

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

The Book of Job in Early Modern England

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8r43635c>

Author

Hedlin, Kimberly Susan

Publication Date

2018

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Book of Job in Early Modern England

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in English

by

Kimberly Susan Hedlin

2018

© Copyright by

Kimberly Susan Hedlin

2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Book of Job in Early Modern England

by

Kimberly Susan Hedlin

Doctor of Philosophy in English

University of California, Los Angeles 2018

Professor Debora K. Shuger, Chair

“The Book of Job in Early Modern England” examines how sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers used Job to broach some of the most contentious issues of their era. The project probes the intersection of post-Reformation biblical exegesis and other literary forms, ranging from treatises on heliocentrism to religious lyric. The dissertation begins at the publication of the first English Protestant primer, which was innovative in its suggestion to read Job’s complaints as an expression of one’s own suffering. English Protestantism’s attention to Job’s complaints (rather than just his patience, as in patristic and medieval readings) signals a turn from using the Book of Job as hagiography to what early modern Protestants called “history” and what we might call psychological realism.

The volatile religio-political climate of post-Reformation Europe was a particularly fascinating time in Job’s reception history. Commentators’ newfound interest in primary Hebrew sources, the emergence of textual criticism, and debates about how the Bible expressed its truth

put the Book of Job's "slipperiness" (to use Jerome's term) at the center of controversy. Chapter 1 describes the groundbreaking shift toward a more "human" Job in Lutheran commentary, a shift that is reflected in early modern theologians' obsession with Job's historicity. Chapter 2 examines John Calvin's defense of Job's Edomite lineage, which became a matter of delineating the insiders and outsiders of God's church. Chapter 3 traces how four theologians (ending with John Milton) used Job to "justify the ways of God," either by insisting on God's absolute power or suggesting how God shares his power with man. Chapter 4 recovers Job's role in the Copernican Revolution by examining how the Augustinian monk Diego de Zuñiga used Job to consider man's peripheral place in the cosmos. Finally, Chapter 5 considers how the Welsh poet Henry Vaughan finds in Job's confusion and complaints an opportunity to encounter the sublime. "The Book of Job in Early Modern England" captures the diversity of the Bible's uses in early modern literature and sheds new light on a turbulent period of ecclesiastical history.

The dissertation of Kimberly Susan Hedlin is approved.

Jason A. Mahn

Jonathan F. Post

Debora K. Shuger, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Prefatory Materials.....i-viii

Introduction.....1-43

Bibliography39-43

Chapter 1: Human Job44-106

Bibliography100-106

Chapter 2: Edomite Job.....107-179

Bibliography175-179

Chapter 3: Justifying God180-258

Bibliography253-258

Chapter 4: Peripheral Job.....259-300

Bibliography297-300

Chapter 5: Job and the Sublime301-350

Bibliography346-350

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1. Keturah's Descendants153

Figure 5.1. "Behemoth and Leviathan"346

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My committee members went far beyond the call of duty. Debora Shuger was the ideal chair, who both nurtured and challenged me. She encouraged my archival work; improved my Latin; deepened my engagement with ecclesiastical history; and seemed to bring her dogs to the office just when I needed a boost. Jonathan Post made me a much better reader of poetry; reminded me that readability matters; pushed my work into conversation with other scholars; and instilled in me a profound appreciation for Renaissance art and music. Jason Mahn helped me see old drafts with fresh eyes; broadened my theological vocabulary; added contemporary relevance to a historical project; and motivated me to pursue a graduate degree in the first place. In every way, I am grateful for their support.

This dissertation was made possible by a UCLA Graduate Research Mentorship; UCLA English Department Dissertation Year Fellowship; UCLA Graduate Division Dissertation Year Fellowship; and Grace M. Hunt Archival Research Travel Award. I am thankful for the help I received at the British Library; Bodleian Library; Cambridge University Library; UCLA Special Collections; Folger Shakespeare Library; Huntington Library; University of Illinois Special Collections; Newberry Library; and Sidney Sussex, Cambridge Archives.

I am humbled as I consider all of the supportive people in my life. Here, I will only mention my family. Dave Hedlin taught me to close read and ask questions as part of faith. Carol Hedlin taught me to write and reflect on my writing. Chris Hedlin, who is simultaneously finishing her dissertation on nineteenth-century American literature, has been an inspiring colleague, as well as a great twin sister. Abby Wolfgram (with the help of Josh and Nora) has always been a refreshing voice of reason, in addition to an accomplished writer of haikus. This quick acknowledgement cannot capture my gratitude for your unconditional love.

Education

- 2014 University of California, Los Angeles
Masters of Arts, English
- 2011 Augustana College, Rock Island, IL
Bachelor of Arts with Honors, English

Publication

- 2018 “Christian Revenge in Chapman’s *The Revenge of Bussy D’Ambois*,” *Renaissance Drama* 46.1: 87-111.

Selected Conferences

- 2017 Peripheral Earth, Peripheral Man
Center for Medieval & Renaissance Studies, Emerging Scholars Conference
Los Angeles, CA, October 2017
- 2017 “Thou Art Become Mine Enemy”: George Herbert’s Justification of God
Renaissance Society of America
Chicago, IL, March 2017
- 2017 The “Historical” Book of Job
MLA, “Theorizing Fiction in the Early Modern Period”
Philadelphia, PA, Jan. 2017
- 2017 Sleep According to Luther
MLA, “1517-2017: Dealing with Luther”
Philadelphia, PA, Jan. 2017
- 2016 “Visions of the Night” in the Book of Job
Shakespeare Association of America seminar, “Sleeping through the Renaissance”
New Orleans, LA, Nov. 2016

Introduction

This dissertation explores how post-Reformation literature—ranging from neo-Latin exegesis to religious lyric—engages with the Old Testament figure of Job. Far from the patient Christian saint that dominates medieval commentary, Job in the early modern period is a racialized, masculine mortal; a complainer with free will; a mere atom in a heliocentric cosmos; and a discoverer of the sublime. He is a typological figure of Christ, the patron saint of syphilis and music, and an epic poet. His story was conjectured to be the most ancient in the world and his poetry the most difficult in the Bible.

In the Book of Job, Job starts off as a prosperous and pious man. One day when Satan is roaming around heaven, God advertises Job's exceptional piety. Satan taunts that Job is only pious because his every desire is fulfilled, so Satan urges God to test Job's uprightness by taking away his livelihood. God agrees to the bet and hands Job over to Satan, who proceeds to kill Job's livestock and children, burn his property, subject him to robbers, and afflict him with ulcers from head to foot. All of this happens in the first two chapters of Job. In these chapters, which are written in prose, Job remains patient, insisting, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."¹ But, then, at the start of chapter three, Job "opens his mouth" against God. In the next thirty-some chapters of poetry, Job begs God to kill him or give him justice. His bitter complaints are mixed with unsought chastisement from his "friends" who warn that, surely, Job must have done something to offend God, and, really, innocent people are never made to suffer. Finally, in chapter thirty-eight, God appears in a whirlwind and

¹ "The Book of Job" in King James I, *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New* (London: Robert Barker, 1611), Job 1:21. Henceforth cited, "King James Version." Available online at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/k/kjv/kjv-idx?type=DIV1&byte=2079883>.

reminds all of the humans of their smallness relative to the vastness of creation. God asks, “Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?”² and Job repents in “dust and ashes.”³ In the final chapter, which returns to prose, God tells Job that he has “spoken rightly,” chastises Job’s friends, and returns everything that Job lost.

For many contemporary readers, this summary raises more questions than it answers. Why was God bragging to Satan? Why would God cause an innocent person to suffer? What prompts Job’s change of heart between the prose frame and the poetry? What is the relationship between God’s speech from the whirlwind and the many questions that Job and his friends have been asking? What does God mean when he says that Job has “spoken rightly”? If Job “rightly” refutes the notion of cosmic justice, why does God reward him for his good behavior at the end? How can Job’s murdered children be sufficiently replaced? This list of questions, like the summary itself, reflects the version of Job in contemporary western academia. In this version, our investment in psychological realism draws us to Job’s complaints, and our hermeneutic of suspicion to Job’s resistance to God rather than his friends’ doctrinal aphorisms. It is hard for us to swallow the fact that God puts Job through incomparable misery for the sake of a bet. As Virginia Woolf famously writes in a letter to Lytton Strachey, “I read the Book of Job last night—I don’t think God comes well out of it.”⁴

Starting with this contemporary academic version situates what is different about the earlier Job tradition. The medieval version of Job goes something like this:

² King James Version, Job 38:4.

³ Ibid., Job 42:6.

⁴ Virginia Woolf, *The Letters of Virginia Woolf: Volume 2, 1912–1922* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 585.

Job is a prosperous man who is the epitome of spiritual perfection. Because God wants an opportunity to showcase Job's piety, he allows Job to be put on trial by Satan. Due to his extraordinary virtue, Job overcomes Satan's temptations and remains patient throughout his ordeal. God rewards him for his patience by restoring everything that he lost.

The medieval version of Job takes the first description of Job's character ("simple and upright"⁵), combines it with the endorsement of Job's patience in James's epistle ("Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord; that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy"⁶), and applies this character analysis to his conduct throughout the rest of the book. Patristic and medieval commentators ignored, dismissed, or allegorized away Job's complaints so that they could maintain their view of Job's constancy and spiritual perfection.

From the perspective of a close reader, one who is most invested in Job's poetic complaints, it is difficult to understand how the medieval version of Job could have come to be. Yet patristic and medieval readers praised Job's patience without irony or contradiction. For one thing, they had a different end in mind when they read the Book of Job. They were interested in using the book to learn something about their own lives and conduct, not critically analyze the text's context, tensions, and inconsistencies. In addition to this methodological difference, patristic and medieval readers were familiar with a different version of Job than the one in the Book of Job. It was not that earlier readers ignored or dismissed relevant details of the text in

⁵ Jerome, *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Robert Weber, Bonifatius Fischer, and Roger Gryson (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2015), Job 1:1. The Latin reads, "Vir erat in terra Hus nomine Iob et erat vir ille simplex et rectus." The Vulgate, with English translation, is available online at <http://www.latinvulgate.com/verse.aspx?t=0&b=20>.

⁶ King James Version, James 5:11.

order to teach a moral lesson; they were actually engaging with a different tradition, one that existed alongside the Book of Job and rivaled the canonical book's popularity.

The Canonical Book of Job

To understand how this “other” Job tradition emerged, it is helpful to differentiate between the Book of Job (the written, canonical text, which has existed with only translation differences since at least the first century BCE⁷) and the legend of Job (the combination of oral and written stories about Job that may have existed for more than three millennia).⁸ The first, the now-familiar Book of Job, comes from a Hebrew source text that was written for an Israelite audience.⁹ (This Hebrew source text is sometimes called the canonical text, because it is the version that appears in the western Biblical canon, or the Masoretic text, because it was edited by the Masoretes, a group of Jewish scholars who produced an authorized text of the Hebrew scriptures in the seventh — twelfth centuries CE.¹⁰) Determining the composition date of the

⁷ There are, of course, variations as the Hebrew source text is translated in different times, places, and languages, but the same Hebrew source text has served as the basis for 2,000+ years of translations.

⁸ This distinction is made by Lawrence L. Besserman, *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1979). It is upheld and elaborated by Mark J. Larrimore, *The Book of Job: A Biography* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton UP, 2013), 13.

⁹ Robert Gordis, *The Book of God and Man: A Study of Job* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 209-18.

¹⁰ Larrimore, *Job: A Biography*, 6. As part of their editing work, the Masoretes added vowel points to a text that had previously contained only consonants. This interpretative effort was met with suspicion in the early modern period by Christians who feared the corruption of the Hebrew original. Protestants favored the *Hebraica veritas* over the Latin translations that had been done by the Catholic church, but even Protestants believed that Jews introduced a number of errors into the text. This “Masoretic intervention” was especially suspicious because of what Allison Knight calls the Vowel Points Controversy. Protestants became aware that the vowel points above and below consonants were not “original” to the text, so they became suspicious that these might be a corruption. Alison Knight, “Pen of Iron: Scriptural Text and the Book of Job in Early Modern English Literature” (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 2012), 29.

Book of Job has proved difficult.¹¹ A version of the text existed by the first century BCE because a Job Targum (i.e. a Job paraphrase) appears in the Qumran library, commonly known as the Dead Sea Scrolls. As for the earliest date that the book could have been written, contemporary estimates fall within a wide range, averaging between 800 and 300 BCE. Scholars generally use the Babylonian exile (598-538 BCE) as a reference point,¹² but there has been no consensus about whether the Book of Job was written before, during, or after this exile.

Many scholars in the last century have dated the text to the postexilic period (fourth to sixth centuries BCE) based on thematic and linguistic evidence,¹³ while recognizing that portions of the book were probably written earlier.¹⁴ Robert Gordis points out that the tetragrammaton (YHWH, the Hebrew name for God) is only used once in the Jobean dialogue, in Job 12:9 when Job suggests that “the hand of YHWH has done this.” Because of the oddity of this single use, Gordis suggests that the author of Job is quoting this line, which appears in Isaiah 41:20 (“That they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the LORD hath done this, and the Holy One of Israel hath created”¹⁵). If the author of Job is quoting the

¹¹ Even after an extensive study, Marvin Pope suggests that the evidence is “equivocal and inconclusive.” Pope’s own “best guess” is the seventh century BCE. Marvin H. Pope, *Job. Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), xl.

¹² The forced detention of Jews in the Kingdom of Judah when it was conquered by the Babylonians in 598BCE. The exile ended in 538 BCE when the Persian conqueror, Cyrus the Great, gave Jews permission to return.

¹³ In her recent overview of the scholarship on Job’s dating, Kathryn Schifferdecker highlights a couple of arguments (Gordis and Hurvitz) that she finds particularly convincing, which I have included below. Kathryn Schifferdecker, *Out of the Whirlwind: Creation Theology in the Book of Job* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2008), 19.

¹⁴ For a comprehensive overview of the controversy surrounding dating, see Pope, *Job. Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, xxxii-xl.

¹⁵ King James Version, Isaiah 41:20.

Deutero-Isaiah author, this would put the date of the Hebrew text between 500 and 300 BCE.¹⁶ Avi Hurvitz also argues for a postexilic dating of Job on the basis of linguistic evidence. He suggests that the story of Job is ancient, but the text of the prose frame contains words and phrases that are only attested in late Biblical Hebrew, as opposed to classical Hebrew.¹⁷ And Manlio Simonetti and Marco Conti speculate that Job was written between the fifth and third century BCE because it was then that the Israelites were re-conceptualizing affliction as the consequence of individual rather than corporate sin.¹⁸ They suggest that this ideological shift spurred widespread consternation about God's relationship to man, which helps to contextualize Job's anxiety about a man unjustly punished.

The issue of dating the Book of Job is further complicated by the possibility that it was composed in multiple times and places. Through the eighteenth century, there was no substantial thought given to theories of multiple authorship. With the rise of historical critical Biblical scholarship in the German Protestant universities of the nineteenth century, increasing attention was given to the incongruences between sections of Job, particularly the prose frame and poetic dialogue.¹⁹ In the mid-nineteenth century, historical critics hypothesized that the poetic sections

¹⁶ Gordis, *The Book of God and Man: A Study of Job*, 144-45, 216. The "Deutero-Isaiah" theory of authorship suggests that the book of Isaiah was composed by two different authors: one for chapters 1-39 ("Isaiah") and another for chapters 40-55 ("Deutero-Isaiah," meaning "second Isaiah"). Of course, it is possible that the Deutero-Isaiah author was quoting from the book of Job, which Samuel Terrien argues, but Schifferdecker (and I) find Gordis's argument more convincing. Samuel Terrien, "Introduction and Exegesis [to Job]," in *The Interpreter's Bible* 3, ed. George Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954), 884-92.

¹⁷ Avi Hurvitz, "The Date of the Prose-Tale of Job Linguistically Reconsidered," *Harvard Theological Review* 67 (1974): 17-34.

¹⁸ Manlio Simonetti and Marco Conti, *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament 6. Job* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 2006), xvii.

¹⁹ The nineteenth-century German Biblical scholar Julius Wellhausen, building on the work of earlier commentators, formulated the "documentary hypothesis," a theory that the repetitions, parallels, and contradictions in the first six books of the Hebrew Bible are due to the work of multiple redactors. The documentary hypothesis is no longer

of Job had been written first, and the prose frame was later added to contain and contextualize Job's complaints. In the final quarter of the nineteenth century, scholars started to speculate that the simple prose tale had been written first, and a poet had later inserted Job's complaints. Through the twentieth century, this idea that the book of Job was actually a combination of two different books—one with a patient Job in prose, one with an impatient Job in poetry—predominated.

In the late-twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the critical pendulum swung back yet again. When contemporary Biblical scholars acknowledge Job's cacophony of genres and speakers, they embrace the book's multiplicity rather than assign Job's prose and poetry to different authors. In *The Book of Job: A Biography*, Mark Larrimore explains, "We are increasingly coming to understand that the multiplicity of voices may be constitutive of the power of the book of Job. Indeed, so effectively do its voices complicate each other that it may be understood as a polyphonic whole, perhaps even the work of a single ingenious author."²⁰ Critics like Carol Newsom have pushed back against historical criticism, which cannot answer "the problem of how such a multigenre, multi-author composition was to be read as a whole."²¹ But Newsom also resists the "final form" or "deconstructive readings" that have emerged in response, which tend to "minimize or ignore the rich textures of genre and style that historical criticism emphasized."²² As an answer, Newsom proposes a "final form" way of reading that

accepted as a reliable theory for the Hebrew Bible's composition, although it remained popular through the end of twentieth century. Larrimore, *Job: A Biography*, 197.

²⁰ Larrimore, *Job: A Biography*, 10.

²¹ Carol A. Newsom, *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations* (Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2003), 10.

²² *Ibid.*, 11.

attends to genre and considers Job as a “polyphonic text.”²³ She and others defend the prose and poetic sections of Job as the work of a single author, one who was aware of the interesting and complicated effect of interlacing these disjointed stories.

Despite the general emphasis on unity in contemporary scholarship on Job’s authorship, there is now a scholarly consensus that at least two parts of Job—the “Hymn to Wisdom” in Chapter 28 and Elihu’s appearance in Chapters 32-37—are insertions.²⁴ Because the Hymn to Wisdom’s “uncharacteristic-stanza form” and “unruffled piety” do not fit the style or narrative arc of the dialogues, it may have been a well-known piece of wisdom literature that a redactor (either at the time of composition or sometime in the book’s early history) inserted into the dialogue.²⁵ And Elihu’s speech is almost certainly a later addition. “Elihu” is the only Hebrew name among the comforters; he is the only character to refer to the other comforters by name or to quote them; he anticipates words that God has, at the point at which Elihu enters, not yet spoken; he is not mentioned in the prose or poetry before he speaks; and he is not mentioned again after he is gone, including when God reprimands three people (Eliphaz + two friends) in Job 42:7.²⁶ The evidence suggesting the addition of the Hymn to Wisdom and Elihu’s speech is so convincing that Stephen Mitchell’s twentieth-century translation of Job omits these portions altogether.²⁷

²³ Newsom, *Contest of Moral Imaginations*, 234.

²⁴ Schifferdecker, *Out of the Whirlwind*, 7.

²⁵ Stephen Mitchell, *The Book of Job* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1987), 97. James L. Kugel, *The Great Poems of the Bible: A Reader's Companion with New Translations* (New York: Free Press, 2008), 105.

²⁶ Job 42:7 in the King James Version says, “After the LORD had spoken these words unto Job, the LORD said to Eliphaz the Temanite, ‘My wrath is kindled against thee, and against thy two friends: for ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath.’” Larrimore, *Job: A Biography*, 205.

²⁷ For his explanation of this decision, see Mitchell, *The Book of Job*, 97.

Although the Hymn to Wisdom and Elihu interlude are almost certainly additions, this knowledge does not lessen the importance or legitimacy of readings of Job that hinge on one of these sections. For instance, John Calvin's *Sermons Upon Job*, a series of 159 sermons that he delivered between 1554-1555, capitalize on the fact that Elihu's speeches resemble God's and that Elihu is not reprimanded by God in Job 42:7. Patristic and medieval tradition had always praised Job's patience and lumped Elihu with the other backhanded comforters, assuming that none of them had "spoken rightly" like God's servant Job. Calvin has to take his interpretation another direction because his own theology agrees, not with Job, but with Elihu and the other comforters. Calvin is eager to find a loophole that allows him to use the comforters as a mouthpiece for his theology, so he embraces the fact that something is different about Elihu's interlude, which makes Elihu stand apart from the other comforters (see chapter 2).²⁸ Although Elihu's unexplained appearance, poetry that riffs on God's, and quick disappearance suggests alternative authorship for contemporary scholars, these features, for Calvin, turn Elihu into the theological hero of the Book of Job.

Calvin's use of Elihu is only one example of how early modern readers differ from contemporary readers in approaching the dating, authorship, and transmission of the Book of Job. Whereas contemporary scholars describe an anonymous (possibly postexilic) Hebrew author of Job's prose frame and poetry, many early modern commentators believed Moses to be the author of the Book of Job (perhaps during his time wandering in Midian), or credited Job himself, Solomon, or Elihu with the book's authorship (see chapter 1). Whereas contemporary scholars now acknowledge the Masoretes' editing of the Hebrew text as an influential part of

²⁸As Larrimore explains, "Earlier interpreters noticed oddities and tensions that we now attribute to multiple or even competing authorships." Larrimore, *Job: A Biography*, 195.

Job's transmission history, early modern readers were suspicious of the errors that "the Jews" could have introduced during the editing process.²⁹ And whereas contemporary scholars use close reading and historical criticism to interpret the text of Job, early modern readers interpreted what they read in the canonical Book of Job in light of what else they had read and heard about Job.

The Legend of Job

In the legend of Job, Job is the epitome of patience, a man who is tried by an adversary and proves his piety by enduring seemingly insurmountable suffering. This legend existed before the Book of Job and, for thousands of years, rivaled the canonical book's popularity.³⁰ In the early fifth century, Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, argued against the canonicity of the Book of Job, which (he said) maligns the heroic Job of legend.³¹ Theodore writes of an "outstanding and much esteemed history of the saintly Job, which circulated everywhere orally, in substantially the same form, not only amongst people of the Jewish race, but also amongst other peoples."³² Theodore contrasts what he calls this "true" oral history with the written Book of Job, which he suggests is a fiction composed by a poet to advertise his skill.³³

²⁹ See Knight, "Pen of Iron," 29.

³⁰ Certainly, for patristic and medieval readers, the "patient Job" of legend was a familiar characterization. In the early modern period, increased attention to Biblical texts, as well as increased interest in Job's complaints, made the written Book of Job increasingly familiar. By the nineteenth century, the rise of historical criticism gave the text of the Book of Job an even more privileged place. Nevertheless, the idea of "patient Job" has not disappeared from many contemporary faith traditions or popular culture. I recently discovered that "the patience of Job" is one of the idioms featured in Catch Phrase, a commercially available word-guessing party game.

³¹ Larimore, *Job: A Biography*, 13.

³² Quoted in Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 39. Translated by Stevenson in William Barron Stevenson, *The Poem of Job: A Literary Study, with a New Translation* (London: Pub. for the British Academy by Oxford UP, 1947), 78. Translated from Giovanni Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Et Amplissima Collectio T. 9* (Parisiis: Welter, 1902), IX, 223-25.

³³ Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 39.

The countless allusions to Job's patience in Jewish and Christian texts, including the Hebrew Bible and Christian New Testament, point to the strength of the legend of Job. In Ezekiel 14:20 God describes his plan to destroy the unrepentant house of Israel and suggests, "Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, as I live, saith the Lord God, they shall deliver neither son nor daughter; they shall but deliver their own souls by their righteousness."³⁴ Ezekiel's understanding of Job's righteousness suggests his familiarity with the legend of Job; in fact, because Ezekiel dates to c. 587 BCE, Ezekiel may predate the Book of Job, which would make its reference to Job based exclusively on legend.³⁵ For medieval and early modern readers, who held the New Testament in higher esteem than the Old, James 5:11 ("Ye have heard of the patience of Job") lent even more credibility to the Job legend.³⁶ James's allusion to Job's patience, as if this characterization were common knowledge, would be hard to explain if the canonical Book of Job were circulating in isolation.

James may have encountered the legend of Job through oral transmission, or perhaps through a written text.³⁷ Two early re-imaginings of the Book of Job helped to disseminate Job's legendary patience. These two texts, the apocryphal Testament of Job and the Septuagint Job, were written by authors who were familiar with the Hebrew source text for the canonical Book of Job, but consciously departed from it, resulting in versions of Job that put more emphasis on

³⁴ King James Version, Ezekiel 14:20.

³⁵ Raymond P. Scheindlin, *The Book of Job* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 9.

³⁶ King James Version, James 5:11.

³⁷ Larrimore, *Job: A Biography*, 41.

Job's patient endurance.³⁸ The Testament of Job seems to have originated between the second century BCE and second century CE, among an ascetic and ecstatic Egyptian movement called the Therapeutae.³⁹ The Testament begins with creating a backstory for the meeting between God and Satan in the Book of Job.⁴⁰ A voice comes to Job in a dream and reveals to him that a particular temple that purports to be holy is instead a shrine to the devil. Job is quick to ask the voice for permission to destroy the shrine, but the voice warns him that doing so will cause Satan to get revenge by destroying his possessions, killing his children, and afflicting him with ulcers. But if Job endures, the voice says, his patience will be rewarded by receiving everything he lost twofold. This backstory is an important elaboration of the Job story. Instead of undergoing suffering for an uncertain purpose with an unforeseeable end, Job knows that his piety will be rewarded.⁴¹ Because the Testament of Job provides a straightforward storyline with a more patient version of Job, some scholars have suggested that it was composed before the Book of Job. But, as Mark Larrimore explains, the Testament of Job responds to and deliberately avoids some of the difficulties of the Book of Job. Its presupposition of the canonical story, including its expanded explanation of the traditional characters' motivation and its reassignment of Job's

³⁸ Although there have been scholars who have argued for an entirely different source text for the Septuagint and Testament, there is more evidence to suggest that the Hebrew text existed first and that the authors of these other early versions of Job were invested in changing the Hebrew text. See discussion below.

³⁹ Larrimore, *Job: A Biography*, 41. In the fifth century CE, Pope Gelasius removed the Testament of Job from the Apocrypha, but the Testament remained important enough to be preserved in a tenth-century copy, the earliest surviving manuscript (Larrimore 49). It appears with the Catholic Church's other deuterocanonical texts in medieval and early modern Bibles, including the Douay-Rheims Bible of 1609.

⁴⁰ R. Thornhill, *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed. H.F.D. Sparks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 617-48.

⁴¹ Larrimore explains, "Grounded in certain foreknowledge, this patience is more like endurance than faith or hope." Larrimore, *Job: A Biography*, 47.

complaints to his servants, friends, and wife, suggests that the Testament was written later by a community that considered the canonical text problematic.⁴²

The Testament of Job was an influential text through the medieval and into the early modern period. Not only its understanding of Job's patience, but also a number of its other details—its explanation of Job's descent from Esau, expansion of Job's wife's single line into a diatribe, description of Job sitting “on a dunghill,” and characterization of Job and his friends as kings—became an established part of the legend of Job. These details are not included in the Book of Job, but feature in Job iconography, commentary, and allusions. For instance, in the Book of Tobias, an apocryphal book that was “exceedingly popular in the Middle Ages,”⁴³ Tobias is compared to Job because he undergoes a divine trial. The second chapter of Tobias explains, “And this tentation [temptation] therefore our Lord permitted to chance unto him, that an example might be given to posterity of his patience, also of Holy Job...For as the kings insulted against blessed Job...”⁴⁴ Tobias's understanding of Job's comforters as “kings,” as well as Job's “example of patience,” suggests the author's indebtedness to the legend of Job (as described in the Testament) rather than the Book of Job. The iconic image of Job sitting on a dunghill also has roots in the Testament (and the Septuagint, see below). The canonical Book of Job says that Job sits “among the ashes,”⁴⁵ but the Testament describes Job “sitting on a dunghill

⁴² Larimore, *Job: A Biography*, 46-48.

⁴³ Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 34.

⁴⁴ Gregory Martin, William Allen, and Laurence Kellam, *The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English, out of the Authentical Latin : Diligently Conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and Other Editions in Divers Languages: With Arguments of the Bookes, and Chapters, Annotations, Tables and Other Helpes, for Better Understanding of the Text : For Discoverie of Corruptions in Some Late Translations, and for Clearing Controversies in Religion* (Doway: Laurence Kellam, 1609), 992, EEBO image 508. This is Tobias 2:12 and 2:15.

⁴⁵ King James Version, Job 2:7.

outside of the city.”⁴⁶ Because of the legend’s popularity, Matthew Poole’s comprehensive *Synopsis Criticorum* (1660) describes Job sitting “on a dunghill” even though this phrase does not appear in the Book of Job,⁴⁷ and William Shakespeare alludes to Job in *King Lear* when Cornwall throws Gloucester “upon the dunghill.”⁴⁸

The Testament of Job may have influenced the translation of Job that appears in the Septuagint, a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible by Alexandrine Jews in the second century BCE.⁴⁹ The Testament and the Septuagint include many of the same details, including the royal status of Job and his friends and Job’s sitting with worms on a dung heap. As Henry S. Gehman describes, the translator of the Septuagint Job started with a Hebrew text “not far different from that of the Masoretes,”⁵⁰ but the final translation of the Septuagint differs significantly from the canonical Book of Job. First of all, the Septuagint Job shortens the Hebrew source text by over one-third, excluding many of the friends’ repetitive speeches.⁵¹ It also makes several additions to

⁴⁶ Montague Rhodes James, "Testament of Job," <http://gospel.thruhere.net/BibleStudy/Downloads2/Testament-of-Job-Revised-English.pdf>.

⁴⁷ Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque S. Scriptur Interpretum* (Londini: Typis J. Fleisher & T. Roycroft: Prostat apud Cornelium Bee, 1669-1676), Vol. 2, pars prior, 1.

⁴⁸ William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear*, ed. Claire McEachern (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2005), 4.1.99.

⁴⁹ Larrimore, *Job: A Biography*, 41. If we do the math, the current version of the Testament of Job probably post-dates the Septuagint. Scholars date the Testament of Job in its current form between 200 BCE — 200 CE, while the Septuagint dates to 200 BCE (or earlier). But scholars speculate that an older version of the Testament of Job existed at the time when the Septuagint was being written. Because of the way that the Septuagint translator chooses to do his translation, as well as how he makes decisions about selection and omission, he was probably working with the canonical Hebrew source text, but editing it according to his familiarity with the Testament of Job, or something like it. Of course, another possibility is that a common (probably oral) legend of Job independently influenced both the author of the Testament of Job and the translator of the Septuagint Job.

⁵⁰ Henry S. Gehman, "The Theological Approach of the Greek Translator of Job 1-15," *JBL* 68 (1949): 231.

⁵¹ This shortened version does not mean that a different source text led to the Septuagint Job. Claude Cox explains, “It has sometimes been suggested that the Greek Job is based upon an equally shorter Hebrew parent text. However, on the basis of what we can establish about the translator’s technique, i.e. his rather free, even paraphrastic approach, it seems more likely that the shorter text is to be attributed to the time of translation.” Claude E. Cox, "Job," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (New York:

the text, two of which are particularly noteworthy. First, like the Testament, the Septuagint expands its characterization of Job's impetuous wife in Job 2:9. Second, it adds an entire paragraph on Job's genealogy to the final chapter (see chapter 2).

The translator's changes to the Hebrew source text seem to be theologically motivated.⁵² As Gehman proves with a series of examples, the translator consistently softens Job's complaints and distances God from the cause of Job's suffering. For instance, whereas God in the Hebrew text suggests to Satan, "Thou hast incited me against him to destroy him without cause" (with a negative sense of "misled" or "allured"), the Septuagint suggests, "You said to destroy his possessions for no reason."⁵³ Or where the Hebrew text has Job saying, "Notwithstanding I would speak to the Almighty, / And to argue with God I desire," the Septuagint reads, "Nonetheless, I will speak to the Lord / and argue my case before him, if he wishes."⁵⁴ Removing God from the position of destroyer and adding "if he wishes" to Job's desire are calculated theological maneuvers.

Because the Septuagint was known throughout Greek-speaking Christendom, the translation had a major impact on later understandings of Job. In *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages*, Besserman describes, "No translation of the Hebrew Bible was to rival the Septuagint and its several recensions in historical importance; its decisive role in the spread of

Oxford University Press, 2007), 667. See Cox's introduction for more details on how the Septuagint differs from the Hebrew source text.

⁵² It is clear that the translator did not intend to give an exact rendering of the Hebrew. Jennifer M. Dines and Michael A. Knibb, *The Septuagint* (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2004), 54. Even as early as the first century, Philo of Alexandria was defending the Septuagint against charges of inaccurate translation by those who thought it strayed too far from the Book of Job (68).

⁵³ Gehman, "Theological Approach," 231. I referenced Gehman's article for these examples, but I used the more readable NETS translation of the Septuagint by Claude Cox for the quotations. Cox, "Nets Septuagint," Job 2:3.

⁵⁴ Gehman, "Theological Approach," 233. Again, the Septuagint quotation is from Cox, "Nets Septuagint," Job 13:3.

Christianity is hard to overestimate.”⁵⁵ Part of the Septuagint’s influence came indirectly through Jerome’s translation of the Vulgate in the late fourth century. In his preface to the Vulgate, Jerome claims to correct the errors of the Septuagint translators, who “omitted many things” and “certainly erred in some things.”⁵⁶ But Jerome’s translation also reflects the influence of the Septuagint, which had become a repository for popular Job images. For instance, although there is no “dunghill” in the Hebrew source text, Jerome maintains that Job is found “sedens in sterquilinio” in the Vulgate, which gets translated as “sitting on a dunghill” in the Douay-Rheims translation of 1609.⁵⁷

Early modern Protestant translators were aware of the Septuagint’s influence on Jerome’s translation of the Hebrew source text, which prompted their return to the *Hebraica veritas*.⁵⁸ Theodore Beza, in his “Preface to Job,” explains, “Although that learned father Jerome took upon him a labor very profitable for the church, in cleansing those corruptions of the Latin translations, as far as his ability served him, nevertheless much dross as yet remaineth behind.”⁵⁹ Beza outlines the common Protestant opinion that Jerome’s rendering of the Hebrew source text was inaccurate. When King James I commissioned his new translation of the Bible, the translators’ goal was to return to the Hebrew. Indeed, their translation of Job 2:9 features Job

⁵⁵ Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 36.

⁵⁶ Jerome, “Alius Prologus Sancti Hieronymi in Librum Job Ex Hebraeo in Latinum Per Eum Versum” in Nicholas of Lyra, Walafrius Strabus, and Paul of Burgos, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Cum Glossa Ordinaria Iam Ante Quidam a Strabo Fulgensi Collecta...Et Postilla Nicolai Lyrani, Tomus Tertius* (Venice: s.n., 1603), 1-2.

⁵⁷ This verse with its commentary appears in Lyra, *Bibliorum Sacrorum*, 39-40. It is translated as “dunghill” in Martin, Allen, and Kellam, *Douay-Rheims Bible (1609)*, Job 2:8, 1064.

⁵⁸ See Knight, “Pen of Iron,” 24.

⁵⁹ Théodore de Bèze, *Job Expounded by Theodore Beza, Partly in Manner of a Commentary, Partly in Manner of a Paraphrase. Faithfully Translated out of Latine into English* (London: John Legatt, 1589), A3v.

“among the ashes” instead of “on the dunghill.”⁶⁰ Thus, the Septuagint Job—with its softened complaints and more patient Job—became less influential as early modern translations relied on the Hebrew source text instead of using Jerome’s translation.

The Early Modern Job

It took Protestantism’s increased attention to the Book of Job itself (rather than oral legend, patristic commentary, apocryphal texts, and the Septuagint translation) to jumpstart a new way of understanding Job’s character. In his “Preface to Job,” Martin Luther inverts the patient Job tradition, suggesting that Job’s complaints are what make the Book of Job “magnificent and sublime” (chapter 1).⁶¹ In contrast to medieval commentators who praised Job for what he was able to endure, Luther highlights Job’s weakness for how it manifests his dependence on God’s grace. In his *Sermons Upon Job*, John Calvin, too, flips the “patient Job” tradition on its head. Instead of an exemplum of patience, Calvin understands Job as a complainer, who accuses God of injustice because he fails to comprehend God’s absolute power.

This dissertation begins at the publication of the first English Protestant primer, which was innovative in its suggestion to read Job’s complaints as an expression of one’s own suffering. If we find ourselves facing a Job-like trial, the 1535 primer suggests, “then mayest thou, with Job, make thy complaint to God.” English Protestantism’s attention to Job’s complaints (rather than just his patience) signals a turn from using the Book of Job as

⁶⁰ Nevertheless, early modern Protestant translators were also sometimes dependent upon the Septuagint translation when the Hebrew was muddled to the point of nonsense. In the preface to the King James Bible, Miles Smith does not deny the Septuagint’s problems, but deems the Greek translation useful in necessary cases. He points out that the Apostles “used it” and did not “condemn it.” “Preface,” in King James I, *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New*, A6v-B1r. This method of relying on the Septuagint when the Hebrew is unclear continues to be used by contemporary translators of Job, as Stephen Mitchell explains. Mitchell, *The Book of Job*, 96.

⁶¹ Martin Luther, “Prefaces to the Old Testament,” in *Luther’s Works, Vol. 35. Word and Sacrament I.*, ed. Charles M. Jacobs (trans.) and E. Theodore Bachmann (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960), 252.

hagiography to what early modern Protestants called “history” and what we might call psychological realism. This shift in attention catalyzed a chain reaction in early modern literature, where we see Job being used less frequently as an exemplum of patience and more often to discuss an array of other cultural and theological topics. My aim is to highlight these early modern engagements with Job, and thus the following five chapters describe five different, often unexpected places where Job appears in early modern English literature.

Although it has been a critical commonplace to note the centrality of the Bible in English Protestantism, few studies of early modern literary history examine a Biblical book in a way that captures the diversity of its uses in its contemporary moment. For instance, Barbara Lewalski’s influential *Protestant Poetics* (1979) argues how Biblical poetry provided a model for seventeenth-century Protestant lyric,⁶² but her focus is the ability of “human art to present divine truth.”⁶³ Other studies are primarily interested in tracing Biblical allusion to their correct chapters and verses,⁶⁴ or proving that early modern Biblical poetry is politics in disguise,⁶⁵ or investigating the Bible without focusing on how literature interacts with it.⁶⁶

⁶² Lewalski defines Biblical poetry as Psalms, Solomon, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, which does not include Job. She notes that a number of significant English Protestant Bibles (the Matthews Bible of 1537, Great Bible of 1539, and Bishops’ Bible of 1568) categorize Job among the historic books rather than the poetic. She theorizes that, because Jerome identified Job as being in hexameter verse, early modern writers associated it with epic (and thus history) rather than lyric. Barbara Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1979), 32.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁶⁴ Hannibal Hamlin, *The Bible in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013); Philip West, *Henry Vaughan's Silex Scintillans: Scripture Uses* (Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2001); Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in The Faerie Queene* (Memphis: Memphis State UP, 1976).

⁶⁵ Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth Century Revolution* (New York: Penguin Press, 1993); David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984); Philip C. Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998).

⁶⁶ Richard Griffiths, *The Bible in the Renaissance: Essays on Biblical Commentary and Translation in the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, Hants, UK: Ashgate, 2001).

Job is especially susceptible to omission or simplification in scholarship about the early modern period because of an assumption that its complexity escaped pre-modern audiences. For instance, Katharine Low reports, “For centuries, especially before Enlightenment historical-critical analysis, Christians have largely ignored the moral ruptures and incongruencies in Job.”⁶⁷ Other literary scholars avoid Job precisely because of its complexity. In an article on *The Jew of Malta*, Ian McAdam mentions the extended allusion to Job in the first act, but he decides to avoid analyzing “one of the most vexing examples of theological obfuscation in existence” because he is “not sure it would be worth the effort.”⁶⁸

Resisting this tendency to oversimplify Biblical allusions or reduce religious literature to confessional propaganda, my dissertation brings together a broad range of texts that interpret, respond, and object to Job. My focus is how Job’s story was used as a vehicle for cultural commentary as well as faith, which means that my project shares the aims of a small sect of scholarship interested in what Debora Shuger calls the “cultural work done by the Renaissance Bible.”⁶⁹ Shuger explains how the Bible “continued to generate knowledge and narrative” in the Renaissance because it had a “sort of extradogmatic surplus of undetermined meaning.”⁷⁰ Shuger and a handful of other literary historians have done for other Biblical books what my project does for Job. In Chapter 7 of *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (2008), Hannibal Hamlin’s “case study” of Psalm 137 explains how the psalm’s “closing cry for

⁶⁷ Katharine Low, *The Bible, Gender, and Reception History: The Case of Job's Wife* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 26.

⁶⁸ Ian McAdam, "Carnal Identity in *The Jew of Malta*," *English Literary Renaissance* 26, no. 1 (1996): 49.

⁶⁹ Debora K. Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 2.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 3-6.

vengeance...was used as a call to arms by polemicists on both sides of the English Civil War.” His aim is to “demonstrate how deeply the biblical lyrics permeated the literary, religious, political, and social strata of the period.”⁷¹ Esther Gilman Richey’s focus in *The Politics of Revelation in the English Renaissance* (1998) is similar—to explain how literary representations of Revelations highlight the “ecclesiastical, spiritual, and political commitments” of their writers—as is Elizabeth Clarke’s *Politics, Religion and the Song of Songs in Seventeenth-Century England* (2011).⁷²

Job has yet to receive this kind of sustained attention from early modern literary scholars, although a handful of previous studies of Job in the early modern period lay a helpful foundation for my exploration. The first two chapters of Barbara Lewalski’s *Milton’s Brief Epic* (1966) comprise the most extensive (published) literary study of Job in the Renaissance. Lewalski illuminates the generic and thematic concerns of *Paradise Regained* by reading it as a Biblical epic, a genre that Milton applies to the Book of Job. Because her goal is to establish the long-standing tradition of reading Job as epic, she emphasizes the continuity between patristic, medieval, and Renaissance commentary in portraying Job as a patient hero. Although she acknowledges that Protestantism introduced its own “standard” version of the story that emphasized Job’s inherent sinfulness, she spends little time exploring this Protestant version, which, she says, appeared “with minor differences in the writings of Luther, Calvin, and Beza.”⁷³

⁷¹ Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2004), 15.

⁷² Esther Gilman Richey, *The Politics of Revelation in the English Renaissance* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998); Elizabeth Clarke, *Politics, Religion and the Song of Songs in Seventeenth-Century England* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

⁷³ Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Milton’s Brief Epic; the Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained* (Providence: Brown UP, 1966), 18.

Without discrediting the continued popularity of the “patient Job” tradition in the Renaissance, I focus on how the political, religious, and social changes in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries nuanced the character that dominated patristic and medieval commentary. Yet my reading does not set a “standard Protestant exegesis” against a traditional reading, but explores how writers—including Milton (chapter 3)—used Job to respond to their cultural moment.

The other major studies of Job in the Renaissance are two unpublished dissertations. The first is Leonard Siger’s *The Image of Job in the Renaissance* (1960).⁷⁴ This dissertation walks through the history of patristic and medieval commentary and gives an overview of the major early modern paraphrases and literary representations of Job. The other dissertation is Alison Knight’s *Pen of Iron: Scriptural Text and the Book of Job in Early Modern English Literature* (2012). She investigates how early modern Christians made sense of Job’s “lexical confusion,”⁷⁵ ending with a chapter on literary engagements with Job, particularly in George Herbert’s poetry. Whereas she objects to studies that “focus on the ‘impact’ or ‘use’ of biblical content,” this project imagines “use” as a creative, nonreductive process in which literature interacts with Biblical content.⁷⁶

Why Job?

Throughout its history, Job’s thematic concerns have contributed to its popularity during moments of upheaval. Based on surviving evidence, the early Christian church showed little interest in Job relative to other Biblical books, but Job’s popularity surged during the fall of the Roman Empire in the fourth century CE, again during the Black Plague in the late Middle Ages,

⁷⁴ Leonard Siger, “The Image of Job in the Renaissance” (John Hopkins, 1960).

⁷⁵ Knight, “Pen of Iron,” 7.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

and following the Holocaust in the twentieth century.⁷⁷ The early modern period distinguishes itself within the reception history of Job for its groundbreaking and controversial interpretations. The controversies surrounding the Protestant Reformation, the Scientific Revolution, and the English Civil War made early modern culture receptive to a Biblical text that could address their rapidly changing concerns. The combination of the volatile religio-political climate of post-Reformation Europe and Protestant hermeneutical innovations—commentators’ newfound interest in primary Hebrew sources, the emergence of textual criticism, and debates about how the Bible expressed its truth—put the Book of Job’s “slipperiness” (to use Jerome’s term) at the center of controversy.

The Book of Job, more than other Biblical books, lent itself to a variety of early modern interpretations. First and foremost, the book’s unanswerable, first-person questions resist reduction to trite aphorisms. In contrast to most other Biblical stories, Job includes large portions of lyric poetry that give voice to its suffering character. A third person narrator, being removed from the action, can sound like an authoritative figure prescribing solutions to suffering.⁷⁸ In contrast, when Job cries, “Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery?” he puts himself in the position of a sufferer who does not know the reason for his affliction.⁷⁹ The value of this first-person point-of-view has received significant attention not only from contemporary

⁷⁷ Simonetti and Conti, *Ancient Christian Commentary*, xvii-xxix.

⁷⁸ It is this problem of perspective that makes Leonato in *Much Ado About Nothing* resist preachers of patience: “[T]is all men's office to speak patience / To those that wring under the load of sorrow, / But no man's virtue nor sufficiency / To be so moral when he shall endure / The like himself.” A third person narrator is, by definition, unable to appreciate the miseries of the suffering party. William Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing* (Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2008), 5.1.27-31.

⁷⁹ King James Version, Job 3:20.

theologians,⁸⁰ but also from early modern readers. These readers were interested in Job's story as a *story*, in contrast to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tendency to develop a philosophical system out of Job's poetry. The idea of reading Job as the manifestation of a particular philosophy arose with the publication of Gottfried Leibniz's *Essais de Théodicée*, or *Essays of Theodicy* (1709). When Leibniz coined the term "theodicy" to describe the problem of reconciling God's omnipotence and perfect goodness with the existence of evil, his work prompted readings of Job that searched for systematic answers (see chapter 4).⁸¹ This methodology focused on fitting Job's story within philosophical categories, giving less attention to how Job's poetry conveys his experience.

The effectiveness of Job's poetry for expressing the cries of a suffering individual was not lost on early modern poets like George Herbert. Herbert establishes the faithfulness of his complaints in *The Temple* by borrowing them from Job. Job accuses, "Thou...holdest me for thine enemy."⁸² Herbert accuses, "Thou didst betray me."⁸³ Job cries, "Behold, I cry out of wrong, but I am not heard."⁸⁴ Herbert cries, "O that thou shouldst give dust a tongue / To cry to

⁸⁰ Recent studies by Kathryn Schifferdecker and Carol A. Newsom attend to the literariness of Job. Schifferdecker, *Out of the Whirlwind*; Newsom, *Contest of Moral Imaginations*.

⁸¹ It was not that theologians simply accepted God's justice in permitting Job's affliction prior to Leibniz, as my fourth chapter makes clear, but the notion of theodicy as a problem of faith that could be answered using reason was an eighteenth-century invention. The full title is *Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal*, or *Essays of Theodicy on the Goodness of God, the Freedom of Man and the Origin of Evil*, (1709). For an overview of theodicy in eighteenth-century thought, see Luca Fomesu, "The Problem of Theodicy," in *Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 749-78.

⁸² King James Version, Job 13:24.

⁸³ "Affliction (I)" in George Herbert, *The English Poems of George Herbert*, ed. Helen Wilcox (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2007), 163.

⁸⁴ King James Version, Job 30:19-20.

thee, / And then not hear it crying!”⁸⁵ Job demands, “Let him take his rod away from me.”⁸⁶ Herbert demands, “Throw away thy rod.”⁸⁷ Job questions, “Wherefore hidest thou thy face?”⁸⁸ Herbert questions, “What hidden place conceals thee still?”⁸⁹ Countless other poems from *The Temple* borrow from Job at a thematic, as well as a verbal, level. For instance, “The Collar” takes both its narrative and perhaps its title from Job. In “The Collar,” the speaker laments his change in circumstances, from having abundant wine and corn to losing all his resources. Job experiences a similar ruin, from being the richest man in the east to lying naked on a dung hill. As Job recounts his devastation, he complains that his hardship “bindeth me about as the collar of my coat.”⁹⁰ Perhaps Herbert’s title is meant to recall this “collar” of hardship that traps the previously prospering believer.⁹¹

Like George Herbert, the other authors in this project are primarily interested in Job as poetry rather than philosophy, a narrative in which Job asks questions rather than a basis for constructing a theory. Job is apt for moments of crises, controversy, and tectonic shifts in ideology, not just because of its sufferer’s first-person narration, but also because the book is filled with questions. Job asks questions, Job’s friends respond with questions, and God reprimands with questions. In the King James Bible, God’s final interchange with Job reads:

⁸⁵ “Denial,” in Herbert, *English Poems*, 288.

⁸⁶ King James Version, Job 9:34.

⁸⁷ “Discipline” in Herbert, *English Poems*, 621-22.

⁸⁸ King James Version, Job 13:24.

⁸⁹ “The Search” in Herbert, *English Poems*, 556.

⁹⁰ King James Version, Job 30:18.

⁹¹ The title already has numerous identified meanings, including “choler” (anger), “caller” (person who calls), “collar” (yoke). Herbert, *English Poems*, 527.

Moreover the Lord answered Job, and said, “Shall he that contendeth with the Almighty instruct him? He that reproveth God, let him answer it.” Then Job answered the Lord, and said, “Behold, I am vile; what shall I answer thee?”⁹²

The word “answer” appears four times in the passage⁹³—1. God “answers” Job, 2. God dares someone to “answer,” 3. Job “answers” God, 4. Job asks “What shall I answer?” Despite the word’s frequency, the passage does not provide the resolution that “answer” usually implies. God does not respond directly to Job’s complaints, but asks a question of Job. And Job responds to God’s question, but his answer is another question: “What shall I answer thee?” When God declares that Job has “spoken of me the thing that is right,”⁹⁴ he affirms the person who realizes the shortcomings of his knowledge yet persists in asking questions. For early modern Christians who were experiencing (literally) cosmic shifts in thought, God’s affirmation of Job’s questions-as-answers was an attractive moral of a Biblical story.

Job’s difficult Hebrew poetry also necessitates interpreters’ creative leeway. The gaps, puns, turns of phrase, and figurative language in the Hebrew text leave its meaning fluid, allowing commentators to see their concerns reflected in its lines. Since Jerome’s first influential commentary in the fourth century, commentators on Job have acknowledged its unique slipperiness of meaning. Jerome writes in his preface:

⁹² King James Version, Job 40:1-4.

⁹³ The word ענה or רענה (the same word, but preceded by ו [vav] when before a name) also appears four times in these verses in Hebrew. Modern translations interpret the word as “answered” when it stands alone and “responded” when it precedes a name, in keeping with other uses in the Old Testament. Thus, the Stone edition of the Tanakh reads, “Hashem then responded out to Job and said: ‘Can one who contends with the Almighty be arrogant? He who argues with God must answer [His words]!’ Job then responded to Hashem and said: ‘Behold, I am deficient; what can I answer you?’” Nosson Scherman, *Tanakh: The Torah, Prophets, Writing [“Stone Edition”]* (Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah, 1996), Job 40:1-4. Thanks to Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan, director of the Jewish Learning Initiative on Campus (JLIC) at UCLA for this help with the Hebrew translation.

⁹⁴ King James Version, Job 42:7.

For even among the Hebrews the whole book is considered oblique and slippery and what the Greek rhetors call figuratively arranged (ἔσχηματισμένος), and while one thing is said, it does another, as if you would hold tightly an eel or a little murena fish, when you press harder, then the sooner it escapes.⁹⁵

Jerome's borrowing of the Greek word ἔσχηματισμένος, or "tricked out with rhetorical figures," captures what is challenging about interpreting Job. The word, which comes from σχηματίζω, meaning "to assume a certain form, posture, figure," was applied by Greek rhetoricians to a text so filled with figures that its meaning departs significantly from what appears on the page.⁹⁶ The word not only carries the neutral meaning of the noun σχῆμα ("form" or "appearance"), but also the negative meaning of the adjective σχηματικός ("false" or "pretended"). When Jerome says that Job is ἔσχηματισμένος, he suggests that the text is indirect, even misleading, and implies that the reader must distinguish what the text "says" from what it "does."

Early modern translators acknowledge Job's difficulties. Martin Luther commented in an open letter in 1530 that, in translating the Book of Job, he and his team "labored so, that

⁹⁵ Jerome, "Prologue to Job," translated by Kevin P. Edgecomb, The Tertullian Project (2006), http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_preface_job.htm. Originally published by Edgecomb, Berkely, CA (2006) in a personal blog at <http://www.bombaxo.com/blog/jeromes-prologue-to-job/>. The Latin reads:

Obliquus enim etiam apud Hebreos totus liber fertur, & lubricus, & quod Graece rhetores vocant ἔσχηματισμένος, dum qui aliud loquitur, aliud agit. Ut si velis anguillam, aut murenulam strictis tenere manibus; quanto fortius presseris, tanto citius elabitur.

"Alius Prologus Sancti Hieronymi in Librum Job Ex Hebraeo in Latinum Per Eum Versum," in *Biblia Sacra Cum Glossa Ordinaria*, ed. Nicholas of Lyra (Ducai: n.p., 1617), 1-2.

⁹⁶ Greek rhetoricians discussed the σχηματισμός or "configuration" of words. In the anonymous rhetorical guide "Περὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων" ["Concerning the configuration of words"], the section entitled "ΠΕΡΙ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΥ" ["Concerning Configuration"] describes, "Ἐσχηματισμένος λόγος, ὅταν τὸ ἐναντίον οὗ λέγομεν κατασκευάζωμεν, ἢ ὅταν μετὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου καὶ ἄλλο τι περὰν ἢ ὁ λόγος;" ["The speech is 'forming itself in a figure' whenever the opposite of what it is saying is being constructed or whenever with the opposite also another thing which is beyond the word."] Anonymous, "XXIV. Περὶ Τῶν Τοῦ Λόγου Σχημάτων," in *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Leonhard von Spengel (Lipsiae: B.G. Teubneri, 1853), 118.

sometimes we scarcely handled three lines in four days.”⁹⁷ In the introduction to his paraphrase of Job, Jean-François Senault, admits that he wishes “it were more intelligible, for it is certain there are some places so dark, that they seem rather riddles than truths, and the earth will never have a perfect understanding of them.”⁹⁸ George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1611-1633, in his preface to *The Whole Book of Job Paraphrased* (London 1640), similarly draws attention to his effort to construct meaning from the labyrinthine Hebrew text:

This Book of Job in respect of the [classical Hebrew] dialect of those times, being of quaint expressions, must needs be explained by others and more familiar language...else they cannot be fully rendered, nor the discourse by its right joints and ligaments continued, and knit together; but must needs be imperfect, blind, and lame, which I have labored the cure of, by perspicuity of phrase and dependence.⁹⁹

In other words, because the Hebrew text consists of highly elegant (“quaint”) expressions, Job “needs be explained” by other, more familiar phrases.¹⁰⁰ If he had not worked to “cure” the text of its imperfections through careful word choice and lucid explanation of meaning (“perspicuity of phrase and dependence”), its “discourse” could not begin to be understood.

⁹⁷ Martin Luther, "On Translating: An Open Letter (1530)," in *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, ed. Timothy Lull (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2005), 188.

⁹⁸ Jean-François Senault, *The Pattern of Patience in the Example of Holy Job: A Paraphrase Upon the Whole Book* (London: Printed for Joseph Cranford, 1657), A11r-v.

⁹⁹ George Abbot, *The Whole Booke of Iob Paraphrased or, Made Easie for Any to Understand* (London: Edward Griffin for Henry Overton, 1640), sig. A3r, EEBO image 3.

¹⁰⁰ For Abbot, the meaning consists of two parts: the “dependence,” or the meaning that is indicated by the word or phrase, and the “coherence,” or the connections between words and phrases.

The chapters that follow highlight how the slipperiness of Job made it a breeding ground for conflicting interpretations. Depending on the commentator and the lens through which it was viewed, Job was a model of patience or a model of complaint. Job was an Edomite or a proto-Christian. Job established the absolute sovereignty of God or the free will of man. Job supported heliocentrism or geocentrism. In the relative scale of Biblical books, the gospels had higher salvific value and the Psalms were more popular,¹⁰¹ but no other Biblical book sparked scholarly conversation on such a wide-range of topics.

A brief comparison of Job and Psalms highlights what makes Job uniquely suited to address such various, sometimes conflicting, concerns. Psalms resembles Job in many ways: both Job and Psalms are poetic, narrated in the first person, and praised by early modern Biblical commentators for the breadth of their thematic reach.¹⁰² But Psalms' wide reach was not quite as wide as Job's. Whereas Job was thought to be an encyclopedia of *all* topics (including zoology, music, medicine, and cosmology), Psalms was credited with expressing the full range of human emotion and devotional experience. The introduction to Psalms in the Geneva Bible explains:

This book of Psalms is set forth unto us by the Holy Ghost to be esteemed as a most precious treasure, wherein all things are contained that appertain to true

¹⁰¹ Lewalski calls Psalms the “epitome of the entire scripture.” Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 41. The abundance of contemporary studies whose topic is “Psalms in early modern England” speaks to Psalms’ frequency of appearance and importance. Hamlin, *Psalms Culture*; Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge UP, 1987); Mary Ann Radzinowicz, *Milton's Epics and the Book of Psalms* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1989); Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis, *Psalms in the Early Modern World* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).

¹⁰² For instance, Senault writes in his introduction to Job, “Sometimes [Job] reasons like an excellent philosopher and serves himself with all the secrets of rhetoric and morality, to persuade or move. Sometimes he speaks like a sage politician, and describes all the maxims which statesmen hold for the conduct of the people. Sometimes he treats like a curious naturalist, and discovers the most hidden beauties of nature. Oftentimes he discourseth like a profound Divine, and describes to us those adorable Perfections, which separate God so noble from his works. But on what subject soever he speaks, he is always an orator, and his eloquence never leaves him.” Senault, *Pattern of Patience*, A11r.

felicity, as well in this life present as in the life to come. For the riches of true knowledge, and heavenly wisdom are here set open for us...Briefly, here we have most present remedies against all temptations and troubles of mind and conscience, so that being well practiced herein, we may be assured against all dangers in this life, live in the true fear, and love of God, and at length arrive to that incorruptible crown of glory, which is laid up for all them that love the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁰³

This introduction advertises that Psalms contains “all things” that “appertain to true felicity.” Whatever a person’s spiritual state-of-mind, Psalms allows him to be “assured against all dangers in this life.” Although this introduction presents Psalms as a panacea for spiritual woes, its catalogue of topics is not as extensive as Job’s. For instance, the “Table of Contents” for Calvin’s *Sermons Upon Job* contains, under the “A” section alone, entries as disparate as adultery, air (“why the middle room or region of the air is the coldest”), and asses (with three entries under the subheading “wild asses”).¹⁰⁴ Other notable entries include “birthdays,” “clouds,” “dancing,” “eagles,” “gate,” “idiot,” and “mists.”

Psalms also differs from Job in how its protagonist responds to suffering. When David experiences hardship, he complains, but he also repents his wrongdoing. When Job experiences hardship, his patience does not last long, and his repentance is late in coming. His insistence on

¹⁰³ “The Psalms of David. The Argument,” in William Whittingham, *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1560), 235. EEBO image 247. Henceforth cited “Geneva Bible.” The full title indicates that the text was “Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages. With moste profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the epistle to the reader.”

¹⁰⁴ “A Table of the Principall Matters Contayned in this Booke,” in Jean Calvin, *Sermons of Master Iohn Calvin, Vpon the Booke of Iob*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: Lucas Harison and George Byshop, 1574).

his innocence throughout his complaints is very different from David's humility. The fact that David readily admits wrongdoing softens the edge of his complaints and makes them easier to incorporate into a model of faithfulness. Thus, when Calvin is sermonizing on Job, he cannot always find the example of piety that he seeks in the Book of Job itself. Therefore, he draws upon Job *and* David as examples of men who loved God and were afflicted by Him. In fact, Calvin uses David more frequently than Job; after all, David recognizes that he deserved punishment (making God's justice more explainable) and is forthcoming about the corrective purpose of his suffering. Although drawing parallels between Job and David was part of the patristic tradition that Calvin inherited from Ambrose and Gregory,¹⁰⁵ Calvin does not put Job and David on an equal level as patient sufferers. As Susan Schreiner describes, "Although Calvin repeats the traditional view, defended by Gregory, that Job was intended as a 'mirror of patience' for future generations, the reader quickly realizes that this title more rightly belongs to David."¹⁰⁶

Calvin's recourse to Psalms in order to smooth out the difficulties in Job points to why early modern engagements with Job are interesting to study. The margin of the Geneva Bible reminds us that psalms are "praises" that are intended "to praise and give thanks to God for his benefices."¹⁰⁷ They help those who are "afflicted and oppressed" because they teach "wherein standeth their comfort, and how they ought to praise God when he sendeth them deliverance."¹⁰⁸

Calvin's endorsement of Job is not so whole-hearted. He says in the introduction to Job, "In this

¹⁰⁵ Ambrose, "The Prayer of Job and David (De Interpellatione Iob Et David)," in *Seven Exegetical Works*, Vol. 65, ed. Michael P. McHugh, The Fathers of the Church (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1972), 325-420. Ambrose's series of sermons were probably delivered between 387-389 CE (327).

¹⁰⁶ Susan Elizabeth Schreiner, *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found?: Calvin's Exegesis of Job from Medieval and Modern Perspectives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 101.

¹⁰⁷ *Geneva Bible*, 235.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 235.

story we have to mark that Job maintaineth a good cause, but handleth it evil.”¹⁰⁹ Calvin realizes that Job’s trajectory is not from despair to faith, as it repeatedly is in the psalms. Even the most distressed paraphrases of Psalms, such as Anne Locke’s poetic mediation on Psalm 51, maintain a penitential stance as they complain. When Locke tells herself, “In vain thou brayest forth thy bootless noise / To him for mercy,” her fear is that she is undeserving of God’s mercy because of her sin.¹¹⁰ In contrast to this penitential stance, when Job complains, “Why hast thou set me as a mark against myself? And why dost thou not pardon my transgression, and take away my iniquity?” his fear is that God chooses to have him suffer, even though he deserves mercy.¹¹¹

Phillippe de Mornay, in his elegiac *Teares for the Death of His Son*, makes a noticeable switch from Psalms to Job when he wants to express complaint. Mornay starts with interpreting Psalm 39, in which David says: “I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue: I will keep my mouth with a bridle, while the wicked is before me.”¹¹² Even when his “sorrow is stirred,” David expresses his intention to restrain his grief so that he does not “sin” with his tongue. At the beginning of his meditation, Mornay considers this Biblical model. He asks, “What, shall I then speak out my woes, or shall I entomb them in silence?”¹¹³ Before long, grief overwhelms him. At this point, Mornay could have returned to Psalm 39, in which David

¹⁰⁹ *Geneva Bible*, 223.

¹¹⁰ Anne Locke, “A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner: Written in a Maner of a Paraphrase Upon the 51 Psalm of David,” in *Sermons of Iohn Caluin, Vpon the Songe That Ezechias Made after He Had Bene Sicke and Afflicted by the Hand of God, Conteyned in the 38. Chapter of Esay. Translated out of Frenche into Englishe* (London: John Day, 1560), “Preface,” EEBO image 57.

¹¹¹ King James Version, Job 7:21.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Psalms 39:1-2.

¹¹³ Phillippe de Mornay, *Philip Mornay, Lord of Plessis His Teares for the Death of His Sonne. Vnto His Wife Charlotte Baliste*, trans. John Healey (London: G. Eld, 1609), n.p., EEBO image 6.

similarly fails to be silent and breaks out in lament. Instead, Mornay switches from Psalms to Job. He describes himself as a “fain fool” for thinking that his son would be the source of his renewal and revival, crying:

But behold! Thou breathed’st but upon him, and as the down of a flower, he flew away in fleeces. He shot forth as a flower, and is cut down. Thou hast taken him away, as the unripe grape. Thou hast cast him off, as the olive doth her flower. Here, is the heartstrings of comfort, all cut! Here (LORD) how can I speak enough, though I were all tongue! How can my stupid silence be sufficient, were I all flint?¹¹⁴

The marginal note indicates Job 14.2—“He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not”—and Job 15.33—“He shall shake off his unripe grape as the vine, and shall cast off his flower as the olive”—as his sources. Mornay’s initial question from Psalms is no longer a question. He cannot make his “silence” a sufficient response to his son’s death, so he turns to one of Job’s complaints.

In giving attention to these writers who use Job to complain (the author of the 1535 primer, George Herbert, Philip de Mornay), I do not mean to imply that *every* early modern writer uses Job for this purpose. But I am suggesting that early Protestant commentators’ new attention to Job’s complaints opened the text to interpretative possibilities. When readers started approaching Job as something other than hagiography, they found a rich resource for entering any number of cultural conversations, including those in the five chapters that follow.

Methodologically, my project is indebted to new historicism. I assume that early modern

¹¹⁴ Mornay, *Tears*, n.p., EEBO image 8.

interpretations of Job shaped and were shaped by their contexts. I also hope that my readings attend to the “generative relationship between text and content, and between form and context,” exemplifying Marjorie Levinson’s sense that new historicism and formalism need not be at odds.¹¹⁵

Summaries

Chapters 1 and 2 examine how early modern writers (primarily commentators and paraphrasers) used aspects of Job’s identity—his humanness (1) and his lineage (2)—to construct models for how a Christian looks and acts. Chapter 1, “Human Job,” explores the groundbreaking development in early modern interpretations of Job—their attention to Job’s complaints. As I’ve already briefly outlined, early Protestants, including Martin Luther and his proto-Lutheran followers, initiated a shift from seeing Job as a saint, who served as a model of spiritual perfection due to his patience, to seeing Job as an ordinary fallen human, who served as a model of man’s dependence on God due to his frailty. In patristic and medieval exegesis, Job appears as a heroic spiritual warrior, who triumphs over his adversity through his incomparable patience. This tradition focuses on Job’s prose frame, in which Job patiently bears his afflictions, and ignores the bitter complaints that have given Job his twenty-first-century reputation as a poet of suffering and challenger of God. But alongside the medieval exegetical tradition, a second, popular tradition arose from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries. In the Office of the Dead, which is part of the liturgy included in the medieval Book of Hours, nine poetic lessons from Job were understood as voicing the complaints of purgatorial spirits. It was this popular tradition, not the exegetical one, that gave rise to Protestant understandings of Job in the sixteenth and

¹¹⁵ Marjorie Levinson, “Reflections on the New Historicism,” *European Romantic Review* 23.3 (2012): 357.

seventeenth centuries. When Martin Luther wrote his preface to the Book of Job in 1524, he did not suggest that Job was a perfect paragon of virtue; he focused on man's propensity to complain "however holy he may be."

My first chapter explores this shift away from saintliness and toward what we might now call "psychological realism," a shift that is manifest within early modern commentary in a number of ways. My chapter provides two "case studies" that manifest this change—a uniquely Protestant explanation of Job's sleep patterns and an obsession with Job's existence as a historical person. In the first case, when the early Lutheran commentator Sebastian Münster hypothesizes that Job was asleep during the book's famous theophany, he reverses previous exegetes' mistrust of sleep. Münster uses sleep—a lowly time, when man can do nothing but passively receive God—as his image of an exemplary Protestant life. Second, whereas countless features of the Book of Job suggest to us that the text is fiction, almost every early modern commentator was interested in Job's historical existence. These commentators defend Job's historicity in their prefaces and annotations to Job 1:1 because, first and foremost, they want Job to set an example for early modern readers. Their insistence on Job's humanity as a necessary component of his exemplarity points to their new focus on Job's "realism."

As part of their effort to establish Job's humanness, early modern commentators diligently traced Job's genealogy, the topic of my second chapter, "Edomite Job." Following patristic tradition, most early modern commentators outlined Job's descent from Esau based on Old Testament evidence. But this genealogy presented Calvin and his intellectual disciples with a challenge, one that would turn the standard patristic rendering of Job's family tree into a matter of delineating the "in-group" and "out-group" of God's church. According to Calvinist doctrine, because Esau and his descendants were Gentiles—the opposite of God's chosen Israelites—they

were the “wrong” race and should have been outside of the sphere of grace. The issue at hand was hereditary sanctification, that is, whether grace was passed down from godly parents to their godly children and, if so, how a Gentile (like Job) could have received grace. The problem prompts Calvin to extend (albeit hesitantly) the bounds of God’s grace beyond the Christian church. Calvin deals with this issue by emphasizing God’s sovereignty, particularly his ability to elect whomever he wishes.

Calvin’s Protestant successors take disparate positions on the subject of Job’s Gentile lineage. Hugh Broughton, a staunch member of the Reformed tradition, passionately resists Job’s descent from Esau, insisting that God would never have elected a Gentile. His racialized Calvinist Biblicism lays the foundation for the worldview of the American separatists. On the other hand, Sebastian Castellio, a progenitor of Anglican rationalists like Richard Hooker, Lancelot Andrewes, and the Great Tew Circle, uses Job to emphasize the wide extent of God’s grace. In light of this tradition, it is unsurprising that the *Paraphrase on Job* (1637) by George Sandys, a member of the Great Tew Circle, would praise Job for his tolerance of competing viewpoints.

My first two chapters focus on how writers used aspects of Job’s selfhood to delineate the identity of an early modern Christian. Chapter 3, “Justifying God,” begins to explore the individual Christian’s relationship to God and world. This chapter traces how four early modern theologians—John Calvin, Samuel Harsnett, William Bedell, and, finally, John Milton—use Job to “justify the ways of God to man.” Because God turns Job over to Satan and allows him to be tortured, the Book of Job has long raised questions about God’s justice. In his *Sermons Upon Job*, John Calvin answers these “murmurs” by insisting on God’s sovereignty. Because God has absolute power, his actions define justice, not the other way around. When God chooses to afflict

Job or damn people according to his “pleasure’s sake,” Calvin suggests, God has the right to do so; if these actions do not seem “good” from a human perspective, the problem is with our understanding, not with God’s justice.

Calvin’s defense of God’s sovereignty became the standard theodicy, or way of justifying God, in the Reformed church. But it was not universally accepted. Both Samuel Harsnett and William Bedell suggest that God is *not* good if he causes the sin for which people are punished or sends them to eternal damnation by an absolute, eternal decree. Instead, Harsnett and Bedell picture a loving God, who wants people to come to him of their own volition. According to their theodicies, evil and suffering exist in the world, not because God uses his absolute power to will it, but because God chooses to share his power with mankind, giving man the freedom to choose good or evil. For them, Job’s trial is important because it is a *trial*, in which Job can choose to remain pious or renounce his faith. By providing a Biblical example of man’s ability to obey God, the Book of Job clears God from responsibility when man ends up choosing wrongly.

Milton became the most famous proponent of this theodicy that defends man’s free will. Milton requires that God be “good” in the way that we understand goodness, which means sharing his power with man in the form of freedom. But Milton’s theodicy also does more than clear God from his responsibility for evil. Milton ties his theodicy to his soteriology, his understanding of the way that God redeems mankind. Instead of simply proving that man is responsible for his own damnation, Job’s freedom to resist temptation demonstrates how Christ overpowers Satan through his obedience. Job features not only in *Paradise Regained*, but also *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes*, because he helps Milton conceptualize the workings of a perfectly good, all-powerful God in a fallen world.

Milton's emphasis on Job's Christ-like victory over Satan was not typical of early modern readings of Job, which balanced Job's triumphs with his lowliness and imperfections. My fourth chapter, "Peripheral Job," examines how, for the Augustinian monk Diego de Zuñiga, Job demonstrated man's insignificance before God on a cosmic scale. As mathematicians and astronomers debated geocentric versus heliocentric models of the universe, one of the discursive side effects was a newfound (and paradoxical) insistence that the universe had been created especially for man. Contra Aristotle, who described the center of the universe (i.e. earth) as the place to which the dullest, most bodily material sinks, early modern geocentricists argued that God put man at the center of the universe because it was the most privileged place to inhabit. Most heliocentricists responded by assigning the glorious sun (a representation of God's light) to the coveted center spot yet describing man as the universe's privileged surveyor. But when Zuñiga's *In Job Commentaria* (1584) uses Job 9:6 to verify Copernicus's heliocentric model, his reading of Job (which would land him on the Holy Office's 1616 Index of Prohibited Books, just after Copernicus himself) maintains man's peripheral place in creation, a view that is more consonant with the traditional Aristotelian cosmology that imagines man as furthest from the spiritual spheres. Zuñiga reads God's response to Job—"Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth?"—like other early modern commentators who notice Job's smallness relative to the scale of creation.

It was a familiar medieval trope to recognize the smallness of the earth and the pettiness of earthly concerns relative to the size of the universe and eternity of the heavens. For instance, at the end of Dante's *Paradiso*, Dante looks back on earth from the sphere of the fixed stars and is struck by earth's "scrawny image." But the emphasis on man's smallness in early modern literature has deeper implications for the status of man. Whereas the medieval trope always

features a man viewing earth's smallness from a supernatural perspective, early modern writers suggest that, even relative to other parts of the natural world, man is insignificant. My final chapter, "Job and the Sublime" considers how the Welsh poet Henry Vaughan (1621-1695) makes sense of man's corrupt nature relative to the natural world's incomprehensible beauty. Vaughan's hermeticism—a Renaissance philosophy that emphasized mankind as just one part of nature—gave him a nuanced perspective on human marginality, the theme that had become such an important part of the Protestant Job tradition. His poetry in *Silex Scintillans* (first. publ. 1650, enlarged 1655) uses Job to criticize man's inconstancy, impiety, and insignificance compared to nature's richness, spiritual simplicity, and abundance. His speaker borrows Job's complaints to record his afflictions and express his dissatisfaction with a God who seems to have little care for man. Meanwhile, the Book of Job's nature imagery provides a stock of language for expressing Vaughan's fascination with and adoration of the natural world.

But Vaughan also explores how man, in his outcast and downtrodden state, is able to experience the divine. Although our limited wisdom and shortsighted priorities are often a liability, Vaughan's poem, "The Night," also posits our lack of understanding as a precondition to glimpsing God's grandeur. We must be overcome by a mystery that we cannot comprehend, as Job was when he encountered God in the whirlwind. Vaughan takes Calvin's version of Job (that is, a version that emphasizes Job's sinfulness and marginality) and turns it into an opportunity to experience sublimity. The idea that man, in his smallness and weakness, is best situated to encounter the fear-inducing majesty of God represents the full development of the Protestant reading of Job in which glory is found in weakness.

Works Cited

- Abbot, George. *The Whole Booke of Iob Paraphrased or, Made Easie for Any to Understand*. London: Edward Griffin for Henry Overton, 1640.
- Almond, Philip C. *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth Century Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998.
- Ambrose. "The Prayer of Job and David (De Interpellatione Iob Et David)." In *Seven Exegetical Works, Vol. 65*, edited by Michael P. McHugh. The Fathers of the Church. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1972.
- Anonymous. "XXIV. Περὶ Τῶν Τοῦ Λόγου Σχημάτων." In *Rhetores Graeci*, edited by Leonhard von Spengel, 110-60. Lipsiae: B.G. Teubneri, 1853.
- Austern, Linda Phyllis, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis. *Psalms in the Early Modern World*. Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011.
- Besserman, Lawrence L. *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1979.
- Bèze, Théodore de. *Iob Expounded by Theodore Beza, Partly in Manner of a Commentary, Partly in Manner of a Paraphrase. Faithfully Translated out of Latine into English*. London: John Legatt, 1589.
- Calvin, Jean. *Sermons of Master Iohn Calvin, Vpon the Booke of Iob*. [in English] Translated by Arthur Golding. London: Lucas Harison and George Byshop, 1574.
- Clarke, Elizabeth. *Politics, Religion and the Song of Songs in Seventeenth-Century England*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Cox, Claude E. "Job." In *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Dines, Jennifer M., and Michael A. Knibb. *The Septuagint*. London; New York: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Fonnesu, Luca. "The Problem of Theodicy." In *Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy*, edited by Knud Haakonssen, 749-78. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013.
- Gehman, Henry S. "The Theological Approach of the Greek Translator of Job 1-15." *JBL* 68 (1949): 231-40.
- Gordis, Robert. *The Book of God and Man: A Study of Job*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

- Griffiths, Richard. *The Bible in the Renaissance: Essays on Biblical Commentary and Translation in the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries*. Aldershot, Hants, UK: Ashgate, 2001.
- Hamlin, Hannibal. *The Bible in Shakespeare*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013.
- . *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2004.
- Herbert, George. *The English Poems of George Herbert*. Edited by Helen Wilcox. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2007.
- Hill, Christopher. *The English Bible and the Seventeenth Century Revolution*. New York: Penguin Press, 1993.
- Hurvitz, Avi. "The Date of the Prose-Tale of Job Linguistically Reconsidered." *Harvard Theological Review* 67 (1974): 17-34.
- James, Montague Rhodes. "Testament of Job."
<http://gospel.thruhere.net/BibleStudy/Downloads2/Testament-of-Job-Revised-English.pdf>.
- Jerome. "Alius Prologus Sancti Hieronymi in Librum Job Ex Hebraeo in Latinum Per Eum Versum." In *Biblia Sacra Cum Glossa Ordinaria*, edited by Nicholas of Lyra. Ducai: n.p., 1617.
- . *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. [in Latin] Edited by Robert Weber, Bonifatius Fischer and Roger Gryson. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2015.
- . "Prologue to Job." translated by Kevin P. Edgecomb, The Tertullian Project (2006),
http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_preface_job.htm.
- King James I. *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New*. London: Robert Barker, 1611.
- Knight, Alison. "Pen of Iron: Scriptural Text and the Book of Job in Early Modern English Literature." Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 2012.
- Kugel, James L. *The Great Poems of the Bible: A Reader's Companion with New Translations*. New York: Free Press, 2008.
- Larrimore, Mark J. *The Book of Job: A Biography*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton UP, 2013.
- Levinson, Marjorie. "Reflections on the New Historicism." *European Romantic Review* 23.3 (2012): 355-62.
- Lewalski, Barbara. *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1979.

- Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer. *Milton's Brief Epic; the Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained*. Providence: Brown UP, 1966.
- Locke, Anne. "A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner: Written in a Maner of a Paraphrase Upon the 51 Psalm of David." In *Sermons of Iohn Caluin, Vpon the Songe That Ezechias Made after He Had Bene Sicke and Afflicted by the Hand of God, Conteyned in the 38. Chapter of Esay. Translated out of Frenche into Englishe*. London: John Day, 1560.
- Low, Katherine. *The Bible, Gender, and Reception History: The Case of Job's Wife*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Luther, Martin. "On Translating: An Open Letter (1530)." In *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, edited by Timothy Lull. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2005.
- . "Prefaces to the Old Testament." Translated by Charles M. Jacobs. In *Luther's Works, Vol. 35. Word and Sacrament I.*, edited by Charles M. Jacobs (trans.) and E. Theodore Bachmann. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960.
- Lyra, Nicholas of, Walafridus Strabus, and Paul of Burgos. *Bibliorum Sacrorum Cum Glossa Ordinaria Iam Ante Quidam a Strabo Fulgensi Collecta...Et Postilla Nicolai Lyrani, Tomus Tertius*. Venice: s.n., 1603.
- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico. *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Et Amplissima Collectio T. 9*. Parisiis: Welter, 1902.
- Martin, Gregory, William Allen, and Laurence Kellam. *The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English, out of the Authentical Latin : Diligently Conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and Other Editions in Divers Languages: With Arguments of the Bookes, and Chapters, Annotations, Tables and Other Helpes, for Better Understanding of the Text : For Discoverie of Corruptions in Some Late Translations, and for Clearing Controversies in Religion*. Doway: Laurence Kellam, 1609.
- McAdam, Ian. "Carnal Identity in *The Jew of Malta*." *English Literary Renaissance* 26, no. 1 (1996).
- Mitchell, Stephen. *The Book of Job*. San Francisco: North Point Press, 1987.
- Mornay, Phillippe de. *Philip Mornay, Lord of Plessis His Teares for the Death of His Sonne. Vnto His Wife Charlotte Baliste*. Translated by John Healey. London: G. Eld, 1609.
- Newsom, Carol A. *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations*. Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2003.
- Norbrook, David. *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*. London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Poole, Matthew. *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque S. Scriptur Interpretum*. [in Latin] Londini: Typis J. Flesher & T. Roycroft: Prostat apud Cornelium Bee, 1669-1676.

- Pope, Marvin H. *Job. Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965.
- Radzinowicz, Mary Ann. *Milton's Epics and the Book of Psalms*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1989.
- Richey, Esther Gilman. *The Politics of Revelation in the English Renaissance*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998.
- Scheindlin, Raymond P. *The Book of Job*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1999.
- Scherman, Nosson. *Tanakh: The Torah, Prophets, Writing ["Stone Edition"]*. Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah, 1996.
- Schifferdecker, Kathryn. *Out of the Whirlwind: Creation Theology in the Book of Job*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2008.
- Schreiner, Susan Elizabeth. *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found?: Calvin's Exegesis of Job from Medieval and Modern Perspectives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Senault, Jean-François. *The Pattern of Patience in the Example of Holy Job: A Paraphrase Upon the Whole Book*. London: Printed for Joseph Cranford, 1657.
- Shaheen, Naseeb. *Biblical References in The Faerie Queene*. Memphis: Memphis State UP, 1976.
- Shakespeare, William. *Much Ado About Nothing*. Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2008.
- . *The Tragedy of King Lear*. Edited by Claire McEachern. New York: Pearson/Longman, 2005.
- Shuger, Debora K. *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Siger, Leonard. "The Image of Job in the Renaissance." John Hopkins, 1960.
- Simonetti, Manlio, and Marco Conti. *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament 6. Job*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 2006.
- Stevenson, William Barron. *The Poem of Job: A Literary Study, with a New Translation*. London: Pub. for the British Academy by Oxford UP, 1947.
- Terrien, Samuel. "Introduction and Exegesis [to Job]." In *The Interpreter's Bible 3*, edited by George Buttrick, 875-907. New York: Abingdon Press, 1954.
- Thornhill, R. *The Apocryphal Old Testament*. Edited by H.F.D. Sparks. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

West, Philip. *Henry Vaughan's Silex Scintillans: Scripture Uses*. Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2001.

Whittingham, William. *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament*. Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1560.

Woolf, Virginia. *The Letters of Virginia Woolf: Volume 2, 1912–1922*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976.

Zim, Rivkah. *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge UP, 1987.

Chapter 1: Human Job

What most noticeably divides medieval exegesis on Job from post-Reformation exegesis is its way of envisioning Job's exemplarity. In patristic and medieval tradition, Job was a model of saintly perfection, a spiritual hero who triumphed over adversity through his incomparable patience. To contemporary close readers,¹ associating Job with "incomparable patience" does not make sense. After all, only the first two chapters of Job portray a man never faltering in his faith; the next thirty-four chapters show Job complaining to God about the injustice of his plight. It does not require advanced math to categorize Job as a complainer and challenger of God (contemporary academics' version of Job) rather than a patient saint (the patristic and medieval characterization).

But patristic and medieval commentators were less interested in close reading the Book of Job and more interested in the spiritual lesson that could be gained from Job's story. In this older, "heroic Job" tradition, as Barbara Lewalski describes in *Milton's Brief Epic* (1966), "Job's encounter with Satan is a heroic combat of cosmic significance involving an unparalleled hero."²

¹ By "contemporary close readers," I am referring to those who are reading Job as literature, not as a sacred text. Of course, these activities can be carried out by the same person, i.e. a person who believes Job to be a sacred text can also read the Bible as literature. But I make a distinction between these activities (the academic task of close reading versus the spiritual task of scriptural reading) because Job consistently appears as a "complainer" in the academic setting, but often continues to appear as an exemplum of patience in the pastoral setting. As an example of these different ways of reading Job, we might contrast Harold Bloom's *The Book of Job* (1988) with Michael Austin's *Re-Reading Job* (2014). Bloom's book is a compilation of modern, critical interpretations of Job by six literary theorists, including Paul Ricoeur, Northrop Frye, and René Girard. Even the chapter titles—"God Under Attack," "Job as Scapegoat"—nod to contemporary scholarship's assumption of an "impatient Job" who questions divine justice" (91). In contrast, Michael Austin's book sets out to prove that "the story of Job is far more than that simple story of faith, trials, and blessings that we have all come to know" (cover). Although Austin complicates a simple reading of the story, he assumes that his audience was raised within the "patient Job" tradition. Harold Bloom, *The Book of Job: Modern Critical Interpretations* (New York: Chelsea House, 1988); Michael Austin, *Re-Reading Job: Understanding the Ancient World's Greatest Poem* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2014).

² Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic; the Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained* (Providence: Brown UP, 1966), 17.

This tradition focuses on the first two chapters of Job, in which he is “perfect and upright,” and applies this assessment of his character to the entire book.³ Lewalski describes:

Job’s later outcries are simply pious lamentations like those of Jeremiah and of Christ on the cross, or else they are prophetic and typological utterances. Some commentators will concede that Job commits slight venial sins of ignorance and rashness in his outcries, but others deny that he exhibits any imperfections whatever.⁴

The discrepancy between the complaining Job that contemporary academics see in the Bible and the saintly Job that occupied the early Christian imagination is largely a product of Job’s transmission history (see introduction). The early church was not just reading the Book of Job as we know it, but was also familiar with a legend of Job in which his patience was a greater emphasis.⁵ Because St. James and his contemporaries knew this version of Job, James could write without irony, “Ye have heard of the patience of Job...,”⁶ an interpretation that exerted a major influence on understandings of Job in the patristic and medieval church.

Gregory I’s *Moralia* was an early, influential commentary that professed Job’s perfection. In his prefatory letter to the Bishop Leander, in which he explains his exegetical method, Gregory I teaches that we cannot read every word of Job for its literal sense. It “sometimes happens” that the plain words of Scripture “cannot be understood according to the

³King James I, *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New* (London: Robert Barker, 1611), Job 1:3. Henceforth cited, “King James Version.”

⁴ Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic*, 21.

⁵ Manlio Simonetti and Marco Conti, *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament 6. Job* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 2006), xxvii.

⁶ King James Version, 5:11.

letter, because when taken superficially, they convey no sort of instruction to the reader, but only engender error.”⁷ As an example, he cites one of Job’s complaints—“*So that my soul chooseth strangling, and death rather than life.* [Job 7:15].” He writes, “Now who that is in his right senses could believe that a man of so high praise, who in a word, we know, received from the Judge the highest possible reward for the virtue of patience, would, settled amidst his afflictions, finish his life by strangling?”⁸ Gregory dismisses as impossible the notion that a man who was about to warrant God’s highest reward for virtue could be on the brink of suicide at this moment.

When Nicholas of Lyra wrote his famous *Biblia Sacra Cum Glossa Ordinaria* in the fourteenth century, he continued to think of Job as a saint, although he approached Job’s virtue from a different angle. Nicholas objected to Gregory’s reading of Job’s complaints because “he says that blessed Job was speaking enigmatically or in parables and explains the entire chapter mystically.”⁹ Instead, Nicholas follows Thomas Aquinas in reading Job’s complaints literally, which does not, surprisingly enough, stain Job’s perfect reputation. Nicholas describes how, according to Thomas, “something that was once sad and hateful in and of itself can nevertheless be acceptable for the end that it brings about.”¹⁰ Thomas uses Aristotelian philosophy to prove his point. When Job was complaining, he was complaining about miseries in his body, his “sensible parts.” Yet “according to reason, through the virtue of patience, he accepted those

⁷ St. Gregory, "The Epistle. To the Most Devout and Holy Brother, My Fellow Bishop Leander ", trans. James Bliss, *Morals on the Book of Job, vol. 1* (Oxford; London: John Henry Parker; J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850), <http://www.lectionarycentral.com/GregoryMoralia/Epistle.html>.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ "Nicolaus de Lyra Iob Caput III" in Nicholas of Lyra, Walafridus Strabus, and Paul of Burgos, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Cum Glossa Ordinaria Iam Ante Quidem a Strabo Fulgensi Collecta...Et Postilla Nicolai Lyrani, Tomus Tertius* (Venice: s.n., 1603), 45. Available at <https://archive.org/stream/bibliorumsacraru03strauoft#page/25/mode/2up>, image no. 27.

¹⁰ Ibid.

miseries because they were followed by the promise of life in the future.” Thomas compares Job to Christ, who said, “Take this cup away from me,” and yet did not reject his imminent Passion.¹¹ By the end of this argument, Thomas (and Nicholas who agrees with him) have “reached what Gregory said: namely, that the words of Job were not the blasphemy of an impatient man, so neither were the words of Christ the words of a man for whom sadness had driven him back from the highest point of virtue in anything.”¹² In short, regardless of whether Job’s complaints were read allegorically or literally, his perfection remained consistent in medieval and patristic tradition.

Although describing Job as a sinless saint was standard in scholarly texts, there was an alternative, popular tradition in reading the Book of Job from the eighth to the sixteenth century, and this tradition ushered in the thematic concerns of Reformation era commentary. To both laypeople and churchmen in the Middle Ages, the most familiar part of the Book of Job were those lessons from Job that appeared in the Office of the Dead. First popularized in the eighth century among monastic communities, the Office of the Dead was a cycle of prayers recited at funerals and the anniversaries of people’s deaths. By the fourteenth century, it was a familiar practice among laypeople because the Office was printed in their *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis* (“Book of Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary”) —a type of prayer book that allowed for laypeople to imitate the monastic observation of the sacred hours. What defines the *Horae* is the relatively standard set of liturgy and services it contains, including the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Litany of the Saints, and the gradual psalms. *Horae* were the most popular

¹¹ Lyra, *Bibliorum Sacrorum*, 45.

¹² *Ibid.*

books of the Middle Ages, and there were at least 114 editions printed for the English market between the invention of the printing press and 1530.¹³

The Office of the Dead consisted of a vespers service, known as the *placebo*, and a combined matins and lauds service, known as the *dirige*. The *dirige* included a series of nine poetic complaints from the Book of Job, beginning with Job's desperate cry in 7:16, "Spare me, O Lord, for my days are nothing" and ending with his wish for annihilation in 10:18, "Why didst thou bring me forth out of the womb?" Reciting these lessons from Job at a funeral was not just an act of remembrance; instead, Christians understood the ritual as giving voice to their deceased loved ones. Because of the popularity of this ritual, Job became the primer's principle Biblical figure in the Middle Ages,¹⁴ and the lessons that appear in the *dirige* (known as "le petit Job," or "Pety Job") were well-known to medieval Christians. Compared to medieval commentaries on Job that emphasized his spiritual heroism, the *dirige* offered a "virtually unexpurgated and unallegorized version of some of Job's most plangent, rebellious speeches."¹⁵

When Luther wrote his *Betbüchlein* ("Personal Prayer Book") in 1522 to replace the Catholic *Horae* (or what in Germany was known as the *Hortulus Animae*¹⁶), he removed the

¹³ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, C.1400-C.1580* (New Haven; London: Yale UP, 2005), 212.

¹⁴ Lawrence L. Besserman, *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1979), 58.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁶ The first known edition of the *Hortulus Animae* ("the Garden of the Soul") was printed at Strasburg by William Schaffener of Rappeltsweiler and is dated 13 March, 1498. *Hortulus Animae*, (Strassburg: Wilhelm Schaeffener, 1498). Available online at <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0007/bsb00070650/images>.

The earliest German edition appeared in 1501, although Latin editions were more popular. Johannes Grüninger, *Ortulus Anime, Dyses Büchlin Ein Wurtz Gart Ist* (Straßburg: Grüninger, Hans, 1501).

The contents of the *Hortulus Animae* were similar to the primers and *Horae* printed in England and France. The Little Office of Our Lady was the principle feature, along with a liturgical calendar, a lesson from each of the Gospels, the seven penitential psalms, and the Office of the Dead. The *Hortulus Animae* often contained woodcuts and illuminations, and, compared to the *Horae* and primers, they contained a greater variety of popular prayers. Herbert Thurston, "Hortulus Animae," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07472a.htm>.

Office of the Dead with its lessons from Job.¹⁷ This editorial decision is what we would expect: the Office of the Dead was a ritual that gave voice to souls in purgatory, so it represented a host of ideas—purgatory, meritorious grace, ritual prayers—to which Luther objected. Luther’s more surprising and groundbreaking interpretative decision comes in his preface to the Book of Job (publ. 1525). Since Luther omitted the complaints from Job in his prayer book, we would expect his preface to Job to follow exegetical tradition in highlighting Job’s exceptional virtue and downplaying his complaints. But Luther’s preface does not praise Job’s innocence. Instead, he focuses on Job’s anguish, the version of Job that had always appeared in the *Horae*. Luther describes the Book of Job as giving us an example of man’s suspicion, not his perfection:

But when death is in prospect and God withdraws himself, Job’s words show what kind of thought a man—however holy he may be—holds toward God: he thinks that God is not God, but only a judge and wrathful tyrant, who storms ahead and cares nothing about the goodness of a person’s life. This is the finest part of the book. It is understood only by those who also experience and feel what it is to suffer the wrath and judgment of God, and to have his grace hidden.¹⁸

In Luther’s version of Job, which laid the groundwork for later Protestant exegesis, Job is not a flawless paragon of virtue; he is a human, glorified not in spite of, but because of his weakness.

¹⁷ Luther’s *Betbüchlein* only contains reflections on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord’s Prayer. Martin Luther, *Eyn Bettbuchlin* (Wittenberg: Johann Rhau-Grunenberg, 1522). In 1548, George Rhau printed a Protestant version of the *Hortulus Animae*, subtitled “Lustgertlin der Seelen” or “the Pleasure Garden of the Soul.” It also removed the Office of the Dead. George Rhau, *Hortulus Animae. Lustgertlin Der Seelen* (Wittenburg: Georg Rhau, 1548).

¹⁸ Martin Luther, “Prefaces to the Old Testament,” in *Luther’s Works, Vol. 35. Word and Sacrament I.*, ed. Charles M. Jacobs (trans.) and E. Theodore Bachmann (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960), 252.

In contrast to the man who earns God’s grace through his good works, this man is exemplary because he needs God’s grace and is wholly dependent on God’s mercy to receive it.

When George Joye printed his English *Hortulus Animae* in 1530¹⁹ and William Marshall printed the first Protestant “primer” (as the *Horae* was called in England) in 1534,²⁰ they followed Luther’s example and removed the *dirige* with its complaints from Job. Again, this process of selection and omission is the kind of editing that we might expect following the Reformation, where specifically Catholic theology gets removed from a Protestant primer. But the *dirige* reappears due to popular demand in the second edition of Marshall’s “A Goodly Primer.”²¹ Judging from the title of Marshall’s preface to the Office— “An Admonition or Warning to the Reader Necessary to Be Had and Read for the True Understanding and Meaning of the Dirige Hereafter Following”—his own theological stance had not changed since the first edition was printed. He defends his decision to have deleted the *dirige* in the first edition and claims that he has only reintroduced the traditional material “for the contention of such weak minds” that will not change their erring ways.²² But this preface offers more than just grumbling about “weak minds.” It also provides us with a window into Marshall’s relationship to the

¹⁹ George Joye, *Ortulus Anime. The Garden of the Soule: Or the Englishshe Primers* (Francis Foxe [M. de Keyser]: Argentine [Antwerp], 1530).

²⁰ The label “Protestant primer” is contentious because scholars debate to what extent these primers can or should be considered “Protestant.” Helen White describes the primers as one of the best illustrations of “the very considerable degree of continuity [that] persisted throughout the revolutionary changes of sixteenth-century English life” [Helen Constance White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951), 3]. As she points out, the majority of the content remained constant, that is, Catholic, and people added theologically mismatched prayers and cross-confessional devotions to their Protestant primers. On the other end of the spectrum, Eamon Duffy describes the first Protestant primer as a “dramatic and eloquent break with all earlier primers,” “as comprehensive an onslaught on the time-honored forms of Catholic piety as had yet appeared in England” (Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 382).

²¹ William Marshall, *A Goodly Prymer in Englyshe*, ed. George Joye and Girolamo Savonarola (London: Iohn Byddell for Wylliam Marshall, 1535).

²² *Ibid.*, n.p., EEBO image 134.

medieval Job tradition in the aftermath of the Reformation. His explanation of the “true” meaning of the *dirige* offers a commentary on a new interpretation of Job, one that resembles Luther’s “Preface.”

In the first half of his “Admonition,” Marshall justifies his annotation of the Psalms that appear in the Office of the Dead so that they may be properly understood. In the second half, he turns to criticizing the way that the lessons from Job have been misused:

And as for the nine lessons in the said Dirige, taken out of the prophet Job, I wonder for of what intent they were ordained to be sung or said for the souls of the dead. What an extreme fondness of fantasy is this, for men to be so brutish, and so far overseen, as to refer the complaint of that holy man Job, which he being then in life, yea and many days after, made unto God, in the minds of his misery and wretchedness, in the midst of his poverty, of his scabs, and filthiness, to refer it (I say) to them that be gone, as though they should speak any such words, as be in any of the said nine lessons included. What maketh this to the poor souls, that Job, upon the great anguish, sorrow, and grief conceived in his heart, for the manifold, unkind words, and unjust accusations of his friends that came to visit him, in that they laid it to his charge, and disputed it right vehemently, that God would never so have punished him, unless he had abominable sinned, and much worthily deserved it, beside the intolerable provocation of his wife that Job (I say) was thereupon enforced of great sorrow to

burst out into this sudden exclamation, *Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos amici mei, quia manus Domini Tetigit me.*²³

In a primer almost entirely in English, Marshall prints Job 19:21 in Latin. Not only does he set apart Job's complaint by using the Latin version that would have been familiar to medieval audiences, but he prints it in red and in a larger font than the surrounding preface. When this verse appears in the Book of Job, Job's friends have been berating him for his sinfulness. Job pleads, "Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends; for the hand of God hath touched me." Presumably anticipating his audience's unfamiliarity with Latin, Marshall follows the passage with his own paraphrase into sixteenth-century vernacular:

That is to say, Do ye not see how sore the power of God doth handle me? Do ye not see what misery that I am in? Suppose ye that my pains be not big enough? If they be, I beseech you then, which heretofore have taken upon you to be my friends, not to augment them, but for the pity of God have compassion upon me, and vex me no more with your bitter words, and untrue suggestions.²⁴

Most of Job's complaints are to God; this one is to Job's friends, who offer him nothing but "bitter words" and "untrue suggestions" as he suffers for his belief.

Perhaps "Have pity upon me, o ye my friends" appealed to Marshall because the relationship between Job and his friends mapped onto his own fraught relationship with his readership. Marshall's general preface to his primer attests to his exasperation with his readers. Seeing himself as sustaining the "burden of this reformation," Marshall prays:

²³ Marshall, *Goodly Prymer*, n.p. This particular verse [Job 19:21] comes from the *dirige*, lectio octavo.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

I most humbly beseech Almighty God, that I may once see men as diligent and busy to ensearch, call in, and condemn these [heresies]...as heretofore they have been to call in, condemn, and ensearch such books privileged, as wherein I think that no great harm, yea no harm at all can be found.²⁵

At the end of his preface, Marshall pleads for his reader to have mercy:

And yet this I protest before God and all his angels, with the whole company of the saints, both quick and dead, that I have here, nor elsewhere, written anything, nor hereafter intend to write, proceeding either of willful mind, blind zeal or affection; or yet of malice, to exasperate any person or persons, to wrath or ire, or to bereave our blessed lady, or any holy saint, of their due laud and honor, which Scripture admitteth them to have, but only of very pity, love, and charity towards all true Christian people.²⁶

Job 19:21 seems to express Marshall's anguish as a compiler of a new primer, who asks his readers to have compassion as he tries to be theologically responsible and mindful of tradition.

Marshall's portrayal of himself as a kind of suffering Job figure anticipates his fascinating suggestion at the end of his preface, a suggestion that foregrounds Job's human relatability. Wanting to undo the association between Job's cries and purgatorial spirits, he advises readers to use Job's complaints to express their own suffering. He explains:

If it fortune thy Lord, thy Heavenly Father of His benign mercy and goodness, to the intent that He will have ye saved, as He would have Job, to chastise thee of

²⁵ Marshall, *A Goodly Prymer*, n.p.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

love, as He did him, and to exercise thy faith, as He did Job's, then mayest thou with Job, make thy complaint to God, even with these foresaid nine lessons. And for that purpose they do serve exceedingly well.²⁷

Marshall's suggestion to read Job's poetic complaints as an expression of one's own suffering reflects Luther's way of reading Job. In his preface to Job, Luther suggested that Job models the faith of a real, fragile person, who complains when he is angry "however holy he may be." In the same way, Marshall does not suggest that acting like Job means being perfect. Instead, a person may use these lessons when he is suffering to "make his complaint to God."²⁸ Marshall's explanation of how to read Job—as a man who sets an example for us in his moments of weakness—illuminates the major theme of Protestant exegesis that differentiates it from medieval tradition. Job is exemplary, not because he was a saint, but because he was a human.

A quick look at the prefaces of early sixteenth- versus seventeenth-century commentaries makes apparent the transition from the medieval "saintly Job" to the early modern "human Job." Because sixteenth-century Protestants were still grappling with Job's humanness against a backdrop of existing tradition, they often flip-flop between a saintly characterization of Job and a human one, admiring Job's almost superhuman patience in a way that sits oddly with their acknowledgement of Job's frailty elsewhere. For instance, in his 1535 translation of the Old

²⁷ Marshall, *A Goodly Prymer*, n.p.

²⁸ James Simpson calls this the "new allegorization," or a "presentist typology," where Old Testament characters and stories are figures of contemporary people and events. Patristic and medieval readers tended to understand Old Testament people and events as prefiguring New Testament ones, the hermeneutic known as "typology" that has its origin in the Pauline epistles. Although Protestant exegetes still understood Job as a Christ-figure, they also pioneered this "presentist typology," especially after Calvin. James Simpson, *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and Its Reformation Opponents* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 217-18. See also Debora Shuger, "Isiah 63 and the Literal Senses of Scripture," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, C. 1530-1700*, ed. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), 149-63, especially 57, note 22.

Testament, the German Lutheran Sebastian Münster does nothing to excuse or mitigate Job's complaints in his annotation of Job 3:1. He recalls how Job "praises death over life, because every day of life is to him a calamity, in which he experiences the hell that he fears."²⁹ Despite his vivid description of Job's complaints, Münster's preface describes Job as "an example of incomparable patience and virtue." Münster's Job is both "incomparably" patient and a man who "praises death over life."

In *Job Expounded* (published in English in 1589), Theodore Beza's characterization of Job is similarly split. In his preface, Beza notes the "invincible constancy" of Job's "godly mind," so that James "biddeth us look unto this example of patience."³⁰ He explains that Job "never breaketh out into any blasphemous thoughts or speeches, but contrariwise, as becometh a stout champion of God, he getteth the upper hand and victoriously triumpheth over Satan."³¹ But Beza's praise of Job's "invincible constancy" is mixed with his description of how Job "grievously complaineth of his misery."³² He admits that Job "is now and then carried too far in approving his own innocence," so that he "must needs, in some sort, betray man's frailty and

²⁹ Sebastian Münster, *Hebraica Biblia: Latina Planeque Nova Sebast. Munsteri Tralatione, Post Omneis Omnium Hactenus Ubivis Gentium Aeditiones Evulgata, & Quo ad Fieri Potuit, Hebraicae Veritati Conformata: Adiectis Insuper E Rabinorum Co[M]mentariis Annotationibus ... Veteris Instrumenti Tomus Secundus, Prophetarum Oracula Atque Hagiographa Continens...* (Basileae: Isengrin et Petri, 1535), 659v. Available at <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10141283.html>, Digital Image 602.

³⁰ Théodore de Bèze, *Job Expounded by Theodore Beza, Partly in Manner of a Commentary, Partly in Manner of a Paraphrase. Faithfully Translated out of Latine into English* (London: John Legatt, 1589), B2r, EEBO image 10. Beza's praise of Job's patience did not detract from his resistance to the heroic Job tradition. Beza continues, "Nevertheless, it cannot be denied, but that his patience was joined with human frailty, and therefore was such as God, making an end of all these troubles, doth find therein great wants and imperfections. But hereby we must rather learn that even those who run best in the course of this life and of their vocation are, notwithstanding, very far from the highest point of perfection."

³¹ *Ibid.*, B1r, EEBO image 9.

³² *Ibid.*, A7v, EEBO image 8.

corruption.”³³ Job does not just model patience; he also models how “pestilent cogitations creep into our minds, [so] that, being as it were utterly void of reason, we...go about to square the infinite wisdom and justice of God to the most crooked rule of our own weak and slender capacity.”³⁴ Beza’s advertisement of Job’s “invincible constancy” is incongruous with the “weak” human character that he delivers to his readers.

Over the course of the early modern period, commentators became increasingly wary of praising Job’s “invincible” or “incomparable” patience, and more likely to praise Job for a level of patience befitting his humanness. By the mid-seventeenth century, Protestant commentators had learned to temper their praise of Job’s patience in their prefaces, thus avoiding the disjointed characterizations that resulted from yoking the “saintly Job” tradition with the “human” one. For instance, the Westminster Assembly’s preface (1645) begins, “In this book Job is set forth as an example, first of patience, then of human frailty.”³⁵ And Matthew Poole’s annotations (1683) call Job a “real and eminent example of piety and patience.”³⁶ In these seventeenth-century examples, the emphasis is patience *and* frailty, a “real” example of piety. Whereas patristic and medieval exegesis had elevated Job to the point of canonization, these Protestants praise Job’s patience in a way that foregrounds his humanness. They suggest that Job has an exceptional level of patience *for a human*.

Sleeping Like Job

³³ Bèze, *Job Expounded*, A8v, B1r, EEBO image 9.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, B1r, EEBO image 9.

³⁵ John Downname, *Annotations Upon All the Books of the Old and New Testament: Wherein the Text Is Explained, Doubts Resolved, Scriptures Paralleled and Various Readings Observed* (London: John Legatt and John Raworth, 1645), n.p., EEBO image 192.

³⁶ Matthew Poole, *Annotations Upon the Holy Bible. Vol. I* (London: John Richardson, 1683), n.p., EEBO image 382.

Early Protestants had to represent Job in a way that would make clear to their audiences why an anguished human (as opposed to a patient saint) would, in fact, be exemplary. It would have seemed counterintuitive to replace a perfect saint with a complaining human in order to provide a better example of Christian behavior. To untangle the difficulty of this paradox, early Protestants needed to persuade their audiences that someone could be *more* perfect when he complains (because he is dependent on God's grace) than when he maintains his innocence (and thus starts to suspect that he earns his own righteousness). In contrast to the man who thinks that he earns God's grace through his works, this new exemplary Christian submits himself to the mercy of God, knowing that he cannot help but sin. In short, Protestant commentators needed a reading of Job that would put less emphasis on his triumph through his saintly virtue and more emphasis on his humanity, with all its frailty.

The commentary of Sebastian Münster, an early follower of Luther and one of the foremost Christian Hebraists of the sixteenth century, reflects the impact of Luther's Job. Münster published his Hebrew/Latin Old Testament with annotations in 1534/5, and these annotations were reprinted more than a century later in John Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (London, 1660).³⁷ My focus will be one particular moment in Münster's annotations, a case study, of sorts,

³⁷ The first volume (not the one containing Job): Sebastian Münster, *En Tibi Lector Hebraica Biblia : Latina Planeque Nova Sebast. Munsteri Tralatione, Post Omneis Omnium Hactenus Ubivis Gentium Aeditiones Evulgata, & Quoad Fieri Potuit, Hebraicae Veritati Conformata: Adiectis Insuper E Rabinorum Co[M]mentariis Annotationibus ... I Prior Hic Tomus Habet Mosaicos Libros Quinque, Iehosua, Iudicum, Samuelis Lib. Duos, Regum Lib. Duos* (Basileae: Isengrin et Petri, 1534). Available at <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10141282.html>.

The second volume (the one containing Job): *Veteris Instrumenti*. A second edition was published in 1546. Available at http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10141283_00637.html. The Book of Job begins at image 598.

For information on later editions, see Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 20,n.59. Münster's commentary was reprinted in: John Pearson, *Critici Sacri*, Vol. 3 (Londini; Oxonii; Cantabrigiae: Jacobus Flesher; Thomam Robinson ; Guilielmum Morden, 1660).

which illustrates one of the unexpected ways that a “human Job” surfaces in early Protestant commentary. Near the end of the Book of Job, God famously responds to Job “*ex turbine*” or “out of the whirlwind.”³⁸ Münster explains two ways of accounting for this theophany. Some say that God Himself took the form of a whirlwind as he spoke to Job. Others say that God appeared to Job “in gravi somno mentisque excessu,” or “in a deep sleep, and alienated from his soul.”³⁹ Münster’s suggestion that Job was asleep in the book’s culminating scene is unique to his commentary.⁴⁰ Nothing in the Hebrew source text or Münster’s Latin translation of Job 38:1 suggests “deep sleep” or being “alienated from his soul.”

³⁸ The quotations are from the King James Version, which is an ancestor of Münster’s translation through the Bishops’ Bible. Archbishop Matthew Parker, who headed the writing of the Bishops’ Bible, instructed his translators to use Münster’s annotations for the “verity of the Hebrew.” Matthew Parker, “Archbishop Parker to Sir William Cecil. 5th October, 1568,” in *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury: Comprising Letters Written by and to Him, from A.D. 1535, to His Death, A.D. 1575*, ed. John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1853), 336.

Lloyd Jones notes that Münster “introduced the Targum and the works of the rabbis to the Biblical scholars of Tudor England.” G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester [Lancashire]; Dover, NH: Manchester UP, 1983), 48, 133.

³⁹ Münster, *Veteris Instrumenti*, 681r. The phrase “mentisque excessu,” which literally means “out of mind,” was an idiom in medieval mysticism. In Book 5 (the final book) of *The Mystical Ark, or Benjamin Major*, Richard of St. Victor, a twelfth-century Scottish mystic, explains three “modes” of contemplation. Each mode accompanies the contemplation of objects at increasingly abstract levels. The first mode, *dilatatio mentis*, is the dilation of the mind in contemplating sensible things. The second mode, *sublevatio mentis*, is the elevation of the mind in contemplating abstract things that can be likened to sensible things. The third mode, *alienatio mentis*, is the alienation of the mind in the contemplation of the divine nature and the Holy Spirit. Richard also refers to *alienatio mentis* as *excessus mentis*. The label is fitting because, in this deepest mode of contemplation, the soul becomes so absorbed with the object of contemplation that it loses consciousness of the world and itself.

In his study of late medieval mysticism, Ray Petry describes the broad impact that medieval mysticism had on both Catholic and Protestant early modern religion. His description of *dilatatio mentis*, *sublevatio mentis*, and *excessus mentis* suggests why this third mode of contemplation would have been popular to Lutherans. He writes, “As to these three modes, the first is the fruit of human activity. The third is situated outside the control of this activity and proceeds from the working of divine grace alone. The second is the result of the simultaneous action of divine grace and human effort” (85). The third state, *excessus mentis*, foregrounds man’s complete dependence upon God’s activity, the staple of Lutheran soteriology. Ray C. Petry, *Late Medieval Mysticism* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957).

⁴⁰ I’ve not encountered any other Christian commentary that suggests Job was sleeping when he was visited by God, nor is it suggested in the Rabbinic commentaries of Saadiah Gaon, Maimonides, Samuel ibn Tibbon, Zerachiah Hen, Gersonides, or Simeon ben Zemah Durah.

Münster's depiction of Job as asleep opposes patristic and medieval tradition.⁴¹ In Pope Gregory I's *Moralia in Job* and Thomas Aquinas's *Commentaria a Job*, the two most influential Job commentaries prior to the Reformation, sleep is a state of consciousness that is not to be trusted. The divine visions that occur to a sleeping person are not subject to the rational verification that is necessary for true religious knowledge. Thus, when Eliphaz claims he had a divinely inspired dream, Gregory I vehemently denies it. Eliphaz reports to Job:

Now a thing was secretly brought to me, and mine ear received a little thereof. In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake. Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up: It stood still, but I could not discern

⁴¹ Since the Book of Job contains more than ten references to sleep, dreams, and visions, exegetical commentary on Job both shaped and reflected theories on sleep and dreams before the Renaissance. In *Moralia in Job*, the first major commentary on Job, Gregory I uses Job 7:14 ("Then thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me through visions") to outline his influential dream theory. The theory identifies six possible causes for dreams: an empty stomach, full stomach, illusion, thoughts combined with illusion, revelation, or thoughts combined with revelation. [St. Gregory, *Morals on the Book of Job: In Three Volumes* (Oxford; London: John Henry Parker; J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850), Vol. 1, Part 2, Book 8, xxiv, 42]. Gregory's work in *Moralia in Job* was so influential that an eleventh-century monk, Otloh of St. Emmeram, suggests in *Liber Visionum Tum Suarum Tum Aliorum* that Gregory's authority on dreams rivals that of the Bible. Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 1992), <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10441647>. 61.

Thomas Aquinas's *Expositio Super Iob Ad Litteram* adapts Aristotelian dream theory to a Christian worldview. In his explication of Job 33:15-16 ("In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed; / Then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction"), Aquinas explains how sleep causes people's senses to be "immobilized by vapors ascending to the source of sensing" and how this frees the mind of "noise from the disturbances of men and the occupation of the senses" (332). But whereas Aristotle explains that the sensitive part of the soul becomes receptive to natural stimuli, Thomas also allows that the "intellectual part of the soul" becomes receptive to supernatural stimuli. Thomas explains, "[W]hen the exterior senses have been immobilized in deep sleep and a man is resting quietly in bed, a certain ability is divinely given to a man to perceive divine instruction because his spirit is not preoccupied with exterior things" (332). In short, he allows that a man can receive divine revelation during sleep.

That said, Thomas insists that people are more likely to experience this kind of revelation when they are awake. He says that Eliphaz's revelation in Job 4:12 "was not made to someone asleep but who was awake." Thomas is particularly interested in this sleeping/waking distinction because it is one way of distinguishing between "meaningless" dreams that emerge from "an excessive disturbance of smoke or humors" and "quieted and ordered" dreams that emerge from "the intellectual part of the soul" (58). Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Book of Job*, trans. Brian Thomas Becket Mullady, Old Testament Commentaries 32: Latin/English Edition of the Works of St. Thomas Aquinas (Lander, Wyoming: Aquinas Institute for the Study of Sacred Doctrine, 2016). Available online at <http://dhspriority.org/thomas/SSJob.htm#332>, Job Ch. 33[:12b-33], Lesson 2 and Job Ch. 4[:12-13], Lesson 3.

the form thereof: an image was before mine eyes, there was silence, and I heard a voice, saying, “Shall mortal man be more just than God? shall a man be more pure than his maker?”⁴²

Gregory explains, “‘A secret word,’ heretics pretend to hear, that they may bring a certain reverence for their preaching over their hearers’ minds.”⁴³ Every time that Gregory encounters a reference to sleep or dreams in Job, he denies the sleeper’s experience or finagles an allegorical interpretation that suggests the person was actually awake.

Thomas Aquinas also makes wakefulness an indication of the credibility of divine revelation. In his explication of Eliphaz’s dream in Job 4:12-13, Thomas explains the criteria that allow us to differentiate frivolous dreams from spiritual visions. The most important of these criteria for judging dreams is wakefulness:⁴⁴ “Those [dreams] seem to be truer and more certain when they appear to those who are awake than when they appear to those who are asleep,

⁴² King James Version, Job 4:12-17.

⁴³ Gregory, *Morals on Job*, Volume 1, Part 1, Book 5, no. 45-46. This is part of Gregory’s commentary on Job 4:12-13.

⁴⁴ The passage reads: Here he [Eliphaz] indicates three things which show for certain that it was a vision. Note that sometimes because of an excessive disturbance of smoke or humors, either dreams do not appear at all because there are no phantasms or dreams appear in a confused and disturbed way, as is often the case with those who have a fever. Since dreams of this kind have little or no spiritual content, they are completely without meaning. When, however, the humors and smoke have settled, quiet and ordered dreams appear, and as these are more spiritual, they emerge from the intellectual part of the soul with some strength. Dreams of this sort are usually more true. Therefore he says, “It stood still,” which shows the stability of the vision. Further note that even when dreams are quiet and they are generally full of thoughts which remain from things experienced previously, one as a result frequently sees in a dream those with whom he has ordinary contact. Because such dreams have their cause in our character and not in a higher nature, they have no great meaning. He shows this is not the case when he says, “but I could not discern the face.” In this he shows that this kind of vision did not take its origin from something he had already experienced, but from a more hidden cause. Third, consider that visions of this kind which arise from a higher cause, sometimes appear to someone asleep and at other times to those who are awake. Those seem to be truer and more certain when they appear to those who are awake than when they appear to those who are asleep, because reason is more free in someone who is awake, and because in sleep one does not easily discern the difference between spiritual revelations and frivolous or ordinary dreams. To show that this revelation was not made to someone asleep but who was awake, he says, “An image was before my eyes.” He means here that he saw this with the open eyes of someone awake. Thomas, *Commentary on Job*, Ch. 4, Lesson 3.

because reason is more free in someone who is awake.”⁴⁵ Because sleep marks the temporary cessation of man’s higher reasoning, Thomas concludes that it is an unlikely state for experiencing the divine.

Because of Gregory and Thomas’s mistrust of sleep, neither would have imagined ending Job’s heroic triumph with him sleeping. After all, in their versions of Job, Job is a spiritual warrior, who conquers adversity through his patience. They describe God’s final appearance as a reward for Job, who at last receives God’s affirmation for his unbending faith. Renaissance Catholic commentators feel similarly. For instance, Philip Codurc, a counter-reformation priest who was interested in using his commentary on Job to re-establish the Catholic Church’s authority, reads Eliphaz’s dream in Job as an attempt to overthrow the church’s time-honored tradition. Codurc writes:

But the doctrine and religion left by God, by the conveyed speech of the Fathers and the Prophets, he overthrows with worthless stories from a mind sick with daydreams and delusions....For here Eliphaz fights by the authority of dreams and visions and fabrications against the doctrine established by the authority of the Prophets.⁴⁶

In contrast, Münster would have been familiar with Luther’s new version of the story, and it is Luther’s view of sleep that seems to inform Münster’s sleeping Job. Although Luther sometimes

⁴⁵ Thomas, *Commentary on Job*, Ch. 4, Lesson 3.

⁴⁶ Philip Codurc, *Libri Job Versio Nova Ex Hebraeo Cum Scholiis* (Paris: Savreux, 1651), 48-49 [on Job 4:12]. Published as *Annotationes in librum Job* in Pearson, *Critici Sacri*, Vol. 3, column 2963. Available online at <https://books.google.com/books?id=sHZULutseyYC&printsec=frontcover&dq=codurc+libri+job&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi0o6mh2-nOAhUU1GMKHd4yAZgQ6AEILDAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

uses sleep as a metaphor for spiritual sluggishness, sleep is a valued part of Luther's imagining of the human because of the non-rational anthropology at its core.

In *Sleep, Romance, and Human Embodiment* (2011), what Garrett Sullivan identifies as sleep's "symbolic" role in early modern literature is the *opposite* of the role that sleep plays in the Luther corpus.⁴⁷ According to Sullivan, early modern literature tends to associate wakefulness with rationality, manliness, and the higher faculties of man's rational soul, whereas sleep makes man effeminate and beast-like.⁴⁸ Sullivan concludes, "Passionate excess and immoderate sleep are states of being over which reason has no restraining influence. In their ascendance, then, sleep and the passions each mark humans as functionally the same as beasts...The very fact of sensory impotence reveals the potential dangers of sleep: it disables and binds, and as such renders the sleeper vulnerable."⁴⁹

Sullivan's focus on "immoderate or intemperate" sleep in literature does not account for the positive role that sleep plays in Luther's imagining of the human.⁵⁰ Three types of bodily sleep—natural sleep, soul sleep, and visionary sleep—feature prominently in Luther's work. The first of these is natural sleep. Luther says, "Do not cause unhappiness for yourselves. Sleep."⁵¹ And, elsewhere, "Sleep is in truth a divine and most excellent gift which streams down from

⁴⁷ Garrett A. Sullivan, *Sleep, Romance, and Human Embodiment: Vitality from Spenser to Milton* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2012), 24.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁵¹ Martin Luther, *Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, Helmut T. Lehmann, and Hilton C. Oswald (St. Louis: Concordia, 1955-1986), Vol. 7, 65.

above like dew and moistens the entire body.”⁵² And yet again, “The body has been given to us by God, not that we should kill it with fasting or vigils, but that we should care for it with food, drink, clothing, sleep.”⁵³ Luther’s high valuation of sleep is the opposite of the ascetic tradition, one that takes literally the Biblical injunction to “Stay awake.”⁵⁴ Luther explains, “In the monastery I, too, was once such a murderer and the worst persecutor of my own body.”⁵⁵ For Luther, the problem with monastic sleep deprivation is its implication that a person can make himself fit for grace through self-chastisement. In Luther’s mind, it is better to do nothing and recognize one’s dependence on grace, than to think of oneself as earning God’s favor. Because sleep brings man to a state where he can do nothing, it is more pleasing to God than countless works done with a haughty spirit. Luther writes:

I sleep in the name of the Lord, and I know that my sleep is pleasing to God...I am certain that I am pleasing God with all my actions, not because of myself, who am doing this, but because of God, who pities, pardons, loves, and leads me by the Holy Spirit.⁵⁶

Sleep is not just a cessation of activity, but a part of spiritual life. For Luther, the most wonderful reassurance comes in knowing that God stays with man when he does nothing to deserve his favor or attention. (As Milton’s Eve movingly says to a frightened Adam at the end of *Paradise*

⁵² Ibid., Vol. 1, 129.

⁵³ Ibid., Vol. 7, 113.

⁵⁴ Both Matthew 24:42 and Mark 13:35 advertise this kind of physical/spiritual wakefulness. The King James Version uses the word “watch” instead of “stay awake.”

⁵⁵ Luther, *Works*, Vol. 7, 113.

⁵⁶ Ibid., Vol. 7, 154.

Lost, “God is also in sleep and dreams.”⁵⁷) Knowing that God’s love follows man even in sleep—the time that he is furthest from doing anything to earn it—frees man from his tireless, hopeless striving for self-justification.

Luther also uses sleep as an analogy for the soul’s state after death. For Luther, it was the soul’s mysterious existence during sleep—the fact that we do not know where or what the soul is—that made sleep such an apt analogy for the soul’s post-mortem existence. Luther insists:

What the nature of [the soul’s] rest is we do not know. It has often occurred to me that we cannot comprehend and understand these matters, since we cannot conceive of how a man lives in this life when he sleeps....When I sleep, I do not know myself and the place where I am, and I seem to have been translated to another kind of life...Therefore, no one will easily say what sleep is, what being awake is, what the soul is, etc.⁵⁸

Luther emphasizes that sleep is a state where “I do not know myself and the place where I am.” Yet God cares for us in this unconscious state. In fact, without any rational faculties to consider our own existence, our preservation is due entirely to God’s care. Likewise, our eventual resurrection will be dependent on God’s mercy, not the soul’s efforts to merit its salvation.

The third kind of sleep is visionary sleep. Whereas Gregory and Thomas are dubious of divine revelation in sleep because man’s rational faculties are suspended, Luther suggests that God appears to people in sleep *because* it is a state of consciousness sans reason. Luther

⁵⁷ *Paradise Lost* in John Milton, *The Major Works*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 12.611.

⁵⁸ Luther, *Works*, Vol. 7, 295.

exclaims, “It is truly a wonderful thing that [God] makes us like the beasts in sleeping.”⁵⁹ For Luther, the emptying of man’s reason opens him to the divine will. When man is awake, he too often thinks that he is deserving of God’s grace because of his rational exceptionalism. When man falls asleep, his intellectual faculties rest and he loses his sense that he can reason his way toward God.

For Luther, this idea that God reveals himself to people stripped of their exceptionalism is about more than a mode of delivery; God’s appearance to non-rational, lowly, and sleeping people reflects the very nature of the God that is revealed. God chooses to manifest himself in weakness, a paradox at the center of Christianity that defies all human rationalization. In the Heidelberg Disputations of 1518, Luther condemns theologians who see God in “virtue, wisdom, and justice.” Instead, he suggests, a true theologian comprehends God in “human nature, weakness, and foolishness,” the attributes of a God who chose to reveal himself in a body on a cross.⁶⁰ Because the full glory of God can only be comprehended in this act of emptying himself of glory, God does not come to those who rely on their intelligence and piety to save them; he comes to sinners and sleepers. In his Commentary on Genesis, Luther explains Jacob’s sinfulness, not his piety, as the reason that God comes to him while he is sleeping. It is not that Jacob has “earned” God’s special attention, Luther writes, but, rather, “The fact that God speaks with him is a sign of this very grievous trial. ‘Wisdom is not found in the land of those who live pleasantly,’ says Job (cf. 28:13); it is found under the cross of those who are oppressed and are in

⁵⁹ Luther, *Works*, Vol. 8, 318.

⁶⁰ Martin Luther, "Heidelberg Disputations (1518)," in *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, ed. Timothy Lull (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2005), 57.

conflict with spiritual trials.”⁶¹ God, whose “strength is made perfect in weakness,”⁶² reveals his non-rational nature to humans who seem least fit to receive him.

Münster, an early follower of Luther,⁶³ would be inclined to portray Job as asleep at the end of the Book of Job because it is the state in which his human fragility is most apparent. In this state, Job cannot calculate his own righteousness, cannot understand who or where he is, and cannot impede God’s will with his own reason. In short, the emptying of his rational faculties readies him for God. According to Münster, God does not appear to Job in order to congratulate him on his faith, as Gregory and Thomas suppose. Instead, God appears to men in dreams to “mark them with castigation” and “carve out pride.”⁶⁴ For this reason, God comes to Job in “deep sleep,” the state of being that seems furthest from exemplary.

Other parts of Münster’s commentary also reflect this understanding of Job, who is a model of faithfulness because of, not in spite of, his human weakness.⁶⁵ When Münster’s

⁶¹ Luther, *Works*, Vol. 5, 215.

⁶² King James Version, 2 Corinthians 12:19. This was one of Luther’s favorite verses: “And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me.”

⁶³ Münster’s translation of Luther’s *Der Zehen Gebot Ein Nutzliche Erklerung* in 1520 was one of his earliest works. Luther was also aware of Münster’s accomplishments. In a letter in 1520, Münster was recommended to Luther as an expert in the sacred languages. McLean, *Cosmographia of Münster*, 15, 17n.44.

⁶⁴ Job 33:16-17 translated from Münster, *Veteris Instrumenti*, 677r. The English translations in the Bishop’s Bible and King James Bible do not preserve the violent imagery of God’s castigation. For instance, the King James Bible states that God appears to man in order to “sealeth their instruction” and “hide pride from man.”

⁶⁵When I say a “Lutheran” interpretation of Job, I mean the interpretation that was advocated in Luther’s preface. It was not a universal position, even among Lutherans. For instance, Martin Borrhaus (1499-1564), a German Lutheran, maintains that Job was perfect throughout his trials. When we encounter Job’s complaints in chapter three (and following), Borrhaus suggests interpreting these complaints in light of Job’s characterization in the text’s prose frame. He writes, “Job 3. *After this Job cursed his days*. This gloomy speech shows how Job lamented his miseries in the company of his friends. Should it seem that Job bears himself impiously and impatiently in these lamentations, it says that when he was cursed by his wicked wife, he declares, ‘If we accept good from God, should we not accept evil?’ Also this: That below, at the end of the tragedy, he is praised by God for his words: ‘I am angry with you and your two friends, for you have not spoken rightly of me like my Job.’” Martin Borrhaus, *In Sancti Viri*

annotates Job 3:1, in which Job curses the day he was born, he does not diminish the intensity of Job's death wish. He explains:

Here begins the complaints in which Job cries and explains to his friends the most sad affairs of his condition, how many burdens he has endured, to such a high extent that he wishes he were not on earth, but quickly dead...His complaint is regarding that unfortunate day when his mother bore him into the world, for the enduring of so much evil and the bearing of such a harsh life. Thus, from the great magnitude of his pain, he praises death over life, because every day of life is to him a calamity, in which life he experiences the hell that he fears.⁶⁶

When God appears to Job in Münster's commentary, God chastises him for his impudence.

Whereas Catholic commentators had made God's initial rebuke an address to Elihu instead of Job (thus preserving Job's perfect image), Münster suggests, "God first reprehended Job, because he wished to contend with God, and had spoken more boldly about his own justice and judgment."⁶⁷

Other early Lutheran commentators share this view of Job as a model of human fallibility. For Johannes Brenz (1499-1570) in his *Hiob Cum Commentariis* (1527),⁶⁸ Job's

Iobi Historiam Salutari De Mysterio Crucis Et De Lege Atque Evangelio Doctrina Refertam (Basileae: Petrum Pernam, 1564).

⁶⁶ Sebastian Münster on Job 3:1 in Pearson, *Critici Sacri*, Vol. 3, 2926.

⁶⁷ Münster, *Veteris Instrumenti*, 681r. Also in Pearson, *Critici Sacri*, Vol. 3, 3506.

⁶⁸ Johannes Brenz, *Hiob Cum Piis Et Eruditis Johannis Brentii Commentariis: Ad Hebraicam Veritatem Translatus* (Haganoae [Hagenau]: Johann Setzer [Ioan Secerius], 1527). A second edition was published in 1529: Johannes Brenz, Theodorichus a Gemmingen, and Johann Setzer, *Hiob // Cum Commentarijs // Iohannis Brentij, // Iuxta Pij Ac Erudi//Tis, Ab Ipso Nuper // Authore Recog//Nitus at [Que] Re//Stitutus* (Hagenau: Setzer, Johann, 1529). Quotations are from the 1529 edition. Available at <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/vd16/content/titleinfo/999844>.

complaints are not a sudden fall from his previous perfection; they are a reminder of man's sinful nature, which can only be overcome by the grace of God. Brenz explains:

In his earlier trials, [Job] felt God the Father, and His supporting hand. Thus, he easily stood firm, upon the firm rock that had been established. But now the Father hides, and the terrible judgement of death appears. Therefore, you do not hear of further deeds of gratitude, but blasphemies and curses...And not without the wisest council of God may the pious remain constant in trials, and they fall to pieces during judgement.⁶⁹

As Brenz makes clear, Job's virtue does not outlast God's supporting hand.⁷⁰ Rather, his patience was given to him by God, and his sinful nature appears as soon as God withdraws it.

Brenz reiterates:

His constancy was given to him by God as a gift, and not from himself, so that all of us may see from his experience, that in trials, constancy is a work of God, not of our own virtue. For even in this case, Scripture concludes that all are under sin, so that God has mercy to all.⁷¹

In contrast to the patient Job tradition, Brenz insists that none of the so-called "heroic" parts of Job are his own doing.

⁶⁹ Commentary on Job 3:1. Brenz, *Hiob Cum Commentariis* (1529), 19v-20r, digital image 58-59.

⁷⁰ Again in the final chapter, when Job repents for his wrongdoing in "dust and ashes," Brenz uses the opportunity to remind his readers that Job is dependent upon God's grace and cannot merit his own salvation. He writes, "To do penance on account of evil is the best response...But it is not true penance if we do superstitious works to make up for blasphemy...[Dust and ashes] were indeed symbols of penance—to sit in dust and ashes—an action that acknowledges that he is made from earth and deserves perdition. It reveals indeed that through the Gospel, sacrifice, like the penitential symbols, are abolished." *Ibid.*, 287r, digital image 593.

⁷¹ Commentary on Job 3:1. *Ibid.*, 20r, digital image 59.

Yet, for Brenz, Job is not a disgrace for speaking “impudently and impiously.” Instead, he offers us an opportunity to reflect on our own sinfulness. In his annotation of “Job opened his mouth and cursed his day,” Brenz writes:

Job opened it, and wider than was proper, and likewise other people open their mouth whenever they are afflicted by death’s terrible judgement. The infernal fire, lit by the judgement of God, impels them to open their mouth, and the flames of blasphemies pour out. These same flames were felt by David in Psalms 6 & 37: *Lord, do not in your anger*, Ezekiel, Isiah 38, and Jeremiah Ch. 20. Indeed, while you hear them cursing the day of their birth, descend into your own heart, and know that there are the same blasphemies within you (albeit hidden from judgement). For Job and Jeremiah are heralds to our hearts that are opposed to judgment.⁷²

In this passage, Brenz admits that Job spoke more forwardly than “was proper,” but he also understands a man’s impulse to complain when he suspects that he is facing “death’s terrible judgement.” He identifies other Biblical figures—David, Ezekiel, Isiah, Jeremiah—who made similar complaints and suggests that we learn from them. When we hear them cursing their lives, we should know that we have these same complaints hidden inside ourselves. Since we, too, are opposed to God’s judgement, we ought to use Job, not as a paragon of virtue, but as a herald of our own sinfulness.

⁷² Brenz, *Hiob Cum Commentariis* (1529), 21v, digital image 62.

Lucas Osiander's annotations on Job (1576) continue in this Lutheran tradition, making Job a sinner who is admirably dependent on God's grace.⁷³ Osiander's annotation of Job 3:1 borrows from Luther's preface to Job, describing Job's perception of God's evil nature in the midst of his grievous calamities:

Chapter 3. Since Job is sustaining enormous and unending bodily suffering from ulcers and simultaneously the loss of all his resources and his beloved children from before, he ponders deeply in his soul. And (perceiving that God has withheld his grace), he imagines, that God Himself is unmerciful and angry, who seems to cast off all the goodness and heart of a father, and so his impatience, which had hitherto escaped unnoticed, begins to erupt from his heart. And Job begins to boil with rage, not only against the creatures of God, but also against God Himself.

Therefore, we hear: After this, Job opened his mouth and cursed his days.⁷⁴

Osiander, like Brenz, suggests that Job's impatience is not an unexpected development from a perfect being. Rather, his impatience had "hitherto escaped notice," and now surfaces because of the hardship that he faces.

The conclusion to Osiander's commentary emphasizes that Job is most exemplary when he admits the limitations of his reason and yields to God. When Job rails against God, he assumes knowledge that he does not have, a fault that God corrects when he appears to Job in the whirlwind. Osiander's annotation of Job 38 explains:

⁷³ Lucas Osiander, *Esdras, Nehemias, Esther, Job, Psalterium, Prouerbia Salomonis, Ecclesiastes, & Canticum Cantorum: Ivxta Veterem Sev Vvlgatam Translationem, Omnia Ad Hebraeam Veritatem Emendata, & Breui Ac Perspicua Explicatione Illustrata, Insertis Etiam Praecipuis Locis Communibus, in Lectione Sacra Obseruandis* (Tubingae: Georg Gruppenbach, 1576). Available at https://books.google.com/books?id=N_89AAAacAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 193.

Truly God Himself appears to Job, showing him that His wisdom is inscrutable, which is made most evident in all of creation. And therefore Job has done wrongly, because he intended to reprehend Him, whose wisdom and goodness are infinite.⁷⁵

When Job finally speaks to God, he can only say, “Behold, I am vile; what shall I answer thee? I will lay mine hand upon my mouth.”⁷⁶ For Osiander, Job models the relinquishment of our presumed exceptionalism:

Job responding to God, in complete humility, he says, “I know that you are all powerful, that God is most powerful and awe-inspiring; and that nothing is hidden from you. Because of which, help me abstain not only from blasphemous words, but also impious thoughts....I blame myself because I impudently spoke against your word; and I do penance in ashes, rightly. In dust and ashes, I sit on the earth, sad and gloomy, not so much on account of the calamities that have befallen me, but so that I might bear witness to the pain of my soul, because against you, my God, I raged without control by my complaints.”⁷⁷

Osiander follows Job’s speech with a parenthetical note: “Let us humbly subject the sharpness of our reason to the wisdom of God.”⁷⁸ For Osiander, like the Lutheran commentators before him,

⁷⁵ Osiander follows the annotation with a parenthetical note, one that makes an interesting analogy between Job’s impudence in addressing God and civilians’ impudence in addressing earthly magistrates: “In the same way, subordinates, who have a wise and good magistrate, ought not to denounce his actions, since they themselves are not entirely right, but rather it is better to think that the magistrate has serious (although hidden) reasons why he does thus.” *Ibid.*, 360.

⁷⁶ King James Version, Job 40:4.

⁷⁷ Osiander, *Esdras, Nehemias, Esther, Job...* 383.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 382.

this is the lesson to be learned from Job—that God encounters man at his weakest moment, when he is emptied of “the sharpness of his reason.” In this version, Job does not have the weaknesses of humanity “parable-ed” out of him. Instead, in his exemplary lowliness and utter dependency upon God, Job displays the symbolic foundation of the Protestant Christian life.

Historical Job

In contemporary literary circles, when we say that a piece of literature features a “very human character,” we mean a character with a certain level of psychological realism.⁷⁹ The phrase “very human” becomes synonymous with “realistic” or “lifelike,”⁸⁰ and the implication is that the author has done admirable work in matching the experience of a character with our experience of the world. Given this understanding of what constitutes literary realism, contemporary readers are more likely to find something “human” or “realistic” in Job’s poetic dialogue than the book’s prose frame. Job’s feelings, thoughts, and questions seem like a reasonable human response to suffering, even if the context and poetic delivery of Job’s complaints seem far from reality. When commentators like Luther, Münster, Brenz, and Osiander ushered in their Protestant way of reading, they, too, started imagining a more human Job, one who sleeps, hurts, thinks, feels, and complains. In an informal discussion of the Book of Job with one of his students, Martin Luther suggests separating what is real about Job’s experience from what is fictional, just as a contemporary reader might. He says, “Job didn’t

⁷⁹ An example from a book published in 2017: The author, Kathryn H. Fuller-Seeley, describes how the mid-twentieth-century African American radio and TV personality, Eddie Anderson, transformed the part of a servant into a character with psychological depth. She writes, “Anderson used his unique voice, wit, intelligence, and great sense of comic timing to transform the role of valet, butler, housekeeper, and chauffeur into a complex, very human character.” Kathryn Fuller-Seeley, *Jack Benny and the Golden Age of American Radio Comedy* (Oakland, CA: University of CA, 2017), 154.

⁸⁰ The adverb “very” contributes to the meaning of this phrase. It signals the difference between saying something obvious (“this character is a human,” as opposed to an animal or object) and saying something particularly about the character’s literary quality (“this character is realistic,” as opposed to stilted or one-dimensional).

speaking the way it is written, but he thought those things. One doesn't speak that way in despair [*anfechtung*]."⁸¹ Although Luther ends up defending the existence of a person named Job who "thought those things" (an opinion not shared by most contemporary scholars), he also admits that the premise of Job's dialogue—a person in pain speaking multiple stanzas of poetry to his friends—is not realistic. He measures the book's realism against human experience and concludes "one doesn't speak that way in despair." This methodology anticipates a contemporary way of assessing the "realism" of literature by considering how truthfully it mirrors human experience.

Luther's comment—that real sufferers don't speak the way Job does—put him at odds with over a century of Renaissance commentators, as we shall soon see. Contemporary Christian theologians are not alarmed by Luther's comment because they are used to reading the Book of Job as a parable, perhaps with refreshing glimpses of psychological realism in Job's poetry.⁸²

The beginning of Job reads:

⁸¹ This comment appears in Luther's *Table Talk*, a record of conversations had around Luther's kitchen table between 1531 and Luther's death in 1546. Veit Dietrich, a former student of Luther's, recorded this conversation. Martin Luther, "Table Talk / Recorded by Viet Dietrich, 1531-1533," in *Works*, Vol. 54. *Table Talk* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967), Spring 1533, no. 475, p.80-81.

Instead of "one doesn't speak that way *in despair*," Fortress's twentieth-century edition of Luther's works has "under temptation," which is a direct translation of the Latin "tentatione" that appears in the Weimer edition of the *Tischreden*. [*D. Martin Luther's Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden, Vol. 1.* (Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachfolger, 1912), no. 475, p.206-07.] But "in temptation" does not make sense. The German word is *anfechtung*. [*Colloquia Oder Tischreden Doctor Mart. Luthers: So Er in Vielen Jaren, Gegen Gelarten Leuten, Auch Fremden Gesten, Vnd Seinen Tischgesellen Geführet; Nach Den Häuptstücken Vnserer Christlichen Lehre, Zusammen Getragen, Vnd Jetzt Auff's Newe Corrigieret*, ed. Johann Aurifaber (Franckfurt am Mayn: Hüter / Lechler, 1568), 389v, digital image 804.] *Anfechtung* was central to Luther's pre-conversion experience, but does not have a clear English translation. In his Luther biography (first publ. 1950), Roland Bainton describes it as "all the doubt, turmoil, pang, tremor, panic, despair, desolation, and desperation which invade the spirit of man." It is a "recognition of unworthiness," so that a man contemplating God feels "at once attracted and repelled." Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2016), 22.

⁸² When I refer to "contemporary Christian theologians," I am referring to theologians in an academic setting. Many Christian theologians in a pastoral setting defend a historical Job.

There was once a man in the land of Uz whose name was Job. That man was blameless and upright, one who feared God and turned away from evil. There were born to him seven sons and three daughters. He had seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, five hundred donkeys, and very many servants; so that this man was the greatest of all the people of the east.⁸³

To modern readers, the extensive repetitions, sharp scenic divisions, exaggerated characterizations, round numbers, and simple thematic structure mark the story as folklore.⁸⁴ The theologian Thomas Long comments, “In his story of anguished suffering and troubled faith, symbolically Job is neither Jew nor Greek, male nor female, ancient nor modern. Job is from the land of Uz, a place no one can find on a map but a place where nearly everyone has spent some time. Job is every person, transcending particularity of time and place.”⁸⁵ After analyzing the source text, the Hebraist Stephen Vicchio likewise concludes, “The Hebrew text wants Uz to be every place and Job’s disease to be all diseases.”⁸⁶ For these readers, the “realism” of the Book of Job is not because of its historical accuracy, but because Job’s response to his suffering is very human.

⁸³ King James Version, Job 1:1-4.

⁸⁴ Carol A. Newsom, *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations* (Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2003), 14.

⁸⁵ Thomas Long, *What Shall We Say? Evil, Suffering, and the Crisis of Faith* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2011), 94.

⁸⁶ Stephen Vicchio and Lucinda Dukes Edinberg, *The Sweet Uses of Adversity: Images of the Biblical Job* (Baltimore, MD: IPP Press, 2002), 13.

Early modern Biblical commentators, in contrast, were obsessed with Job's historicity.⁸⁷ Their attention to Job's human activities (sleeping, feeling, complaining) deepened their commitment to Job's historical realism, not in the way that we might find Job's psychology realistic, but in the sense that the Book of Job was historically accurate. Juan de Pineda's *Commentariorum in Job* (1597) asks, "Is this story of Job true, or but a parable?"⁸⁸ Gaspar Sanchez's *In Librum Job Commentarii* (1625) starts by considering "Whether this may be a true history, or whether only a parable invented as an example of patience."⁸⁹ Friedrich Spanheim's *Historia Iobi* (1670) devotes its first twenty pages to discussing "The Truth of the History of Job."⁹⁰ Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1669-1676) prefaces the Book of Job by asking,

⁸⁷I do not intend to diminish or obscure confessional boundaries. Certainly, the initial impulse to humanize Job was a distinctly Protestant one. It arose from Martin Luther's new vision of exemplary Christian behavior, which was not about proving oneself through works, but about humbling oneself and recognizing one's need for grace. In contrast, both Protestant and Catholic commentators were concerned about the issue of Job's historicity, and their arguments for human exemplarity are oftentimes independent from the aforementioned Protestant one. When Catholic commentators like Nicolas of Lyra and Philip Codurc argued that a human Job was better than a fictional Job, they were not expressing tacit agreement with the Protestant argument, i.e. that a human Job was better than a saintly Job. Nevertheless, Catholic defenses of Job's historicity reinforced the Protestant effort to humanize Job to avoid works-righteousness. Moreover, the movement to humanize Job rather than preserve his saintliness spread beyond confessional boundaries, as Diego de Zuñiga's commentary illustrates (see chapter 4).

⁸⁸ Juan de Pineda, *Commentariorum, in Iob Libri Tredecim Adivncta Singvlis Capitibvs Sva Paraphrasi* (Hispani: Ioannes Rene [Juan René], 1598), "Praefat." II, digital image 13. Available at <http://www.bibliotecavirtualdeandalucia.es/catalogo/consulta/registro.cmd?id=6518>.

⁸⁹ "In Librum Job Commentarii, Prologomenon I" in Gaspar Sánchez, *Gasparis Sanctij Centumputeolani ... In Librum Iob Commentarij Cum Paraphrasi. Nunc Primum Prodeunt* (Lugduni: Sumpt Iacobi Cardon et Petri Cauellat, 1625). Quotation from the 1712 edition: *Gasparis Sanctii Centumputeolani E Societate Iesu ... In Librum Iob Commentarii Cum Paraphrasi : Nunc Secundo Prodeunt, Indicibus Cum Locorum Scripturæ, Regularum & Proverbiorum, Tum Rerum Memorabilium Illustrati. Cum Nova Præfatione, Vitam Autoris Complexa* (Antwerpia: Friderici Gleditsch & Filii, 1712), 1. Available online at https://archive.org/details/MN40377ucmf_1, digital image 21.

⁹⁰ Friedrich Spanheim, *Historia Iobi* (Genevae: Petri Chouët, 1670), 1. Available at http://reader.digital-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10484330_00010.html, digital image 11.

“Is it true history or a fictional parable of patience?”⁹¹ In all cases, they answered that Job was history.

Whereas, for contemporary readers, the beginning of Job has all the signs of folklore,⁹² for medieval and Renaissance commentators, the list of Job’s possessions and attributes in the first chapter was confirmation of his historical authenticity rather than reason to doubt it. The sixteenth-century early Protestant Sebastian Münster asks, “If Job had not existed, how would Scripture be able in truth to name him, his civilization, the number of his possessions and his children, and much more from beginning to end? And also the days of his life are described and the name of his friends and their lineage.”⁹³ The sixteenth-century Benedictine Isidoro Chiari likewise declares, “So exactly Scripture puts his name, the number of his possessions and children, and the names of his friends, and their lineage, that these prove this story not to be a figment in the least.”⁹⁴ As a general rule, when Renaissance texts included extensive particulars

⁹¹ Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque S. Scriptur Interpretum* (Londini: Typis J. Flesher & T. Roycroft: Prostat apud Cornelium Bee, 1669-1676), Vol. 2, 1. Available at EEBO Wing P2853 / 873:06, digital image 580.

⁹² Commentators’ resistance to making Job a parable is one of the most striking aspects of early modern exegesis; after all, it can be hard for twenty-first century readers to conceive of the text as something *other* than parable. For us, the prose frame seems like the *least* realistic part of the book. But the theologian and literary critic Carol Newsom points out the problem of declaring a text “folklore” when we have no other texts from the third-sixth centuries BCE to provide basis for such a judgement. She asks, “Can a text communicate to a reader that it is not simply an utterance but an utterance of ‘that type’ if the reader has no access to a comparable repertoire of texts?” The fact that Job’s prose frame seems to draw attention to itself as folklore exposes our own habits of reading (particularly how we draw the boundaries of genre) rather than inherent features of the text. Newsom, *Contest of Moral Imaginations*, 14.

⁹³ Münster, *Veteris Instrumenti*, 658, Digital Image 599.

⁹⁴Isidoro Chiari, *Vulgata Aeditio Veteris Ac Novi Testamenti: Quorum Alterum Ad Hebraicam, Alterum Ad Graecam Veritatem Emendatum Est Diligentissimè, Ut Nova Aeditio Non Facilè Desyderetur...* (Venetiis: Petrum Schoeffer, 1542), Vol. 1, 383. Available at <https://books.google.com/books?id=CFNJAAAacAAJ&pg=RA1-PA32&lpg=RA1-PA32&dq=%22Vulgata+aeditio+Veteris+ac+Novi+Testamenti%22&source=bl&ots=Onk3P2ykho&sig=q35iDGjrTi8GhVV40NgPes2n7vI&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiryLPg4cTaAhUqwIQKHZHHBocQ6AEINDAC#v=onepage&q=%22Vulgata%20aeditio%20Veteris%20ac%20Novi%20Testamenti%22&f=false>.

The issue of Job’s biography was not limited to theologians’ commentary. For instance, in the preface to his paraphrase of Job, the seventeenth-century English poet Arthur Brett hypothesizes about the two most plausible theories of when Job lived—around 2220 years after creation or at the time of Moses. Arthur Brett, *Patientia Victrix*,

about a character, this information was interpreted as an indication of the text's historical nature. For instance, in William Caxton's translation of *The Golden Legend* (publ. 1483), a collection of saints' lives and Biblical histories first compiled around 1260, Caxton follows his sources in including only the "historical" parts of Job and other Biblical stories. When Caxton prints "The History of Job," he omits the poetic section entirely and focuses on the number of Job's possessions.⁹⁵ He lists both Job's initial holdings—"seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels," etc.—and his possessions in chapter 42—"fourteen thousand sheep, six thousand camels, one thousand yoke of oxen, one thousand asses."⁹⁶

When medieval and Renaissance texts—even those with religious themes—lacked biographical specificities, they took on the quality of folklore. For instance, the exceedingly popular *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (c. 1435), compiled by the fifteenth-century German Dominican Johann Herolt, is interested in using saints' lives and miracle stories to teach moral lessons, not history.⁹⁷ The stories themselves give no identifying details of their

or, the Book of Job: In Lyrick Verse (London: Printed for Richard Gammon, 1661), "Preface to the Reader," EEBO image 10.

⁹⁵ Jacobus de Voragine and William Caxton, *The Golden Legend* (Westminster: William Caxton, 1483). Quotations from *The Golden Legend; or, Lives of the Saints* (London: J.M. Dent and Co., 1900), Vol. 2. Available at https://books.google.com/books?id=UesOAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=editions:ewh6okO2ck8C&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj6uO-d_8TaAhXKr1QKHRO7CgwQ6AEINzAC#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Caxton begins by summarizing the first two prose chapters of Job. When it comes time for the poetic sections, he writes, "Then after that Job and they talked and spake together of his sorrow and misery, of which S. Gregory hath made a great book called: The morals of S. Gregory, which is a noble book and a great work. But I pass over all the matters and return unto the end, how God restored Job again to prosperity" (55-56).

⁹⁶ The other saints' lives are similarly detail-oriented. For instance, Caxton writes, "St. Maturin was born of the diocese of Sens, and his father was called Marin, which by the commandment of the Emperor Maximian, persecuted much strongly Christian men, but his son Maturin, from the time of his infancy, privately in his heart and in will, was disciple of Jesu Christ, and was much sorrowful of the predication of his father and mother." *Golden Legend*, Vol. 4, 4. Available online at <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/goldenlegend/GoldenLegend-Volume4.asp#Maturin>.

⁹⁷ Johannes Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli De Tempore Et De Sanctis: Vna Cum Promptuario Exemplorum. Daran: Sermones De Sanctis; Promptuarium Exemplorum Secundum Ordinem Alphabeti; Promptuarium De Miraculis Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Argentine: [Drucker des Paludanus], 1487). In the late fifteenth-century, Herolt combined his *Promptuarium de miraculis beatae Mariae virginis* with his other collections of saints' lives and sermons. At the

characters. They describe, ““There was once a Roman emperor, who had a wife of noble birth...,” and “There was a certain knight, brother of that lord...,” and “There was a certain woman of honorable life...,” and “A certain knight who had a castle plundered...”⁹⁸ In contrast, when the seventeenth-century Flemish humanist Philip Numan writes *The Miracles Lately Wrought by the Virgin Mary* (1606),⁹⁹ he only includes miracles that are “proved and verified by the like writings and attestations of magistrates, and other authentical declarations.”¹⁰⁰ He describes a mountain in Spain, which is “seemly set forth with thirteen hermitages, and a goodly great Monastery of St. Benedict’s order, with many fair buildings and a marvelous multitude of pilgrims, in which place since the year 801 until the year 1599, there hath been wrought 381 miracles, whereof a great part are approved and confirmed by the public and authentical testifications.”¹⁰¹ The careful record of dates, locations, and numbers are meant to establish the truth of the history set forth. Considering this practice of associating specific details with

front of the collection, he includes a table that is alphabetical by subject matter. For instance, under the category “Patience,” the reader finds a list of the stories that speak to that theme. Johann Herolt’s *Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis*, followed by a *Promptuarium* (“storehouse”) of *exempla*, was the best known collection of miracle stories in the sixteenth-century. By 1520, 48 editions had been issued. C.C. Swinton Bland, “Translator’s Preface,” in *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, ed. C.C. Swinton Bland (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1928), 1-8.

A similar anonymous collection, entitled *The Miracles of Our Blessed Lady*, was printed in Westminster in 1496. Wynkyn de Worde, *The Myracles of Oure Blessed Lady* (Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, 1496). See Ethan H. Shagan and Debora K. Shuger, *Religion in Tudor England: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Waco, TX: Baylor UP, 2016), 3-9.

⁹⁸ Johannes [Discipulus] Herolt, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Translated with a Preface by C.C. Swinton Bland*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1928), 11, 13, 18, 96. Eileen Power describes in the introduction that the stories are “tinged also with that chivalrous romance which appears in the songs of the troubadours in the great epics of the day” (xiv).

⁹⁹ Numan first printed the text in Dutch in 1604 and then translated it into French in 1605. It was translated by Robert Chambers into English in 1606. Philip Numan, *Miracles Lately Vvrought by the Intercession of the Glorious Virgin Marie*, trans. Robert Chambers (Antwerp: Arnold Conings, 1606).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., “Preface,” EEBO image 40.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 24-25, EEBO image 56-57.

historical accounts, it makes sense that Renaissance commentators used Job's possessions, lineage, and location as proof that his story was history.

The intensity with which commentators defended Job's historicity was peculiar to the early modern period, but this obsession was not without some precedence. A general effort to place Job in a historical time and place had long been part of the book's interpretative tradition. The translators of the Septuagint Job made explicit the history that they saw underlying Job's story by adding a passage to the book's final chapter that did not appear in their Hebrew source text:¹⁰²

This man is interpreted from the Syriac book as living in the land of Ausitis, on the borders of Idumea and Arabia, and previously his name was Iobab; now he took an Arabian wife and fathered a son, whose name was Ennon, and he in turn had as a father Zare, a son of the sons of Esau, and as mother Bosorra, so that he was the fifth from Abraam. And these are the kings who reigned in Edom, which country he too ruled: first Balak the son of Beor, and the name of his city was Dennaba and after Balak, Iobab, who is called Iob, and after him Hasom, who was a leader from the Thaimanite country, and after him Hadad son of Barad, who cut down Madiam in the plain of Moab, and the name of his city was Geththaim.

Now the friends who came to him were: Eliphaz, of the sons of Esau, king of the

¹⁰² The Septuagint differs significantly from the Book of Job. It shortens the text by over one-third, softens Job's complaints, and expands its characterization of Job's villainous wife (see introduction). Henry S. Gehman, "The Theological Approach of the Greek Translator of Job 1-15," *JBL* 68 (1949): 231-40; Claude E. Cox, "Job," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 667-70.

Thaimanites, Baldad, the tyrant of the Sauchites, Sophar, the king of the Minites.¹⁰³

The information established in this passage—that Job was descended from Esau, lived in Austisis, and ruled as a king in Edom—was maintained by a number of the Greek and Latin church fathers, even after the Septuagint itself was superseded by other translations. In the twelfth century, Albertus Magnus established the tradition of printing the Septuagint’s conclusion before his *Commentarii in Job*,¹⁰⁴ which was continued in Nicholas of Lyra’s *Biblia Latina* in the fourteenth century,¹⁰⁵ and Robert Estienne’s first critical edition of the Vulgate in the sixteenth.¹⁰⁶ The common presence of this historical addendum suggests that exegetes desired a more explicit historical synopsis than the text of the Book of Job provided.

¹⁰³ "Nets Septuagint," 696. Available online at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/28-job-nets.pdf>. This passage establishes that Job was a Gentile (because he was descended from Esau) with Arabic roots. It identifies evidence for Job’s lineage in Genesis 36:33—“Jobab” as a descendent of Esau—and Lamentations 4:21—“Huz” as a daughter of Edom. Aside from these allusions to Jobab and Huz in Genesis, the Septuagint compilers had no reason for identifying Job’s lineage or kingship this way. Nevertheless, these features would become a standard part of Job’s identity in Biblical commentary and art, despite their lack of textual basis. Vicchio and Edinberg, *Sweet Uses of Adversity*, 8.

¹⁰⁴ For a modern edition, see Albertus Magnus, *Commentarii in Job: Aditamentum Ad Opera Omnia B. Alberti* (Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder, 1904).

¹⁰⁵ "Argumentum in Librum Job" in Lyra, Strabus, and Burgos, *Bibliorum Sacrorum*, 3-4.

¹⁰⁶ In these commentaries and annotated editions of the Bible, the passage from the Septuagint was often printed immediately after Jerome’s preface to Job with no transition in between. Thus, some Renaissance commentaries elide the Septuagint’s argument with Jerome’s preface and conclude that Jerome subscribed to the theory that Job was descended from Esau. In actuality, Jerome believed that Job was descended from Nahor, as he indicates in his *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*. In his annotation of Genesis 10:23, which mentions Uz as a son of Nahor, he writes, “The first-born of Nahor, Abraham’s brother was Uz, born of Melcha his wife, Aran’s daughter; from whose stock Job descended, as it is written in the introduction to his book: There was a man in the land of Uz whose name was Job. Certain people, therefore, are mistaken in thinking that Job was of Esau’s family; for what is contained in the conclusion of his book, namely that it was translated from the Syrian language; that he was fourth in descent from Esau; and the rest of the things which are included, are not contained in the Hebrew books.” Jerome, *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, trans. C.T.R. Hayward (Oxford, UK; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford UP, 1995), 56.

