The Bible in the Renaissance

Paper Abstracts (in alphabetical order)

May 22-25, 2017

All lectures will take place at the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies,

on the Edmond J. Safra, Givat Ram Campus

Organizer:

Yaakov Akiva Mascetti (Bar-Ilan University)

Scientific Committee:

Noam Flinker (University of Haifa)

Chanita Goodblatt (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
William Kolbrener (Bar-Ilan University)

Jenn Lewin (University of Haifa)

Performing Biblical Characters in Late Medieval Theatre

Sharon Aronson-Lehavi (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

This talk will examine late medieval vernacular theatre performances of biblical stories and characters. Employing performance studies methodology, I will look at examples from mystery plays and passion plays to question the representation and construction of gender and sexuality of biblical and holy characters such as Mary or Jesus in the theatre. I will argue that these representations were complicated by the fact that live actors performed these characters and necessitated a set of aesthetic conventions that differentiated between the performing body of the live actor and the enacted character. This double referential system created multi-layered theatrical scenes that referred simultaneously to the biblical content as well as to local and contemporary constructions of gender and identity. The talk will examine the use and cultural meanings of cross-dressing and the embodiment of pain and torture in scenes of the passion. Examples will include The York Cycle, the Chester Cycle, and Arnoul Gréban's *Mystère de la Passion*.

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Hebraism, Imagination, and Biblical Perception in the Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes and John Donne

Shiran Avni (University College of London, UK)

The Reformation period marked the beginning of the interest in the Hebrew Old Testament and its status as the 'Original' authoritative text of the Bible. This growing interest brought together scholars who specialised in Hebrew, the language of the Bible, and noted the importance of studying and teaching it. Hebrew words were incorporated into the sermons delivered to the public strengthening and highlighting the Christian message. Among the preachers who notably referred to the Hebraic sources are Lancelot Andrewes and John Donne. Both Andrewes and Donne incorporated Hebrew into their sermons, as a means of elaborating and extrapolating their hermeneutic practices. Like their contemporaries, they believed Hebrew to be the 'Adamic Language'- the first language given to Man by God, and is therefore sacred. This paper will examine Donne and Andrewes' understanding of Hebrew as the language of the Bible and what it can teach us about early modern perception of the Bible.

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The Art of Biblical Phrasing in the Service of the Art of Seduction: Immanuel ha-romi's Scroll of Desire as a case-study.

Tovi Bibring (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

In "The Scroll of Desire," the third *mahberet* (tale) by Immanuel ha-romi (1261-1335), we are told, in rich and flowery Hebrew, the story of an unscrupulous seducer (Immanuel himself) who brings about the downfall of the innocent object of his desire. The beautiful, pious, and modest sister of the minister, who is the seducer's friend, falls victim to Immanuel's sweet words of love and false promises, which are actually part of a cruel game between the two men. The *mahberet* is composed of a dialogue between the lovers, which unfolds over seven letters that are exchanged between them. The *mahberet*'s sources of inspiration are varied. An interesting parallel that has not yet been considered in the research is the famous work of Andreas Capellanus', **About Love** (*De Amore*), which teaches the theory of courtship and seduction through seven dialogues between suitors and ladies. Despite the courtly and lofty tone of pure love in this work, the suitors ultimately seek, through a variety of rhetorical and psychological means, to sexually conquer the ladies who refuse them. Immanuel's style is drawn from the Italian school of the Sweet New Style (*Dolce Stil Nuovo*). The uniqueness of this text, which is surprising in its boldness, is its use of biblical phrasing. This technique was common among the Spanish poets and the writers of the Hebrew *maqamat* already in the twelfth century, and thus Immanuel ha-romi was continuing a well-known tradition. The originality of the *mahberet* stems not from the use of biblical phrasing, but from the manner in which the biblical sources are employed in order to create an exceptional erotic work. In my lecture I will analyze this process of secularization. Through a selection of phrasings (both direct and indirect) I will show how the poet employs the holy texts in order to bolster worldly schemes and manipulations in the power game between men and women.

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The Renaissance Bible and Channels of Influence

Gordon Campbell (University of Leicester, UK)

This paper seeks to problematise the notion of charting the influence of the Bible on English literature, and to suggest what should be done to place such investigations on a scholarly footing. Until the twentieth century, the Bible was usually heard rather than read, so what seem to be literary allusions to the Bible are rather recollections of the Book of Common Prayer. In the schools and universities of Early Modern England, when Latin was the medium of teaching, an authorised translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Latin was used. This translation seems rarely to have been the subject of scholarly investigation. Similarly, the Latin translations used by educated Protestants are largely unstudied. The

paper concludes with an assessment of the state of scholarship on the King James Bible and of the challenges to the understanding of the influence of the Bible on literature raised by Biblical illiteracy.

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"'Allegories Lost": reading the Bible and Observing Nature in Early Modern Europe"

Raz Chen-Morris (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

The new science of the 17th century suggested not only a novel world picture but also new modes of producing knowledge in general and a new mode of reading the Book of Nature in particular. This new mode of reading had an immediate effect on early modern Europeans' perception of the correct way to read the scriptures. This paper will reexamine the intricacies and tensions that followed the rise of new modes of reading of the Book of Nature in the first decades of the 17th century and the changing role allegories played in the formation of the new science.

During the first decades of the 17th century both Johannes Kepler and Galileo Galilei endeavored to redefine the relationship between these two books and the appropriate mode of reading them. Following the advent of Copernican astronomy they questioned the status of reading of ancient authorities and the role of allegorical reading, stressing instead the importance of observation and mathematical calculation. While Kepler was playing with the possibilities and impossibilities of detecting allegorical meanings in Nature and mathematics Galileo attempted to eradicate allegories from the realm of knowledge altogether. Both of them, however, attempted to fashion a new reader of the book of nature and of the scriptures.

