CULTURAL ENCOUNTER AND IDENTITY IN THE NEO-LATIN WORLD

EDITED BY

CAMILLA HORSTER AND MARIANNE PADE

Cover: Albrecht Dürer's 1502 woodcut illustrates the idea of the *translatio studii* that is so central to this volume. It shows *Philosophia* sitting on a throne, surrounded by medallions with portraits of wise men from many ages and parts of the world: Ptolemy, Plato, Cicero and Vergil (in one) and Albert the Great. The poem above her says: "The Greeks call me *sophia*, the Romans *sapientia*,/ the Egyptians and the Chaldaeans invented me, the Greeks wrote me down,/ the Romans translated (or transmitted) and the Germans developed me" (from Conrad Celtis, *Amores*, Nurenberg, 1502, f. avir; source Wikimedia commons).

Contents

6 CONTENTS

Sources, pools and runnels:
The humanist reception of the Ordinary Gloss and Lyra's Postils

ANNET DEN HAAN

Abstract

This chapter explores the humanist reception of the two most popular medieval Bible commentaries: the Ordinary Gloss, and the Postils by Nicholas of Lyra. Although humanists criticised medieval learning and encouraged reading the biblical sources directly, these commentaries were widely used in the Renaissance, also by humanists.

Presenting a selection of Latin humanist sources between 1440 and 1520, in Italy and Northern Europe, I argue that there is no single humanist approach to medieval Bible commentaries, but a wide variety. What all the approaches have in common is a preference for ancient authors as opposed to modern ones. Furthermore, the humanists were pragmatic as regards the use of these commentaries.

The various approaches I discuss illustrate the transformation of the humanist movement: they reflect the concerns and priorities of Italian Quattrocento humanism, as opposed to Northern biblical humanism. They also illustrate how two external factors influenced the dissemination of humanist ideas: the new printing market, and the theological concerns of the Reformers.

Introduction

In the late Middle Ages, the most popular Bible commentaries were the Ordinary Gloss and the Postils by Nicholas of Lyra. All students of the sacred page knew and used these exegetical tools, which had crept into the margins and between the lines of the biblical text and had become inseparable from it. When the Renaissance humanists applied their new educational goals and reading methods to the Bible, their ideals clashed with medieval exegetical practice: the humanists aimed at an unmediated encounter with the sacred text, drawing directly from the source rather than from the "pools and runnels," as Erasmus famously put it.[1] Thus the Ordinary Gloss and Lyra's Postils represented everything the humanists opposed.

Yet as various scholars have shown, medieval Bible commentaries remained popular among humanist readers. Both Bibles with marginal and interlinear glosses and copies of Lyra's Postils abound in early Renaissance libraries.[2] Printed Bibles with the Gloss and the Postils appeared in many editions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[3] And it was not just theologians of the old school who used these commentaries, but also prominent humanists like Erasmus.[4]

In this chapter, I offer an explanation for this apparent contradiction by exploring the variety of humanist approaches to the Gloss and the Postils, both in theory and practice. I argue that there is no single humanist approach to these commentaries, but rather many: while the main principles of humanism discouraged their use, individual humanists applied these principles creatively, and according to their context.

My argument addresses the four themes of the present volume: the transformation of Italian humanism; humanist metadiscourse; the humanists' engagement with the classical tra-

---

1. "[. . .] purius ac viuidius [. . .] ex ipsis hauriri fontibus, quam ex lacunis aut riuulis." Letter 384, 1516, Allen & Allen 1906–1958, vol. II, 185.
2. Manfredi 2005, 459–501.
3. For the printed Gloss, see Froehlich 1999a; Gumbert 1999; Salomon 2012. For Lyra's Postils, see Gosselin 1970.
4. For Erasmus's use of the Gloss, see de Jonge 1975. For the general reception of the Gloss in the sixteenth century, see Froehlich 1999b.

dition; and the dissemination of humanism. The first theme, the transformation of Italian humanism, provides one explanation for the variety that is to be found within the humanist reception of the Gloss and the Postils. Whereas Quattrocento Italian humanists mostly ignore or silently accept these commentaries, the sixteenth-century humanists of transalpine Europe who combined humanism with biblical studies problematise their use, as we will see. As for the second theme, metadiscourse, I use this term to refer to theorisation about humanism: that is, reflections on what a humanist is, what he should do, and how he should go about doing it. This includes instructions on what to read and how to write, which books to collect, and reflections on the merits of disciplines or sources – all of which define and shape humanist practice.[5] In the context of the present chapter, these instructions and reflections concern the use of (Bible) commentaries in general, and the Gloss and the Postils in particular. Regarding the other two themes, the role of the classical tradition is crucial to the humanists' objections to the Gloss and the Postils: these commentaries were modern, and therefore to be avoided. The dissemination of humanism is discussed in relation to the new printing market and the appropriation of humanist ideas by the Reformers.

In problematising the continued popularity of the Gloss and the Postils, my chapter also contributes to a broader debate about how biblical humanism relates to medieval intellectual culture. On the one hand, scholars have emphasised the revolutionary nature of biblical humanism, including the work of Quattrocento Italian humanists, arguing that their innovations paved the way for the Reformation.[6] On the other hand, some of those alleged innovations had already been part of medieval biblical criticism, including the practice of reading the Bible in the original languages and concentrating on the literal and historical sense of Scripture.[7] My analysis shows that the humanists took over tools from the medieval exegetical tra-

dition and creatively adapted them in multiple ways.

In what follows, I first briefly introduce the Gloss and the Postils. I then give an overview of the humanist reception of these commentaries, contrasting Quattrocento humanism with transalpine humanism. I limit myself to the period between 1420 and 1520, selecting examples from Latin authors both in Italy and in Northern Europe. In order to compare theory with practice, I study both manuscript collections and printed editions. The role of the printing press and of the Reformation will be discussed together in the final section.

