138, 4166a, 4177, 4252, 4311, 4367. See also Manfred P. Fleischer, 'Melanchthon as Praeceptor of Late-Humanist Poetry', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 20 (1989), 559–80; Stefan Rhein, 'Johannes Stigel (1515–1562). Dichtung im Umkreis Melanchthons', in *Melanchthon in seinen Schülern*, ed. by Heinz Scheible, Wolfenbüttele Forschungen, 73 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), pp. 31–51 (36).

<sup>124</sup> In 1538 Nickel Schirlentz in Wittenberg had published Stigel's versification of Psalm 48, and in 1547 his poem based on Psalm 50 also appeared in Wittenberg.

<sup>125</sup> *Poematum Ioannis Stigelii Liber I. Continens sacra* (Jena: Donatus Ritzenhayn and Thomas Rebart, 1566), fols B<sup>r-v</sup>.



Sed mente ūerbo quī ūolens fidit Dei  
 Totoq[ue] adhaeret pectore,  
 Quī nocte, qui cūrat die potissimū  
 Deo placere maximo.  
 Hic est ūt arbour ad rigantes riūūlos  
 Quam diligens seūit manūs,  
 Quæ publicūm frūctus in ūsūm amabiles  
 Sūo ministrat tempore.  
 Non hūic nocet ūel Caūrūs imbre sordidūs

Vel ūis sonantis Africi,  
 Ramis gerit semper comas ūirentibūs  
 Lætis decora frūctibūs.  
 Non impiūm sectatūr hęc fœlicitas  
 Quī nescit, aūt negat Deūm.  
 Sed sicūt ūno Apeliotes impetū  
 Glūmas inanes disijcit:  
 Sic obstinatos ūentilat Deūs impios  
 Inūtilesq[ue] proijcit.  
 Iccirco iūstam cūm feret sententiam  
 ūerbi potestas ūindicis,  
 Nil impijs erit relictūm ponderis  
 Errata quō tegant sūa:  
 Sed exūles ab omnibūs pijs procūl  
 Pœnas dabūnt infamia.  
 Cūræ Deo nam sūnt ūiæ credentiūm,  
 Negotijs in omnibūs,  
 At impiorūm fallerit irritūs labour  
 In omnibūs negotijs.

γινώσκει κύριος ὁδὸν δικαίων καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν  
 ἀπολείται.

Joannes Stigeliūs

But who believes willingly in the word of God with his  
 mind, and clings to it with his whole heart.  
 Who is chiefly concerned by night and by day  
 to please the highest God.  
 He is like a tree by running brooks,  
 Which a diligent hand has planted.  
 Which yields its pleasant fruits for public benefit  
 in its season.  
 Nor does the unclean north-west wind harm it with  
 rain,  
 nor the power of the echoing south-west wind.  
 It always bears leaves on its verdant branches,  
 Adorned with pleasant fruits.  
 This good fortune does not follow the wicked,  
 who does not know God, or denies him.  
 But as the east wind destroys  
 the empty husks in one single assault,  
 So God blows down the obstinate wicked men,  
 and throws away the unprofitable.  
 Therefore when power shall pronounce the just  
 sentence of the defender of the word,  
 Nothing of weight will remain to the wicked,  
 by which they may hide their errors:  
 But those banished far away from all righteous men,  
 shall pay the penalty for their infamy.  
 For the paths of those who believe are  
 of concern to God in all their labours,  
 But the vain work of the wicked shall fail  
 in all their ventures.

The Lord watches over the way of the righteous, but the  
 way of the wicked will perish. (Psalm 1.6)

Johannes Stigel

GEORG SABINUS (1508–1560)