Head Carrier. Shakespeare and the Baroque Judith

Rocco Coronato (Universita' degli Studi di Padova, Italy)

The apocryphal story of Judith and Holofernes often served in early modern Europe to illustrate both the power of chastity aided by cosmetics and verbal makeup, and the ease with which unbridled lust makes men lose their heads. It featured heavily in iconography, especially in Italy (Botticelli, Giorgione, Mantegna, Michelangelo, Caravaggio, Allori, Artemisia Gentileschi). While the earlier versions of the story had portrayed Judith as a chaste virgin in prayer, in Shakespeare's age they tended to become more graphic and violent, according to two types: Judith in the act of beheading Holofernes or Judith proudly displaying his head as a trophy. The Judith theme combined three joint motifs: the excellence of women perorated by Cornelius Agrippa and reprised by women writers such as Lucrezia Marinelli, male lust and, in a more nuanced way, male verbosity. Tubal Holofernes is the name of Gargantua's pedantic schoolmaster in Gargantua (1534), possibly a satirical portrait of the Protestant poet Du Bartas, the author

of a poem titled "Judith". The paper aims to study how this Biblical motif and its many appearances in Renaissance and Baroque painting may enlighten the theme of the excellent woman in Shakespeare.

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The Origins of the Bible and Early-Modern Political Theology

Travis DeCook (Carleton University, Canada)

This paper explores the emergence of new and radical accounts of the Bible's origins that developed in the early modern period —that is, accounts of the agencies and processes through which the Bible came into existence. It reveals how for early modern writers the process of Scripture's coming-into-being entailed fundamental implications for understanding the relationships between divine action and human agency, and for understanding the boundaries between revelation and human authority. My paper examine how narratives of the Bible's origins were drawn upon by Milton, Hobbes, and Spinoza to found arguments about the ordering of human society and its relationship to God. I show how these narratives served to underwrite some of early modernity's most significant interventions into the relationship between religion and the political state.

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Hebrew Translations of the New Testament in the Early-Modern Period: Some Preliminary Remarks

Yaacov Deutsch (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

"Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect". This quotation, taken from the writings of the second century church father Irenaeus, presents an idea that was quite widespread during the first centuries of Christianity. However, there is no proof to support the existence of an early Hebrew version of one of the Gospels, and the first translations of an entire Gospel are from the twelfth century, whereas the entire text of the New Testament was translated into Hebrew only in the middle of the sixteenth century. At least four more complete translations of the New Testament were prepared over the course of the next one hundred years (roughly until 1670). In my paper, I will briefly discuss these translations and will focus on the first complete translation that was prepared by Erasmus Oswaldus Schreckenfuchs in 1563.

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The Ghetto and the Bible. Jewish Books and Libraries in the Age of Censorship

Serena Di Nepi (Universita' "Sapienza" di Roma, Italy)

As recent scholarship has clearly demonstrated, since the mid-sixteenth century the Roman Inquisition launched a brutal campaign against Jewish books that culminated in the burning of the Talmud in 1553. In the following years – and after the establishment of ghettos in the Papal States in 1555 - denigration, control and censorship of Jewish books become a part of the Inquisition's priorities. The Congregation thus put under surveillance both the printing and the reading of books, with an emphasis on the books owned and collected directly by Jews. This brought to the definition of an enlarged category of *Jewish books* which included printed texts written in any language by Jewish and non-Jewish authors, texts that addressed Jewish readers and scholars and that dealt, directly or indirectly, with Jewish matters. As a result, Italian Jews developed established a self-censoring praxis on books printed in those years and which eventually came to play a role in reshaping Jewish identity and culture in the early Modern period. For these reasons, an understanding of the changes characterizing the development of early-modern Jewish "common culture" occupies a central place in the archival research of historians and has yet to be presented in a detailed and satisfactory way. In my lecture I tackle these issues, addressing the biblical culture of Roman Jews in the sixteenth century, combining two different perspectives: first, I focus on Bibles and commentaries treasured in the "vanished" library of Roman Jewish Community by analyzing the "catalogue" written by Isaia Sonne just before the Nazi looting (1943); secondly, I use the elaborations of Biblical culture of that period from the textual sphere to the material one, as an example of the way by which it's possible to retrace the "common" culture of Jewish people focusing on the uses of Scriptural verses in dedications embroidered on textiles and silvers to the synagogues.

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"The Literary Uses of Biblical Typology: The Emergence of Typological Criticism in the Wake of the Second World War"

Martin Elsky (Brooklyn College and The Graduate Center, CUNY, USA)

In 1950, Rosemund Tuve published her groundbreaking article "On George Herbert's Sacrifice," followed in 1952 by its expansion in *A Reading of George Herbert*. Article and book changed the landscape of Herbert criticism by demonstrating that much of Herbert's symbolism was built on the scaffold of biblical typology, or the medieval Christian exegesis of Jewish scripture as a prophecy and witness of Christ and the narrative of Christian scripture. This approach would soon impact studies of other seventeenth-century poets, especially Donne and Milton. It is well known that Tuve's demonstration that Herbert's imagery was based on biblical exegesis was a historicist retort to William Empson's New Critical reading of Herbert. However, it is less well known that behind Tuve's introduction of typology into early modern

literary history is a more freighted human history. Tuve's work follows upon the grim period of the Second World War when typological scriptural prophecy and its related theology was the nexus through which Christians tried to fathom the horrific persecution of the Jews, their typological counterparts, as it were. Typology had come to be a central feature for *La Nouvelle Théologie,* a French theological movement, active during the war, *whose Jesuit proponents,* like Henri de Lubac and Jean Daniélou, sought a new, biblical theology, retrieved from the early Church Fathers through a method they called *ressourcement*. This research into the early Christian sources stressed the Jewish roots of Christianity and consequently highlighted the typological thinking of the Fathers, their emphasis on Christian fulfillment of foreshadowings in Jewish scripture. The *nouvelles théologiens used this typological theology to oppose Vichy's 1941 anti-Jewish legislation and the deportation of Jews* in 1942. They proclaimed that the underling theology of typology demanded the protection of Jews and opposition to antisemitism. In this they differed from many of their contemporary counterparts in the German *Bekennende Kirche* who defended typology against the National Socialist sponsored church, but used typology to disparage contemporary Jews as a foreign subversive element in their society. After the war, the importance of the Jewish roots of Christianity was embedded in the influential scholarly work of Daniélou, who argued that the Christian fulfillment of Jewish types in the sacraments, for example, had to be understood in terms of a Jewish system of scriptural symbolism and Jewish liturgical practice, to which he thereby granted a greater than usual degree of independent value. This approach lent an ecumenical leaning to typology. Archival research into Tuve's personal papers reveals that her interest in typology also has roots in, and responds to, events of the war; her article and book coincided chronologically with Daniélou's in the early 1950s and together they set an ecumenical tone to the application of typological exegesis in post-war English seventeenth-century studies in the aftermath of the war. Examples of scholarly work about Herbert show how that tone continued to influence typological criticism into the 1960s, the period of the Second Vatican Council, in which Daniélou served as a theological adviser. Typological criticism thus shared in the bridge between Jews and Christians opened by the influence of *La Nouvelle Théologie* in the Vatican II. This current in typological criticism reached a high point in the influential critical collection, *The Literary Uses of Typology from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Princeton, 1977), whose fortieth anniversary we are now celebrating. The trajectory of scholarship and criticism traced in this paper is meant to supply an alternative account to the better known influence of Erich Auerbach's "Figura" (1938), though not to replace it. Whereas Auerbach's turn to typological criticism has been studied from the perspective of a Jewish scholar facing Nazi persecution, this paper looks at how Christian scholars turned to typology to face the same crisis.