Heinrich Bünting’s *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae* (1581) is just one example that confuses Jerome’s opinion on Job’s lineage. The 1682 English translation of the section entitled “Of The Holy Man Job” reads, “There are many think him to be of the stock of Abraham, and of the family of Esau because he is mentioned in the 36 of Genesis, where it is said, *That when Bela died, Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozra, or Betzrah, reigned in his stead.* And St. Jerome in his preface upon the Book of Job, sheweth that he was but five degrees removed from Abraham,

Although patristic exegetes express general interest in Job's history, the first Christian text to present Job's historicity as a controversy was Nicholas of Lyra's fourteenth-century preface to Job in the *Biblia Sacra Cum Glossa Ordinaria*. Nicholas makes a vague accusation against "certain Jews" who believed that Job was a parable. Nicholas writes:

The first [issue] is, whether that which is set out in this book was a parable or a history. Addressing that, certain Jews have said that this is a parable. And that Moses wrote this book, as it is maintained in the book that the Hebrews call the *Bava Batra*. And for the sake of declaring the condition of the excellence of patience and its reward, he fashioned a man named Job.¹⁰⁷

The source of Nicholas's misreading is *Bava Batra* 15A, the third of three tractates¹⁰⁸ that form the first part of the Mishnaic Order of Nezikin of the Talmud.¹⁰⁹ As is typical of the Talmud's method of teaching and philosophizing, the section features a dialogue between an unnamed (and

for, Abraham had Isaac, Esau, Reguel, Serah, Job or Jobab, King of Idumaea, Gen. 36. Notwithstanding, there are some that are of opinion, that he descended from Nahor, Abraham's brother, and was of the family of Uz, Nahor's son, which opinion also St. Jerome mentioneth in his Hebraical Questions. But most of the ancient fathers hold this nothing so probable" (237). Jerome's preface did not, in fact, say that Job was "five degrees from Abraham" through the line of Esau. It is the Septuagint passage, printed following Jerome's preface, to which Bunting means to refer. Heinrich Bünting, *Itinerarium Totius Sacrae Scripturae: Or, the Travels of the Holy Patriarchs ... Collected out of the Works of Henry Bunting*, trans. R.B. [Richard Brathwait?] (London: J. Harefinch, 1682).

¹⁰⁷ "Devotissimi Patris Dom. Nicolai de Lyra in Postillam Super Iob Praefatio" Lyra, Strabus, and Burgos, *Bibliorum Sacrorum*, 3-4.

¹⁰⁸ This cluster of three tractates deals primarily with civil matters. The tractates are entitled *Bava Kamma* (קמא בבא, "First Gate"), *Bava Metzia* (מציעא בבא, "Middle Gate"), and *Bava Batra* (בתרא בבא, "Last Gate").

¹⁰⁹ The Talmud consists of the Mishnah, a written compendium of Rabbinic Judaism's Oral Torah, and the Gemara, an elucidation of the Mishnah and related writings. The Talmud is divided into six "orders" (called "seders"), each of which deal with a different general subject. *Bava Batra* falls within the Mishnaic Order of Nezikin, which is the fourth order of the Talmud. *Bava Batra* is the third tractate within Seder Nezikin. The tractates themselves are also divided into subsections by number and letter. Within *Bava Batra*, the conversation on Job is 15A. Therefore, the "address" of the passage within the Babylonian Talmud is Order 4 (Seder Nezekin), Tractate 3 (*Bava Batra*), Section 15A. In the following edition of the complete Talmud, 4.3.15A is on page 5991. Isidore Epstein and Joseph H. Hertz, *The Babylonian Talmud* (London: Soncino Press, 1935), 5991. Available online at <https://archive.org/details/TheBabylonianTalmudcompleteSoncinoEnglishTranslation>.

probably hypothetical) rabbi and Rabbi Samuel B. Nachmani about when the Book of Job was written. The unnamed rabbi says, “Job never was and never existed, but is only a typical figure.” Rabbi Samuel replies, “To confute such as you the text says, ‘There was a man in the land of Uz. Job was his name.’” The wise Rabbi Samuel twice refutes the unnamed rabbi, and the unnamed rabbi is never heard from again.¹¹⁰ Despite the clear victor being Rabbi Samuel, whose argument *disproves* Job’s fictionality, for Nicholas and many Renaissance commentators after him, the unnamed rabbi’s opinion represented that of the Talmud itself.¹¹¹

When Renaissance commentators insisted on Job’s historicity, most were arguing against the imagined Rabbi featured in Nicholas’s vague, out-of-context allusion. That said, in the twelfth century, Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon—Latinized as Maimonides—*did* hold that Job was a fictional character. Since his work was well-known in Europe after the mid-sixteenth century, some Renaissance Biblical commentators were responding to Maimonides’ opinion.¹¹² In *The Guide to the Perplexed*, Maimonides writes:

The strange and wonderful Book of Job treats of the same subject as we’re discussing [divine providence]; its basis is a fiction, conceived for the purpose of explaining the different positions which people hold on divine providence. You know that some of our sages clearly stated Job has never existed, and has been

¹¹⁰ Epstein and Hertz, *Talmud*, 5991.

¹¹¹ The Catholic Hebraist François Vatable is the exception in indicating that this opinion about Job’s fictionality was that of “ancient Hebrews” and is not shared by “more recent Hebrews.” Vatable’s notes were printed in Pearson, *Critici Sacri*, Vol. 3, column 2884.

¹¹² For instance, in his chapter on “The Truth of the Book of Job,” Christian Chemnitz attributes arguments regarding Job’s fictionality to “Rabbi Moses, the son of Maimon, who is most celebrated among the Hebrews for the book that bears the title, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, 3rd part. sect. 22, which is all about Job and the Jews in the Talmud.” Christianus Chemnitz and Bartholdus Müller, *Dissertatio Theologica De Persona Et Libro Hiobi* (Ienae: Bauhofferus, 1665), E2r; digital image 42. Available online at <https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/image/1421496135/42/>.

created, and that he is a poetic fiction. Those who assume that he has existed, and that the book is historical, are unable to determine when and where Job lived.¹¹³

Later, Maimonides restates for emphasis, “The introduction to the book is certainly a fiction: I mean the portion which relates to the words of the adversary, the words of God to the former, and the handing over of Job to him.”¹¹⁴ Maimonides’ interpretation of Job was no more representative of Jewish opinion than the *Bava Batra*’s fictional rabbi was representative of the Talmud. Nevertheless, Christians’ perceptions of Judaic teaching from these two sources provided ammunition for their attack.

What started in Nicholas of Lyra’s gloss as a disagreement with an imagined rabbi turned into a raging controversy in the hands of Renaissance commentators. The mere idea of someone challenging Job’s historical authenticity infuriated early modern commentators, who, as we have seen, were becoming increasingly invested in Job’s humanness. Since there was no disagreement among Renaissance commentators about Job’s historicity, they worked hard to generate a level of controversy that would be sufficient to justify their attention to the topic. Some accused Anabaptists of reading the Book of Job as fiction, even though no extant record explains the association between Anabaptism and a fictional Job.¹¹⁵ Others suspected Lutherans of the same opinion. In 1618 Cardinal Robert Bellarmine accused Luther of declaring Job a fiction in his “Preface to Job” and *Table Talks* (see above), which is where the rumor got its start.¹¹⁶ Not only

¹¹³ Moses Maimonides, *The Guide for the Perplexed*, ed. M. Friedländer (London; New York: George Routledge & Sons; E.P. Dutton & Co., 1904), 296. Available online at <https://archive.org/details/guideforperplexe00mai/miala>.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Both Christian Chemnitz and Matthew Poole mention the Anabaptists as perpetrators of this opinion in their late-seventeenth-century compilations of exegetical commentary. Chemnitz and Müller, *Dissertatio Theologica*, E2r, Digital Image 42. Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum*, Vol. 3 (Latin numbering, Vol. 2, pars prior), p. 1.

¹¹⁶ Roberto Bellarmino and Daniël Tilenus, *Disputatio Roberti Bellarmini Politani ... De Controversia Prima Fidei Christianae, Quae Est De Verbo Dei Scripto Et Non Scripto Quatuor Libris Comprehensa* (Sedani: Ioannis Iannoni,

is the passage from the *Table Talks* recorded by someone other than Luther and printed twenty years after Luther's death (points made by the seventeenth-century Protestant Christian Chemnitz in his dissertation on Job¹¹⁷), but Bellarmine's accusation ignores a key part of Luther's argument—that “the things reported actually happened.”¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, seventeenth-century Protestant commentators were eager to pursue Bellarmine's argument and thus have reason to review their evidence for Job's historicity. As Chemnitz writes, Bellarmine's argument is “barely worth the response, but for the readiness with which it is offered by the Pope against Luther, it should be answered.”¹¹⁹

1618), Liber. 1, "De Verbo Dei," Cap. V, 70. Available online at <https://books.google.com/books?id=vitLAAAACAAJ&q=Job#v=onepage&q=Job&f=false>.

¹¹⁷ The first instance in Luther's work to which Bellarmine objects is Luther's preface to Job in the Old Testament. Luther commented on the poetic nature of the Book of Job—that the book is “magnificent and sublime.” Bellarmine must have felt that Luther had come too close to dismissing the historical Job in his effort to praise the book's poetic qualities. Luther, "Prefaces to the Old Testament," 252.

The passage from Luther's *Table Talk*, which I previewed earlier, records Luther's thoughts on the authorship of Job:

“Job didn't speak the way it [the Book of Job] is written, but he thought those things. One doesn't speak that way under temptation. Nevertheless, the things reported actually happened. They are like the plot of a story which a writer, like Terence, adopts and to which he adds characters and circumstances. The author wished to paint a picture of patience. It's possible that Solomon himself wrote this book, for the style is not very different from his. At the time of Solomon the story which he undertook to write was old and well known. It was as if I today were to take up the stories of Joseph or Rebekah. The Hebrew poet, whoever he was, saw and wrote about those temptations, as Vergil described Aeneas, led him through all the seas and resting places, and made him a statesman and soldier. Whoever wrote Job, it appears he was a great theologian.”

Again, the passage is interesting because it suggests a different way of measuring realism than the one that other Renaissance commentators were using. For other commentators, the list of numbers, names, and details in the first chapter of Job was a sign that the book was history. But, here, Luther suggests that the idea of Job speaking his poetry to his friends is not realistic. He measures the book's realism against human experience and concludes “one doesn't speak that way under temptation.” “Table Talk / Recorded by Viet Dietrich, 1531-1533,” Spring 1533, no. 475, p.80-81.

Chemnitz writes, “Those dinner sermons were not seen, nor read by Luther, but were printed many years after his death.” Chemnitz and Müller, *Dissertatio Theologica*, Chapter 6, “On the truth of the Book of Job,” sect. 10, F1v, Digital Image 49.

¹¹⁸ Chemnitz, *Dissertatio Theologica*, F1v, Digital Image 49.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Why were early modern commentators so passionate about defending the historical nature of Job? Given the frequency with which early modern commentaries defend Job's historicity, it may seem logical to assume that early modern exegetes were generally suspicious of reading Biblical stories as parables or allegories. But the opposite is true: commentators' obsession with Job's historicity was the exception rather than the norm. While calling Job a parable was treated as a sign of "desperate atheism,"¹²⁰ early modern exegetes were otherwise comfortable with understanding parts of the Bible as parables, invented by human authors for the sake of teaching spiritual truths. In fact, reading parables and allegories as *spiritually*, but not *historically* true was such a standard practice in Christian tradition that, in the case of *The Songs of Solomon*, it was heretical *not* to read the text as an allegory. The Second Council of Constantinople ruled that the book could not be understood in good faith as a historical account of two lovers, but must be read as an allegory about the love of Christ for the Church.¹²¹ Considering Renaissance readers' acceptance of parables and allegories as carriers of spiritual truth, their insistence that Job had to be history, lest it be untrue, leaves the question: why did Job, in particular, have to be history?

Three features are repeatedly mentioned in early modern commentary as requiring Job's classification as history rather than parable: the appearance of God in the story, the book's authorship by the Holy Spirit, and, most importantly, the necessity of Job being human in order to set an example for readers. First, commentators argued that Job was history because God appears as a character in the Book of Job. Parables can point to the nature of God, but once God

¹²⁰John Downname, *Annotations Upon All the Books of the Old and Nevv Testament*, 3 ed. (London: Evan Tyler, 1657), 5A1r, EEBO image 351. Henceforth cited, "Westminster Annotations."

¹²¹J. Paul Tanner, "The History of Interpretation of the Song of Songs," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 154, no. 613 (1997): 23-46.

is directly represented, the story falls outside the realm of the fictional. Renaissance philosophy and literary theory on fiction—or “poesy”¹²²— confirms that representations of God are categorically removed from fiction.¹²³ George Puttenham’s *Art of Poesy* differentiates classical myths, whose gods are invented by man and thus fictional,¹²⁴ from Scripture’s representations of God, whose truth is the inevitable product of its subject. Classical myths may be true in respect to their “moral or natural sense”

But with us Christians, who be better disciplined, and do acknowledge but one God Almighty, everlasting, and in every respect self-sufficient, reposed in all perfect rest and sovereign bliss, not needing or exacting any foreign help or good; To him we cannot exhibit overmuch praise, nor belie him in any ways.¹²⁵

¹²² This definition of “fiction” as a genre of literature was just emerging at the end of the sixteenth century. A “fiction” had long referred to a “dissemblance” or an “imaginary invention.” (For instance, to use the OED’s example, “The popish priesthood is an imaginary and blasphemous fiction.”) The OED cites 1599 as the first usage of “fiction” to refer to the genre of literature that contained such dissemblances or imaginary inventions. Its definition overlapped with the then-familiar word “poesy,” a literary composition whose subject matter was invented. *Oxford English Dictionary*, “fiction.”

¹²³ Nevertheless, representations of God are, as John Calvin clarified, *representations* that have been accommodated to human understanding. Ford Lewis Battles, “God Was Accommodating Himself to Human Capacity,” in *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism*, ed. Richard C. Gamble (New York: Garland, 1992), 13-32.

¹²⁴ For Puttenham, poesy must be true to its subject matter. Puttenham clarifies that “Gentile” poesy is quite good, but not *too* good since the classical poets could only praise their gods to the extent that was appropriate to them: “Their poets were after a sort restrained, so as they could not with their credit untruly praise their own gods, or use in their lauds any manner of gross adulation or unveritable report. For in any writer, untruth and flattery are counted most great reproaches.” Puttenham suggests that pagan poetry must be limited in its praise of its gods because poesy has to be true and pagan gods were often petty, jealous, and lewd. He recognizes that even the “truth” about these pagan gods was established on a falsehood—the “authority of their own fabulous records”—but he gives the pagan poets credit for trying to be true to their subject matter. George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London: Richard Field, 1589), Ch. 12, p.21, EEBO image 13.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, Ch. 12, p.22, EEBO image 14. For contemporary readers, this idea is counter-intuitive because it would seem that a representation of a divine being, who exists outside of space and time, would require allegory or parable. Puttenham’s argument here—that God’s truth historicizes every text that it touches—is especially ironic when applied to the Book of Job, in which God is anthropomorphized to the point of bartering with Satan.

As Puttenham’s explanation suggests, once a text represents God, it is no longer able to be a fiction.

The representation of God in Job necessitates divine authorship, which is another way in which Job is distinguished from parables. Parables are inventions. For instance, when Jesus tells a parable, he begins, “It is as if...” or “The kingdom of heaven may be compared to...,” which signal the start of a story that he invented. Even in the infamously allegorical *Songs of Solomon*, in which no human author appears in a frame to relate the allegory, the very title of the book—the *Songs of Solomon*—suggests that this extended allegory was invented by a human. In contrast, Gregory I’s influential *Moralia in Job* establishes that the Holy Spirit is the author of Job. Although the Holy Spirit may have channeled the story through human hands, it is “superfluous to enquire” who this person was because “at any rate the Holy Spirit is confidently believed to have been the author.”¹²⁶ This authorship tradition was reiterated in almost every major Renaissance commentary through the mid-seventeenth century. For instance, in the first English commentary on Job, a translation of the early Calvinist Theodore Beza’s *Commentarij in Librum Iob* (1573),¹²⁷ Beza writes, “It is a question, by whom this book was written, but hereof Gregory, Bishop of Rome, judgeth very well and wisely, that it is no purpose to search and inquire who is the writer of that book, of which we acknowledge the Holy Ghost to be author.”¹²⁸ Jean-François Senault—a French Augustinian philosopher and Superior General of

¹²⁶ Gregory, *Morals on Job*, Vol. 1, 15.

¹²⁷Théodore de Bèze, *Ioannis Merceri Regii Quondam in Academia Parisiensi Literarum Hebraicarum Professoris Commentarij in Librum Iob. Adiecta Est Theodori Bezae Epistola, in Qua De Huius Viri Doctrina, & Istorum Commentariorum Vtilitate Disseritur* (Genevae: Eustathius Vignon, 1573).

¹²⁸ Bèze, *Job Expounded*, A7r.

the French Oratory¹²⁹—went a step further and suggested that Job was the Holy Spirit’s first venture into publication:

[F]or the Fathers of the Church agree, that this discourse is the first which the Holy Ghost hath dictated, that he had often spoken before by the mouth of men, but that he had not written by their hands, that his oracles were not known but by tradition, and that there was yet no holy scripture which they could consult to learn his pleasure.¹³⁰

Joseph Caryl’s exposition of Job (1643) also asserts that Job was authored by the Holy Spirit and is “conceived to be the first piece of Scripture that was written.”¹³¹ Even in the late seventeenth-century, when commentators became more interested in investigating the circumstances of the text’s production, particularly its authorship, they retained the idea that the Holy Spirit was the book’s “Principle Author.”¹³²

A story authored by the Holy Spirit does not signify meaning the way that a man-made parable does. When man creates parables, his words carry spiritual meaning. When God creates parables, creation itself becomes parabolic. This is the basis of typology in Biblical

¹²⁹ The Congregation of the Oratory of Jesus and Mary Immaculate (most commonly known as “the French Oratory”) is a society of Catholic priests that was founded in 1611 in Paris. Members live in spiritual communities without taking religious vows and are led by a Superior General, a role that Senault fulfilled from 1662-1672. The French Oratory was influential in establishing seminaries that taught in French instead of in Latin, and taught modern foreign languages instead of classical ones. Theologically, they were interested in a religious life that centered upon the human aspects of Jesus. Augustin Ingold, “French Congregation of the Oratory,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 11, ed. Charles George Herbermann and Edward A. Pace (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911).

¹³⁰ Senault’s *Paraphrases Sur Job* (1637) was translated into English (1648) and reprinted twice (1648, 1657). J.F. Senault, *Paraphrases Sur Job* (Paris: I. Camusat, 1637). *The Pattern of Patience in the Example of Holy Job* (London: Joseph Cranford, 1648), A10r-A10v.

¹³¹ Joseph Caryl, *An Exposition with Practical Observations Upon the Three First Chapters of the Book of Job Delivered in XXI Lectures* 10 vols., vol. 1 (London: G. Miller, 1643), 6. The text was reprinted in 1643, 1644, 1669.

¹³² Poole, *Annotations Upon the Holy Bible. Vol. I*, 5A1r, EEBO image 382.

hermeneutics, where both the signifier (the thing itself) and the signified (the denoted meaning) have a historical existence in the world. In the Book of Job, Job is not just an exemplum to teach a lesson about piety; he is a real person who is written into history by the Holy Spirit, in this case to prefigure Christ. As Eric Auerbach explains, typological readings of Job—that is, those which read Job as a type of Christ—necessitate the historicity of both type and antitype.¹³³ He describes, “Figural prophecy implies the interpretation of one worldly event through another; the first signifies the second, the second fulfills the first. Both remain historical events.”¹³⁴ When patristic and medieval commentators understood Job as a type of Christ, they were implying his historical existence. In his preface to his *Moralia*, Pope Gregory I explains that Job not only speaks of Christ (“I know that my redeemer liveth” in Job 19:23), but also appears as “His herald in figure.”¹³⁵ Gregory I states, “And therefore it behooved that blessed Job also, who uttered those high mysteries of His incarnation, should *by his life* be a sign of Him, whom by voice he proclaimed, and by all that he underwent should show forth what were to be His sufferings; and should so much the more truly foretell the mysteries of His passion, as he prophesied them, not merely with his lips, but also by suffering.”¹³⁶ Pope Gregory suggests that the Christian metanarrative has such power, not because it is foretold with words, but because it is written by the Holy Spirit and played out in historical time.

¹³³ Auerbach explains that the type, or *figura*, “must always be historical.” Eric Auerbach, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New York: Meridian, 1959), 57. The chapter “Figura” first appeared in *Neue Dantestudien* (Istanbul, 1944).

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Gregory, *Morals on Job*, Vol. 1-1, “The Preface,” section vi, no. 14.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

When medieval exegesis (specifically Nicholas of Lyra's *Glossa Ordinaria*) began treating Job's historicity as an issue needing to be defended, this exegesis closely associated Job's historical existence with his typological role. After providing his list of evidence for Job's historical existence, Nicholas writes, "From this we have to believe that Job was a true man in the nature of things, just as Christ was a true man who suffered in his human nature."¹³⁷

Renaissance commentators likewise recognized Job as a product of the Holy Spirit's authorship in order to prefigure Christ. The Spanish Jesuit Juan de Pineda (1558-1663) explains that Job must be more than "some fiction" because "the Holy Spirit is the author, as our consummator and perfecter." He identifies the underlying reason that heretics call Job a fiction: they "detest" any history that reveals the "light of Christ."¹³⁸ A century later, the English protestant Matthew Poole similarly answers the question, "Is Job true history or a fictional parable?" by explaining that "God wants him to be a type of Christ, who from his own is cast off."¹³⁹ Because Job was written into history by the Holy Spirit for the sake of foreshadowing Christ, it was necessary that he existed. Sebastian Castellio (1515-1563), the early French Protestant,¹⁴⁰ went as far as to warn that throwing Job's existence into doubt would jeopardize the historical reality of the entire

¹³⁷ Lyra, Strabus, and Burgos, *Bibliorum Sacrorum*, 3-4.

¹³⁸ Pineda writes, "The heretics detest history because they do not gravitate toward the Light of Life that is most desired by wise men. They do not respect the Light when it falls in history, either in customs or in dogma, and they do not move toward the Light of Christ." Pineda, *Commentariorum in Iob*, "Praefat." III, Digital Image 14.

¹³⁹ Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum*, Vol. 2, pars prior, Question 1, Argument 4, Response 5, 2.

¹⁴⁰ Castellio was "radical" for his advocacy for religious toleration. Castellio and John Calvin had an ongoing rivalry, fueled by Calvin's jealousy. Their opposition came to a head over the 1553 execution of Michael Severtus, a theologian charged with blasphemy. Calvin spearheaded the efforts to have Severtus executed, and Castellio resisted the decision in a pamphlet entitled *Should Heretics Be Persecuted* (1554), which argues, "When Servetus fought with reasons and writings, he should have been repulsed by reasons and writings." See Hans R. Guggisberg, *Sebastian Castellio, 1515-1563: Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age*, ed. Bruce Gordon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

Christian narrative. He writes, “Whoever deems this story of Job to be a feigned narrative and dialogue, it makes no sense to me. For everything in this could also be in a true story; the man who is able to deny this could deny everything.”¹⁴¹

In addition to its divine representation and divine authorship, a final, critical feature separates Job from parable—the difficulty of the story’s lesson. In the minds of Renaissance exegetes, a parable had to instruct man towards an accomplishable action. Should there be any doubt whether a human could accomplish the advised action, the parable was not a sufficient example. Because Job teaches man’s steadfastness in the face of *extreme* adversity, Renaissance commentators felt that it could not rightly be a parable. After all, if we are expected to imitate Job’s level of faithfulness, and yet Job had not survived these catastrophes himself, it would not be fair. Juan de Pineda explains:

This book was written as an example of patience to expose heretics. What kind of example of patience would it be if it were not true, but rather some fiction, invented and written? But, you say, from a fable you tend to expect an example of good or bad living. Well, yes, but if the story proposes something impossible, then the life is not imitable....Clearly one who discusses patience or another virtue, is not worth anything to us unless he has experienced the real thing, and proves that he can tolerate afflictions.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Sébastien Castellion, *Biblia Sacra Ex Sebastiani Castalionis Postrema Recognitione. Cum Annotationibus Eiusdem, & Historiæ Supplemento Ab Esdra Ad Machabæos, Indeusq[ue] Ad Christum, Ex Iosepho. Index Præterea Nouus, & Is Quidem Locupletissimus* (Basileae: Petrum Pernam, 1573), 665-66. Castellio’s first edition of the Bible, printed in 1551, did not include headnotes or extensive annotations. Sébastien Castellion, Frances Matthew, and Tobias Matthew, *Biblia, Interprete Sebastiani Castalionis. ... Una Cum Eiusdem Annotationibus* (Basileae: Per Ioannem Oporinum [colophon per Iacobum Parcum, sumptibus Ioannis Oporini], 1551), Liber 2, 1.

¹⁴² Pineda, *Commentariorum in Iob*, "Praefat." IV, Digital Image 15.

Likewise, the seventeenth-century French Catholic Philip Codurc explains how “real history” is the only suitable example for teaching Christians to be patient. He writes, “St. James in his epistle, chapter 5, suggests remembering Job’s patience in the minds of Christians, not as a fictional thing or a parable, but as truth, because he really existed as an example of patience, because nothing may be more wonderful for the maintaining of faith pertaining to real history.”¹⁴³ And the seventeenth-century Protestant John Mayer writes in his *Commentary* (1653), “Moreover, if it were not a true history, it were not of that force to move others to patience in extreme misery by his example, as James improveth it.”¹⁴⁴ This desire for Job to be “imitable,” to “really exist as an example,” to have the “force to move others to patience” motivated commentators’ interest in the historical Job. Just as William Marshall’s *A Goodly Prymer* (1535) and Martin’s Luther’s “Preface to Job” (1525) insist that Job’s exemplarity be rooted in his human weakness, these later commentators also preference a historical Job, who proves that actual humans can overcome suffering.

Because Job had to be a real person to be a good example, Renaissance commentators go to extensive lengths to establish his historical existence. They remind us of the abundant details that we know about Job’s possessions and livelihood. They try to fit Job into established history by determining the location of Uz, the time that Job lived, and his lineage based on internal Biblical and linguistic evidence.¹⁴⁵ In their efforts to establish an imitable, human Job,

¹⁴³ Pearson, *Critici Sacri*, Vol. 3, 2900.

¹⁴⁴ John Mayer, *A Commentary Upon the Holy Writings of Job, David, and Salomon: That Is, These Five, Job, Psalmes, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, Being Part of Those Which by the Antients Were Called Hagiographa, Wherein the Diverse Translations and Expositions, Both Literall and Mysticall, of All the Most Famous Commentators Both Ancient and Modern, Are Propounded, Examined, and Censured: And the Texts from the Originall Much Illustrated, for the Singular Benefit of All That Bee Studious of the Holy Scriptures* (London: Printed for Robert Ibbitson, and Thomas Roycroft, 1653), “The Preface to Job,” 1.

¹⁴⁵ See Chapter 2 for a discussion of how these arguments unfolded. As Kirsten Mcfarlane suggests in her dissertation on the King James Bible’s genealogies, establishing the lineage and chronology of Biblical events was a

Renaissance commentators also cited the testimonies of Ezekiel 14:14 and James 5:11.¹⁴⁶ The Westminster Assembly notes, “In the mouth of two such witnesses (had we no further evidence), let the Truth and Honor of this scripture be established forever, neither of whom would have proposed our Hero as an example of brightest holiness and patience if he had been no more than a dim fiction, nor have taught us the noblest acts and duties of religion by things imaginary, and which never were.”¹⁴⁷ Making Job into a “dim fiction” would not only be an insult to Ezekiel and James, but to the Book of Job itself. Nicholas of Lyra rejects the notion that Job is fiction because “this way of speaking does not seem consonant with sacred scripture.”¹⁴⁸ A couple centuries later, the Protestant commentator Theodore Beza similarly suggests that it would “greatly derogateth from the authority and worthiness of the book” if the Book of Job were “altogether imaginary, devised only for the use and instruction of the Church.”¹⁴⁹

In the few hundred years between Nicholas of Lyra’s description of Job’s historicity in the fourteenth-century and the full development of a “human Job” by the end of the seventeenth-century, two trends are worth noting. First, commentaries on Job became increasingly concerned

method for confirming their authenticity. Hugh Broughton, the English Protestant who was perhaps most radical in his desire to demonstrate the harmony of the entire chronology of Scripture, describes the aim of this method. If we do not assemble accurate genealogies, Broughton suggests, the idea that the Bible is a “forged work” will have “probability.” Hugh Broughton, *A Defence of the Booke Entitled a Co[N]Cent of Scripture* (Middelburg: Richard Schilders, 1609), A2-4. Kirsten Mcfarlane, “‘Clareness and Safety of Religion Cannot Stand without Knowledge in Genealogies:’ Hugh Broughton and the King James Bible Genealogies, 1588-1592” (Oxford, 2016).

¹⁴⁶ In Ezekiel, God promises that the house of Israel will be destroyed: “Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God” (King James Version, Ezekiel 14:14). James writes, “Behold, we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord; that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy” (King James Version, James 5:11).

¹⁴⁷ Downname, *Westminster Annotations*, 5A1r. Westminster Assembly annotations, 5A1r.

¹⁴⁸ Lyra, Strabus, and Burgos, *Biblorum Sacrorum*, 3-4.

¹⁴⁹ Bèze, *Job Expounded*, A6v.

with determining the specifics of when and where Job lived, by whom the book was authored, and when the book was written down. When Nicholas of Lyra describes how we know that Job existed, all of his reasons come from cross-referencing within the Bible:

First, the beginning of the book prints Job's country, customs, possessions, and offspring, as it were printing the conditions of his history. Later, it talks similarly of Job's friends. Also, in Ezekiel 14 it is said by the voice of God, "If there were these three men in the middle of it—Noah, Daniel, and Job—by their righteousness they could only save their souls." It is certain that both Noah and Daniel were real men in the real world. From this, the same is concluded regarding Job, whom God lists along with them. Likewise, James 5, "Each we count happy who have endured. You have heard of the suffering of Job and have seen the end brought by God." From this we have to believe that Job was a true man in the nature of things, just as Christ was a true man who suffered in his human nature.¹⁵⁰

Early sixteenth-century commentators—including the Protestant Sebastian Münster and the Catholic Isidorus Clarius—begin their discussion of Job's historicity using the same methodologies as Nicholas. But they also connect the question of Job's existence with the question of the book's authorship and Uz's location. Regarding the authorship question, Münster writes (and Clarius borrows the same passage):

The Hebrews think that this book was written by Moses, which some among us affirm and others think something else. The book does not indicate whether

¹⁵⁰ Lyra, Strabus, and Burgos, *Biblorum Sacrorum*, 3-4.

Moses or another Prophet wrote it. But the undisputed opinion, agreed upon by Hebrews and Christians (who have no doubt), is that the book contains the speeches of the Holy Spirit.¹⁵¹

They treat the question of Uz's location in a similar manner: "There are those who think Uz is not far from Haran and that Job is descended from Nahor, the brother of Abraham. Others think he descends from Esau, and that Uz is in Idumae."¹⁵²

As we move through the sixteenth century, the commentaries on Job engage more extensively with the questions of authorship and location. Juan de Pineda's commentary devotes an entire chapter of his preface to the question, "Who is the author of Job?" and spends several pages annotating "Uz" in Job 1:1.¹⁵³ In the middle of the seventeenth-century, Joseph Caryl's *Exposition* (1643) suggests that we can "safely say" that Job existed between Abraham and Moses, which was "2830 years from creation, 574 years after the flood, and 282 years after Abraham."¹⁵⁴ George Hutcheson's *Exposition* (1669) proves that Uz is in Arabia, a theory that he supports with Biblical and geographical knowledge:

It seems most probable also that he lived in *Arabia the Desert*, being either of the posterity of Nahor, or of the sons of Abraham by Keturah, who settled also there. Gen. 25:9. For in this country, or the regions about, did his friends live; it was here where travelers were straitened with want of water, from which he draws the comparison, Ch. 6.15-20. It did border upon the Sabeans, a people in *Arabia*

¹⁵¹ Münster, *Veteris Instrumenti*, 658r.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Pineda, *Commentariorum in Iob*, "Praefat." VII, Digital Image 18; 9-13, Digital Image 48-52.

¹⁵⁴ Caryl, *An Exposition*, 1, 18.

Felix, or “the Happy,” and stretched also toward the Caldeans, from both which countries robbers came upon him, Ch. 1.15, 17. And (not to insist any longer) we find by the history itself, that he lived in a country so near the sea (namely the Red Sea) as he was acquainted with the sea-monsters there, Ch. 41.1. And so near Canaan, that he is not a stranger to the River Jordan, Chap. 40.23.¹⁵⁵

By the publication of Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1700), Poole not only gives extensive attention to the location of Uz, the time period in which Job lived, and the author of the Book of Job, but also addresses a separate question regarding when the Book of Job was written down—“after the time of the prophets.”¹⁵⁶ This question, which separates Job’s life from the author’s life from the publisher’s life, has come a long way from the early sixteenth-century commentary, which is comfortable with uncertainty about the circumstances of Job’s life and the book’s authorship. As the explanations of Job’s location, lineage, and authorship became more detailed, they also became of less interest to a popular audience. In his meditations on Job (1596), Henry Holland labels these questions “doctrine” and contrasts them with the meditations for “comfort and instruction” in the rest of his text.¹⁵⁷ In his *Annotations* (1657), a text written primarily in English, Edward Leigh creates separate Latin annotations that address the details of Job’s history, which often exceed the body of the text itself.¹⁵⁸ (For instance, Leigh’s Latin annotations list *multiple* possible authors of Job, but the English annotations only mention Moses

¹⁵⁵ George Hutcheson, *An Exposition of the Book of Job: Being the Sum of CCCXVI Lectures* (London: R. Smith, 1669), 3, EEBO image 6.

¹⁵⁶ Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum*, Vol. 3 (Latin numbering, Vol. 2, pars prior), 1.

¹⁵⁷ Henry Holland, *The Christian Exercise of Fasting...Hereunto Also Are Added Some Meditations on the 1. And 2. Chapters of Job* (London: By the Widow Orwin for William Toung, 1596), 126.

¹⁵⁸ Edward Leigh, *Annotations on Five Poetical Books of the Old Testament: (Viz.) Job, Psalmes, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles* (London: Abraham Miller, 1657), “Prologema,” n.p., EEBO image 5; 1, EEBO image 6.

as a potential author, an opinion that Leigh has already discredited in Latin.¹⁵⁹) In his *Paraphrase* (1661), Arthur Brett gives extensive attention to Job's historicity in his Latin preface to Reverend John Wall, but barely mentions the issue in English.¹⁶⁰

The second side effect of commentators' historicizing was a dissociation between historical truth and poetic form. Prior to the early modern period, poetry was not an indication of fiction. Diego de Zuñiga (1584) scoffs at those who object to Job's historicity, "as if true things were not able to be narrated by poetry or that divine speeches have not been translated as poems many times."¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, he makes this argument because he imagines that his opposition—the proponents of Job's fictionality—would suspect that the text was fictional because of its poetic form. Juan de Pineda (1597) likewise imagines a readership who would object to Job's historicity "because this book is written in verse, which is customary of comedy and tragedy. For thus the book of Canticles, which certainly exists in verse, contains a pastoral fable and bucolic argument."¹⁶² Pineda rejects their reasoning not only because drama can feature historical people as characters, but also because "the first chapter is in prose" and that chapter "tells a simple

¹⁵⁹ Leigh, *Annotations*, 1, EEBO image 6.

¹⁶⁰After his Latin letter, Brett writes in the English "Preface to the Reader," "Concerning the truth of this history of Job, the place where, and the time when he lived, I have spoken already in a more proper dialect." Brett, *Patientia Victrix*, "Reverendo Viro Johanni Wall," n.p., EEBO image 3-9; "Preface," n.p., EEBO image 10.

¹⁶¹ Diego de Zuñiga, *Didaci a Stvnica Salamanticensis Eremitae Avgustiniani in Iob Commentaria: Quibus Triplex Eius Editio Vulgata Latina, Hebraea, & Graeca Septuaginta Interpretum, Necnon & Chaldaea Explicantur, & Inter Se Cum Diferre Hae Editiones Videntur, Conciliantur, & Praecepta Vitae Cum Virtute Colendae Literaliter Deducuntur. Ad Philippum M. Ii Catholicus Hispaniarum Regem* (Toleti: Ioannes Rodericus, 1584). Quotations are from the 1591 edition: *Didaci a Stvnica ... In Iob Commentaria Quibus Triplex Eius Editio Vulgata Latina, Hebraea, & Graeca Septuaginta Interpretum, Necnon & Chaldaea Explicantur: Et Inter Se Cum Diferre Hae Editiones Videntur, Conciliantur & Praecepta Vitae Cum Virtute Colendae Literaliter Deducuntur* (Romae: Franciscum Zannettum, 1591), 2, Digital Image 18. The 1591 edition is available at <https://repository.ou.edu/uuid/2e505daa-f3d5-5ef1-92e4-d0fe4162a420#page/26/mode/2up>.

¹⁶² Pineda, *Commentariorum in Iob*, "Praefat." III, Digital Image 14.

history.”¹⁶³ He suggests that quibbles over Job’s poetry are irrelevant because the truly “historical” part of Job is in prose.¹⁶⁴ Although Pineda himself believes that poetry and drama can deliver history, his comment on Job’s “simple history” implies an audience who was more trusting of history written in prose.

The association of history with prose (and, in turn, poetry with fiction) became increasingly common in the seventeenth-century. Sir Thomas Browne’s *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646) criticizes many people’s lack of discernment when reading poetry and counts this faulty method of reading as a common source of errors.¹⁶⁵ Since texts like *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* encourage people to consider the fictional elements of poetry, seventeenth-century commentaries on Job found it necessary either to specify that Job’s poetry was *historical* poetry or to identify Job’s “history” as being contained within its prose chapters. The notes from the Westminster Assembly assure readers that Job is “a sort of poem, but yet not a fable,” which assumes that its readers’ default association with “poem” would be “fable.”¹⁶⁶ In the same way, Philip Codurc

¹⁶³ Pineda, *Commentariorum in Iob*, “Praefat,” VI, digital image 17.

¹⁶⁴ Again, this is opposite of how contemporary readers approach Job, in which the prose frame seems like two-dimensional folklore and the poetry seems psychologically realistic. We tend to measure realism by how closely a text reflects experience in the world, but Renaissance commentators like Pineda measured realism by the presence of proper nouns and specific numbers in prose.

¹⁶⁵ Browne accuses many people of preferring “rhetoric, parables, and proverbs” to “logic, propositions, and demonstrations,” (9). He devotes his entire ninth chapter to famous authors, including “holy writers, preachers, moralists, rhetoricians, orators, and poets,” who inadvertently deceive their readers. Not all of these authors have “positively promoted errors,” but their methods can lead readers astray. These authors use “invention” to derive their premises and then, through “illustrative argumentation,” they “induce their enthymemes,” arguments in which a premise is not explicitly stated. In the process, these authors are taking premises that are “unjustifiable or really false” and using them to promote “undeniable truths.” Even when these truths are “not of consequence” and the author’s “intention be sincere,” the effects are, according to Browne, “unwarrantable” because they “strengthen common errors and confirm as veritable those conceits, which verity cannot allow” (35). Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica, or, Enquiries into Very Many Received Tenents and Commonly Presumed Truths by Thomas Browne* (Lonson: Printed by T.H. for E. Dod, 1646). Available online at <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A29861.0001.001>.

¹⁶⁶ Downname, *Westminster Annotations*, 5A1r.

explains that the Book of Job is a “type of poem,” which, he says, “does not dissuade me from the common opinion of the theologians, that Job certainly existed.”¹⁶⁷ Christian Chemnitz refutes those who object to Job’s historicity on the grounds that it is in verse *and* suggests that the most historical parts of Job are in prose:

They are troubled by a sin of illogic, by which they reason that, because the Book of Job is written in poetry, therefore, it is nothing but a comedy... This is absurd. Moreover, the entire Book of Job is not written poetically. The first chapters, which contain the simple narrative, are in prose.¹⁶⁸

By the end of the seventeenth century, Matthew Poole definitively associates Job’s prose frame with “history” and its thirty-nine chapters of poetry with “fiction.” He explains, “That which is properly a history in this book is written in prose speech.”¹⁶⁹

These changes over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the movement toward biographical specificity and the developing association between poetry and fictionality—point to exegetes’ ongoing efforts to establish Job’s historical personage. And these historicizing efforts, in turn, reflected and contributed to the humanization of Job. In the same way that early Protestants like Martin Luther and William Marshall argued that real humans (not saints) set good examples, defenders of Job’s historicity argued that historical humans (not allegorical ones) set good examples. In both cases, tying Job’s exemplarity to his humanness helped to replace the “saintly Job” of medieval exegesis with the “human Job” of early modernism.

¹⁶⁷ Codurc, *Libri Job*, Praefatio, Aiiir.

¹⁶⁸ Chemnitz and Müller, *Dissertatio Theologica*, Sec. 4, Rat. 2, Digital Image 46.

¹⁶⁹ Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum*, Vol. 2, Quest. 1, Arg. 2, Resp. 2, col. 1, EEBO image 580.

Works Cited

- Aquinas, Thomas. *Commentary on the Book of Job*. Translated by Brian Thomas Becket Mullady. Old Testament Commentaries 32: Latin/English Edition of the Works of St. Thomas Aquinas. Lander, Wyoming: Aquinas Institute for the Study of Sacred Doctrine, 2016.
- Auerbach, Eric. *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*. Translated by Ralph Manheim. New York: Meridian, 1959.
- Austin, Michael. *Re-Reading Job: Understanding the Ancient World's Greatest Poem*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2014.
- Bainton, Roland H. *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2016.
- Battles, Ford Lewis. "God Was Accommodating Himself to Human Capacity." In *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism*, edited by Richard C. Gamble, 13-32. New York: Garland, 1992.
- Bellarmino, Roberto, and Daniël Tilenus. *Disputatio Roberti Bellarmini Politani ... De Controversia Prima Fidei Christianae, Quae Est De Verbo Dei Scripto Et Non Scripto Quatuor Libris Comprehensa*. [in Latin] Sedani: Ioannis Iannoni, 1618.
- Besserman, Lawrence L. *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1979.
- Bèze, Théodore de. *Ioannis Merceri Regii Quondam in Academia Parisiensi Literarum Hebraicarum Professoris Commentarij in Librum Iob. Adiecta Est Theodori Bezae Epistola, in Qua De Huius Viri Doctrina, & Istorum Commentariorum Vtilitate Disseritur*. Genevae: Eustathius Vignon, 1573.
- . *Job Expounded by Theodore Beza, Partly in Manner of a Commentary, Partly in Manner of a Paraphrase. Faithfully Translated out of Latine into English*. London: John Legatt, 1589.
- Bland, C.C. Swinton. "Translator's Preface." In *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, edited by C.C. Swinton Bland. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1928.
- Bloom, Harold. *The Book of Job: Modern Critical Interpretations*. New York: Chelsea House, 1988.
- Borrhaus, Martin. *In Sancti Viri Iobi Historiam Salutari De Mysterio Crucis Et De Lege Atque Evangelio Doctrina Refertam*. Basileae: Petrum Pernam, 1564.
- Brenz, Johannes. *Hiob Cum Piis Et Eruditis Johannis Brentii Commentariis: Ad Hebraicam Veritatem Translatus*. [in Latin] Haganoae [Hagenau]: Johann Setzer [Ioan Secerius], 1527.

- Brenz, Johannes, Theodorichus a Gemmingen, and Johann Setzer. *Hiob // Cum Commentarijs // Iohannis Brentij, // Iuxta Pijis Ac Erudi//Tis, Ab Ipso Nuper // Authore Recog//Nitus at [Que] Re//Stitutus*. [in Latin] Hagenau: Setzer, Johann, 1529.
- Brett, Arthur. *Patientia Victrix, or, the Book of Job: In Lyrick Verse*. London: Printed for Richard Gammon, 1661.
- Broughton, Hugh. *A Defence of the Booke Entitled a Co[N]Cent of Scripture*. Middelburg: Richard Schilders, 1609.
- Browne, Thomas. *Pseudodoxia Epidemica, or, Enquiries into Very Many Received Tenents and Commonly Presumed Truths by Thomas Browne*. Lonson: Printed by T.H. for E. Dod, 1646.
- Bünting, Heinrich. *Itinerarium Totius Sacrae Scripturae: Or, the Travels of the Holy Patriarchs ... Collected out of the Works of Henry Bunting*. Translated by R.B. [Richard Brathwait?]. London: J. Harefinch, 1682.
- Caryl, Joseph. *An Exposition with Practical Observations Upon the Three First Chapters of the Book of Job Delivered in XXI Lectures* 10 vols. Vol. 1, London: G. Miller, 1643.
- Castellion, Sébastien. *Biblia Sacra Ex Sebastiani Castalionis Postrema Recognitione. Cum Annotationibus Eiusdem, & Historiae Supplemento Ab Esdra Ad Machabæos, Indeusq[Ue] Ad Christum, Ex Iosepho. Index Præterea Nouus, & Is Quidem Locupletissimus*. [in Latin] Basileae: Petrum Pernam, 1573.
- Castellion, Sébastien, Frances Matthew, and Tobias Matthew. *Biblia, Interprete Sebastiane Castalione. ... Una Cum Eiusdem Annotationibus*. [in English] Basileae: Per Ioannem Oporinum [colophon per Iacobum Parcum, sumptibus Ioannis Oporini], 1551.
- Chemnitz, Christianus, and Bartholdus Müller. *Dissertatio Theologica De Persona Et Libro Hiobi*. Ienae: Bauhofferus, 1665.
- Chiari, Isidoro. *Vulgata Aeditio Veteris Ac Novi Testamenti: Quorum Alterum Ad Hebraicam, Alterum Ad Graecam Veritatem Emendatum Est Diligentissimè, Ut Nova Aeditio Non Facilè Desyderetur...* [in Latin] Venetiis: Petrum Schoeffer, 1542.
- Codurc, Philip. *Libri Job Versio Nova Ex Hebraeo Cum Scholiis* Paris: Savreux, 1651.
- Cox, Claude E. "Job." In *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007
- Downame, John. *Annotations Upon All the Books of the Old and Nevv Testament*. 3 ed. London: Evan Tyler, 1657.
- . *Annotations Upon All the Books of the Old and New Testament: Wherein the Text Is Explained, Doubts Resolved, Scriptures Paralleled and Various Readings Observed*. London: John Legatt and John Raworth, 1645.

- Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, C.1400-C.1580*. New Haven; London: Yale UP, 2005.
- Epstein, Isidore, and Joseph H. Hertz. *The Babylonian Talmud*. London: Soncino Press, 1935.
- Fuller-Seeley, Kathryn. *Jack Benny and the Golden Age of American Radio Comedy*. Oakland, CA: University of CA, 2017.
- Gehman, Henry S. "The Theological Approach of the Greek Translator of Job 1-15." *JBL* 68 (1949): 231-40
- Gregory, St. "The Epistle. To the Most Devout and Holy Brother, My Fellow Bishop Leander " In *Morals on the Book of Job, vol. 1* Oxford; London: John Henry Parker; J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850. <http://www.lectionarycentral.com/GregoryMoralia/Epistle.html>.
- . *Morals on the Book of Job: In Three Volumes*. Oxford; London: John Henry Parker; J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850.
- Grüninger, Johannes. *Ortulus Anime, Dyses Büchlin Ein Wurtz Gart Ist*. Straßburg: Grüninger, Hans, 1501.
- Guggisberg, Hans R. *Sebastian Castellio, 1515-1563: Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age*. Edited by Bruce Gordon. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Herolt, Johannes. *Sermones Discipuli De Tempore Et De Sanctis: Vna Cum Promptuario Exemplorum. Daran: Sermones De Sanctis; Promptuarium Exemplorum Secundum Ordinem Alphabeti; Promptuarium De Miraculis Beatae Mariae Virginis*. [in Latin] Argentine: [Drucker des Paludanus], 1487.
- Herolt, Johannes [Discipulus]. *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Translated with a Preface by C.C. Swinton Bland*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1928.
- Holland, Henry. *The Christian Exercise of Fasting...Hereunto Also Are Added Some Meditations on the 1. And 2. Chapters of Job*. London: By the Widow Orwin for William Toug, 1596.
- Hortulus Animae*. Strassburg: Wilhelm Schaeffener, 1498.
- Hutcheson, George. *An Exposition of the Book of Job: Being the Sum of CCCXVI Lectures*. London: R. Smith, 1669.
- Ingold, Augustin. "French Congregation of the Oratory." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 11*, edited by Charles George Herbermann and Edward A. Pace. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911
- Jerome. *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis*. Translated by C.T.R. Hayward. Oxford, UK; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford UP, 1995.

- Joye, George. *Ortulus Anime. The Garden of the Soule: Or the Englishshe Primers*. Francis Foxe [M. de Keyser]: Argentine [Antwerp], 1530.
- King James I. *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New*. London: Robert Barker, 1611.
- Kruger, Steven F. *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 1992. <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10441647>
- Leigh, Edward. *Annotations on Five Poetical Books of the Old Testament: (Viz.) Job, Psalmes, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles*. London: Abraham Miller, 1657.
- Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer. *Milton's Brief Epic; the Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained*. Providence: Brown UP, 1966.
- Lloyd Jones, G. *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language*. Manchester [Lancashire]; Dover, NH: Manchester UP, 1983.
- Long, Thomas. *What Shall We Say? Evil, Suffering, and the Crisis of Faith*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2011.
- Luther, Martin. *Colloquia Oder Tischreden Doctor Mart. Luthers: So Er in Vielen Jaren, Gegen Gelarten Leuten, Auch Frembden Gesten, Vnd Seinen Tischgesellen Geführet; Nach Den Häuptstücken Vnserer Christlichen Lehre, Zusammen Getragen, Vnd Jetzt Auff's Newe Corrigieret*. Edited by Johann Aurifaber. Franckfurt am Mayn: Hüter / Lechler, 1568.
- . *D. Martin Luther's Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden, Vol. 1*. [in German] Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1912.
- . *Eyn Bettbuchlin*. Wittenberg: Johann Rhau-Grunenberg, 1522.
- . "Heidelberg Disputations (1518)." In *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, edited by Timothy Lull. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2005
- . "Prefaces to the Old Testament." Translated by Charles M. Jacobs. In *Luther's Works, Vol. 35. Word and Sacrament I*, edited by Charles M. Jacobs (trans.) and E. Theodore Bachmann. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960
- . "Table Talk / Recorded by Viet Dietrich, 1531-1533." In *Works, Vol. 54. Table Talk*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967
- . *Works*. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, Helmut T. Lehmann and Hilton C. Oswald. St. Louis: Concordia, 1955-1986.
- Lyra, Nicholas of, Walafridus Strabus, and Paul of Burgos. *Bibliorum Sacrorum Cum Glossa Ordinaria Iam Ante Quidem a Strabo Fulgensi Collecta...Et Postilla Nicolai Lyrani, Tomus Tertius*. Venice: s.n., 1603.

- Magnus, Albertus. *Commentarii in Job: Additamentum Ad Opera Omnia B. Alberti*. [in Latin] Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder, 1904.
- Maimonides, Moses. *The Guide for the Perplexed*. Edited by M. Friedländer. London; New York: George Routledge & Sons; E.P. Dutton & Co., 1904.
- Marshall, William. *A Goodly Prymer in Englyshe*. Edited by George Joye and Girolamo Savonarola. London: John Byddell for Wylliam Marshall, 1535.
- Mayer, John. *A Commentary Upon the Holy Writings of Job, David, and Salomon: That Is, These Five, Job, Psalmes, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, Being Part of Those Which by the Antients Were Called Hagiographa, Wherein the Diverse Translations and Expositions, Both Literall and Mystical, of All the Most Famous Commentators Both Ancient and Modern, Are Propounded, Examined, and Censured: And the Texts from the Originall Much Illustrated, for the Singular Benefit of All That Bee Studious of the Holy Scriptures*. London: Printed for Robert Ibbitson, and Thomas Roycroft, 1653.
- Mcfarlane, Kirsten. "'Cleareness and Safety of Religion Cannot Stand without Knowledge in Genealogies:' Hugh Broughton and the King James Bible Genealogies, 1588-1592." Oxford, 2016.
- McLean, Matthew. *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007.
- Milton, John. *The Major Works*. Edited by Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Münster, Sebastian. *En Tibi Lector Hebraica Biblia : Latina Planeque Nova Sebast. Munsteri Tralatione, Post Omneis Omnium Hactenus Ubivis Gentium Aeditiones Evulgata, & Quoad Fieri Potuit, Hebraicae Veritati Conformata: Adiectis Insuper E Rabinorum Co[M]mentariis Annotationibus ... 1 Prior Hic Tomus Habet Mosaicos Libros Quinque, Iehosuam, Iudicum, Samuelis Lib. Duos, Regum Lib. Duos*. [in Hebrew and Latin] Basileae: Isengrin et Petri, 1534.
- . *Hebraica Biblia: Latina Planeque Nova Sebast. Munsteri Tralatione, Post Omneis Omnium Hactenus Ubivis Gentium Aeditiones Evulgata, & Quoad Fieri Potuit, Hebraicae Veritati Conformata: Adiectis Insuper E Rabinorum Co[M]mentariis Annotationibus ... Veteris Instrumenti Tomus Secundus, Prophetarum Oracula Atque Hagiographa Continens...* [in Hebrew and Latin] Basileae: Isengrin et Petri, 1535.
- Newsom, Carol A. *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations*. Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2003.
- Numan, Philip. *Miracles Lately Vvrought by the Intercession of the Glorious Virgin Marie*. Translated by Robert Chambers. Antwerp: Arnold Conings, 1606.

- Osiander, Lucas. *Esdras, Nehemias, Esther, Iob, Psalterium, Prouerbia Salomonis, Ecclesiastes, & Canticum Canticorum: Ivxta Veterem Sev Vvlgatam Translationem, Omnia Ad Hebraeam Veritatem Emendata, & Breui Ac Perspicua Explicatione Illustrata, Insertis Etiam Praecipuis Locis Communibus, in Lectione Sacra Obseruandis.* [in Latin] Tubingae: Georg Gruppenbach, 1576.
- Parker, Matthew. "Archbishop Parker to Sir William Cecil. 5th October, 1568." In *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury : Comprising Letters Written by and to Him, from A.D. 1535, to His Death, A.D. 1575*, edited by John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne, 334-37. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1853
- Pearson, John. *Critici Sacri, Vol. 3.* Londini; Oxonii; Cantabrigiæ: Jacobus Flesher; Thomam Robinson ; Guilielmum Morden, 1660.
- Petry, Ray C. *Late Medieval Mysticism.* Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957.
- Pineda, Juan de. *Commentariorum, in Iob Libri Tredecim Adivncta Singvlis Capitibvs Sva Paraphrasi.* Hispali: Ioannes Rene [Juan René], 1598.
- Poole, Matthew. *Annotations Upon the Holy Bible. Vol. I.* London: John Richardson, 1683.
- . *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque S. Scriptur Interpretum.* [in Latin] Londini: Typis J. Flesher & T. Roycroft: Prostat apud Cornelium Bee, 1669-1676.
- Puttenham, George. *The Arte of English Poesie.* London: Richard Field, 1589.
- Rhau, George. *Hortulus Animae. Lustgertlin Der Seelen.* Wittenburg: Georg Rhau, 1548.
- Sánchez, Gaspar. *Gasparis Sanctii Centumputeolani E Societate Iesu ... In Librum Iob Commentarii Cum Paraphrasi : Nunc Secundo Prodeunt, Indicibus Cum Locorum Scripturae, Regularum & Proverbiorum, Tum Rerum Memorabilium Illustrati. Cum Nova Praefatione, Vitam Autoris Complexa.* [in Latin] Antwerpiae: Friderici Gleditsch & Filii, 1712.
- . *Gasparis Sanctij Centumputeolani ... In Librum Iob Commentarij Cum Paraphrasi. Nunc Primum Prodeunt.* [in Latin] Lugduni: Sumpt Iacobi Cardon et Petri Cauellat, 1625.
- Senault, J.F. *Paraphases Sur Job.* Paris: I. Camusat, 1637.
- . *The Pattern of Patience in the Example of Holy Job.* London: Joseph Cranford, 1648.
- Shagan, Ethan H., and Debora K. Shuger. *Religion in Tudor England: An Anthology of Primary Sources.* Waco, TX: Baylor UP, 2016.
- Shuger, Debora. "Isiah 63 and the Literal Senses of Scripture." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, C. 1530-1700*, edited by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith and Rachel Willie, 149-63. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015

- Simonetti, Manlio, and Marco Conti. *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament 6. Job*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 2006.
- Simpson, James. *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and Its Reformation Opponents*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Spanheim, Friedrich. *Historia Iobi*. [in Latin] Genevae: Petri Chouët, 1670.
- Sullivan, Garrett A. *Sleep, Romance, and Human Embodiment: Vitality from Spenser to Milton*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2012.
- Tanner, J. Paul. "The History of Interpretation of the Song of Songs." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 154, no. 613 (1997): 23-46
- Thurston, Herbert. "Hortulus Animae." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7 New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07472a.htm>.
- Vicchio, Stephen, and Lucinda Dukes Edinberg. *The Sweet Uses of Adversity: Images of the Biblical Job*. [in English] Baltimore, MD: IPP Press, 2002.
- Voragine, Jacobus de , and William Caxton. *The Golden Legend*. [in English] Westminster: William Caxton, 1483.
- . *The Golden Legend; or, Lives of the Saints*. [in English] London: J.M. Dent and Co., 1900.
- White, Helen Constance. *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951.
- Worde, Wynkyn de. *The Myracles of Oure Blessed Lady*. Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, 1496.
- Zúñiga, Diego de. *Didaci a Stunica ... In Job Commentaria Quibus Triplex Eius Editio Vulgata Latina, Hebraea, & Graeca Septuaginta Interpretum, Necnon & Chaldaea Explicantur: Et Inter Se Cum Diferre Hae Editiones Videntur, Conciliantur & Praecepta Vitae Cum Virtute Colendae Literaliter Deducuntur*. Romae: Franciscum Zannettum, 1591.
- . *Didaci a Stvnica Salamanticensis Eremitae Avgustiniani in Iob Commentaria: Quibus Triplex Eius Editio Vulgata Latina, Hebraea, & Graeca Septuaginta Interpretum, Necnon & Chaldaea Explicantur, & Inter Se Cum Diferre Hae Editiones Videntur, Conciliantur, & Praecepta Vitae Cum Virtute Colendae Literaliter Deducuntur. Ad Philippum M. Ii Catholicus Hispaniarum Regem*. [in Imprimatur in Spanish.] Toleti: Ioannes Rodericus, 1584.

Chapter 2: Edomite Job

As early modern Protestants forged their new image of Job as a fallen human, they sought to identify him as a particular human, complete with a lineage and a locality. At the outset of writing this chapter on Job's genealogy, I conducted an informal survey. I asked friends and colleagues who had some familiarity with the Book of Job to rank a list of Job-related topics in order of personal interest. "God's responsibility for evil," "the role of protest in faith," and "the meaning of God's final speech" consistently finished near the top. "Job's genealogy" almost always ranked at the bottom. Although several of my survey participants expressed a sense of betrayal when I revealed that I had already selected Job's genealogy as my topic (one of them asked in utter dismay, "*Why?*"—an apt question, on many levels), the point of the survey was not, in fact, to crowdsource the focus of my chapter, but rather to illustrate the distance between contemporary interests in the Book of Job and those of Renaissance readers. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, tracing Job's ancestry was not an erudite game of connecting the Old Testament dots, but fuel for a heated controversy over where and to whom God's grace could extend. Although patristic and medieval tradition had long held that Job was a descendant of Esau, a theory which the majority of Renaissance exegetes maintained, Calvin and Beza turned this standard rendering of Job's family tree into a matter of delineating the "in-group" and "out-group" of God's church. The issue at hand was hereditary sanctification, that is, whether grace was inherited from godly parents to their godly children and, if so, how a Gentile (like Job) could have received grace from outside of the Abrahamic line. In this chapter, I argue that Hugh Broughton and Sebastian Castellio defend the radical extremes of this controversy. On the one end, we have Broughton's racialized Calvinist Biblicism, which rejects the idea that Job was a Gentile, on the grounds that God only elects two types of people: those who believe in Christ,

and the Israelites, who (according to Broughton’s supersessionistic thinking¹) were the forerunners to those who believe in Christ. On the other end, we have Sebastian Castelleo’s liberal Erasmian tolerationism, which insists that God’s grace exceeds the bounds of human categorization. Tracing the discursive wake of their arguments through the seventeenth century, I identify Broughton’s resistance to Job’s Gentile lineage in the racialized worldview of the American separatists, while I suggest that Castelleo’s theology of toleration finds its outlet in writers of the Great Tew Circle and Cambridge Platonists.

When patristic exegetes read that Job was “from the land of Uz,” they scoured the pages of the Old Testament for other people named “Uz,” hoping to uncover clues about Job’s location and lineage. Based on the “Uz’s” that the patristic commentators found, medieval and Renaissance readers inherited two major theories of Job’s identity.² The first theory identifies Job as the son of the “Uz” in Genesis 22:21, who is the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham.³ Because the Nahor theory was created by Jerome and popularized by Nicholas of Lyra in his

¹ The term “supersessionism” was coined in the 1970s to describe the belief (which has been held in various forms since the early church) that the New Testament covenant is the “new and improved” version of the Mosaic covenant of the Hebrew Bible. This way of thinking suggests that the Christian Church has replaced the Israelites as God’s chosen people.

² There are actually three Uz’s in the Old Testament. In Genesis 10:23, Uz is the son of Aram, great-grandson of Noah. Aram’s Uz is a very early figure, only twelve or so generations after Adam and Eve. Only a handful of sixteenth-century scholars even mention Aram’s Uz in their list of Biblical Uz’s, and no one took seriously that Job was related to him, presumably due to a lack of evidence. In the seventeenth century, theologians would complicate the question even further by speculating that more than one Uz could have lived in the same region, or that Job could have lived in a region that was *named* for an Uz without being the *descendant* of that Uz.

³ Genesis 22:21 lists “Uz” among Nahor’s sons. The Nahor theory places the “land of Uz” in Arabia, where Nahor and his kin settled. It speculates that Job lived during the Israelites’ settling of Egypt; if Uz was the nephew of Abraham, he would have lived in the generation after Abraham and before Jacob, the father of Israel. Since Abraham was the father of Jacob, and Jacob was the founder of the nations of Israel, this theory gives Job a tangential relationship to the Israelites through his distant uncle, Abraham.

famous fourteenth-century glosses to the *Biblia Sacra*,⁴ nearly every sixteenth-century commentary on Job mentions it, although none actually subscribes to it. The more substantive alternative in the minds of most patristic, medieval, and Renaissance exegetes was the Esau-Gentile theory. Genesis 36:28 identifies “Uz” as an inhabitant of Edom,⁵ the region which was settled by Esau and his descendants.⁶ When Esau gave up his birthright to his younger brother Jacob in exchange for a “mess of pottage” in Genesis 25,⁷ Esau and his descendants were cast out from the line of Abraham. While his brother Jacob became the father of Israel (home to “the Israelites,” or “the Jews”), Esau and his people inhabited Edom (home to “the Edomites”) and became part of the broader category known as the “Gentiles,” the peoples in the ancient Hebrew world who did not belong to the nations of Israel. To emphasize that Job’s descent from Esau implies his separation from the Israelites, I will call this second theory of Job’s ancestry the

⁴ Nicholas of Lyra, Walafridus Strabus, and Paul of Burgos, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Cum Glossa Ordinaria Iam Ante Quidem a Strabo Fulgensi Collecta...Et Postilla Nicolai Lyrani, Tomus Tertius* (Venice: s.n., 1603), 10-11, Digital Image 8-9. Available online at <https://archive.org/stream/bibliorumsacroru03strauoft#page/7/mode/2up>.

⁵ Edom was located between Arabia and the kingdom of Judah.

⁶ Genesis 36:28 identifies “Uz” as the son of “Dishan,” who was a “Horite.” The verse does not say anything about “Uz” being related to Esau. However, exegetes made a connection between “Uz” and “Esau” based on the stated connection between “Uz” and “Horite.” When Esau established Edom, the Horites were the native inhabitants of the region. Genesis 36, which lists Esau’s descendants, mentions Uz as the son of a Horite. But since the Edomites intermarried with the Horites, Renaissance commentary identifies the Horite’s Uz as a descendant of Esau. For instance, the leading Orientalist and Hebraist Johannes van den Driesche (Latinized Drusius) writes that the third Old Testament Uz is “from the line of Esau.” Renaissance scholars did not suggest that Job was a direct descendant of the Uz in Genesis 36:28. Rather, they suggested that Uz existed in Edom and was descended from Esau, and Job also existed in Edom and was also descended from Esau. Joannes Drusius, *Joh. Drusii Nova Versio Et Scholia in Jobum, Conscripta Auspiciis & Sumptibus Ill. Præpotentumque Ordd. Generalium Provinciarum Foederatarum* (Amstelodami: Joh. Janssonii, 1636), 2. Available online at <https://books.google.com/books?id=a11BAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Johannes+Drusius&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwie5r6j08naAhViImMKHUpwCV44ChDoAQhOMAY#v=onepage&q=Johannes%20Drusius&f=false>.

⁷ Esau and Jacob are the twin sons of Rebekah and Isaac. One day, Esau comes from the field famished and asks Jacob for food. Jacob refuses unless Esau will give up his birthright, a deal to which Esau agrees. Jacob and Rebekah take advantage of Isaac’s poor vision in his old age in order to steal Esau’s blessing (Genesis 25-26). After the whole ordeal blows over, Esau moves his family from Canaan to Edom (Genesis 36:6-8).

“Esau-Gentile theory.” As we shall soon see, the Esau-Gentile theory was popular, but its implication that Job lacked a pure Jewish bloodline would become problematic during the Reformation.

Most commentators—from the patristic era through the early modern period—believed the Esau-Gentile theory rather than the Nahor theory because additional Biblical evidence suggested both Uz’s location in Edom and Job’s inhabitation there.⁸ In Lamentations 4:21, the speaker cries, “Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the land of Uz.”⁹ Likewise, Jeremiah 25:20-21 draws a connection between “the kings of Uz” and “Edom.”¹⁰ Both verses corroborate the connection between Uz and Edom established in Genesis 36:28. The mention of “Jobab” as a king of Edom in Genesis 36:33 confirmed this line of thinking, and, at least as early as the Septuagint Job in the second century BCE, commentators identified this “Jobab” as one and the same with Job. Since this kind of scavenging for biographical details can seem tedious and/or historically irresponsible to modern readers of Job, it is worth remembering that Job’s Edomite lineage was not just a matter of interest to Latin scholars and writers of Biblical commentary, as debates in sermons, Bibles, and popular literature attest. The Douay-

⁸ The neighboring Kingdom of Judah was Graecized as *Idumaea* in Renaissance commentary. Confusingly, Edom is also sometimes called *Idumaea* in Renaissance commentary. For instance, Theodore Beza refers to Job as living in “Idumaea,” which implies that Job was a descendant of Esau in Edom. Théodore de Bèze, *Iob Expounded by Theodore Beza, Partly in Manner of a Commentary, Partly in Manner of a Paraphrase. Faithfully Translated out of Latine into English* (London: John Legatt, 1589), B3v.

⁹ King James I, *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New* (London: Robert Barker, 1611), Lamentations 4:21. Henceforth cited “King James Version.”

¹⁰ The passage reads: “Then took I the cup at the Lord's hand, and made all the nations to drink, unto whom the Lord had sent me: To wit, Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah, and the kings thereof... And all the mingled people, and all the kings of the land of Uz, and all the kings of the land of the Philistines, and Ashkelon, and Azzah, and Ekron, and the remnant of Ashdod, Edom, and Moab, and the children of Ammon...” King James Version, Jeremiah 25:17-21.

Rheims Bible prints a marginal note indicating that Job is “the son of Zara, the son of Rahuel, the son of Esau,”¹¹ and the Bishops’ Bible indicates, “Hus is a region near bordering upon Idumea...Job was a Gentile.”¹²

Exegetes in the first half of the sixteenth-century—the early Lutheran Sebastian Münster, the Catholic Hebraist François Vatable, the Benedictine Isidoro Chiari—list the Nahor theory and the Esau-Gentile theory alongside each other, with little more than an affirming nod in the direction of the Esau theory. Münster (and Chiari who copies Münster’s argument) writes, “There are those who think that Uz is not far from Haran, and that Job is descended from Nahor, the brother of Abraham. Others think that he is descended from Esau, and that Huz is in Idumae, because, in addition, Thren. [Lamentations] 4.21. *Rejoice and be glad, daughters of Edom, who live in the land of Huz.*”¹³ Vatable also presents both theories as having proponents:

Indeed, this remarkable man resided in the region of Ausistis. They say that he was descended from the son of Esau, which seems to indicate the region of Uz from Thren. 4.21 where it is said, *Rejoice and be glad, the daughters of Edom, who live in the land of Uz*, which seems to have been of Iudamea, or near the

¹¹ Gregory Martin, William Allen, and Laurence Kellam, *The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English, out of the Authentical Latin : Diligently Conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and Other Editions in Divers Languages: With Arguments of the Bookes, and Chapters, Annotations, Tables and Other Helpes, for Better Understanding of the Text : For Discoverie of Corruptions in Some Late Translations, and for Clearing Controversies in Religion* (Doway: Laurence Kellam, 1609), 1059.

¹² Matthew Parker and Richard Jugge, *The Holie Bible: Conteyning the Olde Testament and the Newe* (London: Richard Iugge, 1568), 168r.

¹³ Sebastian Münster, *Hebraica Biblia: Latina Planeque Nova Sebast. Munsteri Tralatione, Post Omneis Omnium Hactenus Ubivis Gentium Aeditiones Evulgata, & Quoad Fieri Potuit, Hebraicae Veritati Conformata: Adiectis Insuper E Rabinorum Co[M]mentariis Annotationibus ... Veteris Instrumenti Tomus Secundus, Prophetarum Oracula Atque Hagiographa Continens...* (Basileae: Isengrin et Petri, 1535), 658v. “Thren.” is the abbreviation for “Threnoi Hieremiou.” “Threnoi” is the Septuagint translation of Hebrew “Lamentations” and “Of Jeremiah” indicates their authorship. Available online at http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10141283_00600.html?zoom=0.6000000000000001, Digital Image 600.

border of Iudamea. As such, Job is praised for being from this land, where he lived innocently in the midst of infidels, piously in the midst of impiety. However, the most renowned man among the Hebrews [i.e. Maimonides¹⁴] writes that Uz was the region named for the firstborn son of Nahor from Melcha and the brother of Bus, as it is written in Gen. 22:20, from which region was Job, and he was the offspring from this Nahor, brother of Abraham.¹⁵

In both cases, the Esau and Nahor theories receive almost equal attention, although the quotation from Lamentations, the lesson to be learned from Job's piety as a Gentile, and the assignment of the Nahor theory to "the Hebrews" suggests the writers' slight preference for the Esau-Gentile theory.

In this period prior to Calvin, the question of Job's lineage was a rather ho-hum debate about whether Job was descended from Nahor or Esau. But John Calvin upped the ante. Calvin knew that internal biblical evidence gave weight to the Esau-Gentile theory, but he was troubled by the idea of Job being a non-Israelite. Calvin and his Christian predecessors had always assumed the Israelites to be the forerunners of the Christian church. Of course, the Israelites were not literally part of a "church," in the sense of a congregation where Christ is worshipped, but they were thought to be members of the "invisible church," a term used in the Renaissance by Calvin and others to mean all of the people whom God would count among his elect. In *The Institutes of Christian Religion* (1536), Calvin explains the difference between this invisible

¹⁴ In *The Guide for the Perplexed*, Book III, chap. XII, Maimonides comments on the Book of Job. He writes, "The term Uz has different meanings; it is used as a proper noun. Compare, 'Uz, his first-born' (Gen. xxii 21): it is also imperative of the verb Uz, 'to take advice.'" Moses Maimonides, *The Guide for the Perplexed*, ed. M. Friedländer (London; New York: George Routledge & Sons; E.P. Dutton & Co., 1904), 296.

¹⁵ John Pearson, *Critici Sacri, Vol. 3* (Londini; Oxonii; Cantabrigiæ: Jacobus Flesher; Thomam Robinson; Guiljelmum Morden, 1660), 2884.

church, the assembly of the elect that includes the Israelites, and the visible church, an institutional body on earth:

I have observed that the Scriptures speak of the Church in two ways. Sometimes when they speak of the Church they mean the Church as it really is before God—the Church into which none are admitted but those who by the gift of adoption are sons of God, and by the sanctification of the Spirit true members of Christ. In this case it not only comprehends the saints who dwell on the earth, but all the elect who have existed from the beginning of the world. Often, too, by the name of Church is designated the whole body of mankind scattered throughout the world, who profess to worship one God and Christ, who by baptism are initiated into the faith...In this Church there is a very large mixture of hypocrites, who have nothing of Christ but the name and outward appearance.¹⁶

As Calvin describes, the “church invisible” (also known as “God’s church”) is the communion of saints “as it really is before God.”¹⁷ The visible church (sometimes conflated with the “Christian church”¹⁸) is the institution that man sees “scattered throughout the world.” The professed Christians that constitute the visible church include some people who will be saved (and thus are also members of the invisible church) and some people who will not be saved (and thus are not

¹⁶ Jean Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, (Christian Classics Ethereal Library), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/institutes.i.html>. Book 4, Arg. 1, Sect. 7.

¹⁷ I tend to use “God’s church” instead of the “invisible church” because it more clearly conveys the idea of “the church as it is seen by God.”

¹⁸ There is slippage between “visible church” and “Christian church.” Calvin usually uses “visible church” to refer to the institution of the Christian church. Indeed, by the time Calvin was writing, the visible church consisted of baptized, professed Christians. But when Calvin talks about pre-Christian history, he also imagines a “visible church,” albeit not an explicitly Christian one, which is an earthly manifestation of God’s church. The members of this ancient visible church had the promise of Christ.

members of the invisible church, despite having the “name and outward appearance” of a Christian during their lifetime). Thus, it often happens that a member of the Christian church is *not* included in God’s church. Yet a member of God’s church now has to be part of the Christian church. Once the institutional body of the Christian church was well-established, Calvin explains, participation in this visible church and its sacraments became a necessary condition of being a member of God’s church.

But before the establishment of the Christian church, Calvin suggests, God’s church was housed within the Israelite line. The Israelites were part of God’s church—the assembly of his elect—because they had the promise of the coming Messiah.¹⁹ As Calvin explains in the *Institutes*, God first made a covenant with the Israelites, who were Abraham’s “carnal seed,” and then he upheld that covenant with Christians, who were Abraham’s “spiritual seed.”²⁰ According to Calvin, when God made his covenant with Abraham, he was already hinting at his forthcoming covenant with the Christian church. He explains, “The Lord therefore promises to Abraham that he shall have a seed in whom *all* the nations of the earth will be blessed.”²¹

¹⁹ For a discussion of how Protestants imagined themselves as part of a continuous church, first established by Abraham, see Dennis Austin Britton, *Becoming Christian: Race, Reformation, and Early Modern English Romance* (New York: Fordham UP, 2014), 40-45.

The association between the Israelites and the contemporary church did not obliterate religious and ethnic persecution against early modern Jews. In fact, Ronnie Pro-Chia Hsia suggests that the comparison between the Israelites and early modern Christians increased supersessionism toward early modern Jews because Protestants thought of themselves as the “New Israel.” Ronnie Pro-Chia Hsia writes, “That this identification was much more than metaphor is clear: Luther’s followers felt that they were Israelites persecuted by the idolatrous Roman Church, and that they represented the true Israelites, the spiritual descendants of the Old Testament Israelites, as opposed to the Jews of their time, the blood descendants of Israel.” Ronnie Pro-Chia Hsia, “Religion and Race: Protestant and Catholic Discourses on Jewish Conversion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon; Benjamin Isaac; and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2009), 268.

²⁰ *The Institutes* (Beveridge translation, first printed 1845-1846) is available online through the Christian Classics Ethereal Library: Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Book 4, Chapter 16, Section 11.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Book 4, Chapter 16, Section 12.

Because Calvin (and other Renaissance Christians) conceived of Israelites and Christians as past and future versions of each other, they often called Christians “the children of Abraham” and Israelites “the Church,” meaning God’s invisible church (but also implying the Christian church in an early form²²). And Calvin taught that God’s church included not only professed Christians and Israelites, but also, after the New Testament covenant, Christ-following Gentiles. Because the promise of Christianity was extended to both Gentiles and Jews in early Christian history,²³ these Christian Gentiles were also metaphorically included among the children of Abraham. Essentially, then, the *only* people categorically excluded from God’s church in the Renaissance imagination were the Old Testament Gentiles.²⁴ Herein lies the oddity of Job’s lineage from Esau. Job should have been among the excluded.

²² Calvin, *The Institutes*, Book 4, Chapter 16, Section 12. Calvin often ambiguates the meaning of “the Church,” as he does here, so that God’s church (the invisible church) seems synonymous with the Christian church (the visible church). In this case, for instance, the Israelites could only have been part of the invisible church, as it appears to God, but Calvin implies that the Israelites were an early manifestation of the yet nonexistent Christian church, thus emphasizing the Christian church as *the* way to God. Again, this slippage between the “visible” and “invisible” church arises from Calvin’s insistence that the invisible church is closely tied to the Christian church. You don’t find people (anymore), Calvin says, who are members of the invisible church, but have nothing to do with the Christian church.

²³ The turning moment in erasing the divide between Jew and Gentile (circumcised and uncircumcised) is recorded in Acts 10:9-16, when Peter receives a vision where he is told, “What God has made clean, you must not call profane.” Peter interprets the dream to mean that the church should include the uncircumcised.

²⁴Early modern commentators referred to the Israelites as God’s “Church” before the coming of Christ. Thus, ancient Jews were seen as both the ancestors of contemporary Jews (the crucifiers of Christ and refusers of Christ’s promise) and the ancestors of the Christian Church. Calvin explains the mixed status of the Jewish people in the eyes of early modern Christians. “The Jews were the primary and native heirs of the gospel...[W]e, in comparison of them, are termed posthumous, or abortive children of Abraham, and that not by nature, but by adoption, just as if a twig were broken from its own tree, and ingrafted on another stock...[T]hey are, as it were, the first-born in the family of God. The honor due, on this account, must therefore be paid them, until they have rejected the offer, and, by their ingratitude, caused it to be transferred to the Gentiles. Nor, however great the contumacy with which they persist in warring against the gospel, are we therefore to despise them.” He almost advocates tolerance of Jews because of their once-privileged position, but he retracts his esteem because he assumes that Jews were Christians-in-the-making and should have become Christians once the option was available. Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Book 4, Chapter 16, Section 14.

Although Job's Gentile lineage struck patristic and medieval theologians as unusual, it was not problematic. For Calvin, on the other hand, it was a major theological obstacle. According to Calvin, all people are deserving of damnation and incapable of choosing grace because of original sin. Because they cannot choose grace, they can only be saved by being chosen by God. The Old Testament Gentiles were (in Calvin's eyes) an entire category of people excluded from God's church. There should have been no way for them to be saved. And, yet, Job was among those whom God favored. This raised the question: How could Job be a Gentile and be saved?

Calvin's *Sermons on Job*, a series of 159 sermons preached daily on weekdays from 1554-1555 in Geneva, attempt to tease out the complicated implications of the Esau-Gentile theory. The first edition of the sermons appeared in French in 1563,²⁵ and the 1574 English translation went through five editions in the next ten years. In stark contrast to the patristic and medieval "patient Job" tradition,²⁶ Calvin criticizes Job for challenging God's sovereignty and admires Job's friends for their sense that God's justice will, in the final analysis, give people what they deserve. Calvin was not comfortable with Job's accusation that God's favor was unpredictable and that God, hypothetically, "destroyeth the perfect and the wicked."²⁷ Instead, Calvin wanted Job to recognize that, even when God makes people suffer, his justice eventually ensures that bad people are punished and good rewarded. This is, as Susan Schreiner points out,

²⁵ *Sermons De M. Jean Calvin Sur Le Livre De Job. Recueillis Fidèlement De Sa Bouche Selon Qu'il Les Preschoit. In Fine : Achevé D'imprimer Par Jean De Laon L'an Mdlxiii Le Premier Jour De Juin* (Genève: Jean de Laon, 1563).