Paraphrase of Proverbs 24.5–6  
 Front free endleaves, 3<sup>v</sup>

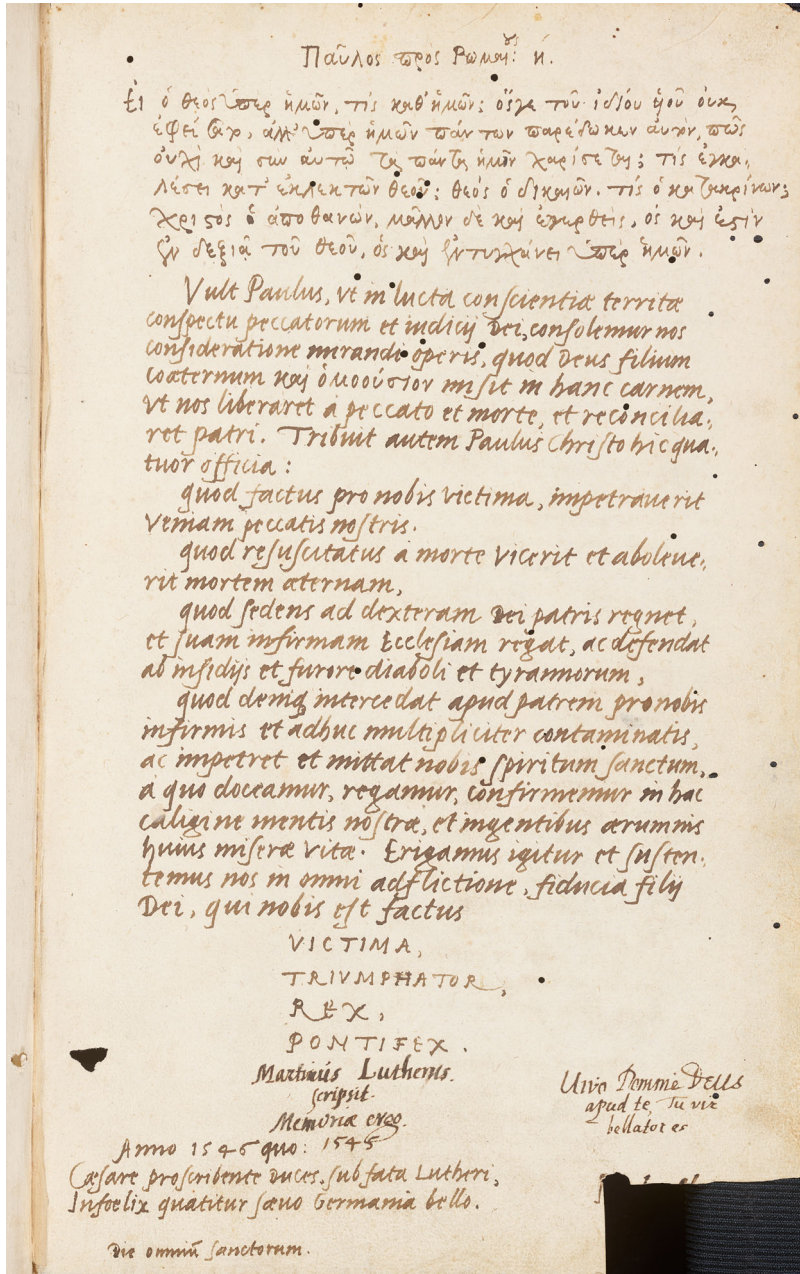
Sabinus, another neo-Latin poet laureate, was Melanchthon's son-in-law: Johannes Stigel wrote poetry to mark his marriage to Anna Melanchthon in 1536.<sup>126</sup> At the time of this inscription Sabinus must have been visiting Wittenberg from Königsberg, where he had taken up a post as the first Rector of the Albertina. His brief contribution to the volume is a paraphrase of Proverbs 24.5–6.

<sup>126</sup> In Melchior Acontius, *De nuptiis Georgi Sabini et Annæ* (Wittenberg: Joseph Klug, 1537), fols B<sup>r</sup>-D<sup>r</sup>; see Hammer, 'Melanchthonforschung', p. 43. For biographical details about Sabinus, see Scheible and Ebneht, 'Sabinus' (cf. fn. 80).

PAUL EBER (1511-1569)

Romans 8.31-34 cited in Greek followed by a Latin exegesis (with inscriptions by other hands)

Back free endleaves, 1<sup>r</sup>





Paul Eber was Professor of Latin at the University of Wittenberg from 1541, becoming Professor of Theology after the Schmalkaldic War.<sup>127</sup> On this page his signature has been deliberately removed and a later hand has written ‘Martin Luther wrote this. Therefore [it serves] as a memento, 1545’. A further hand has added another inscription to the right. Eber’s hand has been identified for the main inscription (Romans 8.31-34 cited in Greek, Latin exegesis and a Latin couplet),<sup>128</sup> and this is supported by comparing the inscription with Eber’s signed autograph in the volume of Melanchthon’s works held at St. John’s College, Cambridge.<sup>129</sup> Part of the inscription may be a citation (unacknowledged) from the work of Epiphanius: ‘[Christ] himself is temple, sacrifice, priest, altar, God, man, king, high-priest, lamb, sacrificial victim’.<sup>130</sup>

Eber used the same inscription and couplet in another collection of autographs, dating to around the same time.<sup>131</sup> In this latter instance, the couplet (with a couple of minor changes) is written as a chronogram, so that the Roman numerals give the year:

Anno 1546 quo Caesare prosCrIbente dVCes sVb fata LVtherI  
InfoeLIX saeVo qVatIetVr gerManIa beLLO. (MCCCLLLXVVVVVVIIIIII = 1546)

Eber’s is the only inscription from 1546 to give a definite date — 1 November (All Saints’ Day), and this places it firmly within the context of the Schmalkaldic War. Shortly after this was written, many of the Reformers, including Melanchthon, left Wittenberg as the university was disbanded.