The Ordinary Gloss and Lyra's Postils
The Ordinary Gloss originated around the twelfth century in France. It is not one homogeneous commentary on all biblical books, but rather a compilation of commentaries, consisting of excerpts from the Church Fathers and later authors, put together by several compilers. From the twelfth century onward, the Gloss spread quickly among students at the Parisian schools. It developed from a classroom tool for teachers to a reference work for exegetes. It is called the Ordinary Gloss because it was the most widely used of all the biblical glosses available at the time.[8]

Rooted in medieval exegetical practice, the Gloss represents the reading method of the *quadriga* or the fourfold sense. Since the time of the early Church, the Bible had been read on different levels, as some passages do not lend themselves to a straightforward interpretation. Early authors distinguished between the literal and the spiritual sense of Scripture. The spiritual sense was then further divided into a tropological, anagogical, and allegorical sense. By the late Middle Ages, the literal sense had come to cover a range of meanings, depending on the exegete's understanding of the term.[9]

The reading method of the fourfold sense is particularly relevant for the other most popular Bible commentary of the late Middle Ages,

---

5. For a definition of humanist metadiscourse, see also den Haan 2016b, especially the introduction (II–V).
6. For example, Trinkaus 1970; Bentley 1983; Scott Amos 2003.
7. This continuity was already pointed out by Smalley: Smalley 1964. Since then, other scholars have made si-

milar arguments: e.g. Ozment 1980; Oberman 1967; Evans 1985; Cummings 2002; Klepper 2016.
8. For an introduction to the Ordinary Gloss, see Smith 2009.
9. On the *quadriga* in general, see de Lubac 1959. For the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, see Klepper 2016.

the Postils of the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270–1349). Lyra composed his Literal Postil between 1322 and 1331. As its title indicates, it concentrates on the literal sense of Scripture. It was a work intended for theologians, and it covers the entire Bible. (Lyra's Moral Postil, written between 1333 and 1339, likewise covers the whole Bible, but is a much shorter work aimed at preachers and *lectores*, commenting only on passages where a moral interpretation is possible.[10])

Lyra's Literal Postil sparked off a series of reactions, mainly because of the way its author understood the literal sense of Scripture. For Lyra, the literal sense is what the text meant to its original Jewish readers, and in order to explore this, he drew on the rabbinic exegetical tradition. Lyra believed that in some places the text could also refer to Christ, anticipating the events of the New Testament. This happens, for example, when the text refers to David and to Christ at the same time. Thus Lyra accepted a double literal sense: the text applies at the same time to the time of the Prophet (in the Old Testament) and to that of Christ (in the New). Lyra's Hebrew scholarship and philological approach made him attractive to humanist readers, who mined him for explanations of lexicon and historical *realia*. His critics, however, objected to his understanding of the literal and spiritual senses of Scripture and to his engagement with the rabbinic tradition. One of his critics, Paul of Burgos (c. 1351–1435), preferred Aquinas's method of exegesis to Lyra's. Paul's notes were often read in conjunction with Lyra's Postils. In the fifteenth century, the German Mathias Döring (d. 1469) defended Lyra against Paul's criticisms.[11] These two sets of comments were often attached to Lyra's Postils, in manuscripts as well as in printed versions.[12]

As we will see, the Gloss and the Postils continued to be used in the fifteenth century and were very well represented in Renaissance li-

braries. During the second half of the fifteenth century, the first printed editions of these commentaries appeared. In 1471, the *editio princeps* of Nicholas of Lyra's Literal Postil was printed in Rome, by Sweynheym and Pannartz.[13] The first edition of the Gloss was printed anonymously, but most evidence points to the printer Rusch in Strassburg and a date around 1480.[14]

Bibles that combined the Ordinary Gloss and Lyra's Postils began to appear around 1500, and they became very popular. The first one, based on Rusch's edition of the Gloss and on Sweynheym and Pannartz' edition of Lyra, was printed in Venice in 1495 by Paganino de' Paganini.[15] The Venice edition, in its turn, was the basis for the later influential Basel editions, which were printed in 1498, 1502 and 1506–1508 by Petri and Froben.[16] These rearranged the textual material, combining the text of the Bible with the Ordinary Gloss, Lyra's Postils, and additional material by Paul of Burgos and Mathias Döring. The Basel edition was reprinted in Lyon by Jacques Maréchal in 1520 (and reprinted in 1528 and 1548).

Quattrocento humanism

Compared to the humanists of the early sixteenth century, Quattrocento Italian humanists paid little attention to biblical studies, focusing rather on language reform and the restoration of the classical past. Two changes, however, did affect biblical studies, including the reception of the Gloss and the Postils: the patristic texts became more popular, and humanists began to apply new philological methods and questions to Scripture.[17] We see these changes in humanist treatises on what to read and which texts to collect; and they are reflected in the humanist libraries.

In the humanist treatises on what to read, biblical studies play, at best, a marginal role. Pier Paulo Vergerio and Battista Guarino, who wrote treatises of this kind, fail to mention bibli-

---

10. On Lyra's Postils, see e.g. Krey & Smith 2000.
11. For Lyra's understanding of the literal and spiritual sense, as well as his reception, see Klepper 2016, 430–435.
12. Gosselin 1970.
13. ISTC in00131000. For the books printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz and Bussi's prefaces, see Miglio 1978.
14. ISTC ib00607000. Edited in facsimile by Froehlich &

Gibson 1992, who discuss this and the printed editions that follow in their introduction.
15. ISTC ib00608000.
16. 1498 ISTC ib00609000; 1502 ISTC ib00609500.
17. On biblical scholarship in fifteenth-century Italy, see Trinkaus 1970; Bentley 1977; Bentley 1983; Hamilton 1996; Scott Amos 2003; Monfasani 2008; den Haan 2016a.

cal studies at all.[18] Aeneo Silvio Piccolomini discusses the reading of Scripture, and he points out passages that are especially relevant to becoming "instructed as befits a Christian" and to the Christian life in general.[19] But he does not mention the biblical commentaries. As these examples illustrate, the humanists' educational programme had a limited scope: it concentrated on restoring the glory of the classical past by imitating classical, literary examples. It hardly aspired to covering all fields of study. For this reason, the humanist programme transformed Renaissance libraries only to a modest degree: more classical works were added, but room was left for the most popular scholastic titles, including the Gloss and the Postils. Research on biblical manuscripts in humanist libraries shows that the Gloss and Lyra are very well represented in the library of San Marco (which had been founded in the 1440s and contained books that had belonged to Salutati and Niccoli) and those of the Vatican (under Nicholas V (1447–1455), Pius II (1458–1464) and Sixtus IV (1471–1484)) and Urbino (founded in the 1470s).[20]

