

Rajmund Pietkiewicz

In Search of 'the Genuine Word of God'

Reception of the West-European Christian Hebraism in
the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Renaissance



Academic Studies

73



Refo500 Academic Studies

Edited by
Herman J. Selderhuis

In co-operation with
Christopher B. Brown (Boston), Günter Frank (Bretten),
Bruce Gordon (New Haven), Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer (Bern),
Tarald Rasmussen (Oslo), Violet Soen (Leuven),
Zsombor Tóth (Budapest), Günther Wassilowsky (Frankfurt),
Siegfried Westphal (Osnabrück).

Volume 73

Rajmund Pietkiewicz

In Search of 'the Genuine Word of God'

Reception of the West-European Christian Hebraism
in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in
the Renaissance

Translated by Monika and Jacek Szela

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

The book was cofinanced under the scholarship *Reception of Christian Hebraism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Renaissance* (No. 01/2018/C) from the subsidy granted by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education for 2018.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the
Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data available
online: <https://dnb.de>.

© 2020, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Theaterstraße 13, D-37073 Göttingen
All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by
any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information
storage and retrieval system, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Publishing reviews: Prof. Dr. Hab. Wojciech Pikor (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń)
and Prof. Dr. Hab. Krzysztof Pilarczyk (Jagiellonian University, Cracow)
Map: Krzysztof Grabowski
Indexes: Anna Kryza

Typesetting: SchwabScantechnik, Göttingen

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com

ISSN 2197-0165
ISBN 978-3-647-51707-0

Contents

Abbreviations	9
Biblical texts	9
Libraries names	10
Others	10
Hebrew and Aramaic transcription	15
Introduction	17
1. Hebrew studies in Renaissance Europe	23
1.1 Before the Renaissance came	23
1.1.1 Jewish studies of Hebrew until the sixteenth century	24
1.1.2 Christian studies of the Hebrew Bible in Medieval Europe ...	28
1.2 Christian Hebrew studies in times of the Renaissance and the Reformation	29
1.2.1 Hebrew studies versus Humanism	30
1.2.2 Hebrew studies versus the Reformation and the Counter- Reformation	49
1.2.2.1 Lutherans	51
1.2.2.2 Zwinglians	56
1.2.2.3 Calvinists	58
1.2.2.4 Radicals	60
1.2.2.5 Catholics	62
1.3 Sources and aids for studying the Hebrew Bible	71
1.3.1 Hebrew Bible	71
1.3.2 Translations of the Hebrew Bible	76
1.3.2.1 <i>Targumim</i>	76
1.3.2.2 Septuagint	76
1.3.2.3 Vulgate and Renaissance translations of the Hebrew Bible into Latin	77

1.3.2.4 Translation of Martin Luther into German	80
1.3.2.5 Calvinistic translation into French	83
1.3.3 Grammars and dictionaries	84
1.3.3.1 <i>De rudimentis hebraicis</i> by Johann Reuchlin	85
1.3.3.2 Works by Elias Levita and Sebastian Münster	87
1.3.3.3 <i>Institutiones linguae hebraicae</i> by Robert Bellarmine	92
2. Hebrew studies in the Renaissance	
Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth	99
2.1 The Academy of Cracow and the humanistic current of Hebrew studies	99
2.2 Christian Hebraism in the Renaissance	
Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth against the Reformation and Counter-Reformation	111
2.2.1 Lutherans	111
2.2.2 Reformed and Bohemian Brethren	115
2.2.3 Radicals	134
2.2.4 Catholics	140
2.3 Hebrew and Christian Hebraism printing in Renaissance Poland	154
2.4 Christian Hebrew grammars printed in Poland	163
2.4.1 <i>Elementale hebraicum</i> by Philipp Michael Novenianus	163
2.4.2 <i>Ex varijs libellis Eliae grammaticorum omnium</i> by Jan van den Campen	166
2.4.3 <i>De accentuum ecclesiasticum exquisita ratione</i> by Jerzy Liban	168
2.4.4 <i>Ebraeae grammaticae institutio</i> by Francesco Stancarò	169
3. Polish translations of the Hebrew Bible as a result of the reception of Renaissance Christian Hebraism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth	175
3.1 The history of the translations of Scripture into Polish	175
3.2 <i>Vulgate</i> or <i>Hebraica veritas</i> ? Dispute over the source text of translation	181
3.3 Translate “sense by sense” or “word by word”? The dispute over the translation concept	189
3.4 Sources of Polish translations of the Hebrew Bible	195
3.4.1 The Hebrew Bible	195
3.4.2 Ancient translations of the Hebrew Bible	199
3.4.3 Sixteenth-century translations of the Hebrew Bible into Latin	201
3.4.4 Translations of the Bible into Polish	202
3.4.5 Translations of the Bible into other modern languages	205