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Homer and the Rewriting of the Hebrew Bible: George Chapman and John Bunyan

Noam Flinker (University of Haifa, Israel)

A literal version of George Chapman's allegorical reading of Homer, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* suppressed biblical exile and return as it established what would become a model for Christian piety. Bunyan deleted biblical references to Hebraic return from exile in many of his marginal citations. In the light of markedly literal approaches to biblical prophecy by some of Bunyan's contemporaries, the implicit rewriting of entire passages from Isaiah and Jeremiah cited in the *Pilgrim's Progress* convert their prophetic views of this worldly return into apocalypse. Again and again the chapters Bunyan cited in his margins speak of Israelite exile and return while he chose only fragments from these materials to support his presentation of Christian's quest for the Heavenly City. Thus the cyclic biblical version of Homeric exile and return became instead a linear movement from destruction and death to apocalypse.

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Political Theology on the Pulpit and the Shakespearean Stage

Thomas Fulton (Rutgers University, USA)

Shakespearean texts often revisit the cultural use of biblical passages that played a dominant role in the construction of Elizabethan and Jacobean ideology. In a prominent use of the Bible on the Shakespearean stage, for example, the Bishops of Canterbury and Carlisle present young Henry V with a case for war that includes a bit on female legitimacy from "the Book of Numbers"(1.2.242), possibly pointing, as they often do in performances of *Henry V*, to an open copy of the Bible. The scene replays reading of Numbers 27 by Elizabeth's own bishop John Jewel. More common than Numbers 27:7-11, Romans 13:1-7 is the key biblical text behind the combination of sacred and state in Renaissance political theology. This passage is Paul's doctrine of obedience, that every soul must be subject to political authority because magistrates are ordained by God. It is the most commonly referenced biblical passage of this length in all of Shakespeare: Shakespeare's characters work through Romans 13:1-7 onstage at least 26 times in the dramatic corpus, and with particular intensity in the history plays: in *Henry V*, *Richard II*, and the multi-authored *Sir Thomas More*, a play that dramatizes the problematic origins of English Protestantism. The very dominance of this biblical verse in Shakespeare, often in interrogative constructions, suggests that there was something troubling about the orthodox Protestant reading in late Elizabethan England. I will argue that Shakespeare's extensive and yet somewhat cautious treatment of Romans 13 ultimately ironizes the literalist interpretation that shaped Reformation readings.

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To Play the Fool: The Book of Esther in Early Modern German, English and Yiddish Drama

Chanita Goodblatt (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel)

Scholars of Yiddish literature have proposed that the first extant Purim-Shpiel (Purim Play) continued the tradition of early modern German and English drama. The Jews would have gone to see these plays performed in the ports, inns and streets of early modern Germany, and adapted them to their own (very often riotous) holiday festivities. In my talk I will therefore discuss three plays. The first was composed by the Meistersinger Hans Sachs, *Comedie, Die Gantze Hystori der Hester* (Comedy. The Entire History of Hester 1536). The second is the English play, preserved in German, *Comedie von der Königen Esther und Hoffärtigen Haman* (Comedy of Queen Esther and Haughty Haman 1620), and is most probably an adaptation of the lost English play *Hester and Ahasverus* (1594). The third play is the Yiddish play, *Ayn Shayn Purim Shpiel* (A Beautiful Purim Play1697), preserved in manuscript form and transcribed in 1979. All have recently been translated into English, in order to facilitate a comparative, cross-cultural discussion of early modern enactments of the *Book of Esther*. I will focus particularly on the figure of the Fool, inserted into these biblical plays, and variously dramatized as: Sachs's *narr* or court jester; the Anglo-German clown named *Hans Knapkäse*; and the transformation of the biblical Mordecai into a comic figure.

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The Antichrist in Reformed Protestant Biblical Thought of the Sixteenth Century

Bruce Gordon (Yale University, USA)

This paper draws on my research on conceptions of Antichrist in the Reformation period. It focuses on four figures significant for the development of Reformed thought: Heinrich Bullinger, Rudolf Gwalther, Lambert Daneau and John Napier of Merchiston. In particular, it attends to the discussion among Reformed writers of Antichrist's distinctive marks as revealed in the Bible and considers their endeavours to place Antichrist historically. In many respects, these writers' accounts of Antichrist followed established lines of thought, particularly those of Martin Luther and John Calvin, whose *Institutes* and Commentary on 2 Thessalonians 2 were clearly influential. However, there was considerable difference among Reformed writers about historical application, exegetical questions, and the reading of key passages from the New Testament. Many of the significant variations in interpretation must be understood in terms of the particular historical circumstances in which the reformers wrote. This paper explores how their portrayal of Antichrist throws light on Protestant understandings of tradition and on the relationship between biblical exegesis and historical thought.