²⁶ See chapter 1.

²⁷ King James Version, Job 9:22.

the “retributive theology of suffering espoused most clearly by Job’s friends.”²⁸ Because Calvin’s own theological leanings align him with Job’s friends, his sermons have to account for God’s proclamation in Job 42:7 that Job has “spoken rightly” and the friends have not. Calvin decides, as he explains in his first sermon, that Job’s argument was “a good case,” yet it was “mishandled” in its execution.²⁹ “But, on the contrary part,” Calvin writes, “They that undertake the evil case (that is, to wit, that God doeth always punish men according to the measure of their sins) have goodly and holy sentences, and there is nothing in their whole talk which would not entice us to receive it as if the Holy Ghost himself uttered it.”³⁰ In Calvin’s mind, this is the cornerstone of divine justice—that “God doth always punish men according to the measure of their sins.”³¹ And yet, in order to explain God’s final disapproval, Calvin has to write of the friends, “They corrupt God’s truth, and abuse it falsely, applying that thing to an evil end, which of itself is good and rightful.”³² Although the friends were saying the right things, Calvin explains, they were making their arguments for the wrong reason, in order to increase Job’s suffering.

Calvin’s desire to side with the friends’ position as they speak “goodly and holy” truths explains his radical decision to make Elihu the poem’s godly spokesperson. Whereas earlier commentators had lumped Elihu with Job’s other annoying friends, Calvin suggests that he is the

²⁸ Susan Elizabeth Schreiner, *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found?: Calvin's Exegesis of Job from Medieval and Modern Perspectives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 99.

²⁹ Jean Calvin, *Sermons of Master Iohn Calvin, Vpon the Booke of Iob*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: Lucas Harison and George Byshop, 1574), 1.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

³² *Ibid.*

book's hero. He uses a textual loophole to support his reading. At the end of the Book of Job, God rebukes Job's friends: "My wrath is kindled against thee, and against thy two friends: for ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath."³³ As Calvin notices, God condemns only *three* friends, which are specified as "Eliphaz the Temanite and Bildad the Shuhite and Zophar the Naamathite."³⁴ Counting Elihu, God should have rebuked *four* friends. To correct for this inconsistency, patristic and medieval commentators (as well as Catholics in the early modern period) suggested that God did not need to name Elihu specifically because he committed the same offense as the friends and deserved the same punishment.³⁵ They made Elihu the target of God's rebuke in Job 38:2 when God asks, "Who is this that darkeneth counsel with words without knowledge?"³⁶ In the *Morals on the Book of Job*, Gregory explains, "'Who is this?' is the beginning of a reproof. For Elihu had spoken arrogantly."³⁷ But Calvin identifies *Job* as the one who spoke "words without knowledge." Calvin writes, "In the first place here God mocketh at Job because he had strived with him, and born himself in hand that he could mend his case by disputing."³⁸ With Job bearing the brunt of God's anger, Elihu becomes, in

³³ King James Version, Job 42:7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Job 42:9.

³⁵ Contemporary scholars believe that Elihu's speech was added by a later author due to stylistic differences, which would explain why he is not mentioned by God. However, Renaissance commentators did not suspect that this section was of later authorship. (See Introduction)

³⁶ King James Version, Job 38:2.

³⁷ St. Gregory, *Morals on the Book of Job: In Three Volumes* (Oxford; London: John Henry Parker; J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850), Part 4, Book 28, Verse 2, Section 12. The seventeenth-century Catholic Philippe Codurc explicates Job 38 in a similar way: "God spoke because Job's friends had become haughty, and especially *Elihu*, who accused Job with the rest." Philip Codurc, *Libri Job Versio Nova Ex Hebraeo Cum Scholiis* (Paris: Savreux, 1651), 296. Available online at <https://books.google.com/books?id=sHZULutseyYC&printsec=frontcover&dq=codurc+libri+job&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi0o6mh2-nOAhUU1GMKHd4yAZgQ6AEILDAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

³⁸ "First Sermon upon the XXXVIII Chapter of Job" in Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 755.

Susan Schreiner's words, "Calvin's mouthpiece."³⁹ Barbara Lewalski describes this interpretative move (the glorification of Elihu) as the defining feature of the "standard Protestant exegesis of the story."⁴⁰

Although it is convenient to summarize Calvin's reinterpretation of Job in this way—to say that, in Calvin's retelling, Elihu is the hero and Job is the sinner—this synopsis obscures the ambiguities of both Job and Elihu's characters. In Calvin's overview of the Book of Job in his first sermon (an overview that appears again in the Geneva Bible's preface to Job), he argues that Job and his friends each have their strengths and weaknesses. The Geneva Bible preface reads:

In this story we have to mark that Job maintaineth a good cause, but handleth it evilly. Again, his adversaries have an evil manner, but they defend it craftily. For Job held that God did not always punish men according to their sins, but that he had secret judgements, where of man knew not the cause, and therefore man could not reason against God therein, but he should be convicted. Moreover he was assured that God had not rejected him, yet through his great torments and affliction, he brasteth forth into many inconveniencies both of words and sentences, and showeth himself as a desperate man in many things, and as one that would resist God, and this is his good cause which he doth not handle well. Again the adversaries maintain with many goodly arguments, that God punisheth continually according to the trespass, grounding upon God's providence, his

³⁹ Schreiner, *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found*, 132.

⁴⁰ Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic; the Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained* (Providence: Brown UP, 1966), 18.

justice, and man's sins, yet their intention is evil: for they labor to bring Job into despair, and so they maintain an evil case.⁴¹

The characters are not reducible to mouthpieces for a consistent theology. Calvin's discussion of Job's genealogy helps us recover the nuances of Calvin's argument by encapsulating the difficulty of drawing the boundaries of God's favor.

In his first sermon, Calvin suggests that Job was a Gentile in order to teach a lesson to the "children of Abraham."⁴² The Book of Job illustrated for them that "God had showed favor to others that were not of the same line" and taught them to "be ashamed if they themselves walked not purely in the fear of God, seeing that this man (which had not the mark of God's covenant, nor was circumcised, but was a Panim) had behaved himself so well."⁴³ Calvin goes on to outline Job's genealogy more precisely:

He was of the land of Hus. True it is, that some men do place this land far eastward. Nevertheless, in the fourth chapter of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the same word Hus is put for a part of Edom. We know that the Edomites are descended of Esau, and true it is that they also had circumcision. Howbeit forasmuch as they were strayed away from God's church, they had it no more as the sign of his covenant. Therefore, if we take Job to have been of this land of Hus, then was he an Edomite, that is to say, of the line of Esau.⁴⁴

⁴¹ "Preface to Job" in William Whittingham, *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1560), 195.

⁴² Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Calvin, like other commentators, imagines the Israelites as “God’s church,” the assembly of his elect and forerunners of the visible Christian church. Job was not among them, but rather one of the Edomites, those who were no longer included in God’s covenant.

Calvin notes that both the Israelites and the Gentiles “had circumcision,” but only the Israelites had it as a sign of God’s covenant. Although mentioned in passing, the comment taps into a larger theological issue, one that uncovers Calvin’s investment in discussing Job’s genealogy. During the Protestant Reformation, discussions of circumcision were instrumental in efforts to delineate the boundaries of God’s church.⁴⁵ The immediate issue was baptism. Since Protestants upheld the doctrine of predestination, they did not say that baptism was the *cause* of a person’s salvation, but rather a *sign* that one had already been saved. Yet separating the act of baptism from salvation risked implying that the sacrament was unnecessary. Israelite circumcision became a helpful analogy (first made by St. Paul⁴⁶) for explaining the important role of Christian baptism. As Calvin explains in *The Institutes*, circumcision was not the *cause* of the Israelites’ election, but it was a necessary sign of their membership in the Israelite community. In the same way, he argues, infants are baptized as a sign of their membership in the

⁴⁵ As Dennis Britton explains in *Becoming Christian: Race, Reformation, and Early Modern English Romance* (2014), the Church of England’s baptismal theology transformed Christians and “infidels” into distinctive races. He notes that Catholic literature often includes the “infidel-conversion motif” because baptism is the origin point of a new Christian identity, whether for the children of Christians, Turks, Moors, or Jews. But in Protestantism, where baptism is a sign of election that has already happened outside of any human activity, the origin point of Christian identity is less certain. Therefore, a number of Protestant texts make reference to a Protestant lineage, as if being born to Christian parents is a sign of an infant’s belonging within the Church. Britton, *Becoming Christian*, 39.

⁴⁶ Paul discusses circumcision in Galatians 2-3. He accuses the Galatians of putting too much stock in being circumcised: “Having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?” (King James Version, Galatians 3:3). He suggests, “Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham” (Galatians 3:7).

Christian community.⁴⁷ To those who say that baptism is unnecessary because the promise of baptism have already been obtained, Calvin responds:

If the [Abrahamic] covenant remains firm and fixed, it is no less applicable to the children of Christians in the present day, than to the children of the Jews under the Old Testament. Now, if they are partakers of the thing signified, how can they be denied the sign? If they obtain the reality, how can they be refused the figure? The external sign is so united in the sacrament with the word, that it cannot be separated from it.⁴⁸

As Calvin explains, the promise and the sign of the promise (whether circumcision or baptism) should be inextricably tied. Just as the Israelites did not withhold circumcision from their babies, despite that their children had already been born into the Israelite line, Christians should not withhold baptism from their babies, despite that the elect have already been chosen by God. This analogy was helpful for explaining why the Christian sacrament of baptism was necessary, but it also exposed a new problem. When the Israelites circumcised their babies, they *knew* that their children were included among the “children of Abraham” by virtue of their lineage. When Christians baptized their babies, how could they know that they were baptizing children who were among the elect?⁴⁹ Perhaps, Renaissance reformers thought, there was also a hereditary element to Christian sanctification.

⁴⁷ Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Book 4, Chapter 16, Section 9.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Book 4, Chapter 16, Section 5.

⁴⁹ The concern was that baptizing just anybody would fill the visible church with members who were not part of God’s church (the invisible church of the elect).

Sure enough, the analogy between circumcision and baptism provided support for Calvin's belief in hereditary sanctification. Against Anabaptists, who believed that baptism should be dependent upon a confession of faith, Calvin argues that infants should be baptized, regardless of their lack of conscious knowledge of faith. His reasoning is that grace is hereditary; just as the Israelites were a race of chosen people, the "children of Christians derive sanctification from their parents."⁵⁰ Calvin uses Abraham's and Isaac's different methods of adoption into the covenant to explain the hereditary nature of grace. He writes:

Why does the sacrament come after faith in Abraham, and precede all intelligence in his son Isaac? It is right that he who, in adult age, is admitted to the fellowship of a covenant by one from whom he had hitherto been alienated, should previously learn its conditions; but it is not so with the infant born to him. He, according to the terms of the promise, is included in the promise by hereditary right from his mother's womb.⁵¹

Because faith must be inherited from Christian seed, Calvin does not believe in baptizing the infants of unbelieving parents. He writes, "But the child descended from unbelieving parents is deemed an alien to the covenant until he is united to God by faith."⁵² The idea was that Christian parents (and only Christian parents) can give birth to Christian children, in the same way that ancient Israelite parents (and only Israelite parents) could give birth to Israelite children.

⁵⁰ Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Book 4, Chapter 16, Section 15. In contrast, adults must be taught the tenets of faith before they can be baptized—"in adults, the receiving of the sign ought to follow the understanding of its meaning" (Section 21).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Book 4, Chapter 16, Section 24.

⁵² *Ibid.*

Throwing Job—a *Gentile*—into the mix of the elect risked destabilizing the system in which the “in group” and “out group” of God’s church could be defined based on bloodlines.

Calvin knew that, in order to maintain the basic truth of hereditary sanctification, he had to account for Job’s salvation amidst the Gentiles. Thus, in his first sermon, he reminds us that the Edomites were technically circumcised, although they “had it no more as the sign of his [God’s] covenant.”⁵³ For Calvin, it would have been an even more troublesome obstacle if Job had been an *uncircumcised* Gentile. This hypothetical case would have extended God’s grace to someone with no hereditary affiliation with God’s church *and* no outward sign of election. Fortunately for Calvin, Job was a *circumcised* Gentile, and thus had the necessary outward sign of election that belonged to the Israelites. Although this sign did not count for anything in most Gentiles, it was sufficient to allow Job to squeeze into the “elect” category on a technicality. Calvin’s first sermon steers our attention toward Job’s special circumcised status. Instead of calling Job a *Gentile* (an outsider to God’s church), Calvin calls him an *Edomite*, a circumcised son of Esau, the son of Abraham (an insider). When we think of Job as (indirectly) a circumcised son of Abraham, he gains a significant advantage over other Gentiles.⁵⁴ At least he was sprung from the loins of the true faith, albeit a few generations removed.

Job and Esau’s inclusion among the circumcised is only the beginning of Calvin’s justification of Job’s election. The crux of his strategy is to emphasize God’s absolute

⁵³ Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 2.

⁵⁴ It was not problematic for Calvin to think that there were circumcised Gentiles—“surplus” circumcised people, we might say—without God’s grace. As he points out in *The Institutes*, election depends on God choosing “whomsoever he pleases,” not circumcision. Although it is scary to think that we have no way of predicting election based on outward signs of grace, Calvin has no qualms about announcing that Esau was “rejected” by God, although he was circumcised and the “genuine offspring of Abraham.” Esau’s circumcision is merely a reminder that outward signs of grace count for nothing in God’s eyes. And yet Calvin plays both sides of the card: he uses Esau’s rejection to diminish our trust in outward signs *and* uses Job’s descent from a circumcised son of Abraham.

sovereignty, which became his most influential contribution to exegesis on Job. According to Calvin's first sermon, God's ability to elect "whomsoever he pleases" summarizes the main lesson to be learned. Calvin begins:

Even if it shall please Him to raise His hand against us, though we may not perceive for what cause He does it, nevertheless we should glorify Him always, confessing that He is just and equitable, that we should not murmur against Him, that we should not enter into dispute, knowing that if we struggle against Him, we shall be conquered. This, then, in brief, is what we have to remember from the story, that is, that God hath such a sovereignty over His creatures as He can dispose of them at His pleasure.⁵⁵

In light of this takeaway, Job's election as a Gentile makes sense. If God can do whatever he wants, he can elect Job or damn him "at His pleasure." Calvin recounts the story of Jacob and Esau with this moral in mind:

And we know how the Prophet sayeth, that although Esau and Jacob were natural brethren, born both at one burthen, yet God of His mere goodness chose Jacob, rejecting Esau, and cursing him with all his whole lineage. Lo how the Prophet [Moses] in speaking, to magnify God's mercy towards the Jews, telleth them that He chose them not for any worthiness that was in their persons, considering that He had rejected Jacob's eldest brother, to whom the birthright belonged, and had chosen him that was the younger and inferior. So then, although that this man

⁵⁵ "The First Sermon Upon the First Chapter" in Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 1.

[Job] was born of Esau's line, yet, notwithstanding, we see how soundly he lived.⁵⁶

In this explanation, Calvin sidesteps the theological difficulty of Job's election by only considering the Jacob/Esau story from Jacob's perspective. If you were Esau (or an Edomite descended from Esau), you would not think of God's unexplainable election of Jacob as an example of His "mere goodness" or "mercy." You might also pursue an unintended implication of Calvin's point—that God could suddenly decide to elect only Edomites and reject the Israelites entirely. But Calvin leaves this implication of God's absolute power untouched by emphasizing that the Jacob/Esau story was intended for Israelites. Moses told the story in order to remind his fellow Israelites that their election was unmerited. In the same way, Calvin suggests, Job's story reminds us that we are not elected for "any worthiness" that we attribute to our own doing. Just as Job was a Gentile and was, nevertheless, elected, we cannot know why or how God chooses us for election.

At the same time, Calvin's insistence on God's sovereignty did not eliminate his discomfort with the idea that God's elect could include those with no affiliation with the Christian church. In order to speak to this problem, Calvin sets about establishing historical distance between his contemporary moment, in which God's elect are always members of the Christian community, and the time when God had "not yet settled an apparent state of the church." According to Calvin, Job lived after God had established His covenant with Abraham, but before he had given his Law to Moses. In this period of transition, "the Church of God was

⁵⁶ Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 3.

not then so well established as it was afterward.”⁵⁷ Because the visible church was of an amorphous shape, God was, in Calvin’s thinking, more flexible about electing people outside of it. God was also more willing to elect Gentiles during the time that Job lived because, for Calvin, they could serve God better than many early modern Christians, especially Catholics. Calvin explains, “[I]n that time, although the world were fallen away from the true serving of God, and from pure Religion, yet notwithstanding there was still far more soundness by a great deal, than there is at this day, especially in the papacy.”⁵⁸

Up to this point, Calvin has explained Job’s election by suggesting that 1. Job was an Abrahamic Gentile, 2. God can elect people at His pleasure, and 3. Biblical Hebrew outsiders (those not in the Christian church because it had not yet been established) were more likely to receive grace than early modern outsiders (those who spurn the now-established Christian church). As Calvin’s explanation of Job’s exceptional election continues, Calvin’s theology takes another surprising turn. He suggests that God may have chosen Job among the Gentiles as an insurance policy, just in case something happened to all of the Israelites:

For we know that while the children of Israel lived in Egypt, it was like that all should have come to naught. And especially we see to what an afterdeal they were come in the end when Pharaoh commanded that their menchildren should be killed; and in the wilderness where it seemed that God had rejected them. When they were come into the country of Canaan, they had great battles against their enemies, and especially the service of God and his tabernacle were not yet there

⁵⁷ Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

so well appointed as was requisite. God therefore having not yet settled an apparent state of the church, would there should always remain some small seeds of it among the Paynims, to the intent he might be worshiped.⁵⁹

In most of Calvin's writing, God does not need a back-up plan. He has absolute power and foreknowledge, so he has no need to account for disastrous contingencies. Yet, in this passage, God foresees the Israelites' persecution in Egypt, wandering in the wilderness, and battling with enemies in Canaan and is unsure whether they are going to make it. Wanting to guarantee that he would always be worshiped, God decides to put Job among the Paynims instead of the Israelites. Perhaps because he was speaking extemporaneously—Calvin did not speak from notes, but brought only the Scripture into the pulpit⁶⁰—he did not fully consider the implications of suggesting that all God's plans could have “come to naught.” Or perhaps this passage is an example of accommodation, a term that Calvin coined for explaining God's doings in a way that suited human understanding.⁶¹ Regardless of the reason, Calvin imagines God like a man who is hesitant to invest all of his resources in a single stock.

As his final point, Calvin suggests that Job lived among the Paynims “to convince those that are turned aside out of the right way.”⁶² Because Job gave the Gentiles the chance to know God (however slim that chance may have been⁶³), the fact that they squandered Job's words and

⁵⁹ Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 3.

⁶⁰ Harold Dekker, "Introduction," in *Sermons from Job by John Calvin*, ed. Leroy Nixon (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1952), xiii.

⁶¹ Ford Lewis Battles, "God Was Accommodating Himself to Human Capacity," in *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism*, ed. Richard C. Gamble (New York: Garland, 1992), 13-32.

⁶² Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 3.

⁶³ If we proceed too far down the Calvinist rabbit hole, we discover that double predestination makes this “turn” impossible in the case of the Paynims, who have already been destined for reprobation. Because Job does not offer the Paynims any possibility of conversion, he merely justifies their condemnation by showing their shortcomings.

turned their backs on his knowledge made God more justified to “condemn a whole country.”

Calvin clarifies:

[Job] hath condemned all the people of that country, in that he hath served God purely, and the residue were full of idolatry, shameful deeds, and many errors. And this came to pass, because they held scorn to know the true and living God, and how and after what sort it was his will to be honored. So great regard hath God always had (as I have said) to make the wicked and the unbelievers always unexcusable. And for this cause it was His will, that there should always be some men that should follow the things that he had showed to the ancient fathers.⁶⁴

This passage emphasizes that the Paynims are responsible for their own downfall; when Job tried to expose them to God’s message, they “held scorn to know the true and living God.”

Calvin returns to the issue of lineage in his 119th sermon, when Elihu begins to speak, in order to clarify how a Gentile could have been chosen by God outside of the Abrahamic covenant. Job 32:1 identifies Elihu as “the son of Barachel, the Buzite, of the house of Ram,” and Calvin states that “it is not without cause that the scripture showeth us of what stock he came.”⁶⁵ By giving us Elihu’s bloodline, Calvin argues, scripture shows us another example of God’s favor outside of the Israelite bloodline. Now, admittedly, the exact bloodlines get a bit confusing. Elihu is descended from Buz, who is the son of Nahor. We’ve heard of “Nahor” before—in the first theory of Job’s ancestry, i.e. “the Nahor theory.” If we wanted to be perfectly

Calvin claims that Job’s presence makes the Paynims’ wickedness “unexcusable,” but it is only unexcusable *if* Job showed them an alternative path that they actually could have chosen. Calvin skirts around the issue of God’s damnation of the Paynims by concentrating on their willful disregard of rightful living.

⁶⁴ Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 3.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 610-11. This is “The First Sermon Upon the Thirty-Second Chapter of Job.”

balanced about it, we could call this the “Nahor-Gentile” theory to match the “Esau-Gentile” theory. (I avoided this label at the outset because, for the most part, Renaissance exegetes were not concerned about the fact that Nahor’s descendants were Gentiles like they were for Esau’s descendants.) But, regardless of these intricacies, the point is that Elihu, like Job, is only tangentially related to the Israelites. Calvin writes with admiration, “We see then that men which had no scripture, nor anything save the doctrine which Noah and his children had spread abroad after the flood, are prophets of God and have an excellent spirit. And although they dwelt in a strange country, yet we see that God had given them a knowledge sufficient to edify all the common people.”⁶⁶ Calvin acknowledges that Job and his friends did not have “scripture,” but they did have “knowledge” that was given to them by God. To explain how they would have come by this knowledge, he invokes God’s covenant with Noah and his sons in Genesis, which was spoken long before the Abrahamic covenant and included all the nations of the world.⁶⁷

As he did in his first sermon, Calvin explains why God “hath always left some good seed in the midst of darkness”—so that “unbelievers should be left unexcusable.”⁶⁸ In Calvin’s mind, this is his most persuasive argument in favor of Job’s election. Because God wanted to be fair in condemning the Gentiles, he put a righteous man among them, which showed them that it was

⁶⁶ Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 612.

⁶⁷ God says to Noah and his sons (Shem, Ham, and Japheth), “I will establish my covenant with you” (Genesis 11:9). The fact that this covenant extends to all of Noah’s sons is important because the division of the world after the flood provided the major racial divisions in early modern thought. For sixteenth-century commentators, the curse on Ham’s family (as a result of the incident described in Genesis 9-10) manifested itself in religion, class, and skin color. Not only were Ham’s descendants heathens, but they were destined to subjugation and marked by their blackness. For instance, in George Best’s *True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discovery* (1578), Best associates the blackness of Africans with a “curse and infection of blood” that is passed through “lineal descent” and began with Noah’s curse upon Ham. George Best, *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie* (London: Henry Bynnyman, 1578), 29, EEBO image 24. See Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton, *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 15.

⁶⁸ Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 611-12.

technically possible for them to be saved. In his reflection on Elihu's lineage, he insists even more emphatically on unbelievers' responsibility for their own downfall. In response to the question of why God rejected the Gentiles, Calvin writes:

Whereof came it, that God was not served and worshipped purely, but for that men turned their backs upon him? And they did not that through simplicity, whereunto they might give some color of honesty, but rather of a stubborn willfulness. Men are loath to be beguiled, yea or to seem to be beguiled. But when it cometh to the serving of God, they shut their eyes, quench all the light that shined in them, and seek nothing but to give over themselves to all trumpery.⁶⁹

Calvin's verbs make man the agent for his own destruction: the unbelievers "turn their backs" on God and "quench" their light and "seek nothing" except evil. His explanation of reprobation answers a specific critique, one that blames God for having sent the Gentiles to certain destruction:

When we hear it said that "God gave men over to walk in destruction," let us mark well, that this is because he was not so gracious to all men, as to give them the peculiar doctrine which he had reserved to his own people and Church. But yet was that no excuse for them. God therefore did let all men run astray, and they were all drowned in destruction. Nevertheless, there continued always some seed in their hearts, whereby they were so convicted as they could not say that they

⁶⁹ Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 612.

knew not God, nor had any religion, neither could any of them clear himself from it.⁷⁰

As Calvin explains, the fact that God chose the Israelites for grace did not make him responsible for the Gentiles' destruction. On the contrary, both the Israelites and the Gentiles deserved to be punished for having "run astray;" it was generous of God even to save the Israelites. And it was even *more* generous of God to give the Gentiles a chance to know him, a chance that they did not deserve. Lest we think that this chance was too slim—that God essentially damned the Gentiles to certain destruction by making it virtually impossible for them to come to grace—the Bible gives us Job. Job's case proves that God's taste of grace is sufficient to bring even a Gentile to grace.

Calvin continues by describing the "seed" in the Gentiles' hearts, which could have allowed them to know God, as Job did. (The line of thought here is difficult because man's ability to accept God's grace is entirely dependent on God's initiative. But, for now, Calvin imagines the common human "seed" that *could* have, hypothetically, been sufficient to bring anyone to God.) First of all, it is "engraved on their conscience" that the world could not have created itself, which implies the existence of a sovereign creator. Second, because of the knowledge that God has "imprinted in his creatures," the entire world becomes "a book to teach us" what is good and evil. As a result, "We shall never find any man so rude and barbarous, but he hath some remorse of conscience, and knoweth that there is a God."⁷¹ When men are condemned, it is not God's doing, but because of the "inditement that is laid up within

⁷⁰ Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 612.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

themselves.” One of the most striking features of this passage is its length. Although Calvin has already made the point (on multiple occasions) that God is not responsible for the Gentiles’ reprobation, he has more to say about man’s utter hopelessness when it comes to making good decisions:

For it is all one as if a man should willfully run headlong against a thing at high noon, or like the stumbling of a drunken man that reeleth aside, though he see the right way before his eyes. We see then that men swerved not aside through simplicity, but that they spited God through a purposed malice. And therefore let us consider it well, to the end that we run not anymore to these wonted shifts, to say, “I pray you, if men be so dazzled as they know not anything concerning God, ought it not to serve to excuse them?” When any man allegeth this, let us on the contrary partake that for our answer, which is said in Saint John: namely, that the light shined in the darkness, and we see the same by this present example. For it had been impossible for men to have run astray into so gross and outrageous superstitions, if they had not willfully thrown themselves into them. Their ignorance therefore was matched with willfulness and stubbornness, when they forsook the right way of salvation and gave themselves over to their idols.⁷²

As we see from this passage, this “present example,” i.e. Job, presents a crucial counterargument to the idea that Gentiles should be “excused” because they were not given a chance. Far from being helplessly preyed upon by an angry God, Calvin suggests, these people have “willfully

⁷² Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 612.

thrown themselves” to their own destruction. Their flagrant disregard for God is like a person ramming his head directly into a concrete object in the middle of the day.

The attention that Calvin gives to Job’s Edomite lineage—and the reason for this sustained attention—was groundbreaking in Christian commentary. Several of the points that emerge from his discussion of Job’s genealogy would become influential for later Renaissance thinkers. More than anything, he turns the Esau-Gentile theory into an argument that justifies God’s condemnation of Gentiles, who were given a chance at grace and could have taken it, as Job did. It is this kind of unforgiving damnation that we usually associate with Calvinism and, indeed, would become standard theological fare in reformed orthodoxy. However, Calvin’s treatment of the Esau-Gentile theory also pulls another direction. In explaining how Job could have known God, Calvin describes a God who gives a consciousness of fundamental Christian ethics across the boundaries of nation and kinship. This argument in itself does not create a more inclusive vision of God’s church (for Calvin, most people put this knowledge to waste because they were not given the grace to act upon it), but, as we’ll see momentarily, it opens the door for other Renaissance thinkers to imagine unity between unlike peoples. Moreover, Calvin’s extension of God’s grace to Job and his friends—albeit contorted and qualified—does, nevertheless, allow for salvation outside of God’s church as early modern Christians would usually have conceived of it. Again, Calvin’s own extension of grace is limited (it does not apply to other Gentiles, people in the contemporary era, Catholics, et cetera), but his tight boundary-drawing paradoxically plants the seed for a more inclusive vision of grace.

We are already heading toward this more inclusive vision in the work of Théodore Beza (1519-1605), Calvin’s immediate and more moderate successor. Beza took over the leadership of the church and school at Geneva after Calvin’s death, and his commentary on Job takes up the

same issue of Job's Edomite lineage.⁷³ Unlike Calvin, who imagines an insurmountable divide between the inchoate stages of the visible church and the visible church in its present-day Christian form, Beza allows that God has chosen and *continues* to choose people outside of the visible church (by which he means his particular version of Protestantism), just as God once chose Job amongst Gentiles. He writes, "It is not to be doubted but that God hath always had, and at this present hath, his chosen and elect even amongst the Antichristian brood" (i.e. Roman Catholics).⁷⁴

Whereas Calvin uses Job's election to justify God's condemnation of all other Gentiles, Beza uses Job's election to imagine a more forgiving attitude toward them. "First of all," Beza writes, "God at such time as he made his covenant with Abraham and with his seed after him, seemeth not forthwith to reject all other nations and kindreds of the earth."⁷⁵ Beza seems taken aback by the assumption that God's favor would rest in only one family line, asking, "How could it be, I pray you, that the Church should be shut up within the walls of Abraham's house?"⁷⁶ He gives a couple of examples of God-fearing Gentiles (Abimelech in Genesis 20; Melchizedek in Genesis 14) as evidence that "there was a church, over and besides that which was in the house of Abraham, in which also might be found the true marks of the Church, namely the promise of the blessed seed to come."⁷⁷ Similar to Calvin's distinction between the "visible church"

⁷³ In his annotation of "the land of Uz," de Bezé suggests that Job's Edomite lineage "maketh more to his commendation, that he lived so religiously among the condemners of God." Bèze, *Job Expounded*, B3v.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, B5r.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, B3v-B4r.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, B4r.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

(institutional body) and “invisible church” (God’s elect), Beza’s “church” (miniscule ‘c’) refers to an earthly tradition that leads to the Christian God, while his “Church” (majuscule ‘C’) refers to the assembly of God’s chosen, those who now have the New Testament covenant and once had the “promise of the blessed seed to come.” These early members of God’s Church were not just Israelites, Beza suggests in this passage; before the founding of Israel, there was a “church” in addition to Abraham’s, and this church, too, had the “true marks” of God’s Church, namely, an awareness of the forthcoming Christian covenant. Although Beza declares that Abraham’s church was the purest in its observance of sacrifices and sacraments, he maintains that both Israelites and Gentiles before the Exodus came to know the Christian God through different means.⁷⁸

In addition to his softening toward the Gentiles in general, Beza makes clear that Esau and his descendants (i.e. Job) were not as removed from Abraham’s covenant as had been previously thought. We may have overestimated, Beza argues, the extent to which Esau’s loss of birthright excluded his posterity from God’s Church. He acknowledges what has been written about Esau and “the curse lying also upon his posterity,” and yet he cannot reconcile the exclusion of Gentiles with what he knows of Job. He asks:

Which if it be so, how is Job here accounted so godly and religious a man, even by the testimony of God’s own mouth? I answer, that albeit Esau indeed showed himself diverse ways to be a profane and ungodly wretch, albeit also God’s fearful judgement lay upon him and extended itself to his children after him; yet

⁷⁸Even after the Exodus, belonging to Abraham’s church was determined as much by human judgement as God’s initiative. Beza writes that “whosoever was not circumcised, was esteemed as no member of [Abraham’s] church.” It was not that God pushed people out, but that humans “esteemed” each other according to the sign of circumcision. Bèze, *Job Expounded*, B4r.

he is only said to have lost his birthright and not to be utterly shut out from the covenant of promise....[I]t may not so be taken as if God had at that time simply excluded the Idumeans from being anyway partakers of his covenant, from which the very Gentiles were not immediately debarred, as I before showeth.⁷⁹

Here, Beza explains the ease with which we can account for Job's election by putting the "Idumeans" (those descended from Esau) in a separate category from the general "Gentiles." He suggest that the Idumeans are even more likely than most Gentiles to be receivers of God's covenant because they have a connection to Abraham's line. After all, Beza continues, Abraham was the grandfather of both Esau and Jacob, who "by the due computation of Abraham's years, were 15 years old before Abraham died." It makes sense to think, then, that Abraham "diligently and carefully instructed" both of his grandchildren, not just Jacob.⁸⁰ He concludes, "Job (and all the Idumaens such as himself was), though they were not Israelites by birth, were nevertheless the true members of the Church."⁸¹ By reminding us of Esau's close connection to Abraham and Jacob, Beza works to break down the hard-and-fast divide between Israelites and Gentiles by creating an entire category of Gentiles, including Job, who were members of the invisible church.

Beza lets Job's genealogy rest for a moment, but he returns to it again in his discussion of Job's characterization as "simple and upright" in Job 1:1. Like Calvin, Beza is interested in how a Gentile might have been able to know God. But Calvin and Beza's arguments on this point are dissimilar. When Calvin said that the Gentiles were given a "seed" in their hearts that enabled

⁷⁹ Bèze, *Job Expounded*, B4v.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, B4v-B5r.

them to know God, he did not present the seed as a realistic way of coming to grace. Instead, he was interesting in freeing God from blame by showing the Gentiles' willful disregard for the (slim) chance that they were given. Beza, on the other hand, wants to give Gentiles a fair chance. He anticipates his readers' questions regarding Job's righteousness outside of the covenant and/or Mosaic Law:

But peradventure, you will say, if he be an upright man who walketh in the right way, and the right way be the Law of the Lord, which was not yet given when these things happened unto Job, how is it that he is called an upright man?

Hereunto the Apostle maketh answer in the second [chapter] to the Romans and fourteenth verse,⁸² that to the Gentiles their conscience was a Law, accusing or excusing the deeds of every one of them. And surely so it is. For whereas God in the Mount Sinai delivered to His people the Ten Commandments contained in two tables, we are not thereof to gather, that then, and not before, God prescribed what duties men were to perform to God and their neighbors, but rather, that He then renewed that immutable law of Nature, which was from the beginning written in the hearts of all men, and from whence all good laws have been derived.⁸³

Beza does not just suggest that the Gentiles had an inkling of God, but rather the *law* of God written on their hearts. He draws a parallel between this “immutable law of nature” and the Mosaic Law, which was later given to the Israelites. Compared to Calvin's small “seed” (which requires a truly exceptional gardener in order to cultivate), Beza's “law of nature” seems a

⁸² For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves. King James Version, Romans 2:14.

⁸³ Bèze, *Job Expounded*, B7r.

reasonable way that Gentiles could know God. To explain *how* God placed his law in the Gentiles' hearts, Beza continues with a gardening metaphor. Even the Gentiles could have known God's law, Beza claims, because Adam had knowledge "engrafted in him from his creation."⁸⁴ Unlike Calvin's "seed," Beza imagines the knowledge of God as an already-blossoming plant, which is then "engrafted" in man.⁸⁵ As anyone with gardening experience knows, it is much easier to start with a graft than a seedling. In the same way, there is a higher probability of a Gentile coming to God if he is "engrafted" with the knowledge of God rather than given a seed. In this metaphor, which outlines the Gentiles' knowledge of God, Beza goes significantly farther than Calvin. He flirts with the idea that Job, even if he had not been knowledgeable of God's church through his education by Abraham, could have known God's ways through natural reason.⁸⁶

Following the dissemination of Calvin's sermons and Beza's commentary, the issue of Job's Esau-Gentile lineage, which had hitherto been a relatively uninspired topic, became a

⁸⁴ This passage answers the question as to how the writer of Job could have known so much about creation. It follows immediately after his discussion of Job's genealogy and continues his discussion of the role of innate knowledge in knowing God. Ibid., B5r.

⁸⁵ Beza's idea that God "engrafts" knowledge into man may have been inspired by Paul's image in Romans 11:13-21. Paul describes how the Israelites have fallen away from their faith, which has opened up an opportunity for Gentiles to be saved. Using a "grafting" metaphor, he warns the Gentiles not to get presumptuous because they, too, can be cast out like the Israelites. He writes, "If some of the branches [i.e. the Israelites] be broken off, and thou [a Gentile], being a wild olive tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree; boast not against the branches. But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, 'The branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in.' Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not highminded, but fear: For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee." King James Version, Romans 11:17-21.

⁸⁶ Although most of this natural wisdom was "defaced by man's fall, yet God hath preserved in our minds certain seeds of knowledge and good arts, without which, of men we should become beasts." To support this point, Beza cites Plato: "Hence it is that the principles and general notions of all arts are naturally imprinted in every man's understanding, which made Plato think that when men by teaching begin to know that whereof before they seemed ignorant, they do not so much learn any new thing, as remember that which they had forgotten." Bèze, *Job Expounded*, B5r.

mainstay in Catholic and Protestant exegesis. In his sermons, Calvin teeters on an exegetical brink; on the one hand, he allows God's grace to extend to Edomites, but, on the other hand, he insists that Job's relationship to Abraham accounts for his exceptional membership in God's church. Beza's commentary pulls in the direction of inclusion by positing the salvation of entire groups of Gentiles, but he, nevertheless, holds onto Job's personal connection to Abraham. Both Calvin and Beza, then, leave unclear how much of Job's salvation was an exceptional circumstance (that he was the circumcised kin of Abraham) and how much was indicative of the boundlessness of God's grace (that God chooses Gentiles because He wants to). Based on Calvin's and Beza's arguments, it would be reasonable to draw a conclusion on either side—that Abrahamic lineage is the most important factor in determining the boundaries of the Old Testament Church *or* that knowledge of God is possible for all people. In the work of two radical sixteenth-century theologians—the Calvinist Biblicist Hugh Broughton (1549-1612) and the Erasmian humanist Sébastien Castellio (1515-1563)—we see the development of these opposing arguments.

Hugh Broughton took up the side of the exclusionists (the “separatists,” we might say), those who wished to make Abrahamic blood a minimum requirement for membership in God's church. Broughton was preoccupied with Biblical genealogies, believing that they were the surest antidote to the insidious belief that “our religion was but man's invention.”⁸⁷ In opposition to the classicist Joseph Justus Scaliger, who tried to reconcile Biblical events and dating with classical sources, Broughton insisted on the sufficiency of internal evidence for establishing the

⁸⁷ Hugh Broughton, *A Defence of the Booke Entitled a Co[N]Cent of Scripture* (Middelburg: Richard Schilders, 1609), A1. Preventing this notion is the reason that Broughton provides to defend his very unpopular book, *A Consent of Scripture* (1588). For more information, see Kirsten Mcfarlane, “Cleareness and Safety of Religion Cannot Stand without Knowledge in Genealogies:” Hugh Broughton and the King James Bible Genealogies, 1588-1592” (Oxford, 2016).

Bible's chronology and consistency. Given his penchant for timelines and genealogies, Broughton's paraphrase of Job (1610) manifests an uncharacteristic eagerness to establish Job's historicity by mapping his family tree.⁸⁸ Broughton's paraphrase is not just a translation of the Biblical text, but a rewriting of the text in idiomatic English in a way that foregrounds Broughton's preoccupation with the characters' lineages.⁸⁹

In Broughton's mind, the purpose of Job's poetic dialogue was to clarify that he belongs to "Abraham's kindred," not Esau's.⁹⁰ Unlike Calvin and Beza, who defend Job's belonging to God's church as a Gentile, Broughton insists upon keeping the church within the Israelite line. According to Broughton's logic, setting these boundaries strengthens the association between the ancient Israelites and early modern English Protestants. He argues that the Israelites were God's preliminary chosen people, who were then replaced by the Christians (God's new chosen people), who were then replaced by the Protestants (God's latest-and-greatest chosen people). Returning to the beginning of this history and saying that there were chosen people who were *not* Israelites risked destabilizing the privileged place of Protestants in God's eyes. In fact, because of the imagined trajectory from Israelite to Christian to Protestant in Broughton's Calvinism, saying "Job is not an Israelite" was similar to saying "Job is not an English Protestant." In

⁸⁸ Hugh Broughton, *Iob. To the King. A Colon-Agrippina Studie of One Moneth, for the Metricall Translation: But of Many Yeres for Ebrew Difficulties* (Amsterdam: Giles Thorp, 1610). Broughton's title suggests that it had been in the works for "many years" because of the difficulty of the Hebrew. In his preface to his paraphrase, he says that the "tongue" in the Book of Job "hath been harder to me than all the rest of the Bible" (104). He published his paraphrases of Daniel, Ecclesiastes, and Lamentations between 1596 and 1606 and was likely working on Job around the same time.

⁸⁹ The only friend whose lineage goes unidentified is Zophar, which is true of Biblical commentary in general. In the Book of Job, Zophar is always called "Zophar the Naamathite" (Job 2:11, 11:1, 20:1 42:9). Both the name "Zophar" and the city "Naamah" are unknown. Broughton's Job only vaguely associates Zophar's land with "Minnaea," which is a region in Arabia Felix. Broughton, *Iob. To the King*, 124.

⁹⁰ Broughton, *Iob. To The King*, 104.

Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in the Seventeenth-Century (2010), Achsah Guibbory explains, “English people spoke about England and her reformed Church in language that figured her as the true Israel and recalled the history of biblical Israel. We see, indeed, a slippage between the idea that England was ‘an’ elect nation, part of the universal church of God, and ‘the’ elect nation.”⁹¹ Because Broughton saw England as a resurrected form of biblical Israel, he was loath to disconnect Job from his own Protestant history.

In order to prove Job’s proto-Christianity via his Israelite lineage, Broughton puts words in Job’s mouth that explicitly condemn the Esau theory. His Job accuses, “When my story shall be written, men will think then I am of Uz in Edom.”⁹² Broughton’s Job corrects their mistake. When Job describes how he was robbed by the Sabeans and the Chaldeans, he adds a side note: the records specify the nationalities of the robbers in order “to teach posterity of what Uz land I am—not of Edom’s, but of Nahor’s.”⁹³ Yet Broughton was not a proponent of the Nahor theory, either. Although Nahor’s sons were *closer* to the Israelite line than Esau’s in the Renaissance imagination (it was Esau, after all, who had explicitly lost the birthright to Jacob in Genesis 25-27), Nahor was also separated from the line of Abraham. Therefore, Broughton believes that Job lived in the land of Uz where Nahor settled, but argues that Job was a descendant of Abraham. In short, he rejects both the Nahor and the Esau theories and must come up with his own Abrahamic alternative.

⁹¹ Achsah Guibbory, *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2010), 13.

⁹² Broughton, *Job. To the King*, 124-25.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 110. Job 1:15-17 describes Job being robbed by the Sabeans (who Broughton calls the people of “Sheba”) and the Chaldeans.

Broughton's *The Concent of Scripture* (1588), which provides a detailed timeline of the Old Testament,⁹⁴ is the first text to mention his new theory—that Job was descended from Abraham through his wife Keturah.⁹⁵ Genesis 25 indicates that Keturah and Abraham had six sons, who settled the “east country.” According to Broughton, Midian (the fourth son of Keturah) seemed most likely to be Job’s kin because it would allow Moses to encounter Job’s story while wandering in Midian. In his timeline entry covering the events of Genesis 25, he writes:

After Sarah’s death,⁹⁶ Abraham married Keturah, and to his children by her giveth substance, and sendeth them forth into the east. Suach is of his sons, of whom cometh Bildad. Job 2. *These families, I think, are termed the children of the east.* Job 1.⁹⁷

Broughton has evidence that Bildad is the son of Shuah, son of Keturah, because the Book of Job states that Bildad is a “Shuhite.” Broughton adds his own supposition in italics (complete with the modifier “I think”) that Keturah’s children are the people “of the east” mentioned in Job 1:3. In a later entry, when Broughton describes the Book of Job’s chronological placement between Genesis and Exodus, he makes his first explicit reference to the Keturah theory. He explains that

⁹⁴Broughton, *A Concent of Scripture* (London: For Gabriell Simson and William White, 1588). In this text, he provides dates for the events of the Bible relative to the creation of the world, the making of the Abrahamic covenant, and the birth of Christ. Quotations are pulled from the 1590 edition: *A Concent of Scripture* (London: Richard Watkins for Gabriell Simson and William White, 1590).

⁹⁵ Keturah was Abraham’s third wife, after Sarah and Hagar. She is referenced in Genesis 25:1-6 and 1 Chronicles 1:32, 33.

⁹⁶ Although Abraham is remembered for establishing the line of Jacob through his wife Sarah, who miraculously gave birth to Isaac after supposedly being barren, Abraham had other wives as well. The story of Isaac’s birth is recounted in Genesis 22.

⁹⁷ Broughton, *A Concent of Scripture*, n.p., EEBO image 11. Original emphasis.

Moses did not author the Book of Job because Moses specialized in the history of Abraham's descendants through Sarah, not Keturah. The passage reads:

The Book of Job, though it was written after Moses's death, yet in order of time it falleth before Exodus. But Moses was to handle Abraham's blessing in Isaac and Jacob, of whom our Lord descendeth after the flesh, and not the other families of Abraham's seed by Keturah. Nevertheless, where as God gaveth Abraham a testimony of carefulness in teaching his house, it was good for us to register their religion. That doth the Book of Job afford.⁹⁸

He mentions Job's descent from Keturah once again when he briefly summarizes the events of the Book of Job in a timeline entry following the end of Genesis:

Satan compasseth all the Earth. Job in the land of Uz is sure that his redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand the latter man upon the earth. Job 19:25. Job is of Abraham by Keturah, as may be gathered. He cannot be Jobab, who died some ages before Moses was king in Israel. He is said to be the richest of the sons of the east, by which name the kindred of Midian is termed.⁹⁹

Broughton's choice of which details to include (Job's supposed foretelling of Christ's coming in Job 19, as well as Job's lineage from Abraham) is telling of his concern for positing Job as a proto-Christian. He dismisses the Esau theory as implausible and does not even mention the Nahor theory.

⁹⁸ Ibid., n.p., EEBO image 13.

⁹⁹ Ibid., n.p. EEBO image 14.

In his paraphrase of Job (which is more accurately an embroidered rewriting), Broughton takes extensive liberties in order to mention his Keturah theory. For comparison's sake, here is the Geneva Bible's translation of Job, Chapter 19:1-6, in which Job responds to Bildad's final round of chastising:

But Job answered, and said, How long will ye vex my soul, and torment me with words? Ye have now ten times reproached me, and are not ashamed: ye are impudent toward me. And though I had indeed erred, mine error remaineth with me. But indeed if ye will advance yourselves against me, and rebuke me for my reproach, Know now, that God hath overthrown me, and hath compassed me with his net.¹⁰⁰

Broughton's paraphrase purportedly renders this passage into "our familiar speech."¹⁰¹ For the sake of demonstrating its length and winded syntax, I have quoted Broughton's paraphrase here in its entirety:

Job: How long will you fret me with words? Now five times I spoke, and five times you, crossing my speeches: Eliphaz twice, Bildad twice, and Zophar once. Suppose I have erred: my errors continue with me. Eliphaz hath made me to be counted wicked over Theman¹⁰² because I am so greatly plagued, and saith that my children were punished for their sins. And because God hath given me over

¹⁰⁰ Whittingham, *Geneva Bible*, 227v-28r [Job 19:1-6].

¹⁰¹ Broughton's preface before his paraphrase explains that the Book of Job was "harder to me than all the rest of the Bible." So that the Book of Job may be "softer to others," he claims, "I have made a translation with great pains." Broughton, *Job. To The King*, 103; 104.

¹⁰² Eliphaz is called the "Themanite," so Broughton's Job suggests that Eliphaz is spreading rumors about him in Theman. Theman is the son of Esau (Genesis 36:11, 1 Chronicles 1:35-36) and he gave his name to the city of Teman in Edom (Amos 1:12, Obadiah 9, Jeremiah 44:7, Baruch 3:22).

into the hand of the wicked—Chaldeans in my camels¹⁰³ and wicked Sabeans, who have forgotten our kindred in Abraham¹⁰⁴ —Eliphaz will have me counted wicked, bringing my wretched case an argument against me. Bildad will make all the Land Sacchaea make me a parable.¹⁰⁵ And Zophar over all Minnaea.¹⁰⁶ The Agarey of Hagar¹⁰⁷ and Chutramis Land of Cheturam,¹⁰⁸ Abraham’s wife—(in Arabic we term gladly names in the letter M¹⁰⁹)—these will have as ill a conceit

¹⁰³ Job 1:17 reports, “The Chaldeans made out three bands, and fell upon the camels, and have carried them away.” The Chaldeans were a tribe of people living in Chaldea, in southern Babylon.

¹⁰⁴ Job 1:14-15 reports, “The oxen were plowing, and the asses feeding beside them. And the Sabeans fell upon them, and took them away.” The Sabeans were a group of people from Saba (aka Sheba), in Southern Arabia. When Broughton suggests that the Sabeans have “forgotten their ancestry in Abraham,” he is tracing this lineage from Genesis 25:2-3, which lists the descendants of Abraham through Keturah. Their second son is Jokshan, who gave birth to Sheba and Dedan. Broughton identifies Job as the descendant of Midian, the fourth son of Abraham and Keturah.

¹⁰⁵ The Book of Job describes Bildad as a “Shuhite,” which means he is from the land of Shuah or Sûchu in northern Mesopotamia (present day Syria). This land was named for Shuah, the sixth son of Abraham through Keturah (Genesis 25:2). Saccaea or Shūkah was a city that Ptolmey locates near Batanaea, a region east of the Jordan River. Thomas Herbert Lewin, *The Life and Epistles of St Paul, Vol. 2* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1878), 66. Perhaps because Shuah and Shukah were in roughly the same region, Broughton conflates the two.

¹⁰⁶ Zophar is a Namathite, which means he comes from the city of Naamah in Canaan. Broughton’s connection between Naamah and Minnaea is unclear. Minnaea was a region in Arabia Felix, which the Greek geographer Strabo (63/4? BC – c. 24 AD) says “abounded in myrrh and frankincense.” The Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (first century BC) said “the inhabitants of Arabia Felix had sumptuous houses, adorned with ivory and precious stones.” Because of these facts, some commentators believe that Minnaea may be mentioned in Psalm 45:8, which may read “Myrrh, aloes and cassia are all thy garments / From ivory palaces of Minnaea they have made thee glad.” This requires that מִנִּי, *minni*, is the name of a region. Charles Haddon Spurgeon, *The Treasury of David: Containing an Original Exposition of the Book of Psalms* (Toronto; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1892), Vol. 2, 355 [Psalm 45:8].

¹⁰⁷ Hagar is the second wife of Abraham in Genesis 16, who bears him Ishmael. Tension with Abraham’s wife Sarah and her son Isaac leads Hagar and Ishmael to be cast out. They settle in the Desert of Paran, which is in Arabia on the bank of the Red Sea. (Genesis 21:21). Hagar’s name is Latinized as “Agar,” and thus the “Agarey” of Hagar means the descendants of Hagar.

¹⁰⁸ This is Broughton’s spelling of “Keturah,” the wife of Abraham in Genesis 25, whose sons settled the east. The phrase means “the land of the Keturahan’s from Keturah.”

¹⁰⁹ i.e. “In Arabic it is common to end names with the letter ‘M,’ and thus I’ve spelled ‘Keturah’ as ‘Cheturam.’”

of me. Thema of wild Ishmael is most quiet,¹¹⁰ my next neighbor to our Aus or Uz land: where mountains of Chaldaea lie East: Saba that took my oxen and asses, west: and dry Thema, south. It is much that Eliphaz cometh to grace of profane Esau, that sold his birthright for a mess of pottage.¹¹¹ In him, God in wrath remembereth mercy. But one swallow maketh not a summer. Of profane Nahor, Elihu is one, best of all us. But of Keturah, our best and most good be. Amongst all these families, ye would have me counted one that forgetteth God. Ye deal too proudly against me. Know then that God hath dealt more strangely with me, than ever with wicked men for wickedness. Know then that the Puissant hath overthrown me: and compassed his net about me.¹¹²

For a paraphrase intended to aid the reader's understanding, its dense allusions and twisted logic calls for its own paraphrase, or at least extensive footnotes. Broughton's Job enumerates the many territories in Arabia (Tema, Saccaea, Minnaea, the land of Keturah, the land of Hagar) in which his friends have sullied his reputation, followed by a brief geography lesson that places Uz between Chaldaea to the east, Saba to the west, and Tema to the south. In the final part, he

¹¹⁰ Tema was the ninth son of Ishmael, as specified in Genesis 25:15. He settled in the deserts of Arabia. The Land of Tema was located in Edom, in contemporary northern Saudi Arabia.

¹¹¹ In the story of Jacob and Esau, Esau is a hunter, while Jacob is a farmer who "sod pottage" (Genesis 25:29). One day, Esau comes to Jacob feeling on the verge of death from hunger. Jacob asks him to give up his birthright in exchange for food. The term "pottage" usually means "a stew, soup, or porridge" (OED, "pottage," 1a), but in this context means the vegetables ground to make the stew.

The OED specifies that the phrase "a mess of pottage" originates in English translations of the Esau story. It means "A portion or serving of liquid or pulpy food such as milk, broth, porridge, boiled vegetables, etc." The OED explains, "The expression a mess of pottage, alluding to the biblical story of Esau's sale of his birthright (Genesis 25:29–34), does not occur in the King James Bible (1611), although it is found in this context as early as c1452 (see quot.). It appears in the heading of Chapter 25 in the Bibles of 1537 and 1539, and in the Geneva Bible of 1560. Coverdale (1535) does not use the phrase, either in the text or the chapter heading (his words being 'meace of meate', 'meace of ryse'), but he has it in 1 Chronicles 16:3 and Proverbs 15:7."

¹¹² Broughton, *Job. To The King*, 124. Note that Broughton's spelling of the names is inconsistent and irregular. Here, he refers to Nahor as "Nachor" and Keturah as "Chetura."

specifies the way in which Eliphaz and his friends “will have me counted wicked”: they claim that he is “of profane Esau” or “profane Nahor.” The implication is that both of these genealogies would be an insult to his holiness.

In the course of this complaint, Broughton’s Job mentions that Eliphaz is descended from Esau, presumably based on the evidence that Broughton found in Genesis 36:10.¹¹³ This is not the only time that Broughton mentions Eliphaz’s kinship with Esau, a fact which does not appear in the Book of Job.¹¹⁴ Broughton’s Eliphaz states in his first speech, “*Esau, my ancestor, hath broken lions’ teeth in Seir.*”¹¹⁵ In the same way, Broughton’s Job mentions that Elihu is descended from Nahor, presumably based on evidence from Genesis 22:21.¹¹⁶ The Book of Job states that Elihu is “the son of Barachel the Buzite, of the kindred of Ram.” Later, Broughton’s Bildad does the genealogical research on behalf of the reader and explains in one of his speeches that “Nahor” is “Elihu his father.”¹¹⁷

In Broughton’s mind, it is pushing the limit to allow that Eliphaz or Nahor “cometh to grace” from outside of the Abrahamic line. He grants that Eliphaz is an exception, a case where God’s wrath is tempered by mercy. But, as Broughton’s Job points out, “one swallow maketh not a summer,” i.e. the exception does not prove the rule. Elihu slipped into God’s chosen flock via

¹¹³ Genesis 36 describes Esau’s descendants. Genesis 36:10 reads, “These are the names of Esau’s sons; *Eliphaz* the son of Adah the wife of Esau, Reuel the son of Bashemath the wife of Esau.”

¹¹⁴ In the Book of Job, Eliphaz is identified as “the Themanite,” not as the son of Esau. Although Broughton was not alone among exegetes in tracing Eliphaz’s heritage to the line of Esau through internal Biblical evidence, he is unique among Jobean paraphrasers in featuring the characters’ ancestry so prominently.

¹¹⁵ Broughton, *Job. To The King*, 106. Significant chunks of Broughton’s paraphrase are dedicated to various characters’ casually discussing their own and each other’s lineages.

¹¹⁶ Elihu is introduced in Job 32:2 as the “son of Barachel the Buzite, of the kindred of Ram.” In Genesis 22:21, Buz is the brother of Uz, the son of Nahor.

¹¹⁷ Broughton, *Job. To the King*, 112.

another exception. In a preface to Elihu's speech in Job 32, Broughton explains that Elihu's upbringing gave him knowledge of God, despite his non-Abrahamic genealogy. Elihu was acquainted with the Israelites' God because he was the son of Buz, who was the son of Nahor. (Broughton calls him "Elihu the Buzite, of Buz, Abraham's brother's son."¹¹⁸) Broughton explains that Nahor's family was "famous then for knowledge," which prompted Abraham to send his children and grandchildren (most notably, his daughter-in-law Rebecca and his grandson Jacob) to Nahor's household to be educated. As a result, Elihu became "rare of knowledge" because "Rebeca and Jacob seem to have left religion in Nahor's house."¹¹⁹ In summary, although Elihu was not a descendant of Abraham, he learned the faith of Abraham's household through exposure to Abraham's kin. Elihu's faith through this indirect exposure justified his inclusion in God's church.

Broughton will not grant the same exception to Job. In Broughton's calculations, to make Job a descendant of Esau would be to count him as "one that forgetteh God." Rejecting this profane lineage, Broughton's Job claims to be descended from "Keturah," the birthmother of "our best and most good" people.¹²⁰ In Broughton's paraphrase, Elihu refers to Job as "ye of Keturah, the children of the east" and calls Midian "thy ancestor."¹²¹ Bildad explains to Job that "Moses will come to thy nation of Midian, near Uz."¹²² Not only does Broughton's paraphrase

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 139.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Broughton's Bildad, too, claims descent from Abraham based on minimal textual evidence. Eliphaz addresses offhandedly the "Shuach, or Sychaeus, of whom Bildad cometh." Broughton, *Job. To The King*, 107. In Job 18:1, Bildad is described as a "Shuhite." In Genesis 25:1-2, the Shuhite are descendants of Shuah, son of Abraham and Keturah, and settle in the deserts of Arabia.

¹²¹Broughton, *Job. To the King*, 107.

¹²² Again, the spelling is irregular. Here, "Madian, near Aus." Ibid., 123.

include the Keturah theory, but the genealogies that he compiled with the English historian John Speed (1542-1629) also include it.¹²³ These genealogies were printed at the front of the 1611 King James Bible (complete with an inscription that outlines the Keturah theory¹²⁴) and were reproduced in editions of the bible for decades afterward (see Figure 1, following page).¹²⁵

Despite being printed at the beginning of the King James Bible, Broughton's Keturah theory only picked up a handful of (relatively obscure) proponents in the seventeenth-century. The politician George Abbott (not to be confused with George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury) begins his *Whole Book of Job Paraphrased* (1640):

There was a man whose story the Lord would have recorded for example, and believed for a truth; and therefore for further confirmation, know, that for the Country where he lived, it was the land of Uz, lying upon the borders of the Caldeans, Sabeans, and Cananites; and for his name, it was Job, who was of the posterity of Abraham by Keturah.¹²⁶

¹²³ This genealogy first appeared in John Speed, *The Genealogies of the Scripture According to Every Family and Tribe* (London: J. Beale, 1610).

¹²⁴ The inscription reads, "From the presence of Isaac, Abraham sent his sons by Keturah (whereof Midian was one) into the East, Genesis 25:6. From thence are the Midianites, Judges 6:3. And in the East, Job is the greatest, Job 1:3. He held the true worship of God, as did Raguel and Jethro, Exodus 18:11, a sure testimony of Abraham's care towards his family, as the Lord had spoken, Genesis 18:19. His story and afflictions are thought to be before that Moses penned the Law; otherwise, it had not been lawful for him to have sacrificed, Job 1:5. In Egypt all had sinned and were defiled with the idols of that land, Ezek. 20:8. Then did Satan accuse the earth of impiety, yet Job was just, and knew that his Redeemer lived; and believed the Resurrection to life, Job 19."

¹²⁵ The genealogy pictured is from King James I, *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New*, 7.

¹²⁶ George Abbot, *The Whole Booke of Job Paraphrased or, Made Easie for Any to Understand* (London: Edward Griffin for Henry Overton, 1640), 1, EEBO image 7.

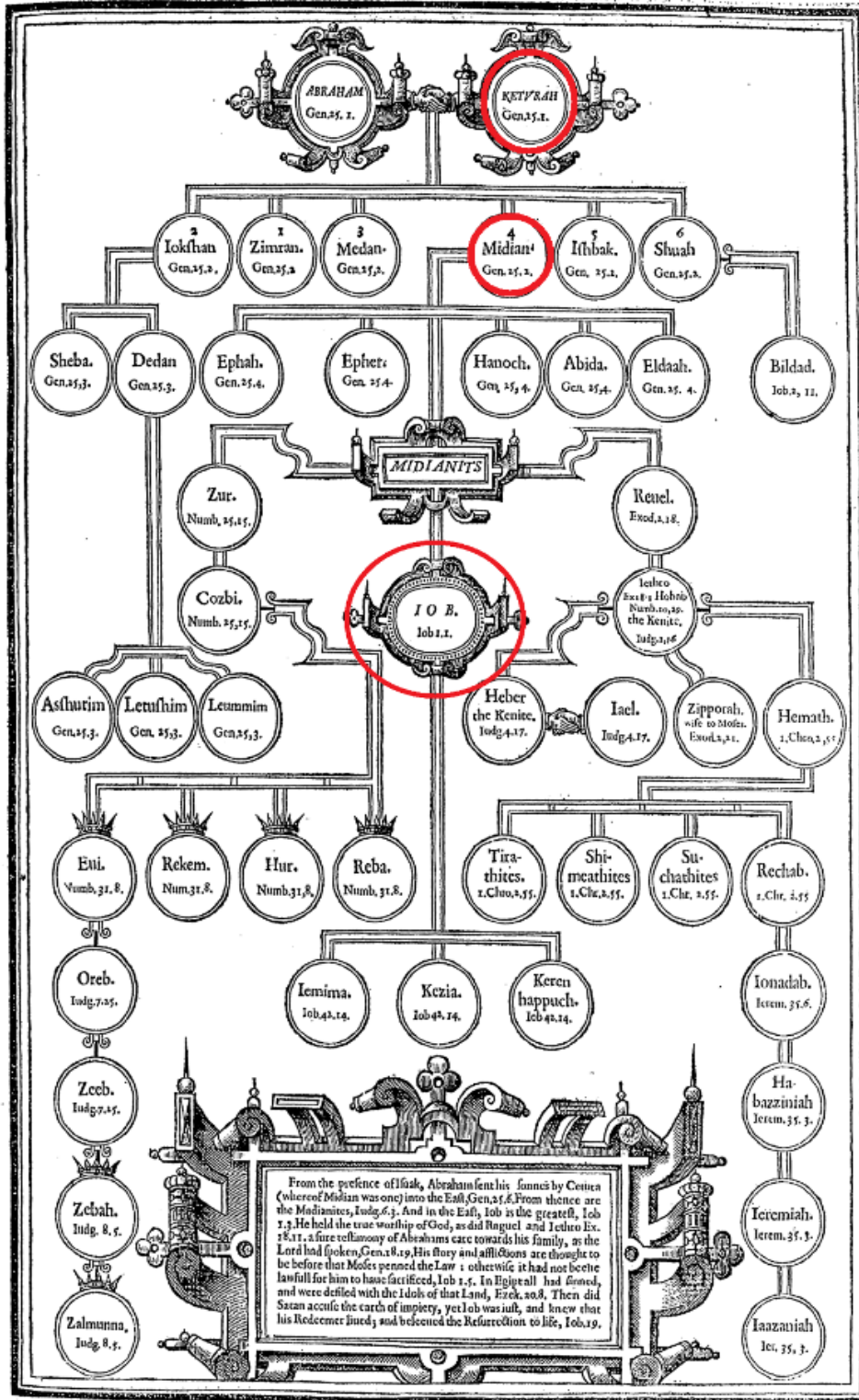


Figure 1. The Descendants of Abraham and Keturah, King James Bible (1611)

Abbott was under the mentorship of the strict Puritan Richard Vines in the decade in which he composed his paraphrase, which suggests the attractiveness of Broughton's Calvinist Biblicism. The reformed preacher Joseph Caryl's exposition also expounds on Broughton's Keturah theory. He notes that, in Genesis 25, "It is said that Abraham by her [Keturah] had diverse sons, and that he gave them portions and sent them eastward into the east country." He continues, "From Midian (who was the fourth son of Abraham by that second marriage), our genealogy do positively and directly affirm that Job was descended."¹²⁷ His certainty is odd in light of the lack of evidence to support his claim, and other seventeenth-century commentaries are more doubtful. In his *Exposition of the Book of Job* (1669), George Hutcheson, minister of the Church of Scotland and parliamentarian in the Civil War, writes, "And it seems most probable also that he [Job] lived in Arabia the Desert, being either of the posterity of Nahor, or of the sons of Abraham by Keturah, who settled also there."¹²⁸ The first edition of the Westminster Assembly annotations acknowledges that some think Job is "one of Abraham's posterity by Keturah, but his dwelling speaks him rather one of Esau's generation, Lament. 4.21."¹²⁹

The modest growth of the Keturah theory aside, Broughton's denunciation of Job's presumed descent from Esau, as if that lineage would do Job a disservice, represents an uncommon position in Renaissance commentary on Job. Francis Quarles's poetic paraphrase *Job*

¹²⁷ Joseph Caryl, *An Exposition with Practical Observations Upon the Three First Chapters of the Book of Iob Delivered in XXI Lectures* 10 vols., vol. 1 (London: G. Miller, 1643), 19.

¹²⁸ George Hutcheson, *An Exposition of the Book of Job: Being the Sum of CCCXVI Lectures* (London: R. Smith, 1669), 3.

¹²⁹ John Downname, *Annotations Upon All the Books of the Old and New Testament: Wherein the Text Is Explained, Doubts Resolved, Scriptures Paralleled and Various Readings Observed* (London: John Legatt and John Raworth, 1645), "The Argument," n.p., EEBO image 192. The fact that the Keturah theory is not mentioned in the later editions suggests that this argument was already losing ground in England by the mid-seventeenth century.

Militant (1624), which is indebted to Calvin's *Sermons* for its theology, objects to Broughton's Keturah theory:

Who this Job was, and from what stock descended, it shall appear by the consent of the most famous and ancient writers, who absolutely derive him from the loins of Esau...But the adversaries to this opinion (who derive him from Abraham by Keturah) object, that Esau and his seed were accused by God, therefore Job could not (being so upright a man) spring from so tainted a generation. To which I answer that, though Esau be said to be *expulsus a primogeitura* [cast out from his birthright], yet we read not, that he is *exclusis a foedere* [excluded from the covenant]. And when God in justice curses a generation in general, yet his mercy nevertheless is endless, he may extend to some in that offspring in particular.¹³⁰

Quarles uses the reasoning of Calvin and Beza—that Gentiles were not entirely outcast—to explain why the line of Esau is more than just a “tainted” generation.

Among the early modern Jobean commentaries and paraphrases that I encountered, only one other expresses disdain for Edomites similar to Broughton. The Scottish advocate William Clark states in his poetic paraphrase (1685) that Job was a descendent of Abraham through either Keturah or Nahor:

As for his family 'tis thought he was
Descended of a branch of Abram's race,
By one of his three sons with Keturah,
Who, some think, planted in Arabia:

¹³⁰Francis Quarles, *Job Militant: With Meditations Diuine and Morall* (London: Felix Kyngston for George Winder, 1624), A4r.

Others affirm, with more authority,
He was a branch of Nahor's family:
How e're it was, his actions do express
He was a man of honorable race.¹³¹

Although Clark suggests that the Nahor theory is backed by people “with more authority,” he suggests that the most important piece is that Job was descended from an “honorable race,” i.e. not of Esau. Broughton never uses the word “race” (instead referring to characters by their “descent” or as “son of X”), and Clarke’s use of the word retains its medieval sense of “clan” or “bloodline.” Yet their instinct to contain God’s church within a particular bloodline anticipates a racialized way of seeing the world.¹³² In *Becoming Christian: Race, Reformation, and Early*

¹³¹ William Clark, *The Grand Tryal, or, Poetical Exercitations Upon the Book of Job* (Edinburgh: Printed by the heir of Andrew Anderson, 1685), 3.

¹³² In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, historians had no qualms about describing the discriminatory ideologies of the early modern period as “racism.” In the latter half of the twentieth century, a wave of scholarship resisted the application of this terminology to premodern eras, pointing out that “racism” is an ideology rooted in hierarchal perceptions of *biological* difference between groups of people. For instance, in *Race: The History of an Idea in the West*, Ivan Hannaford argues that “race” did not exist as a word with its modern meaning, which means we should see racism as a modern ideology (5-6). He suggests the modern meaning of “race” arises alongside late seventeenth-century empiricism, which aimed to classify man as part of the animal kingdom based on observable features and behavior (187). Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Washington, D.C.; Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Johns Hopkins UP, 1996).

But twenty-first-century scholarship has challenged the older notion that “race” is an inappropriate term for understanding difference in the early modern period. For instance, David Nirenberg suggests that we oversimplify the question of whether “racism” was a concept in premodern society when we reduce it to a merely lexical issue. [David Nirenberg, “Was There Race before Modernity? The Example of Jewish Blood in Late Medieval Spain,” in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Benjamin Isaac Miriam Eliav-Feldon, and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2009), 234.] Recent scholars point out that race is not only a matter of biologically determined difference, which would be dependent on post-enlightenment empiricism to uncover. Instead, “race” is a matter of difference due to gender, sexuality, class, nationality, and religion. As Geraldine Heng and others have pointed out, religion in the early modern period was a racial matter, in the sense that grace was inherited through bloodlines and family affiliation. Heng explains, “To scholarship on race that takes its examples from postmedieval periods, *religion*—which is always understood, in modern fashion, as an exclusively cultural system of customs, gestures, and practices, and unimplicated in theories of biological essences—is the *a priori* determinant in hierarchical taxominizations of difference in the medieval period.” Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia UP, 2003), 231. See also Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler, “Introduction,” in *The Origins of Racism in the West* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2009), 5.

Modern English Romance, Dennis Austin Britton traces the “role that theology plays in the development of race as a category of identity,”¹³³ which resulted from the widespread belief that Christian identity was a “genealogical trait that is passed from parents to children.”¹³⁴ Religious texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries confirm this association between purity of faith and purity of blood.¹³⁵ In John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* (1563), Foxe refers to the “race and stock of Abraham” in a way that uses “race” to mean “bloodline” (its late medieval denotation), but also implies a “moral hierarchy between different bloodlines.”¹³⁶

When Broughton and Clarke consider Job’s “race,” they are addressing the same question of hereditary sanctification that Calvin discusses in *The Institutes*. They share Calvin’s belief that grace is passed from parent to child through one’s “seed,” which means that there are elect races (i.e. families, clans). But Broughton’s position is more extreme than Calvin’s or the Church of England’s. Calvin states that infants with “unbelieving parents” should be denied baptism, but he

¹³³ Britton, *Becoming Christian*, 5.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹³⁵We see evidence of this connection between bloodline and purity of faith during the Christian *Reconquista* of the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century. Christians were eager to prove that they were “full bred” Christians, as opposed to converts from Judaism or Islam. In their introduction to *Race in Early Modern England*, Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton describe how this process “catalyzed the development of biological notions of race.” They explain, “As white Christians confronted the implications of being infiltrated by Jews, Muslims, and blacks, religious differences were increasingly expressed in somatic terms. Thus, it was the anxiety about ‘purity of faith’ that gave rise to the idea that one’s faith was also an index of one’s ‘purity of blood’” (16). The resulting “pure blood laws,” first implemented in 1449, systematically discriminated against New Christians, i.e. those descended from Muslims and Jews. “Introduction” in Loomba and Burton, *Race in Early Modern England*, 1-36.

David Nirenberg also argues, against those who claim that “race” was not a category in premodern society, that the Spanish pure blood laws are an early example of racism. “It would be a mistake to see, in this attachment of ‘Jewishness’ to culture, evidence that these late medieval discriminations were not ‘racial.’ On the contrary, this ‘judaization’ of Spanish culture was the direct result of the increasingly widespread use of ideas about the biological reproduction of somatic and behavioral traits in order to create and legitimate hierarchies and discriminations, within a society where extensive intermarriage (as well as strategic practices like the falsification of genealogies and the proofs of purity of blood) made the reproductive segregation of ‘Judaism’ impossible.” Nirenberg, “Was There Race?,” 260.

¹³⁶ Loomba and Burton, *Race in Early Modern England*, 14.

allows that they can be converted to the Christian church in adulthood and thus potentially included among God's elect. And the Church of England allowed that *all* children could be baptized, even those of ethnic or profane parents. In his letters from the Synod of Dort, the English theologian John Hales recalls the issue of whether adopted children from the East Indies should be baptized. Hales writes:

The English first exhibited their minds in writing to this effect: that infants...ought to be baptized. For so it is recorded of Abraham, that he circumcised everyone in his house, even those whom he had bought with his money: but if they were adults, they might not be baptized till they made profession of the Christian faith....On the contrary, the Helvetians and South-Hollanders concluded, that the infants of ethnic parents ought not to be baptized, till they came to be of years to declare their faith. Their chief reason was, because baptism was a sign of the covenant, but the infants of ethnic parents are not born within the covenant, and therefore they cannot be partakers of this sign.¹³⁷

The Englishmen at Dort use Abraham's circumcision of everyone in his household to justify their inclusive baptism policy. Even the Dutch Calvinists, who Hales calls out for their strictness about the purity of the church, allow that children of ethnic parents can be included in the Christian church once they are old enough to confess their faith.

Therefore, when Broughton and Clarke suggest that Job could not be an Edomite because it would not be "honorable," they represent a radical minority position. That said, their theology

¹³⁷John Hales, "Mr. Hale's Letters from the Synod of Dort to the Right Honorable Sir Dudley Carlton, Lord Ambassador, Etc.," in *Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable John Hales*, ed. Peter Gunning and John Pearson (London: Thomas Newcomb for Robert Pawlet, 1673), 19-20. For more information on the covenant of baptism, see Britton, *Becoming Christian*, chapter 1.

is recognizable in that of the most extreme separatists. Increase Mather, a Puritan minister in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, suggests in *The Order of the Gospel* (1700) that the Christian church ought only to baptize the children of parents who demonstrate their godliness.¹³⁸ When asked whether all children of “believing parents” should be baptized, he answers no. He explains, “There are many professors of the Protestant, which is the true Christian, religion, whose children have not by the appointment of Christ any right to baptism. For we may not baptize the children of profane parents.”¹³⁹ In his mind, “profane parents” not only include “papists, Socinians, and heretics,” but also “drunkards, fornicators, swearers, and such like.”¹⁴⁰ For Mather and other separatists, the purity of the Christian church depended on drawing a sharp line between true Christians, those descended from true Christian seed, and pretenders.

If Broughton’s rejection of Job’s descent from Esau represents the extreme argument in favor of exclusion, the early Protestant exegete Sébastien Castellio, a renowned humanist and infamous opponent of Calvin, makes the argument at the opposite end of the inclusiveness spectrum. For Castellio, Job’s Edomite ethnicity is unproblematic. Against those who doubt Job’s historical existence, Castellio argues, “Perhaps they object that Job could not have been among those divinely chosen because he was from Edom, as if God rejects that ‘other’ race of man, or as if God does not love all whom live rightly, just as He hates all whom live unjustly, of

¹³⁸ Increase Mather, *The Order of the Gospel: Professed and Practised by the Churches of Christ in New-England, Justified by the Scripture, and by Writings of Many Learned Men, Both Ancient and Modern Divines* (Boston: B. Green & J. Allen, for Nicholas Buttolph, 1700), 56. Mather has a different definition of the “visible church” from Calvin. For Calvin, the “visible church” includes all professed Christians, even those who are Christian in name only. For Mather, the “visible church” should be limited only to Christians who uphold Christian principles in the eyes of men. In other words, they should be “visibly Christian” in order to be counted part of the Christian institution.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 54; 58.

whatever nation they may be.”¹⁴¹ For Castellio, Job’s status as a Gentile does not necessitate a complicated explanation. From his perspective, God loves anyone who lives an exemplary life, so does not exclude people from his favor based on their lineage.

Castellio’s unqualified acceptance of Job’s Edomite genealogy not only develops the line of thought that we saw in its incipient stages in Calvin and Beza, but also returns to a point made by Augustine. In the *City of God*, in a chapter entitled “Whether Before Christian Times There Were Any Outside of the Israelite Race Who Belonged to the Fellowship of the Heavenly City,” Augustine teaches that God’s favor was not limited to the Israelites. Augustine writes:

There have been certain men even of other nations who belonged, not by earthly, but heavenly fellowship, to the true Israelites, the citizens of the country that is above. Because, if they deny this, they can be most easily confuted by the case of the holy and wonderful man Job, who was neither a native nor a proselyte, that is, a stranger joining the people of Israel, but, being bred of the Idumean race, arose there and died there too, and who is so praised by the divine oracle, that no man of his times is put on a level with him as regards justice and piety... And I doubt not it was divinely provided, that from this one case we might know that among other nations also there might be men pertaining to the spiritual Jerusalem who have lived according to God and have pleased Him.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Sébastien Castellion, *Biblia Sacra Ex Sebastiani Castalionis Postrema Recognitione. Cum Annotationibus Eiusdem, & Historiæ Supplemento Ab Esdra Ad Machabæos, Indeusq[ue] Ad Christum, Ex Iosepho. Index Præterea Nouus, & Is Quidem Locupletissimus* (Basileae: Petrum Pernam, 1573), 665-66. Reprinted in Pearson, *Critici Sacri*, Vol. 3, 2886.

¹⁴² St. Augustine, *City of God and Christian Doctrine*, ed. Philip Schaff, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Series 2, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1886-90), Book 18, Ch. 47. Reprinted as part of the Christian Classics Ethereal Library (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003). "City of God and Christian Doctrine," Christian Classics Ethereal Library, <https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf102.iv.XVIII.47.html>.

Augustine allows that Edomites can belong to God's church simply by living "according to God," without a special exception or access to the Christian promise through Abraham.

The fact that Castellio would follow Augustine in his unqualified acceptance of God's salvation of Edomites is not surprising in light of his theology of toleration in other disputes. After the execution of the Spanish humanist, Michael Severtus, in Geneva in 1553, Castellio became well-known for spearheading opposition to Calvin's religious persecution.¹⁴³ Severtus advocated a nontrinitarian Christology, for which he was burned at the stake with Calvin's approval. After the execution, Castellio spoke of Calvin as a Pontius Pilate, who was guilty of shedding Severtus's innocent blood.¹⁴⁴ In defense of his actions, Calvin published a treatise entitled *A Defense of The Orthodox Faith in the Sacred Trinity* (1554),¹⁴⁵ to which Castellio responded three months later (under a pseudonym¹⁴⁶) with *Concerning Heretics, Whether They*

¹⁴³ For more on Castellio and Calvin's role in this controversy, see Stefan Zweig, *Erasmus; the Right to Heresy: Castellio against Calvin* (London: Cassell, 1951).

¹⁴⁴ Calvin wrote that he had no choice but to support Severtus's execution in order to prevent the spread of heresy. Castellio printed this passage from Calvin's work and responded (sarcastically), "The excuse of the Sorbonne!...Bring water for Calvin to wash his hands. He is innocent of his blood." "Reply to Calvin's Book in which He Endeavors to Show That Heretics Should Be Coerced by the Right of the Sword," in Sébastien Castellion and David Joris, *Concerning Heretics; Whether They Are to Be Persecuted and How They Are to Be Treated; a Collection of the Opinions of Learned Men, Both Ancient and Modern; an Anonymous Work*, ed. Roland H. Bainton (New York: Columbia UP, 1935), 285. First edition: Sebastian Castellio, *Contra Libellum Calvini in Quo Ostendere Conatur Haereticos Jure Gladii Coercendos Esse* (Amsterdam: S.I., [1612]). The edition provides the publication date as 1662, although it was written in 1562 and published in 1612. Available online at <https://archive.org/details/contralibellumca00cast>.