A helpful source for understanding humanist book collections in this period is the canon of Tommaso Parentucelli (1397–1455) – later Pope Nicholas V.[21] Tommaso wrote the canon in the early 1440s, at the request of Cosimo de' Medici, at the point when Niccolò Niccoli's library was about to be turned into a public library.[22] Although written by a humanist and written with a humanist collection in mind, the canon is a fusion of humanist and scholastic learning and is based on medieval ecclesiastical collections. As regards the Bible, it includes the Scriptures themselves, not specifying whether or not they are to be glossed; theological writings; and ancient and modern commentators. It also includes the Postils by Nicholas of Lyra:

> Nicolaus de Lira scripsit in totam Scripturam divinam, scilicet tam Vetus quam Novum Testamentum, et est utile opus quia compendiosum. Quod quadrifariam divisit: In Libros legales, In Libros historiales, In Libros prophetiales, In Libros sapientiales. Est opus non contempnendum, licet aliquando non ita scienter exponere videatur.[23]

> Nicholas of Lyra commented on all of sacred Scripture, that is, the Old as well as the New Testament, and his work is useful because it is concise. He divided it into four parts: the books of the Law, the historical books, the prophetic books, and the books of Wisdom. It is a work to be valued, although in some places he seems not very knowledgeable in his interpretation.[24]

Tommaso's canon was influential: it was put into practice in many Quattrocento collections. According to bookseller and biographer Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–1498), who comments on the canon in his biography of Tommaso, this organisational scheme was followed not only in the San Marco library, but also at the Badia at Fiesole, the Urbino library, and the Sforza library at Pesaro.[25] Tommaso applied the canon to his own collections as well.[26] At the time of his resignation as Pope Nicholas V, the Vatican library contained many copies of the biblical text with the Gloss and Lyra's Postils. Notes in the Pope's handwriting indicate that he himself had read the Gloss.[27]

Generally speaking, humanist intellectual reform did not prevent Quattrocento collectors

---

18. *Petri Pauli Vergerii ad Ubertinum de Carraria de ingenuis moribus et liberalibus adulescentiae studiis liber* (1423); *Baptista Guarinus ad Maffeum Gambaram Brixianum adulescentem generosum discipulum suum, de ordine docendi et studendi* (1459). Text and translation in Kallendorf 2002, 2–91 and 260–309.
19. *De liberorum educatione* (1450); Kallendorf 2002, 126–259. Piccolomini mentions reading the Bible in caput 29, but moves on very quickly to pagan literature again.
20. Manfredi 2005. The Gloss and Lyra also appear in other humanist libraries. For example, Guarneria d'Artegna's library contained two glossed copies of the Pauline epistles (Guarner. 17 and 20), and one of the Catholic epistles (Guarner. 18). Casarsa *et al.* 1991, vol. II, 195–198. Giannozzo Manetti owned manuscripts of Lyra's Postils, which were sold by his son Agnolo Manetti after his father's death. They ended up in the Badia Fiesolana, separate from the rest of the collection. For

the main part of Manetti's Latin collection, see Cagni 1960. The manuscripts sold by Agnolo are listed by de la Mare 1985, 561–562. Generally speaking, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century collections were not very different from late medieval ones. Kibre 1946. See also, e.g., Monfasani's study on the library of Cardinal Bessarion, who collected many scholastic works. Monfasani 2011.
21. Blasio *et al.* 1984. The text of the canon is on pp. 132–155.
22. The library of San Marco. On this library, see e.g. Ullman & Stadter 1972.
23. Blasio *et al.* 1984, 50 (nr. 49.1).
24. All translations of Latin quotations are my own.
25. In the edition by Greco 1970–1976, vol. I, 46–47.
26. For Nicholas's own collections, see Manfredi 1994; see also Bonatti & Manfredi 2000.
27. Nicholas V annotated the Gloss on Kings (Vatican Library, MS Vat.lat.70); but he made more notes in manuscripts of patristic texts. Manfredi 2005, 471.

from including the Ordinary Gloss and Lyra's Postils in their libraries. Two developments, however, changed the proportions of biblical material in Quattrocento collections. The first of these was the humanists' growing appreciation for the patristic authors.[28] Quattrocento humanists preferred the Church Fathers to more recent theologians: they admired them for their stylistic elegance and for their venerable old age, rather than their position on doctrinal issues.[29] This changing preference is reflected in the Vatican library: by the time of Sixtus IV (1471–1484), the Gloss and Lyra are still prominent, but the number of patristic commentaries has increased.[30]

The second development is a new philological approach to the Bible, now treating it as a classical text. We see this approach in the works of Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), who practised biblical criticism of the New Testament by comparing Greek manuscripts and by commenting on the Vulgate translation.[31] His contemporary Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1455) wrote new Latin translations of both the Psalter and the New Testament, comparing Greek sources and discussing the appropriate translation techniques for the sacred text.[32] Thus Valla and Manetti treated the Bible comparably with other classical Greek material that was to be translated into correct Latin.[33]

This approach to the Bible as a classical text is reflected in another Renaissance library: the Urbino collection.[34] This collection, being the property of a lay prince, differs in nature from the one at the Vatican, but its organisation follows Tommaso's canon. As one might expect, the Urbino collection contains less biblical material than that of the Vatican. Some of its Bibles were newly produced, and written and decorated according to humanist tastes. The collection also includes Manetti's translations of the Psalter and the New Testament, representing the new

Ill. 1. Urbino Bible, Genesis 1 (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, http://digi.vatlib.iVview/MSS_Urb.lat.1 /0016).

humanist biblical philology. As regards Bible commentaries, the Urbino library has comparatively few glossed copies.[35]

Further on in the fifteenth century, we find an attempt to compete with the existing tradition of Bible commentary in the work of Pico della Mirandola. His *Heptaplus* (1489) is a commentary on the book of Genesis.[36] In his proems to this work, Pico explains his purpose and his exegetical principles. He presents his approach as a new and original way of reading, arguing that there is an esoteric meaning in Genesis open only to the initiated. Pico was working in an older exegetical tradition that goes back to the Greek fathers, and he was influenced by traditions of Neoplatonism and kabbalah. But compared to what was usual in Bible commentaries at the time, his approach to the Bible was entirely new.[37]

---

28. For the humanist appreciation of the Church Fathers in this period, see Stinger 1977 and Stinger 1996.
29. Stinger 1996.
30. Manfredi 2005, 476–480.
31. Recent studies on Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes Novi Testamenti* are e.g. Celenza 2012; Camporeale *et al*. 2014; den Haan 2016c, 23–40.
32. For Manetti's work on the New Testament, see den Haan 2016a. Manetti's treatise on Bible translation was edited recently with an English translation by McShane &

Young 2016.
33. For the works of Valla and Manetti in the context of the Vatican court, see den Haan 2016c, 23–40. As far as I am aware, Valla's and Manetti's use of the Gloss and the Postils has not been studied.
34. On the Urbino library, see Peruzzi *et al*. 2008.
35. Manfredi 2005, 482–488.
36. For this work, see Black 2006.
37. Black 2006, 176.