3.4.6 Grammars, dictionaries and other philological aids	207
3.4.7 Jewish sources	209
3.4.8 Josephus Flavius	212
3.4.9 Other aids	213
3.5 Examples	216
Example 1: Gen 12:6	217
Example 2: Gen 24:43 and Isa 7:14	219
Example 3: Exod 2:15	223
Example 4: Lev 1:8	224
Example 5: Lev 10:9	226
Example 6: Lev 11:16 ff.22	228
Example 7: Josh 2:1	229
Example 8: Judg 16:1	232
Example 9: 2 Sam 5:6 (in BWj 2 Kings 5:6)	233
Example 10: 2 Kings 6:33	235
Example 11: Ez 38:2	237
Example 12: Gen 2:6	240
Example 13: Gen 3:15	242
Example 14: Gen 43:8	245
Example 15: Gen 44:27	247
Example 16: Gen 44:28	248
Example 17: Gen 44:29	250
Example 18: Gen 44:30f	251
Example 19: Exod 1:21	254
Example 20: Exod 3:14	256
Example 21: Exod 4:1	258
Example 22: Exod 18:2f	260
Example 23: Josh 21:36f	261
Example 24: Ruth 2:23b	263
Example 25: Ruth 3:15b	265
Example 26: 2 Sam 18:24	266
Example 27: 1 Kings 8:64a	267
Example 28: 1 Chron 4:2	269
Example 29: Neh 7:68	272
Conclusions	277
Bibliography	283
Bible editions (in chronological order)	283
Sources	289
Studies	295

Index of person	313
Index of places	325
Index of topics	329
Index of references	337
Bible	337
Others	341
 List of figures	 345

Abbreviations

Biblical texts

BB	Brest Bible (vel Pińczów Bible, Radziwiłł Bible) (Bjblia święta [...], Brześć Litewski [Brest-Litovsk] 1563)
BCa	Castellion's Bible (Biblia interprete Sebastiano Castalione [...], Basileae 1554, 1556)
BG	Gdańsk (Danzig) Bible (Biblia Święta [...], Gdańsk 1632)
BGen	Geneva Bible in French (La Bible [...], Geneva 1553, 1559, 1561, 1562 etc.)
BH	Hebrew Bible
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia [...], Stuttgart 1967–1977
BHSt	Robert Stephanus' (Estienne's) Biblia Hebraica (Parisiis 1539–1543)
BL	Leopolita's Bible (Biblia [...], Kraków [Cracow] 1561)
BR2	Bomberg Rabbinic Bible, 2 nd edn, vol. 1–4, Venice 1524–1525
BR3	Bomberg Rabbinic Bible, 3 th edn, vol. 1–4, Venice 1546–1548
BSt	Robert Stephanus' (Estienne's) Bible (Biblia utriusque Testamenti [...], vol. 1–2, Genevae 1556–1557)
BSzB	Budny's Bible (Nesvizh Bible) (Biblia [...], Nieśwież [Nesvizh], Zasław or Uzda 1572)
BWj	Wujek's Bible (Biblia [...], Kraków [Cracow] 1599)
LXX	Septuagint
NTG	Gdańsk (Danzig) New Testament (Novvy Testament [...], Gdańsk 1606)
NTSzB	Bydny's New Testament (Nowy Testament [...], Łosk 1574, 1589)
NTWj	Wujek's New Testament (Nowy Testament [...], Kraków [Cracow] 1593, 1594)
Pag	Pagninus Bible (Biblia [...], Lugduni 1528)
PagSt	Bible translated by Santes Pagnini, in BSt
PAn	Antwerp Polyglot Bible (Biblia Sacra hebraice, chaldaice, graece, & latine [...], vol. 1–8, Antverpiae 1569–1572)
PCo	Complutensian Polyglot Bible, vol. 1–6, Complutum 1514–1517
PsWj	Wujek's Psalter (Psalterz Dawidow [...], Kraków [Cracow] 1594)

TgF	Targum Onkelos translated in Latin by Paul Fagiusa (Thargum, Hoc Est, Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica [...], Argentorati 1546)
TgOnk	Targum Onkelos
Vlg	Vulgate
VlgSC	Sixto-Clementine Vulgate (Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti quinti Pont. Max [...], Romae, 1592, 1593)
VlgSt	Vulgate, in BSt

Libraries names

BJ	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library in Cracow]
BK	Kórnik, Biblioteka PAN [Kórnik Library of Polish Academy of Sciences]
BN	Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa [National Library of Poland in Warsaw]
Pa BN	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Wa BU	Warszawa, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka [Warsaw University Library]
Wr BU	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka [Wrocław University Library]
Wr BK	Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna [Wrocław Capitular Library]
Wr PWT	Wrocław, Biblioteka Papieskiego Wydziału Teologicznego [Library of Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław]
ZNiO	Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich [The National Ossoliński Institute in Wrocław]