¹⁴⁵ Jean Calvin, *Defensio Orthodoxae Fidei De Sacra Trinitate: Co[n]tra Prodiciosos Errores Michaelis Serueti Hispani* (Genevae: Oliua Roberti Stephani, 1554).

¹⁴⁶ The supposed compiler of the treatise and author of the dedication is "Martinus Bellius." The treatise compiles writings in favor of religious toleration from both the early church fathers and sixteenth-century reformers. Castellio is likely the author of a couple of the passages attributed to pseudonyms: "On How Persecution Hurts the World" by George Kleinberg and "Refutation of the Reasons Commonly Alledged in Favor of Persecution" by Basil Montfort. Castellion and Joris, *Concerning Heretics (Bainton)*, 212-52. The only passage assigned to Castellio's own authorship is the preface to the Latin Bible dedicated to Edward VI. His preface to the Latin Bible is abridged from the preface that appears as "Sebastianus Castalio Eduardo Sexto, Angliae Regi Clariss. Salutem" in Sébastien Castellion, Frances Matthew, and Tobias Matthew, *Biblia, Interprete Sebastiane Castalione. ... Una Cum Eiusdem*

Are to Be Persecuted (1554).¹⁴⁷ In this treatise, Castellio opposes the persecution of unorthodox Christians with the same open-mindedness with which he allows that God grants grace to pious Edomites. He writes, “After a careful investigation into the meaning of the term heretic, I can discover no more than this: that we regard those as heretics with whom we disagree.”¹⁴⁸ He explains, “Men are puffed up with knowledge or with a false opinion of knowledge and look down upon others. Pride is followed by cruelty and persecution so that now scarcely anyone is able to endure another who differs at all from him.”¹⁴⁹ He rejects the boundaries that Christians erect between “us” and “them,” as if God does not love all who “live rightly.”¹⁵⁰

The parallel between Castellio’s tolerance of opposing Christian sects in *Concerning Heretics* and his inclusive attitude toward Gentiles in his commentary on Job suggests why Job’s Edomite genealogy remained a pressing issue during the Reformation. As theological disagreements spurred the proliferation of Christian sects, tensions arose between Christians and

Annotationibus (Basileae: Per Ioannem Oporinum [colophon per Iacobum Parcum, sumptibus Ioannis Oporini], 1551).

¹⁴⁷ Martinus Bellius [Sebastian Castellio], *De Haereticis, an Sint Persequendi, Et Omnino Quomodo Sit Cum Eis Agendum, Doctorum Virorum Tum Veterum, Tum Recentiorum Sententiae: Liber Hoc Tam Turbulento Tempore Pernecessarius* (Magdeburgi [i.e. Basileae]: per Georgium Rausch [i.e. Ioannem Oporinum], 1554). All quotations from are from Roland Bainton’s translation.

¹⁴⁸ Castellion and Joris, *Concerning Heretics* (Bainton), 129.

¹⁴⁹ “Dedication by Martin Bellius to Duke Christoph of Wurttemberg,” *ibid.*, 122.

¹⁵⁰ Castellio’s resistance to persecution not only looks across the boundaries of sect, but across the boundaries of religion and nation. Castellio’s *Concerning Heretics* gathers support for his argument by comparing the relationship among Christian sects in Europe with religious believers in the non-Christian, non-European world. He argues, “At Constantinople there are Turks, there are Christians, and there are also Jews, three peoples widely differing from one another in religion. Nevertheless, they live together in peace, which certainly they could not do if there were persecution. A careful investigation will reveal that persecutors have always been the cause of great troubles” (225). Setting up an analogy between Christians’ treatment of Jews and Christians’ treatment of other Christians, Castellio writes, “Paul did not desire that we despise the Jews, even though they deny and utterly detest Christ, and shall we kill those who confess Christ and interpret certain passages of Scripture differently than we do?” (236). Paul’s instructions regarding treatment of Jews is from Gal. 5:24. Castellion and Joris, *Concerning Heretics* (Bainton), 225; 236.

other Christians. The question of what to do with Christians of differing beliefs could not be avoided, and, for Castellio, Job's inclusion in God's church provided a helpful analogy. Just as God's grace had exceeded the boundaries of the house of Abraham to include all Gentiles who had "lived rightly," God's grace could save all early modern Christian, barring those who lived "unjustly." Castellio's inclusive position did not have its roots in Lutheranism or Calvinism and, in fact, requires foregoing a strict theology of original sin. Rather, his thinking developed out of Erasmian humanism, which insists on man's cooperation with divine grace in rightful living.¹⁵¹

Castellio's argument on Job's genealogy influenced a line of Erasmian thinkers in the seventeenth century. Lancelot Andrewes' sermon on Job 19:23-27 ("I know that my redeemer liveth," etc.) uses Job's descent from Esau to remind his congregants of their own distance from salvation without God's unmerited grace. When we read about Job's salvation, Andrewes explains, "It will be never the worse welcome to us that are Gentiles, that it cometh from one that is a Gentile (as Job was) and not of Jacob's line."¹⁵² Andrewes makes no attempt to erase Job's ethnic otherness in order to include him in God's church. Instead, he uses Job's case to demonstrate the limitlessness of God's grace in dealing with sinners, whosoever they may be.

In his paraphrase of Job (1679), Symon Patrick, bishop of Ely, likewise theorizes that God's church includes people liberally and across confessional boundaries. Patrick matriculated at Cambridge where he made the acquaintance of the Cambridge Platonist John Smith. Smith confirmed Patrick in his doubts about absolute predestination and "made me take the liberty to

¹⁵¹ It was this opinion that prompted Luther to accuse Erasmus of Pelagianism, and Castellio's argument, too, verges on Pelagianism since it rejects man's total depravity and allows that people can live rightly using the strength of their own consciences. For the role of free will in Luther and Erasmus, see Gordon Rupp and Philip S. Watson, *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978).

¹⁵² Lancelot Andrewes, *XVCI Sermons* (London: George Miller for Richard Badger, 1629), 424.

read such authors (which were before forbidden me) as settled me in the belief that God would really have all men to be saved.”¹⁵³ For Patrick, Job was guided by “such a rule of life in himself” that he was able to obey the divine will without being an Israelite. Calvin and Beza began by making a similar point—that God instructs men through the “immutable law of Nature, which was from the beginning written in the hearts of all men.” But whereas Calvin and Beza supplement man’s knowledge of natural law with Job’s connection to the Abrahamic line, Patrick relies entirely on natural law to explain Job’s inclusion in God’s church. According to Patrick, this “common law” was in the “public mundi, in the streets and highways of the world, in the natural Tables.”¹⁵⁴ He explains:

There is not the least syllable that we read concerning his being circumcised, or observing the Sabbath, or such like parts of the Mosaical discipline, which assures us he was neither a natural Israelite, nor a proselyte (as St. Austin speaks [Lib. XVIII. Cap. 47. De Civit. Dei]¹⁵⁵) and yet he found such a rule of life in himself, that, by the assistance of the divine grace, he ordered not only his outward actions, but the inward motions of his mind after such a manner, as is not unsuitable to the evangelical doctrine of our Savior.¹⁵⁶

Not only does Patrick attribute Job’s proto-Christianity (acting according to the “evangelical doctrine of our Savior”) to his self-governance according to natural reason, but he roots his

¹⁵³ Symon Patrick, *The Works of Symon Patrick, D.D.*, ed. Alexander Taylor, 9 vols., vol. 9 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1858), 419.

¹⁵⁴ Symon Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphrased* (London: E. Flesher, 1679), "Preface," EEBO image 11.

¹⁵⁵ This is the passage considered above, where Augustine dismisses the idea that Job was a proselyte, or Gentile converted to Judaism.

¹⁵⁶ Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphrased*, "Preface," n.p.

liberal humanism in the Greek fathers. He insists, by quoting Chrysostom, that Job's "conscience and the use of reason sufficed instead of the law."¹⁵⁷

The impulse toward inclusion in Renaissance commentary on Job's genealogy, beginning with Sebastian Castellio and reflected in the work of Lancelot Andrewes and Symon Patrick, receives its fullest expression in George Sandys's *The Paraphrases of the Divine Poems* (1638).¹⁵⁸ Knowing the development of the Esau-Gentile theory from Calvin through the late seventeenth-century illuminates Sandys's unique interpretative decisions. Sandys was an accomplished writer, respected world traveler, and active member of the Great Tew Circle, which was influenced by the theology of both Castellio and Andrewes and had a profound influence upon Symon Patrick. The Circle was an ecumenical group of clerics who gathered at the house of Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland, between approximately 1634 and 1640. As W.K. Jordan describes in *The History of Toleration*, it was the most influential force for Christian toleration in the Renaissance.¹⁵⁹ Considering the Book of Job's sympathies with

¹⁵⁷ Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphrased*, "preface," n.p. Chrysostom begins his prologue to Job: "It is worth finding out first of all when this man was born. While some commentators claim he existed before Moses and was the fifth generation from Abraham [i.e. was descended from Esau], others claim that he lived under the Law [i.e. was an Israelite]...This detail is not, you see, it is not [sic] without significance for knowing the man's virtue: for someone who benefited from Mosaic teachings to be so virtuous and admirable as to demonstrate such strength is not the same as for someone before such encouragement" (13). Chrysostom argues that Job's Edomite lineage makes him especially admirable: "Observe on your part how his ancestor Esau left him with no liability, even though he was not from the line of Abraham, or rather Jacob, even inhabiting a foreign country. Note that God sent teachers to everyone. For your part, I ask you, consider how knowledge of God from on high was clear everywhere" (13). Later in his prologue, Chrysostom elaborates on this idea that knowledge of God is "clear everywhere." He writes, "Do you see how everywhere God shows his providence for human beings?...Observe the luster of thoughts that came to him [Job] from nature. Whence came his knowledge of God? Whence his worship likewise?...He had no one from whom to learn" (15). John Chrysostom and Robert C. Hill, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on Job* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2006). Robert Hill explains, "Chrysostom and his fellow Antiochenes uphold the natural law, and so the familiarity of Job and his friends with innate but still God-given principles is axiomatic" (207, n.5).

¹⁵⁸ George Sandys, *A Paraphrase Vpon the Divine Poems* (London: John Legatt, 1638).

¹⁵⁹ W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (Gloucester, MA: P. Smith, 1965). See also John Christian Laursen and Cary J. Nederman, *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration before the Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious*

boundary crossing and inclusive grace, it is not surprising that early modern discussions of the poem would have inspired George Sandys to pen one of the greatest seventeenth-century paraphrases of Job.

The Great Tew Circle brought together many of the leading thinkers of Caroline England, including John Hales, William Chillingworth, and Thomas Hobbes. Viscount Falkland hosted the group at his home at Great Tew, whose proximity to Oxford, combined with its host's reputation for charisma and intellect, made it a center for liberal learning and conversation. Theologically, the Circle was interested in the wide reach of God's grace. Although they differed in the specifics of their confessional identities, they shared a set of ideals: "tolerance, irenicism, independence, critical reason, humanist scholarship, and active virtue."¹⁶⁰ Influenced by Richard Hooker, they put great trust in natural reason, which they believed could illuminate the most important parts of faith. In their minds, "nature's light" underlay true knowledge, and this knowledge forged the foundation of right religion and government.¹⁶¹

Falkland encouraged Sandys to write religious verse, which prompted his translation of the Psalms, published in 1636, and his subsequent translation of Job, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes,

Toleration Came to the West (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2003). When we equate the Great Tew Circle with "toleration," "rationalism," or "skepticism," we should be on guard against assuming that these terms mean roughly what they do in twenty-first century academia. It is tempting to use the Great Tew Circle as a mouthpiece for contemporary liberal ideals. Therefore, when I say that the Great Tew Circle favored "toleration," I mean that they were willing to forgo persecution of other *Christian* sects that differed in theological matters that they saw as dispensable.

¹⁶⁰ Paul G. Stanwood, "Community and Social Order in the Great Tew Circle," in *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England*, ed. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 175.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 182.

and Songs of Solomon.¹⁶² Falkland's distaste for Francis Quarles's paraphrase, *Job Militant* (1624), was probably the motivation behind Sandys's work on Job. Falkland disliked the bombastic verse that "Quarles makes God-all-mighty speak."¹⁶³ In his paraphrase, Quarles follows Calvin in making Elihu the hero and Job the blasphemer. When God asks, "Who is this that darkeneth counsel without knowledge?" in Job 38:2,¹⁶⁴ Quarles eliminates ambiguity about the addressee of God's censure by adding a marginal note: "God speaks to *Job* out of a cloud." He makes God's admonition of Job longer and more intense than other English translations:

Who, who art thou, that thus dost pry in vain
Into my secrets, hoping to attain
With murmuring, to things concealed from man?
Say (blear-eyed mortal) who art thou, that can
Thus clear thy crimes and dar'st (with vain applause)
Make me defendant in thy sinful cause?¹⁶⁵

Quarles's God seems to be chafing with anger ("Who, who art thou...?") and accuses Job of "crimes," including prying into divine secrets. In comparison to God's accusations against Job, God's rebuke of the friends is mild:

¹⁶² James Ellison, "Sandys, George (1578–1644)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24651>.

¹⁶³ Qtd. in James Ellison, *George Sandys: Travel, Colonialism, and Tolerance in the 17th Century* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002), 228. This comment appears in Falkland's untitled poem to Ben Jonson on the anniversary of the death of Henry Morison. In Falkland's commendatory poem prefaced to Sandys's paraphrase, Falkland again comments that the Book of Job has been "So soiled by some, so purified by thee," which Ellison suggests is "another dig at Quarles." The poem to Ben Jonson is published in Kurt Weber, *Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland* (New York: Columbia UP, 1940), 282.

¹⁶⁴ King James Version, Job 38:2. The Geneva Bible version is almost identical: "Who is that that darkeneth the counsel without knowledge?"

¹⁶⁵ Quarles, *Job Militant*, N4r.

Thou, Eliphaz, that mak'st my sacred word
An engine of despair (said the Lord),
Behold, full vials of my wrath attends
On thee, and on thy two too-partial friends;
For you have judged amiss, and have abused
My word to work your ends; falsely accused
My righteous servant. Of you all, there's none
Hath spoke uprightly, as my Job hath done.¹⁶⁶

According to Quarles, Job's friends have not committed crimes or pried into divine secrets. In fact, they speak God's "sacred word." Although Quarles is faithful to the Bible in increasing God's anger at this point, the friends' only problem is that they have been "too partial" and "judged amiss" when they used God's word to cause Job despair. Whereas the King James Version suggests that Job's friends have not spoken "rightly," Quarles suggests that the friends have not spoken "uprightly." The subtle substitution changes an accusation against untruthful content (speaking correctly versus incorrectly) into an accusation against proper morals (speaking with moral rectitude or without) and proper manners (speaking civilly versus uncivilly).

Quarles picks up on the part of Calvin's theology that encourages strict judgement of other Christians; when Job's friends insist that God's punishment correlates perfectly with man's sinfulness, Quarles portrays them as reasonable and theologically astute. Sandys's paraphrase of Job challenges this "wheat from the chaff" aspect of Calvinism, complicating our notion of a

¹⁶⁶ Quarles, *Job Militant*, O3v-O4r.

“standard Protestant exegesis” proceeding from Calvin’s *Sermons upon Job*. Sandys’s God favors Job for his moderation and tolerance, the virtues prized by Castellio and the Great Tew Circle. His work is notable for the strength of its iambic line and colorful imagery, which would influence later poets, including Milton.¹⁶⁷ He does not just paraphrase the King James translation, but riffs creatively upon its eloquence. For instance, when the King James Version announces God’s appearance—“Then the LORD answered Job out of the whirlwind, and said”¹⁶⁸—Sandys writes, “Then from a globe of curling clouds, which break / into a radiant flame, Jehovah spake.”¹⁶⁹ In the King James Version, God asks Job, “Wilt thou hunt the prey for the lion? or fill the appetite of the young lions, / When they couch in their dens, and abide in the covert to lie in wait?”¹⁷⁰ Sandys’s God asks:

Wilt thou for the old lion hunt? Or fill
His hungry whelps? And for the killer kill,
When couched in dreadful dens, when closely they
Lurk in the covert to surprise their prey?¹⁷¹

Sandys’s version also reflects the tensions of the impending Civil War. In the King James Version, Job cries, “God hath delivered me to the ungodly, and turned me over into the hands of the wicked.”¹⁷² Sandys’s Job cries, “God hath delivered me into their jaws / Who hunt for spoil,

¹⁶⁷ For a discussion of Sandys’s influence on Milton, see “Appendix A” in Ellison, *George Sandys*, 252-54.

¹⁶⁸ King James Version, Job 38:1.

¹⁶⁹ Sandys, *Paraphrase*, 48.

¹⁷⁰ King James Version, Job 38:39-40.

¹⁷¹ Sandys, *Paraphrase*, 50.

¹⁷² King James Version, 16:11.

and make their swords their laws.”¹⁷³ Job’s enemies are not simply the impious, but those who turn to violence in order to enforce their will.

Sandys’s paraphrase pursues the furthest implication of Calvin’s, Castellio’s, and Patrick’s arguments for an inclusive vision of God’s church.¹⁷⁴ Sandys goes beyond these arguments, delivered in the context of defending Job’s Edomite lineage, and considers the acceptability of multiple Christian theologies in God’s eyes.¹⁷⁵ The commendatory poems that preface Sandys’s paraphrase of Job suggest his cross-confessional sympathies. Their authorship spans from Henry King, bishop of London, to Francis Wyatt, colonial governor of Virginia, to George Leyburn (aka “Winter Grant”), Roman Catholic priest and chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria. In his poem, “To My Worthy Friend, Mr. George Sandys,” Leyburn describes Sandys as a muse crowned with “sacred light, which doth infuse into our souls her intellectual rays.”¹⁷⁶ Leyburn’s description of Sandys’s “sacred light,” which enters the souls of Sandys’s readers through “intellectual rays,” makes the light of faith resemble the light of natural reason. It is an apt description for the poetic endeavor of Sandys, for whom faith and reason were beneficially entangled.

Sandys’s paraphrase puts more emphasis on the characters’ diversity than their genealogy. The introduction states that Job lived “in Huz, a land which near the sun’s uprising /

¹⁷³ Sandys, *Paraphrase*, 22.

¹⁷⁴ These arguments include: Calvin’s insistence that God elects whomever he pleases (even Gentiles), Castellio’s reminder that God loves all people who live rightly, and Patrick’s belief that “nature’s light” can lead people to Christian truth.

¹⁷⁵ For Castellio, too, opening God’s church to both Jews and Gentiles was connected to the issue of opening the church to multiple sects of Christianity. See note 150, above.

¹⁷⁶ George Leyburn [aka Winter Grant], “To My Worthy Friend Mr. George Sandys,” in Sandys, *A Paraphrase*, n.p. [***r].

And northern confines of Sabaea lies.”¹⁷⁷ The eastern setting and closeness to Sabea probably means to suggest that Uz is somewhere in the Arabian peninsula, but Sandys does not identify Job as the descendant of Esau, Nahor, or Keturah. Later in the poem, he refers to Job as a “Huzite,” which simply affirms that Job is from the land of Uz.¹⁷⁸ Sandys sometimes names the friends according to their countries (“Temanian Eliphaz,”¹⁷⁹ “Bildad of Suita,”¹⁸⁰ “the Themanite”¹⁸¹), but these origins are explicitly stated within the Book of Job and Sandys’s emphasis is their diversity rather than the specifics of their ancestry. Where the King James Version has in Job 2:11, “They came every one from his own place; Eliphaz the Temanite, and Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite,” Sandys’s paraphrase reads:

Now was his [Job’s] ruin by the breath of fame
Divulg’d through all the East: when Zophar came
From pleasant Naamath; wise Eliphaz
From Theman, rich in palms, but poor in grass:
And Bildad from Suïtah’s fruitful soil;
Prais’d for the plenty of her corn and oil.
These meet from several quarters to condole
With their old friend.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Sandys, *Paraphrase*, 1.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 5.

Sandys expands on the idea of each friend coming from “his own place” in a way that portrays the scene as a meeting of people from “several quarters” differing in topography and lifestyle. In fact, Job has a history of hosting disparate guests. Sandys’s Job recalls that in the days of his prosperity, “My house to strangers open stood.”¹⁸³

Sandys’s characterization of the friends turns them into religious persecutors. As James Ellison points out in his biography of George Sandys, Sandys portrays Job as a “seeker after truth, who refuses to accept that the trite moralizations offered by the comforters as religious absolutes are a satisfactory explanation for his suffering...In Sandys’s hands the Book of Job becomes a debate between rival Renaissance philosophies, Job’s skepticism pitted against the absolutist, persecuting views of the comforters.”¹⁸⁴ The friends are convinced that their own religious uprightness is dependent upon their condemnation of the impious. They believe that they not only *should* speak to Job, but *must* correct him in order to avoid implication in what they can only assume is Job’s wretched sinfulness. Sandys’s Eliphaz begins his first speech:

O Friend, be it no breach of love, that I
With silence dare not justify a wrong.
For who in such a cause can curb his tongue?¹⁸⁵

Under the guise of “I’m just trying to help,” Eliphaz persecutes his friend, lest he seem to condone Job’s wrongdoing with his silence. Zophar also replies to Job’s complaints “with

¹⁸³ Ibid., 40. The King James Version reads, “The stranger did not lodge in the street: but I opened my doors to the traveler.” (Job 31:32).

¹⁸⁴ Ellison, *George Sandys*, 229;31.

¹⁸⁵ Sandys, *Paraphrase*, 7.

acerbity.” He argues, “Shall we guilty be of thy untruths, in not reproving thee?”¹⁸⁶ He suggests that he has an obligation to reprove Job, whose claim of innocence implicates any listener who gives “no opposition.”¹⁸⁷ In his later speech, the “incensed Nahamathite” (i.e. Zophar) explodes:

I had been silent, but thy words excite
My struggling thoughts to vindicate the wrong
Cast on our zeal by thy reproachful tongue.¹⁸⁸

Although “zeal” did not necessarily carry the negative connotation that it does today, the cumulative ardor in “incensed,” “excite,” and “zeal” suggests that Zophar is too quick to find fault. Similarly, when Elihu begins to speak, Sandys describes him as “much incensed.” Elihu cries:

My soul is rapt with fury, and my breast
Contains a flame that will not be suppressed.
My bowels boil like wine that hath no vent,
Ready to break the swelling continent.¹⁸⁹

The King James Version says that Elihu’s “wrath was kindled” and includes the image of “wine which hath no vent; it is ready to burst like new bottles.”¹⁹⁰ But to this description of pressurized bottles and kindled wrath, Sandys adds the imagery of the flame and boiling wine, making Elihu seem even more hot-headed. Sandys’s Elihu—“the zealous youth”—ends with explicitly cursing

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 15.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 15.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 26.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 40, 41.

¹⁹⁰ King James Version, Job 32:5, 19.

Job: “O Father, give his miseries no end / While he shall his impiety defend!”¹⁹¹ In the King James Version, Elihu merely states, “My desire is that Job may be tried unto the end because of his answers for wicked men.”¹⁹²

While Sandys’s Eliphaz, Bildad, Zophar, and Elihu are more vehement than their King James Version counterparts, Sandys’s Job is more moderate. Sandys portrays Job’s complaints as the expected consequence of extreme suffering. At the end of chapter two, Job sits in silence with his friends for seven days and night, and, at the beginning of chapter three, the King James Version reports, “After this opened Job his mouth.” To ease this abrupt transition, Sandys adds, “He, when excess of sorry had given way to the relief of words, thus cursed his day.”¹⁹³ Rather than depicting Job’s silence as an expression of piety and his complaints as disobedience, Sandys suggests that Job’s silence was a reaction to trauma and his curses were the beginning of healing, a “relief of words.” In contrast to his friends, who feel an obligation to persecute Job for his sinfulness in order to defend their purity of faith, Job does not contribute to the suffering of those who oppose him. He asks rhetorically:

Have I with joy beheld my ruin’d foe?

Have I exulted in his overthrow?

Or in the tempest of my passion burst

Into offenses and his issue cursed?¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Sandys, *Paraphrase*, 44.

¹⁹² King James Version, Job 34:36.

¹⁹³ Sandys, *Paraphrase*, 5.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

The verse in the King James Version is similar; Job states that he never “rejoiced at the destruction of him that hated me, or lifted up myself when evil found him: / Neither have I suffered my mouth to sin by wishing a curse to his soul.”¹⁹⁵ But Sandys adds the imagery of “the tempest of my passion,” reminding us of the contrast between moderate Job and his “incensed” friends.

Sandys also makes Job more moderate by mitigating his complaints. Amidst Job’s anguished cries, Sandys adds admiration—“What wonders are effected by His might! / O how inscrutable! how infinite!”—and humility—“Shall I, a worm, my cause defend?”¹⁹⁶ His Job has not given up on God’s fatherly nature: he scarcely can believe the longevity of his misfortune because “I know thou can’st not thy old Love forget.”¹⁹⁷ Moreover, when Job is cataloguing his pious occupations in his former state of prosperity (protector of the fatherless, the widowed, the poor), he portrays himself as a seeker of knowledge. He recalls, “I searched what from my knowledge was concealed / And clouded Truth by her own light reveal’d.” There is no equivalent verse in the King James Version to suggest Job’s role in uncovering “clouded Truth” by nature’s light. The presence of “knowledge seeker” among other pious vocations reflects Sandys’s own sense that piety goes hand in hand with knowledge. Whereas the friends zealously defend their “doctrine pure,” Sandys’s Job uses the light of reason to uncover truth.

At the end of Sandys’s paraphrase, God initially addresses Job instead of Elihu (the way that Calvin felt the story should be told), but the friends receive the brunt of God’s anger. Rather than accusing Job of a lack of knowledge, Sandys’s God asks, “What mortal thus through

¹⁹⁵ King James Version, Job 31:29-30.

¹⁹⁶ Sandys, *Paraphrase*, 13.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

ignorance profanes / My darkened counsels? Of his God complains?"¹⁹⁸ Sandys's sense that Job has made a mistake due to "ignorance" rather than a deliberate error becomes clear in God's chastisement of Job's friends. Sandys's God says to Eliphaz and his "two associates":

My anger burns, and hastens to your fates,
Since you, unlike my servant Job, have err'd,
And victory before the Truth preferred.¹⁹⁹

The friends, unlike Job, have "err'd." They deliberately scorned the "Truth" for the sake of self-aggrandizement. In this ending, then, Sandys advocates for Job's moderate Calvinism over his friends' splitting of hairs. This pro-moderation argument is contrary to what we usually associate with "Calvinism," by which we mean the reformed orthodoxy developed among theologians like Broughton and Quarles and maintained in the theology of the American separatists. Instead, Sandys' Calvinism picks up on the other side of Calvin's defense of the Esau-Gentile theory, an argument that (hesitantly) extended the boundaries of God's Church. It was this argument in defense of elect Gentiles that prompted Castellio, Andrewes, and Patrick to imagine a Church of both Gentiles and Jews, even in the Old Testament, and underlay the tolerant worldview of the Great Tew Circle.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 48.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 54.

Works Cited

- Abbot, George. *The Whole Booke of Job Paraphrased or, Made Easie for Any to Understand*. London: Edward Griffin for Henry Overton, 1640.
- Andrewes, Lancelot. *XVCI Sermons*. London: George Miller for Richard Badger, 1629.
- Augustine, St. "City of God and Christian Doctrine." Christian Classics Ethereal Library, <https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf102.iv.XVIII.47.html>.
- . *City of God and Christian Doctrine*. A Select Library of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Series 2, Vol. 2. Edited by Philip Schaff. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1886-90.
- Battles, Ford Lewis. "God Was Accommodating Himself to Human Capacity." In *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism*, edited by Richard C. Gamble, 13-32. New York: Garland, 1992.
- Bellius [Sebastian Castellio], Martinus. *De Haereticis, an Sint Persequendi, Et Omnino Quomodo Sit Cum Eis Agendum, Doctorum Virorum Tum Veterum, Tum Recentiorum Sententiae: Liber Hoc Tam Turbulento Tempore Pernecessarius*. Magdeburgi [i.e. Basileae]: per Georgium Rausch [i.e. Ioannem Oporinum], 1554.
- Best, George. *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie*. London: Henry Bynnyman, 1578.
- Bèze, Théodore de. *Job Expounded by Theodore Beza, Partly in Manner of a Commentary, Partly in Manner of a Paraphrase. Faithfully Translated out of Latine into English*. London: John Legatt, 1589.
- Britton, Dennis Austin. *Becoming Christian: Race, Reformation, and Early Modern English Romance*. New York: Fordham UP, 2014.
- Broughton, Hugh. *A Conccent of Scripture*. London: For Gabriell Simson and William White, 1588.
- . *A Conccent of Scripture*. London: Richard Watkins for Gabriell Simson and William White, 1590.
- . *A Defence of the Booke Entitled a Co[N]Cent of Scripture*. Middelburg: Richard Schilders, 1609.
- . *Job. To the King. A Colon-Agrippina Studie of One Moneth, for the Metricall Translation: But of Many Yeres for Ebrew Difficulties*. Amsterdam: Giles Thorp, 1610.
- Calvin, Jean. *Defensio Orthodoxae Fidei De Sacra Trinitate: Co[n]tra Prodiciosos Errores Michaelis Serueti Histpani*. [in Latin] Genevae: Oliua Roberti Stephani, 1554.

- . *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Christian Classics Ethereal Library. <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/institutes.i.html>
- . *Sermons De M. Jean Calvin Sur Le Livre De Job. Recueillis Fidèlement De Sa Bouche Selon Qu'il Les Preschoit. In Fine : Achevé D'imprimer Par Jean De Laon L'an Mdlxiii Le Premier Jour De Juin*. [in French, Middle] Genève: Jean de Laon, 1563.
- . *Sermons of Master Iohn Calvin, Vpon the Booke of Iob*. [in English] Translated by Arthur Golding. London: Lucas Harison and George Byshop, 1574.
- Caryl, Joseph. *An Exposition with Practical Observations Upon the Three First Chapters of the Book of Iob Delivered in XXI Lectures* 10 vols. Vol. 1, London: G. Miller, 1643.
- Castellio, Sebastian. *Contra Libellum Calvini in Quo Ostendere Conatur Haereticos Jure Gladii Coercendos Esse*. Amsterdam: S.I., [1612].
- Castellion, Sébastien. *Biblia Sacra Ex Sebastiani Castalionis Postrema Recognitione. Cum Annotationibus Eiusdem, & Historiæ Supplemento Ab Esdra Ad Machabæos, Indeusq[ue] Ad Christum, Ex Iosepho. Index Præterea Nouus, & Is Quidem Locupletissimus*. [in Latin] Basileae: Petrum Pernam, 1573.
- Castellion, Sébastien, and David Joris. *Concerning Heretics; Whether They Are to Be Persecuted and How They Are to Be Treated; a Collection of the Opinions of Learned Men, Both Ancient and Modern; an Anonymous Work*. Edited by Roland H. Bainton. New York: Columbia UP, 1935.
- Castellion, Sébastien, Frances Matthew, and Tobias Matthew. *Biblia, Interprete Sebastiane Castalione. ... Una Cum Eiusdem Annotationibus*. [in English] Basileae: Per Ioannem Oporinum [colophon per Iacobum Parcum, sumptibus Ioannis Oporini], 1551.
- Chrysostom, John, and Robert C. Hill. *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on Job*. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2006.
- Clark, William. *The Grand Tryal, or, Poetical Exercitations Upon the Book of Job*. Edinburgh: Printed by the heir of Andrew Anderson, 1685.
- Codurc, Philip. *Libri Job Versio Nova Ex Hebraeo Cum Scholiis* Paris: Savreux, 1651.
- Dekker, Harold. "Introduction." In *Sermons from Job by John Calvin*, edited by Leroy Nixon, ix-xxxvii. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1952
- Downname, John. *Annotations Upon All the Books of the Old and New Testament: Wherein the Text Is Explained, Doubts Resolved, Scriptures Paralleled and Various Readings Observed*. London: John Legatt and John Raworth, 1645.
- Drusius, Joannes. *Joh. Drusii Nova Versio Et Scholia in Jobum, Conscripta Auspiciis & Sumptibus Ill. Præpotentumque Ordd. Generalium Provinciarum Foederatarum*. [in Latin; passages in Greek and Hebrew] Amstelodami: Joh. Janssonii, 1636.

- Eliav-Feldon, Miriam, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler. "Introduction." In *The Origins of Racism in the West*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2009
- Ellison, James. *George Sandys: Travel, Colonialism, and Tolerance in the 17th Century*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002.
- . "Sandys, George (1578–1644)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24651>.
- Gregory, St. *Morals on the Book of Job: In Three Volumes*. Oxford; London: John Henry Parker; J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850.
- Guibbory, Achsah. *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in Seventeenth-Century England*. [in English] Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2010.
- Hales, John. "Mr. Hale's Letters from the Synod of Dort to the Right Honorable Sir Dudley Carlton, Lord Ambassador, Etc.". In *Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable John Hales*, edited by Peter Gunning and John Pearson, 19-20. London: Thomas Newcomb for Robert Pawlet, 1673
- Hannaford, Ivan. *Race: The History of an Idea in the West*. Washington, D.C.; Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Johns Hopkins UP, 1996.
- Heng, Geraldine. *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*. New York: Columbia UP, 2003.
- Hutcheson, George. *An Exposition of the Book of Job: Being the Sum of CCCXVI Lectures*. London: R. Smith, 1669.
- Jordan, W. K. *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*. Gloucester, MA: P. Smith, 1965.
- King James I. *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New*. London: Robert Barker, 1611.
- Laursen, John Christian, and Cary J. Nederman. *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration before the Enlightenment*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.
- Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer. *Milton's Brief Epic; the Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained*. Providence: Brown UP, 1966.
- Lewin, Thomas Herbert. *The Life and Epistles of St Paul, Vol. 2*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1878.
- Loomba, Ania, and Jonathan Burton. *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

- Lyra, Nicholas of, Walafridus Strabus, and Paul of Burgos. *Bibliorum Sacrorum Cum Glossa Ordinaria Iam Ante Quidem a Strabo Fulgensi Collecta...Et Postilla Nicolai Lyrani, Tomus Tertius*. Venice: s.n., 1603.
- Maimonides, Moses. *The Guide for the Perplexed*. Edited by M. Friedländer. London; New York: George Routledge & Sons; E.P. Dutton & Co., 1904.
- Martin, Gregory, William Allen, and Laurence Kellam. *The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English, out of the Authentical Latin : Diligently Conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and Other Editions in Divers Languages: With Arguments of the Bookes, and Chapters, Annotations, Tables and Other Helpes, for Better Understanding of the Text : For Discoverie of Corruptions in Some Late Translations, and for Clearing Controversies in Religion*. Doway: Laurence Kellam, 1609.
- Mather, Increase. *The Order of the Gospel: Professed and Practised by the Churches of Christ in New-England, Justified by the Scripture, and by Writings of Many Learned Men, Both Ancient and Modern Divines*. Boston: B. Green & J. Allen, for Nicholas Buttolph, 1700.
- Mcfarlane, Kirsten. "'Cleareness and Safety of Religion Cannot Stand without Knowledge in Genealogies:' Hugh Broughton and the King James Bible Genealogies, 1588-1592." Oxford, 2016.
- Münster, Sebastian. *Hebraica Biblia: Latina Planeque Nova Sebast. Munsteri Tralatione, Post Omneis Omnium Hactenus Ubivis Gentium Aeditiones Evulgata, & Quoad Fieri Potuit, Hebraicae Veritati Conformata: Adiectis Insuper E Rabinorum Co[M]mentariis Annotationibus ...Veteris Instrumenti Tomus Secundus, Prophetarum Oracula Atque Hagiographa Continens...* [in Hebrew and Latin] Basileae: Isengrin et Petri, 1535.
- Nirenberg, David. "Was There Race before Modernity? The Example of Jewish Blood in Late Medieval Spain." In *The Origins of Racism in the West*, edited by Benjamin Isaac Miriam Eliav-Feldon, and Joseph Ziegler, 232-64. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2009
- Parker, Matthew, and Richard Jugge. *The Holie Bible: Conteyning the Olde Testament and the Newe*. London: Richard Iugge, 1568.
- Patrick, Symon. *The Book of Job Paraphrased*. London: E. Flesher, 1679.
- . *The Works of Symon Patrick, D.D.* Edited by Alexander Taylor. 9 vols. Vol. 9, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1858.
- Pearson, John. *Critici Sacri, Vol. 3*. Londini; Oxonii; Cantabrigiæ: Jacobus Flesher; Thomam Robinson ; Guilielmum Morden, 1660.
- Pro-Chia Hsia, Ronnie. "Religion and Race: Protestant and Catholic Discourses on Jewish Conversion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *The Origins of Racism in the West*, edited by Miriam Eliav-Feldon; Benjamin Isaac; and Joseph Ziegler, 265-75. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2009

- Quarles, Francis. *Job Militant: With Meditations Diuine and Morall*. London: Felix Kyngston for George Winder, 1624.
- Rupp, Gordon, and Philip S. Watson. *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*. [in English] Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978.
- Sandys, George. *A Paraphrase Vpon the Divine Poems*. London: John Legatt, 1638.
- Schreiner, Susan Elizabeth. *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found?: Calvin's Exegesis of Job from Medieval and Modern Perspectives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Speed, John. *The Genealogies of the Scripture According to Every Family and Tribe*. London: J. Beale, 1610.
- Spurgeon, Charles Haddon. *The Treasury of David: Containing an Original Exposition of the Book of Psalms*. Toronto; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1892.
- Stanwood, Paul G. "Community and Social Order in the Great Tew Circle." In *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England*, edited by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth, 173-86. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000
- Weber, Kurt. *Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland*. New York: Columbia UP, 1940.
- Whittingham, William. *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament*. Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1560.
- Zagorin, Perez. *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2003.
- Zweig, Stefan. *Erasmus; the Right to Heresy: Castellio against Calvin*. London: Cassell, 1951.

Chapter 3: Justifying God

Job's unspecified lineage presented only one of many occasions in the Book of Job for early modern theologians to contemplate God's relationship to the "insiders" and "outsiders" of his church. Calvin's teachings on double predestination (God's assignment of people to salvation or reprobation before the fall) raised pressing questions about who is elect, why the elect are so often made to suffer, and how this system of inclusion/exclusion accords with divine justice. Out of all the writers who used the Book of Job to explore God's justice during the early modern period, John Milton is the one who continues to occupy a prominent position in contemporary conversations on the topic. A couple of factors explain Milton's continued presence in this discourse. First, in contemporary theological circles, the Book of Job has become closely associated with theodicy, or the process of justifying God given the existence of suffering.¹ Although Job's name never actually appears in *Paradise Lost*, Milton's claim to "justify the ways of God" aligns his interests with those of post-enlightenment theologians. In fact, *Paradise Lost* and Job are so closely associated that Samuel Terrien's preface to Job in the *Interpreter's Bible* (1954), begins by suggesting that the author of Job meant to "assert eternal Providence / And justify the ways of God to men."² Second, Milton may be associated with Job in the minds of literary scholars because of Barbara Lewalski's *Milton's Brief Epic* (1966). Lewalski traces

¹ The association between "theodicy" and "Job" is so close that the Wikipedia page on "theodicy" has a section dedicated to the Book of Job. Wikipedia states that, when it comes to "Biblical theodicy," "the Book of Job is often quoted as the authoritative source of discussion." *Wikipedia*, "Theodicy," <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodicy>.

This does not mean that all theologians read the Book of Job as offering a theodicy. In fact, the book is a ground for debate between theodicists, who try to rationalize God, and anti-theodicists, who avoid the question because God and God's justice can't be rationalized. But even "anti-theodicists" are working against the category of "theodicy" that developed during the enlightenment. Jason Mahn, "Between Presence and Explanation: Thinking through Suffering with Thomas Long," *Theology Today* (2012): 225-30.

² Samuel Terrien, "Introduction and Exegesis [to Job]," in *The Interpreter's Bible 3*, ed. George Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954), 875-907, on 877.

the “heroic Job” tradition (see chapter 1) and how this tradition influences the form and content of *Paradise Regained*.³ Milton, she writes, “could readily adopt the ‘epic’ view of the Book of Job since, as the Job references in his prose tracts indicate, he seems to have accepted the ‘heroic’ interpretation of Job as a sinless, perfect hero overcoming all temptation.”⁴ Considering Lewalski’s influence in literary circles and the widespread association between theodicy, Job, and *Paradise Lost* in theological circles, there is no need to argue that Job played an important role in Milton’s work and thought.

But a question remains: *why* was Job such an important text for Milton, to the extent that this Old Testament book provides the thematic focus not only of *Paradise Regained*, but of *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes* as well? Job was not, as I shall argue, already synonymous with theodicy in the early modern period, nor was the patristic “heroic Job” tradition trending in the seventeenth century. When Lewalski describes how Milton uses the “heroic Job” tradition, she underemphasizes how unusual this interpretative choice was for a seventeenth-century Protestant. After all, the Protestant interpretation of Job underscored Job’s fallenness rather than his perfection. Milton’s subscription to patristic tradition was not a matter of rehearsing the dominant exegetical tradition of his day, nor, as we shall see, was it a critique of (or ignorance of) the Protestant tradition. This chapter aims to explain why Job was important to Milton, highlighting the intentionality and originality with which Milton adapts the “heroic Job” tradition to his particular theology. In order to get to this point—the point at which it is clear why Job, of

³ Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic; the Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained* (Providence: Brown UP, 1966).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 103. Lewalski argues for classifying *Paradise Regained* as a “brief epic”—Milton’s own label for the genre of Job—in order to understand its preoccupation with man’s heroic victory over sin. Milton refers to Job as a “brief epic” in *The Reason for Church Government* (1642). Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic*, 8.

all possible books, became the lynchpin of Milton's theology—the first half of our study examines three other early modern theodicies, tracing how Job emerges as a key to justifying the ways of God to man. As this brief history will demonstrate, Job was invoked by early modern theologians on both sides of a heated debate about God's justice. Calvin used the story of Job to establish God's absolute sovereignty, which puts all his actions (even those that seem cruel to us) within his rightful power. Calvin's theological opponents employed Job to make the opposite point, namely that Job's trial (by virtue of being a trial rather than a determined course of events) establishes man's free will and God's willingness to share his power with mankind. It is this anti-Calvinist way of reading Job, which gained momentum throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that situates Milton's use of Job in his *magna opera* to develop the early modern period's most radical and robust theodicy.

John Calvin's Theodicy

The term “theodicy,” from *theos* (God) and *dike* (justice), refers to the vindication of God in light of the existence of evil. Syntactically, a theologian could say that the Book of Job raises questions about “theodicy,” meaning the general work of justifying God, or that Job illuminates a particular “theodicy,” meaning one specific theory of God's justification.⁵ The aim of theodicy is philosophical; it attempts to account for an observable phenomenon (the existence of evil, which, in Job's case, takes the form of innocent suffering⁶) by doing an analysis of God's attributes (his

⁵ We can refer to *a* theodicy, which is a particular theory for justifying God, or theodicy, which is the justification of God. The OED defines theodicy as “The, or a, vindication of the divine attributes, esp. justice and holiness, in respect to the existence of evil; a writing, doctrine, or theory intended to ‘justify the ways of God to men’.” The listing of “the” or “a” differentiates these two overlapping meanings. OED, “theodicy,” <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/200356?redirectedFrom=theodicy#eid>.

⁶ Dennis Danielson's explanation of theodicy succinctly clarifies the three forms that “evil” can take. There is natural evil (sickness, famine, natural disaster), moral evil (wrong that happens due to the actions of a rational agent), and metaphysical evil (the fact of being inferior or lacking in the goodness that belongs to an adjacent being on the Great Chain of Being). Theodicy is most concerned with moral evil (although Job's story also features natural evil). Theodicy also assumes that the moral categories of “good” and “evil” can be applied to God, which means that

power and goodness). For instance, a theologian might posit that God does not want innocent people to suffer, but has chosen to give up his power to stop it. This theodicy preserves God's goodness, but reconstitutes his power.⁷ Another theologian might argue that God has a reason for making innocent people suffer, even though he could stop suffering if he wanted. This theodicy preserves God's power, but challenges the notion that God is "good" in the way that we define goodness.

To some extent, applying the word "theodicy" to justifications of God in the early modern period is anachronistic. The term was coined by Gottfried Leibniz in 1718 and arose in an environment of Enlightenment skepticism.⁸ But explorations of God's justice were underway long before the eighteenth century, both in the Book of Job itself and in readings of Job.⁹ In his *Commentary on Job*, Thomas Aquinas admits that Job's suffering resists our efforts to make sense of God's operation in the world. Sometimes, Thomas confesses, divine providence does not seem to govern Job's affairs; instead, chance seems to toss him about. Thomas explains:

we can speak of God as being "good." Dennis Richard Danielson, *Milton's Good God: A Study in Literary Theodicy* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge UP, 1982), 3-4.

⁷ The idea of God's power being "reconstituted" (rather than "restricted" or "reduced") is an important aspect of this type of theodicy. To understand the type of "power" that God has in this goodness-oriented theodicy, we might contrast two different father figures. An authoritarian father might use his power to force his will upon his children and demand their obedience. A different father might share his power with his children (which means giving them the freedom to make mistakes) because he loves them and wants to earn their love and respect in return. This loving father does not have less power than the authoritarian one; rather, the loving father has chosen to "reconstitute," or give a different shape to, his power.

⁸ Referring to early modern justifications of God as "theodicy" is useful shorthand, but I do not mean to overlook the differences between post-enlightenment theodicy and early modern. The effort of justifying God would come to be associated with the question, "Is God just?," a yes-no question that implies that God could be unjust. In the early modern period, this idea was a logical fallacy. Because God had infinite power, everything that he chose to do was right, and hence just. Theodicies in the early modern period aimed to answer the question, "How is God just?" They started with the assumption that God is just and worked to explain it.

⁹ My focus in this chapter is how writers in the early modern period used the Book of Job as an occasion to expound their theodicies. But the characters within the Book of Job also have theodicies, and the author(s) of the Book of Job may have written the story to outline a theodicy. Therefore, I want to acknowledge that we could talk about the theodicies *in* Job, in addition to the multitude of theodicies that have arisen *around* Job.

The affliction of just men is what seems especially to impugn divine providence in human affairs. For although it seems irrational and contrary at first glance that good things sometimes happen to evil men, nevertheless this can be excused in one way or another by divine compassion. But that the just are afflicted without cause seems to undermine totally the foundations of providence. Thus the varied and grave afflictions of a specific just man called Job, perfect in every virtue, are proposed as a kind of theme for the question intended for discussion [i.e. “that human affairs are ruled by divine providence”].¹⁰

The problem that Thomas outlines resembles that of contemporary theodicy. Based on our understanding of God, God’s providence should prevent bad things from happening to good people. But our experience in the world does not match the God that we have conceptualized. When we see the affliction of just men, we are tempted to think that everything happens by chance, a notion that Thomas tries to disprove using the Book of Job.

Although a history of theodicy in the Book of Job could begin long before the sixteenth-century (as the aforementioned passage from Thomas’s commentary suggests), Calvin initiated a conversation about the Book of Job that changed the nature of theodicy thenceforth. It was not coincidental that Calvin’s revision of theodicy happened alongside his overhaul of soteriology; his groundbreaking defense of God’s justice became necessary to address concerns surrounding double predestinarianism.¹¹ In Calvinist double predestinarianism, the stance that dominates in

¹⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Book of Job*, trans. Brian Thomas Becket Mullady, Old Testament Commentaries 32: Latin/English Edition of the Works of St. Thomas Aquinas (Lander, Wyoming: Aquinas Institute for the Study of Sacred Doctrine, 2016), 8.

¹¹ As Debora Shuger explains, “Predestination moved front and center during the second half of the sixteenth century because it was over this issue that Protestant unity fractured into hostile Lutheran and Reformed blocs.”

English reformed theology, a man is predestined either for salvation or damnation independently of his actions or deserving. If he is chosen to receive grace, this grace is irresistible; he is not able to lose or reject it. As Calvin explains in *The Institutes*, “God not only offers salvation, but so assigns it, that the certainty of the result remains not dubious or suspended.”¹² Once God “assigns” someone to election (or, inversely, damnation), this assignment is guaranteed and cannot be “suspended” for any reason.

This double predestinarianism (“double” because God actively elects *and* damns people) poses a theodicy problem that Calvin addresses using the Book of Job.¹³ The problem is reconciling what we would consider “good” with the idea of a God who predestines hordes of people to eternal damnation, giving them no chance to prove themselves or resist. If God has infinite grace and chooses to withhold it from some people, it seems that God is responsible for the shortcoming on account of which they are damned. And if God is the cause of a large number of people’s damnation, then God does not seem good, at least according to human standards. Calvin answers this accusation against God’s goodness in *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* by focusing on the way in which God is the “cause” of evil in the Book of Job.¹⁴ Although God

"William Perkins" in Ethan H. Shagan and Debora K. Shuger, *Religion in Tudor England: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Waco, TX: Baylor UP, 2016), 288.

¹² Jean Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, (Christian Classics Ethereal Library), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/institutes.i.html>. Book 3, chapter 21, sect. 7.

¹³ The difficulty with theodicy (which is sometimes called the “theodicy problem”) is that it is never “solved.” Changing one’s model—one’s explanation of the relationship between God’s power and justice to aid human understanding—does not, of course, change the way that God operates. Therefore, when a theologian like Calvin creates a theodicy, “solving” the problem is merely a matter of accommodating an inscrutable aspect of the divine nature to human understanding.

¹⁴ Calvin, *Institutes*, Book 2, Chapter 4, sect. 1. Calvin distinguishes between God’s universal agency, which “sustains all the creatures” and “gives them all their power of acting,” and God’s special agency, which is apparent in each individual act. This distinction creates a buffer between God and individual sinful acts, while still allowing God to be the ultimate cause of all things. The language is confusing because God’s special agency is described as “apparent in every act,” which makes it sound like his universal will. But, by “every,” the translator means “each.”

is the *general* cause of all things (including Job’s affliction and reprobates’ damnation), God is not the *direct* cause of bad things.¹⁵ Job demonstrates how God could be the general cause of evil’s existence, and yet not be the “author of crime,” when He causes evil through the “agency of Satan.”¹⁶ When the Chaldeans steal Job’s camels in Job 1:17, it is fair to ask who is responsible. Calvin’s answer is God—and Satan and the Chaldeans. As Calvin explains, the Chaldeans themselves perform the act, Satan is the direct cause of their sinfulness, and God is the general cause of the trial of Job. Anticipating his readers’ objections, Calvin asks, “How can we attribute the same work to God, to Satan, and to man, without either excusing Satan by the interference of God, or making God the author of the crime?” He says the explanation is “easily done” if we consider the Chaldeans’, Satan’s, and God’s different motivations for acting. God

(For the overlap between “each” and “every,” see the explanation of “every” in the OED, I.1.) Thus, God’s special agency is that which is apparent in a single and individual act.

¹⁵ This distinction between God-as-general-cause and God-as-direct-cause hinges on a complex understanding of “cause,” which Calvin inherited from Aristotelian philosophy via medieval theology. In the medieval period, Aristotelian causality was the dominating principle. According to Aristotle, a thing could have four causes, including its “efficient cause,” the agent that produced the thing, and its “final cause,” the purpose for which the thing was produced. Although different medieval theologians (Aquinas, Scotus, Ockham, etc.) had different ways of conceiving of the relationship between final and efficient causes, they generally imagined God’s will as both the final and efficient causes of all things. God’s will is the reason that things are done (their final cause) and the impetus for their coming to be (their efficient cause). Sometimes, God (as efficient cause) works through intermediary efficient causes. For instance, God’s will could be the principle efficient cause of, say, constructing a church, but man’s labor would be the secondary efficient cause. The Douay-Rheims Bible’s annotation of Job 1:3 maintains these definitions. It addresses the question of whether God is the cause of all man’s actions. When Job is called “simple, right, and fearing God,” is he to be credited for his good works? The Douay-Rheims Bible answers that God is “the principal cause efficient of all good men’s works, and men the secondary cause of the same.” Gregory Martin, William Allen, and Laurence Kellam, *The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English, out of the Authentical Latin : Diligently Conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and Other Editions in Divers Languages: With Arguments of the Bookes, and Chapters, Annotations, Tables and Other Helpes, for Better Understanding of the Text : For Discoverie of Corruptions in Some Late Translations, and for Clearing Controversies in Religion* (Doway: Laurence Kellam, 1609), 1082.

Although Calvin does not use the exact language of primary and secondary efficient causes in his answer to why God causes suffering, his idea of “universal agency” and “special agency” proceeds from this framework. According to Calvin, God’s absolute decree is the universal-efficient cause that permits evil to happen but not the special-efficient cause.

¹⁶ Calvin explains, “Those whom the Lord favors not with the direction of his Spirit, he, by a righteous judgment, consigns to the agency of Satan.” Calvin, *Institutes*, Book 2, Chapter 4, 1.

does not want the Chaldeans to get rich from plundering or Satan to get pleasure from Job's suffering, but God *does* want to test Job's patience, which he accomplishes through wicked agents. Job's suffering—far from an unintended side effect of God's plan or an accidental outbreak of chaos when God turns his back—is the very means by which God accomplishes his will. As Theodore Beza (Calvin's close colleague) says in *Job Expounded*, "God, whether he use good or bad instruments, always dealeth justly."¹⁷

Despite Calvin's efforts to exonerate God from direct responsibility for sin by making the distinction between "God as general cause" and "God as direct cause," Calvin would rather err on the side of preserving God's absolute power (and risk making God appear *too* involved in evil) than to reduce God to a distant first mover. Sometimes, Calvin warns, we may be tempted to strip God of his infinite power by assigning responsibility for evil to Satan or fallen humanity. Instead, we should acknowledge that God has the power to act as he wishes, even if his will seems unjust from our human perspective. Although Satan may be the principle agent, Calvin reminds us in *The Institutes*, Satan "is completely under the command of God, who turns him as he will in the execution of his just judgments."¹⁸

Calvin's use of Job in *The Institutes* to demonstrate God's involvement in affliction anticipates the major theme of Calvin's *Sermons Upon Job* (delivered 1554-1555; first published in English 1574). Calvin knows Christians are likely to read Job's story and conclude that Satan is responsible for Job's suffering. After all, according to Job 1:12, "The Lord said unto Satan, Behold, all that he hath is in thy power," and, again in Job 2:6, "Behold, he is in thine hand."

¹⁷ Théodore de Bèze, *Job Expounded by Theodore Beza, Partly in Manner of a Commentary, Partly in Manner of a Paraphrase. Faithfully Translated out of Latine into English* (London: John Legatt, 1589), D1r, EEBO image 25.

¹⁸ Calvin, *Institutes*, Book 2, Chapter 4, 2.

But, although God gives Satan some power over Job, Calvin reminds us, “Afflictions come of God’s determinate forepurpose and not of Satan’s instigation.”¹⁹ God not only *can* cause us to suffer, but often wants to do so. God gives Job to Satan because God has a plan that requires Job to suffer. The fact that Calvin does not distinguish between general and direct agency in his Job sermons—instead speaking in broad strokes about God as the “cause” of suffering—is telling; again, Calvin would rather make God *too* involved in suffering (making him seem like both general and direct cause) than not involved enough (making him seem like neither the general nor the direct cause).

When we suspect that God is unjust, the problem, Calvin insists, is our understanding rather than God’s justice. For Calvin, God’s absolute sovereignty means that he is always right, and hence just, regardless of what he ordains.²⁰ Calvin’s Job sermons focus on God’s sovereignty as the justification for all of his acts. Again, although many of God’s acts seem unjust from a human perspective, God’s infinite power means that his actions define justice, not

¹⁹ Jean Calvin, *Sermons of Master Iohn Calvin, Vpon the Booke of Iob*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: Lucas Harison and George Byshop, 1574), Index, “Afflictions,” n.p.

²⁰ Calvin’s sense that God’s power justifies all of his actions is indebted to the theological voluntarism of medieval theologians like John Duns Scotus and William of Ockham. Voluntarism equates “goodness” with “whatever God wills,” which means that God is “good” by definition only. Technically, Calvin distinguishes his own theology from fourteenth-century voluntarism. Calvin objected to the voluntarists’ emphasis on God’s “absolute power” (what God is able to do) instead of God’s “ordained power” (what God chooses to do) because Calvin did not believe that God’s justice works amorally. Calvin writes, “What the Sorbonne doctors say, that God has an absolute power, is a diabolical blasphemy invented in hell.” Instead, Calvin believed that God’s justice always operates in keeping with his goodness, but this goodness is outside of our understanding. [Paolo de Petris, “Calvin’s ‘Theodicy’ in His Sermons on Job and the Hiddenness of God” (McGill University, 2008), 181-88. (The quotation from Calvin appears on page 188.) Cited from Jean Calvin, *Ionnis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*, ed. Wilhelm Baum, Edward Cunitz, and Edward Reuss (Brunsvigae: Schwetschke, 1863-1900), 339-40.] Although Calvin separates his theology from the voluntarists, they end up being very similar. After all, there is little difference between a God whose power gives him complete freedom to act and a God whose power gives him complete freedom to act according to the inscrutable dictates of goodness that he defines. As Danielson writes, “By placing the reason for God’s will quite beyond human ken, Calvin ends up being a voluntarist in practice if not in theory.” Danielson, *Milton’s Good God*, 70.

the other way around. Calvin's first sermon on Job explains why God's sovereignty undermines man's complaints against his justice. Calvin writes:

Even if it shall please Him to raise His hand against us, though we may not perceive for what cause He does it, nevertheless we should glorify Him always, confessing that He is just and equitable, that we should not murmur against Him, that we should not enter into dispute, knowing that if we struggle against Him, we shall be conquered. This, then, in brief, is what we have to remember from the story, that is, that God hath such a sovereignty over His creatures as He can dispose of them at His pleasure.²¹

The lesson here is simple: God can hurt us "at His pleasure." As God wields his rightful power, our proper response is to "glorify him always," not question the justice of what he ordains.

Calvin's justification of God operates according to the analytic categories typical of contemporary theodicy. He preserves God's power, but questions the univocity of calling God "good," that is, the extent to which our word "good" applies to God's goodness.

Theodore Beza, who wrote his own commentary on Job in the Calvinist tradition, subscribes to the same theodicy, which emphasizes God's power rather than his goodness. He explains:

This seemeth to be very hard dealing, and far from that equity and justice which is in God, that He for the trial of one man, namely Job, should give so many men into the hands of Satan, together with herds of beasts and cattle, to be slain in so pitiful a manner, who otherwise are not charged with any fault or offence by them

²¹ Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 1.

committed: which thing surely no man, unless he were altogether savage and had cast of all humanity, would ever have done. Against this objection, let us oppose these two most unfallible grounds: the one, that the mighty power of God the Creator, whereby he alone doeth rule all things which he hath made, is not contained within any bounds and limits; the other, that this will of God, by the which he decreeth, determineth, and ordaineth all things after his own pleasure, doeth not depend upon any other beside himself, and therefore is always most righteous and just, forasmuch as this very power and will of his, is the rule and square of all things whatsoever, which are rightly decreed and done.²²

Beza articulates what would become the standard theodicy of Calvinism—that God’s power is “not contained within any bounds” and thus God justly “ordaineth all things after his own pleasure.”

Calvinism became the most influential theology for English Protestantism, and Calvin’s *Sermons upon Job* and Beza’s *Job Expounded* were widely read in sixteenth-century England.²³ Between 1560 and 1600,²⁴ God’s absolute power to do what he wishes—even when it does not seem “good” from our vantage point—became a critical postulate for English theologians of the hard-lined Reformed tradition. William Perkins, William Whitaker, and their like-minded

²² Bèze, *Job Expounded*, F1v-F2r, EEBO image 42.

²³ For a concise, overview of Calvinism in England (one that is, admittedly, Herbert-centric), see Daniel W. Doerksen, *Picturing Religious Experience: George Herbert, John Calvin, and the Scriptures* (Newark, DE: U. of Delaware, 2011), 2-3. (For an study of Herbert’s “softening” of Calvinism, see Gary Kuchar, *George Herbert and the Mystery of the World* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 120.)

²⁴ Prior to 1560, predestination was not a topic of great importance within Protestantism. As H.C. Porter points out, election was not mentioned in the Lutheran Augsburg Confession of 1530, the Genevan Confession of 1536, or the Swiss Confession of 1536, yet it had become a major issue by the French Confession of 1559 and following. H.C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1972), 338.

colleagues defended God's justice in causing earthly suffering and, more importantly, in ordaining people for reprobation before creation and before the fall.²⁵ Because this supralapsarian predestinarianism imagines a God who creates a sizable portion of the population in order to condemn them, it was an extreme position relative to other versions of Calvinism that were circulating in late sixteenth-century England.²⁶ Yet it was also a popular position, as evidenced by the success of William Perkin's predestination-focused treatise *A Golden Chain*, which was republished in three Latin and three English translations between 1590 and 1595.²⁷ In *A Golden Chain*, Perkins does not shy away from the implications of supralapsarianism. He states, "God in his just judgement hath determined eternally to reject some, to the praise of his justice...It is false that God will have none damned."²⁸ Perkins mentions "some" who reject supralapsarianism, "fearing lest they should make God an unjust and cruel God," but he insists, like Calvin, that God is just when he destines people to suffer because His unbounded power justifies all that He ordains.²⁹

²⁵ It was this position that English Reformers wanted codified in the Lambeth Articles of 1595, a list of nine propositions endorsed by a group of powerful college heads at Cambridge (including Whitaker, who drafted them) in a (failed) attempt to unify the Calvinist position in the English Church. See Debora Shuger, "The Mysteries of the Lambeth Articles," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 68, no. 2 (2017): 306-25.

²⁶ Debora Shuger warns against contemporary scholarship's tendency to label all predestinarian theologies Calvinist or to narrow Calvinism to the supralapsarianism of Perkins, Whitaker, and Beza. For instance, she points out, when Archbishop John Whitgift received William Whitaker's original pro-supralapsarian version of the Lambeth Articles, Whitgift "called together a group of divines from the opposite side of the theological fence and asked them to see whether they could tweak the articles in such a way that they could become, by a creative injection of ambiguity and equivocation, a consensus document." These divines "reject every one of the tenets that distinguish Calvinism from earlier predestinarian theologies." Debora Shuger, "The Lambeth Articles (1595) and Glosses (1595-c.1605)," in Shagan and Shuger, *Religion in Tudor England*, 334.

²⁷ *Armillæ Aurea* was published by John Legate in 1590 and published in a second edition with a preface in 1591. The first English edition was also published in 1591, followed by a third Latin edition in 1592. The second English edition also appeared in 1592 and was reprinted in 1595. Porter, *Reformation*, 289.

²⁸ William Perkins, *A Golden Chain* in Shagan and Shuger, *Religion in Tudor England*, 296.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 296-297.

Samuel Harsnett's Theodicy

Perkins was not imagining this group of objectors to supralapsarianism. In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a group of English Protestants, many of them connected to Cambridge University, argued that the Reformed theodicy was perpetrating an image of an evil God by making him the cause of suffering. They were particularly concerned about *eternal* suffering; in their minds, supralapsarianism stripped individuals of their free will and then punished their foreordained shortcomings with eternal damnation. The Book of Job was instrumental to their arguments, as it was to Calvin. Whereas Calvin had used Job to establish God's absolute sovereignty, including his power to make Job suffer for no reason other than his pleasure, these anti-Calvinist theologians (for lack of a better term³⁰) used the Book of Job in order to defend man's free will. Their defense of free will formed the basis of an alternative "theodicy," a justification of God that reconstituted his power in light of the existence of suffering (both earthly and eternal).³¹ From their point-of-view, Job's experience demonstrates how God grants man the ability to withstand trial, i.e. to exercise his free will. After all, if God

³⁰ It is problematic that we have no name for this theological position (the one articulated by Andrewes, Baro, Harsnett, etc.) other than "anti-Calvinist." The term "anti-Calvinist" assumes that Harsnett, etc. would have fallen outside of the boundaries of English Calvinism in the early modern period, thus perpetrating the mistaken assumption that "early modern Calvinism = supralapsarianism" and "anti-Calvinism = other forms of predestinarianism." Supralapsarianism was, in fact, only the most extreme position of what could be called "English Calvinism" at the end of the sixteenth century. That said, since theologians like Harsnett explicitly pitted themselves against Calvin (and his idea of God punishing for his "pleasure's sake"), the term "anti-Calvinist" is helpful for capturing how their view of man's free will and God's sovereignty differed from supralapsarian Calvinists.

³¹ These theologians are interested in balancing God's sovereignty—the fact that he alone must cause salvation—and his goodness—the fact that he should not withhold grace from someone who desires to be saved. This balancing act is necessary because they know that not everyone is saved, and thus that some people are destined to eternal suffering. Because they are attempting to justify God given the existence of (eternal) suffering, their defense of man's free will is a type of "theodicy." Now, "theodicy" in contemporary theology typically addresses the problem of suffering in this world. But these theologians' concern about man's eternal suffering leads them to a justification of God that uses the same categories as contemporary theodicy. Moreover, as we'll see in William Bedell's letters below, these theologians imagine "separation from God" as the worst kind of suffering. Thus, a God who does not offer his grace to someone who desires it is the cause of earthly, as well as eternal, suffering.

had tested Job and *not* given him the ability to succeed (or fail), God would have been cruel in making Job needlessly suffer. Because Job was able to maintain his faith when he was put on trial, he exemplifies man's freedom.³²

These late sixteenth-century anti-Calvinists were not a handful of eccentric men on the outskirts of the English church, but rather, as Peter Lake has commented, clergy "closely aligned with centres of ecclesiastical power around Whitgift, Bancroft, and the court."³³ H.C. Porter's *Reformation and Reaction* elucidates these controversies at Cambridge, starting with their origins and ending in the heated disputes of the 1590s. In the 1540s, the Italian Bernardino Ochino, prebendary of Canterbury, gave a series of sermons on predestination that defend man's free will and thus end up sounding very different from Calvin's.³⁴ In the late 1570s, Peter Baro, Lady Margaret Professor at Cambridge, delivered a disputation on the theme, "God's purpose and decree taketh not away the liberty of man's corrupt will."³⁵ In 1584 Richard Hooker delivered a (now lost) sermon on God's will at Paul's Cross, which foreshadowed his later opinions on the universality of God's grace.³⁶ In the late 1580s, anti-Calvinism steadily gained traction, and by the mid-1590s God's justice was a divisive issue at Cambridge.

³² This anti-Calvinist theodicy defends God's goodness by insisting that God gives all people sufficient grace and the ability to receive it. To account for sin, it re-conceptualizes God's power, suggesting that God shares his power with humanity by allowing man to choose to come to Him.

³³ Peter Lake, "'The Anglican Movement?' Richard Hooker and the Ideological Watershed of the 1590s," in *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition*, ed. Stephen Platten (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2003), 90-121.

³⁴ Ochino's sermons were translated in 1550 and reprinted in 1570. Porter, *Reformation*, 338.

³⁵ Baro's disputation was translated by John Ludham and printed in 1579. Peter Baro, "Two Theames or Questions, Handled and Disputed Openly in the Schooles at Cambridge, in the Latin Tung," in *A Speciall Treatise of God's Providence*, ed. John Ludham (London: John Wolfe, 1579), 519-20. Porter, *Reformation*, 377.

³⁶ Hooker's sermon is mentioned by Izaak Walton in his biography of Richard Hooker. Izaak Walton, *Lives of John Donne, Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker and George Herbert*, ed. Henry Morley (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1888), 152-53.

Samuel Harsnett, the future Archbishop of York, played a starring role in the Cambridge controversies of the 1590s, and his work forms the next part of our story of how Job became the principle support for Milton's theodicy. Although Harsnett is now most well-known for the outspoken sermon that he delivered in the outdoor pulpit at Paul's Cross in 1594,³⁷ his refusal to reconcile supralapsarianism with God's justice first appears in two Latin disputations (ca. 1589) on the subject of predestination, which Harsnett delivered to satisfy the requirements for the Bachelor of Divinity at Cambridge. These disputations—"No one is damned by necessity" and "No one can be certain of his salvation"—outline the arguments that recur in Calvinist controversies throughout the 1590s and reinforce the extent to which supralapsarianism was debated rather than the standard position in the Church of England at the end of the sixteenth century.³⁸

Although the exact date of Harsnett's disputations is unknown, they most likely occurred between 1588, when Harsnett resigned his position as schoolmaster at Colchester to pursue an advanced degree, and 1592, when he became junior proctor at Pembroke Hall.³⁹ We know little about Harsnett's degree—it is only mentioned in passing in Archbishop Richard Bancroft's record⁴⁰—but the disputations survive. Curiously, they are also mentioned by Thomas Plume

³⁷ Harsnett's Latin disputations are an often-overlooked part of the Cambridge controversies and Harsnett's biography; they are not mentioned in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and are only footnoted in F. W. Brownlow's overview of Harsnett's young adulthood. F. W. Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett* (Newark; London; Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press; Associated University Presses, 1993), 41-42.

³⁸ I will provide the Latin in the footnotes. The disputations are entitled "Nemo necessario damnatur" and "Certitudo uniuscuiusque salutis non est certitudo fidei." Two copies of his disputations survive, in the Harsnett Library at Colchester and at the British Library. Samuel Harsnett, BL MS Harleian 3142, 54R.

³⁹ Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett*, 41-42.

⁴⁰ Bancroft's register provides details of patrons and also credits Harsnett with a B.D. Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett*, 47, n.1.

(bapt. 1650-d. 1704), a graduate of Cambridge in 1650 and Church of England clergyman.⁴¹ In his notebook, Plume writes:⁴²

Colchester readers will welcome a Cambridge story to the credit of their fellow-townsmen, Samuel Harsnet, Archbishop of York, 1629-1631. It must be noted that a candidate for the B.D. degree had as part of his exercises to dispute in two theses against two 'opponents' (M.A. students in theology); that the disputations were conducted in Latin and in formal logical syllogisms ('major premise,' 'minor premise'); and that while William Whitaker, the Cambridge Regius Professor of Divinity (1580-1595) was the great champion of the hitherto dominant Calvinistic opinions, Harsnet represented the new Arminian tendency: William Fuller⁴³ told me that Harsnet gave the two questions: 'No one can be assured of his own salvation' and 'No one is predestined to damnation' (Nemo necessario damnatur). He threw off his opponents, as a lion so many little dogs, merely by 'I deny your minor premise' (giving convincing reasons for its falsity), etc. And after he had silenced them, did absolutely challenge Dr. Whitaker to

⁴¹H. R. French, "Plume, Thomas (bap. 1630, d. 1704)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22395>. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/22395.

⁴² The notebook was prepared by the nineteenth-century English clergyman Rev. Andrew Clarke for publication in the 1906 volume of the Essex Record, a compilation of documents arising from Essex. Edward Arthur Fitch and Charlotte Fell-Smith, *The Essex Review: An Illustrated Quarterly Record of Everything of Permanent Interest in the County, Vol. 15* (Colchester, Essex, UK: Benham, 1906).

⁴³ The Essex Record notes parenthetically that Fuller is "D.D. Cams, 1625, Dean of Ely 1636, and of Durnham, 1646." The ODNB offers slightly different dates. Fuller (1579/80-1659) received his B.A. from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1600, his MA in 1603, his BD in 1610, and his DD by royal mandate in 1628. Since he earned his B.A. at Cambridge in 1600, he would have been a new student (younger than 20) during the 1590s controversies. His account of Harsnett's disputations are second-hand at best. Gordon Goodwin and Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, "Fuller, William (1579/80-1659)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10239>.

oppose him and to maintain his old doctrine. This Whitaker presently undertook, but Harsnet was at that time too hard for him.⁴⁴

Plume's account of Harsnett's victory in this debate is biased by his agreement with Harsnett's theology and his historical vantage point, where the Arminian position predominates.⁴⁵ But despite the exaggeration of this report, it does suggest the points of theology that were discussed (with Whitaker, no less!) before things came to blows at Paul's Cross. Moreover, and of particular interest here, Harsnett makes the Book of Job a sticking point for his defense of man's free will. In contrast to Calvin's *Sermons Upon Job*, which use Job to demonstrate God's sovereignty and man's defenselessness, Harsnett's disputations use Job to demonstrate the choice that a man has to receive or refuse God's grace.

Harsnet begins his disputations by identifying two "pestilent" opinions that have arisen in the church, "one which says that God is the author of evil and hell, the other which teaches that whoever is sufficiently holy can be certain of eternal salvation, as certain as the sun shines." He asserts, "My two theses oppose these two opinions (and conquer them with the strength of truth), arguing that no one is necessarily destined to damnation and that a man by his faith cannot have certainty of his salvation."⁴⁶ The flip side of this argument (that is, that no man is necessarily

⁴⁴Fitch and Fell-Smith, *Essex Review 15*, 23-24.

⁴⁵ Plume abandoned his father's presbyterian leanings and received "clandestine episcopal ordination" in the 1650s. He was mentored by the staunch Anglican John Hacket. French, "Plume, Thomas," *ODNB*.

⁴⁶ BL MS Harleian 3142, fol. 54r. "Qua duæ res sunt religioni infestissimæ eæ grassari tæxerunt in hoc tempore (viri Academici) Atheismus et Securitas, quæum una eo iam prorupit impudentia ut Scholas aperire et lectiones profiteri clandestinas fama siet, altera^{eo} devenit confidentiæ, ut lascivi pueri doceant tam facile ad tælos evolare quam delectentur in arundine longâ equitare. Has duas pestes genuerunt; aut saltem nutriuerunt opiniones duæ; una quæ dicit deum mali et gehennæ authorem esse; altera, quæ docet quemque sanctum tam esse certum de æternâ salute suâ, quam certus sit lucere solem, et micare pulchra cæli sidera. Has duas opiniones impugnant hæ duæ theses mea (utimam verō et expugnent) illa quæ dixit neminē, fatali necessitate damnatum esse, hæc quæ docet quemque fidelem non eâ certitudine tenere salutē suâ; quam tenet Dei unitatem, et sacrosanctam personarum trinitatem."

damned) is the fact that man is able to resist God's grace, i.e. that no one is necessarily saved. When God offers grace to man, he has the ability to refuse it. Outlining his theology's implications for Calvin's notion of irresistible grace, Harsnett writes, "If an impenitent man dies in sin, he necessarily perishes."⁴⁷ One can already anticipate how Job could play a role in proving these theses. First, since Job was pious and a Gentile, he shows that no one (not even an Old Testament Gentile, the person who seems most likely to be outside of God's favor) is necessarily damned. Second, since Job underwent a trial and triumphed, his story establishes that God does, in fact, try people, and that those who fail such trials justly perish.

To prove that no one is necessarily damned or saved, Harsnett begins with man's earliest decision to accept or resist grace, that is, Adam's choice to eat or refrain from the fruit of the forbidden tree in Eden. He presents the tree in the prelapsarian state as presenting two equally possible options: "If Adam tasted, he died. If he did not taste, he existed immortally."⁴⁸ To say that "absolute necessity" compelled Adam to taste the fruit "denies him all free will" and does not allow that he was as capable of standing as he was of falling.⁴⁹ It also makes God the cause of his downfall. Since Adam did nothing against God's will before the fall, Harsnett suggests, there is no way that Adam deserved to be damned without being given a chance. Harsnett outlines the illogic of his opposition's argument: "Adam wills whatever God wills. Yet Adam is damned and rejected. This makes no sense to me."⁵⁰ Instead, Harsnett explains:

⁴⁷ Ibid., 54r. "...sed si homo impenitens in peccato moriatur, ex hac suppositione interire hominem necessariū est hanc thesiu claris argumentis..."

⁴⁸ Ibid., 54r. "...si gustarit Addam mortem moriatur, si non gustarit immortalis esto."

⁴⁹ Ibid., 54r. "Qui dicit absoluta necessitate gustare Adamum omnem ei negat libertatis voluntatem, qui liberam ei voluntatem concedit; rescindit ilico hanc necessitate."

⁵⁰ Ibid., 55v. "Voluit Deus, quod voluit Adam. Damnatus est, eiectus est. Mea sane hebetudo non capit." More literally, the final sentence says, "Certainly, my weak mind cannot take it in."

God wants you to be saved, and created you to this end, that he would save you. Can it be that God by eternal decree will thrust you to hell? Which is more to the honor of our Creator: that God embraces all of his creatures with love and is eager to lead them by the hand to blessedness, or, rather, that God created the greater part of his creation to this end, to destroy it? Which of these is more agreeable with the exultation of the Psalmist? “The mercy of God is over all the work of his hands.”⁵¹

For Harnett, giving man the choice to sin or not to sin is befitting the nature of God.

Unlike Calvin, who was willing to give up the univocity of God’s goodness in order to defend his power, Harsnett imagines a God whose glory is seen in his mercy. He asks, “Can it be that God, who was appointed to serve millions and tens of millions of people, would demand the perdition of infinite myriads?”⁵² According to Harsnett, proponents of supralapsarian predestination use the story of Esau and Jacob to make God the destroyer of innocent children. Because Esau and Jacob were assigned their fates when they “were in the womb of their mother, when they had not yet done good or evil,”⁵³ Harsnett’s opponents argue that God predestines the unborn. But Harsnett argues that Esau and Jacob “are not to be taken for two men but for two peoples: Isaac and Jacob were types of the Israelites and Ishmael and Esau stood for the

⁵¹ Ibid., 55v-56r. “Deus vult et cupit te esse saluum et in hunc finem condidit ut saluaret. An Deus æterno decreto te detrudit ad gehennam? utra magis in honorem conditoris: nostri Deus omnem suam creaturam amore complectitur, studet manu ducere ad beatitudinem, an Deus maximam partem creaturarum suarum in hunc finem eduxit, ut pessundaret? utra magis consona exultationi Psalmistæ? m[i]sericordia Dei supra omnia opera manuum suarum.”

⁵² Ibid., 56r. “An Deus millesimum quemque aut decimillesimum servare constituit, infinitas myriadas ad perditionem demandavit?”

⁵³ Ibid., 56r. Esau and Jacob are damned “cum in utero essent matris, nondum quid boni aut mali fecissent.”

Gentiles.”⁵⁴ Moreover, Harsnett objects to damning unborn babies according to their lineage, repeating many of the arguments that we saw in chapter 2. When God told Rebecca that she carried “two peoples” in her womb (Genesis 25:23), Harsnett argues, God “clearly meant to congratulate Rebecca” rather than create lasting racial categories. Harsnett concludes, “Is it, therefore, that all the progeny of Esau is reprobate? The divine Ambrose eloquently denies this. For he says that the most Holy Job was a fourth-generation descendent from Esau and was his full-blood grandson.”⁵⁵ For Harsnett, Job’s Edomite lineage was sufficient proof that no one is necessarily damned.

Instead of imagining a God who elects and damns for his “pleasure’s sake,”⁵⁶ Harsnett emphasizes the lesson in the second chapter of Romans, namely that God saves those who treat their fellow men with mercy.⁵⁷ The verse comes dangerously close to endorsing works-righteousness, where salvation is granted to those who choose to live uprightly, and Harsnett does not entirely back away from this implication. He cites Romans 2:24—“For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you”—as a reminder that so-called Christians are

⁵⁴ Ibid., 56r. Responding to his opponents’ argument about Esau and Jacob, Harsnett writes, “Et respondeo hi duo non pro duobus hominibus, sed pro duabus gentibus sunt sumendi, Isaac et Jacob fuere typi Judæorum; Ismael et Esau gentium.”