Παῦλος πρὸς Ῥωμαίους: ἡ’

Paul to the Romans

Ei ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τίς καθ’ ἡμῶν; ὅσγε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τα πάντα ἡμῖν χαρίσεται; τίς ἐγκαλέσει κατ’ ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ; θεὸς ὁ δικαίων. τίς ὁ κατακρίνων; Χριστὸς ὁ ἀποθανών, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐγεθεις, ὅς καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅς καὶ ἐντρογᾶνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

If God is for us, who is against us? He who did not withhold his own Son, but gave him up for all of us, will he not with him also give us everything else? Who will bring any charges against God’s elect? It is God who justifies. Who is to condemn? It is Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was raised, who is at the right hand of God, who indeed intercedes for us. (Romans 8. 31-34)

Vult Paulus, vt in lucta conscientiae territae conspectu peccatorum et iudicij Dei, consolemur nos consideratione mirandi operis, quod Deus filium coaeternum καὶ ὁμοούσιον misit in hanc carnem, vt nos liberaret a peccato et morte, et reconciliaret patri. Tribuit autem Paulus Christo hic quatuor officia:

Paul wants us to console ourselves, when our conscience is terrified and full of sorrow at the sight of our sins and God’s judgment, by contemplation of the wondrous work, that God sent his co-eternal and consubstantial son into this flesh to free us from sin and death, and to reconcile us to the Father. Moreover Paul here ascribes four offices to Christ:

<sup>127</sup> See Stupperich, Robert, ‘Eber, Paul’, *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 4 (1959), p. 225 [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118681524.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 2.7.2018).

<sup>128</sup> Confirmed by Thüringer (cf. fn. 55).

<sup>129</sup> [https://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special\\_collections/early\\_books/pix/provenance/humanists/reformers.htm](https://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/early_books/pix/provenance/humanists/reformers.htm) (accessed 18.6.2018).

<sup>130</sup> Frank Williams (trans.), *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Books II and III. De Fide*, 2nd rev. edn, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 79 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 4,7 (p. 81). The first printed Greek edition had appeared in Basel in 1544, edited by Oporin and printed by Herwagen’s press. (GG 442; see Mahlmann, ‘Autographon’, in *Melanchthon und die Marburger Professoren*, ed. by Bauer, pp. 58–59).

<sup>131</sup> Georg Loesche, ‘Ein angebliches Stammbuch Luthers. In der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien’, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 23 (1902), 269–78 (pp. 273–74)

quod factus pro nobis victima, impetrauerit  
 veniam peccatis nostris.  
 quod resuscitatus a morte vicerit et aboleuerit  
 mortem æternam,  
 quod sedens ad dexteram Dei patris regnet, et  
 suam infirmam Ecclesiam regat, ac defendat ab  
 insidijs et furore diaboli et tyrannorum,  
 quod deniq[ue] intercedat apud patrem pro  
 nobis infirmis et adhuc multipliciter contaminatis,  
 ac impetret et mittat nobis spiritum sanctum, a quo  
 doceamur, regamur, confirmemur in hac caligine  
 mentis nostræ, et ingentibus ærumnis huius miseræ  
 vitæ. Erigamur igitur et sustentemus nos in omni  
 afflictione, fiducia filij Dei, qui nobis est factus

VICTIMA,  
 TRIVMPHATOR,  
 REX,  
 PONTIFEX.

Anno 1546 quo:  
 Cæsare proscribente Duces sub fata Lutheri  
 Infoelix quatitur sæuo Germania bello.  
 Die omniū sanctorum.  
*Martinus Lutherus. scripsit. Memorix ergo. 1545*  
*Uivo Domine Deus*  
*apud te, Tu vir*  
*bellator es. <...>*

that, made a sacrifice for us, he procured  
 pardon for our sins.  
 that, raised from death that he has conquered  
 and abolished eternal death.  
 that, seated at the right hand of God the Father,  
 he reigns, and guides his frail church, and defends it  
 from the snares and fury of the devil and tyrants.  
 finally, that he intercedes before the Father for  
 us, [who are] weak and still impure in many ways,  
 and secures and sends us the Holy Spirit, by whom  
 we are taught, guided, encouraged in this darkness  
 of our mind and in the great afflictions of this  
 wretched life. Let us therefore take heart and  
 sustain ourselves in all trouble, by trust in the Son  
 of God, who was made for us:

SACRIFICE,  
 VICTOR,  
 KING,  
 PRIEST.