Others

a.	after
Ant.	Flavius, Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> (english translation: Flavius: 1828)
ASRP	SIPAYŁO, MARIA (ed.), <i>Akta synodów różnowierczych w Polsce</i> , vol. 1–4, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego/PWN, 1966–1997
b.	between
BBKL	BAUTZ, FRIEDRICH WILHELM (ed.), <i>Biographisch Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i> , vol. 1–, Hamm/Herzberg/Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1975–. Online version at: http://www.bautz.de/bbkl
BCES	BOCCADIFUOCO, MARIA ROSARIA (ed.), <i>Bibbia: Catalogo di edizioni a stampa 1501–1957</i> , Roma: Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche ecclesiastiche, 1983
BEMC	FABRIS, RINALDO (ed.), <i>La Bibbia nell'epoca moderna e contemporanea, La Bibbia nella storia</i> , Bologna: EDB, 1992

- Bentk. BENTKOWSKI, FELIX, *Historia literatury polskiej wystawiona w spisie dzieł drukiem ogłoszonych*, vol. 1–2, Warszawa/Wilno: Zawadzki i Komp., 1814
- BFB CHAMBERS, BETTYE THOMAS, *Bibliography of French Bibles*, Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 1983
- BI DELAVEAU, MARTINE/HILLARD, DENISE (ed.), *Bibles imprimées du XVe au XVIIIe siècle conservées à Paris*, [Paris]: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2002
- BIEM SCHWARZBACH, BERTRAM EUGENE (ed.), *La Bible imprimée dans l'Europe moderne*, Paris: Bibliothèque National de France, 1999
- BM British Museum: *Catalogue of Printed Books: Bible*, vol. 1–3, London: William Clowes and Sons, 1892–1899
- BS 2/1 STROHM, STEFAN/AMELUNG, PETER/SCHAUFFLER, IRMGARD (ed.), *Die Bibelsammlung der württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, vol. 2/1, Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1987
- BTT V *Bible de tous les temps*, vol. 5: BEDOUELLE, GUY/ROUSSEL, BERNARD (ed.), *La temps des Réformes et la Bible*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1989
- BTT VI *Bible de tous les temps*, vol. 6: ARMOGATHE, JEAN-ROBERT (ed.), *La Grand Siècle et la Bible*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1989
- ICO CALVIN, JEAN (1863–1897), *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 1–57, ed. Guilielmus Baum/Eduardus Cunitz/Eduardus Reuss, *Corpus Reformationum* 29–85, Brunsvigae/Berolinae: C.A. Schwetschke et Filius
- c. circa, around
- CHB III GREENSLADE, S.L., *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3: *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963
- CHJ VII KARP, JONATHAN/SUTCLIFFE, ADAM (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 7: *The Early Modern World, 1500–1815*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018
- cf. confer, compare
- CEn HERBERMANN, CHARLES G. (ed.), *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, vol. 1–15, New York: Robert Appleton Company. Online version at: <http://www.ourladyisgod.com/Original-Catholic-Encyclopedia-Volume-01.php>
- com. commentary
- CoE BIETENHOLZ, PETER G./DEUTSCHER, THOMAS B. (ed.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 1–3, Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 2003

- d. died
- DB Deutsche Biographie. Online version at: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/home>
- DDP 1/1 KAWECKA-GRYCZOWA, ALODIA (ed.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski. Od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 1/1, Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków/Gdańsk/Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich/Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1983
- E ESTREICHER, KAROL, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 1–34, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński/Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1870–1939. Online version at: <https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/home/>
- EBibbia *Enciclopedia della Bibbia*, vol. 1–6, Torino/Leumann: ELLE DI CI, 1971
- EBR KLAUCK, HANS-JOSEF (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, vol. 1–, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009–
- ed. editor(s)/edited by
- edn edition
- EDIt SICCO, MARIA/BAFFI, M.A. (ed.), *Le edizioni italiane del XVI secolo*, vol. 1–, Roma: Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche, 1985–. Online version at: <http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it>
- EK *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 1–20, Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1989–2014
- EIt *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, vol. 1–35, Roma: Treccani, 1929–1937. Online version at: [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/enciclopedia-italiana_\(Enciclopedia-Italiana\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/enciclopedia-italiana_(Enciclopedia-Italiana)/)
- EJ ROTH, CECIL/WIGODER, GEOFFREY (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 3rd ed., vol. 1–16, Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia Judaica/The Macmillan Company, 1974
- EJCD WIGODER, GEOFFREY (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Jerusalem: Judaica Multimedia, 1997 (CD-edition)
- EWJ GRZEBIEŃ, LUDWIK (ed.), *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy (1564–1995)*, Kraków: Ignatianum/WAM, 1996
- EP *Encyklopediaja powszechna*, vol. 1–28, Warszawa: S. Orgelbrand, 1859–1868
- EWoK *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce*, Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1971
- GW *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vol. 1–7, Leipzig: K.W. Hiersemann, 1925–1938; vol. 8–, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1970–
- HBOT II SÆBØ, MAGNE (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 2: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008