⁵⁵ Ibid., 56r-v. Evincani clarē ex Gen: 32 Esau ut homo non servivit Jacobo, quin Jacob potius illum per domino agnoscebat: clarius e consolatione Jehovæ ad Rebeccam, duæ sunt gentes, quas portas in utero tuo. Quid igitur an tota progenies Esau reprobata est? Diuus Ambrosius disertē negat: ait enim Sanctissimum Job 4^{tam} Esau propaginem et germanum ei nepotem fuisse. The passage does not appear in Ambrose’s sermons on Job, nor in the other six exegetical works by Ambrose translated by Michael P. McHugh for the *Fathers of the Church* series. Ambrose, “The Prayer of Job and David (De Interpellatione Iob Et David),” in *Seven Exegetical Works, Vol. 65*, ed. Michael P. McHugh, The Fathers of the Church (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1972).

⁵⁶ Calvin says that God elects some and damns others for his “mere pleasure’s sake.” It was the image of God to which Harsnett was objecting. Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Book 3, Chapter 21, sect. 1.

⁵⁷ Romans 2:7-11 teaches that “patient continuance in well-doing” leads to “eternal life” while “unrighteousness” leads to “tribulation and anguish.” This is true of “the Jew first, and also of the Gentile” because “there is no respect of persons with God.”

outcast from God's grace when they lead Gentiles astray.⁵⁸ And, conversely, he suggests, God gives Gentiles the "inborn light and law of nature written in their hearts." If they take this light and "use it rightly," God augments it with a "new supernatural light," revealing himself to them as he did to "the most pious Job."⁵⁹ Because God gave Job the ability to use his "inborn light," thus prompting God's additional gift of supernatural light, God must have given other Gentiles this same opportunity, which clears God from his responsibility for their downfall. Harsnett stops short of Pelagianism—that is, the idea that a fallen man can attain righteousness without the help of grace—by emphasizing that God "reveals himself" to these Gentiles, which is the reason "that they are saved." Nevertheless, Harsnett's emphasis is man's ability to respond to God's gift of natural light; in giving his light to the world, God seems like a loving father rather than a capricious murderer of Gentiles.

By the time Harsnett delivered his Paul's Cross sermon in 1594, his notion of God's goodness—substantiated by God's offer of grace to Job—had been percolating for some time.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ BL MS Harleian 3142, 60r. "Res: cum Apostolo Rom. 2:24: gentes huiusmodi legem non habentes sibi ipsi legi sunt sic gentes eiusmodi lumen non habentes sibi ipsi lumini sunt."

⁵⁹ Ibid., 60r-v. "Lumen inquam innatum et lex naturæ sculpta in cordibus ipsorum, per quam signatum habentem seipsis esse Deū reddit eos iræ obnoxios, et coram mundo inexcusabiles quo lumine et lege naturæ, si qui eorum rectē utantur, nec vertant gloriam incomprehensibilis Dei in similitudinem vermium et reptilium, adauget illud lumen Deus novo lumine supernaturali, et seipsū iis revelat (ut olim se piissimo Jobo et devotissimo Cornelio revelavit) ut salvantur."

⁶⁰ The fact that Harsnett's disputations preceded his controversial Paul's Cross sermon invites a word of clarification. Historians long assumed that Harsnett delivered his Paul's Cross sermon in 1584, the date given on its title page in the 1656 and subsequent manuscripts. In his ODNB entry for Harsnett, Nicholas Cranfield suggests that the date is perhaps October 27, 1585, which would have been just months after Harsnett received his M.A and was ordained at Pembroke College, Cambridge. (Nicholas S. Cranfield, "Harsnett, Samuel (bap. 1651, d. 1631)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12466>.)

With this dating, historians long assumed the lag in Harsnett's career from 1584-1594 was backlash from his opposition to the Church's teaching on predestination. But Brownlow convincingly argues that the more plausible date of the sermon was 1594, both because Harsnett would have been mature enough to deliver its theologically invested argument and because the date of its delivery—October 15—would have fallen on a Sunday (Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett*, 42). Moreover, the Church of England clergyman John Dove delivered a sermon at Paul's Cross in 1597 that refutes Harsnett's, which would have been an unlikely choice of opponent if Harsnett's sermon had predated his by thirteen years. The 1594 dating changes our understanding of the sermon's impact; instead of thinking that Harsnett was penalized for his outspokenness with ten years of obscurity, we suspect

His 1594 sermon more vehemently denounces the Reformed understanding of supralapsarian predestination because of the cruel image of God that it perpetrates.⁶¹ Harsnett lists three reasons why this double predestination is problematic. First, it “saith that not one or two, but millions of men should fry in hell, and that for no other cause but his mere pleasure’s sake.” To Harsnett, it was not befitting God’s nature that he should create people for damnation. Second, Harsnett argues, predestination makes God the “author of sin.” If God ordains all things and gives man no ability to choose good over evil, then he becomes the responsible party for man’s wickedness. Third, predestination takes away man’s “freedom of will and liberty not to sin.”⁶² Harsnett cannot imagine a system in which man’s only option is to sin because this lack of freedom does not seem consonant with God’s love of his own children. In an effort to defend God’s goodness, Harsnett insists that man, not God, is responsible for sin. He writes, “God cannot tempt you to sin and then condemn you for sinning; every man is his own tempter, and his own tormentor.”⁶³ Harsnett wants man to have the “liberty not to sin,” not because he expects that man will live righteously, but because man’s sinfulness becomes his own responsibility.

that he “did not suffer for his sermon.” “Samuel Harsnett (bap. 1561-1631)” in Shagan and Shuger, *Religion in Tudor England*, 303.

To read Dove’s 1597 sermon that refutes Harsnett’s, see John Dove, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse, the Sixt of February. 1596 in Which Are Discussed These Three Conclusions. 1 It Is Not the Will of God That All Men Should Be Saued. 2 the Absolute Will of God, and His Secret Decree from All Eternitie Is the Cause Why Some Are Predestined to Saluation, Others to Destruction, and Not Any Foresight of Faith, or Good Workes in the One, or Infidelitie, Neglect, or Contempt in the Other. 3 Christ Died Not Effectually for All* (London: T. Creede for R. Dexter, 1597).

⁶¹ Samuel Harsnett, “A Sermon Preached at S. Paul’s Cross,” in *Three Sermons Preached by the Reverend and Learned Dr. Richard Stuart...to Which It Is Added a Fourth Sermon, Preached by the Right Reverend Father in God, Samuel Harsnett, Lord Arch-Bishop of York* (London: G. Bedel and T. Collins, 1658).

⁶² *Ibid.*, 134-35.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 165.

Harsnett ends his sermon by aligning a strict Calvinist position on predestination with the blasphemous advice of Job's wife. He explains:

To conclude, let us take heed and beware that we neither (with the papists) rely upon our free will, nor (with the Pelagian) upon our nature, nor (with the puritan) curse God and die, laying the burthen of our sins on his shoulders and the guilt of them at his everlasting doors; but let us all fall down upon our faces, give glory to God, and say, *Unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy and forgiveness.*⁶⁴

This dramatic ending makes several claims. It dismisses the Catholic opinion, which gives man too much credit for his salvation by allowing him to merit his eternal reward. It then dismisses the Pelagian opinion, which suggests that man's nature is independently capable of turning to the good. Finally, it dismisses the strict Calvinist opinion, which makes God responsible for reprobates' damnation. Harsnett's Biblical model for this "puritan" attitude is Job's infamous wife. When Job's situation looks desperate, she suggests that he may as well "curse God and die."⁶⁵ Job's wife's outlook must have reminded Harsnett of a Calvinist who thought of himself as hopelessly outside of God's favor. Knowing that God hated him and that he faced an eternity of suffering, this man would have little motivation for praise and worship. To counter this theological position, Harsnett's sermon argues that God gives all men the ability to persevere in grace, but man can make the decision to reject it.

⁶⁴ Harsnett, "A Sermon," 165.

⁶⁵ King James Version, Job 2:9.

Years after the delivery of his sermon, Harsnett recorded a story of being “checked” by Archbishop Whitgift for his opinion and “commanded to preach no more of it.”⁶⁶ Although historians have used this as evidence that anti-predestinarianism was perceived as dangerous to the unity of the English church, Whitgift’s advice did not constitute a formal condemnation of Harsnett’s theology and did not hamper Harsnett’s escalation through the ecclesiastical ranks, even within the year that it was given. Thus, instead of being an anomalous opinion that was quickly squashed, it seems that Harsnett’s theology “reflects the Lutheran position characteristic of Cambridge anti-Calvinism in the 1590s, which held that all the initiative in salvation is on God’s side, although it may be resisted on ours.”⁶⁷

William Bedell’s Theodicy

Harsnett’s disputations and Paul’s Cross sermon not only fueled the Cambridge disputes of the 1590s,⁶⁸ but also lay important groundwork for the anti-predestination sentiments of the seventeenth century.⁶⁹ As theologians became increasingly interested in man’s freedom, Samuel

⁶⁶ Samuel Harsnett, "House of Lords Journal Volume 3: 19 May 1624," *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 3, 1620-1628* (1767-1830), <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol3/pp387-392>. 389.

⁶⁷ “Samuel Harsnett” in Shagan and Shuger, *Religion in Tudor England*, 304.

⁶⁸ For an overview of the Cambridge disputes of the 1590s, see Porter, *Reformation*, Part 3; “The Theological Disputes of the 1590s” in Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 1982), 201-42; “The Lambeth Articles (1595) and Glosses (1595-1605)” in Shagan and Shuger, *Religion in Tudor England*, 330-35.

⁶⁹ The spread of Arminianism—the belief that God’s predestining will depends upon his foreseeing of man’s faith—contributed to wariness about a God who would predestine people for his “pleasure’s sake.” In 1591 the Dutch reformed pastor Jacobus Arminius outlined a new relationship between grace and free will that would divide the reformed tradition over the next twenty years. In 1610 his followers (the “Remonstrants”) outlined the fundamental tenets of Arminianism, to which the Synod of Dort in 1618-1619 was convened as a response. The resulting Canons of Dort solidified the tenets of strict reformed orthodoxy. Whereas reformed orthodoxy insisted upon unconditional election (that election is independent of one’s good behavior), limited atonement (that Christ’s sacrifice is only intended for the salvation of the elect), and irresistible grace (that the elect cannot resist God’s offer of grace), Arminianism posited conditional election (that election is dependent on God’s foreknowledge of one’s belief), universal atonement (that Christ’s sacrifice was sufficient to grant grace to all), and resistible grace (that people can reject God’s offer of grace). These differences boiled down to two different ways of conceiving of man’s will in the salvation process. Calvinism did not grant man free will (and thus the ability to turn from evil), so Arminians accused Calvinists of making God the author of sin. Arminianism allowed man to accept or reject grace, so

Harsnett's understanding of Job—as a man who could use his “inborn light” to prompt his receipt of “supernatural light”—also received additional attention. Harsnett's portrayal of Job had left many unanswered questions. If Job proves that Gentile can use their inborn light “rightly” and receive additional grace, why do some people choose not to use it? What are the preconditions to using one's light instead of rejecting it? How does this “light” correlate with saving grace? It seems that, for Harsnett, probing how some Old Testament Gentiles were able to receive grace risked putting too much emphasis on man's volition.⁷⁰ Therefore, when Harsnett mentions Job to prove that Gentiles can choose to use inborn light, he omits the specifics of how and why.

These questions were taken up by William Bedell, a rector in Suffolk who served as the Bishop of Kilmore in the Church of Ireland from 1629-1642. Because of his use of Job—as an example of man's freedom to accept grace—his theodicy is the last piece of our investigation of how Job came to be a crux of Milton's work. Bedell's justification of God unfolds in a correspondence in the 1620s with Samuel Ward, the Puritan master of Sidney Sussex College and member of the Vice-Chancellor's Court at Cambridge from 1610-1643.⁷¹ Ward was a

Calvinists accused Arminians of making salvation dependent on man instead of God. By caricaturing each other's position, they turned this issue of man's will into a theological battle ground. Benjamin Myers, *Milton's Theology of Freedom* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 40-44; 71-74.

⁷⁰ Harsnett feared making salvation seem dependent on man's “nature” or “free will,” both of which he warns against at the end of his 1594 sermon. Therefore, throughout his disputations, Harsnett describes man's “receiving” of grace as the opposite of rejection of grace. This language is tricky. Harsnett does not go so far as to make salvation a choice between “accepting” and “rejecting” grace. The choice is between “receiving” and “rejecting” grace. Of course, “receiving” grace implies a decision not to reject it, but Harsnett wants to avoid making the acceptance of grace seem like man's choice.

⁷¹ Margo Todd, “Ward, Samuel (1572-1643)” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28705>. The Vice-Chancellor's court (technically, the “Chancellor's Court,” but presided over by the Vice-Chancellor beginning in the sixteenth-century and thus titled accordingly) “accrued wide-ranging civil, criminal and ecclesiastical powers from successive monarchs to try cases affecting University members and other ‘privileged persons’ (townspeople providing any service to a University member, such as stationers, cooks or letter-carriers) in the areas of felony, probate, licensing, debt, morality and discipline.” For more

participant in the Synod of Dort, the international synod assembled to condemn Arminianism. As such, Ward was one of the most prominent theologians in England on the Reformed side. At the time of his correspondence with Bedell, Ward was making a name for himself in the Vice-Chancellor's Court by defending Calvinist theology (particularly predestination) against encroaching Arminianism, especially after the ascension of King Charles I.

One might expect that Bedell would subscribe to a version of Calvinism similar to Ward's. Bedell was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a newly founded college for educating Puritan preachers, and was mentored by strict Puritans, including Laurence Chaderton (master of Emmanuel) and William Perkins (author of *The Golden Chain*).⁷² But, as Karl S. Bottigheimer and Vivienne Larminie point out, "Bedell's own theology, like his career, defies simple classification."⁷³ Despite his strict Puritan education, Bedell spent the last thirteen years of his life (1629-1642) as an exceptionally tolerant bishop in Ireland; in fact, he created enough of a rapport with his predominantly Catholic parishioners that, during the Irish uprising of 1641, he and his family were spared.⁷⁴ Given Bedell's tolerant stance and friendships across confessional lines, it is not surprising that he had difficulty accepting the consequences of double

information, see Cambridge University Library, "Cambridge's Criminal Past Revealed in Centuries-Old Court Records," <https://www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/cambridges-criminal-past-revealed-in-centuries-old-court-records>.

⁷² Emmanuel College was founded in 1584 by Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer to Elizabeth I, who desired to educate Puritan preachers. Traditions at the college were deliberately non-conformist: "Surplices were not worn and communion was received sitting down (rather than kneeling): practices that attracted criticism at Hampton Court in 1603." Emmanuel College, "History of the College," <https://www.emma.cam.ac.uk/about/history/college>.

⁷³ Karl S. Bottigheimer and Vivienne Larminie, "Bedell, William (Bapt. 1572, Died 1642)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2010), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1924>.

⁷⁴ Bedell strove to serve the Irish Catholics in his parish rather than force Protestantism upon them. During the Irish uprising of 1641, the rebels saved Bedell and his family from death and destruction because of the relationship that he had developed with his parishioners. Bedell is now most famous as a "pioneer of toleration." Bottigheimer and Larminie, "Bedell"; William Bedell [the younger], "The Life and Death of William Bedell," in *Two Biographies of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore: With a Selection of His Letters and an Unpublished Treatise*, ed. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1902), 59-62.

predestination, namely, God's damnation of entire categories of people. Since Bedell corresponded regularly with Ward, England's resident expert on the topic of predestination and free will, Bedell asked his friend in the late 1620s to help him ponder how an unconverted man could ask God for grace.

Bedell's letters are interesting historical artifacts for the way they navigate the perilous problem of free will in the seventeenth-century.⁷⁵ Bedell knew that God's sovereignty required that grace alone be the cause of man's salvation. Yet Bedell also knew that not everyone could be saved, and God did not seem good (in the human sense of "goodness") if he only offered grace to a select group of people. If God is actually good, Bedell thinks in his letters, God must give all people at least a chance at salvation. He proposes that God gives his elect a level of grace that guarantees their election, but God gives everyone a baseline level of grace that empowers them to turn toward him. In this case, all people have the ability to ask God for the grace to be saved, making them responsible for their own damnation if they fail to do so. If man did not also have this ability to seek additional grace—that is, if God were the cause of every human impulse and man had no freedom—a man with merely a baseline level of grace would have no way to obtain the grace that he needed for this salvation. In this alternative case, Bedell reasons, God would be the "author of evil," who withholds grace and thus makes man's fall inevitable.⁷⁶ It is this line of thought that leads Bedell to Job. Since the cornerstone of Bedell's argument is man's

⁷⁵ Again, this defense of free will is a "theodicy" since its aim is to reconstitute God's power in order to clear God from his responsibility for man's (eternal) suffering.

⁷⁶ "Bedell to Ward, March 24, 1627/8" in William Bedell, "Letters of Bedell," in *Two Biographies of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore: With a Selection of His Letters and an Unpublished Treatise*, ed. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1902), 282.

freedom to respond to God's gift of grace, Job's trial—a moment in the Bible where a man is left to demonstrate his faith—provides a crucial piece of evidence for Bedell's case.

In a letter to Ward on April 16, 1627, Bedell first mentions the issue of free will that would preoccupy his correspondence for the next several months. Near the end of his letter, Bedell mentions:

And I pray send me your opinion about this point, whether a man enlightened and convinced of the truth of Christian doctrine may, by that grace received, ask, see, and pray for the grace of conversion. Or how you would reconcile these two: that faith is the gift of God, and yet man shall be condemned (and justly) for not believing in Christ, as Joh. 3:18-19.⁷⁷

Bedell's letter identifies a problem inherent to Calvin's theology of justification. Man is condemned for unbelief, yet God is the cause of man's ability to believe. Because of this circular logic, if a man does not believe, the blame for his reprobation seems to fall upon God, who did not give him the grace to believe in the first place. In a hypothetical world with no regard for orthodox Calvinism, the easiest way to solve this problem would be to make man responsible for his own salvation or reprobation by giving him the ability to accept or reject saving grace of his own free will. But Bedell (who was working within the Calvinist tradition) objects to making justification dependent upon man's choices. He knows that man, because of his sinful nature, *cannot* choose grace and has to receive it from God as an undeserved gift. This dependency upon God returns Bedell to the original problem, the irreconcilability of God's free gift of grace with his condemnation of those to whom the gift is not given.

⁷⁷ "Bedell to Ward, April 16, 1627" in *Two Biographies*, 267. Bod. Tanner MS 72, folio 190r.

God's responsibility for man's reprobation is the knot that Bedell tries to untie in his next several letters to Ward. Bedell imagines a system in which justification can be wholly dependent upon God, and yet man can make *just* enough of a movement toward God's grace that all sinners have a chance at salvation. Bedell ignores the case of baptized infants because he believes their obtainment of God's grace is clearly due to God's initiative. Instead, he focuses on adults and their ability to obtain grace. His question is whether these adults—once they have been given the initial grace to be “convinced of the truth of Christian doctrine”—can “ask, seek, and pray” for the ability to believe. It is important to note how Bedell distinguishes two levels of familiarity with Christianity, each requiring their own infusion of grace. In the first level, a sinner knows the truth of Christian doctrine (what Bedell sometimes calls a “humbled sinner”) as a result of the “initial grace” that he “received” from God. In the second level, the sinner becomes Christian (a “convert”) as a result of the “grace of conversion,” for which he was able to “ask, seek, knock.” The active verbs (ask, seek, pray) point to the controversial aspect of Bedell's suggestion. Bedell is wondering whether those humbled sinners with *only* an initial, God-given impulse that convinces them of the truth of Christianity might be able, of their own volition, to ask God to take them the rest of the way to grace. If a humbled sinner did, indeed, have the ability to ask for grace, his condemnation would be just if he chose not to ask for it.

It is worth clarifying that the humbled sinners in question are “convinced of the truth,” but lack the “grace of conversion” that demarcates Christians. It is easy to confuse Bedell's point, as Ward does multiple times. When Bedell describes men who are “convinced of the truth,” Ward mistakenly (and understandably) assumes that Bedell is referring to already-converted Christians. But Bedell categorizes men who are “convinced of the truth” as still outside of salvation until they have God's grace that grants them the ability to believe. In other

words, while Ward is imagining two standard Calvinist categories (reprobate and elect), Bedell is imagining at least three categories: 1. sinners who are unconvinced of Christian truth; 2. humbled sinners who are “convinced of the truth” but unconverted; 3. converted Christians who either asked for the grace of conversion or were given that impulse by God. For Bedell, it is insufficient to have only two, cut-and-dry choices or to imagine God dispensing grace in a single step, which leaves no room for an adult with an initial knowledge of God to desire additional saving grace. In his next letter to Ward, Bedell clarifies that a “humbled sinner is not yet a true convert.”⁷⁸ In other words, being “convinced of the truth” is only the first step in changing one’s status from “humbled” to “converted.”⁷⁹

According to Bedell’s tentative hypothesis, once a sinner is humbled (that is, convinced of the truth of Christian doctrine by grace), he may ask God for the additional grace of conversion. Again, this is the radical part of Bedell’s theology, the idea that a sinner has the ability to “ask, seek, knock.” To clarify, (as Bedell often does for Ward), Bedell is not suggesting that all people *must* ask for grace in order to receive it; sometimes, God gives man the ability to believe without his asking. However, man is not *dependent* upon receiving a new impulse from God because he has the ability to “ask, seek, knock” on his own. As Bedell insists, his imagined soteriology does not allow man to choose between grace and reprobation; man does not have that kind of power because only God can grant grace. Rather, man’s choice is between *asking* God for grace and not asking for it. Ward tries to explain Bedell’s theology of justification using an

⁷⁸ “Bedell to Ward, [late April?] 1627” in *Two Biographies*, 269.

⁷⁹ We can think of the difference between Bedell’s “humbled” sinners and “converted” sinners as the difference between people who recognize they have a drinking problem and need to go to AA, and people who actually go to AA and turn their life around. The first group may be “convinced of the truth,” which is a necessary first step, but they are not yet recovering from their illness.

analogy of two beggars, who are each shown a penny and only one accepts it. But Bedell worries that Ward's analogy "is not like this matter." Ward's analogy could imply that a man has to reach for his own grace, whereas Bedell insists that God is ready to deliver grace in both scenarios. Bedell compares the conversion of some adults to "showing money to two beggars [inscribed] with Christ's word, 'Ask and ye shall have.'"⁸⁰ In this case, Bedell explains, both beggars are promised the coins, but only the beggar who *asks* for his coin has both the promise and actually obtains it because God gives him what he requests.⁸¹

In his next letter, dated May 8, 1627, Bedell explains his reasons for insisting upon man's ability to ask for grace. He not only wants to clear God from responsibility for man's eternal damnation, but he also hates the thought that God would keep his love from man. Because the world offers so much "misery" and God's "offer of life and happiness" is so wonderful, God would be the cause of the worst kind of suffering if God distanced himself from man.⁸² Knowing how wonderful God's promise is, it seems to Bedell that "a man should be able to desire it and Christ the means of it; and to pray, 'Convert me, O Lord, and I shalbe converted, etc.'" The passage is quite striking. Given the misery that he sees in the world and the happiness offered by God, Bedell wants every man to be able to ask for Christ.⁸³ After all, if God denies his grace to

⁸⁰ "Bedell to Ward, [late April?] 1627" in *Two Biographies*, 269.

⁸¹ Ward proposes a new analogy in his response. This time, Ward compares stubborn sinners (those who do not ask for grace) to devils (who are aware of Christian truths, but cannot pray for salvation). But Bedell again resists this analogy because 1. devils are not given an initial impulse to seek truth, as sinners are, and 2. Christ did not die to save devils, as he did mankind. "Bedell to Ward, May 8, 1627" in *Two Biographies*, 270. Bod. Tanner MS 72, folio 194r.

⁸² "Bedell to Ward, May 8, 1627" in *Two Biographies*, 270. Bod. Tanner MS 72, folio 194r.

⁸³ He does not mean to imply that humbled sinners have as much grace as already converted Christians. He writes, "I do freely grant that the believer hath ever a greater grace than he that is not converted. For he hath the gift of faith itself." But Bedell holds that both the converted Christian and the sinner were given equal amounts of grace at their creation. He challenges the Calvinist belief that converted Christians were converted precisely because they were

certain people, Bedell asks, how could it be that these unbelievers' mouths "shall be stopped and their condemnation just"?⁸⁴ Instead of God choosing favorites, it must be that all people are given enough grace to make them humbled sinners. Should a sinner want to ask for additional faith, he has sufficient grace to do so.⁸⁵ If a humbled sinner decides not to ask for grace, he is "made inexcusable why he believed not."⁸⁶ And, although God sets him up for success by giving him "habits" that incline him toward grace, man is able to exercise this ability on his own.⁸⁷ After all, Bedell explains, "If the Master must not only teach the trade, and give that stock, but every moment put on to the exercise, or else nothing will be done, why is the slothful servant blamed?"⁸⁸

So where is Job in all of this? Over the course of ten months, Bedell had been trying to determine how it can be that grace is the sole cause of man's salvation, yet God can give man

given a special grace, while others remain unconverted because they were denied that grace. "Bedell to Ward, May 8, 1627" in *Two Biographies*, 270. Bod. Tanner MS 72, folio 194r.

⁸⁴ "Bedell to Ward, May 8, 1627," in *Two Biographies*, 270. Bod. Tanner MS 72, folio 194r.

⁸⁵ To avoid exaggerating man's role in his justification based on the fact that he can ask for grace, Bedell clarifies in his next letter (January 29, 1627) that the *initial* impulse that convinces man of the truth of Christianity comes from God. In fact, more often than not, God also gives man the *immediate* impulse to seek grace. But—and this is the important part—we do not *need* this new impulse in order to ask for grace and we are able to resist the impulse that we are given. (As Bedell puts it, the impulse does not "irresistibly move.") If man is offered this impulse toward grace and he resists it, then God is justified in condemning him. He urges, "God hath begun in you a good work of his grace, and brought it thus far, as that you have a will to believe and convert; with fear and care, do you endeavor to finish... that whereupon your salvation depends." God initiates the justification process and gives you the will to believe; all you have to do is request the grace of conversion and God will finish the rest. "Bedell to Ward, January 29, 1627," in *Two Biographies*, 276. Bod. Tanner MS 72, folio 239v.

⁸⁶ "Bedell to Ward, January 29, 1627/1628," in *Two Biographies*, 277. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 240r. Ward's response brings up another point: perhaps man is "able to pray" (*posse orare*) but cannot "actually pray" (*actu orare*) without a new impulse from God. Bedell dismisses this notion, too. He says that man has both the ability to pray and can actually pray without any other impulse. "Bedell to Ward, Feb. 8, 1627/1628" in *Two Biographies*, 280. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 244r.

⁸⁷ "Bedell to Ward, Feb. 8, 1627/1628" in *Two Biographies*, 279. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 243v.

⁸⁸ "Bedell to Ward, March 24, 1627/1628" in *Two Biographies*, 282. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 262v.

enough of a chance to seek grace that he is not responsible for man's damnation. Now, in February 1627/8, Bedell turns to Job as a crucial Biblical example of man's ability to seek grace without a new impulse from God. Whereas some Calvinists believed that man was dependent upon a new impulse from God for *every* action that contributes to his justification, Bedell argues that God, as an act of grace, grants us an initial "habit," but we retain our ability to turn toward him of our own volition. For "sensible proof," he writes, "When God will try any man, as Abraham, Job, Hezekiah, etc., he doth not only not give him any new impulse, but suffers the flesh, the Devil, or the world, to give him an impulse to the contrary."⁸⁹ These Biblical characters were tried by God, and God did not give them impulses to return to him; in fact, God let them experience impulses to turn *away* from him. In Bedell's mind, these stories only make sense if their heroes actually had the ability to seek God or turn away. He writes, "In these cases, what thank were it, or what trial of grace, if God did underhand give new impulses to every exercise of his gifts? What occasion to give such testimony of their love and faith?"⁹⁰ He insists that the very idea of a *trial* of faith necessitates that man could choose to fail or succeed. He qualifies, "I doubt not but often new impulses are given, to avoid sin or put on the faithful to a higher degree of any gracious habit."⁹¹ But he refuses to believe that "*always* this is requisite, or else we can do nothing," an attitude that, he warns, "unavoidably" leads to despair.⁹²

⁸⁹ "Bedell to Ward, Feb. 8, 1627/1628" in *Two Biographies*, 279. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 243v.

⁹⁰ "Bedell to Ward, Feb. 8, 1627/1628" in *Two Biographies*, 279. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 243v.

⁹¹ "Bedell to Ward, Feb. 8, 1627/1628" in *Two Biographies*, 279. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 243v.

⁹² "Bedell to Ward, Feb. 8, 1627/1628" in *Two Biographies*, 279. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 244r.

Bedell's next letter reiterates that the strongest support for his argument comes from "cases of trial."⁹³ He explains that "God cannot be said to try what is in man's heart" if God stacks the trial against him, just as a person cannot accurately weigh a piece of gold if he uses a biased scale.⁹⁴ And lest we suspect that God abandons us in our trials, Bedell writes, "When God would let them or others see their strength through his grace, he doth stand by them, and with them, as Job, Abraham, Paul, etc., but not increase his grace by new impulses in this case, though often he do so at other times."⁹⁵ In other words, when God puts us on trial, he is standing with us, but he is not causing our victory or our defeat. We are left to triumph with the grace that we had "before the trial...without any extraordinary improvement at the time of the temptation or new impulse."⁹⁶

Bedell insists that the actual outcome of a Biblical trial (i.e. whether Abraham or Job succeeds or fails at his task) is unimportant. The important part is the existence of more than one possible course of action—"Abraham whether he will sacrifice Isaac, Job whether he will curse God," etc. He explains, "When God, assisting only formerly-granted habits, leaves it to us to do or not to do, the doing itself is an act of our will...The well doing is to be attributed to God's

⁹³ "Bedell to Ward, March 24, 1627/1628" in *Two Biographies*, 281. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 262r.

⁹⁴ Using the analogy of a biased scale, Bedell explains: "God cannot be said to try what is in man's heart (whether it be to let ourselves or the world know our weakness) if he still puts it [the trial] on secretly against those things whereby he would try it [what is in man's heart]. As he cannot be said to try the weight of a piece of gold, that lifts up the scale wherein it [the gold] lies, as oft as he puts in the other [side of the scale] the weight which should examine it." "Bedell to Ward, March 24, 1627/1628" in *Two Biographies*, 281. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 262r.

⁹⁵ "Bedell to Ward, March 24, 1627/1628" in *Two Biographies*, 281. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 262r. Ward responds with a question. During a trial, if a man is conscious of his own weakness and seeks support from God, can we still credit him for acting without the help of a "new impulse"? Bedell answers that it depends: did the man need a new impulse in order to ask for God's support? If he could ask for God's help on his own, "we have that which we sought." If man needs a new impulse to ask for God's help, it "leaves the matter as we found it." "Bedell to Ward, April 28, 1628" in *Two Biographies*, 285. Bod. Tanner 72, 275r.

⁹⁶ "Bedell to Ward, May 6, 1628" in *Two Biographies*, 289. Although God helps, Bedell writes, "I hold the sustentation of his former grace was sufficient." Bod. Tanner 72, 279v.

grace; the ill to natural corruption.”⁹⁷ There is a point at which God “leaves it to us to do or not to do.” Whether we make a good decision (which is the consequence of the “formerly-granted habits of grace” that God gave us) or a bad decision (which is the consequence of original sin) is beside the point. The point is that we get to make the decision. As Bedell says, it is “the doing itself,” not the outcome, that serves as proof of our freedom.

Bedell’s image of God here (and elsewhere) is compassionate. He imagines a God who wants to give as many unconverted adults as possible the opportunity to share in the hope and happiness that is found in Christ.⁹⁸ To the theologian who believes that a “new impulse” from God is necessary for “every wagging of the finger,” Bedell warns, “He...will sweat when he comes to clear how God is not the author of evil.”⁹⁹ In fact, Bedell fears that Ward himself accidentally makes God the cause of evil by making him the premeditator of all things. When Ward describes God as the cause of sin, a stance in keeping with moderate predestinarianism, Bedell responds, “In the killing of Abel by Cain (setting aside the deformity¹⁰⁰), I do not think

⁹⁷ “Bedell to Ward, April 28, 1628” in *Two Biographies*, 285. Bod. Tanner 72, 275v.

⁹⁸ Bedell does not say that *all* reprobates have the ability to turn toward God. Rather, the reprobates that have the initial impulse to accept the truth of the Christian doctrine can “ask, seek, knock.” He compares these types of reprobates to the seeds described in the Parable of the Sower (Matthew 13:5, Mark 4:5, Luke 8:6). Some seeds fall onto the highway, and they are “wholly dead in sin” with no chance of grace. But “the other grounds have at least the lively seed in them, though in some (through their own fault) it come not to fruit.” He makes the seeds on the highway the exception, relative to all the other grounds. “Bedell to Ward, January 29, 1627/1628” in *Two Biographies*, 276. Bod. Tanner MS 72, 239r.

⁹⁹ “Bedell to Ward, March 24, 1627/1628” in *Two Biographies*, 282. Bod. Tanner 72, 262r.

¹⁰⁰ Bedell’s overall point in this sentence is that God is *not* responsible for Cain’s murder of Abel. God did not cause a sinful act to arise from Cain’s will. But his parenthetical comment—“setting aside the deformity”—clarifies the part of Cain’s sin that God *is* responsible for, i.e. “the deformity.” Essentially, Bedell is suggesting that God is the cause of man’s *ability* to sin (his deformity), but not the fact that he actually sins.

Medieval scholastic philosophy debated God’s responsibility for man’s “deformity,” a crookedness in the will so that it is not rightly aligned with God’s will. This theological idea of “deformity” compares a misshapen body (“natural deformity,” the consequence of a natural defect) and a misshapen will (“moral deformity,” the consequence of a moral defect). Medieval philosophers were in agreement that God causes the natural defects that lead to natural deformity. (For instance, if God does not provide you with eyes, you are blind.) But does that mean that God is also the cause of moral deformity? Medieval philosophers like John of Mirecourt, the fourteenth-century scholastic, answered both yes and no. God *is* the cause of the deformity of the will. He is the one who creates the

you will seriously aver that God is the *praemovens*, or in the eating of the forbidden fruit. For my part, I dare not say it and I sweat to think it.”¹⁰¹ When Ward writes back and implies that God might have given Eve or Cain an immediate impulse for their particular motion, Bedell accuses his argument of being “very offensively and untruly spoken.”¹⁰² And the issue continued to occupy Bedell’s thoughts. Even in his final letter devoted to the topic, on May 6, 1628, Bedell writes, “I be not yet satisfied.”¹⁰³ In his mind, God can only be just if he is good, which means that God must give all men enough grace to make salvation possible.

Bedell’s insistence that man has free will—that God would not damn people without giving them a chance to accept grace—suggests how even mainstream English ecclesiasts were rethinking supralapsarianism in the seventeenth century. Bedell’s defense of man’s free will is the basis of his justification of God, one that builds on Harsnett’s theodicy and anticipates Milton’s. All three theologians resist the notion that God withholds saving grace from groups of people and then damns them for their unbelief. This idea that God would cause man’s sinfulness and then damn him for it does not accord with their idea of God’s goodness. Instead, they insist that God shares his power with man, giving him the freedom to choose good or evil, to accept grace or reject it. Whereas Calvin had used Job to insist upon God’s power to do as he pleases,

will’s moral defect, or crookedness. But it is not the moral defect that causes a sinful act. It is the will that causes the sinful act. Frederick Copleston explains, “God causes the moral deformity by not supplying moral rectitude; but the sin proceeds from the will, and it is the human being who is guilty... The privation of right order [the “deformity” or crookedness that God causes] cannot be realized except in and through a will.” Adding deformity into the equation—saying that God causes a deformed will, which causes sin—clarified that God was only the “absolute” cause of sin, not the direct cause of the impulse within the will. Copleston Frederick, *A History of Philosophy 3. Late Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy* (London: Continuum, 2003), 133-34.

¹⁰¹ “Bedell to Ward, April 28, 1628” in *Two Biographies*, 285. Bod. Tanner 72, 275v.

¹⁰² “Bedell to Ward, May 6, 1628” in *Two Biographies*, 290. Bod. Tanner 72, 280r.

¹⁰³ “Bedell to Ward, May 6, 1628” in *Two Biographies*, 288. Bod. Tanner 72, 279r.

Harsnett, Bedell, and Milton use Job's trial as a demonstration of man's ability to accept God's offer of grace. Harsnett uses Job to prove that all men (even Gentiles) are given the "inborn light" that can lead to grace. Bedell uses Job to demonstrate how men can seek this grace of their own volition. And Milton, as we shall see, uses Job to celebrate man's freedom to accept grace, a freedom that is not only necessary to clear God from his responsibility for sin, but also key to God's plan for the redemption of mankind.

Milton's Theodicy

This brief history of Job in early modern theodicy contextualizes Milton's own use of Job to "justify the ways of God to man." At the outset of this chapter, I defined theodicy, at the most fundamental level, as an analysis of God's goodness and power in light of the existence of suffering. The fact that there is evil and suffering in the world raises two possibilities, 1. that God could stop suffering, but does not want to (that he is powerful, but not good in our sense of goodness), or 2. that God wants to stop suffering, but has given up his power to do so (that he is good, but not powerful in our usual sense of power). Calvin's theodicy falls in the first category. In his effort to preserve God's absolute sovereignty, he suggests that God *can* stop evil, but has just (and inscrutable) reasons for not wishing to do so, thus challenging the idea that God is "good" in the way that we define goodness. Harsnett and Bedell, on the other hand, object to the idea that God "casts out part of his creation and destroys it," "hurts us at his pleasure," "demands the perdition of infinite myriads," and "saith that not one or two, but millions of men should fry in hell." This powerful God does not measure up to their understanding of the divine nature. Their theodicies fall into the second category, in which God does not want innocent people to suffer, but has sacrificed his absolute power to stop it. They suggest that God, in his infinite mercy, chooses to share his power with humanity in the form of free will. God *wants* man to

come to him, so he grants all men the freedom to accept (or at least not reject) grace. Job's demonstration of free will matters because, for these theologians, justifying God depends on giving man the freedom to resist falling. Milton maintains Harsnett and Bedell's sense that man must have free will, lest God seem responsible for sin. He assumes that God is not good if he creates a man who will be damned on account of his preordained sinfulness.¹⁰⁴ Instead, as the title of Dennis Danielson's *Milton's Good God* (1982) suggests,¹⁰⁵ Milton believes that God must be *actually* good, i.e. good in the way that we imagine goodness.¹⁰⁶ God does not want evil to happen, yet it exists because God prioritizes human freedom—giving people the ability to choose good and evil—over his absolute power to stop evil at all costs. Because people only have free will if “their choices are not coerced” and they “have genuine alternatives,”¹⁰⁷ his justification of God requires that man have free will, i.e. that man be free to accept grace or reject it.

¹⁰⁴ To be clear, predestination still plays an important role in Milton's theology in determining man's election. But Milton departs from reformed orthodoxy's understanding of predestination in a couple of ways. First, Milton believed in sublapsarian predestination, a way of understanding the logical order of God's decrees so that man fell (step one) and then God came up with a solution to offer salvation to certain fallen people (step 2). In contrast, reformed orthodoxy advocated for supralapsarian predestination, which implies that God created some people to be damned, even before the fall had happened. Second, Milton did not believe that God's will governed all aspects of man's volition, which preserved man's ability to choose evil or resist it. Man's ability to choose good, even after the fall, is crucial in Milton's theology because, similar to Arminianism, God predestines people to salvation based on their foreseen success at resisting temptation. Myers, *Milton's Theology*, 49-50.

¹⁰⁵ Dennis Richard Danielson, *Milton's Good God: A Study in Literary Theodicy* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 1982).

¹⁰⁶ Again, theodicy requires balancing God's goodness and power. It seems impossible for God to be good and all-powerful, given the existence of suffering. Given this contradiction, upholding God's power requires rethinking his goodness (as Calvin does) and upholding God's goodness requires rethinking his power (as Milton does).

¹⁰⁷ Stephen T. Davis, "Free Will and Evil," in *Encountering Evil: Live Options in Theodicy*, ed. Stephen T. Davis (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 74.

Paradise Lost presents Milton's clearest defense of free will by insisting that Adam and Eve were "sufficient to have stood."¹⁰⁸ Although Milton's epic does not make explicit reference to Job, *Paradise Lost* is a fitting starting point for the second half of our investigation because its theodicy prompts Milton's turn to Job in *Paradise Regained* as a demonstration of man's freedom. In Book 3 of *Paradise Lost*, God, acting as the poem's official theologian, foresees Adam and Eve's fall and preemptively answers our accusations against divine justice. God asks:

Whose fault?

Whose but his own? ingrate, he had of me

All he could have; I made him just and right,

Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.¹⁰⁹

God could have stopped Adam and Eve from falling, but he would have had to "change / their nature, and revoke the high decree / unchangeable, eternal, which ordained / their freedom."¹¹⁰

As Milton argues in the rest of the poem, the benefit of revoking man's freedom (i.e. preventing the fall) would not outweigh the costs. According to Milton, it is good that God granted Adam and Eve with the ability to choose, even though they were able to fall and did.

¹⁰⁸ *Paradise Lost* in John Milton, *The Major Works*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3.99. When I focus on how Milton (like other early modern writers) uses Job in his theodicy, I don't mean to imply, of course, that presenting a theodicy is the *only* thing that *Paradise Lost* accomplishes. I am not trying to reduce Milton's poetry to a theological system or imply that *Paradise Lost* is merely a versification of *Areopagitica* or *De Doctrina*.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.96-99.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.125-28.

In *Paradise Lost*, human freedom—including the freedom to fall—is the highest manifestation of God’s image in man, a revelation of the creator in his creation.¹¹¹ It matters that man has this freedom so that he can obey without compulsion. God explains:

Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
Of true allegiance, constant faith or love,
Where only what they needs must do, appeared,
Not what they would? What praise could they receive?
What pleasure I from such obedience paid,
When will and reason (reason also is choice)
Useless and vain, of freedom both despoiled,
Made passive both, had served necessity,
Not me.¹¹²

If we acted out of necessity, God would have no way of establishing our “true allegiance, constant faith, or love.” We must have freedom, even though freedom creates the possibility for sin, because it also creates the opportunity for virtue known through trial. For instance, in Book 8 of *Paradise Lost*, after Adam entreats God for a human companion, God explains that his withholding of such a companion was only “to try thee, Adam.”¹¹³ The animal companions that Adam had seen thus far were “for trial only brought,” so that God could test “how thou could'st judge of fit and meet.”¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Danielson, *Milton's Good God*, 168.

¹¹² *Paradise Lost* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 3.103-11.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 8.437.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.447-8.

God is so committed to Adam and Eve's freedom that, even after their willful disobedience—which results in their bondage to sin and death—he gives them the freedom to choose him.¹¹⁵ At the end of Book 10, when Adam and Eve suspect that everything is lost and are on the brink of despair, they remember the grace that God has offered them and turn back toward him.¹¹⁶ (This is the move that fascinated Bedell so much—the moment when man decides to “ask, seek, knock.”) Although Adam and Eve's conversion would not have been possible without God's “prevenient grace,”¹¹⁷ an initial, baseline grace that comes from God, the poem emphasizes man's ability to use this prevenient grace to freely seek additional grace, a freedom that was not entirely lost in the fall.¹¹⁸ Adam and Eve's freedom is what makes God's final offer of redemption in *Paradise Lost* satisfying: although Adam and Eve had the freedom to sin, they also had the freedom to turn back toward God, and God responds to their repentance

¹¹⁵ The idea of the fall as the loss of man's freedom runs from Augustine through the Christian tradition in the early modern period. For an overview of freedom in Christian thought, see Myers, *Milton's Theology*, 17ff.

¹¹⁶ As Myers notes, Adam and Eve's process of conversion shows the “two sides of regeneration: the divine initiative and the free human response.” Myers, *Milton's Theology*, 158.

¹¹⁷ *Paradise Lost* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 11.3. We've seen versions of this “prevenient grace” before. Harsnett describes the “inborn light” that precedes “supernatural light.” A person must use the “inborn light” rightly in order to get the additional light. Bedell describes the grace given to a “humbled” sinner before the grace given to a “converted” sinner. The humbled sinner must “ask, seek, knock” in order to receive the grace of the converted sinner. For Milton, the “prevenient grace” is the grace that Adam and Eve were given before they were even created. But now they must take this grace and “use it rightly” or “ask, seek, knock.” They have to turn back toward God of their own volition, not with a new impulse from God.

¹¹⁸ In Augustine's version of the fall, pre-lapsarian man is perfect and without knowledge of evil, while post-lapsarian man is totally depraved and enslaved to sin. This version puts the maximum difference between man's state of innocence and state of corruption. But, in Milton's version of the fall, pre-lapsarian man already knows evil and post-lapsarian man retains his freedom to reject or accept grace. Danielson traces Milton's version of the fall to Irenaeus (rather than Augustine), and Myers locates post-lapsarian freedom in the work of Arminius. Danielson, *Milton's Good God*, 164-201; Myers, *Milton's Theology*, 42. See below for a discussion of Milton's non-Augustinian theodicy.

(literally, a “re-turning”).¹¹⁹ The goodness in God’s treatment of Adam and Eve fulfills Milton’s aim to justify God.

Or at least Milton’s God is mostly justified by the end of *Paradise Lost*. The soundness of the poem’s theodicy depends on the fact that Adam and Eve were actually “sufficient to have stood,” as Milton claims. Unfortunately, since their sufficiency to stand is not demonstrated in the fall, there is no evidence that the outcome in Eden could have been otherwise.¹²⁰ Danielson articulates this difficulty, the challenge of presenting the fall in a way that persuades us that Adam and Eve’s choice was a real one. He asks, “What chance have Adam and Eve really got of remaining uncorrupted? Milton, of course, cannot absolutely prove that Adam and Eve were sufficient to have stood. The only real firm demonstration of that claim would be their actually standing in the face of Satan’s temptations.”¹²¹ If God had created Adam and Eve with no choice but to fall, his subsequent offer of mercy would not outweigh his responsibility for their shortcomings. In this case, man was predestined to suffering, and God is the author of the sin that he punishes.

In order to fortify his defense of free will (the essential part of his theodicy), Milton needed to supplement the story of Adam and Eve’s fall with another Biblical story where man demonstrates his freedom to stand. This is where Job enters the scene. Milton could not use Adam or Eve to demonstrate someone “actually standing in the face of Satan’s temptations,” but

¹¹⁹ Myers suggests that the center of the poem is not the fall, but God’s additional gift of grace. Myers, *Milton’s Theology*, 151.

¹²⁰ On the contrary, our familiarity with the creation story and its place in the larger Christian metanarrative makes the fall seem quite inevitable.

¹²¹ In Danielson’s reading, Abdiel, the angel who resists falling, is a featured character in Milton’s narrative because he proves that humans and angels had real freedom to stand. Because we know that Abdiel stood, we can know that man is responsible for his own fall and thus that God is good. Danielson, *Milton’s Good God*, 111.

he could find this demonstration of man's freedom in the story of Job's trial. Finishing the defense of God's justice that Milton began with Adam and Eve, *Paradise Regained* balances Adam's disobedience with the example of two men—Christ and Job—who were tried by God and able to stand. Christ alone would not have served Milton's purposes. Because Christ was divine and sinless, his standing against Satan would not have proved that Adam and Eve (who were human) were sufficient to have stood. Job, on the other hand, was comparable to Adam and Eve. When Job stood, it proved that Adam and Eve had been free to stand, confirming the justice of the theodicy that Milton outlines in *Paradise Lost*. In other words, because Job was tried by God and had the ability to stand or fall, his case establishes God's justice in condemning man when he does, indeed, fall.

Milton's characterization of Job as a man who was "sufficient to have stood"—and did so successfully—was rooted in the "heroic Job" tradition of patristic/medieval exegesis that Lewalski explores in *Milton's Brief Epic*. In this tradition, Satan asks God to test Job's piety, and Job patiently passes the test. Multiple allusions in *Paradise Regained* celebrate Job for this victory. Foreseeing Satan's temptation of Christ, God brags:

He might have learned
Less overweening, since he failed in Job,
Whose constant perseverance overcame
Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.¹²²

Satan, too, recalls his unsuccessful trial of Job. He imagines his temptation of Christ as a repetition of the time when God "Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job / To prove him, and

¹²² *Paradise Regained* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 1.146-49.

illustrate his high worth.”¹²³ As Satan acknowledges, God hands over Job in order to illustrate how capable a pious man can be. And God achieves his aim to increase the world’s esteem for an exemplary man. Jesus reminds Satan:

This is true glory and renown, when God,
Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
The just man, and divulges him through heaven
To all his angels, who with true applause
Recount his praises; thus he did to Job,
When to extend his fame through heaven and earth,
As thou to thy reproach mayst well remember,
He asked thee, Hast thou seen my servant Job?
Famous he was in heaven, on earth less known.¹²⁴

Even before Job is put to the test, God and his heavenly attendants know that Job is a “just man” who is deserving of “approbation;” nevertheless, Job’s trial is an important indication of his piety because it provides an opportunity to establish his “fame through heaven *and* earth.” Because of his trial, we know that Job was a man who was tried and able to stand, thus completing Milton’s justification of God through a defense of man’s free will.

The Book of Job’s portrayal of the triumph of a holy man, which patches the logical gap in Milton’s freewill defense, helps to explain Job’s presence in *Paradise Regained*.¹²⁵ In part,

¹²³ *Paradise Regained* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 1.369-70.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.60-68.

¹²⁵ There are six explicit references to Job (1.147, 1.369, 1.425; 3.64, 3.67, 3.95) and the book is quoted twice (1.33, 1.368).

then, we have answered our initial question, that is, why Job is important to Milton (and Harsnett and Bedell). Harsnett uses Job to prove that people have the freedom to receive or reject grace; Bedell, to prove that people have the freedom to succeed or fail in trials; and Milton, to prove that Adam and Eve (and the rest of mankind by extension) were sufficient to have stood. In all of these theodicies, Job prevents God from being implicated in sin by demonstrating man's freedom.

Theodicy + Soteriology

Although Milton's justification of God in light of the existence of evil utilizes the categories of traditional theodicy (defending God's goodness by suggesting that God shares his power with man), Milton also pushes traditional theodicy to its breaking point by giving suffering a redemptive purpose. Traditional theodicy describes evil, including both sin (moral evil) and suffering (natural evil),¹²⁶ as a "problem;" its aim is to avoid assigning this problem to the fault of a perfectly good, all-powerful God. A theodicy like Harsnett's or Bedell's accomplishes this aim, but it is grounded in what Stephen Davis calls "bare theism," a skeleton version of Christianity whose goal is extricating God from his involvement in sin rather than unfolding God's grand vision for humankind.¹²⁷ In other words, traditional theodicy solves one problem (the problem of God's justice), but leaves the big picture unclear. Particularly in the

¹²⁶ See above (note 6) for Danielson's explanation of the forms that evil can take.

¹²⁷ Stephen Davis explains this difference between bare theism and a theodicy attached to a deeply Christian worldview. He writes, "I do not believe the problem of evil can be solved with the resources provided by bare theism; it can only be solved, in my opinion, from a perspective that makes use of Christian doctrine, especially Christian soteriology and eschatology." Davis, "Free Will and Evil," 73.

Bedell's theodicy tends toward bare theism. When Bedell defends man's free will, he is so interested in protecting God's name that he does not attend to the outcome of Adam's and Job's trials, i.e. the fact that Adam chose to sin and that Job chose to stand. Recall that Bedell says that the "doing itself," or the fact of participating in a trial, is more important than the outcome. "Bedell to Ward, April 28, 1628" in Bedell [the younger], "Two Biographies," 285. Bod. Tanner 72, 275v.

case of theodicies that defend man's free will in order to clear God from blame, it is legitimate to ask: since Adam and Eve were free to stand or fall, why didn't they stand instead of falling? It would not have been an intrusion on their freedom if they had freely chosen what was good instead of what was evil. In fact, since it would have been possible for God to create beings who were free *and* perfectly moral, why didn't God create an entire race of people who chose to stand instead of fall? In *Encountering Evil: Live Options in Theodicy*, John Hick articulates this objection to a theodicy that redirects its accusatory finger at man instead of God. After all, if the goal of defending man's free will is to establish God's goodness, it seems that God would be even more good if man, "although formally free to sin, would in fact never do so."¹²⁸

For Hick (and for Milton, as we'll see), the fact that God allows for sin and suffering means that these evils must have a redemptive purpose, something that traditional theodicy's "problem" of evil doesn't account for. Hick explains:

But if God could, without logical contradiction, have created humans as wholly good, free beings, why did God not do so? Why was humanity not initially created in possession of all the virtues, instead of having to acquire them through the long, hard struggle of life as we know it? The answer, I suggest, appeals to the principle that virtues that have been formed within the agent as a hard-won deposit of right decisions in situations of challenge and temptation are intrinsically more valuable than ready-made virtues created within her without any effort on her own part...If, then, God's purpose was to create finite persons

¹²⁸ Hick insists on the possibility of a free, morally perfect person. He argues that "a responsible free being does not act randomly, but on the basis of a moral nature, and a free being whose nature is wholly and unqualifiedly good will accordingly never in fact sin." John Hick, "An Irenaean Theodicy," in *Encountering Evil: Live Options in Theodicy*, ed. Stephen T. Davis (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 43.

embodying the most valuable kind of moral goodness, he (or she) would have to create them, not as already perfect beings but rather as imperfect creatures, who can then attain to the more valuable kind of goodness through their own free choices.¹²⁹

The fact that God did not create perfectly moral, free agents suggests that humanity's sinfulness is part of God's plan for allowing man to attain a "more valuable kind of goodness." This redemptive purpose of sin and suffering is key to Milton's theodicy, which is why traditional theodicy is not sufficient to capture his understanding of why suffering exists. Instead, Milton's theodicy—his understanding of how God's goodness and power allows suffering to exist—interacts with his soteriology—his doctrine of how God saves man. Because Job is central to Milton's theodicy, Milton's use of Job, too, goes beyond a simple justification of God and becomes part of Milton's vision for the redemption of mankind.

The fact that Job factors into Milton's soteriology is unusual. According to the soteriology that has dominated western Christendom since Augustine,¹³⁰ Adam's fall created a distance between God and man that would be irreconcilable if not for the redeeming sacrifice of Christ. This focus on Christ's sacrifice as *the* means of man's redemption does not leave a significant role for Job. Milton's understanding of man's fall, on the other hand, is rooted in a much older Christian soteriology, first articulated by Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons (c. 130-c.220AD).¹³¹ Milton would certainly have been familiar with Irenaeus's *Against Heresies*

¹²⁹ John Hick, "An Irenaean Theodicy," 43.

¹³⁰ Christian soteriology typically includes an explanation of man's fall and his redemption. Because this redemption is a matter of being reconciled with God (made "at one"), theories of the atonement are part of soteriology.

¹³¹ Danielson, *Milton's Good God*, 164-201.

through the work of other early modern Biblical scholars.¹³² In 1526 Desiderius Erasmus published the first edition of *Against Heresies*, in which he affectionately refers to “my Irenaeus” as a likeminded spirit trying to revitalize the Church.¹³³ Between 1536 and 1700, there were at least thirty-five editions and reprints of the text issued in Paris, Basel, Geneva, and Cologne,¹³⁴ culminating with an authoritative edition printed in 1702 at Oxford by the patristic scholar Johann Ernst Grabe.¹³⁵ Although there was no English edition of *Against Heresies* before Grabe’s, Milton demonstrates his familiarity with Irenaeus in *Of Reformation in England* (1641), *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (1641), and *Areopagitica* (1644). In *Reformation*, he commends Irenaeus for having “reproved” Victor, the bishop of Rome;¹³⁶ in *Prelatical Episcopacy*, he questions the accuracy of Irenaeus’s account of having met Polycarpus;¹³⁷ and in *Areopagitica*,

¹³² Although Danielson describes Milton’s “soul-making theodicy” as indebted to Irenaeus, he is light on the details of how Milton might have encountered *Against Heresies*, Irenaeus’s only surviving work. Danielson only briefly mentions Lactantius as someone who “set forth the themes and attitudes typical of the soul-making type of theodicy,” but the connection between Lactantius and Irenaeus is tentative. Danielson, *Milton’s Good God*, 174-177;201. Barbara Lewalski is even more vague. She writes that Milton “would be aware of Irenaeus’ principle of the ‘recapitulation of Christ’” because of his “saturation in patristic literature.” Lewalski, *Milton’s Brief Epic*, 168.

¹³³ Irenaeus and Desiderius Erasmus, *Opvs Ervdtissimvm Divi Irenaei Episcopi Lvgdvnensis in Qvinqve Libros Digestum, in Quibus Mire Retegit & Confutat Ueterum Haereseon Impias Ac Portentosas Opiniones* (Basileae: Froben, 1526), 2-3. Erasmus’s eight-volume edition was reprinted at least seven times in the next forty years and prompted a number of new editions, including in Geneva in 1570, Basel in 1571, and Paris in 1575.

¹³⁴ Twenty of these were in the sixteenth century and fifteen in the seventeenth century.

¹³⁵ Irenaeus and Johann Ernst Grabe, *Tou En Hagiois Patros Hemon Eirenaïou ... Elenchou Kai Anatropes Tes Pseudonumou Gnoseos Biblia Pente = ... Contra Omnes Haereses Libri Quinque* (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano; for Thomas Bennet, London, 1702).

¹³⁶ John Milton, *Of Reformation Touching Chvrch-Discipline in England, and the Cavses That Hitherto Have Hindred It Two Bookes, Written to a Freind [Sic]* ([London?]: for Thomas Underhill, 1641), 23, EEBO image 14. To challenge the legitimacy of modern-day bishops, Milton suggests that ancient bishops were also corrupt and unknowing of orthodox doctrine. He mentions Irenaeus, who reproved Victor, the bishop of Rome, for his rash excommunication of all of the churches of Asia. Milton writes, “Yea, those that are reckoned for orthodox, began to make sad and shameful rents in the church about the trivial celebration of feasts, not agreeing when to keep Easter-day; which controversy grew so hot, that Victor the bishop of Rome excommunicated all the churches of Asia for no other cause, and was worthily thereof reproved by Irenæus.”

¹³⁷ John Milton, *Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and Vvhither It May Be Deduc’d from the Apostolical Times by Vertue of Those Testimonies Which Are Alledg’d to That Purpose in Some Late Treatises One Whereof Goes under the Name of Iames, Arch-Bishop of Armagh* (London: R.O. & G.D. for Thomas Underhill, 1641), 11-16, EEBO image 8-10.

he challenges the idea that censorship prevents heresy, arguing that effective censorship would then have to ban the work of early Christians like Irenaeus, who “discover more heresies than they well confute.”¹³⁸ Although Milton does not admire Irenaeus in *Prelatical Episcopacy* or *Areopagitica* (Milton describes him as “negligent in keeping the faith” due to his Mariology¹³⁹), Milton knew *Against Heresies* well enough to participate in conversations about Irenaeus and episcopacy in the 1640s. It seems to have been Milton’s encounter with Irenaeus in a Socinian context that prompted his movement toward a non-Augustinian theodicy in the 1650s, as we’ll see.

Whereas Augustine assumes that Adam’s fall was a catastrophe for all of mankind, which separates human history into a pre-lapsarian state and post-lapsarian state,¹⁴⁰ Irenaeus believes

Milton argues that we cannot trust the authority of ancient early church fathers for the foundation of the bishopric. He begins the section on Irenaeus, “Next follows Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who is cited to affirm, that Polycarpus ‘was made bishop of Smyrna by the apostles;’ and this, it may seem, none could better tell than he who had both seen and heard Polycarpus. But when did he hear him? Himself confesses to Florinus, when he was a boy. Whether that age in Irenæus may not be liable to many mistakings; and whether a boy may be trusted to take an exact account of the manner of a church constitution, and upon what terms, and within what limits, and with what kind of commission Polycarpus received his charge, let a man consider, ere he be credulous” (11).

¹³⁸ John Milton, *Areopagitica; a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Vnlicens'd Printing, to the Parliament of England* (London: s.n., 1644), 13, EEBO image 9. Milton describes three reasons why people tend to favor censorship. The first is the spread of heretical opinions. But if we were to censor books based on the spread of infection, we’d have to get rid of the Bible and the writings of the church fathers (including Irenaeus), who often spread more heresies than they oppose. After warning that censors would need to get rid of the Bible if their goal were to remove heretical opinions, he writes, “The ancientest fathers must be next removed, as Clement of Alexandria, and that Eusebian book of evangelic preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the gospel. Who finds not that Irenæus, Epiphanius, Jerom, and others discover more heresies than they well confute, and that oft for heresy which is the truer opinion?”

¹³⁹ Milton, *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, 14-15, EEBO image 9.

¹⁴⁰ John Hick explains, “In the Augustinian elaboration of the Genesis story Adam’s pre-fallen state is an exalted condition of ‘original righteousness,’ the snake is Satan in disguise, and the fall results in our mortality and inheritance by the whole subsequent human species of both an imputed guilt for the first crime and an inherited moral taint or disease. But none of this is to be found in the text of Genesis iii. There man’s first condition is one of primitive simplicity; he is not set in a heavenly or paradisaic state but in an earthly garden which he must tend; the snake is a snake and not a fallen angel; and there is no suggestion either of inherited guilt or of a congenital tendency to sin.” John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, revised ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 1977), 203-04.

that man's virtue has always been a work in progress. According to Irenaeus, man is initially created in the *image* of God, but without the *likeness* of God, which allows man's soul to evolve toward divine likeness over the course of his lifetime. Because Adam and Eve were created in God's image, but not his likeness, they were weak, vulnerable, and in need of improvement from the very beginning. Their fall was a "youthful lapse of judgement," but they retained their freedom to obey God in their post-lapsarian state.¹⁴¹

Irenaeus suggests that man's inherent spiritual immaturity is valuable because it gives man the opportunity to assert his virtue. After all, if God had created man in his exact likeness, man would have had no opportunity to prove his divine nature. In his essay "An Irenaean Theodicy," John Hick explains:

In order to be a person, exercising some measure of genuine freedom, the creature must be brought into existence, not in the immediate divine presence, but at a 'distance' from God. This 'distance' cannot of course be spatial, for God is omnipresent. The distance must be epistemic, a distance in the cognitive dimension. And the Irenaean hypothesis is that this 'distance' consists, in the case of humans, in their existence within and as part of a world that functions as an autonomous system and from within which God is not overwhelmingly evident.¹⁴²

The point is that God *wants* man to have "some measure of genuine freedom," which requires man's distance from God's likeness. This freedom is important because it allows man to have an

¹⁴¹ Hick, "An Irenaean Theodicy," 41.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 42.

“uncompelled response of faith.”¹⁴³ In his treatise *Against Heresies*, Irenaeus explains, “Not merely in works [daily activities] but also in faith, has God preserved the will of man, free and under his own control.”¹⁴⁴ If man were simply an extension of God, there would be no virtue in man choosing to obey God’s commands.

Irenaeus’s insistence on man’s freedom as a means for developing godlike virtue implies a type of theodicy, a justification for the existence of evil by reimagining how God manifests his power.¹⁴⁵ Because true virtue must be chosen in the face of obstacles, it is necessary that man have both freedom and obstacles. Again, one might argue that God should have given man freedom *and* moral perfection, so that man would not sin, even when given the chance to do so. But, for Irenaeus, sin itself—not just the possibility of sin—plays a crucial role in man’s development. In *Against Heresies* Irenaeus insists that man needs experience of evil in order to learn to choose good. Defending the Christian man’s encounter with evil, Irenaeus writes:

How, if we had no knowledge of the contrary, could he have had instruction in that which is good?...if any one do shun the knowledge of both kinds of things [that is, good and evil], and the twofold perception of knowledge, he unawares divests himself of the character of a human being.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 213.

¹⁴⁴ Irenaeus, "Against Heresies," in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library 5*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1867-1885), IV.xxxvii.5. Quoted in Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 213.

¹⁴⁵ Hick clarifies that Irenaeus’s justification of God was not a theodicy, per se, because his explanation of the existence of suffering does not fall into the analytical categories typical of contemporary philosophy. “Nevertheless,” he writes, “to speak of the Irenaean type of theodicy is both to name a tradition by its first great representative and at the same time to indicate the significant fact that this mode of responding to the problem of evil originated in the earliest and most ecumenical phase of Christian thought.” Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 215.

¹⁴⁶ Irenaeus, "Against Heresies," IV.xxxix.1. Quoted in Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 214.

According to Irenaeus, God’s aim could not be accomplished if man were given moral perfection alongside his freedom. Man needs sin and suffering in order to come into his divine nature, which justifies God in allowing this evil to exist.

Job—a man who suffers and, through his suffering, triumphs over Satan—provides support for Irenaeus’s understanding of evil’s redemptive purpose. Although Milton’s reading of Job is indebted to the patristic “heroic Job” tradition, as Lewalski has explained, his understanding of “heroic Job” within the context of Irenaeian theodicy also accounts for his departures from his patristic predecessors. In the patristic tradition, Job’s exemplarity depends on his perfection; any perceived complaint or blemish was ignored or allegorized away. In contrast, Milton’s Job does not have to be perfect along the way in order to be counted victorious in the end. Lewalski focuses on Milton’s characterization of Job as a spiritual hero in *Paradise Regained*, but Milton’s very different use of Job in *Samson Agonistes*, which was published together with *Paradise Regained* in 1671, suggests that Job’s non-saintly moments were, for Milton, also part of Job’s faithful endurance. Lamenting his blindness, Milton’s Samson cries that he is

buried, yet not exempt
By privilege of death and burial
From worst of other evils, pains and wrongs,
But made hereby obnoxious more
To all the miseries of life.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ *Samson Agonistes* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 103-109. (Citations from *Samson* are line numbers. The text appears in *The Major Works* on pages 671-717.)

Since Samson is “buried” in earthly darkness, where he is subjected to a host of other “pains and wrongs,” he would prefer to die and be buried, where he cannot continue to suffer. He tells God this is his only prayer—“speedy death, / The close of all my miseries.”¹⁴⁸ His questioning of life’s value and subsequent death wish echo Job:

Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul;
Which long for death, but it cometh not; and dig for it more than for hid treasures;
Which rejoice exceedingly, and are glad, when they can find the grave? Why is
light given to a man whose way is hid, and whom God hath hedged in?¹⁴⁹

Like Samson, Job wonders why people are made to endure such hardship when death would be an easy blessing. In Job’s mind, it is not fair for God to give someone life, only to “hedge” him in so that he cannot prosper.¹⁵⁰ Samson, too, fears that God traps those he favors in misery. He cries, “Ye see, o friends, / How many evils have enclosed me round,”¹⁵¹ just as Job accuses, “His archers compass me round about,”¹⁵² or Eliphaz warns “snares are round about thee.”¹⁵³ Later in the poem, Samson complains that God’s treatment of man is unpredictable, if not antagonistic:

God of our fathers, what is man!

¹⁴⁸ *Samson* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 649-651.

¹⁴⁹ King James Version, Job 3:20-23.

¹⁵⁰ Kathryn Schifferdecker discusses how the phrase functions in Job. In Job 1:9-10, Satan accuses God of having “put a hedge around” Job to protect him, which is the only reason that Job is pious. In Job 3:20-23, Job complains that God has “put a hedge around” him, which oppresses him and traps him in his suffering (Schifferdecker 30-31). Satan implies that God is overprotective of humanity, but Job implies that God is the cause of humanity’s suffering. There is an interesting overlap between being fenced in by God’s promise and feeling shut out by it (53). Kathryn Schifferdecker, *Out of the Whirlwind: Creation Theology in the Book of Job* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2008).

¹⁵¹ *Samson* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 193-4.

¹⁵² King James Version, Job 16:13.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, Job 22:10.

That thou towards him with hand so various,
Or might I say contrarious,
Temper'st thy providence through his short course.¹⁵⁴

His cry—"What is man!"—reflects Job's own concern that God has specially chosen man as the object of his tormenting. Job exclaims, "What is man, that thou shouldest magnify him? and that thou shouldest set thine heart upon him? And that thou shouldest visit him every morning, and try him every moment?"¹⁵⁵ Job and Samson express no reason to be grateful for God's attention; they want God to leave them alone.

Milton's use of Job's complaints in *Samson* and celebration of Job's victory in *Paradise Regained* are not contradictory. Although patristic tradition emphasizes Job's blamelessness, Milton seems to have considered Job's complaints as part of his victory rather than a threat to his perfection. It was Job's encounter with real temptation that made his victory worth something to Milton. Dennis Danielson explains, "The worth of human perfection achieved freely and in the face of some adversity is greater than that of any ready-made virtue implanted in man from the start."¹⁵⁶ Instead of thinking of Job as a perfect hero, Milton characterizes Job as a man who works his way through suffering towards the obedience for which he eventually receives praise.

Milton's now-famous passage from *Areopagitica* explains this Irenaean idea that sin (and not just the possibility of sin) is a necessary part of freedom. Milton writes:

What wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear, without the
knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and

¹⁵⁴ *Samson* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 667-670.

¹⁵⁵ King James Version, Job 7:17-18.

¹⁵⁶ Danielson, *Milton's Good God*, 173.

seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather; that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary.¹⁵⁷

Although Milton's argument in *Areopagitica* is put forth as an opposition to censorship (his point being that readers benefit from encountering "evils" in texts), he also defends, from a broader theological perspective, the freedom to choose between good and evil, and hence of making the wrong choice:

Many there be that complain of divine providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had been else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions. We ourselves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force; God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking objet ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence.¹⁵⁸

For Milton, man's ability to give genuine glory to God requires his freedom. The evil that results is an unfortunate side effect, but also part of God's purpose for letting man grow into what Hick

¹⁵⁷ *Areopagitica* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 247.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 252.

calls a “more valuable kind of goodness.”¹⁵⁹ One could ask whether human freedom is worth it, that is, whether the amount of evil that results from human freedom outweighs the benefits. But, for Milton, the “artificial Adam” (the one who is unable to choose God, except through compulsion) is the worst-case-scenario.¹⁶⁰ When God shares his power with man and man uses that power to choose good over evil, that is the ideal. A man like Job—one who suffers, complains, and nevertheless uses his freedom to choose obedience—demonstrates why God gave up his absolute sovereignty to share his power with man. When man chooses God of his own accord, it is an even greater demonstration of power.

Because Job is an example of how God manifests his power through man, Milton uses Job as a model for Christ in *Paradise Regained*. This is strange because, in standard typology, Job is Christ-like, not the other way around.¹⁶¹ Gregory suggests in *Moralia* that Job foreshadows Christ more than any other Old Testament figure because he prophesies Christ’s trial “not merely with his lips, but also by suffering.”¹⁶² In *Paradise Regained*, too, God makes reference to Christ as the bigger-and-better Job, a “man / of female seed, far abler to resist.”¹⁶³ But Job is more than a type of Christ in Milton’s soteriology; Milton’s Christ is also distinctly

¹⁵⁹ Hick, “Irenaeus Theodicy,” 43.

¹⁶⁰ Dennis Danielson outlines the thoughts of various theologians (early modern and contemporary) on this question. Danielson, *Milton’s Good God*, 93-96

¹⁶¹ By the early modern period, it was a commonplace to think of Job’s triumph as prefiguring Christ’s. For instance, in George Abbott’s paraphrase of Job, he remarks offhandedly in his exposition of Job 42, “Job put up his petitions to God, and was so accepted in his person, sacrifice and prayer, *being a figure of Christ therein*, that at his intercession [his friends’] offence was forgiven them.” The casual phrasing suggests his readers’ familiarity with the idea of Job as a Christ-figure. George Abbot, *The Whole Booke of Iob Paraphrased or, Made Easie for Any to Understand* (London: Edward Griffin for Henry Overton, 1640), 269.

¹⁶² St. Gregory, *Morals on the Book of Job: In Three Volumes* (Oxford; London: John Henry Parker; J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850), vol. 1, “Preface,” sect. vi, no. 14. Available online at <http://www.lectionarycentral.com/GregoryMoralia/Preface.html>.

¹⁶³ *Paradise Regained* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 1.150-51.

Job-like. While Christ is being baptized, Satan is “roving still / about the world,” the activity that occupied him at the beginning of Job.¹⁶⁴ The fact that Satan is “still” roaming the earth puts us back at the beginning of the Job story, now with Christ as the man to be tempted. The poem soon makes the comparison between Christ and Job explicit. When God learns of Satan’s intentions, he remarks that Satan “might have learnt / Less over-weening, since he fail'd in Job,” and when Satan first appears to Jesus, Satan compares his current “liberty to round this globe of earth” to the time when he “came among the Sons of God” to try “Uzzean Job.” Christ himself, when he rejects the earthly glory that Satan offers in favor of God’s mark of “approbation,” recalls Job’s acclaim in heaven and earth as the type of praise he seeks.

Milton imagines a version of Christ that resembles Job because, for Milton, Job models how Christ accomplishes his mission. When we are talking about how Christ does his work of redeeming mankind, we are talking about an atonement theory, an explanation of how man can be reconciled, or made “at one,” with God.¹⁶⁵ For Milton, using Job to explore the work of Christ

¹⁶⁴ King James Version, Job 1:7. In the Book of Job, when God asks Satan where he has been, Satan replies, “From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.”

¹⁶⁵ As early as the second century CE, Irenaeus was theorizing about the role of Christ in the redemption of mankind. However, the concept of an “atonement theory”—an in-depth explanation of Christ’s purpose—did not arise until Anselm’s treatise *Cur Deus Homo* in the late eleventh century. Anselm’s question—“Why did God become man?”—became a question at this moment in history because the system of penance was becoming more established in the Catholic Church. The penitential system suggested that man needed to repay God for his sins, through penance and purgatorial suffering. If man did not repay God, he could not be reconciled (made “at one”) with God and the Church. This system prompted questions about the purpose of Christ’s death. After all, if man still needed to repay God for sins, what was the purpose of God killing Jesus? Anselm’s answer was that Adam’s disobedience was an affront against an infinitely deserving Being, which incurred an infinite debt that man cannot repay. Jesus, because he is fully human, can substitute for man, and because he is fully divine, can repay an infinite debt. This is the basis of Anselm’s satisfaction theory of the atonement, where Christ’s paying of man’s infinite debt reconciles (“atones,” or “makes at one”) man to God.

Anselm’s satisfaction theory and Calvin’s substitutionary theory both involve Christ sacrificing himself on man’s behalf to satisfy God’s justice, but this sacrifice takes different forms. Anselm describes Christ’s sacrifice as penance. He imagines a monetary metaphor, where Christ’s penance provides satisfaction for the debt that our sins have left unpaid. Calvin imagines a penal metaphor, where Christ undergoes the punishment that God requires for the crimes that we have committed. In the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Calvin explains, “For had not Christ satisfied for our sins, he could not be said to have appeased God by taking upon himself the penalty which we had incurred.” Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Book 2, Ch. 17, sect. 4.

allows him to resist the role that Christ plays in Calvin's theory of the atonement. In Calvin's penal substitution, God's justice requires the death of Christ to pay the penalty for man's sins, which makes the crucifixion the pivotal moment of Christ's career.¹⁶⁶ Time and again in Milton's work, he expresses his discomfort with this version of the atonement.¹⁶⁷ In Book 3 of *Paradise Lost*, after God has outlined his plan for creation—a plan that includes man's fall (through his own choice) and regeneration (through grace)—God articulates what seems like an afterthought. By the way, God adds:

But yet all is not done; man disobeying,
Disloyal breaks his fealty, and sins
Against the high supremacy of heaven,
Affecting godhead, and so losing all,

¹⁶⁶ According to Calvin, God decided before the Fall that he would create some people to be damned and others to be saved. The reprobates would fall and be damned on account of their sin, while the elect would fall and be redeemed because of the grace that God would give them. Still, before the elect could receive grace, God's justice would require that they be punished for their sins in appropriate measure to their guilt. The problem was, their measly human lives would never be able to satisfy the infinite penalty that their sins had incurred, and thus they needed a savior who was both human enough to serve as their substitute and divine enough that the sacrifice of his life would counterbalance the weight of all their wrongdoing. Christ, because he was fully human and fully divine, met these requirements, which made man's reconciliation with God possible. This "penal substitution theory" would become the most widespread atonement theory in post-Reformation Europe.

Calvin clarifies that this idea—God's wrath demanding Christ's punishment—is all a metaphor, or "accommodation": "The mode in which the Spirit usually speaks in Scripture is, that God was the enemy of men until they were restored to favor by the death of Christ (Rom. 5:10); that they were cursed until their iniquity was expiated by the sacrifice of Christ (Gal. 3:10, 13); that they were separated from God, until by means of Christ's body they were received into union (Col. 1:21, 22). Such modes of expression are accommodated to our capacity, that we may the better understand how miserable and calamitous our condition is without Christ." Calvin and Beveridge, *The Institutes*, Book 2, Ch. 16, sect. 2.

¹⁶⁷ Milton's explanation of the atonement in *On Christian Doctrine* corresponds, to some extent, with Calvin's, a position from which he moves farther and farther away in his later works. Milton explains that "satisfaction" means that Christ "fully satisfied divine justice by fulfilling the law and paying the just price on behalf of all men" (443). That said, the crucifixion, which Milton describes as part of Christ's "priestly" function, is only a third of Christ's larger mediatorial office, which also includes his prophetic and kingly functions. All of the functions, not just Christ's sacrifice on the cross, contribute to man's redemption. Milton explains, "[Christ's] mediatorial office, for which he was chosen by God the Father, is the office by virtue of which he willingly performed and still performs all those things through which peace with God and eternal salvation for the human race are attained" (430). John Milton, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, vol. VI (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

To expiate his treason hath naught left,
But to destruction sacred and devote,
He with his whole posterity must die,
Die he or justice must; unless for him
Some other able, and as willing, pay
The rigid satisfaction, death for death.¹⁶⁸

Just moments before, God had celebrated the radical universality of his grace.¹⁶⁹ Now he suggests that Adam and his “whole posterity” must die. God’s requirement of a substitute to pay for man’s “treason” does not seem consistent with his mercy, and his boundedness to justice does not seem consistent with his freedom. The heavenly choir is appropriately disconcerted:

But all the heavenly choir stood mute,
And silence was in heaven: on man’s behalf
Patron or intercessor none appeared,
Much less that durst upon his own head draw
The deadly forfeiture, and ransom set.¹⁷⁰

The angels, who are usually inveterate cheerleaders of God, are taken aback by the nature of God’s request. Before long, Christ steps up to pay the debt that man owes, and the moment passes. Nevertheless, the reason for Jesus’s death is not apparent, considering that God has

¹⁶⁸ *Paradise Lost* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 3.203-12.

¹⁶⁹ On the inclusivity of Milton’s vision of divine grace, see Myers, *Milton’s Theology*, 77; Debora Shuger, “Milton Über Alles,” *Studies in Philology* 107.3 (2010): 401-15.

¹⁷⁰ *Paradise Lost* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 3.217-21.

already promised that his grace can “soften stony hearts” and bring man to “obedience.”¹⁷¹ Christ’s intercession for Adam and Eve in Book 11 does little to clarify. Although Christ mentions that his “death shall pay” the penalties incurred by the fall, his intercession alone is enough to reconcile Adam and Eve with God.¹⁷² Moreover, within the narrative presentation, God’s prevenient grace has already descended to Adam and Eve and removed the “stony from their hearts,”¹⁷³ the phrase that God used earlier to describe his agenda of salvation, prior to any mention of repaying penalties.