Crossing the Alps: biblical humanism

In comparison with Italian humanism, Northern humanism was more closely connected to monastic and university culture. For this reason, Northern humanists were more concerned with subjects traditionally associated with scholastic learning, including biblical studies, and clashed with scholasticism more directly.[38] The most prominent representative of this Northern, biblical humanism was Desiderius Erasmus (ca. 1466–1536), who developed his own programme for biblical studies. He criticised the medieval exegesis of the scholastic theologians, including the Gloss and Lyra's Postils.[39]

Erasmus reflected on the use of Bible commentaries in, for example, his *Enchiridion* (1503) and his treatises accompanying his New Testament: the *Methodus* (1516) and the *Ratio verae theologiae* (1519, 1522, 1523). Comments on the topic are also found in *De libero arbitrio* (1524) and the *Ecclesiastes* (1535).[40] One of the reasons Erasmus objected to the Gloss and the Postils was his ideal of returning to the sources. This means that Scripture, ideally, should be read in the original languages, without intermediaries. Although Bible commentaries were not necessary in principle, in practice they might need to be consulted all the same; but in such cases they should be used critically. As regards the Gloss, the ideal of returning to the sources generated an additional objection: as a compilation of exegetical comments by earlier interpreters, the Gloss is in itself a case of indirect reading. Erasmus comments on this point in the *Methodus* (1516):

> Quorsum enim attinet in hisce neotericis coacervatoribus verius quam interpretibus bonas horas haud bene collocare? In quibus primum quam multa sunt, quae tibi postea sint maiore negotio dediscenda. Deinde si quid inest recti, id ex veteribus haustum comperies, sed mutilum ac decurtatum, quod ob linguarum et rerum inscitiam multa et haud scio an optima quoniam non assequebantur, coacti sint praetermittere. Quid, quod bona pars istorum ne decerpit quidem ab illis, sed a saepius collectis ac transfusis collectaneis

velut e decima lacuna suffuratur, ut paene nihil resipiant sui fontis?[41]

What is the point of wasting valuable time on these modern authors, who are accumulators rather than interpreters? In the first place, how many things are there in them that you will only have to unlearn later, which will be even more work? Second, if they are right about anything, you will find that it is lifted from the ancient authors, but chopped up and shortened, and their ignorance of languages and facts forces them to leave out much, and probably the best part. And what about this – that most of these modern authors do not even derive it from the ancients themselves, but from excerpts, collected and cut and pasted again and again, as it were tapped from the tenth outlet, so that they hardly carry the flavour of their source?

Indirect reading – drawing from pools and runnels – is problematic, but Erasmus's main objection to the medieval Bible commentaries is that they are modern and are associated with scholastic learning. He objects to the newness of medieval Bible commentaries especially in defending humanist biblical criticism: his opponents accuse humanists of going against accepted tradition, but these same opponents have no objections to the Gloss and the Postils. In a letter written in 1520, Erasmus complains about this confusion of old and new learning in connection with the Gloss, criticising one of his opponents:

> Nam ille noua appellat quibus ipse non assueuit. Ita huic nouus erit Hilarius, nouus Cyprianus, nouus Hieronymus, nouus etiam Augustinus. Nihil vetus praeter in scholis decantata dogmata et Glossam Ordinariam cum additionibus. Imo huic vetus erit quod nouum est, nouum quod vetus.[42]

He applies the word "new" to everything he is not familiar with himself. To him, Hilary will be new and Cyprian will be new and Jerome will be new and Augustine will be new. Nothing can be old except the doctrines sung over and over again in the schools, and the Glossa Ordinaria with its additions. Indeed, to him "old" will be what is new, and "new" what is old.

---

38. On this topic, see e.g. Bedouelle 1989, 53–121 and Rummel 1995.
39. de Jonge 1975. It seems that Erasmus consulted the Gloss in Rusch's 1480/1481 edition, and that he acquired his own copy only late in life; this was probably one of the Basel editions, reiterated in Lyon. de Jonge 1975, 71–75.
40. On Erasmus's view on Bible commentaries in general, see de Jonge 1975, 62–67.
41. Erasmus, *Methodus*, 1516. Ed. Holborn & Holborn 1964, 160–161.
42. Erasmus, Letter 1153, 1520. Ed. Allen & Allen 1906–1958, vol. IV, 367.

In an earlier letter, we find a similar argument about Lyra's Postils. Erasmus uses Lyra's example to defend the work of Lorenzo Valla, which is unobjectionable by comparison:

> Atqui si Nicolaus Lyra auditur, non dico indoctus, sed certe recens, Hieronymum γεϱονταγωγῶν multaque conuellens tot iam saeculorum consensu consecrata, idque ex Iudeorum libris (vnde vt donemus nostram hanc manare editionem, tamen haud scio an studio deprauatis); quod tandem flagitium est, si Laurentius collatis aliquot vetustis atque emendatis Graecorum exemplaribus quaedam annotauit in Nouo Testamento [...]?.[43]

> Yet if Nicholas of Lyra is listened to – an author who is, I will not say unlearned, but definitely recent, who patronises Jerome and overthrows many things hallowed by the consensus of the ages, and all of that based on the books of the Jews (which, even if we admit that our version of the text originates there, I still suspect have been tampered with); what then is so terrible about Lorenzo Valla making some annotations to the New Testament, based on old and reliable Greek manuscripts?

Erasmus objects to Lyra because he follows the suspect Hebrew texts of the Bible, but mostly because he goes against the wisdom of the older, patristic tradition and is himself modern ("certe recens").