In the year 1546, when  
 The Emperor having outlawed the princes, after the  
 death of Luther  
 Unhappy Germany is shaken by savage war.  
 All Saints' Day.  
*[In two different hands]: Martin Luther. wrote this.*  
*Therefore [it serves] as a memento. 1545*  
*I live with you, Lord God. You are a warrior.*  
 [A further note has been excised.]

#### HUBERT LANGUET (1518–1581)

Poem by Marcantonio Flaminio, with dedication to Josua Lagus.  
 Back free endleaves, 1<sup>v</sup>.

Born in Vitteaux in Burgundy, Languet had come to Wittenberg in 1549 to study with Melancthon, and became a close member of the Reformer's circle. In 1559, the year of this inscription, Languet entered the service of August, Elector of Saxony.<sup>132</sup> For his inscription he chose a poem by the Italian poet and humanist Marcantonio Flaminio, which had appeared in a collection of poetry published in Venice in 1552.<sup>133</sup> Languet's dedication to Josua Lagus is dated 12 April 1559 (the day before the Ides, which in April falls on the thirteenth day).

<sup>132</sup> For further biographical information, see Geiger, Ludwig, 'Languet, Hubert', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 17 (1883), pp. 692–694 [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118778722.html#adbcontent> (accessed 2.7.2018) and Nicollier-de Weck, *Languet*.

<sup>133</sup> *M. Antonii Flaminii Carminum liber ultimus* ... (Venice: [n.pub.], [1552]), fols C4<sup>r</sup>-D<sup>f</sup>. On Flaminio, see Carol Hopkins Maddison, *Marcantonio Flaminio: Poet, Humanist and Reformer* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965). Edward Cunitz claims that both Languet and Flaminio belonged to the circle of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara: 'The Reformation in Italy', in *The Monthly Christian Spectator* (July-August 1859), 411–18 and 481–88 (p. 481).

Precatio Flaminij.  
ad Christum.

Tutela præsens omnium.  
Qui mente pura te colunt,  
Da quæso nihil vt cogitem,  
Agam, loquar, quod numini.  
Tuo placere non queat,  
Comis benignus in bonos.  
Malosq[ue] sim, ne degener.  
Sim natus optimi patris,  
Qui solis almo lumine.  
Jllustrat omnes, omnibus.  
Potum cibumq[ue] sufficit.  
Legum tuarum per vias.  
Me continenter dirige,  
Boniq[ue] quicquid egero.  
Jd esse totum muneris.

Flaminio's prayer to Christ.

O ready guardian of all who cherish you with a pure mind, grant, I beseech you, that I may think nothing, do nothing, say nothing which might not please your divine will. May I be courteous and kind with both the good and the bad, and may I not be an unworthy son of the best father, who illuminates all people with the kindly light of the sun, and provides drink and food for all. Direct me continuously in the ways of your laws, and when I do anything of good, may I know and proclaim it all to be of service to you. Whether my body is consumed by fever, or a wicked soldier burns my paternal home, may I never cease to speak your praise, but, not doubting that all this is guided by the command of your divine will, may I live peacefully. It is necessary that both favourable and bitter things should serve the sons of God. May I place your glory and that of the greatest father before my own welfare, and may nothing more desired be granted to me than to suffer insults for your sake. May death itself be dearer than light, that when I have laid aside my body, I may fly to the blessed joys of your kingdom.

Tui sciamq[ue] & prædicem.  
Seu febris artus pascitur,  
Seu miles vrit impius.  
Domum paternam, dicere.  
Laudes tibi ne desinam,  
Sed cuncta numinis tui.  
Nutu regi nil ambigens,  
Viua quietus, filios.  
Dei secunda & aspera.  
Juvent oportet, gloriam.  
Tuam patrisq[ue] maximi.  
Meæ salutj præferam.  
Nec vlla res optatior.  
Queat mihi contingere,  
Quam contumelias pati.  
Te propter, ipsa carior.  
Sit Luce mors, vt corpore.  
Exutus ad tuj volem.  
Regni beata gaudia.

Doctiss.[imo] ac  
humaniss.[imo] viro  
M.[agistro] Josuæ Lago,  
amico  
suo & fratri chariss.[imo]  
Hubertus Languetus Burgu[n]dus.  
scripsit Vitembergæ pridie  
[Id]us Aprilis 1559

To the most learned and refined man, Master Josua Lagus, his friend and dearest brother, Hubert Languet of Burgundy wrote this in Wittenberg on the eve of the Ides of April, 1559.

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR

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