Paradise Lost makes this one brief reference to the crucifixion, and *Paradise Regained* proceeds to take the crucifixion out of the atonement almost entirely. In recounting his major life events (past and future), Jesus spends only a couple lines on the coming crucifixion and characterizes it as one of “many a hard assay” that he will endure to redeem mankind.¹⁷⁴ At the end of the poem, God does not mention the crucifixion at all, lauding Jesus’s victories in the wilderness as the accomplishment of his agenda:

Now thou hast avenged
Supplanted Adam, and, by vanquishing
Temptation, hast regained lost Paradise,
And frustrated the conquest fraudulent:
He never more henceforth will dare set foot
In Paradise to tempt; his snares are broke:

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 3.189-90.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 11.36.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 11.4.

¹⁷⁴ *Paradise Regained* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 1.264.

For though that seat of earthly bliss be failed,
A fairer Paradise is founded now
For Adam and his chosen sons, Whom thou
A savior art come to reinstall.¹⁷⁵

Although God ends his speech by advising Jesus to “begin to save mankind,” it is not clear what this saving will entail, considering that lost paradise has already been “regained.”

By deemphasizing the crucifixion, *Paradise Regained* reduces the theological baggage associated with the substitutionary theory of atonement. In its place, the poem proposes how Christ’s obedience becomes a transformative power by which paradise is recovered. Milton’s atonement theory, like his theodicy, has its roots in Irenaeus. Because Irenaeus does not think of the fall in Augustinian terms (where an otherwise perfect being becomes hopelessly corrupt and in need of redemption), he also does not imagine Christ paying a penalty through his death, as Calvin does. Instead, Irenaeus emphasizes Christ’s obedience as an example for other men. Since God’s purpose has always been ambiguous in this world (which is part of God’s desire to make faith a difficult trial), Christ provides a necessary example of moral living by taking on man’s vulnerability. Irenaeus writes, “It was for this reason that the Son of God, although He was perfect, passed through the state of infancy in common with the rest of mankind, partaking of it thus not for His own benefit, but for that of the infantile stage of man’s existence, in order that man might be able to receive Him.”¹⁷⁶ Just as man is created in God’s image and grows into his divine likeness, Irenaeus emphasizes that Christ was an infant who grew to spiritual maturity in

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 4.606-615.

¹⁷⁶ Irenaeus, "Against Heresies," IV.xxxvii.2. Quoted in Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 213.

the world. Milton also emphasizes this aspect of Christ's development in *Paradise Regained*. Satan notices Christ's "growth now to youth's full flower," and God points out that Christ is "now upgrown." Christ, too, recognizes that he is "now mature" and speaks of how he "grew to such perfection." Milton's narration of Christ's maturation clarifies his initial "distance" from God (to use Hick's terminology), which gives the adult Christ full credit when he does, in fact, obey.

When Irenaeus says that Christ's vulnerability makes man "able to receive Him," Irenaeus suggests how Christ's obedience has the power to transform mankind. The Biblical origin of this atonement theory lies in 2 Corinthians 5:14: "For Christ's love compels us..."¹⁷⁷ As the verse implies, Christ's love has an actual power that compels our actions. Whereas substitutionary theories (like Calvin's) imagine Christ's death as the most important part of the incarnation, Irenaeus's atonement theory imagines Christ's obedience as a force that overcomes the forces of evil that hold man captive.¹⁷⁸ In *Christus Victor* Gustaf Aulen describes the importance of obedience in Irenaeus's thought:

It is remarkable what great weight he [Irenaeus] attaches to the obedience of Christ throughout His life on earth. He shows how the disobedience of the one man, which inaugurated the reign of sin, is answered by the One Man who brought life. By His obedience Christ 'recapitulated' and annulled the

¹⁷⁷ This is the New International Version. The King James Version reads, "For the love of Christ constraineth us" (2 Corinthians 5:14).

¹⁷⁸ The Irenaean (also known as the "classic") theory is closely related to the "ransom theory," another early Christian atonement theory. The ransom theory was popularized by Origen, a Greek theologian in Alexandria who died in 253. The classic theory was popularized by Irenaeus, a Greek theologian in modern-day France who died in c. 202. In both atonement theories, man is captive. The difference is whether Christ is like a warrior who conquers the forces of evil in order to free man (classic theory) or whether Christ is like a ransom sacrifice that is paid to the devil to free him (ransom theory). The classic theory shares Milton's emphasis on Christ's behavior as a powerful force over the devil rather than Christ's existence as a payment to Satan.

disobedience. The obedience is the means of His triumph: 'By His obedience unto death the Word annulled the ancient disobedience committed at the tree.' This victorious obedience is specially seen in the Temptations.¹⁷⁹

When Christ is obedient to God instead of falling prey to temptation, he demonstrates his sheer power over Satan and inspires other men to choose the virtue that brings them close to God.

In *Paradise Regained* Milton's Christ possesses this powerful obedience. Satan warns his fellow devils, "Such an enemy / Is risen to invade us, who no less / Threatens than our expulsion down to hell."¹⁸⁰ Jesus agrees that obedience to God is a source of martial-like power. He teaches, "Who best can suffer, best can do; best reign, who first / Well hath obeyed."¹⁸¹ Because of Jesus's own obedience to God's command, he "vanquishes" Satan¹⁸² and can "save mankind."¹⁸³ In keeping with Irenaeus's atonement theory, he has power because his virtuous words and actions transform people, teaching them to turn toward God. Jesus explains that he will use "winning words to conquer willing hearts / And make persuasion do the work of fear."¹⁸⁴ Later, Christ tells Satan, "God hath now sent his living oracle / Into the world, to teach

¹⁷⁹ Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement*, trans. A.G. Herbert (London: S.P.C.K., 1970), 29-30.

¹⁸⁰ *Paradise Regained* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 2.126-28.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 3.195-96.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 4.607.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 4.635. Jesus clarifies that this liberation only extends to those who are repentant. Those who are "unhumbled, unrepentant, unreformed" are destined to "their captivity" (3.429; 420). He asks, "What wise and valiant man would seek to free / These thus degenerate, by themselves enslaved, / Or could of inward slaves make outward free?" (4.143-146). His point is that his liberating power only extends to those who are willing to receive it.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.222-23.

his final will.”¹⁸⁵ Milton’s almost exclusive emphasis on Jesus’s transformation of “willing hearts” aligns Milton’s atonement theory with Irenaeus’s.

To emphasize the power of Christ’s obedience, Milton compares Christ to Job, a man who “overcame” Satan with his “constant perseverance.”¹⁸⁶ This comparison is helpful because, in order for Christ’s obedience to be powerful, Christ has to obey God’s command of his own free will, not because of his divine nature. Comparing Christ to Job, a regular human who was famous in the seventeenth-century for his freely chosen obedience (as we saw in the theodicies of Harsnett and Bedell), highlights Christ’s human nature. Not just isolated descriptions of Christ’s activities, but the entire plot and structure of *Paradise Regained* are designed to make Milton’s Christ similar to Job. In Milton’s *The Reason of Church Government* (1642), he cites Job as a “brief model” of epic,¹⁸⁷ and, as Lewalski hypothesizes, “*Paradise Regained* is Milton’s effort to write a ‘brief epic’ on the Jobean model.”¹⁸⁸

Milton’s choice of subject—Christ’s temptation in the wilderness rather than his meritorious sacrifice—also indicates his intentional depiction of Christ as a Job-figure. For Lewalski, Christ’s victory over Satan is an “obvious” choice of subject because Milton’s aim, as his induction promises, is to narrate the reversal of Adam and Eve’s disobedience with Christ’s

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 1.460-61.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 1.148.

¹⁸⁷ Milton describes his desire to write an epic for his country, as other poets have done for theirs. He names several examples of epic, including Job, which he calls a “brief model.” John Milton, *The Reason of Church Government* (London: E.G. for John Rothwell, 1641), 38.

¹⁸⁸ Lewalski, *Milton’s Brief Epic*, 8. The four book structure and characterization of the hero in *Paradise Regained* are similar to other neoclassical and Biblical models for brief epic in the early modern period (102).

obedience.¹⁸⁹ But this “obvious” choice merits additional consideration. The Passion story, which demonstrates Christ’s obedience to the point of death, would have been a more obvious choice of subject if Milton were subscribing to a standard Calvinist understanding of how Christ’s sacrifice redeems mankind. The fact that Milton does not choose this incident, opting instead to describe Christ’s triumph in a trial like Job’s, suggests his deliberate evasion of the substitutionary theory of atonement, the atonement theory with which the Passion story had become burdened in seventeenth-century English soteriology. Instead of the Passion, Milton suggests how Christ’s obedience in the wilderness (which he compares to Job’s obedience on multiple occasions) reverses Adam’s disobedience. Although it was standard typology to think of Christ as a “second Adam” that undoes the ills of the first Adam,¹⁹⁰ it was not standard to think of this redemption as coming through Job-like obedience rather than Christ’s crucifixion.¹⁹¹ When the induction to *Paradise Regained* says that Adam is redeemed “by one man’s firm obedience” (a use of “by” that implies instrumentality),¹⁹² Milton suggests that salvation comes through Christ the way that Irenaeus describes.

¹⁸⁹ Lewalski writes, “The temptation episode suggests itself to Milton, obviously, as a complement to *Paradise Lost*.” Lewalski, *Milton’s Brief Epic*, 104.

¹⁹⁰ In *Paradise Lost*, Milton makes explicit reference to this typological understanding of Christ as a “second Adam,” who compensates for the fall of all of mankind by offering redemption to all mankind. *Paradise Lost* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 11.383.

¹⁹¹ Despite the normalcy of Christ as “second Adam,” Milton’s particular narration of Christ’s reversal of the fall carves out a special role for obedience in the story of man’s redemption. Instead of the crucifixion, Milton focuses on Christ’s resistance to the temptation as the means by which paradise is recovered. Again, for Lewalski, this choice of Biblical event is not unusual. But Milton’s choice of the temptation over the crucifixion is not as “obvious” as Lewalski makes it seem. Since *Paradise Regained* purports to describe the redemption of man, the focus, if the poem were a rehearsal of mainstream English Protestant theology, would be Christ’s crucifixion, the sole cause of man’s redemption through Christ’s payment of the penalty for sin. Not only does Milton choose a different Biblical episode, but the unique relationship that Milton posits between Adam’s temptation and Christ’s temptation invites further scrutiny. To say “Adam succumbs to temptation, while Christ resists temptation” is one thing. To say that Christ’s resistance to temptation is *the means by which* man is redeemed is quite another.

¹⁹² *Paradise Regained* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 1.5.

Milton's portrayal of Christ's redemptive obedience as Job-like draws on another typological tradition, one that inserts Job into the relationship between Christ and Adam. Because Job was a type of Christ, and because Christ was a second Adam, Job had long been considered a "second Adam." In John Chrysostom's fourth-century commentary on Job (which was translated and reprinted in London in 1597), he draws the parallel: "Adam was in paradise, and because he was slothful, he was undermined and deceived. Job sat in the dung, and because he was watchful, he obtained the victory."¹⁹³ In his *Moralia a Job*, Gregory I makes Adam and Job's typological relationship even more apparent: he describes how the one who "conquered Adam in paradise" (that is, Satan), was "beaten by Adam on a dunghill" (that is, Job).¹⁹⁴ (In other words, Job's defeat of Satan "on a dunghill" replays Satan's defeat of Adam in the garden, except with a brighter ending.) These descriptions of Job as a "second Adam" continued in early modern commentaries. Theodore Beza's explication of Job 2:4 explains how Satan "had long before prevailed against Adam," but now Job "witnessed the clean contrary."¹⁹⁵ And a pamphlet by Henry Abbut, a seventeenth-century layperson,¹⁹⁶ draws parallels between the temptations of Adam, Job, and Christ:

¹⁹³ Saint John Chrysostom, *A Godly Exhortation Made Vnto the People of Antioch, by Iohn Chrysostome, Sometime Arch Bishop of Constantinople: Touching the Patience and Suffering Affliction, by the Examples of Iob, and the Three Children: And of Refraining from Swearing*, trans. Robert Rowse (London: Thomas Creed, 1597), D1v-D2r.

¹⁹⁴ "The old enemy was beaten by Adam on a dunghill, he that conquered Adam in paradise." Gregory, *Morals on Job*, Vol. 1, Book 3, Sect. viii, no. 12 [Job 2:9].

¹⁹⁵ Bèze, *Job Expounded*, H5v [Job 2:4].

¹⁹⁶ Nothing is known about Henry Abbut, aside from what is revealed in his epistle to the reader. He claims that he "never learned, in the schools of men, any other language but the *English*," and that the content of his devotional manual was revealed to him by God. It contains what God "was pleased to put into me, and move in me to write, without observing any outward forms, rules, or methods in writing." Henry Abbut, *A Free Gift, Freely Given of God to Henry Abbut and by Him Freely Given to the Reader, without Money or Price* (S.I.: s.n., 1684), n.p.

I have read what the subtle serpent said to the woman, and what answer she gave the serpent, and how she yielded to the temptation; and I have read how the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them, and what the Lord said to Satan of Job, and what Satan said to the Lord concerning Job, and the leave that the Lord gave Satan to try Job's integrity, and how Satan tried Job....And I have likewise read of Jesus being led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil; and when the tempter came to him, what he said to Jesus, and what answers Jesus gave the tempter and devil.¹⁹⁷

Given this typological syllogism (Christ as second Adam, Job as type of Christ, thus Job as second Adam), Job's obedience balances Adam's first disobedience. Job's reversal of Adam's disobedience means that Job, too, fulfills the role of "one man fully tried," the description of Christ in the induction. Thus, *Paradise Regained* does not only reference Job so that Christ can be a "bigger and better" version.¹⁹⁸ Instead, Job's trial plays a role in its own right. Job's famous example of man's freedom to triumph over Satan provides Milton with a vocabulary for discussing Christ's obedience as the means by which Satan is overcome.

Although it was Milton's innovation to use Job's obedience to explain Christ's atoning work, Milton's familiarity with Socinianism may have helped him envision Christ's obedience as the means for effecting man's atonement.¹⁹⁹ The Socinian atonement theory falls within the

¹⁹⁷ Abbut, *A Free Gift*, 84.

¹⁹⁸ Lewalski describes Christ's temptations as a "reprise and heightening of Job's victory over Satan's temptations." Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic*, 165.

¹⁹⁹ It is possible that Milton formulated an atonement theory that looks and feels like Irenaeus's theory through exposure to "soft" Calvinism. Because supralapsarianism is not easy to swallow in a sermon, even Puritan preachers who were supralapsarianists emphasized Christ's love and exemplary behavior from the pulpit. A thoughtful person in the pew of an English church could have developed a working theology of atonement that bore little resemblance to the punishing, justice-demanding God of Puritanism.

Irenaeus tradition, which was rediscovered in the early modern period by the outcast Italian Protestant, Bernardino Ochino.²⁰⁰ Ochino's work was influential in early English Protestantism,²⁰¹ and, although Milton would not have known "Why Jesus Came Into the World," Ochino's most Irenaeus sermon, Milton was familiar with other parts of Ochino's work.²⁰² Ochino teaches that Christ "has drawn us, not by the hair, but by the heart, nor has he

²⁰⁰Ochino was an Italian friar, who fled Italy when he was suspected of Lutheranism in 1542 and found asylum in Geneva, then Augsburg, then England, and finally Zurich. His publications over the course of his lifetime make his distance from orthodoxy increasingly clear. His final and most controversial work, entitled *Thirty Dialogues* (1563), covertly defends a variety of taboo and heretical topics, including polygamy, divorce, free will, and anti-trinitarianism. Because of the way that Ochino used the dialogue form, putting the stronger argument in the mouth of his unorthodox opponent, he was removed from his post at Zurich in 1563 and fled to Poland, where he died in obscurity. Bernardino Ochino and Sébastien Castellion, *Bernardini Ochini Senensis Dialogi Xxx. In Duos Libros Diuisi* (Basileae: [Per Petrum Pernam], 1563).

²⁰¹ On Ochino's career and influence in Tudor England, see Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 90-96. On Ochino's influence on Queen Elizabeth, see Elizabeth Tudor, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 292.

Although Ochino only spent from 1547-1553 in England (at which point the accession of Queen Mary I forced him to return to the continent), he was an early influencer of English Protestantism. In 1548 Archbishop Thomas Crammer appointed him a prebendary in Canterbury Cathedral, and three English translations of his sermons appeared on the English market between 1547-1551. Bernardino Ochino, *Sermons of the Right Famous and Excellent Clerk Master Bernardine Ochine* (Ipswich: [s.n.], 1548). *Fourtene Sermons ... Concernyng the Predestinacion and Eleccion of God*, trans. Anne Cooke Bacon (London: J. Day and W. Seres, 1550). *Certaine Sermons of the Ryghte Famous and Excellente Clerk Master Barnardine Ochine*, trans. Anne Cooke Bacon (London: John Day, 1551).

Ochino's work was also well-known to the royal family. Ochino's *A Tragedy, or Dialogue of the Unjust Usurped Primacy of the Bishop of Rome* (1547) was dedicated to Edward VI. [*A Tragoedie or Dialogue of the Unjust Usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome*, trans. John Ponet (London: [By N. Hill] for Gwalter Lynne, 1549).] King Edward VI also seems to have owned at least the first three volumes of Ochino's *Prediche* that were published in Basel [Bernardino Ochino, *Prediche di Bernardini Ochini da Siena: Novellamente ristampate & con grande diligentia riuedute & corette*, 5 parts (Basel, 1543?-62)]. The British Library owns (what seems to be) Edward VI's copy of *Prediche*, parts 1-3. It is shelfmarked 846.f.8-10. [Tudor, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, 292]. His sister, the young Princess Elizabeth, may have used Edward VI's copy of the second volume when she made him a Latin translation of Ochino's twelfth sermon, "Che cosa è Christo, & per che venne al mondo" (What Christ Is, and Why He Came into the World). For an introduction to Elizabeth's translation and a modern English translation, see chapter 4, "Princess Elizabeth's Translation of Bernardino Ochino's 'Che Cosa È Christo' (1547)" in *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, 291-327. For another edition, see Vittorio Gabrielli, "Bernardino Ochino: 'Sermo De Christo,' Un Inedito Di Elisabetta Tudor," *La Cultura* 21 (1983): 151-74. The manuscript is held at the Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 6, fols. 1-36r.

Years later, when Ochino published his controversial defense of free will, he dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth and described having discussed predestination with her in its preface. Bernardino Ochino, *Labyrinthi* (Basileæ: apvd Petrvm Pernam, 1561). The preface says that Queen Elizabeth "read some of my treatises on predestination."

²⁰² In his commonplace book, Milton makes a brief reference to Ochino as a defender of polygamy, which suggests that Ochino's *Thirty Dialogues* may have had an influence on Milton's own defense of polygamy in *On Christian*

bound us in chains, but in cords and bands of charity, and, by the force of love alone, has drawn us to Him.²⁰³” Instead of thinking of Christ’s death as placating God’s wrath, Ochino suggests that Christ’s powerful example of love overcomes our resistance to God and makes us “participants in grace.”²⁰⁴ In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ochino’s atonement theory became influential for Socinianism, a widely-known heretical denomination that denied the divinity of Christ.²⁰⁵ When Fausto Sozzini defends his atonement theory in his influential book *De Jesu Christo Servatore* (1578), his characterization of Christ resembles Job, that is, a

Doctrine, Book 1, Chapter 10. Neither his commonplace book, nor his other writing, can establish whether Milton read Ochino’s work directly or whether he had only encountered Ochino’s position on polygamy secondhand. The note in Milton’s commonplace book cites the French historian Jacques Auguste de Thou (aka Thuanus), whose 138-book *History Of Our Times* (1620) mentions that Sebastian Castalio translated Ochino’s dialogue on polygamy from Italian into Latin. See Leo Miller, *John Milton among the Polygamophiles* (New York: Loewenthal Press, 1974), 24-7.

Ochino’s defense of polygamy appears in his *Thirty Dialogues* (1563). In Dialogue XXI, Ochino’s interlocutor, Telypolygamus presents a convincing argument for polygamy. [See John Cairncross, *After Polygamy Was Made a Sin: The Social History of Christian Polygamy* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1974), 67-73.] Ochino’s dialogue on polygamy was translated, along with his dialogue on divorce, into English in 1657. [Bernardino Ochino, *A Dialogue of Polygamy, Written Originally in Italian Rendred into English by a Person of Quality* (London: For John Garfeild, 1657). For a discussion of possible translators for this text, see Miller, *John Milton among the Polygamers*, 28-30.]

Milton may also have known Ochino’s *Tragedy*, either in its English translation by John Ponet (1549) or its now-lost original version, and used it as a model for his diabolical council. In *The Life of John Milton* (1890), Richard Garnett and John Parker Anderson claim that Milton was indebted to Ochino for his conception of the diabolical council that appears in *Paradise Lost*. In Ochino’s version of the infernal senate, Satan responds to God’s decision to send his son into the world by sending his own son, the antichrist, who takes the form of the pope. Beelzebub is second-in-command to Ochino’s scheming Satan. Garnett and Anderson comment, “Ochino, in many respects a kindred spirit to Milton, must have been well known to him as the first who had dared to ventilate the perilous question of the lawfulness of polygamy. In Ochino’s *Divine Tragedy*, which he may have read either in the Latin original or in the nervous translation of Bishop Poynt, Milton would find a hint for his infernal senate.” Richard Garnett and John Parker Anderson, *Life of John Milton* (London: W. Scott, 1890), 171.

²⁰³ Ochino, “Che Cosa,” in Tudor, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, 313. Amy Bonet-Maury describes the sermon: “Already we feel that, with [Ochino], the primal cause of redemption is the infinite love of God for His creature, not the satisfaction rendered to his justice.” Amy Gaston Charles Auguste Bonet-Maury, *Early Sources of English Unitarian Christianity*, trans. Edward Potter Hall (London: British & Foreign Unitarian Association, 1884), 144.

²⁰⁴ Tudor, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, 323.

²⁰⁵ Sozzini cites Ochino’s *Dialogi* in his discussion of this idea. Bonet-Maury, *English Unitarianism*, 179.

human who triumphs over temptation through his own free will.²⁰⁶ Sozzini believed it was a contradiction to think that God required Christ's death as satisfaction when we were already reconciled to God through mercy.²⁰⁷ A radical reaction to supralapsarianism, in which man had no ability to choose or refuse the grace offered by Christ, Socinianism taught that Christ was a fully human hero, who came—like Job—to “serve as an example to others of patience.”²⁰⁸

Socinianism reached its heyday in England in the 1650s with the publication of several works by the English Socinianist John Biddle, including a treatise on Christ's humanity entitled *The Testimonies of Irenaeus, [etc.]* (1653). These Socinian works created enough of a stir that the Council of the State (Milton's employer) commissioned a response to Biddle's work in 1654.²⁰⁹ Milton was not a card-carrying Socinian (an almost impossible category to define, given the fluidity of the intellectual heresies labeled “Socinianism” in the early modern period),²¹⁰ and he explicitly denounces the Socinians' views on Christ's divinity in *On Christian Doctrine*.²¹¹

²⁰⁶ Faustus Socinus, *De Jesu Christo Servatore* ([Rakow]: Typis Alexii Rodecii, 1594).

²⁰⁷ Amy Bonet-Maury summarizes the atonement theory in *Jesu Christo Servatore*—that Jesus came “to reconcile, not God to men, but men to God... If he died, it was to seal with his blood the truth of his revelations, and not to appease the wrath of an ever good and merciful God.” Bonet-Maury, *English Unitarianism*, 191.

²⁰⁸ Allan Coppedge, *Portraits of God: A Biblical Theology of Holiness* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 277.

²⁰⁹ To write the reply, the Council of the State hired the Independent spokesperson John Owen, who also included a reply to *The Racovian Catechism* in his own *Vindiciae Evangelicae* (1655). Martin Dzelzainis, “Milton and Antitrinitarianism,” in *Milton and Toleration*, ed. Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer (Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2007), 176. John Owen, *Vindiciae Evangelicae or the Mystery of the Gospell Vindicated, and Socinianisme Examined* (Oxford: Printed by Leon. Lichfield ... for Tho. Robinson., 1655).

²¹⁰ Nicholas von Maltzahn, “Milton, Marvell and Toleration,” in *Milton and Toleration*, ed. Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 103. Ann Hughes, “Afterword,” in *Milton and Toleration*, 300-1.

²¹¹ With the Socinians in mind, Milton writes, “As for Christ's divine nature, the reader should recollect the arguments I presented in my chapter on the Son of God.... He was God with God, and although he was not supreme, he was the firstborn of all creation. It follows that he must have existed before his incarnation, whatever subtleties may have been invented to provide an escape from this conclusion, by those who argue that Christ was a mere man.” Milton, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, VI, 419.

Still, he played a role in the licensing of *The Racovian Catechism* in English,²¹² which suggests his familiarity with Socinianism's foundational tenets. Maurice Kelley's edition of the *Complete Prose Works of John Milton* (1982) shows textual affinities between *De Doctrina Christiana* and a large array of Socinian writings,²¹³ and Martin Dzelzainis has suggested that Milton's antitrinitarianism and sympathy for victims of religious persecution spurred his interest in Socinianism.²¹⁴ Without suggesting that Milton was a Socinian, it seems likely that Milton's view of the atonement was shaped, even if the influence was indirect, by the Socinian theology circulating in the 1650s, in which Christ's freely willed obedience is the cause of man's redemption.²¹⁵

Milton's epistle to the reader explains that he aligns himself with no particular sect: "I hold that, since the compilation of the New Testament, nothing can correctly be called heresy unless it contradicts that. For my own part, I devote my attention to the Holy Scriptures alone. I follow no other heresy or sect. I had not even studied any of the so-called heretical writers, when the blunders of those who are styled orthodox, and their unthinking distortions of the sense of scripture, first taught me to agree with their opponents whenever these agreed with the Bible." Ibid., 123-24.

²¹² When the Racovian Catechism was published in 1651, Milton was serving as the Secretary of Foreign Languages, which included the responsibility of licensing texts for publication. As Stephen Dobranski describes, a new licensing law in 1649—shortly after Milton's appointment—suggests that regulating the press became a government priority during Milton's time in the position (1411). Milton's exact involvement in licensing *The Racovian Catechism* (1651) is unclear. The Dutch ambassador Leo de Aitzema, who visited England in 1651/52, observed that the Socinian *Racovian Catechism* had been published under the official license and explicit approval of John Milton (142). We know that the Council of State issued a warrant for the arrest of the catechism's printer, William Dugard, on January 27, 1651/52, and that a government-appointed committee investigated the catechism on April 2, 1652. Milton was one of four men whose names appear in the committee's notes as having been interrogated, although only the other three men's examinations ended up being sent to Parliament (143). For a critic who is skeptical of Milton's role in licensing the English Racovian Catechism, see Stephen B. Dobranski, 'Licensing Milton's heresy,' in Stephen B. Dobranski and John Peter Rumrich, *Milton and Heresy* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 139-58. For a critic who believes that Milton, in his role as licenser, authorized the printing of the *Catechism*, see Dzelzainis, "Milton and Antitrinitarianism," 180-85.

²¹³ Milton, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, VI, VI: 124, 61, 206, 17n, 18-19, 22, 29, 34-5, 80, 85.

²¹⁴ Dzelzainis, "Milton and Antitrinitarianism," 175-85.

²¹⁵ Critics have debated the extent of Milton's relationship to Socinianism. Since the manuscript of the *De Doctrina Christiana* is now generally considered authentic, it is widely agreed that Milton held antitrinitarian beliefs, as the Socianists did, but the origins of these forbidden views is more difficult to determine. For information on Milton's antitrinitarianism, see Christopher Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), chapter 23. Hugh MacCallum, *Milton and the Sons of God: The Divine Image in Milton's Epic Poetry* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1986). For arguments in favor of Milton being a Socinianist, see

Milton's version of Irenaeus's atonement theory shares the Socinians' emphasis on Christ's freedom. For Milton, Christ can be neither a liberator of mankind through his obedience, nor a powerful exemplum of God's love, if he is merely an extension of the Father's will. Instead, he must experience temptation as a man and triumph as a man.²¹⁶ As Milton explains in *On Christian Doctrine*, "Christ "submitted himself voluntarily, both in life and in death, to the divine justice, in order to suffer all the things which were necessary for our redemption."²¹⁷ His emphasis on Christ's voluntary action (in "both life and death") makes clear that Christ acts without requiring an immediate impulse from God the Father. In *Paradise Lost*, when Christ volunteers to die in man's stead, he makes this decision of his own free will. Just when it seems like all God's plans are for naught, Christ says: "Behold me then, me for him, life for life / I offer."²¹⁸ When he is finished speaking, the narrator reminds us that he is a "sacrifice / glad to be offered," not a sacrifice required by God.²¹⁹ Likewise, in *Paradise Regained*, Milton emphasizes Jesus's humanity, which separates him from the Father and thus prevents him from seeming like God's puppet. The final line states, "He unobserved / home to his mother's house private

Maurice Kelley, *This Great Argument: A Study of Milton's De Doctrina Christiana as a Gloss Upon Paradise Lost* (Princeton; London: Princeton University press; H. Milford Oxford University Press, 1941). George Newton Conklin, *Biblical Criticism and Heresy in Milton* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1949). For arguments against see, William B. Hunter, C. A. Patrides, and Jack H. Adamson, *Bright Essence: Studies in Milton's Theology* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971).

²¹⁶ Milton's Arianism is now widely acknowledged. Because Milton portrays the Son as of a different substance from the Father, Jesus gets full credit for his obedience to God when he yields to the Father's purposes. Myers, *Milton's Theology of Freedom*, 107. See also John P. Rumrich, "Milton's Arianism: Why It Matters," in *Milton and Heresy*, ed. Stephen B. Dobranski and John P. Rumrich (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 86. Rumrich describes, "The Son's freely made decisions to obey the Father's will function as a striking counter-example to the decisions of Satan and Adam."

²¹⁷ Milton, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, VI, 438.

²¹⁸ *Paradise Lost* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 3.236-37.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.269-70.

returned.”²²⁰ After receiving appropriate commendation from God, we are reminded that Jesus is also an ordinary man, with a mother and a house. Because he seems like an ordinary, obedient man—a man like Job—his resistance to Satan seems sufficiently extraordinary to transform mankind. More than a way for God to excuse himself in light of the existence of evil, Job’s victory provides Milton with a model for illuminating the full power of Christ’s redemptive obedience.

²²⁰ *Paradise Regained* in Milton, *The Major Works*, 4.638-39.

Works Cited

- Abbot, George. *The Whole Booke of Job Paraphrased or, Made Easie for Any to Understand*. London: Edward Griffin for Henry Overton, 1640.
- Abbut, Henry. *A Free Gift, Freely Given of God to Henry Abbut and by Him Freely Given to the Reader, without Money or Price* S.I.: s.n., 1684.
- Ambrose. "The Prayer of Job and David (De Interpellatione Iob Et David)." In *Seven Exegetical Works, Vol. 65*, edited by Michael P. McHugh. The Fathers of the Church. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1972.
- Aquinas, Thomas. *Commentary on the Book of Job*. Translated by Brian Thomas Becket Mullady. Old Testament Commentaries 32: Latin/English Edition of the Works of St. Thomas Aquinas. Lander, Wyoming: Aquinas Institute for the Study of Sacred Doctrine, 2016.
- Aulén, Gustaf. *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement*. Translated by A.G. Herbert. London: S.P.C.K., 1970.
- Baro, Peter. "Two Theames or Questions, Handled and Disputed Openly in the Schooles at Cambridge, in the Latin Tung." In *A Speciall Treatise of God's Providence*, edited by John Ludham. London: John Wolfe, 1579.
- Bedell [the younger], William. "The Life and Death of William Bedell." In *Two Biographies of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore: With a Selection of His Letters and an Unpublished Treatise*, edited by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, 1-75. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1902.
- Bedell, William. "Bod. Tanner MS 72."
- . "Letters of Bedell." In *Two Biographies of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore: With a Selection of His Letters and an Unpublished Treatise*, edited by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, 214-370. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1902.
- Bèze, Théodore de. *Job Expounded by Theodore Beza, Partly in Manner of a Commentary, Partly in Manner of a Paraphrase. Faithfully Translated out of Latine into English*. London: John Legatt, 1589.
- Bonet-Maury, Amy Gaston Charles Auguste. *Early Sources of English Unitarian Christianity*. Translated by Edward Potter Hall. London: British & Foreign Unitarian Association, 1884.
- Brownlow, F. W. *Shakespeare, Harsnett*. Newark; London; Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press; Associated University Presses, 1993.
- Cairncross, John. *After Polygamy Was Made a Sin: The Social History of Christian Polygamy*. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1974.

Calvin, Jean. *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Christian Classics Ethereal Library. <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/institutes.i.html>.

———. *Ionnis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*. Edited by Wilhelm Baum, Edward Cunitz and Edward Reuss. Brunsvigae: Schwetschke, 1863-1900.

———. *Sermons of Master Iohn Calvin, Vpon the Booke of Iob*. [in English] Translated by Arthur Golding. London: Lucas Harison and George Byshop, 1574.

Cambridge University Library. "Cambridge's Criminal Past Revealed in Centuries-Old Court Records." <https://www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/cambridges-criminal-past-revealed-in-centuries-old-court-records>.

Chrysostom, Saint John *A Godly Exhortation Made Vnto the People of Antioch, by Iohn Chrysostome, Sometime Arch Bishop of Constantinople: Touching the Patience and Suffering Affliction, by the Examples of Iob, and the Three Children: And of Refraining from Swearing*. Translated by Robert Rowse. London: Thomas Creed, 1597.

Conklin, George Newton. *Biblical Criticism and Heresy in Milton*. New York: King's Crown Press, 1949.

Coppedge, Allan. *Portraits of God: A Biblical Theology of Holiness*. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2001.

Cranfield, Nicholas S. "Harsnett, Samuel (bap. 1651, d. 1631)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12466>.

Danielson, Dennis Richard. *Milton's Good God: A Study in Literary Theodicy*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge UP, 1982.

Davis, Stephen T. "Free Will and Evil." In *Encountering Evil: Live Options in Theodicy*, edited by Stephen T. Davis, 73-107. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.

Dobranski, Stephen B., and John Peter Rumrich. *Milton and Heresy*. [in English] Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Doerksen, Daniel W. *Picturing Religious Experience: George Herbert, John Calvin, and the Scriptures*. Newark, DE: U. of Delaware, 2011.

Dove, John. *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse, the Sixt of February. 1596 in Which Are Discussed These Three Conclusions. 1 It Is Not the Will of God That All Men Should Be Saued. 2 the Absolute Will of God, and His Secret Decree from All Eternitie Is the Cause Why Some Are Predestined to Saluation, Others to Destruction, and Not Any Foresight of Faith, or Good Workes in the One, or Infidelitie, Neglect, or Contempt in the Other. 3 Christ Died Not Effectually for All*. London: T. Creede for R. Dexter, 1597.

Dzelzainis, Martin. "Milton and Antitrinitarianism." In *Milton and Toleration*, edited by Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer. Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2007.

- Emmanuel College. "History of the College."
<https://www.emma.cam.ac.uk/about/history/college>.
- Fitch, Edward Arthur, and Charlotte Fell-Smith. *The Essex Review: An Illustrated Quarterly Record of Everything of Permanent Interest in the County*, Vol. 15. Colchester, Essex, UK: Benham, 1906.
- Frederick, Copleston. *A History of Philosophy 3. Late Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy*. London: Continuum, 2003.
- French, H. R. "Plume, Thomas (bap. 1630, d. 1704)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/22395.
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22395>.
- Gabrielli, Vittorio. "Bernardino Ochino: 'Sermo De Christo,' Un Inedito Di Elisabetta Tudor." *La Cultura* 21 (1983): 151-74.
- Garnett, Richard, and John Parker Anderson. *Life of John Milton*. [in English] London: W. Scott, 1890.
- Goodwin, Gordon, and Nicholas W. S. Cranfield. "Fuller, William (1579/80-1659)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10239>.
- Gregory, St. *Morals on the Book of Job: In Three Volumes*. Oxford; London: John Henry Parker; J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850.
- Harsnett, Samuel. "BL MS Harleian 3142."
- . "House of Lords Journal Volume 3: 19 May 1624." *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 3, 1620-1628* (1767-1830): 387-92. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol3/pp387-392>.
- . "A Sermon Preached at S. Paul's Cross." In *Three Sermons Preached by the Reverend and Learned Dr. Richard Stuart...to Which It Is Added a Fourth Sermon, Preached by the Right Reverend Father in God, Samuel Harsnett, Lord Arch-Bishop of York*. London: G. Bedel and T. Collins, 1658.
- Hick, John. *Evil and the God of Love*. revised ed. New York: HarperCollins, 1977.
- . "An Irenaean Theodicy." In *Encountering Evil: Live Options in Theodicy*, edited by Stephen T. Davis, 38-52. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.
- Hill, Christopher. *Milton and the English Revolution*. New York: Viking Press, 1978.
- Hunter, William B., C. A. Patrides, and Jack H. Adamson. *Bright Essence: Studies in Milton's Theology*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971.

- Irenaeus. "Against Heresies." In *Ante-Nicene Christian Library 5*, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1867-1885.
- Irenaeus, and Desiderius Erasmus. *Opvs Ervditissimvm Divi Irenaei Episcopi Lvgdvnensis in Qvinqe Libros Digestum, in Quibus Mire Retegit & Confutat Ueterum Haereseon Impias Ac Portentosas Opiniones*. [in Latin] Basileae: Froben, 1526.
- Irenaeus, and Johann Ernst Grabe. *Tou En Hagiois Patros Hemon Eirenaiou ... Elenchou Kai Anatropes Tes Pseudonumou Gnoseos Biblia Pente = ... Contra Omnes Haereses Libri Quinque*. [in Greek, Latin] Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano; for Thomas Bennet, London, 1702.
- Kelley, Maurice. *This Great Argument: A Study of Milton's De Doctrina Christiana as a Gloss Upon Paradise Lost*. Princeton; London: Princeton University press; H. Milford Oxford University Press, 1941.
- Kuchar, Gary. *George Herbert and the Mystery of the World*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Lake, Peter. "'The Anglican Movement?' Richard Hooker and the Ideological Watershed of the 1590s." In *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition*, edited by Stephen Platten, 190-211. Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2003.
- . *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 1982.
- Larminie, Karl S. Bottigheimer and Vivienne. "Bedell, William (Bapt. 1572, Died 1642)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1924>.
- Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer. *Milton's Brief Epic; the Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained*. Providence: Brown UP, 1966.
- MacCallum, Hugh. *Milton and the Sons of God: The Divine Image in Milton's Epic Poetry*. Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- Mahn, Jason. "Between Presence and Explanation: Thinking through Suffering with Thomas Long." *Theology Today* (2012): 225-30.
- Maltzahn, Nicholas von. "Milton, Marvell and Toleration." In *Milton and Toleration*, edited by Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Martin, Gregory, William Allen, and Laurence Kellam. *The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English, out of the Authentical Latin : Diligently Conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and Other Editions in Divers Languages: With Arguments of the Bookes, and Chapters, Annotations, Tables and Other Helpes, for Better Understanding of the Text : For Discoverie of Corruptions in Some Late Translations, and for Clearing Controversies in Religion*. Doway: Laurence Kellam, 1609.
- Miller, Leo. *John Milton among the Polygamophiles*. New York: Loewenthal Press, 1974.

- Milton, John. *Areopagitica; a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Vnlicens'd Printing, to the Parlament of England*. London: s.n., 1644.
- . *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*. Vol. VI, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- . *The Major Works*. Edited by Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- . *Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and Vvhither It May Be Deduc'd from the Apostolical Times by Vertue of Those Testimonies Which Are Alledg'd to That Purpose in Some Late Treatises One Whereof Goes under the Name of Iames, Arch-Bishop of Armagh*. London: R.O. & G.D. for Thomas Underhill, 1641.
- . *Of Reformation Touching Chvrch-Discipline in England, and the Cavses That Hitherto Have Hindred It Two Bookes, Written to a Freind [Sic]*. [London?]: for Thomas Underhill, 1641.
- . *The Reason of Church Government*. London: E.G. for John Rothwell, 1641.
- Myers, Benjamin. *Milton's Theology of Freedom*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006.
- Ochino, Bernardino. *Certayne Sermons of the Ryghte Famous and Excellente Clerk Master Barnardine Ochine*. [in English] Translated by Anne Cooke Bacon. London: John Day, 1551.
- . *A Dialogue of Polygamy, Written Originally in Italian Rendred into English by a Person of Quality*. London: For John Garfeild, 1657.
- . *Fouretene Sermons ... Concernyng the Predestinacion and Eleccion of God*. [in English] Translated by Anne Cooke Bacon. London: J. Day and W. Seres, 1550.
- . *Labyrinthi*. [in Latin] Basileæ: apvd Petrvm Pernam, 1561.
- . *Sermons of the Right Famous and Excellent Clerk Master Bernardine Ochine*. Ipswich: [s.n.], 1548.
- . *A Tragoedie or Dialogue of the Unjust Usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome*. Translated by John Ponet. London: [By N. Hill] for Gwalter Lynne, 1549.
- Ochino, Bernardino, and Sébastien Castellion. *Bernardini Ochini Senensis Dialogi Xxx. In Duos Libros Diuisi*. [in Latin] Basileae: [Per Petrum Pernam], 1563.
- Owen, John. *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ or the Mystery of the Gospell Vindicated, and Socinianisme Examined*. [in English] Oxford: Printed by Leon. Lichfield ... for Tho. Robinson., 1655.
- Petris, Paolo de. "Calvin's 'Theodicy' in His Sermons on Job and the Hiddenness of God." McGill University, 2008.

- Porter, H.C. *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge*. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1972.
- Rumrich, John P. "Milton's Arianism: Why It Matters." In *Milton and Heresy*, edited by Stephen B. Dobranski and John P. Rumrich. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998.
- Schifferdecker, Kathryn. *Out of the Whirlwind: Creation Theology in the Book of Job*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2008.
- Shagan, Ethan H., and Debora K. Shuger. *Religion in Tudor England: An Anthology of Primary Sources*. Waco, TX: Baylor UP, 2016.
- Shuger, Debora. "Milton Über Alles." *Studies in Philology* 107.3 (2010): 401-15.
- . "The Mysteries of the Lambeth Articles." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 68, no. 2 (2017): 306-25.
- Socinus, Faustus. *De Jesu Christo Servatore* [in Latin] [Rakow]: Typis Alexii Rodecii, 1594.
- Terrien, Samuel. "Introduction and Exegesis [to Job]." In *The Interpreter's Bible 3*, edited by George Buttrick, 875-907. New York: Abingdon Press, 1954.
- Todd, Margo. "Ward, Samuel (1572-1643)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28705>.
- Tudor, Elizabeth. *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Walton, Izaak. *Lives of John Donne, Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker and George Herbert*. Edited by Henry Morley. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1888.
- Wikipedia. "Theodicy." <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodicy>.
- Wyatt, Michael. *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Chapter 4: Peripheral Job

When Milton turned Job into a model for the redemptive work of Christ, he was responding to what I have thus far called the “Protestant” version of Job, whose hallmark is a newfound attention to Job’s humanness. Yet it is hardly accurate to refer to “a Protestant reading,” and not only because of the substantial differences we have seen between the interpretations of Luther, who embraces Job’s weakness as proof of his dependence on grace; Calvin, who criticizes Job for his weak-minded complaints against God’s sovereignty; and Milton, who praises Job’s endurance (despite his human weakness) as proof of man’s free will. It is also inaccurate to refer to a “Protestant” way of reading because, as this chapter will suggest, the Augustinian monk, Diego de Zuñiga (1536-1597) played a noteworthy role in the early modern movement toward a more human Job.

When the Sacred Congregation of the Index published its *Index of Prohibited Books* in 1616, it banned two books on heliocentrism. The first was *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres* (1543), written by the now-famous astronomer Nicolas Copernicus (1473-1543).¹ The second was Zuñiga’s *A Commentary on Job* (1584).² The Sacred Congregation’s decree reads:

This Holy Congregation has also learned about the spreading and acceptance by many of the false Pythagorean doctrine, altogether contrary to the Holy Scripture, that the earth moves and the sun is motionless, which is also taught by Nicholas

¹ Nicolai Copernici Torinensis, *De Revolvitionibvs Orbium Caelestiu*, vol. 6 (Norimbergæ: Ioh. Petreium, 1543).

² Diego de Zúñiga, *Didaci a Stvnica Salamanticensis Eremitae Avgustiniani in Iob Commentaria: Quibus Triplex Eius Editio Vulgata Latina, Hebraea, & Graeca Septuaginta Interpretum, Necnon & Chaldaea Explicantur, & Inter Se Cum Diferre Hae Editiones Videntur, Conciliantur, & Praecepta Vitae Cum Virtute Colendae Literaliter Deducuntur. Ad Philippum M. Ii Catholicus Hispaniarum Regem* (Toleti: Ioannes Rodericus, 1584). Note the difference between Diego López de Zúñiga, a Spanish humanist and Biblical scholar who died in Naples in 1531 (Latinized Jacobus Lopis Stunica), and Diego de Zuñiga, the Salamanca Biblical scholar who wrote *In Iob Commentaria* (Latinized Didacus a Stunica).

Copernicus's *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres* and by Diego de Zuñiga's *On Job*....Therefore, in order that this opinion may not creep any further to the prejudice of Catholic truth, the Congregation has decided that the books by Nicolaus Copernicus (*On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*) and Diego de Zuniga (*On Job*) be suspended until corrected.³

The controversial part of Zuñiga's commentary is his interpretation of Job 9:6, which says God "shaketh the earth out of her place."⁴ Zuñiga uses the verse, which attracts little attention from most exegetes, to corroborate Copernicus's theory on the earth's mobility. The passage, in its 1661 translation by Thomas Salusbury,⁵ reads:

³ The Sacred Congregation of the Index was a division of the Roman Inquisition that was appointed in 1571. They published their decree against "Pythagorean doctrine" in Rome on March 5, 1616, signed by the Lord Cardinal of St. Cecilia, Bishop of Albano. "Decree of the Holy Congregation of the Most Illustrious Lord Cardinals, especially charged by his Holiness Pope Paul V and by the Holy Apostolic See, with the Index of books and their licensing, prohibition, correction, and printing in all of Christendom" in Maurice A. Finocchiaro, *The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History* (New York: Notable Trials, 1991), 148-50.

In addition to these two books, the Sacred Congregation condemned a published letter by the Carmelite Father Paolo Foscarini (1565-1616). The letter examines Biblical proof for and against the earth's mobility and concludes that references to the sun's movement are metaphorical. The Sacred Congregation objected to it because "the said Father tries to show that the above-mentioned doctrine of the sun's rest at the center of the world and the earth's motion is consonant with the truth and does not contradict Holy Scripture." The letter was translated into English by Thomas Salusbury (publ. 1661) alongside Zuñiga's explication of Job 9:6. Paolo Foscarini, *Lettera Del R.P.M. Paolo Antonio Foscarini Carmelitano : Sopra L'opinione De Pittagorici, E Del Copernico Della Mobilità Della Terra, E Stabilità Del Sole, È Del Nuouo Pittagorico Sistema Del Mondo* (Napoli: Lazaro Scoriggio, 1615). "Epistle Concerning the Pythagorian and Copernican Opinion of the Mobility of the Earth and Stability of the Sun and of the New System or Constitution of the World," in *Mathematical Collections and Translations: In Two Tomes, Vol. 1*, ed. Thomas Salusbury (London: W. Leybourne, 1661), 471-503.

The Index of Prohibited Books was reprinted across Italy and Spain. To cite one early edition: Holy Office in Spain, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum, Cum Regulis Confectis Per Patres à Tridentina Synodo Delectos Auctoritate Pii Quarti Primum Editus ; Postea Vero à Syxto V. Auctus ; Et Nunc Demum ... Clementis Papae Viii. Iussu Recogn., & Publicatus ; Instructione Adiecta ; De Exequenda Prohibitionis ... Ratione* (Venetiis: M.A. Zalterius, 1616).

⁴ King James I, *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New* (London: Robert Barker, 1611), Job 9:6. Henceforth, cited as "King James Version."

⁵ Salusbury was Catholic and thus more sensitive than most to the Catholic Church's edicts. In his preface "To The Reader," he explains that he included excerpts from documents banned by the Holy Office in order to "shew the authority of sacred scripture in determining of philosophical and natural controversies" (n.p.). Diego de Zuñiga, "An Abstract of Some Passages in the Commentaries of Didacus a Stunica of Salamanca Upon Job," in *Mathematical*

The sacred pen-man here sets down another effect whereby God showeth his almighty power, joined with infinite wisdom. Which place, though it must be confessed very difficult to understand, might be greatly cleared by the opinion of the Pythagoreans, who hold the earth to be moved of its own nature, and that the motion of the stars can no other way be ascertained, they being so extremely different in tardity and velocity...But in this our age, Copernicus doth demonstrate the courses of the planets to be according to this opinion. Nor is it to be doubted but that the planets' places may be more exactly and certainly assigned by his doctrine....To conclude, no place can be produced out of Holy Scripture which so clearly speaks the earth's immobility, as this doth its mobility.⁶

Zuñiga's exposition of Job 9:6 in light of heliocentric theories was consistent with his belief that interpreting the Bible required knowledge of many languages and sciences.⁷ Like

Collections and Translations: In Two Tomes, Vol. 1, Part 1, ed. Thomas Salusbury (London: W. Leybourne, 1661), 468-70.

⁶ Salusbury, *Mathematical Collections*, 469-470. The passage in the 1591 edition reads: Ponit alium Dei effectum ad eius summam potentiam cū infinita sapientia coniunctam demonstrandam. Qui locus difficilis quidem videtur, valdēque illustraretur ex Pythagoricorum sententia existimantium terram moveri natura sua, nec aliter posse stellarum motus tam longē tarditate, & celeritate dissimiles explicari....Nostro vero tempore Copernicus, iuxta hanc sententiam planetaru[m] cursus declarat. Nec dubium est, quin longē melius, & certius planetarum loca ex eius doctrina...Denique nullus dabitur scripturæ sacro sanctæ locus, qui tam apertē dicat terram non moveri, quā hic moveri dicit. *Didaci a Stunica ... In Job Commentaria Quibus Triplex Eius Editio Vulgata Latina, Hebræa, & Græca Septuaginta Interpretum, Necnon & Chaldæa Explicantur: Et Inter Se Cum Diferre Hæ Editiones Videntur, Conciliantur & Præcepta Vitæ Cum Virtute Colendæ Literaliter Deducuntur* (Romæ: Franciscum Zannettum, 1591), 140-41. Available online at <https://repository.ou.edu/uuid/2e505daa-f3d5-5ef1-92e4-d0fe4162a420#page/27/mode/2up>.

⁷ Victor Navarro Brotons, "The Reception of Copernicus in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Case of Diego De Zuniga," *Isis* 86.1 (1995): 66. Although Zuñiga testified against the movement's leader, Augustinian friar Luis de Leon, when he was imprisoned for insubordination to the Vulgate's authority, Zuñiga's own writing about his exegetical methods suggests that he was aligned with Fray Leon in using his learning for the interpretation of difficult Biblical passages (65).

other liberal Catholic humanists educated at the University of Salamanca, Zuñiga resisted the Council of Trent's declaration of the Vulgate's infallibility, believing instead that the Vulgate was a perfect book for inspiring faith, but not an accurate translation of its Greek and Hebrew source texts. Rather than yielding to patristic precedent in all questions of interpretation, he advocated consulting source texts in their original languages for problematic passages.⁸ Given his reputation for questioning precedent, it is not surprising that Zuñiga would include a small lesson on the earth's mobility to enlighten Job 9:6.

Zuñiga had more than a passing knowledge of astronomy; he owned a copy of Copernicus's *De Revolutionibus* and was well-read enough in heliocentric theories to make mention of the obscure Augustinus Ricius, who studied under the Salamancan Jew Abraham Zacut and published just one astronomical treatise in 1513.⁹ Yet, as Victor Brotons clarifies, Zuñiga was not a die-hard heliocentricist if measured against our contemporary standards; Zuñiga's explication of Job does not pursue the implications of a heliocentric cosmology for Aristotelian natural philosophy and his later publication goes so far as to renounce the earth's mobility as absurd.¹⁰ Nevertheless, compared to other thinkers in the 1580s, Zuñiga's commitment to Copernicus's theory was well-informed and whole-hearted. At this point Copernicanism had not developed strong ideological enemies, which meant that Zuñiga could

⁸ Robert Westman, "The Copernicans and the Churches," in *God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 87.

⁹ Brotons, "Reception of Copernicus," 76n.60,69; José Chabás and Bernard R. Goldstein, *Astronomy in the Iberian Peninsula: Abraham Zacut and the Transition from Manuscript to Print* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2000), 161.

¹⁰ Brotons, "Reception of Copernicus," 77.

endorse the theory that seemed right to him, without fear of controversy or repercussions.¹¹ The lack of opposition to Copernicus's ideas made Zuñiga feel comfortable taking a cutting-edge stance, even in comparison to the other nine Copernicans that we can identify before 1600, on what could be proved about the universe.¹²

Indeed, Zuñiga's claims about the organization of the universe were more radical than Copernicus's own postulations. When Copernicus set forth his theory of heliocentrism, he saw his astronomical discovery as a purely mathematical theory, not an explanation of the physical world. He was able to circumvent the application of his mathematics because the Renaissance hierarchy of disciplines severed astronomy from natural philosophy, making astronomy a means of solving technical problems like navigation and calendrical inquiry, and natural philosophy a higher-order inquiry into the world's workings.¹³ From a contemporary scientific mindset, it can be hard to believe that an astronomer could look at Copernicus's mathematical theory and *not* pursue its empirical demonstration in the physical world; it seems as if Renaissance astronomers would have been itching to find an elegant mathematical expression of the planets' workings, one that would render their complicated system of ellipses and retrograde motion obsolete. But

¹¹ Fifteen years later, Zuñiga's commentary would receive scathing criticism for its interpretation of Job 9:6 from Zuñiga's more influential colleague, Juan de Pineda, in *Commentarii in Librum Job* (1597-1601). Pineda calls Zuñiga's opinion "foolish, frivolous, reckless, and dangerous to the faith." The translation of this passage from Pineda appears in Richard J. Blackwell and Paolo Antonio Foscarini, *Galileo, Bellarmine, and the Bible: Including a Translation of Foscarini's Letter on the Motion of the Earth* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 26. Twenty years after Pineda, Zuñiga's commentary became embroiled in the Galileo trials. Although Zuñiga died in 1597 and thus would not have been subject to this criticism himself, other commentators learned from his example that heliocentrism was a controversial subject. Brotons, "The Reception of Copernicus," 77.

¹² Westman, "The Copernicans and the Churches," 85.

¹³ While both of these are explanations of "nature" in some regards, natural philosophy ranks higher in the Renaissance disciplinary taxonomy because its explanations attempt a comprehensive worldview that answers "why" in addition to "what" and "how." It is a "philosophy," in the broad sense of the term as a *system* of thought rather than a particular thought to answer a particular question.

pre-modern astronomy accepted its own ungainliness because it was, first and foremost, concerned with calculating the length of the calendar year and the date of Easter. Since astronomers depended on a necessarily convoluted algorithm for making a year 365.25 days and Easter on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the lunar month following the vernal equinox, they had no reason to suspect that the revolution of the planets *should* be explainable with simpler mathematics.¹⁴ They figured that natural philosophers had a logical, orderly explanation of the universe's perfect, concentric spheres, so the fact that the explanatory mathematics were a little complicated or could take a variety of forms was par for the course.¹⁵ In fact, the assumption that astronomy functioned apart from natural philosophy meant that Renaissance thinkers were able to hold both the Ptolemaic and Copernican models of the universe as equally valid from an astronomical point of view, without wondering about their implications for natural philosophy. For instance, the sixteenth-century natural philosopher Simon Abril subscribed to heliocentrism *and* geocentrism as a mathematical possibility, although he professed believing in the "traditional theory" because he trusted Aristotle's philosophy over Copernicus's astronomy.

Because mathematics were considered an inferior discipline to natural philosophy, Copernicus's purely astronomical theory was not a particularly disruptive force among his sixteenth-century contemporaries. Even in the seventeenth-century, when Robert Burton summarizes opinions on the earth's motion in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, he first discusses the writings of classical authors, followed by Zuñiga and other sixteenth-century religious figures,

¹⁴ Debora Shuger, "Response to Owen Gingerich, 'The Gregorian Calendar Reform of 1582'" (presentation, *UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies* conference, "Calendar Reform and Religious Reformation," Los Angeles, California, January 23-24, 2003).

¹⁵ Brotons, "The Reception," 52; 61.

and only at the end mentions how the heliocentric theory was “revived” by Copernicus “not as a truth, but a supposition, as he himself confesseth.”¹⁶ As Burton’s history suggests, Zuñiga pushes heliocentrism and the earth’s mobility a step beyond Copernicus. Whereas Copernicus had only set forth his mathematical calculations as a hypothesis, Zuñiga’s commentary on Job 9:6 claims that Copernicus “doth demonstrate” the Earth’s motion and the sun’s central position, as if Copernicus had observable evidence rather than a mathematical theory.¹⁷

It was not until Galileo built his telescope in 1609, thus providing heliocentrism’s missing empirical support, that Copernicus’s “theory” became a legitimate threat to Church-approved teachings on geocentrism. Galileo is responsible not only for landing Copernicus’s *De Revolutionibus* on the Index of Prohibited Books of 1616, but also for dragging Zuñiga’s commentary into the controversy.¹⁸ In his famous 1613 letter to the Grand Duchess of Tuscany,¹⁹ Galileo references Zuñiga’s commentary on Job 9:6 to illustrate that Copernicanism is not contrary to scripture.²⁰ Zuñiga’s explication was particularly attractive to Galileo because

¹⁶ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy...In 3 Partitions* (Oxford: [Miles Flesher, London; Leonard Lichfield and William Turner, Oxford] for Henry Cripps, 1638), Part 2, Sect. 2, Member 3, p.253.

¹⁷ Zuñiga, “Some Passages...Upon Job,” 470.

¹⁸ Brotons insists that we not let the Holy Office of the Index’s ruling turn “this loyal and obedient son of the Church into the Spanish Don Quixote of Copernicanism.” Brotons, “The Reception of Copernicus,” 78.

¹⁹ Galileo started working on the *Letter* in 1613 after a breakfast conversation at the court of the Medici. The mother of Galileo’s patron had voiced her concern about the implications of Copernicanism for the interpretation of scripture. Galileo’s letter circulated in a couple of forms between 1613 and 1615. Jean Dietz Moss, *Novelties in the Heavens: Rhetoric and Science in the Copernican Controversy* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 181.

²⁰ The reference to Zuñiga’s commentary is an odd departure from Galileo’s primary aim, which is to separate scriptural interpretation from astronomical proof. Elsewhere in the letter, Galileo argues that the interpretation of the heavens requires a separate expertise from the interpretation of scripture (an argument that he—ironically enough—validates by attributing it to Augustine). He accuses churchmen of supporting their geocentrism with “vain discourses...interwoven with the attestations of the sacred scriptures, taken from places by them not rightly understood, and which did not anything concern the point for which they were produced” (427). According to Galileo, these churchmen are not just misunderstanding scripture; they are intentionally twisting its meaning to protect their close-minded position. For this reason, Galileo accuses his opponents of condemning his opinion “not only as false, but also as heretical, continually making a hypocritical zeal for religion their shield” (430). Galileo

it declares that other Biblical passages on the earth's mobility should be interpreted according to its conclusion. (In Zuñiga's words, "no place can be produced out of Holy Scripture which so clearly speaks the earth's immobility, as this doth its mobility."²¹) The weight that Zuñiga and Galileo gave their own interpretation clearly violated the Council of Trent's ruling that the patristics have ultimate authority in scriptural interpretation. When the relevant portion of *A Commentary on Job* (1584) was banned by the Holy Congregation of the Index in 1616, it was not only Zuñiga's astronomy that was condemned, but his implication that "the aforesaid doctrine of the immobility of the sun in the center of the universe and of the mobility of the earth, is consonant with truth, and is not opposed to Holy Scripture."²²

Because of the attention that Zuñiga's commentary received during the Galileo trials, Job became tied up in arguments for and against heliocentrism throughout the seventeenth-century. This was not entirely novel; its discussions of weather, space, the sun, and planets had made Job of use in cosmological discussions for centuries.²³ As Francis Bacon explains, the Book of Job is "pregnant and swelling with natural philosophy; as for example, cosmography and the roundness

Galilei, "His Epistle to the Grand Dutchesse Mother, Concerning the Authority of Holy Scripture in Philosophical Controversies," in *Mathematical Collections and Translations: In Two Tomes, Vol. 1, Part 1*, ed. Thomas Salusbury (London: W. Leybourne, 1661), 427-60.

Galileo's reference to Zuñiga was also not politically savvy. The Grand Duchess was a supporter of Zuñiga's opponent, the influential Jesuit theologian Juan de Pineda. Galileo probably did not realize that the Grand Duchess owned a copy of Pineda's commentary on Job. Moss, *Novelties*, 206-07.

²¹ Zuñiga, "Some Passages...Upon Job," 470. For Zuñiga's radical hermeneutic, see Blackwell and Foscarini, *Galileo*, 27.

²² Holy Office in Spain, "Index of Prohibited Books (1616)," in *Nineteenth Century, Vol. 19* (London: Henry S. King, 1886), 727.

²³ For instance, in the medieval period, Job 37:18 was used more frequently than any other text to defend the heavens as hard orbs rather than fluid. Edward Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos, 1200-1687* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge UP, 1996), 366.

of the world.”²⁴ But the Copernican controversy made references to Job’s cosmography more heated and more frequent, as Kepler complains in the first book of his *Epitome Astronomiae Copernicanae* (1617). Kepler argues that Scripture can be twisted to support any position, including Lactantius’s belief that the world was flat: “The Book of Job will appear to agree with Lactantius if it is sidetracked from the purpose of God’s word to a philosophical fantasy.”²⁵

Because Zuñiga used Job to support Copernicus’s theory of the earth’s mobility, a number of geocentrists in the seventeenth-century responded by taking verses from Job to prove the opposite.²⁶ In 1646, the staunch Aristotelian Alexander Ross (now most famous for his scuffles with Sir Thomas Browne and Thomas Hobbes²⁷) uses Job to support his argument in *The New Planet, No Planet: Or, The Earth No Wandering Star Except in the Wandering Heads of Galileans*. As the title implies, Ross tries to disprove theories of the earth’s mobility and dedicates an entire section to “Job defended and explained.” In Chapter 1, he explains, “What are the Pillars of Heaven in Job,” and again in Chapter 5, “What Job means by the earth moved out

²⁴ Francis Bacon, *Of the Proficiency and [H]Advancement of Learning, Diuine and Humane* (London: Henrie Tomes, 1605), Part 1, sig. H2v.

²⁵ Qtd. in Edward Rosen, *Copernicus and His Successors* (London; Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press, 1995), 234.

²⁶ For instance, Italian theologian and astronomer Raphael Aversa uses Job in his 1627 treatise. Raphael Aversa, *Philosophia Metaphysicam Physicamque Complectens, Quaestionibus Context, Vol. 2* (Rome: Moscardum, 1627), Question. 36. Sec. 6, p.231, col. 2. Available online at https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_aUcggXTnsX4C#page/n41/mode/2up/search/job.

²⁷ Alexander Ross’s ardent defense of Aristotelianism in an age when Aristotle’s cosmology, physics, ethics, and politics were increasingly under fire is not surprising, given his penchant for argument and rhetorical attack. As his biographer David Allan comments, all of his writing is characterized by “violent and often vituperative indignation directed at other authors.” He not only defended Aristotelian cosmology, but also scholasticism more generally, which entangled him in arguments with Sir Thomas Browne and Sir Kenelm Digby. His attack on contemporary philosophical errors also made him an enemy of Descartes, Spinoza, Ramus, and Hobbes. David Allan, “Ross, Alexander (1591–1654)” in *the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24110>.

of its place.”²⁸ Giovanni Battista Riccioli’s *Almagestum Novum* (1651), an encyclopedia of astronomical topics, also uses verses from Job 9, 26, and 38 to disprove the mobility of the earth.²⁹ Verses like “God hangeth the earth upon nothing” (Job 26:7) and “Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?” (Job 38:4) allowed these geocentricists to come to the opposite conclusion of Zuñiga using the same exegetical method for making claims about the universe’s organization.³⁰

Anthropocentric Heliocentricism

Although the Holy Office’s banning of Zuñiga’s commentary is a fascinating facet of the text’s reception history and noteworthy footnote in the history of the Galileo trials,³¹ it is equally interesting how Zuñiga’s heliocentricism interacts with the rest of his exegesis: namely, how he situates Copernicanism within a reading of Job that emphasizes human marginality. Despite a

²⁸Alexander Ross, *The New Planet, No Planet: Or, the Earth No Wandring Star except in the Wandring Heads of Galileans* (London: J. Young, 1646).

²⁹ Giovanni Battista Riccioli, *Almagestum Novum, Pars Posterior* (Bononiae: Victorii Benatii, 1651), Librum 9, Sectio 2, p.249, col. 1. “Tertia pars confirmatur primò ex multitudine Authorum utriusque Classis, deinde ex Sacris literis: Nam illud Job 9. *Sub quo curuantur, qui portant orben, & Job. 26 Columna cali contremiscunt, & 38 Cuam me laudarent astramatutina, & iubilarent omnes filius Dei.*”

³⁰ Theologians’ use of Job to describe man’s place in the universe is especially noteworthy considering the Copernican Revolution’s reputation as the hallmark of “new science,” a term historians once used without self-consciousness to describe new understandings of natural reality in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the changing methods of inquiry that gave rise to this knowledge. To some extent, Steven Shapin explains, early modern writers expressed their own sense that they were proposing new and important changes in natural philosophy (5). But, by and large, the idea of a “scientific revolution” is more of an attractive story to modern sensibilities than a meaningful designation of an actual historical time period. Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston describe, “The Scientific Revolution is a myth about the inevitable rise to global domination of the West, whose cultural superiority is inferred from its cultivation of the values of inquiry that, unfettered by religion or tradition, allegedly produced the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ‘breakthrough to modern science’” (15). My project contributes to this continued effort to debunk the Scientific Revolution, which is predicated on a secularization narrative in which reason wins out over religion, by exposing places where our disciplinary divisions break down in reference to the early modern period. Steve Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 5. Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston, “Introduction: The Age of the New,” in *The Cambridge History of Science, Vol. 3, “Early Modern Science”* ed. Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 15.

³¹ Saying virtually nothing about what the commentary contains, aside from its passage on Job 9:6, has been the trend in history and criticism on Zuñiga since the nineteenth-century.

persistent folklore version of the Copernican Revolution in which heliocentrism removed man from his special, central place, Zuñiga's association between heliocentrism and marginality was atypical in the sixteenth-century. As Edward Grant and John Headley have argued, most early scientific treatises on heliocentrism were profoundly anthropocentric. What is interesting about Zuñiga's commentary, then, is how it challenges this anthropocentric bias in scientific writing. Contrary to heliocentric texts rooted in an emerging secular empiricism, Zuñiga's *Commentary on Job* ties heliocentrism to its understanding of human marginality.

Understanding the anthropocentrism in secular heliocentric treatises illuminates what is unique about Zuñiga's emphasis on marginality. It can seem counterintuitive to regard a text like Copernicus's *De Revolutionibus* as anthropocentric; after all, the text is famous for knocking man off his throne of cosmic centrality. But the idea that man was regarded as exceptional because he was in the center of the universe is a modern misunderstanding of medieval geocentrism. In the Middle Ages, when the earth was thought to be centered, no one had reason to consider the earth's central position to be suggestive of man's nobility.³² According to Aristotelian cosmology, God occupied the outermost of a series of concentric spheres, and, with each successive layer inward, matter became less spiritual and more "earthy." If you sunk far enough through the concentric spheres, you would eventually arrive at the center, the universe's garbage dump of mortal matter. The fact that man inhabited this heap of earth was nothing to brag about.

³² In *Planets, Stars, and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos, 1200-1687*, Edward Grant describes the emergence of the symbolic association between the earth's centrality and its superiority as a consequence of the heliocentric controversies, not a timeless truth. Grant, *Planets*, 236-42.

Part of what Copernicus accomplished in *De Revolutionibus* was to rebrand the center as a place fit for the glorious sun (a symbol of God) and rebrand man as the chosen surveyor of the universe. (As we'll see, his successful rebranding—making the center into the universe's coveted spot, while insisting on man's exceptionality—would prompt geocentricists to defend *man's* place at the now-glorious center.³³) In order to rebrand the center and defend the sun's place in this newly prized position, Copernicus's famous hymn to the sun associates both light and centrality with God's supremacy:³⁴

And, behold, in the midst of all resides the sun. For who, in this most beautiful temple, would set this lamp in another or better place, whence to illuminate all things at once? For aptly indeed do some call him the lantern—and others the mind or the ruler—of the universe. Hermes Trismegistus calls him the visible god, and Sophocles' Electra “the beholder” of all things. Truly indeed does the sun, as if seated upon a royal throne, govern his family of planets as they circle about him... Thus we discover in this orderly arrangement the marvelous symmetry of the universe and a firm harmonious connection between the motion and the size of the spheres... So great, certainly, is the divine handiwork of Him who is himself the greatest and the best.³⁵

³³ Edward Grant suggests that the most pressing question of seventeenth-century astronomy became, “With the center established as the noblest place in the universe, which of the two competing bodies—earth or Sun—was more fit to occupy it?” Grant, *Planets*, 242.

³⁴ According to Copernicus, heliocentrism models man's proper relationship to God because it places the sun (a symbol of God, the giver of life) at the center and the earth (man's dwelling place) as an adoring satellite.

³⁵ Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus*, Book 1, Chapter 10 (1543) translated in Dennis Richard Danielson, *The Book of the Cosmos: Imagining the Universe from Heraclitus to Hawking* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2000), 117.

As Copernicus turns the centralized sun into a symbol of God, he does not forget about man. Copernicus's emphasis on God's deserved exaltation is mixed with his glorification of man as God's most noble creature, who is singularly endowed with the ability to understand the heavens. Copernicus describes astronomical inquiry as an attempt to uncover "the movements of the world machine, created *for our sake* by the best and most systematic Artisan of all."³⁶ He points to the theological purpose of this work: "For when a man is occupied with things which he sees established in the finest order and directed by divine management, will not the unremitting contemplation of them and a certain familiarity with them stimulate him to the best and to admiration for the Maker of everything, in whom are all happiness and every good?"³⁷ Although God (represented by the sun) is at the center, man gets particular attention as God's special admirer.

Johannes Kepler maintains Copernicus's appraisal of man's worth by calling him the universe's "destined observer." In his *Astronomiae Pars Optica* (1604),³⁸ Kepler explains:

Thus it is apparent that it was not proper for man, the inhabitant of this universe and its destined observer, to live in its inwards as though he were in a sealed room. Under those conditions he would never have succeeded in contemplating the heavenly bodies, which are so remote. On the contrary, by the annual revolution of the earth, his homestead, he is whirled about and transported in this

³⁶ Nicolaus Copernicus, *On the Revolutions*, ed. Jerzy Dobrzycki, trans. Edward Rosen (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992), 4, my emphasis.

³⁷ Copernicus, *On the Revolutions*, 7.

³⁸ Johannes Kepler, *Ad Vitellionem Paralipomena: Quibus Astronomiae Pars Optica Traditur* (Francofurti: apud Claudium Marnium & haeredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1604).

most ample edifice, so that he can examine and with utmost accuracy measure the individual members of the house.³⁹

Kepler's description of man as a privileged traveler allows him to maintain that God created the universe "for us." In fact, Kepler suggests that the process of expounding this theory of heliocentrism is an act of "worship to God:" after all, the heliocentricist has been given the "eyes of understanding" as a gift and "yet whatever he has attained to, he is both able and willing to extol his God above it."⁴⁰ Galileo similarly attends to the faithful capabilities of the attentive astronomer in his letter to the Grand Duchess. He insists that "the glory and the greatness of Almighty God is admirably discerned in all his works and divinely read in the open book of heaven."⁴¹ At first, Galileo touches on man's shortcomings in understanding God's complex book of nature: "There are couched in [its pages] mysteries so profound and conceits so sublime that the vigils, labors, and studies of an hundred and an hundred acute wits have not yet been able thoroughly to dive into them after the continual disquisition of some thousands of years."⁴² But then he points out the "strange wonders that, by help of long and accurate observations, the wit of learned men discovereth in heaven."⁴³ As Kepler suggests, man's position on earth provides him access to these wonders.

³⁹Kepler's *Conversation with Galileo's Sidereal Messenger*, ed. Edward Rosen (New York; London: Johnson Reprint, 1965), 148n.399.

⁴⁰Qtd. in Danielson, *The Book of the Cosmos*, 127. Translated by Thomas Salusbury.

⁴¹Galileo, "Epistle to the Grand Duchess," translated by Salusbury in *Mathematical Collections*, 444.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

In *Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World*, John Headley describes how the rise of heliocentrism contributed to the “new identity, singularity, and autonomy afforded to man.”⁴⁴ Headley explains:

While displacing the world from its central location in the universe, he [Copernicus] nevertheless affirms an anthropocentric consciousness, whereby man can now achieve his ideal goal enunciated earlier by Anaxagoras: to become *contemplator caeli*, the contemplator of an universe that God has constructed according to Copernicus on our account, *for us (propter nos)*.⁴⁵

Since medieval cosmology never considered the earth a prized location, heliocentrism was not a matter of demoting man from his top spot; instead, heliocentrism elevated the center’s status by associating it with God and elevated man’s status by making him *contemplator caeli*.

When John Wilkins (1614-1672), an Oxford-educated heliocentricist,⁴⁶ strived to make Galileo’s discoveries more widely known among the English public in the 1640s,⁴⁷ he defended his scientific endeavors using the same anthropocentric rhetoric of his predecessors. When he

⁴⁴ John Headley, *Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1997), 345.

⁴⁵ Headley, *Tommaso Campanella*, 345.

⁴⁶ John L. Russell, "The Copernican System in Great Britain," in *The Reception of Copernicus' Heliocentric Theory; Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the Nicolas Copernicus Committee of the International Union of the History and Philosophy of Science, Torun, Poland, 1973*, ed. Jerzy Dobrzycki (Dordrecht; Boston: D. Reidel Pub. Co., 1973), 222. For more information on John Wilkins, see Barbara Shapiro, *John Wilkins 1614-1672: An Intellectual Biography* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1969).

⁴⁷ Wilkins first published *The Discovery of a World in the Moon* while a tutor at Oxford in 1638. The book does not explicitly defend heliocentrism, but it remarks that the Copernican system seems “likely enough to be true,” and Wilkins’ thorough knowledge of the work of Galileo, Kepler, Tycho and other heliocentricists demonstrates his convictions as a “convinced Copernican” (Moss, *Novelties*, 309). The book went through three editions in the next two years, and, to the third edition, Wilkins added a defense of heliocentrism for a general audience. John Wilkins, *The Discovery of a World in the Moon* (London: E.G. for M. Sparke and E. Forrest, 1638); *A Discourse Concerning a New World and Another Planet, in 2 Books* (London: J. Maynard, 1640).

thinks about the vastness of the universe, he is reminded of “a soul about me, of far greater worth than all this, and desires that are of a wider extent and more unbounded capacity than this whole frame of nature.”⁴⁸ He does not appreciate the diversity and grandeur of the universe for its own sake, but in respect to himself. He writes, “When the soul does seriously meditate upon [the folly of earthly things], it will begin to despise the narrowness of its present habitation, and think of providing for itself a mansion in those wider spaces above, such as may be more agreeable to the nobleness and divinity of its nature.”⁴⁹ Rather than be amazed that man occupies such a small portion of the vast cosmos, he thinks of the vast cosmos as man’s future home, one that is more fitting his greatness.

Heliocentricists’ insistence on mankind’s dominion over creation prompted geocentricists’ similar insistence that man occupy an honorable position. Yet geocentricists did not agree that man’s exceptionality earned him a location on some rotating side planet. If man is the most superior being in the universe, they reasoned, shouldn’t he be given the best place, which had now become the center? In *New Planet, No Planet* (1643), Alexander Ross uses man’s superiority as proof that the earth must be the center:

The wise God placed the earth in the midst of this great system of the world, not only for man’s sake, who being the Lord of this universe, and the most honorable of all the creatures, deserved to have the most honorable place, which is in the middle; but chiefly that man with all other animal and vegetable creatures, might by an equal distance from all parts of heaven have an equal comfort and

⁴⁸ Wilkins, *A Discourse* (1640), 241-242, EEBO image 257 in STC (2nd ed.) / 25641.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 241-242.

influence... How inconvenient and unhealthy were man's habitation if it were nearer the heaven than it is!⁵⁰

According to Ross, it only makes sense that God would have designed the universe to symbolically acknowledge man's honorable position by placing him at the center and giving him the utmost health and convenience.

The anthropocentrism in geocentric treatises prompted a reevaluation of the earth itself among celestial bodies. Again, being the earth was not special in medieval geocentrism. Aristotle had argued that the sublunary realm was *less* perfect than the celestial realm.⁵¹ Therefore, when Giovanni Baptistia Riccioli suggested the nobility of the earth in *The New Almagest* (1651), his argument was groundbreaking.⁵² In the middle of his encyclopedia work of over 1500 folio pages, Riccioli suggests that the earth's inhabitants elevate the status of the earth itself. He writes, "The earth, with its living, and especially rational, animals is nobler than the Sun."⁵³ He clarifies that the superiority of celestial bodies is not based on mass, nor elemental composition. Instead, the earth is measured as a thing

with living plants and animals, but especially with men for whom all the stars were made and are moved, as God attests in *Deuteronomy*...It is the most excellent body of all the bodies of the world, if we judge by the magnitude of virtue and the dignity of the end, as is proper.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Ross, *New Planet*, 58.

⁵¹ Grant, *Planets*, 236.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 241.

⁵³ Riccioli, *Almagestum novum*, pars. post., bk. 9, sec. 4, ch. 33, pg. 469, col. 1. Translated in Grant, *Planets*, 240.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pg. 331, col. 1 in Grant, *Planets*, 242.

Based on the earth's relative nobility, he assumes it occupies the center of the universe. (In stark contrast to Aristotle's garbage-dump center, Riccioli explains that "the center of the universe is the most noble place in the world, for it is everywhere distant from the extreme and holds the middle position."⁵⁵) Riccioli's argument for the earth's superiority over celestial bodies marks a major departure from medieval geocentrism. It exemplifies the anthropocentrism of early modern secular treatises, both heliocentric and geocentric, which assume that God's purpose in organizing the cosmos was to award man his rightful honor.

Heliocentrism and Marginality

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious writing challenges this anthropocentric bias.⁵⁶ Book 8 of *Paradise Lost* highlights what is different about approaching the cosmos as an

⁵⁵ Riccioli, *Almagestum novum*, pars. post., bk. 9, sec. 4, ch. 33, pg. 330, col. 2.

⁵⁶ By "religious writing on heliocentrism," I mean texts that subscribed to a heliocentric worldview but were primarily invested in man's relationship to God. That said, I acknowledge the difficulty of drawing clear lines between secular and religious writing during this period. Writers like Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo did not divorce their intellectual endeavors from religious aims, and the discipline that we call "science"—the field in which knowledge is discovered through empirical methods—was not yet formed. With those caveats in mind, I am drawing on definitions from Thomas Aquinas's first question of the *Summa Theologica*, which distinguishes between types of "science," or ways of knowing. According to Thomas, a "human science" is a way of knowing that proceeds from self-evident principles in the natural world. A "divine science" is a way of knowing that is revealed by God. Thomas writes:

Sacred doctrine is a science. We must bear in mind that there are two kinds of sciences. There are some which proceed from a principle known by the natural light of intelligence, such as arithmetic and geometry and the like. There are some which proceed from principles known by the light of a higher science: thus the science of perspective proceeds from principles established by geometry, and music from principles established by arithmetic. So it is that sacred doctrine is a science because it proceeds from principles established by the light of a higher science, namely, the science of God and the blessed. Hence, just as the musician accepts on authority the principles taught him by the mathematician, so sacred science is established on principles revealed by God.