- JE SINGER, ISIDORE (ed.), *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. Prepared by More than Four Hundred Scholars and Specialists, vol. 1–12, New York/London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901–1907. Online version at: www.jewishencyclopedia.com
- Jocher JOCHER, ADAM, *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce, od wprowadzenia do niej druku po rok 1830 włącznie, z pism Janockiego, Bentkowskiego, Ludwika Sobolewskiego, Ossolińskiego, Juszyńskiego, Jana Winc. i Jerz. Sam. Bandtków i.t.d. wystawiony*, vol. 1–3, Wilno: Józef Zawadzki, 1840–1857
- KP 16 BJ MALICKI, MARIAN/ZWINOGRODZKA, EWA (ed.), *Katalog poloników XVI wieku Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, vol. 1–3, Kraków: PWN, 1992–1995
- KSD 16 ZNiO BOHONOS, MARIA (ed.), *Katalog starych druków Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich. Polonica wieku XVI*, Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1965
- WA.TR LUTHER, MARTIN, *D. Martins Luther Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Tischreden*, vol. 1–6, Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1912–1921
- LW LUTHER, MARTIN, *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav J. Pelikan/Hilton C. Oswald/Helmut T. Lehman, vol. 1–55, Saint Louis: Fortress Press/Concordia Publishing House, 1955–1986 (CD-edition, Libronix Digital Library System, version 1.0, 2002)
- n. note, notes
- NCHB III CAMERON, EUAN (ed.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3: *From 1450 to 1750*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016
- NK BUDZYK, KAZIMIERZ (ed.), *Bibliografia literatury polskiej: Nowy Korbut*, t. 1–, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1963–
- no. number, numbers
- OER HILLERBRAND, HANS J. (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 1–4, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996
- PL MIGNE, JACQUES PAUL (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 1–217, Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1815–1875
- PSB *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 1–, Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków/Gdańsk: Polska Akademia Umiejętności/Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich/Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1935–. Online version at: <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/Home>
- PT KAWECKA-GRYCZOWA, ALODIA (ed.), *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi*, vol. 1–, Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków/Gdańsk: Ossolineum, 1959–
- r recto (cf. v)
- SPXVI *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 1–, Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich/Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1966–

- Stein. STEINSCHNEIDER, MORITZ, *Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 2nd edn, vol. 1–3, Berlin: Welt-Verlag, 1931
- v verso (cf. r)
- v. verse, verses
- VD 16 BEZZEL, IRMGARD (ed.), *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, a. I: vol. 1–22, a. II: vol. 1–2, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1983–1997. Online version at: <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/sammlungen/historische-drucke/recherche/vd-16/>
- Vogel VOGEL, PAUL HEINZ, *Europäische Bibeldrucke des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in den Volkssprachen. Ein Beitrag zur Bibliographie des Bibeldrucks*, Baden-Baden: Verlag Heitz, 1962¹
- WEPWN WOJNOWSKI, JAN (ed.), *Wielka encyklopedia PWN*, t. 1–31, Warszawa: PWN, 2001–2005
- WIEP *Wielka ilustrowana encyklopedia powszechna Wydawnictwa Gutenberg*, t. 1–18, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Gutenberga, 1927–1939
- Wiszn. WISZNIEWSKI, MICHAŁ, *Historia literatury polskiej*, vol. 1–10, Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytecka, 1840–1857
- WSHP KOEHLER, LUDWIG/BAUMGARTNER, WALTER/STAMM, JOHANN JAKOB, *Wielki słownik hebrajsko-polski i aramejsko-polski Starego Testamentu*, ed. Przemysław Dec, vol. 1–2, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Vocatio", 2008

1 This bibliography does not number items in the order they are referred to. For this reason, in order to refer to it precisely, the page number will be given after the abbreviation symbol and the number of an item from a given page will be given after comma.

Hebrew and Aramaic transcription

א	-	silent	א	-	a
ב	-	v	ב	-	a or o
ב	-	b	ב	-	a
ג	-	g	ג	-	e
ד	-	d	ד	-	e
ה	-	h or silent	ה	-	e
ה	-	h	ה	-	e
ו	-	w	ו	-	i
ו	-	o	ו	-	i
ו	-	u	ו	-	o
ז	-	z	ז	-	o
ח	-	ch	ח	-	u
ט	-	t	ט	-	[sound] e
י	-	y	י	-	
כ	-	kh		-	
כ	-	k		-	
ל	-	l		-	
מ	-	m		-	
נ	-	n		-	
ס	-	s		-	
ע	-	silent		-	
פ	-	ph		-	
פ	-	p		-	
צ	-	tz		-	
ק	-	q		-	
ר	-	r		-	
ש	-	s		-	
ש	-	sh		-	
ת	-	t		-	

Introduction

Sixteenth-century Europe saw the age of Renaissance and Reformation – two movements pertaining to different realms of culture and religion, which, having affected the Old Continent, led to profound cultural and religious transformations, felt even today. The Renaissance with its flagship motto of returning to the sources (*ad fontes*) paved the way for the Reformation. The latter in turn drew on the former's humanistic interests in antiquity, turning its attention to the oldest sources of the Christian faith in their original form, and accordingly coining its own motto: *sola Scriptura*. As it is, Reformation pointed to the Scripture as the most important source of Christian faith and European culture permeated with it. The knowledge of ancient languages became requisite for studying sources, mainly the Biblical texts. Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and to a lesser extent Aramaic – the tongues of the Bible – reigned supreme.