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The Destruction of Jerusalem in Early-Modern English Literature

Beatrice Groves (University of Oxford, UK)

This talk argues for a change of perspective between medieval and early modern treatments of the fall of Jerusalem. It demonstrates that while medieval versions of the story celebrate a Romano-Christian triumph over a place and people held guilty of the Crucifixion, early modern accounts draw their audience into recognising kinship with the stricken citizens of Jerusalem. It will demonstrate the use of this trope across a number of genres – in particular both sermons and plays – and argue for a shared outlook between the early modern pulpit and stage which complicates and challenges traditional critical understandings of the relationship between the two. The talk will conclude with a Shakespearean example, in which the Bastard in King John twists Josephus's conservative reading - popular in the dominant discourse of the period - of the fall of Jerusalem as a story about the necessity of unity. This talk argues for the way in which the cautionary, rather than triumphal, approach to the destruction of Jerusalem was found across all genres in early modern England as well as unique aspects of the Bastard's allusion, which reveal King John's subversive questioning of the rhetoric of religious and political control.

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Samson Among the Terrorologists

Peter C. Herman (San Diego State University, USA)

On September 6, 2002, *The Times Literary Supplement* (TLS) published a short article by John Carey, "A Work in Praise of Terrorism? September 11 and *Samson Agonistes*." The response was immediate and vociferous. All the letters printed in subsequent issues of the TLS charged Carey with badly misinterpreting both Milton and Judges. The academic responses were for the most part no kinder.

However, there is more at stake here than a squabble among literary critics over an old poem, as the resistance to viewing Samson as a terrorist also tracks the development of "terrorism" in the late twentieth century. The question, in other words, of whether or not Samson anticipates or parallels contemporary terrorism is inextricably bound up with how we view the relationship between our culture and terrorism. After first briefly tracing the history of this conflict, including subsequent treatments of Samson as terrorist, I will show how Milton, as much as he departs from the original story, also bends his narrative into line with the Judges narrative (as opposed to the interpretations). Both invite the reader to look skeptically at Samson's final, murderous act.

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The Bible, Gender, and Early-Modern Solicitations for Charity

Debra Kaplan, (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, letters soliciting charity were brought to potential donors. Some of these solicitations were printed, while others were manuscripts; some were posted in public spaces while others were shown to individual donors by the poor or their emissaries. These letters, like many other early modern writings, contain references to the bible. The biblical references were intended to sway donors to give or to attest to the erudition of the writer. This paper explores both letters of solicitation and templates for such letters, and analyzes the use of biblical references, exploring the gendered nature of some of these solicitations and references.

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'A Cloven Tongue: Hebrew Double Readings'

Alison Knight (University of Cambridge, UK)

In a sermon preached to the Countess of Bedford on 7 January 1621, John Donne says than in the Hebrew Bible, 'very many words [are] so expressed, very many phrases so conceived, as that they admit a diverse, a *contrary* sense." Donne suggests that the language of the Hebrew Bible bears an intrinsic tendency toward *doubleness*, toward modes of expression allowing multiple, ambiguous, and even contradictory potential meanings. Several features of the text of the Hebrew Bible, such as Masoretic marginal readings, idiomatic expressions, and multivalent lexical roots, led early modern scholars and writers to believe that *doubleness* was a fundamental characteristic of Hebrew. Yet within Protestant scriptural traditions, scripture was considered to be consistent, clear, and singular in its meaning. How could Hebrew double readings be accommodated to doctrines of scriptural perspicuity? This paper will examine the various techniques early modern translators, commentators, and writers employed in their efforts to understand Hebrew double readings, and how they attempted to accommodate such features of the original text in English. English verse paraphrase, in particular Donne's version of *Lamentations*, is given particular attention; while in theological and polemic contexts perceptions of Hebrew ambiguity represented a maddening, obscuring feature of scriptural text, poetic encounters could read ambiguous words as sources of plenitude, as potential cites at which writers could encounter the Hebrew Bible through their own abundant, multivalent—even contrary—words.

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Party Politics and the Art of Lying: Shaftesbury and Acts 19

William D. Kolbrener (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

The third Earl of Shaftesbury has been understood, in the history of aesthetics to idealize harmony, but his *Characteristics*, I argue, acknowledges the futility of such harmony both in psychic and political terms. Shaftesbury, unable to return to the *discordia concors* of classical and even earlier English precedents, advocates both psychic and political mechanisms that militate against extremity, fanaticism. For Shaftesbury, the dynamic of social orders mirrors that of the psyche in which regulated conflict and the persistence of separate agencies – parties – prevents the equivalent of psychic extremity, social uniformity achieved through persecution. With irony and evident relish, Shaftesbury appropriates, as a model of social moderation, the story from Acts 19 – where the Apostle Paul functions as a figure of dissent. The 'recorder,' in Shaftesbury's transformation of the story, puts forward a liberal conception of the public sphere, protecting the 'sect' of Christianity from the majority culture, those who 'worship Diana.' This recorder, according to Shaftesbury, aligned with Paul, acknowledges splits in both psychic and social orders as normative, the necessity of party, preferable to the dysfunctional utopian fantasy where one of the 'incompatible religionists' prevails over the rest – through force, 'massacre and desolation.' Shaftesbury emerges, in this reading, not as a precedent for Habermas's conception of rational 'communicative action,' but an advocate of the independence of parties where differences maintain in an uneasy and tenuous relation.

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Shakespeare and the Psalms

Jenn Lewin (University of Haifa, Israel)

That Shakespeare's plays allude in multiple ways to the Bible has long been common knowledge. Yet scholars are continually revealing the complexity with which Shakespeare both relies on the Bible as "a source of rich literary culture" and "draws on biblical sources to an extent not generally recognized" (Cummings 2012; Fisch 1999). In my paper, I explore the role of the psalms in the Henriad and specifically in its representations of ethical self-reflection.

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From Text to Textile: Biblical Allusion and Stage Costumes in Leone de' Sommi's Comedy of Betrothal

Yair Lipshitz (Tel Aviv University)

The earliest extant Hebrew play, the sixteenth-century *A Comedy of Betrothal* ("Tsahut bedihuta deqiddushin") attributed to Jewish-Mantuan playwright, Leone de' Sommi (Yehudah Sommo), is an

intriguing exercise in wedding Jewish and Hebrew textual traditions with Renaissance Italian theatrical comic practices. It is probably the first attempt in history to investigate how the Hebrew language may function in theatrical performance. The current paper will explore how biblical allusions are utilized in order to charge the potential material stage image – specifically with regards to theatrical costumes. Focusing on the character of the young *inamorata*, Beruriah, and the female biblical characters evoked by her clothes, I will examine how de' Sommi uses textual allusions in order to create sexual indeterminacy onstage and unsettle the traditional feminine roles in Renaissance comedy.