In spite of these critical remarks, Erasmus is pragmatic about using the Gloss and the Postils.[44] He uses both of these himself, and refers to them explicitly. He uses these commentaries as a source for textual variants, both in the Greek and the Latin tradition, for *realia* and historical facts, and for solutions to exegetical problems. He also uses the Gloss as a storehouse for quotes from the Church Fathers – even though he argues in the *Methodus* that these should be consulted directly. This inconsistency was pointed out by Jacobus Lopis Stunica (d. 1531), who blamed Erasmus for relying too much on the Postils, resulting in faulty interpretations of the text. In reply to these accusations, Erasmus wrote that this only proved how much he respected the Gloss and the Postils; his critics had

accused him of ridiculing them, but they were evidently wrong. This seems a poor defence, but it hints at an additional, paradoxical reason for Erasmus to use the Gloss and the Postils: even if he himself would not respect the authority of the Gloss and the Postils, his opponents did.[45]

Erasmus's contemporary Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1455–1536) developed his own variant of biblical humanism. Like Erasmus, Lefèvre advocated returning to the sources, studying the ancient texts, and reforming the curriculum. But he took a more pedagogical approach to achieving these goals: he published books to educate his readers, and he issued translations and editions in which he guided his readers with summaries, annotations and diagrams. As regards the Bible, Lefèvre wrote commentaries on the Pauline Epistles, the Gospels, and the canonical epistles, and an edition of the Psalter, in which he combined multiple translations and his own commentary.[46] Lefèvre, like Erasmus, also used Lyra's Postils, but only for specific purposes.[47] In his exegetical writings, he transforms Lyra's understanding of the double literal sense. Whereas Lyra had concentrated on the literal historical sense – in other words, what the text had meant to its original Jewish readers, drawing from the rabbinic tradition – Lefèvre does not see the value of that tradition at all. For him, the true sense of the Old Testament, whether understood by the original readers or not, coincides with the revelation of the Holy Spirit and points forward in time to Christ. According to Lefèvre, there is indeed a double literal sense as Lyra understood it, but one of these is the false sense of the rabbis. However, the inspired author could only express himself in the language of his time and culture. The study and translation of the Hebrew text as accurately as possible was therefore a necessity. In practice, this means that Lefèvre dismissed Lyra's exegetical principle of the double literal sense, but that he could still use Lyra's Postils as a source for the history and language of the Jews. For this reason, Lefèvre could quote Lyra alongside Paul of

---

43. Erasmus, Letter 182, 1505. Ed. Allen & Allen 1906–1958, vol. I, 409–410.
44. For an analysis of how Erasmus uses the Gloss, see de Jonge 1975, 55–62.
45. De Jonge calls this use of the Gloss polemic-apologetic.

De Jonge 1975, 69–70.
46. Bedouelle 1976 and Bedouelle 1979.
47. As for the Gloss, Bedouelle assumes that he used it, although this is difficult to prove. Bedouelle 1979, 96–97. For Lefèvre and the medieval tradition, see 93–105.

Burgos and Matthias Döring, without choosing sides on exegetical issues; rather, he mined all three for information that was useful to him.[48]

External factors: printing and Reformation debates

The humanist reception of the Gloss and the Postils was further complicated by two external factors: the growing printing market, and the theological debates of the Reformation. These factors contributed to the dissemination of humanist ideas, at the same time transforming them.

When the Gloss and the Postils appeared in print, their reception was influenced in two ways. First, printing made these commentaries more accessible. Before Rusch's edition, the Gloss would cover about twenty volumes; Rusch reduced this number to four. This made the Gloss both more manageable and more affordable, increasing its use and dissemination.[49] Second, printers framed the Gloss and the Postils in new ways. In order to sell books, printers marketed these commentaries as part of the intellectual culture of the day. The Gloss and Lyra's Postils were printed among classical works, edited by humanist scholars, and accompanied by prefaces in a humanist style.

The first printed edition of Lyra's Literal Postil, published by Sweynheym and Pannartz in Rome, was edited by the humanist Giovanni Andrea Bussi (1417–1475), who had worked as editor for Sweynheym and Pannartz since 1467. In one of the prefaces to Lyra's Postils, written in March 1472, Bussi lists all the works printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz so far. These reflect Roman intellectual culture at the time – many classics, some humanist works, general learning (such as geography and law), and some biblical material. Lyra's Postil appears among these as a matter of course. What is striking about this edition is the way it looks: it is the only edition of Lyra's work that is printed in *lettera antiqua*, and in single column.[50] This means that it looks like a classical text rather than a biblical one. In other words, Sweynheym and Pannartz treated
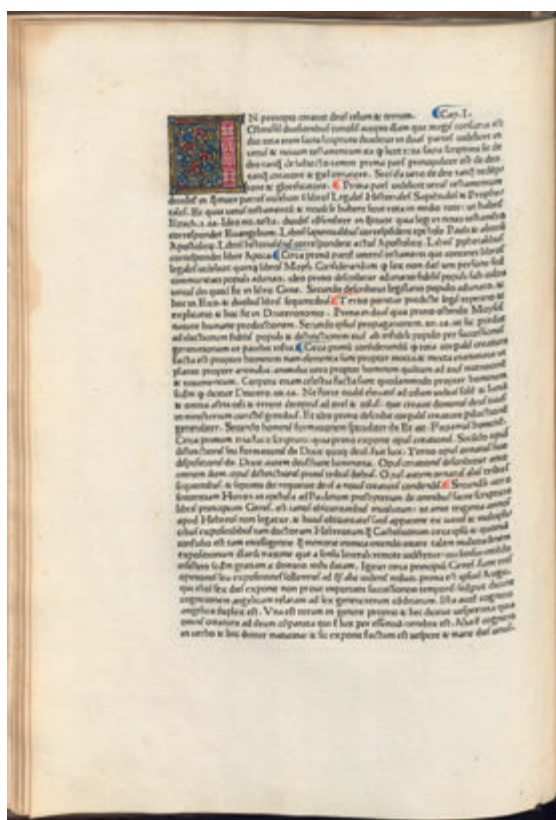
Ill. 2. Lyra's Postil, edited by Bussi and printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, Genesis 1.

Nicholas's Postil no differently than the ancient literary texts they had printed previously.

Similarly, in the preface to the Venice edition of the Bible, Gloss and the Postils, printed in 1495, the Italian scholar Gadolo writes how the text had been established: allegedly, he had collated all the printed editions and five manuscripts. In Gadolo's edition, the medieval commentaries undergo the same treatment as the classics.[51] The Basel editions of the Bible, including the Ordinary Gloss and Lyra's Postils, appeared at Petri and Froben, who printed many works by classical and humanist authors. The editor of the first two Basel editions (1498 and 1502) was Sebastian Brant, who belonged to the *sodalitas rhenana*, a humanist circle founded by Conrad Celtis and sponsored by Johannes von Dalberg (1445–1503).