Thus at the beginning of the sixteenth century the humanistic and then reformational interest in ancient languages initiated modern Christian Hebrew studies, while the Hebrew language classes worked their way into universities. The instatement of Hebrew studies surmounted a great effort of a small group of enthusiasts, who in the first half of the sixteenth century, overcoming the barriers of mentality, alphabet and prejudice, translated the achievements of Hebrew lexicographers and grammarians into Latin and thus made them comprehensible to Christians. This was a stepping stone to a fast burgeoning of Hebrew studies among Christians, who in the sixteenth century elaborated a huge number of books containing (mainly Biblical) Hebrew source texts and a plethora of related Latin textbooks: dictionaries, grammars, tables, translations. It was also at that time that a specialized Hebrew typography was developed by Christian printing houses.

Hebrew scholarship was also well received in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as best evidenced by three translations of the entire Hebrew Bible into the Polish language (Brest Bible, Nesvizh Bible [Budny's Bible], Gdańsk [Danzig] Bible) and the Catholic Bible by Father Jakub Wujek, translated, admittedly, from the Latin Vulgate, but "with the addition of the Jewish text" (BWj, title page), all of which contained numerous commentaries. The fact that different Christian

denominations produced four translations of the Scriptures over the span of several decades is a clear testimony to a kind of competition in quest of, as it would have been said in the sixteenth century, “the genuine word of God (*szczyre słowo Boże*)” (BB, *4v, *5r; BSzB, b2r). This quest would not have been possible without Christian philological inquiry, also into Hebrew, undertaken in the Commonwealth. This study deals with this process.

The title of this publication defines the subject (the reception of West-European Christian Hebraism) and the research framework: topographical (the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and chronological (the Renaissance). It further examines the assimilation of didactic and research methods and achievements of Hebrew studies (Hebrew philology) practiced in Western Europe. By Hebrew studies or philology, we mean the academic discipline that deals with the Hebrew language and the proper interpretation of the literature created in it (cf. Kaczmarkowski: 1989, 232). Our research subject is also identified as Christian Hebraism, which refers to the Gentiles' studies of Hebrew and usually applies to the period between 450 and 1800 (cf. Jones: 2005, 176). By limiting the scope of research to Christian studies, we exclude from the area of interest the Hebrew studies practiced, for example, by the followers of Judaism. When we speak of the Commonwealth, we mean the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the fief lands of the Commonwealth. The chronological framework was limited to the Renaissance, i. e. the period of the birth and the very intensive studies of ancient languages in modern times. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the first mention of Hebraists appears around 1507 and this date is taken as the lower limit of the Renaissance Hebrew studies in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The year 1638, when the antitrinitarian printing house in Rakov was closed down, where the text of the New Testament was being composed, is considered the upper border. This year is also considered the end of the Renaissance in Polish printing (Kawecka-Gryczowa: 1974, 66; 1975, 23). On account of the links between Hebrew studies and printing and Bible studies, we regard this date as the most appropriate.

The literature devoted to Renaissance Christian Hebraism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is very scant. The most important works include Robert Kaśków's dissertation (1996, 186–230 – chapter three *Interest in the Hebrew Language*) and his article (1994). However, Kaśków's dissertation has never appeared in print and is therefore little known, while his several-page article has necessarily very limited contents. Noteworthy are the extensive studies on the Brest Bible and the Bible translated by Szymon Budny, both published as part of the monumental *Biblia Slavica* series. These works, by Irena Kwilecka (2001a; cf. also 1992; 1999; 2001b; 2006), David A. Frick (1994; 2001; cf. also 1989) and Leszek Moszyński (1994), address a number of problems related to the reception of Hebrew studies in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and present the results of research on history, sources, the concept of translation and the reception of Renaissance trans-

lations of the Holy Scripture into Polish. They mainly deal with editions of the Bible in the Polish language, so they do not concern themselves with Hebrew studies in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in a primary or comprehensive way.

Some aspects of Hebrew studies in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Renaissance era are dealt with by Majer Bałaban (1931a, 102–116; 1931b, 131–134, 523–532), Jan Kamieniecki (1995; 1999; 2002) and Krzysztof Pilarczyk (1995; 1998a; 1998b; 2004; 2007; 2009), but only to a slight extent in the margin of other issues.

Information on Christian Hebraism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the Renaissance period appears in historical and bibliographical publications, but they are very scattered and often enigmatic (Jocher 1, XXXI, XXXIV; Morawski: 1900, 253–258; Barycz: 1935, 86–95; 1957, 128f; 1969 [scarce information]; Smereka: 1975, 229; also numerous biographical articles in PSB).