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Translating the 'Hebraeo-Hellenic Apostles': Hugh Broughton (1549-1612) and the intellectual contexts of the English New Testament

Kirsten Macfarlane (University of Oxford, UK)

It is well known that the sixteenth century's surge of vernacular biblical translation was enabled by a greater knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. But by the century's end, the most exciting work on these languages had far surpassed basic issues of linguistic comprehension. In the chiefly continental, Latinate world of the most advanced biblical scholarship, scholars studied the Semitic influence on New Testament Greek, explained strange features of the Gospels through post-biblical Judaism, and analysed the historical-philological connections between the Testaments. Despite the significant implications such work had for vernacular translation, the relationship between these two fields has rarely been explored. This paper will offer a preliminary study by using previously unknown evidence relating to the biblical scholarship and translation efforts of the English Hebraist Hugh Broughton (1549-1612). It will demonstrate how the theories and methods he developed in the course of his own research into Apostolic Greek and its Semitic influences were not only central to his vision of the English Bible, but also were a crucial part of his translation practices, and represented a serious contribution to contemporary biblical criticism. This account provides a stark contrast to previous treatments of Broughton's translation practices, which have hitherto been dominated by his scripturalist beliefs in the inerrancy and divinely inspired perfection of the Bible. In countering this consensus, my paper aims more generally to challenge orthodoxies about the intellectual limitations of Reformed scripturalism, arguing not only that it was compatible with highly sophisticated, cutting-edge biblical criticism, but even that, guided by its principles, Broughton made plans for a new English Bible far more innovative, sophisticated and radical than anything that preceded it.

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'Hearing the Word': the Bible and Public Worship in Post-Reformation England

Judith Maltby, (Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford, UK)

Partly due to the success of puritan polemic in the century following the Elizabethan Settlement, historians have underestimated the importance the Bible in conformist worship. Sunday by Sunday, parochial worship according the Book of Common Prayer was, in the words of Prof Alec Ryrie, a 'Bible delivery system' which flattened distinctions imposed by illiteracy. When public worship was conducted in conformity (more or less) to the Prayer Book, both clergy and laity were exposed over the course of the Christian liturgical year, to a vast amount of biblical content: no less than six portions of the Bible as well as a number of psalms were heard on a Sunday alone. The frontispiece of the 1611 Authorized Version of the Bible was explicit that the chief purpose of the translation was that it was 'appointed to be read in the churches' – that is publically and corporately. In what sense, then, did contemporaries have a theology of the 'aurality' of the Bible – particularly as text *heard* aloud in divine worship? This brief paper will explore these issues, touching on the contested understandings of 'hearing the Word' as biblical text or ministerial sermon.

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'Songs in the Night': Henry Vaughan's Variations on Job

Abigail Marcus (University of Chicago, USA)

Henry Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans* (1650-1655) has long been considered a profoundly biblical work. The religious and political circumstances of the Welsh poet's life make this scriptural element especially palpable; horrified by the bloodshed of Civil War, and in deep mourning for the beloved church life it shuttered and the brother it killed, Vaughan had reason to cry out biblically. Indeed, Vaughan's work is suffused with the familiar themes of spiritual longing and exile, in the fashion of Job, David and other biblical sufferers. Still, despite the rhetorical precedent set by these bold figures and the literary masters he emulates, Vaughan's complaints often sound tuned to a more hushed pitch. This paper sheds further light on Vaughan's "scripture uses" by considering how his particular tone of divine confrontation plays out in two of his most frequently inhabited texts: Job and the Song of Songs. Vaughan's carefully woven attention to the shared gestures and environments of these seemingly disparate books affords insight, I argue, into both his expostulatory and hermeneutical mode. Specifically, this mode not only cultivates an "ethics of quietness" crucial to Vaughan's poetics, but demonstrates a practice of reading and interpreting the bible that might work devotionally, tracing and softening both personal and scriptural grievances.

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"Psalm Translations and Devotional Poetry in Early-Modern England"

David Marno (University of California, Berkeley, USA)

The fourth verse of Psalm 1 ("The ungodly are not so: but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away" KJV) offers an image of scattering and dispersal that becomes, after Petrarch's Augustinian spiritualization of the trope in the *Canzoniere*, a way poets can think about spiritual and existential distraction as well as devotional remedies. My paper traces the development of this trope from Petrarch to early modern English psalm translations and devotional poetry, and asks: what if any relation we might posit between this spiritual understanding of scattering and two other, more material versions of dispersal: first, the interest in and anxiety about the scattering of the dead body before the resurrection, and second, the scattering of people in diaspora and colonization.

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"Shakespeare Reading Paul: Pious and Impious Fraud in The Winter's Tale"

Steven R. Marx (California Polytechnic State University, USA)

A recurrent Biblical story element that Shakespeare often reimagines in his theatrical plots is that of dissimulation practiced for their benefit upon the ignorant and sinful by God or one of His agents. Examples include King Henry V disguised as Harry le Roy encouraging and entrapping his disheartened troops on the night before battle, like Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, Prospero tormenting and exposing his treacherous brother, like Joseph in Egypt, and Measure for Measure's Duke posing as a Friar to rebuke and rescue the corrupt Viennese, like God posing as a mortal to bring salvation to humanity. The scene of the statue coming to life presented by the character of Paulina at the end of The Winter's Tale is the most high-stakes of these stories, for it climactically reimagines the central event of the Christian Bible— the resurrection—as a benevolent trick, and its central speaker—the apostle Paul--as a wise trickster. The question of what readers and viewers are to make of these reimaginings has generated scholarly arguments ranging from orthodox to apostate, sometimes adducing the same evidence to support opposite conclusions. Comparing other Shakespearean resurrection-based narratives and references to Paul, and some of their Biblical sources, may provide new perspectives on the old puzzle of this sacramentally framed scene. Viewing a portion of the scene from the author's 1994 student production, staged in front of the altar of the 1772 Mission Church of San Luis Obispo, may reduce, or intensify, the urgency of the debate.