German humanists took a particular interest in the Gloss. In this period, the Gloss was at-

---

48. Bedouelle 1979, 93–97. On Lefèvre and the quadriga, see 109–33; see also Bedouelle & Roussel 1989, 103–107; Klepper 2016, 433.
49. Froehlich 1999b, 19–22.
50. As was pointed out by Needham 1999, 60.
51. In reality, the text of the Gloss is simply a reprint of Rusch's 1480 edition. Froehlich 1999b, 22. On Gadolo's preface, see Bedouelle & Roussel 1989, 51–52.

tributed to Walafrid Strabo, a Carolingian author of German origin.[52] Johannes Trithemius (Johann Heidenberg, 1462–1516), a member, like Brant, of the *sodalitas rhenana*, was the first author to attribute the Gloss to Strabo. Trithemius wrote of Strabo and the Gloss in his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Basel 1494), and also in his *Catalogus illustrium virorum Germaniae* (1495):

> Iste Strabus vir studiosissimus Glossam quam magistralem siue ordinariam vocant super totam Bibliam primus comportauit ex dictis sanctorum patrum: quam alij postmodum adiunctis quibusdam ampliarunt.[53]

> This Strabus, a very learned man, was the first to bring together the Gloss – the one they call "Ordinary" or "Magisterial" – to the entire Bible, from the sayings of the Holy Fathers, which others later expanded by adding certain materials.

The attribution to Strabo would eventually find its way into printed editions of the Gloss. The first printed edition to mention Strabo as author would be that prepared by Feuardent, published in 1590.[54] Yet the idea that German scholarship had played a role in the composition of the Gloss is reflected in the earlier editions as well. Conrad Leontorius (1460–1511), the editor of the 1506–1508 Basel edition and a member of the same humanist circle as Brant and Tritheim, wrote new prefaces and postscripts to each of the six volumes.[55] In one of these, he remarked that the Gloss was "composed by many extremely learned men, pre-eminently Germans." This comment was reprinted in the Lyon editions.[56]

The attribution to Strabo illustrates many aspects of the humanist reception of the Gloss. It served as a solution to its main problems. The Gloss was an anonymous and derivative work; having a named author added to its respectability. It was modern, originating in late medieval

university culture; the authorship of the Carolingian Strabo allowed it to be considered, if not as an ancient work, at least as a less recent one. Furthermore, the attribution to Strabo illustrates how inventive editors promoted their wares in an expanding market, and also how German humanists found ways to boost their own history of learning independently of the Italians. The *sodalitas rhenana* strove to develop its own learned culture, based on Italian humanism, but free from it at the same time.[57] The attribution of the Gloss to a German author has parallels in other scholarly projects taken up by German humanists, such as the edition of the works of the German author Roswitha of Gandersheim, published by Conrad Celtis in 1494.[58]

The second major development that affected the reception of the Gloss and the Postils was the Protestant Reformation, where humanist ideas on biblical exegesis became blended with Reformed theology, and vice versa.[59] There is an obvious parallel between the humanist ideal of returning to the sources and the Protestant ideal of *sola scriptura*. In principle, the Reformers believed that Scripture can be understood without any external aid and that it is essentially clear and unambiguous. In practice, however, some exegetical framework will always be in place. The Reformers agreed implicitly on what that framework should look like. This preference for a specific type of exegesis, despite the ideal of *sola scriptura*, has been described as "hidden normativity" (*versteckte Normativität*).[60] Here we see the influence of humanist ideas. The Reformers regarded the exegesis of the Church Fathers, who lived closer in time to the primitive Church, as more authoritative than that of later authors. This preference for the ancients was shared by the Catholics, who accepted the medieval commentaries as part of the apostolic tradition. In the Catholic view, the Church Fathers and the medieval commentaries could

---

52. Froehlich 1993.
53. Freher 1601, 126, ll. 45–47.
54. Froehlich 1993, 193. Although the first editions of the Gloss do not mention Strabo as author, his name appears in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (in00131000; ib00607000; ib00608000; ib00609000; ib00609500).
55. On this edition, see Froehlich & Gibson 1992, 20–23.
56. Froehlich 1993, 195–196. ". . . uidelicet Glossa ordinaria, a multis doctissimis uiris potissimum germanis ordinata" (vol. VI, fol. 286r).

57. Froehlich 1993, 194–195. For the *sodalitas rhenana*, see e.g Spitz 1957, 45–54.
58. For Celtis's edition, see e.g. Cardelle de Hartmann 2003.
59. The connection between humanism and Reformation is problematic, and was perceived as such even at the time. See e.g. Rummel 2000.
60. Schindler 1993, 229–247. Irena Backus uses this notion of hidden (or implicit) normativity in her discussion of Zwingli and Bucer. Backus 1996, 658.

not contradict each other, and in that sense the Church Fathers did not occupy a special place; but through the influence of humanist intellectual culture, the Catholics could not avoid attributing greater importance to the Church Fathers.[61]

As for the use of the Gloss and the Postils in practice, this differed much from person to person. Research on the Reformers' libraries and on individual works has shown that while the most prominent Reformers may have used the Gloss and Lyra's Postils, these commentaries were not essential to their work.[62] Luther, in objecting to some aspects of the medieval commentary tradition, notably the quadriga,[63] yet using the Gloss and Lyra's Postils extensively in his own writings, is a special case. That he did not object to commentaries of this kind is apparent from his plan to produce his own alternative to the Glossa Ordinaria, a project that he later abandoned.[64] Eventually, Robert Estienne would do just that: in 1553 he printed a Protestant version of the Glossa Ordinaria on the Synoptic Gospels (*Novae Glossae Ordinariae Specimen*). Estienne wrote a Protestant justification for using the Gloss, setting out to prove that the doctors agreed with the Reformers.[65] The Gloss and Lyra's Postils remained an integral part of biblical exegesis, for Catholics as well as Protestants, until the seventeenth century.

Conclusions

In the above pages, I have presented an overview of the humanist approaches to medieval Bible commentaries, based on a selection of authors. My overview is necessarily limited, but it serves to illustrate why the Gloss and the Postils did not fall out of use, despite the principles of the humanist programme – what we have called metadiscourse. I see four explanations for this apparent contradiction.