There are studies of the history of Christian Hebraism in Western Europe (Newman: 1925; Daiches: 1968; Friedman: 1983; Jones: 1983; Katchen: 1984; Manuel: 1992; Burnett: 1996; 2012; Lange: 2001; Coudert/Shoulson: 2004; McKane: 2004; Saebø: 2008; Price: 2011; Posset: 2015; 2019), which either do not deal with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or only mention it occasionally. Only Ludwig Geiger (1870, 121f) devotes some space to the organisation of studies in Königsberg in his work, but he views the subject from a German point of view. A lot of information about Christian Hebraism is scattered in various encyclopaedias and dictionaries (e. g. JE, EJ, EJCD, OER, Kessler/Wenborn: 2005), which hardly ever study the Hebrew language in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The first monograph devoted entirely to Hebrew studies in the Renaissance Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was published in Polish (Pietkiewicz: 2011; cf. 2012), but due to the language barrier it is inaccessible to many researchers. This book is an English version based on the aforesaid Polish original. This is not a mere translation because in relation to the Polish monograph the English version has been improved and extended, illustrations have been added and the bibliography has been expanded and updated. Moreover, the research conducted by the author after 2011 has brought several new important results, which are presented here (e. g. the list of Polish Hebraists has been updated, views on the beginnings of Christian Hebraism printing in Cracow have been revised, the significance of the Pagnini's version of the Old Testament and the Geneva Bible of 1559 for the creation of the Brest Bible has been shown).

The reception of Christian Hebraism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth raises many important questions: were Christian Hebraism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth creative or merely imitative? How did the reception of the knowledge derived from Hebrew studies in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth take place? Were Christian Hebraism influenced by the contacts with the followers of Judaism who lived in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in large num-

bers? What was the character of Polish Hebrew studies, humanistic or religious? How were the studies on the Hebrew language organised in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth? What was their purpose? What level of knowledge of the Hebrew language did our Hebraists master? What was the popularity of Hebrew studies in the society of the time?

A survey of the reception of a given scholarly discipline, especially when it comes to times several centuries ago, requires interdisciplinary research. In our work, we will make use of four research methods: the historical method consisting in a critical study of sources in order to reconstruct historical facts and their cause and effect relations; in our case, we will pay more attention to the history of Hebrew studies and their relation to humanism and the Reformation; the bibliographic method consisting in the classification and description of old prints; the bibliological method which examines the so called bibliological process (production, distribution and consumption of a book); a philological method consisting in the comparative study of different versions of the text of the Sacred Scripture with marginal notes and commentaries, with particular emphasis on their relationship to the original texts and their interdependence; the philological study also necessarily includes elements of criticism of the Bible text.

The source base of this work is very extensive. It includes, above all, old prints containing the texts of the Holy Scriptures in the original and in translations, often accompanied by notes and commentaries, and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hebrew literature (grammars, dictionaries, tables, textbooks).

A great difficulty in researching ancient translations of the Bible is to determine and find the text used as a basis for translation. This is all the more important because progress in text research brought ever new editions of the Bible with different variants, both of original versions and translations (ancient and modern). So, in order to achieve the most objective result possible, we will reach for the Renaissance editions of Scripture.

Another group of sources include works and correspondence of eminent figures of the Renaissance and the Reformation (Desiderius Erasmus [1469–1536], Martin Luther [1483–1546], John Calvin [1509–1564], Ulrich Zwingli [1484–1531], Jan Łaski [1499–1560], etc.) and documents of Catholic and non-Catholic institutions (councils, synods, papal documents).

Using the comparative method of Biblical texts, we will also refer to the works of ancient writers (Josephus Flavius [37–a. 94], Pliny the Elder [23/24–79], the Fathers of the Church) and the works of other writers active until the early seventeenth century. Works of exegesis will be of particular value here.

In the search and description of old prints, numerous catalogues and bibliographies printed and published on the Internet will be very helpful. A valuable source of information are also various types of studies, especially biographies, included in encyclopedias, lexicons and dictionaries.

This monograph consists of three chapters. In chapter one we will present the birth and development of modern Christian Hebraism in Western Europe. First, we will reach to the source of Christian Hebraism, that is, to the studies conducted by the followers of Judaism up to the sixteenth century. We will devote some space to Christian interests in the Hebrew language in ancient and medieval times. The central part of the first chapter is a reflection on the reception of the achievements of Jewish linguistic studies by the Christians of Western Europe, mainly in the first half of the sixteenth century. Here we will present the different trends in Western European Christian Hebraism: the humanistic trend and the Reformation- and Counter-Reformation-related denominational trends. In the last part of the first chapter, we will devote a lot of attention to the aids assisting sixteenth century Christian scholars in Hebraism (Bible editions in the original and in translation, grammar books, dictionaries).

In the second chapter we will describe the advancement of the studies on the Hebrew language in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century. First of all, we will pay attention to the organization of the teaching of Hebrew at the Cracow Academy, where the humanistic current of Polish Christian Hebraism was created and developed. Then we will describe the four currents of native Hebrew studies with clear religious orientations (Lutheran, Reformed Protestantism and the Bohemian Brethren, Antitrinitarian and the Catholic after the Jesuit fashion). We will devote some space to the presentation of Polish Hebrew and Christian Hebraism printing, and then describe the grammars printed on Polish soil.