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"Drafting the King James Bible"

Jeffrey Alan Miller (Montclair State University, USA)

This paper builds on my recent discovery of what is now the earliest known draft of any part of the King James or "Authorized" Version of the Bible, and the only draft of the translation yet discovered definitively in the hand of one of the work's translators themselves. The draft survives in a manuscript notebook formerly belonging to Samuel Ward (1572-1643), who served as part of the group of translators charged with translating the Old Testament Apocrypha, and it represents an early – seemingly initial – draft of what would become the King James Version of 1 Esdras and part of Wisdom, two of the Apocrypha's books. As this paper will show, the draft challenges longstanding assumptions about the King James Bible's famed composition process, including what "drafts" of the work might actually have resembled. It also sheds unprecedented light on how the complex (and often precarious) interplay between individual and group translation ultimately served to shape what would become the most widely read work of English writing in the history of the language.

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"Uzzah, Hobbes, and the Plight of the Modern Subject"

Feisal G. Mohamed (The Graduate Center, CUNY, USA)

This paper explores several early modern mentions of Uzzah, who in 2 Sam 6 is struck dead by the Lord for touching the Ark of the Covenant. The episode comes to the notice of Richard Hooker in the *Lawes,* and of Lancelot Andrewes and John Donne in their sermons. We shall explore these brief notices before settling on Thomas Hobbes, who mentions Uzzah both in *Leviathan* and in *Behemoth*. Not surprisingly, Hobbes is much more willing than his contemporaries to question God's justice. And more significantly we can discern in his reading of Uzzah anxieties on the plight of the modern political subject, whose exercise of loyalty may be not be repaid by sovereign protection, an anxiety with an autobiographical resonance at the time of the composition of *Behemoth*. Hobbes' handling of this biblical story thus offers a significant recognition of the practical limitations of his contractarian absolutist theory.

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In Defense of Erasmus's Critics

John Monfasani (State University of New York, Albany, USA)

This paper falls into three parts. It begins with the mysteries of Erasmus's Latin translation of the New Testament as preserved in manuscripts copied by Pieter Meghen, "the One-Eyed," and moves on to the place of Erasmus's Latin translation as an object of controversy. One of the most striking aspects of these

controversies is how little Erasmus changed. Erasmus's stance in the controversies of the Reformation thus becomes the central part of the paper. Finally, as an example of Erasmus's reaction to the religious crises of the 1520s and 1530s, we examine his annotation to I Timothy 1:6 and how it developed from the editio princeps of 1516 to the last edition of 1535.

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Between King David and "Woman of Valor": On Some Biblical Illustrations in the Rothschild Miscellany (Northern Italy, 1460-1480)

Anna Nizza Caplan (Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Israel)

The Books of Psalms, Job, and Proverbs (*Sifrei Emet*) were often copied in Italy during the 14th and the 15th centuries, either as a single textual entity, or as elements of biblical and liturgical manuscripts. A few of them were also illuminated with distinctive text illustrations. The paper will focus on the corps of *Sifrei Emet*, accompanied by Rashi's commentary in the margins of the text, opening the Rothschild Miscellany. Widely considered to be the finest Hebrew illuminated manuscript of the fifteenth century in existence, it is an exceptional collection of thirty-seven textual units, ranging from religious to more universal subjects – such as history, poems and fables – originally conceived to be bound in one single volume. Lacking a colophon or a clear indication of date and place of production, its place of origin is still under question.

The illustrations of this section of the Miscellany – ranging from a portrayal of King David the Psalmist, to outstanding representations of the restoration of Job's wealth and family, until a depiction of the "woman of valor" described in Proverbs, 31:10-31 – are exceptional and even unique in their contexts. The purpose of this paper is to reconsider these images not as individual depictions, rather within the broader iconographic program of the Miscellany, thus presenting few remarks on the production of this distinguished manuscript.

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Witness and Allusion: Re-narrativizing and Re-plotting Scripture in the Italian and English Poets, from Dante to Milton

James Nohrnberg (University of Virginia, USA)

What is the difference between the influence of the Bible in late medieval miracle plays and hymns and poetical testaments and Langland's *Piers Plowman*, and in Christian literature from the Early Modern period? Scripture has figured in both medieval and Renaissance literature in ways that attest to its authority and resonance at the two mutually entailed poles we shall designate

as *witness* and *allusion*. Using mainly those verse narratives composed with a Virgilian precedent and ambition in view for our mainly Renaissance examples, we will discuss the role of scriptural subjects and references in select instances in the works of Dante, Vida, Sannazaro, Tasso, Spenser, and Milton: i.e., in those humanist-style texts where quotations of scripture and echoes of Virgil almost vie with each other for preeminence. Particular motifs, such as the typology of the harrowing of hell, the symbol of Jacob's ladder, the divine creator's making of man, the recording of the prophetic voice of God, and the divine calling of the poet will be cited and critically situated: especially where they can be used to illustrate a difference between "allusion," in allegorical modes like those of Dante and Spenser, and "witness," in testamentary modes like those Vida and Milton, i.e., the latter in poets specifically engaged in re-presenting, re-working, re-inventing, and embellishing the most canonic of scriptural narratives from torah and gospel. Sannazaro, Vida, Tasso, DuBartas, and Milton — in contrast to Dante, Langland, and Spenser, and apart from the nearly apocryphal and legendary harrowing of hell in the allegorists and literary typologists — are each determined upon a literary, artificial and "epic" reconstruction of a specific biblical narrative or pericope in humanist terms, namely in the cases of Sanazarro's nativity, Vida's passion, Tasso's and DuBartas's creation, and Milton's temptations of Jesus and Adam and Eve. We might see in this difference between the allegorical poets and the scriptural ones a counter-medieval motion to turn to the Bible for *literary* authority, and to depart from the manufacturing and elaboration of legends and the devising of allegories that veil truths rather than retailing accounts that adhere and add their witness — however artfully — to received sacred histories. The Protestants wanted to get back to scripture for faith and doctrine, and the poets for plots and stories: but likewise for a cognate authority or a kind of coat-tail canonicity. The historical "eclipse of biblical narrative" in historiography was preceded by a remarkable Renaissance efflorescence and reaffirmation of that same narrative in literature.

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"When in Rome, Do as the Romans Do:" On Some Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts of the Bible in Renaissance Italy.