The first explanation is the most obvious: this is the changing nature of humanism itself. We have seen that Italian humanism was limited in scope; it experimented with classicising ways of reading the Bible, but it left the Gloss and the Postils mostly unaffected. Northern humanists, on the other hand, engaged in biblical studies which led them to reflect on the Gloss and the Postils and to use them accordingly.

A second explanation is that external factors affected the humanist reception of the Gloss and the Postils. Printed editions made these commentaries more accessible and integrated them in the intellectual culture of the day. The Reformers appropriated humanist ideas about the authority of exegetical traditions. Because of these developments, humanism was able to influence premodern intellectual culture more profoundly, but at the same time it was transformed.

The third explanation is that humanist principles affected theory more strongly than practice: all the humanist authors discussed above agree on the main principles, but there is room for interpretation, flexibility, and pragmatism. The humanists kept the Gloss and the Postils in libraries, promoted them in prefaces, and used them in their own writings. They had good reasons to be flexible: Lefèvre used Lyra to solve issues of translation, relying on his knowledge of Hebrew, although he disagreed with Lyra's exegetical principles; Erasmus used the Gloss and the Postils because they were authoritative for his opponents, though not for himself.

The fourth explanation is that some elements of metadiscourse are more important than others. We have seen that humanist metadiscourse on biblical commentaries turns on two questions. The first is whether the Bible can be read directly, drawing from the sources and avoiding the "pools and runnels"; the second question is which exegetical tradition has authority. The more specific objections to the Gloss and the Postils all derive from these two issues: for the Gloss, its obscure authorship and its indirect use of the patristic sources; for Lyra's Postils, its reliance on the literal sense of the Jews, on the rabbinic tradition and on the Hebrew sources. The above survey suggests that the second question affected the reception of medieval Bible commentaries more strongly than the first.

---

61. Keen 1996, 703–704.
62. Froehlich summarises the scholarly literature on Zwingli, Bucer, Melanchthon, Bullinger, and Calvin, commenting on the methodological difficulties. Froehlich 1999b, 29–37. For studies on Lyra's influence on the Reformers, see Gosselin 1970, 401, n. 7.
63. Klepper 2016, 435.
64. Froehlich 2009, 43–45.
65. On this, and the related series of commentaries by Marlorat, see Froehlich 1999b, 39–43.

Although many humanists paid lip service to the ideal of reading the Bible directly, most of them agreed that involvement with some sort of exegetical tradition was unavoidable. Yet almost all the humanists discussed above agreed that older authorities were more important than new ones. Their main objection to the Ordinary Gloss and Lyra's Postils is that they belong to the wrong exegetical tradition: they are modern, and connected with medieval university learning. We see this in the patristic revival in the Quattrocento, in the attribution of the Gloss to Strabo, and in the Reformers' hidden normativity.

Finally, the case of medieval Bible commentaries shows that it is risky to draw conclusions about humanism in general – whether it be about its methods and learned practices, its relation to late medieval intellectual culture, or its influence on the Reformers. As the reception of the Gloss and the Postils illustrates, humanists in different periods and regions may have shared basic ideas, but they applied them each in their own way.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, P. S. & Allen, H. M. (eds.)
1906–1958 *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, Oxford.

Backus, I.
1996 "Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer and the Church Fathers". In: Backus, I. (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*: *From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 2, Leiden, 627–660.

Bedouelle, G.
1976 *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'intelligence des Écritures*, (*Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 152), Genève.

Bedouelle, G.
1979 *Le Quincuplex Psalterium de Lefèvre d'Étaples*: *Un guide de lecture*, (*Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 171), Genève.

Bedouelle, G. & Roussel, B.
1989 *Les temps des Réformes et la Bible*, (*Bible de tous les temps* 5), Paris.

Bentley, J.
1977 "Biblical Philology and Christian Humanism: Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus as Scholars of the Gospels", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 8/2, 8–28.

Bentley, J.
1983 *Humanists and Holy Writ*, Princeton.

Black, C.
2006 *Pico's Heptaplus and Biblical Hermeneutics*, (*Studies in medieval and Reformation traditions* 116), Leiden.

Blasio, M. G. *et al.*
1984 "Un contributo alla lettura del canone bibliografico di Tommaso Parentucelli". In: *Le chiavi della memoria*: *Miscellanea in occasione del I° centenario della Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica*, (*Littera antiqua* 4), Città del Vaticano, 125–165.

Bonatti, F. & Manfredi, A. (eds.)
2000 *Niccolò V nel sesto centenario della nascita*: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Sarzana, 8–10 ottobre 1998*, (*Studi e testi* 397), Città del Vaticano.

Cagni, G.
1960 "I codici vaticani palatino-latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti", *La bibliofilia* 62/1, 1–43.

Camporeale, S. *et al.* (eds.)
2014 *Christianity, Latinity, and Culture*: *Two Studies on Lorenzo Valla*, (*Studies in the history of Christian traditions* 172), Leiden.

Cardelle de Hartmann, C.
2003 "Die Roswitha-Edition des Humanisten Conrad Celtis". In: Henkes, C. *et al.* (eds.) *Schrift – Text – Edition.* Hans Walter Gabler zum 65. Geburtstag, (*Editio / Beihefte* 19), Berlin, 137–148.

Casarsa, L. *et al.*
1991 *La libreria di Guarnerio d'Artegna*, Udine.

Celenza, C.
2012 "Lorenzo Valla's Radical Philology: The 'Preface' to the Annotations to the New Testament in Context", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 42/2, 365–394.

Cummings, B.
2002 *The Literary Culture of the Reformation*, Oxford.

de Jonge, H. J.
1975 "Erasmus und die Glossa Ordinaria zum Neuen Testament", *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 56/1, 51–77.

de la Mare, A.
1985 "New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence". In: Garzelli, A. & de la Mare, A. (eds.), *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento, 1440–1525*: *Un primo censimento*, vol. 1, (*Inventari e cataloghi toscani 18–19*), Firenze, 393–600.

de Lubac, H.
1959 *Exégèse médiévale*: *Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, (*Théologie 41–42*), Paris.

den Haan, A.
2016a *Giannozzo Manetti's New Testament*: *Translation Theory and Practice in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, (*Brill's Studies in Intellectual History* 257), Leiden.

den Haan, A. (ed.)
2016b *The Metadiscourse of Renaissance Humanism*, (*Renæssanceforum 11*). <http://www.renaessanceforum. dk/rf_11_2016.htm>

den Haan, A.
2016c "Valla in Biblical Scholarship: metadiscourse at the court of Nicholas V". In: den Haan, A, (ed.), *The Metadis-*

course of Renaissance Humanism, (*Renæssanceforum* 11), 23–40. <http://www.renaessanceforum.dk/rf_11_2016. htm>

Evans, G.
1985 *The Language and Logic of the Bible*: *The Road to the Reformation*, Cambridge.