The third chapter will be devoted to the translations of the Hebrew Bible into Polish, which were the most important result of the reception of Western European Christian Hebraism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Renaissance. After a brief discussion of their origins and history, we will present the sixteenth century discussions of Polish Hebraists and biblicists around the problem of authenticity and fidelity of the text of the Holy Scriptures (Vulgate or *Hebraica veritas*?) and the choice of the concept of translating ancient versions of the Bible. Finally, we will show what kind of translation method and sources were used by Polish translators of the Hebrew Bible when translating the Old Testament. In the last point we will provide examples illustrating the issues raised in the last chapter.

Old Polish texts will be quoted in a transcription of type B (Mayenowa: 1955). In doubtful cases we will follow contemporary punctuation and spelling. As for lower or upper case of letters we are guided by modern principles. Abbreviations are explained in square brackets. Necessary commentaries to the source texts are given in footnotes or in square brackets. Folio signatures of old prints are given in a simplified way (e. g. b3v instead of biiij^v).

All source texts in Polish have been translated into English. When quoting them, in order not to interrupt the reading, the English translation will first be given, fol-

lowed by the Polish original in parentheses. When quoting Bible translations into Polish and the notes and commentaries accompanying the Biblical text, the Polish original will be quoted first, followed by the English translation in parentheses.

The texts in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek are quoted in their original alphabets. Quotes in languages written in the Latin alphabet are given in roman type in quotation marks. However, quotation marks are left out in the case of Bible texts when the quotation is preceded by an abbreviation that refers to the Bible edition. We preserve the highlighted body of text if it occurs in the original. We standardize the spelling of the letters *v* and *u* according to modern standards (except for bibliographic descriptions of Polish Biblical prints). We keep the original spelling *i* and *j* in Latin. We replace orthographic ligatures with their components and we explain Latin acronyms. Very often in sixteenth century Latin diphthong *ae* was written as *e* – in these cases we will correct the text, inserting the missing *a*.

We keep quotations from sixteenth century Hebrew and Aramaic prints in their original spelling, even if they are misspelt (which we mark). There may occur some inaccuracies here due to difficulties in reading the texts. To make it easier for readers not familiar with Hebrew writing to read the book, some terms and titles of Hebrew works are given in a simplified transcription according as shown in the table Hebrew and Aramaic Transcription. We follow the principle of not doubling consonants in the transcription of the titles of Hebrew works from the tenth to the sixteenth century (cf. Tyloch: 1980, 77).

We shorten the long titles of the quoted items. In the bibliography we provide signatures and also locations of prints from the period up to the end of the eighteenth century and addresses of sources and studies available on the Internet. In bibliographic descriptions we use different levels of detail: we preserve the original spelling of the titles of the Polish Biblical old prints, rendering their arrangement on the title pages. Other titles of works from the period until the end of the eighteenth century are written in a simplified way. We write with an initial capital letter words printed in capitals, or originally starting with a capital. When describing old prints we use the unified names of authors, printers and printing houses; the year of printing is always given in Arabic numerals.

In the attached bibliography we include descriptions of old prints, a copy of which in printed or electronic form we have personally examined. An exception is made for items of major importance to the work, the copies of which are lost (Campen: 1534b; cf. E 14, 32). The current status of all website addresses provided in the bibliography was verified in 2020.

1. Hebrew studies in Renaissance Europe

Before starting research into Polish translations of the Old Testament from the Hebrew language, it is essential to consider the development of Western European studies on Biblical Hebrew during the Renaissance and the Reformation because Polish Hebraists translating the Bible into their mother tongue benefited from the achievements of these studies: they learned Biblical languages in foreign centers, used the grammars and dictionaries published there, and the editions of the Hebrew Bible printed by Western publishing houses. Moreover, their enthusiasm for Scripture in the original was deeply rooted in the humanistic and reformation currents of the era.

1.1 Before the Renaissance came

Because of the common roots of Christianity and Judaism, there has always been some interest in the Jewish languages and culture in the Christian environment. In antiquity, the Church produced two eminent Hebraists, Origen (c. 185–254) and St Jerome (b. 331 and 347–419 or 420), who mastered the Hebrew language to read, study and translate the Bible. However, until the beginning of the sixteenth century, interest in Judaism and Hebrew did not extend to wide circles in the Church. Jews and Christians lived side by side and life itself provided many opportunities for mutual relations: Christian-Jewish polemics and controversies (present from the first century AD), the missionary activity of the Church among the followers of Judaism, Jews converting to Christianity, persecution forcing them to frequent migrations: these are some of the most important dimensions and opportunities enabling mutual contacts (cf. Loewe: 1974, 9–11).