Sara Offenberg (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel)

Throughout the history of Jewish art we find an imitation of the non-Jewish environment, and it is especially true when it comes to late medieval and Renaissance Europe. In this paper, I shall examine the meaning of knights and other features copied from the Christian society and illustrated in Hebrew manuscripts from Italy, with regard to the dissonance between art and reality. This paper wishes to follow the notion of pretend identity, as the reality of everyday life of Jews in Renaissance Italy was far from being chivalric and the way biblical stories receive contemporary meaning.

* * *

Hamlet's Puns and Allegorical Hermeneutics

Kirsten Poole (University of Delaware, USA)

It was once a truism of Reformation history to say that Protestants rejected allegorical biblical interpretation, favoring instead the literal sense of Scripture. In recent years, scholars in a number of fields – history, religious studies, and literary studies – have been modulating this understanding. The sixteenth-century understanding of "literal" did not correspond to our own. One modulation of the reformers' notion of the "literal" was as a sense that absorbed or compacted the traditional spiritual senses of the *quadriga* (the allegorical, tropological, and anagogical); the literal meaning of a biblical passage could thus be plurisignificant and figurative. In England, the 1590s witnessed a profusion of religious texts, sermons in particular, that explained and demonstrated this type of interpretation. The 1590s was also a peak for the literary popularity of puns. This paper considers these two semiotic phenomena as interrelated: the pun can present a verbal form that at once appears to be literal, but simultaneously flaunts its polysemy. Of all Shakespeare's characters, Hamlet – a student returning from Wittenberg – is the most prolific punster. Hamlet's speech patterns, both puns in particular and amphibology more generally, coyly and sardonically play with the notion of an over-stuffed literal sense. His puns are recognized as "pregnant" by Polonius, in keeping with a figure used to represent the Protestant notion of a multivalent literal sense, and at times Hamlet's speech echoes the complex exegesis of contemporary sermons.

* * *

Rethinking Milton's Hebraic God

Noam Reisner (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

This paper will seek to readdress the question of the scriptural Hebraism of Milton's poetry by examining the quasi-Hebraic portrayal of deity in Paradise Lost. When Ezra Pound notoriously censured Milton's "beastly Hebraism", he was conflating the Hebrew language with an anti-Semitic view of the Jewish religion and its mythic traditions. Similarly, traditional criticism of Milton's God in Paradise Lost, especially when conducted against the backdrop of Christian theology and expectations, risks falling back on an implicit suggestion that Milton's God the Father is somehow too "Jewish" or Hebraic for Christian comfort. This essay will seek to readdress some of these questions by arguing that what may be construed as a Hebraic conceptualization of deity in Paradise Lost is a necessary outcome of Milton's strategy in wanting to represent a heuristic model of unconstrained free will within the context of Pauline Reformed theology.

* * *

Synthesizing Imaginations: John Selden and John Milton.

Jason P. Rosenblatt (Georgetown University, USA)

In one of his famously witty footnotes, Edward Gibbon contrasts the beauty and conciseness of Milton's catalogue of pagan deities in book 1 of Paradise Lost with the pedantic prolixity of its source, John Selden's *De Diis Syris,* a study of the Hebrew bible's pagan gods. Although Gibbon would have dismissed the idea peremptorily, I would like to suggest that as both polemicist and poet, Milton owes something to the *form*, perhaps even more than to the content, of the work that he singles out for greatest praise, Selden's *De Jure Naturali et* Gentium. Selden values scholarly amplitude, where Milton can weight a single image with the gravity of endless implication. Nevertheless, Selden's chronological survey of great authorities to illustrate a single point and his gift for analogy accord with Milton's monist aesthetic. Striking examples include Selden's comparing rabbinic Judaism's illumination of Christianity with Galileo's telescope (in a section that we know Milton read) and connecting the law pertaining to righteous proselytes, whose rebirth gives them a second soul in a single body, with the pagan doctrine of metempsychosis, one soul in two bodies. Examples from Milton come from his prose (The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates) as well as his poetry (Lycidas, Sonnet 23, Paradise Lost).

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Between Tradition and Counter-Reception. Abstract.

Claudia Rosenzweig (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

Old Yiddish language and culture develop in Christian Europe in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern. Their relation to the Hebrew Bible is at the very centre, on many levels – linguistic, exegetic, literary, historical – but in the Early Modern there is a new factor which is visible in Old Yiddish literary texts: on one side a process of what Jauss called *Literarisierung*, that is the transformation of Bible narratives into different genres, on the other side what I shall call 'counter-reception', an alternative (Jewish) way of reading the same texts Christians read in European vernaculars. In this paper I shall try to bring some examples of these processes.

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Reason, Inspiration and Doubt in Protestant Views of Scripture's Authority

Alec Ryrie (Durham University, UK)

Luther's appeal to *sola scriptura* and what followed from it are much misunderstood. Scripture was cited as the exclusive authority chiefly in order to defend doctrinal positions at which he had already arrived: or, if you prefer, as an explicit statement of a method which he realised he had long been using implicitly. As such, both he and other Protestants struggled to provide answers to what might seem an obvious question:

why should the sixty-six books of the Old and New Testaments, and no others, be treated as the definitive Word of God? This paper will explore the answers – and striking absence of answers – to that question advanced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with particular attention to the crisis of Biblical authority in mid-seventeenth-century England. It will track two lines of argument: a rationalistic set of arguments given their canonical form by Grotius, and a claim, usually seen as the only final or definitive claim, that Scripture's status and authority was self-evident to readers through the witness of the Holy Spirit, at least in the case of readers who were not malicious. These two arguments were held in uneasy tension by the Reformed tradition from Calvin onwards, but fell apart during the seventeenth century, providing a critical vector both for rationalistic scepticism and for trans-scriptural inspirationalism. The paper will conclude by exploring the links between these two apparently contradictory phenomena.