Freher, M. (ed.)
1601 *Johannis Trithemii Opera historica*, Francofurti (reprint 1966 Frankfurt a.M.).

Froehlich, K.
1993 "Walafrid Strabo and the Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Myth". In: Livingstone, E. (ed.), *Papers Presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1991*, vol. 5, (*Studia Patristica* 28), Leuven, 192–196.

Froehlich, K.
1999a "An Extraordinary Achievement: The Glossa Ordinaria in Print". In: Saenger, P. & Van Kampen, K. (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions*, London & New Castle, DE, 15–21.

Froehlich, K.
1999b "The Fate of the Glossa Ordinaria in the Sixteenth Century". In: Steinmetz, D. (ed.), *Die Patristik in der Bibelexegese des 16. Jahrhunderts*, (*Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* 85), Wiesbaden, 19–48.

Froehlich, K.
2009 "Martin Luther and the Glossa Ordinaria", *Lutheran Quarterly* 23, 29–48.

Froehlich, K. & Gibson, M. T. (eds.)
1992 *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria*: *Facsimile reprint of the editio princeps Adoph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/1481*, Turnhout.

Gosselin, E.
1970 "A Listing of the Printed Editions of Nicolaus de Lyra", *Traditio* 26, 399–426.

Greco, A. (ed.)
1970–1976 *Vespasiano da Bisticci, Le vite*, 2 vols., Firenze.

Gumbert, J.
1999
"The Layout of the Bible Gloss in Manuscript and Early Print". In: Saenger, P. & Van Kampen, K. (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions*, London & New Castle, DE, 7–14.

Hamilton, A.
1996
"Humanists and the Bible". In: Kraye, J. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, Cambridge, 100–117.

Holborn, H. & Holborn, A. (eds.)
1964 *Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus*, *Ausgewählte Werke*, (*Humanistenbriefe*), München.

Kallendorf, C. (tr. & ed.)
2002 *Humanist Educational Treatises*, (*The I Tatti Renaissance library* 5), Cambridge, MA.

Keen, R.
1996 "The Fathers in Counter-Reformation Theology in the Pre-Tridentine Period". In: Backus, I. (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*: *From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 2, Leiden, 701–744.

Kibre, P.
1946 "The Intellectual Interests Reflected in Libraries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 7/3, 257–297.

Klepper, D.
2016 "Theories of Interpretation: The Quadriga and Its Successors". In: Cameron, E. (ed.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 3: From 1450 to 1750*, Cambridge, 418–438.

Krey, P. & Smith, L. (eds.)
2000 *Nicholas of Lyra*: *The Senses of Scripture*, (*Studies in The History of Christian Thought* 90), Leiden.

Manfredi, A.
1994 *I codici latini di Niccolò V*: *Edizione degli inventari e identificazione dei manoscritti*, (*Studi e testi* 359), Città del Vaticano.

Manfredi, A.
2005 "Manoscritti biblici nelle biblioteche umanistiche tra Firenze e Roma". In: Cherubini, P. (ed.), *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, (*Littera antiqua* 13), Città del Vaticano, 459–501.

McShane, M. (ed.) & Young, M. (tr.)
2016 *Giannozzo Manetti, A Translator's Defense*, (*The I Tatti Renaissance library* 71), Cambridge, MA.

Miglio, M. (ed.)
1978 *Prefazioni alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz prototipografi romani*, (*Documenti sulle arti del libro* 12), Milano.

Monfasani, J.
2008 "Criticism of Biblical Humanists in Quattrocento Italy". In: Rummel, E. (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, (*Brill's companions to the Christian tradition* 9), 15–38.

Monfasani, J.
2011 *Bessarion Scholasticus*: *A Study of Cardinal Bessarion's Latin Library*, (*Byzantios* 3), Turnhout.

Needham, P.
1999 "The Changing Shape of the Vulgate Bible in Fifteenth-Century Printing Shops". In: Saenger, P. & Van Kampen, K. (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions*, London & New Castle, DE, 53–70.

Oberman, H.
1967 *Forerunners of the Reformation*: *The Shape of Late Medieval Thought*, London.

Ozment, S.
1980 *The Age of Reform 1250–1550*: *An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*, New Haven & London.

Peruzzi, M. *et al*. (eds.)
2008 *Ornatissimo codice*: *La biblioteca di Federico da Montefeltro*, Milano.

Rummel, E.
1995 *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation*, (*Harvard historical studies* 120), Cambridge, MA.

Rummel, E.
2000 *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany*, (*Oxford studies in historical theology*), Oxford.

Salomon, D.
2012 *An Introduction to the 'Glossa Ordinaria' as Medieval Hypertext*, (*Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages*), Cardiff.

Schindler, A.
1993 "Schriftprinzip und Altertumskunde bei Reformatoren und Täufern: Zum Rückgriff auf Kirchenväter und heidnische Klassiker", *Theologische Zeitschrift* 49/3, 229–247.

Scott Amos, N.
2003 "New Learning, Old Theology: Renaissance Biblical Humanism, Scripture, and the Question of Theological Method", *Renaissance Studies* 17/1, 39–54.

Smalley, B.
1964 *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Notre Dame, IN.

Smith, L.
2009 *The Glossa Ordinaria*: *The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary*, (*Commentaria* 3), Leiden.

Spitz, L.
1957 *Conrad Celtis, the German Arch-Humanist*, Cambridge, MA.

Stinger, C.
1977 *Humanism and the Church Fathers*: *Ambrogio Traversari* (*1386–1439*) *and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance*, Albany, NY.

Stinger, C.
1996 "Italian Renaissance Learning and the Church Fathers". In: Backus, I. (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*: *From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 2, Leiden, 473–510.

Trinkaus, C.
1970 *In Our Image and Likeness*: *Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, (*Ideas of human nature series*), London.

Ullman, B. L. & Stadter, Ph. A.
1972 *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco*, Padova.