However, despite the many opportunities for mutual contacts, from the time of St Jerome until the end of the fifteenth century, the knowledge of the Hebrew language among Christians was rare and even seemed strange and suspicious. There were several reasons for this. First of all, St Jerome's Latin translation of the Bible from the Hebrew language was quite sufficient, and for many centuries there had

been no need to refer to the Hebrew original. Secondly, the relationship between Christians and Jews had been marked with tension, suspicion and prejudice for many centuries. The Jews, effectively resisting Christianization, responded to every sign of rapprochement and interest from Christians with mistrust and even hostility, fearing missionary activity. For Christians, Hebrew was the language of the opponents of faith, who used it to formulate critical arguments about faith in Christ. On the other hand, the few Christians who knew the Hebrew language were suspected of favouring the followers of Judaism or even of accepting their faith. Hostility and suspicion towards Jews caused pogroms and expulsions from many European countries (e.g. from England in 1290, France in 1315 and 1394, Austria in 1421, Spain in 1492; some regions of Bohemia and Germany in the last two decades of the fifteenth century) and legal restrictions pushing Jews to the margins of society. The country where many Jews found shelter was Italy. No wonder that in such a climate there was little interest in Hebrew (cf. Friedman: 1983, 14–18; Pilarczyk: 2007, 3–4).

The motive for the few attempts of medieval Christians to study Hebrew was the historical study of the Bible, aimed at a literal interpretation of the text in its historical and cultural context, which required an understanding of ancient Israeli culture and mastering the basics of Hebrew and Aramaic. This was not easy, however, because the grammars and dictionaries existing at that time were only available in Semitic languages (Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew). So, in order to learn Biblical Hebrew, one had to know Hebrew, Arabic or Aramaic beforehand. For this reason, medieval philological studies of the original languages of the Old Testament were very difficult and limited, and the only way to learn Semitic Biblical languages was to use the services of Jewish teachers, both those converted to Christianity and those professing Judaism.

What was the medieval method offered access to the study of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages? How and to what extent was it taken over by Christian scholars before the advent of the Renaissance? The answer to these questions will enable a better understanding of the true revolution in Hebrew studies, which, in an organized form, were created and began to develop extremely dynamically at the beginning of the sixteenth century, taking great advantage of the achievements of medieval Hebrew philological literature.

1.1.1 Jewish studies of Hebrew until the sixteenth century

The origins of literature on Biblical Hebrew date back to the tenth century AD. The first works in this field were two works by Saadiah Gaon (882–942). The ספר האגרון (*Sepher ha-Agron*) dictionary published in 902 in Hebrew and the second revised edition of *Kitab al-Shir* written in Arabic. The same author also published

the first grammar of the Hebrew language, *Kutub al-Luga* in Arabic (cf. Bacher: 1901–1906, 581; Tene/Barr: 1974, 1367ff, 1379). The first dictionary meriting this name to include Hebrew and Aramaic Biblical vocabulary was the work of David ben Abraham Alphasi (d. c. 1026), which was written in Arabic in the middle of the tenth century. The first dictionary of Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic written in Hebrew and entitled ספר מחברת (*Sepher Machberet*) was written in Spain during the third quarter of the same century, and its author was Menachem ibn Saruq (c. 920–c. 970) (printed edition: 1854). The first linguistic works devoted to Biblical Hebrew were created at the beginning of the tenth century in northeastern Africa, exclusively in Arabic. In the second half of the same century, studies were also written in Hebrew in Spain. The authors of the first studies were exclusively Jews. In the first dictionaries the words were explained in Aramaic, Arabic and Hebrew as used in the Mishnah and the Talmud. The works created in Arabic in the tenth century did not have a direct impact on the creation of Christian literature on Biblical Hebrew because they were not translated into Hebrew and were quoted only from secondary sources. Most of them are lost.¹

Several factors influenced the development of such studies during this period. First of all, in the second half of the first millennium the Masoretes established the final form of the text of the Hebrew Bible with vocalisation and Masorah. In this way medieval linguists received a fairly uniform and reliable source of Hebrew. Secondly, the Jewish intellectual centres of that period were located in the areas influenced by Arabic culture, which already in the eighth century developed methods to describe language structure. Hence, Hebrew grammarians inherited from the Arabs ready-made schemes and linguistic tools, also suitable for describing other Semitic languages: Aramaic and Hebrew. Thirdly, it is likely that the emergence of Karaism,² for which the Bible was the only source of faith, led to the development of new methods of Bible study, different from Masoretic and Talmudic-Midrash methods, which required, among other things, a re-examination of the meaning of words used in the Scriptures.

1 The most important works of Hebrew linguists are briefly discussed here. The full list of about 90 Jewish authors and their works, covering the period from the beginning of the tenth century to 1500, is available in: Tene/Barr: 1974, 1379–1390.

2 As a separate religion, this movement finally emerged from Judaism at the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries. The codifier of the assumptions of Karaism was Anan ben David from Basra (c. 715–c. 795), who formed a political-social party that protested the authorities of Judaism and the principles governing Jewish society after the fall of the second temple. This party absorbed the other Jewish heterodox movements present in Babylon at the time – including those from the Sadducean tradition – and quickly developed into a new religious movement, denying the authority of the rabbis and their main work, the Talmud. The Karaites decided to recognise only the Written Tradition, i. e. the Bible, and especially the Five Books of Moses, and they described themselves as continuators of the Sadducean branch – in opposition to rabbis as continuators of the Pharisees (cf. Kohler/Harkavy: 1901–1906, 438–447).