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Holy Land Maps and Jewish History in Early Modern Bibles

Jeffrey Shoulson (University of Connecticut, USA)

The German printer and publisher, Anton Koberger, produced the first illustrated printed Bible in 1483. It would, however, be nearly another fifty years before maps first appeared in printed Bibles. In the century that followed, maps became an increasingly common supplement to the new Bible translations proliferating throughout Europe. And those Bibles that contained maps were overwhelmingly Protestant editions. Not surprisingly, the new emphasis Reformers placed on the literal/historical reading of Scripture sought and found support from the visual depictions of the geography of biblical texts. Nowhere was the spread and popularity of biblical maps during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries greater than in England. This paper will examine the role played by maps depicting the Holy Land and other biblical locations—printed in Bibles as well as in other accounts of the region—in the construction of spaces construed as "Jewish." These were cartographic depictions of a Jewishness simultaneously consigned to a biblical past and threatening to re-impose itself in an England intensely ambivalent about its Hebraic (and biblical) antecedents. As the English Reformation fitfully progressed from its earliest manifestations in William Tyndale's Bible translations in the 1520s through the so-called *via media* of the King James Bible (1611) and into the violence of the English Civil Wars of the mid-seventeenth century, the visualization of the Holy Land and its inhabitants functioned as a site for contested claims about a Jewish past and present that could be aligned with or distinguished from varieties of English Protestant identity. In the course of my analysis, I will examine a variety of maps, as well as some of the theological and political disputes that surrounded the production of these maps and questioned their relevance for the ongoing study of Scripture.

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Elizabethan Bibles, Platonic Forms, and Book History

Debora Shuger (University of California, Los Angeles, USA)

The paper will have two parts. The first shows that the prefaces to the two authorized sixteenth-century English Bibles (Great and Bishops) share similar visions of the reforming work of Scripture, and that the Geneva Bibles of 1557, 1560, and 1576 also share a similar vision, but a wholly different one. The similarities between the prefaces in each group and the differences between the two groups would seem to warrant speaking of clearly defined Anglican and Puritan styles by the mid-sixteenth century. The second part will trouble this claim, since, from 1583 on, the prefaces (and related introductory paratexts) get reversed, modified, replaced, so that the proto-denominational outlines, so clearly visible in their first editions, melt away. Instead of alternative visions of reform (resting on alternative models of biblical interpretation), the later Elizabethan prefaces are up to something quite different.

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Scripture and Literature: Biblical Memes and Their Medieval Afterlives

Jonathan Stavsky (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

This paper explores the intersection of Scripture and literature in late antiquity and the Middle Ages by following the reception of a group of Old and New Testament verses that Christian readers from the periods in question understood to refer to imaginative writing. Whereas in their Hebrew and Greek versions, these verses comprise several diverse terms ranging from gossip and slander to myth, Jerome's Vulgate ties them together by consistently employing the word *fabula* and its derivatives *fabulatio* and *fabulator*. The concept of *fabula*, I argue, both served as ready ammunition in anti-literary polemics and, at the same time, contributed to consolidating the eclectic category that has come to be known as literature. I conclude by suggesting the relevance of this process to Renaissance biblical poetics, a topic I would be glad to develop when developing my presentation into a publishable essay.

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Vayoymer – un er hot gezogt

Chava Turniansky (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

The translation of the Bible was learned and memorized in the traditional Jewish elementary school since the second century A.D. Its main method of teaching involves the cantillation of passages from the Bible in Hebrew, followed by a word-by-word or phrase-by-phrase translation into the vernacular. The translation into Yiddish, the vernacular of Ashkenazi Jews, has been taught in the traditional elementary school called *kheyder* throughout the Ashkenazi Diaspora from its beginnings up to this day. A

comparison between some features of the first printed versions of the Pentateuch (1534-1535), which are based entirely on the oral teaching of the text, and their parallels in Luther's translation (1525) will assist us in understanding the essential differences between the two renderings, their aims and the methods used to achieve them. A glimpse at later Yiddish translations may provide some insight into the development of Yiddish and its use of taytsh, the language of the translation of the Bible and other Hebrew sources.

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Reversing the Roles in Early-Modern Christian Thought: Jews, Christians, and the "Literal Sense" of Scripture

Jon Whitman (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

From antiquity to the early Middle Ages there was a general consensus in the Christian community about its broad exegetical distinction from the Jewish world. The Jews, it was maintained, narrowly focused on the "letter" of Scripture; the Christians, by contrast, expansively explored its allegorical spirit. Though this view never completely disappeared, from the late Middle Ages to the Reformation it encountered increasing complications. During this period, interpreters of Christian Scripture gradually broadened the category of the "literal sense"—incorporating within that sense meanings once regarded as "allegorical." But during the same period, Christians became increasingly aware of provocative departures from the scriptural "letter" in the Talmudic and midrashic lore of the Jews. By the early modern era, a range of Christian interpreters argued that the "literal" sense was the central—some said the only—sense of the Christian Bible as a whole. Conversely, while exegesis by Jews was often revalued in Christian circles by that time, forms of Jewish commentary were repeatedly charged with deviating into interpretive fantasies.

The critical turnabout involved in these shifting perspectives had volatile consequences— intellectual, religious, and social. Eventually this turnabout promoted not only fundamental changes in attitude toward the relations between Christians and Jews, but also new approaches to language and figuration that anticipated modern critical theory.

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Paradise Lost and Contemporary Philosophy of Literature

Tzachi Zamir (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

Recent work within the philosophy of literature has made eye-opening contributions to understanding literature's capacity to function as a gateway to knowledge. Attempts to merely tether such advances to a philosophical reading of Milton's *Paradise Lost* would, however, prove frustrating. To begin with, a philosophical reading of the poem must overcome Milton's disdain for philosophers (he associates their undertaking with deceit in his theological writings, and philosophizing is an activity he assigns to the

fallen angels in his hell). A further obstacle, not particular to Milton, is that philosophers of literature have limited themselves to engaging with secular writings, mostly novels authored during the past two centuries. Religious poetry—Dante's, Spenser's, Herbert's, Milton's—has remained unaddressed. The uninteresting reasons responsible for such neglect are the remoteness of such poetry for a contemporary philosopher combined with the difficulty of tackling it without prolonged training. The interesting reason for avoiding such works is their different stance towards knowledge.

The talk will first attempt to substantiate this diagnosis and to tease out its consequences. I will then suggest that tracing the discommunication between philosophical criticism and faith-deepening poetry like *Paradise Lost*, carries implications *for literary scholars*. If there are reasons to suppose that secular and religious literature are mobilizing the imagination in different ways, or are relying upon dissimilar epistemological paradigms when attempting to be insightful, such modifies the manner whereby literature of this kind should be approached, studied, taught, or enjoyed.