Sidney's *Defense of Poesy* maintains these distinctions. Sidney explains how the poet exceeds "all other serving sciences" with a "human skill" that no other scholar can match. But then he makes an exception: "For as for the divine, with all reverence it is ever to be excepted, not only for having his scope as far beyond any of these as eternity exceedeth a moment, but even for passing each of these in themselves." Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologiae of St. Thomas Aquinas*, 2nd edition, online, ed. by Kevin Knight, the Fathers of the English Dominican Province, (1920), <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/1.htm>. Prima Pars, Qu. 1, Art. 2. Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (London: James Roberts for Henry Olney, 1595), n.p., EEBO image 14.

astronomer versus as a worshipper of God. Raphael and Adam's discussion of the relative nobility of celestial bodies traces (and leaves intentionally unsubstantiated) the evolution of thought in early modern astronomy, starting with an inferior Aristotelian earth, moving to a superior heliocentric sun, and ending with a superior geocentric earth. In his first venture into the question of the cosmos' organization, Adam describes (with admitted hesitation) the Aristotelian model, in which the earth is central, but merely "a spot, a grain / An Atom, with the firmament compared."⁵⁷ When he thinks about the stars, who are "more noble" and yet whose purpose amounts to nothing except to light the earth, he wonders

How Nature wise and frugal could commit
Such disproportions, with superfluous hand
So many nobler Bodies to create,
Greater so manifold to this one use.⁵⁸

Adam suggests that a system in which an inconsequential, immobile earth receives light from an infinite number of distant stars is counterintuitive and inefficient. Raphael immediately responds, "This to attain, whether Heav'n move or Earth, / Imports not."⁵⁹ But Raphael also foresees that Adam's reasoning—that it is unreasonable for the inferior earth to sit still and be waited upon by the superior stars—will influence a later cosmology in which the earth moves:

Already by thy reasoning this I guess,
Who art to lead thy offspring, and supposest

⁵⁷ *Paradise Lost* in John Milton, *The Major Works*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 8.17, 507.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.26-29, 507-8.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.70-71, 509.

That bodies bright and greater should not serve
The less not bright, nor Heav'n such journeys run,
Earth sitting still, when she alone receives
The benefit.⁶⁰

Although Raphael anticipates the emergence of the heliocentric theory, in which “brighter and greater” bodies do not run laps around earth, he does not confirm it. Instead, he plays devil’s advocate, suggesting that bigger and brighter is not always better:

Consider first, that great
Or bright infers not excellence: the Earth
Though, in comparison of Heav'n, so small,
Nor glistening, may of solid good contain
More plenty than the Sun that barren shines,
Whose virtue on itself works no effect,
But in the fruitful Earth; there first received
His beams, unactive else, their vigor find.⁶¹

Here, Raphael voices the radically anti-Aristotelian conclusion of seventeenth-century geocentricists: namely, that earth’s “solid good” may *surpass* the stars’ “barren” brightness. Moreover, Raphael reasons, the superiority of man may warrant a seemingly inefficient organization of the cosmos. Raphael suggests, “Yet not to Earth are those bright luminaries / Officious, but to thee, Earth’s habitant.”⁶² Their discussion has come full circle. Raphael moves

⁶⁰ *Paradise Lost* in Milton, *Major Works*, 8.85-90, 509.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 8.90-97, 509.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 8.98-99, 509.

from Adam's implicit conjecture that the stars should be centered because they are big and bright (heliocentrism) to the possibility that the earth should be centered because it and its inhabitants are superior (geocentrism).⁶³

Raphael and Adam's discussion is inconclusive on the cosmos's organization because proving a particular model of the universe or the amount of light that man deserves (the task of secular empiricists) is not Milton's objective. Instead, Raphael is perfectly clear on a different point: man's lowliness relative to God. If the earth is the center of the universe, Raphael suggests, this arrangement teaches us our inconsequence compared to the universe's vastness:

And for the Heav'ns' wide Circuit, let it speak
The Maker's high magnificence, who built
So spacious, and his line stretcht out so far;
That man may know he dwells not in his own;
An edifice too large for him to fill,
Lodg'd in a small partition, and the rest
Ordain'd for uses to his Lord best known.⁶⁴

And "if the Sun / Be center to the world," the lesson is no different: "Be lowly wise."⁶⁵

Raphel's conclusion in *Paradise Lost* foregrounds the anthropocentrism of all astronomy, which scans the heavens to advance man's knowledge. In Book 4 Adam and Eve demonstrate the alternative, faithful way of scanning heaven, for worship rather than mere

⁶³ Rather than confirm or deny one of these theories, he reminds man that human models of the cosmos are merely "quaint" guesses designed for God's entertainment. *Paradise Lost* in Milton, *Major Works*, 8.78, 509.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.100-106, 509.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.122-123; 173, 510-511.

curiosity. This kind of star-gazing reminds them of their lowliness, not their wisdom. Eve asks Adam why the stars continue to shine at night “when sleep hath shut all eyes.”⁶⁶ Adam responds that the stars

though unbeheld in deep of night,
Shine not in vain, nor think, though men were none,
That heav'n would want spectators, God want praise.⁶⁷

Thinking of the stars reminds Adam and Eve that they are just two of the infinite worshippers of God. Beholding the heavens with this orientation helps them, Adam says, “lift our thoughts to Heaven.”⁶⁸

Although *Paradise Lost* takes an extreme position when it suggests that all astronomical pursuits are susceptible to vanity, other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious texts found it possible to defend heliocentrism *and* avoid an anthropocentric bias. These texts focused not on human exceptionality, as astronomers like Copernicus and Kepler did, but man’s marginality in God’s vast creation.⁶⁹ The earliest example of an early modern text that explicitly links heliocentrism and marginality is Thomas Digges’s English translation of Copernicus (1576). Digges paraphrases many of Copernicus’s arguments faithfully.⁷⁰ But, for Digges, a heliocentric

⁶⁶ Ibid., 4.658, 437.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 4.674-6, 437.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 4.688, 437.

⁶⁹ Perhaps the suspicion of astronomy that emerges in *Paradise Lost* helps explain why Diego de Zuñiga eventually abandoned his radical stance on Copernicanism. Perhaps he feared that his astronomical inquiry (and hermeneutic to justify it) had mistaken scanning the heavens for faithfully lifting his thoughts to Heaven.

⁷⁰ Thomas Digges paraphrases (in English translation) excerpts of Copernicus’s *De Revolutionibus* as an appendix to his father, Leonard Digges’s, *A Prognostication Everlasting* (first publ. 1553, appendix added 1576). He translates/paraphrases chapters 10, 7, and 8. Thomas Digges and Nicholas Copernicus, "A Perfit Description of the Caelestiall Orbes," in *A Prognostication Euerlastinge...Latelý Corrected and Augmented by Thomas Digges*, ed.

model of the universe does not lend itself to an anthropocentric consciousness or a reflection on man's abilities as *contemplator caeli*. Instead, Digges writes:

Herein we can never sufficiently admire this wonderful and incomprehensible huge frame of God's work proposed to our senses, seeing first this ball of the earth, wherein we move, to the common sort seemeth great, and yet in respects of the moon's orb is very small, but compared with the great orbit wherein earth is carried, it scarcely retaineth any sensible proportion, so marvelously is that orb of annual motion greater than this little dark star wherein we live. But that great orbit being as is before declared but as a point in respect of the immensity of that immovable heavens, we may easily consider what little portion of God's frame our elementary corruptive world is, but never sufficiently be able to admire the immensity of the rest.⁷¹

Digges's description of our "elementary corruptible world" has a very different flavor from *De Revolutionibus*, both in its general tone and its "bold inferences concerning the size, and perhaps the infinity, of the universe."⁷²

Digges's view of the world's inconsequence relative to the "incomprehensible huge frame of God's work" seems to merely repeat a familiar classical and Christian trope. For

Leonard Digges (London: Thomas Marsh, 1576). Rpt. "A Perfit Description of the Caelestiall Orbes" in Danielson, *Book of the Cosmos*, 132-38.

⁷¹ Digges, "A Perfit Description," in Danielson, *Book of the Cosmos*, 137.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 132.

instance, in Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, Publius Cornelius Scipio has a dream in which he sees the world from a "place on high, full of stars, and bright and shining."⁷³ He reflects:

And as I surveyed them [the "fires of heaven"] from this point, all the other heavenly bodies appeared to be glorious and wonderful. Now the stars were such as we have never seen from this earth; and such was the magnitude of them all as we have never dreamed; and the least of them all was that planet, which farthest from the heavenly sphere and nearest to our earth, was shining with borrowed light. But the spheres of the stars easily surpassed the earth in magnitude—already the earth itself appeared to me so small, that it grieved me to think of our empire, with which we cover but a point, as it were, of its surface.⁷⁴

Likewise, in Dante's *Paradiso*, Dante views the earth from the sphere of the fixed stars:

My eyes returned through all the seven spheres
and saw this globe in such a way that I
smiled at its scrawny image: I approve

that judgment as the best, which holds this earth
to be the least.⁷⁵

⁷³ M. Tulli Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis: The Dream of Scipio*, trans. W.D. Pearman (Cambridge; Deighton: Cambridge UP, 1883), 4.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷⁵ Dante Alighieri, *Paradiso*, trans. Allen Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California, 1982), Canto XXII, lines 133–37.

And in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, Troilus looks back on "this little spot of earth" and begins to "despise / this wretched world."⁷⁶

Despite Digges' clear indebtedness to this tradition, there is an important difference between the "inconsequential earth" topos in this literature and what happens in the heliocentric literature of the early modern period. In the older literary tradition, a man steps outside of the natural order and suddenly sees earth's smallness relative to the supernatural order. This observation does not constitute a radical reassessment of human marginality; indeed, even the most anthropocentric of early modern geocentrists agreed that the earth was small relative to the *supernatural* order. (For instance, when Riccioli defends the nobility of the earth relative to other celestial bodies, he clarifies that, in the supernatural order, "the center of the earth is the lowest and most wretched place."⁷⁷) In contrast, in the heliocentric tradition of which Digges is a pioneer, the observer of the heavens sees the *natural* world and is struck by the earth's smallness. It is a new orientation toward the universe and man's marginal place within it.

Digges's version of heliocentricism (featuring the "elementary, corruptible world") was indebted to Calvinist notions of human depravity and the world's fallenness. We might recall Calvin's first sermon on Job, where he reminds man of his inconsequence relative to God's absolute power: "God hath such a sovereignty over His creatures as He can dispose of them at His pleasure."⁷⁸ Because Digges was raised in Calvinist England, his understanding of human marginality was not, in and of itself, theologically groundbreaking, even though he was new in

⁷⁶ Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde* (Westminster: William Caxton, 1483), 116.

⁷⁷ Riccioli, *Almagestum Novum, Pars Posterior*, bk. 9, sec. 4, ch. 33, pg.330 (col. 2) – 31 (col. 1). Translated in Grant, *Planets*, 240.

⁷⁸ Jean Calvin, *Sermons of Master Iohn Calvin, Vpon the Booke of Iob*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: Lucas Harison and George Byshop, 1574), 1.

applying Calvinism to a new cosmology. What is more surprising is that Zuñiga—a Spanish Catholic—would write a commentary on Job that emphasizes human marginality and imbed his discussion of heliocentrism within it. Zuñiga would have had no exposure to Calvinism, yet his interpretation of the Book of Job parallels Calvin's, where human marginality takes precedence over Job's perfection.⁷⁹ Although Zuñiga's defense of heliocentrism is just one tiny point in his multi-volume exegetical masterpiece, his postulation about the cosmos supports an aim similar to Digges' Calvinist one—to portray man's position on the periphery of God's design.⁸⁰

Nowadays, it seems logical based on textual evidence to read the Book of Job as a story of Job's humbling. Before the onset of his affliction, Job believes that he is exceptional in God's eyes. Job reflects, "Oh that I were as in months past, as in the days when God preserved me; When his candle shined upon my head, and when by his light I walked through darkness."⁸¹ He characterizes God as one who chooses to preserve individual people, guiding his chosen people through the dark. Throughout the book, Job's friends hold onto this picture of a watchful God,

⁷⁹ By the time Zuñiga was writing *A Commentary on Job* in 1584, it is possible that he was acquainted with the Protestant position through other writers' engagements with Calvin's work. He also could have come to his conclusions about Job's sinfulness through his engagement with the Book of Job itself instead of patristic tradition. As a liberally educated humanist, who was well-read in a variety of subjects and writing a comprehensive exegetical commentary on Job, Zuñiga would not have hesitated to interpret Job according to how the text presented itself to him. Instead of exclusively referencing the authority of the church fathers, Zuñiga also cites work by classical authors. For instance, he compares the onset of Job's complaints in chapter 3 to a lamentation in Euripides tragedy, *Cresphontes*, which is translated in Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*. Zuñiga includes both Euripides' Greek and Cicero's Latin version. Zuñiga, *In Job Commentaria*, 48.

⁸⁰ Zuñiga's heliocentrism can seem like an off-handed remark, but it required intentionality. Plenty of other Biblical passages support a geocentric universe. (For instance, 1 Chronicles 16:30: "Fear before him, all the earth: the world also shall be stable, that it be not moved." Psalm 104:5: "He set the earth on its foundations; it can never be moved." Isaiah 45:18: "...who made the earth and fashioned it, and himself fixed it fast.") The fact that he chooses this verse instead of another, within the Book of Job instead of another book, suggests his commitment (at this point in his career) to Copernicus's cosmology.

⁸¹ King James Version, Job 29:2-3.

who gives man exactly the punishment he deserves. When Job experiences hardship, they declare, “This is the portion of a wicked man from God.”⁸²

In the course of his complaint, Job starts to suspect that man’s well-being is of no concern to God. Whereas Job had thought of himself as preserved through God’s care, he suggests now that God “magnifies” man only to make it more dramatic when he forgets about his creation.⁸³ God’s whirlwind speech does not discredit Job’s suspicions of his uncaring. Instead of replying to Job’s complaints about his undeserved suffering, God glorifies the *other* creatures of the earth. He celebrates the horse who “swallows the ground with fierceness and rage” or the crocodile whose “teeth are terrible round about” and whose “scales are his pride.”⁸⁴ He characterizes horses, ostrich, unicorn, crocodiles, hippopotami, snow, wind, and a plethora of other natural elements as beautiful and powerful. In contrast, God mocks man, who speaks “without knowledge.”⁸⁵ He prods, “Hast thou an arm like God? Or canst thou thunder with a voice like him?”⁸⁶ The final vindication of Job’s honor depends on his repentance in “dust and ashes” in 42:6, a physical representation of man’s low place.

Because this is most contemporary theologians’ perspective on the story, it obscures how unusual Zuñiga’s characterization of a “humbled Job” was among Catholic exegetes. As we have seen, patristic and medieval tradition portrayed Job as a model of patient perfection,⁸⁷ in contrast

⁸² King James Version, Job 20:29. This is Zophar speaking.

⁸³ Ibid., Job 7:16-18.

⁸⁴ Ibid., Job 39:24; 41:14-15.

⁸⁵ Ibid., Job 38:2.

⁸⁶ Ibid., Job 40:9.

⁸⁷ Even when Job makes his confession in Job 42 and admits “I have spoken foolishly,” Pope Gregory I does not describe the confession as an apology for personal wrongdoing, but rather Job’s acknowledgement of man’s general sinful nature. Gregory explains, “All human wisdom, however powerful in acuteness, is foolishness, when compared

to Luther's and Calvin's focus on Job's weakness during the Reformation. By the time Zuñiga was writing in the 1580s, there was a divide between the Catholic tradition, which emphasized Job's sainthood, and the Protestant tradition, which emphasized Job's humanity. This divide appears most clearly in early modern interpretations of Job 38:1, in which God appears in a whirlwind and asks, "Who is this who conceals knowledge without wisdom?" When Catholics interpret the question, they usually assume it is addressed to Elihu, the arrogant friend of Job. For instance, Gregory writes, "'Who is this... ' is the beginning of a reproof. For Elihu had spoken arrogantly."⁸⁸ In the same way, the seventeenth-century Catholic exegete Philip Codurc explains:

God spoke because Job's friends had become haughty, especially Elihu, who had accused Job with the rest... God contended and confounded the human wisdom by which Eliphaz and Elihu had glorified themselves and wished to be considered the interpreters of God. Against them, God declared this: *Who obscures counsel with his stupidity?* By this phrase, he fulminates against their arrogance, and they did not open their mouths further. After, he turned to Job and addressed him with exceeding friendliness and familiarity.⁸⁹

Calvinists, on the other hand, take God's accusatory question as addressed to Job. Calvin explains:

with Divine wisdom. For all human deeds which are just and beautiful are, when compared with the justice and beauty of God, neither just nor beautiful, nor have any existence at all. Blessed Job therefore would believe that he had said wisely what he had said, if he did not hear the words of superior wisdom, in comparison with which all our wisdom is folly." It is a difficult task to prove that someone is right when he admits that he is wrong, but Gregory tries. St. Gregory, *Morals on the Book of Job: In Three Volumes* (Oxford; London: John Henry Parker; J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850), Vol. 3, Part 6, Book 35, Sect. 3.

⁸⁸ Ibid., Vol. 3, Part 6, Book 28, Sect. 11.

⁸⁹ Philip Codurc, *Libri Job Versio Nova Ex Hebraeo Cum Scholiis* (Paris: Savreux, 1651), 296-97.

For God, perceiving that Job was not sufficiently subdued with the matters and reasons that Elihu had alleged, maketh him to feel his greatness by a whirlwind, to the end that being therewith put in fear, he should yield himself to the acknowledging of his fault.... Here God mocketh at Job because he had strived with him and born himself in hand that he could mend his case by his disputing. And that is the cause why it is said, “Who art thou?” Now when the scripture showeth us who or what what we be, it is to make us utterly nothing....And so although we be foolish and overweening, as to the glory and virtue that is in us, yet notwithstanding, God to deface us and put us to shame useth but only this word: What art thou? Thou art but a man.⁹⁰

This interpretative crux—whether God’s accusation of ignorance is addressed to Elihu or Job—was a virtually impenetrable boundary between Catholic and Protestant exegesis.

Except for Zuñiga. Because Zuñiga is Catholic, we expect him to characterize Job as a saint and his friends as outspoken know-it-alls. Instead, his commentary aligns with Calvin, making clear that Job is a fallen man in a world not created for him. Zuñiga begins his interpretation of Job 38:1 (“God appeared in the whirlwind”) by giving credit to Elihu, who is typically the pretentious brat of Catholic commentary. He writes:

God speaks from the whirlwind, as he did to Elijah and Moses, to declare his divine majesty, which was removed from our understanding. This is why Elihu says in the previous chapter, “We are wrapped in darkness.” Not only is the human body corrupt, but also the mind, so when God appears to humans, they are

⁹⁰ “The 147th Sermon, the first upon the 38th Chapter of Job,” in Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 753; 755.

not able to comprehend his presence and will deny the full weight of his majesty, unless they are jolted and made to tremble with fear.⁹¹

Not only does he put weight behind Elihu's authority, but his insistence that man's reason is fallen along with his body aligns him with Protestantism's understanding of man's total depravity. His endorsement of Elihu is more than a passing comment. At the end of the passage, Zuñiga repeats one of Elihu's observations (this time about God's appearance in whirlwinds) as a valid statement about God's comings and goings. In Job 37:9-13 Elihu says, "Out of the south cometh the whirlwind...He causeth it to come, whether for correction, or for his land, or for mercy." Giving credit where credit is due, Zuñiga reminds us at the moment of God's appearance in Job 38, "It is described by Elihu that God ascends through a whirlwind in the sky."⁹²

Again, patristic and medieval exegesis insists that it is Elihu who hides counsel without knowledge. But Zuñiga writes, "It is rightly debated to whom this is said." He starts with summarizing the standard Catholic position:

The divine Gregory and others deem that God does not speak to Job, but to Elihu, because Elihu had spoken pompous teachings and bombastic sentences, and because he (as we explained) blamed Job for a sin that he had not, indeed, committed. Therefore God questions, Who is this? This indicates that Elihu's

⁹¹ Zuñiga, *In Job Commentaria* (1591), 534, digital image 550. Available online at <https://repository.ou.edu/uuid/2e505daa-f3d5-5ef1-92e4-d0fe4162a420#page/26/mode/2up>.

⁹² *Ibid.*

teaching is not accepted by him. For Elihu says that God ignores those whom he does not favor.⁹³

Then Zuñiga turns to the opposite opinion, which he annotates in the margin as “The sin of Job accurately explained:”

But others hold that God’s words pertain to Job, and that God reprehends him because he had spoken without sufficient modesty and had vehemently defended his own wisdom. He had tried to make war against God, but his estimation had fallen short of Him, who is wonderful and entirely novel. This makes him guilty, and thus God targets him when he asks this question. For there is nothing outside the highest and infinite wisdom of God, neither the most trivial fault, nor the most singular and high-profile crime, that is not detected and noted.⁹⁴

Zuñiga lists evidence in favor of this latter interpretation. First, Job’s confession in Job 42 echoes God’s question in Job 38. If Job had not been chastised about his outspokenness, Zuñiga asks, why would he have repented in this particular way? He reasons:

After Job heard God, he understood, and he confessed in the last chapter of this book. In his confession, he repeats the words that God uses to accuse him of sin. From this, it is demonstrated more strongly that these words were put in him by God. For Job says, “I know that you are able to do all and that nothing is hidden from you. Who is this who conceals knowledge without wisdom? I have spoken

⁹³ Zuñiga, *In Job Commentaria* (1591), 534.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

foolishly and about things that exceed my wisdom.” He admits his words were insufficiently modest, which was the sin of which God had accused him.⁹⁵

Second, Zuñiga establishes a precedent for this interpretation. He does not attribute this opinion to Calvin, despite the sympathies between their interpretations, but traces it to the writers of the Greek Septuagint. Given Zuñiga’s investment in reading primary source materials in Greek and Hebrew, it is not surprising that he compares Jerome’s translation in the Vulgate with this alternative version of Job. He points out that Job 38:2 is significantly different in the Septuagint. The Septuagint reads, “Who is this who hides counsel from me, containing words in his heart, so that he thinks to hide from me?” Zuñiga writes:

Who is it? It is that one who hides counsel, the very one, that man Job, who speaks in the final chapter, as we have said. Indeed, this is how it is understood by the Greeks, who have Job repeat God’s words in the last chapter. Moreover, the Greeks have added the second part of this verse—“containing these words in his heart, so that he thinks to hide from me”—which is not able to be explained if God’s question is believed to be spoken to Elihu. But if to Job, it is easily explainable.⁹⁶

Finally, he ends the section with reminding us of Elihu’s logical points and Job’s rashness:

For this reason, I believe, although Gregory be such a venerable good man, that God was not chastising Elihu with these words, but Job. This not only agrees with

⁹⁵ Zuñiga, *In Job Commentaria* (1591), 535.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

Elihu's sermon, but indeed many of Job's declarations were ignorant, in which he rashly denounced his life.⁹⁷

In Zuñiga's interpretation of Job 38:2, we see his willingness to admit Job's weakness. This theme continues in his explication of God's next declaration, "Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth? Tell me, if you have understanding." Zuñiga writes:

God shows Job his infinite power in order to terrify him and restrain him, who (despite his insufficiencies) had dared to provoke God to dispute. God makes his point by showing Job the sum of all the things of creation, all the wonderful things of nature attributed to God, and he begins from the works of the first day, in which it is said that God creates the earth.⁹⁸

Zuñiga acknowledges that God's tone is mocking, since Job had assumed his own self-importance. Zuñiga explains:

God mentions the foundations of the world, particularly the nature of "foundations" and why they are important. He is giving a mocking version of the creation story, in which he sarcastically suggests to Job why foundations are so important to buildings, i.e. because all other things will be placed directly perpendicular to them. And keeping this in mind, God says, Where were you when I put down the foundation of the earth?...He says this so that Job remembers that he is absolutely nothing, given that God governs so many miraculous things. The memory of which ought to rebuke him.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Zuñiga, *In Job Commentaria* (1591), 535.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 536.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 536.

According to Zuñiga, the point of God's speech is not to praise Job and correct his friends, but to remind men that they are inconsequential in God's grander vision. Although the idea of man's lowliness was a standard feature of Calvinist readings of Job, Zuñiga's commentary expands this view of man beyond the boundaries of confession. Moreover, his discussion of the earth's displacement alongside his recognition of man's insignificance in the face of God's absolute power lays the groundwork for later astronomers' correlation between heliocentrism and human marginality, as well as our contemporary understanding of man as a small piece of a larger ecological puzzle.

Texts like John Donne's "An Anatomy of the World: The First Anniversary" (1612) and Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1635) speak to the gradual proliferation of a worldview that connects heliocentrism and marginality within the English literary tradition. Although, as John L. Russell comments, references to heliocentrism (and cosmology in general) are not frequent in seventeenth-century literature, these two texts that have become famous for their heliocentrism both foreground human marginality rather than anthropocentrism.¹⁰⁰ Donne's elegy recognizes man's insignificance in the face of God's absolute power and connects this insignificance with his displacement from the center of the universe.¹⁰¹ Donne describes man as completely worthless, the sun as displaced from the center

¹⁰⁰ John Russell writes, "References to it [heliocentrism] in the literature of the period are not, however, particularly frequent... On the whole, therefore, English literature in the 17th century does not manifest any great interest in cosmological questions. The poets and essayists were aware of their existence but did not feel particularly concerned with them." Russell, "Copernican System," 224, 27.

¹⁰¹ John Donne, *The First Anniversarie an Anatomie of the Vvorld* (London: M. Bradwood for S. Macham, 1612).

of the universe, the heavenly orbits as elliptical,¹⁰² the world as just one of many. In now famous lines he writes:

And new philosophy calls all in doubt,
The element of fire is quite put out;
The sun is lost, and the earth, and no man's wit
Can well direct him where to look for it.
And freely men confess that this world's spent,
When in the planets, and the firmament
They seek so many new; they see that this
Is crumbled out again to his Atomis.
'Tis all in pieces, all coherence gone.¹⁰³

This narrative of loss (“There is not now that mankind, which was then / When as the Sun, and man, did seem to strive”¹⁰⁴) is a radical reaction to the pro-human rhetoric that characterizes many secular astronomical treatises.

Because Donne is writing an elegy, it is fitting that he would imagine the new cosmology as a loss. According to Donne, not only is the earth a sinkhole of material matter,¹⁰⁵ which was a traditional (and geocentric) topos, but we have “lost” the sun altogether.¹⁰⁶ Donne alludes to Job

¹⁰² He writes, “Nor can the sun / Perfit a Circle” and “The stars which boast that they do run. / In Circle still, none ends where he begun.” Donne, *First Anniversarie*, 25, 26.

¹⁰³ Donne, *First Anniversarie*, 20.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 7. He calls earth “corrupt and mortal in thy purest part.”

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

in order to make his point about man's displacement from his stable position in this world. His speaker laments:

For though the soul of man,
Begot when man is made, 'tis borne but then
When man doth die, our body's as the womb,
And, as a midwife, death directs it home.¹⁰⁷

Donne suggests that the soul is never at home on earth; instead, it is delivered out of the body as out of a womb when it dies. The grotesque image of the soul being sucked back into the womb of the body echoes the unmaking image in Job 1:21, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither."

Robert Burton's overview of recent astronomical developments in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1638) likewise describes how the new cosmology—which makes the Earth one of many possible earths—signals a loss of man's special status.¹⁰⁸ Contrary to man's perception of his exceptionality, Burton suggests that there are "infinite worlds, and infinite earths or systems...because infinite stars and planets like unto this of ours."¹⁰⁹ He criticizes people who surmise that the stars have "no other use than this that we perceive; to illuminate the earth, a point insensible, in respect of the whole."¹¹⁰ Instead of assuming that we are the whole and

¹⁰⁷ Donne, *First Anniversarie*, 42.

¹⁰⁸ Burton's personal library contained a copy of the first edition of *De Revolutionibus*, as well as Thomas Digges's *Alae seu Scalae* (1573). Russell, "Copernican System," 225.

¹⁰⁹ Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 254.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 255.

calculating the stars' use in respect to ourselves, he imagines the possible inhabitants of the other worlds. He wonders:

But who shall dwell in these vast bodies, Earths, Worlds, if they be inhabited? Rational creatures, as Kepler demands? Or have they souls to be saved? Or do they inhabit a better part of the world than we do? Are we or they Lords of the world? And how are all things made for man?¹¹¹

By acknowledging the other possible candidates for “Lords of the world,” Burton’s questions bring man face-to-face with the realization that he exists on the margins.

Afterword

“Christianity is the most anthropocentric religion the world has seen.”

So wrote Lynn White, Jr. in his influential article “The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis,” which appeared in *Science* (1967).¹¹² Using the Biblical book of Genesis as evidence, the article traces humans’ ecological profligacy back to the rise of western Christianity. According to White’s reading, Genesis grants man “dominance” over nature and encourages him to “exploit nature for his proper ends.”¹¹³ The assumption was prevalent enough to warrant its address in Pope Francis’s environmental encyclical of 2015. Pope Francis calls Christians to an “ecological conversion” and warns that they “must forcefully reject the notion”

¹¹¹ Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 255.

¹¹² Lynn White, Jr., "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," *Science* 155.3767 (1967): 1203-07.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 1205-6.

that “being created in God’s image and given dominion over the earth justifies absolute domination over other creatures.”¹¹⁴

Recognizing the destructive impact that humans have had on the environment,¹¹⁵ contemporary eco-theologians have once again made Job an antidote to anthropocentrism. In *The Comforting Whirlwind* Bill McKibben suggests that the Book of Job teaches that humans are a small piece of an expansive universe. Whereas contemporary Western capitalism insidiously suggests that “creation matters because it is of use to us,”¹¹⁶ Job highlights the insignificance of man’s well-being relative to the scale of creation.

McKibben’s reading of Job is consistent with how Calvin and Zuñiga used Job in order to challenge assumptions of man’s literal and figurative centrality. Environmental historians and critics have become increasingly attentive to the way that early modern thinkers “reject anthropocentric bias,”¹¹⁷ embracing how early modern literature and culture provides “insight into the deep roots of the present environmental crisis.”¹¹⁸ The consonance between contemporary and early modern ways of reading Job support these critics’ notion of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century protoenvironmentalism. Contemporary calls for an “ecological conversion” may more accurately be called an “ecological return”—a renewal of interest in man’s decentralized place in the world and the world’s decentralized place in the universe.

¹¹⁴ Pope Francis, "Encyclical Letter 'Laudato Si' of the Holy Father Francis on Care for Our Common Home," The Holy See, <http://w2.vatican.va/content/vatican/en.html>.

¹¹⁵ Pope Francis addresses his encyclical not just to Catholics, but “to address every person living on this planet.” Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Bill McKibben, *The Comforting Whirlwind: God, Job, and the Scale of Creation* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1994), 33.

¹¹⁷ Todd Borlik, *Ecocriticism and Early Modern Literature: Green Pastures* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 6.

¹¹⁸ Peter Remien, "Oeconomy and Ecology in Early Modern England," *PMLA* 132.5 (2017): 1118.

Works Cited

- Alighieri, Dante. *Paradiso*. Translated by Allen Mandelbaum. Berkeley: University of California, 1982.
- Allan, David. "Ross, Alexander (1591–1654)" in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24110>.
- Aquinas, Thomas. *The Summa Theologiae of St. Thomas Aquinas, 2nd edition, online, ed. by Kevin Knight, the Fathers of the English Dominican Province*. 1920. <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/1.htm>.
- Aversa, Raphael. *Philosophia Metaphysicam Physicamque Complectens, Quaestionibus Context, Vol. 2*. Rome: Moscardum, 1627.
- Bacon, Francis. *Of the Proficiency and [H]Advancement of Learning, Diuine and Humane*. London: Henrie Tomes, 1605.
- Blackwell, Richard J., and Paolo Antonio Foscarini. *Galileo, Bellarmine, and the Bible: Including a Translation of Foscarini's Letter on the Motion of the Earth*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991.
- Borlik, Todd. *Ecocriticism and Early Modern Literature: Green Pastures*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Brotons, Victor Navarro. "The Reception of Copernicus in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Case of Diego De Zuniga." *Isis* 86.1 (1995).
- Burton, Robert. *The Anatomy of Melancholy...In 3 Partitions*. Oxford: [Miles Flesher, London; Leonard Lichfield and William Turner, Oxford] for Henry Cripps, 1638.
- Calvin, Jean. *Sermons of Master Iohn Calvin, Vpon the Booke of Iob*. [in English] Translated by Arthur Golding. London: Lucas Harison and George Byshop, 1574.
- Chabás, José, and Bernard R. Goldstein. *Astronomy in the Iberian Peninsula: Abraham Zacut and the Transition from Manuscript to Print*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2000.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *Troilus and Criseyde*. Westminster: William Caxton, 1483.
- Cicero, M. Tulli. *Somnium Scipionis: The Dream of Scipio*. Translated by W.D. Pearman. Cambridge; Deighton: Cambridge UP, 1883.
- Codurc, Philip. *Libri Job Versio Nova Ex Hebraeo Cum Scholiis*. Paris: Savreux, 1651.
- Copernici Torinensis, Nicolai. *De Revoltionibvs Orbium Cælestiu*. Vol. 6, Norimbergæ: Ioh. Petreium, 1543.

- Copernicus, Nicolaus. *On the Revolutions*. Translated by Edward Rosen. Edited by Jerzy Dobrzycki. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992.
- Danielson, Dennis Richard. *The Book of the Cosmos: Imagining the Universe from Heraclitus to Hawking*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2000.
- Digges, Thomas, and Nicholas Copernicus. "A Perfit Description of the Caelestiall Orbes." In *A Prognostication Euerlastinge...Lately Corrected and Augmented by Thomas Digges*, edited by Leonard Digges. London: Thomas Marsh, 1576.
- Donne, John. *The First Anniuersarie an Anatomie of the Vvorld*. London: M. Bradwood for S. Macham, 1612.
- Finocchiaro, Maurice A. *The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History*. New York: Notable Trials, 1991.
- Foscarini, Paolo. "Epistle Concerning the Pythagorian and Copernican Opinion of the Mobility of the Earth and Stability of the Sun and of the New System or Constitution of the World." In *Mathematical Collections and Translations: In Two Tomes, Vol. 1*, edited by Thomas Salusbury, 471-503. London: W. Leybourne, 1661.
- . *Lettera Del R.P.M. Paolo Antonio Foscarini Carmelitano : Sopra L'opinione De Pittagorici, E Del Copernico Della Mobilità Della Terra, E Stabilità Del Sole, È Del Nuouo Pittagorico Sistema Del Mondo*. Napoli: Lazaro Scoriggio, 1615.
- Francis, Pope. "Encyclical Letter 'Laudato Si' of the Holy Father Francis on Care for Our Common Home." The Holy See, <http://w2.vatican.va/content/vatican/en.html>.
- Galilei, Galileo. "His Epistle to the Grand Dutchesse Mother, Concerning the Authority of Holy Scripture in Philosophical Controversies." In *Mathematical Collections and Translations: In Two Tomes, Vol. 1, Part 1*, edited by Thomas Salusbury. London: W. Leybourne, 1661.
- Grant, Edward. *Planets, Stars, and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos, 1200-1687*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge UP, 1996.
- Gregory, St. *Morals on the Book of Job: In Three Volumes*. Oxford; London: John Henry Parker; J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850.
- Headley, John. *Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1997.
- Holy Office in Spain. *Index Librorum Prohibitorum, Cum Regulis Confectis Per Patres à Tridentina Synodo Delectos Auctoritate Pii Quarti Primum Editus ; Postea Vero à Syxto V. Auctus ; Et Nunc Demum ... Clementis Papae Viii. Iussu Recogn., & Publicatus ; Instructione Adiecta ; De Exequendae Prohibitionis ... Ratione*. Venetiis: M.A. Zalterius, 1616.

- . "Index of Prohibited Books (1616)." In *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 19. London: Henry S. King, 1886.
- Kepler, Johannes. *Ad Vitellionem Paralipomena: Quibus Astronomiae Pars Optica Traditur*. Francofurti: apud Claudium Marnium & haeredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1604.
- . *Kepler's Conversation with Galileo's Sidereal Messenger*. Edited by Edward Rosen. New York; London: Johnson Reprint, 1965.
- King James I. *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New*. London: Robert Barker, 1611.
- McKibben, Bill. *The Comforting Whirlwind: God, Job, and the Scale of Creation*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1994.
- Milton, John. *The Major Works*. Edited by Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Moss, Jean Dietz. *Novelties in the Heavens: Rhetoric and Science in the Copernican Controversy*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Park, Katharine, and Lorraine Daston. "Introduction: The Age of the New." In *The Cambridge History of Science, Vol. 3, "Early Modern Science"* edited by Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Remien, Peter. "Oeconomy and Ecology in Early Modern England." *PMLA* 132.5 (2017): 1117-33.
- Riccioli, Giovanni Battista. *Almagestum Novum, Pars Posterior*. Bononiae: Victorii Benatii, 1651.
- Rosen, Edward. *Copernicus and His Successors*. London; Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press, 1995.
- Ross, Alexander. *The New Planet, No Planet: Or, the Earth No Wandring Star except in the Wandring Heads of Galileans* London: J. Young, 1646.
- Russell, John L. "The Copernican System in Great Britain." In *The Reception of Copernicus' Heliocentric Theory; Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the Nicolas Copernicus Committee of the International Union of the History and Philosophy of Science, Torun, Poland, 1973*, edited by Jerzy Dobrzycki, 189-239. Dordrecht; Boston: D. Reidel Pub. Co., 1973.
- Shapiro, Barbara. *John Wilkins 1614-1672: An Intellectual Biography*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1969.
- Sharpin, Steve. *The Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996.

- Sidney, Sir Philip. *An Apologie for Poetrie*. London: James Roberts for Henry Olney, 1595.
- Westman, Robert. "The Copernicans and the Churches." In *God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science*, edited by David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- White, Lynn, Jr. "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis." *Science* 155.3767 (1967).
- Wilkins, John. *A Discourse Concerning a New World and Another Planet, in 2 Books*. London: J. Maynard, 1640.
- . *The Discovery of a World in the Moon*. London: E.G. for M. Sparke and E. Forrest, 1638.
- Zúñiga, Diego de. "An Abstract of Some Passages in the Commentaries of Didacus a Stunica of Salamanca Upon Job." In *Mathematical Collections and Translations: In Two Tomes, Vol. 1, Part 1*, edited by Thomas Salusbury. London: W. Leybourne, 1661.
- . *Didaci a Stunica ... In Job Commentaria Quibus Triplex Eius Editio Vulgata Latina, Hebræa, & Græca Septuaginta Interpretum, Necnon & Chaldæa Explicantur: Et Inter Se Cum Diferre Hæ Editiones Videntur, Conciliantur & Præcepta Vitæ Cum Virtute Colendæ Literaliter Deducuntur*. Romae: Franciscum Zannettum, 1591.
- . *Didaci a Stvnica Salamanticensis Eremitæ Avgustiniani in Iob Commentaria: Quibus Triplex Eius Editio Vulgata Latina, Hebraea, & Graeca Septuaginta Interpretum, Necnon & Chaldaea Explicantur, & Inter Se Cum Diferre Hæ Editiones Videntur, Conciliantur, & Præcepta Vitæ Cum Virtute Colendæ Literaliter Deducuntur. Ad Philippum M. Ii Catholicus Hispaniarum Regem*. [in Imprimatur in Spanish.] Toleti: Ioannes Rodericus, 1584.

Chapter 5: Job and the Sublime

When a Christian appreciates his smallness relative to the universe's incomprehensible vastness, the question becomes his faithful response. How does he—or should he—react? Perhaps no poet in the early modern period belabors this question to the extent that Henry Vaughan (1621-1695) does. In much of his work, Vaughan uses the Book of Job in order to make a meaningful narrative from his affliction, turning needless suffering into a way of proving one's patience. But in *Silex Scintillans* (first publ. 1650, enlarged 1655),¹ written in the shadow of the English Civil War, the death of his beloved brother William, and the deposition of the Welsh clergy, Vaughan also uses Job to consider man's inconsequential place before God and within creation. Although critics like Philip West, Alan Rudrum, and Jonathan Post have recognized Job's influence on Vaughan in the form of quotations and verbal borrowings, this chapter suggests how the Book of Job resonated with Vaughan on a deeper structural and thematic level. Vaughan's hermeticism gave him a nuanced perspective on human marginality, the theme that had become such an important part of the early modern Job tradition. In *Silex Scintillans* he takes Calvin's version of Job (that is, a version that emphasizes Job's sinfulness and marginality) and turns it into an opportunity to experience sublimity. It represents the full development of the Protestant reading of Job in which glory is found in weakness.

When Vaughan was not in his dark Calvinist mode, the Book of Job provided a model for patience, as it did for medieval exegetes. In the section of *Flores Solitudinis* entitled "Of Temperance and Patience," Vaughan lists Job as an example of "constancy laid upon the world"

¹ Henry Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans, or, Sacred Poems and Priuate Eiaculations* (London: T.W. for H. Blunden, 1650); *Silex Scintillans Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations* (London: Henry Crips and Lodowick Lloyd, 1655). Henceforth quoted from *Henry Vaughan: The Complete Poems*, ed. Alan Rudrum (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976).

because “Job retained his patience after prosperity and after innocence.”² He explains that God sends adversity to people like Job in order to maintain their integrity:

Patience is nowhere merrier, nor better contented with itself, than in the innocent. Integrity and fortune seldom lodge together. Adversity is the whetstone which keeps it from rust, and makes it shine. No virtues can subsist without troubles, which are their food. They live not commodiously, where their provision is far from them: Wherefore holy and just men have adversity always (like a well) at their doors. I shall take up, then, with that saying of Eliphaz: *Affliction comes not forth of the dust, nor doth trouble spring out of the ground*; but rather from Heaven; and comes oftener to holy and heavenly livers, than to worldly and unrighteous persons.³

Vaughan goes a step further than the usual pro-patience argument and imagines Job delighting in his affliction:

Who would not be astonished at that furious army of evils, which fought against holy Job? It was a sad sight to see a father, after the loss of his children, and substance, to lie languishing under the tyranny of a devouring ulcer. And where? Upon a dunghill, the very sink of uncleanness and corruption. But this frightened him not: He was so far from thinking it an evil, that he played with the worms, and made that, which his friends esteemed for vengeance and misery, to be his meditation and mirth. He was sure that he was innocent, and retaining his

² Henry Vaughan, *Flores Solitudinis* (London: for Humphrey Mosely, 1654), 39-40.

³ *Ibid.*, 39. Eliphaz was making a somewhat different point—that affliction is not sent without reason, i.e. God punishes people who deserve it.

integrity, he could not miss of joy. He saw through that crust and scab, the sure mercies of God: His beautiful and healing hand, shined through that loathsome veil. He desired not the comforts of his kindred, nor his friends. He said to corruption, *Thou art my Father*, and to the worms, *You are my sisters*. This was only a shell, or seeming evil; but the kernel, or substance that lay within it, was solid and real good. As Children deal with nuts, so good and wise men deal with calamities: they break the shell and eat the kernel.⁴

In contrast to Calvin's emphasis on Job's frailty and God's sovereignty, Vaughan's prose emphasizes Job's "innocence" and God's "beautiful and healing hand." So that his readers can follow in Job's footsteps, Vaughan provides a prayer in *Mount of Olives* that helps them acknowledge affliction as a spiritual trial. When you are facing hardship, you can pray:

I do in all humility and with all my soul resign myself unto thy divine pleasure, and give thee most hearty and unfeigned thanks for this thy present visitation, an infallible argument of thy fatherly love, and that tender care which thou hast of my salvation. Thou gavest me health, and I took no notice of thy gift, and but very little of the Giver: Thou gavest me days of gladness and I numbered them not.⁵

As Vaughan wrote this prayer, he may have had in mind Job's "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taketh away,"⁶ or perhaps Herbert's poem "Affliction," which is modeled on Job. Herbert

⁴ Vaughan, *Flores Solitudinis*, 113-14.

⁵ Henry Vaughan, *The Mount of Olives: Or, Solitary Devotions* (London: for William Leake, 1652), 127.

⁶ King James I, *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New* (London: Robert Barker, 1611), Job 1:21. Henceforth cited, "King James Version."

recalls that, in his days of good fortune, his “thoughts reserved / No place for grief or fear.”⁷

Now that he is afflicted, Herbert humbles himself to the divine will: “Yet, though thou troublest me, I must be meek; / In weakness must be stout.”⁸

Vaughan interprets his own misfortunes according to this theological orientation. In his preface to the reader in *Flores Solitudinis*, Vaughan makes an argument in favor of patience because “there is no such thing in this world as misfortune; the foolish testiness of man arising out of his misconstruction and ignorance of the wise method of Providence throws him into many troubles.”⁹ He admits that his own situation looks like what the world would call “misfortune” (although, he has just claimed, “there is no such thing”). He uses imagery from Job to voice the world’s counter-argument: “All that may be objected is, that I write unto thee out of a land of darkness, out of that unfortunate region, where the inhabitants sit in the shadow of death; where destruction passeth for propogation, and a thick black night for the glorious day-spring.”¹⁰ This “land of darkness” is how Job describes the horrors of death in Job 10:21-22.¹¹ (The verse also serves as the epigraph to Vaughan’s “Death. A Dialogue,” discussed below.) Although Vaughan’s allusion to Job suggests that his own series of catastrophic life events have,

⁷ “Affliction (I)” in George Herbert, *The English Poems of George Herbert*, ed. Helen Wilcox (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 162.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁹ Vaughan, *Flores Solitudinis*, “To the Reader,” n.p., EEBO image 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10. See Jonathan F.S. Post, *Henry Vaughan: The Unfolding Vision* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982), 217.

¹¹ In the King James Version of Job 10:21-22, Job describes that he is headed to “the land of darkness and the shadow of death; A land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness.” Vaughan suggests that Job’s life was even worse than the death that he imagines. Job “endured a life more bitter than death,” teaching the world that “patience was a better medicine for evils than death.” Vaughan, *Flores Solitudinis*, 48.

historically, been perceived as misfortunes, he continues to insist that his misfortunes are not misfortunes when understood as divine trials.

This theme of being grateful for afflictions appears repeatedly in *Sillex*. “The Author’s Emblem (of Himself)” in *Sillex* 1650 begins with a prayer: “You have attempted many times, I admit, to capture me without injury.” Because God’s gentleness was ineffective, Vaughan expresses his thanks that God would “allow for my reformation by another means,” namely to “overcome force with force.”¹² The afflictions that break his obdurate heart cause him to praise God, who is “ever attentive” to him.¹³ In fact, he asks for more of these afflictions. For instance, in “Day of Judgement” he prays:

Give me, O give me crosses here
Still more afflictions lend
That pill, though bitter, is most dear
That brings health in the end.¹⁴

Or in “Thou that know’st for whom I mourn” he declares:

Affliction is a mother,
Whose painful throes yield many sons,
Each fairer than the other.¹⁵

Vaughan uses Job as a reminder that these afflictions are sent by God for our benefit. In “Affliction (I),” he urges himself to accept his suffering by asking, “Did not he, who ordained

¹² “The Author’s Emblem (Of Himself),” in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 137.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹⁴ “Day of Judgement,” in *ibid.*, 154.

¹⁵ “Thou that know’st for whom I mourn,” in *ibid.*, 170.

the day / Ordain the night, too?,"¹⁶ which echoes Job's "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?"¹⁷ In "The Men of War," when he prays for patience in his suffering, he alludes to God's epithet in Job 7:20—"O thou preserver of men"—as he expresses thanks for being "preserved by thee."¹⁸ In "Palm Sunday," he goes so far as to invite Job's afflictions to be cast upon himself in order to gain a heavenly reward:

If I lose all, and must endure
The proverbed griefs of holy Job,
I care not, so I may secure
But one green branch and one white robe.¹⁹

If we consider all the Job references in Vaughan's poetry and prose, his most frequent point is that "Affliction, thus, mere pleasure is."²⁰

But Vaughan's poetry also has another use for Job: to give voice to suffering.²¹ After he has lost everything, Job cries, "Oh that my words were now written! Oh that they were printed in a book!"²² This desire to document one's misery is, Job suggests, also a spiritual experience. In addition to its exemplum of patience, then, the Book of Job provides with Vaughan with the

¹⁶ "Affliction (I)," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 219.

¹⁷ King James Version, Job 2:10.

¹⁸ "The Men of War," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 284. The full verse reads, "I have sinned; what shall I do unto thee, O thou preserver of men? why hast thou set me as a mark against thee, so that I am a burden to myself?" King James Version, Job 7:20. See Philip West, *Henry Vaughan's Silex Scintillans: Scripture Uses* (Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2001), 177.

¹⁹ "Palm Sunday," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 266.

²⁰ "Cheerfulness," in *ibid.*, 184.

²¹ Vaughan's prose more often alludes to Job as an exemplum of patience. The Book of Job itself contains a prose section, in which Job is patient, and a poetic section, in which he complains. Vaughan's writing does the same.

²² King James Version, Job 19:23-24.

language to record his affliction (and the deep questions that affliction raises) without feeling obliged to say “there is no such thing in this world as misfortune,” as he does in *Flores Solitudinis*. It is this use of Job—as a way of documenting man’s suffering—that adds nuance to some of Vaughan’s most brilliant poetry.

The epigraph on the title page of *Silex* 1655 is Job 35:10-11:

Where is God my Maker, who giveth Songs in the night?
Who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wiser than the
fowl of heaven?²³

These questions establish one of the collection’s preoccupations, namely man’s distance from God relative to creation’s intimacy with him. Vaughan’s prefatory questions not only seek God, but also specify the preferential treatment that man expects (“Where is that God who teaches us more than beasts?”). The complexity of the complaint increases when understood within its original context. It is not spoken by Job, but Elihu, who provides it as an example of what *not* to do when complaining. At the beginning of Job 35, Elihu urges Job and his friends to “behold the clouds which are higher than thou,” an invitation meant to remind them of their insignificance.²⁴ Indeed, Elihu says, man’s sinfulness or righteousness has no effect on God: “If thou sinnest, what doest thou against him?...If thou be righteous, what givest thou him?”²⁵ Although your deeds may affect “a man as thou art,” Elihu suggests, crying to God is futile. Amidst a “multitude of oppressions,” go ahead and cry to your unyielding oppressors, Elihu taunts,

²³ Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans* (1655), epigraph.

²⁴ King James Version, Job 35:5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Job 35:6-7.

But none saith, Where is God my Maker, who giveth Songs in the night?
Who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wiser than the
fowl of heaven?

His point is to ridicule Job, who would waste his breath on what “none saith.” According to Elihu, this cry—“Where is my Maker?”—is futile. After all, “God will not hear vanity” and “neither will the Almighty regard it.” If an oppressed man makes this complaint to God, as Job does, he “doth open his mouth in vain.”²⁶

The epigraph of the 1655 *Silex Scintillans* is the cry that “none saith.” It is the complaint that the oppressed want to express but know is futile, the cry that Elihu warns Job not to make. The fact that Vaughan omits “But none saith” invites his readers to explore the cry of Job on its own terms, without the judgement of the zealous Elihu. It is a fitting frame for the second edition of *Silex*, whose culminating poem on divine mystery completes a Job-like narrative arc. Although it would be inaccurate to identify Job as *the* organizational cornerstone of the collection (and Vaughan’s poems certainly cannot be fit puzzle-like into the Jobean story),²⁷ the

²⁶ King James Version, Job 35:16.

²⁷ My suggestion that Job’s structure influenced the structure of *Silex Scintillans* (1655) complements other critical analyses of the collection’s structure. Jonathan Post reads Vaughan’s poems as moving from Genesis to Revelations. In addition to this Christian metanarrative, Post suggests a couple of organizing dichotomies for the collection’s halves, including birth/suffering (Part I) versus ascension/glory (Part II) and the world’s corruption (Part I) versus the world’s rupture (Part II). Post, *Unfolding Vision*, 142-143; 190-191.

Sharon Seelig also makes sense of the structure by distinguishing the halves. Part I “deals with the human condition generally and looks for redemption in an external divine act.” Part II “dismisses external nature as a means of access to the divine in favor of the individual’s inner communion with God.” Vaughan “increasingly emphasizes the inner light of faith rather than a vision or external event” and there is a “greater stress on the hiddenness of the Christian experience.” Sharon C. Seelig, *The Shadow of Eternity: Belief and Structure in Herbert, Vaughan, and Traherne* (Lexington, KY: UP of Kentucky, 1981), 71.

I am also attentive to criticism that interrogates the idea of “structure” or “narrative” when applied to *Silex*, as Holly Faith Nelson does. Nelson objects to Thomas Calhoun’s and Barbara Lewalski’s readings of *Silex* as a “a dramatic narrative in which a pilgrim undertakes an arduous quest for spiritual fulfillment” (166), and Jonathan Post’s “Genesis to Revelation” schema, when there are only seven more references to Revelation in Part II than Part I (180). Holly Faith Nelson, “Biblical Structures in *Silex Scintillans*: The Poetics and Politics of Intertextuality,” in

Book of Job does set in relief one of the “clusters” or “thematic groupings” that make meaning from sets of poems.²⁸ Vaughan’s outset in spiritual prosperity in “The Dedication,” record of suffering throughout the poems, and confrontation with divine mystery in “The Night” parallels Job’s prosperity in the framing chapters, affliction in the poetic chapters, and encounter with divine mystery in the whirlwind.²⁹

Silex 1650 begins on a spiritual high. In “The Dedication,” Vaughan describes, “This is the earnest thy love sheds, / the candle shining on some heads.”³⁰ An “earnest” is an initial payment that secures a future contract, or an indication of a future pay-off.³¹ The line suggests that God secures his promise of salvation with this earnest—the “candle shining on some heads.” The image comes from Job 29:2-3, where Job think back on his past prosperity amidst his devastation. He reflects, “Oh that I were as in months past, as in the days when God preserved me; When his candle shined upon my head, and when by his light I walked through darkness.”³² Based on the celebratory tone in the rest of the poem, Vaughan is counting his head

Of Paradise and Light: Essays on Henry Vaughan and John Milton in Honor of Alan Rudrum, ed. Donald R. Dickson and Holly Faith Nelson (Newark: University of Delaware, 2004), 165-91.

²⁸ I’ve borrowed Holly Faith Nelson’s and Annabel Patterson’s terminology. Nelson, “Biblical Structures,” 165. Nelson borrowed the term “thematic groupings” from Annabel Patterson, “Jonson, Marvell, and Miscellaneity?,” in *Poems in Their Place: The Intertextuality and Order of Poetic Collections*, ed. Neil Fraistat (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1986), 95-118.

²⁹ Nelson suggests that Psalms provides the “flexible” structure for *Silex* because it allows Vaughan to change themes quickly and express “a variety of psychological states.” Although Psalms was undeniably a major influence on early modern lyric poets (including Vaughan), Nelson’s argument—*Silex* has a “flexible” structure and Psalms has a “flexible” structure, thus *Silex* is modeled on Psalms—may obscure other useful, Biblically grounded ways of conceptualizing *Silex*’s organization. Both Job and Psalms feature poetic complaints in the face of hardship, but Job offered Vaughan a structure that situates suffering within a story, from (brief) prosperity to affliction to divine mystery. Nelson, “Biblical Structures,” 168.

³⁰ “The Dedication,” in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 146.

³¹ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, “earnest, n.2,” 1. and 2.

³² King James Version, Job 29:2-3.

among those with a candle. He praises, “*My dear Redeemer, the world’s light / And life, too, and my heart’s delight.*” The repetition of “my” suggests that God’s promise of salvation applies to him.

Although the poem mostly succeeds in attesting to Vaughan’s spiritual health, the image from Job—the candle shining on *some* heads—also tempers its joy. After all, the “earnest that love sheds” could have been “feeding men with fish and bread” or “raising Laz’rus from the dead” or “the Holy Word that all have read.” Any of these refrains would have been an unambiguously hopeful sign of God’s care for man. Vaughan also could have expressed gratitude for “the candle shining on *my* head.” This choice would have more exactly copied the verse from Job, matched “*my Redeemer*” and “*my heart’s desire,*” and endorsed Vaughan’s trust in God’s promise without passing judgement. Instead, love’s earnest is the candle on *some* heads. The line reminds us that not all people are chosen, a concern about election (and laying claim to one’s own election³³) that obsesses Vaughan throughout the collection. The past-tense context of the original verse in Job also points to trouble ahead for Vaughan. When Job is remembering the candle that used to shine on his head, his current state is miserable. At the time when Job was experiencing the candle, he was happy and did not foresee the catastrophic trial that God had in store for him. “The Dedication” places Vaughan in the happy candle stage, but he knows what is coming.

³³ Vaughan’s poem “White Sunday” returns to the image of a “candle shining on some heads,” but as part of a critique of the Puritan church. Whitsunday, also known as Pentecost Sunday, celebrates the day when the Holy Spirit descended upon Christ’s disciples in Acts 2. When the Holy Spirit descended as a dove, Vaughan writes, God “hadst no gall, ev’n for thy foes.” He contrasts that generous spirit to the light of election that Puritans claim to possess. These men “boast” about their light, “Not sparing openly to say, / His candle shines upon their heads.” In contrast to this haughty claim to divine light, true election lies in God’s grace to those who are nothing but “foul clay.” Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 247-249.

Just as Job is “pious and upright” for the first two chapters and “curses his day” when his poetry begins, the spiritual comfort in Vaughan’s dedication is soon overcast by affliction, the “keynote” to Vaughan’s use of scripture.³⁴ Vaughan pulls language and imagery from Job, Psalms, Jeremiah, and Lamentations, all of which psychologize suffering characters, to express his sickness, grief, and sense of hopelessness in the face of the Royalists’ defeat.³⁵ The immensity of Job’s suffering (as well as the book’s interest in divine mystery as a solution to this suffering) made the Book of Job particularly attractive for Vaughan to reflect on his own bleak circumstances. In “Religion” he longs for God’s appearance in “fire, *whirlwinds*, and clouds,”³⁶ providing support for Louis Martz’s sense that “it is as though the earthly church had vanished, and man were left to work alone with God.”³⁷

Unlike Vaughan’s Job allusions that are resolved with a lesson on patience, “Regeneration,” the first poem in *Silex*, “does not preach or declare doctrine.”³⁸ Instead, the

³⁴ West, *Scripture Uses*, 22.

³⁵ In “To Mr. M.L. upon his reduction of the Psalms into a Method,” Vaughan describes how suffering influenced David’s poetic lamentations:

We can see
Confusion trespass on his piety.
Misfortunes did not only strike him:
They charged further, and oppressed his pen.
For he wrote as his crosses came.

As this poem suggests, Psalms provides a record of “confusion” amidst misfortune. Vaughan, “To Mr. M.L. upon his reduction of the Psalms into a Method,” in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 330.

³⁶ “Religion,” in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 149, my emphasis.

³⁷ Louis Martz, “The Man Within,” in *Essential Articles for the Study of Henry Vaughan*, ed. Alan Rudrum (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1987), 105.

³⁸ Seelig describes Vaughan’s predicament: “If, as the poem has shown, and as Protestant doctrine teaches, grace is freely given, if it is the result of God’s mercy rather than of human effort, the question must arise: why are some souls saved and others damned?” Seelig, *Shadow*, 79.

The “pilgrim” in Christian symbology refers to the Christian man, who is merely passing through this world before arriving at his permanent home with God. Vaughan’s image alludes to Herbert’s “The Pilgrimage,” which lends “Regeneration” much of its organization and imagery. At the end of Herbert’s “The Pilgrimage,” the speaker concludes that “death is fair, / and but a chair.”⁴¹ After an arduous journey, Vaughan is relieved to discover that death offers rest, if nothing else. Vaughan’s image of the crying pilgrim who is “far from relief” suggests a person longing for death’s rejuvenating rest, but finding himself on an unending path of miseries. Job similarly compares man to a “hireling” who “desireth the shadow” that will put an end to his day of tiresome work.⁴² He cries that his “soul chooseth strangling, and death rather than my life,” but God will not allow him to die.⁴³

Vaughan’s sense of being “far from relief” is exasperated in the second half of the poem, in which the implications of double predestination are unfolded through allegory. Vaughan encounters three scenes that seem to promise death, but none are the end of his journey. Even after he reaches a grove that symbolizes the New Testament covenant, he is not allowed to stop and receive God’s grace. Although the promise of salvation through the grace of Christ seems like it should mitigate his restless searching, he does not know whether the benefits of salvation are his to enjoy.⁴⁴ He walks into a clearing and (allegorically) beholds the promise of life in nature’s richness:

⁴¹ George Herbert, *George Herbert and the Seventeenth Century Religious Poets*, ed. Mario A. Di Cesare (New York; London: W.W. Norton, 1978), 53.

⁴² King James Version, Job 7:1-3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Job 7:15.

⁴⁴ See Seelig, *Shadow*, 79.

The unthrift Sun shot vital gold
A thousand pieces,
And heaven its azure did unfold
Chequered with snowy fleeces,
The air was all in spice
And every bush
A garland wore.

Nature is overflowing with abundance. The sun pours its beams over nature, as if throwing a thousand gold coins. The sky displays its blueness like an infinite blanket checked with white fleece. The air is perfumed, and the bushes are adorned with garland.

This beauty is a sharp contrast to the misery and hardship that Vaughan has been experiencing. In the next couple of stanzas, he encounters two more scenes that suggest God's selection of some parts of creation to receive his abundance, while other parts receive nothing. He sees stones that either float or sink in a bubbling fountain, and he sees flowers that are either waking or sleeping. These natural scenes have a lesson to teach him about judgement day: "Then shall two be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left."⁴⁵ As he tries to make sense of his observations, a final image reminds him of the difficulty of comprehending the mysterious ways of the divine. He wishes to understand the wind's movement—"where 'twas, or where not"—but the wind reminds him that it goes "Where I please." As it turns out, the wind does not have a system for determining its comings and goings that is comprehensible to man.

⁴⁵ King James Version, Matthew 24:40.

Understanding his precarious position, Vaughan's strategy changes from tears and sighs to a prayer. "Lord, then said I, *On me one breath, / And let me die before my death!*"

The speaker's death plea—to die before his death—suggests two different version of death. Allegorically, committing oneself to Christ is the "death" of the old self and the rise of the new self. For instance, Romans 6:11 instructs, "Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord."⁴⁶ With this allegorical understanding, Vaughan asks the "breath" (*pneuma*/spirit/wind) to pass over him and kill the old self in preparation for his communion with God. But Vaughan's poem resists a straightforward allegorical reading, which warrants considering the more literal alternative—that instead of waiting for his appointed time of death, he wants a more immediate end to his suffering. Given his Job-like suffering throughout the poem, his final cry sounds like Job's: "Even that it would please God to destroy me; that he would let loose his hand, and cut me off!"⁴⁷ Vaughan recognizes, as Job does, that God has the power to end his life in a single breath and is tempted to ask for this relief.⁴⁸ After all, since the wind informs him that it goes where it pleases, Vaughan has no assurance that eternal life lies ahead. He does not want to wait for the death of his appointed time, which may or may not be the relief that he anticipated.

⁴⁶ King James Version, Romans 6:11.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Job 6:9.

⁴⁸The life-giving (and life-depriving) power of God's breath appears multiple times in the Book of Job. Eliphaz teaches, "By the breath of His mouth shall he go away...It shall be accomplished before his time, and his branch shall not be green" (Job 15:30-32). Eliphaz warns, "By the breath of His nostrils are they consumed" (Job 4:9). God is "the breath of all mankind" (Job 12:9). Job explains, "All the while my breath is in me, and the spirit of God is in my nostrils" (Job 27:3).

Vaughan was not over-reading when he latched onto Job's unusual—questionably unorthodox—way of describing death.⁴⁹ The Book of Job does not imagine the soul's eternal life or heaven as a bright dwelling place with God. Instead death is the place “whence I shall not return,” a place where even light appears as darkness. Wishing for death in the midst of his affliction, Job explains, “For now should I have lain still and been quiet, I should have slept: then had I been at rest.”⁵⁰ When his friends insist that the good will be rewarded and the bad punished, Job asks:

But man dieth, and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?
As the waters fail from the sea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up, so man lieth
down, and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be
raised out of their sleep.⁵¹

According to Job, all people will meet the same fate: “They shall lie down alike in the dust, and the worms shall cover them.” If we plan on the wicked receiving a punishment after death, we forget that the wicked merely die and “shall remain in the tomb.”⁵²

⁴⁹ To be clear, Vaughan had no doubt in the resurrection. In *The Mount of Olives* he uses his typological reading of Job 19:25-27—“I know that my Redeemer liveth...”—to prove “the resurrection or the time of restoring all things.” At the beginning of this passage, Vaughan acknowledges that some places in the Bible make death seem bleak. He quotes Ezekiel: “The days of darkness are many, and he that goeth down to the grave shall not come up, his place shall not know him, nor shall he return to his house; he shall not be awaked nor raised out of his sleep, until the heavens be no more.” Rather than focusing on the ominous “days of darkness” or the prospect of going to the grave and not coming up, Vaughan interprets, “These last words were put in for our comfort, and imply the resurrection or the time of restoring all things.” He insists, “The Scripture is everywhere full of these proofs.” He lists three, the first of which is from Job 19:25-27: “For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the later day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God. Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold and not another, though my reins be consumed within me.” Vaughan, “Man of Darkness,” in *The Mount of Olives*, 90.

⁵⁰ King James Version, Job 3:13.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Job 14:10-12.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Job 21:26, 32.

Although Vaughan's "Death. A Dialogue" and "Resurrection and Immortality" are both variations on the usual soul-body dialogue of Renaissance lyric poetry, their use of Job's death imagery emphasizes the body's suffering more than usual Christian teaching. Instead of an assuring message of God's promise of salvation, the soul's eternal vitality, or the glory of the resurrection, these poems give voice to the Body, which imagines death as Job does—as dissolution.⁵³ Although it is tempting to dismiss the Body's view of death as a strawman argument destined to destruction by the Soul's orthodox Christian message, the epigraph to "Death. A Dialogue," which appears as a postscript following the poem, prevents this conclusion. "Death. A Dialogue" takes its bleak epigraph from Job 10:21-22, the same verse that Vaughan uses in *Flores Solitudinis* to describe his miserable earthly existence:

Before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness, and the shadow of death; A land of darkness, as darkness itself, and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness.⁵⁴

Although the poem ends with the Soul's vision of its reunion with its Body in a place where "our Sun shall never set," the rest of the poem dramatizes the misery of their postmortem situation according to the poem's paratext. The Soul envies that the Body will merely sleep "Whilst I each minute groan to know / How near redemption creeps." The Body worries that it may not just sleep,⁵⁵ in which case it must abide

⁵³ "Death. A Dialogue" and "Resurrection and Immortality," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 151-153.

⁵⁴ King James Version, Job 10:21-22. Qtd. in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 151.

⁵⁵ The poem begins with the Soul noticing the Body's decay and asking how the Body will possibly endure death. The Body does not answer that it will sleep or rest until resurrection. It answers, "I cannot tell--- / But if all sense wings not with thee, / And something still be left the dead, / I'll wish my curtains off to free / Me from so dark and sad a bed." "Death. A Dialogue," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 150.

A nest of nights, a gloomy sphere,
Where shadows thicken, and the cloud
Sits on the sun's brow all the year,
And nothing moves without a shroud.⁵⁶

The poem's image of death as a sunless world or endless string of nights reflects the Jobean imagery from its epigraph. The promise of eventual resurrection sits far off, in the final couplet of the poem, whose nondescript imagery is immediately dwarfed by the vivid Biblical postscript from Job.

Vaughan's Job allusions in "Regeneration" and "Death. A Dialogue" hint that God may not treasure an individual man's life, at least not in the way that the Christian metanarrative from fall to redemption assumes. In contemporary scholarship on Vaughan, the Jobean thrust of these poems has been somewhat obscured by discussions of Vaughan's hermeticism, a system of thought that also posited death as dissolution of the individual self.⁵⁷ Yet, Vaughan's hermeticism and his reading of Job need not be positioned antithetically.⁵⁸ Many of the

⁵⁶ "Death. A Dialogue," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 150.

⁵⁷ Like the Book of Job, Renaissance hermeticism posits death as the dissolution of the body into a universal whole rather than the start of the individual soul's afterlife. A passage from the *Hermetica*, an early twentieth-century compilation of hermetic texts, describes, "Men call the change 'death,' because when it takes place, the body is decomposed, and the life departs and is no more seen." Walter Scott and A. S. Ferguson, *Hermetica, the Ancient Greek and Latin Writings Which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), Libellus IX, sect. 5-6, 217. Quoted in L.C. Martin, "Henry Vaughan and 'Hermes Trismegistus,'" in *Essential Articles for the Study of Henry Vaughan*, ed. Alan Rudrum (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1987), 63.

⁵⁸ The extent to which Vaughan is indebted to hermeticism (as opposed to pure Christian orthodoxy) has long been a topic of interest and controversy. The topic was broached by Alexander Judson in 1927, taken up in detail by Elizabeth Holmes in 1933, and more recently explored by Frank Kermode, R.A. Durr, and Alan Rudrum. These critics suggest that Vaughan's worldview goes beyond the bounds of orthodox Christianity and is thus partially explained by his hermeticism. Alexander C. Judson, "The Source of Henry Vaughan's Ideas Concerning God in Nature," *SP* 24 (1927): 592-606; Elizabeth Holmes, *Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1933); R.A. Durr, *On the Mystical Poetry of Henry Vaughan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1962); Frank Kermode, "The Private Imagery of Henry Vaughan," *The Review of English Studies* 1.3 (1950); Alan Rudrum, "Henry Vaughan's 'the Book': A Hermetic Poem," *AUMLA (Journal of the Australian Universities*

fundamental beliefs of hermeticism—not only death as dissolution, but also the glory of the natural world, the relative inconsequence of man, and the mystery of God—provided Protestants like Vaughan with a nuanced understanding of Job as it came to them through English Calvinism. Getting a grasp of Vaughan’s hermeticism, a task that has been undertaken by a number of Vaughan critics with varying results, helps us to unpack how Vaughan found sublimity couched in Job’s human weakness.

The debate over Vaughan’s commitment to hermeticism stems in part from confusion over what Renaissance hermeticism entailed. Nowadays, historians associate “hermeticism” with the beliefs expressed in the *Hermetica*, a compilation of texts by Greek writers in Egypt between the second and third centuries CE and attributed to “Hermes Trimegistus.”⁵⁹ In the Renaissance, hermeticism was a multi-faceted discipline (or, perhaps, “metaphysical system”⁶⁰) that

Language and Literature Association) 16 (1961): 161-65; "Vaughan's 'the Night': Some Hermetic Notes," *The Modern Language Review* 64.1 (1969).

No critic would deny the close link between hermeticism and Christianity (especially in Vaughan’s work), so the critical controversy is over the extent of Vaughan’s hermeticism. The critics mentioned above place Vaughan in the hermeticist camp. But even Holmes’s seminal study suggests that hermeticism and Christianity were closely linked, so that separating the two is difficult. Holmes, *Hermetic Philosophy*, 28.

“The Night,” which is most apparently indebted to hermeticism, is not a purely “hermetic” text, as a variety of critics have pointed out. Post calls the poem “a response to the invading darkness rather than an exercise in mystical ascent or an exploration into cabalistic or Hermetic texts.” Rudrum calls the poem a “wonderful fusion of Biblical with hermetic imagery.” Post, *Unfolding Vision*, 201; Rudrum, “The Night: Some Hermetic Notes,” 149.

Sharon Seelig objects to labeling Vaughan a hermeticist because his so-called “hermeticism” may simply reflect the influence of Renaissance metaphysical poetry. Believing that shadows of the divine could be seen in all parts of nature was maintained by the metaphysical poets. Likewise, hermeticism’s interest in the sympathy between natural things is consistent with the metaphysical poets’ bringing together of unlike things to shed new light on reality. Seelig, *Shadow*, 2.

Georgia Christopher is most vehement in objecting to categorizing Vaughan as a hermeticist because it detracts from the way that his poetry resonated with mainstream Christian audiences. She argues that Vaughan’s love of nature is grounded in orthodox Christianity (particularly Calvin) rather than hermetic philosophy. Georgia B. Christopher, “In Arcadia, Calvin...: A Study of Nature in Henry Vaughan,” *SP* 70 (Oct. 1973): 170.

⁵⁹ Thomas O. Calhoun, *Henry Vaughan, the Achievement of Silex Scintillans* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1981), 114. See also P.B. Wood, “Review of *Hermeticism and the Scientific Revolution. Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar, 9 March 1974*,” *The British Journal for the History of Science* 13.1 (1980): 70-72.

⁶⁰ M.M. Mahood, “Vaughan: The Symphony of Nature,” in *Essential Articles for the Study of Henry Vaughan*, ed. Alan Rudrum (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1987), 11.

intersected with alchemy, mysticism, medicine, and magic,⁶¹ as well as Rosiocrucianism,⁶² vitalism,⁶³ universalism,⁶⁴ and neoplatonism.⁶⁵ It was attractive to Renaissance thinkers as an alternative to medieval scholasticism. Rather than separating and distinguishing things through scholastic definition, hermeticism connected all parts of nature through analogy and association. Sir Thomas Browne describes the attractiveness of this epistemology: “I am now content to

⁶¹ Calhoun points out that Renaissance thinkers’ association between hermeticism and medicine was (unbeknownst to them) reflective of what appears in the *Hermetica* (Calhoun, *Vaughan*, 114). Egyptian medical practices outlined in these texts were an alternative to the predominating Galenic system of medical thought.

Vaughan’s own interest in medicine intersected with the Renaissance hermetic tradition (105). Calhoun identifies his brand of natural magic as “hermetical physic,” a “synthesis of philosophy and theology, chemistry and medicine” that “claimed new and effective ways for changing the condition of human beings” (112). It is essentially the use of alchemy to change the nature of living things, so that “the processes of alchemy and theology are overtly intertwined” (123).

⁶² The Rosicrucian movement that emerged in seventeenth-century Europe was interested in a “society reformed in a manner analogous to alchemical transmutation.” The Brotherhood envisioned global reform that came through private metamorphosis or regeneration of individuals. Calhoun, *Henry Vaughan*, 103.

⁶³ Renaissance vitalism was the belief that all matter was living. Hermeticism taught that the First Matter was rayed into all things, not just humans, so its philosophy was fundamentally vitalist. Vaughan’s poetry, too, teaches that all parts of creation, including plants and minerals, are “essentially living and to some extent sentient.” E. C. Pettet, *Of Paradise and Light; a Study of Vaughan's Silex Scintillans* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1960), 82. See also Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 6-7.

⁶⁴ Universalism is the belief in a universal soul, to which all things return. (For more information on universalism, see Sophie Read, *Eucharist and the Poetic Imagination in Early Modern England* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2013), 167.) Hermeticism similarly understands death as a return to the earth’s womb. Paracelsus writes in “Concerning the Nature of Things”: “For since the natural earth-born man comes from the earth, the earth, too, will be his mother, into which he must return, and therein lose his earthborn natural flesh, so at the last day he may be regenerated in a new, a heavenly, a purified flesh, as Christ said to Nicodemus when he came to Him by night.” Paracelsus and Arthur Edward Waite, *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Aureolus Philippus Theophrastus Bombast, of Hohenheim, Called Paracelsus the Great, Vol. 1* (London: J. Elliott and Co., 1894), 139. Quoted in Calhoun, *Henry Vaughan*, 119.

⁶⁵ The relationship between hermeticism and neoplatonism is well-documented. Plato’s intellectual soul was linked to the universal soul of hermeticism, and Ficino had translated *The Hermetic Corpus* in addition to Plato. Thus, Neoplatonists incorporated the mystical strain of hermeticism into their all-encompassing worldview, even though parts of the universalizing impulse were problematic to Christianity. Dilwyn Knox, “Ficino and Copernicus,” in *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, ed. Michael J.B. Allen and Valery Rees (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2002), 408; Jan R. Veenstra, “Jacques Lefevre D’etaples Humanism and Hermeticism in the *De Magica Naturali*,” in *Christian Humanism: Essays in Honor of Arjo Vanderjagt*, ed. Alasdair A. MacDonald, Zweder R.W.M. von Martels, and Jan R. Veenstra (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2009), 353-54.

understand a mystery without a rigid definition in an easy and Platonic description. That allegorical description of Hermes pleaseth me beyond all that Metaphysical definitions of Divine.”⁶⁶

For Renaissance hermeticists, an associative epistemology elucidated the true relationship between man, world, and divine. In contrast to mainstream Protestantism that emphasized the sinfulness and eventual judgement of an individual man, hermeticism emphasized the mystical encounter between all of nature and God.⁶⁷ It taught that the universe itself was a manifestation of the divine, a version of the incarnation on par with Christ.⁶⁸ Because plants, animals, humans, and minerals were all carriers of the divine image,⁶⁹ they were valued at a status befitting their divinity. This is the part of hermeticism that seems to have most fully captured Vaughan’s attention. Humans were not exceptional beings chosen by God to have dominion over nature.

⁶⁶ Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* (London: For Andrew Crooke, 1642), 16, EEBO image 10.

⁶⁷ In her explication of “Regeneration,” Seelig describes how Vaughan “owes more to the Neoplatonic and Hermetic search for enlightenment and the mystical hope for union with God than to the Protestant desire for salvation with its stress on sin and judgement.” Seelig, *Shadow*, 82.

As Pettet points out, hermeticism counterbalanced Christian dualism. Christian dualism emphasized the separation between body and soul, nature and God, world and otherworld. Hermeticism emphasized the correspondence between earthly and heavenly bodies, which made nature a valuable part of the universal whole. Pettet, *Of Paradise*, 78-79. See also Veenstra, “Jacques Lefevre D’etaples,” 362.

⁶⁸ Rudrum explains how Paracelsus and other hermeticists thought of the universe as identical with Christ’s body as an act of incarnation. God expresses himself in the entire universe, not just one man’s body. Rudrum writes, “To the Christian, God manifests himself in the incarnate Christ, ‘the image of the invisible God.’ To the hermetist, He manifests himself in the universe, which is likewise His incarnation.” Rudrum, “The Night’: Some Hermetic Notes,” 144-46.

At a time when Christianity seemed fragmented and subject to dissolution, the universal impulse of hermeticism—that Christianity was a religion that could be gleaned from the Book of Nature—was particularly appealing. In fact, hermeticism taught that God had handed down one true theology to mankind, which was disseminated in all religions. “The Book: A Hermetic Poem,” 161. For how Job’s Edomite lineage also pointed to God’s truth in the law of nature, see chapter 2.

⁶⁹ Pettet, *Of Paradise*, 79-82.

Instead, they were participants in the correspondence between all things and would collapse back into the universal whole at the end of their lives.⁷⁰

Henry Vaughan's exposure to hermeticism was extensive. His twin brother Thomas published multiple books on the subject, several of which lend phrases and imagery to Henry Vaughan's poetry.⁷¹ The Vaughan brothers lived and worked in the same area for much of their early life,⁷² and the same bookshop sold both of their texts.⁷³ In addition to his contact with his twin, Henry Vaughan translated two works by Henry Noelle, a noted practitioner of hermetic medicine, which exposed him secondhand to other hermeticists, including Joseph Quercetanus, Oswald Croll, and Paracelsus.⁷⁴

Hermeticists frequently used the Book of Job as support for their methodology and thought. In *The Man-Mouse Taken in a Trap*,⁷⁵ Thomas Vaughan—Henry Vaughan's twin brother and one of the leading hermeticists of the seventeenth-century—defends his attention to

⁷⁰ In hermeticism, there is no such thing as "death"; instead, the body is dissolved into the universal whole so that it can be changed into something new. Martin, "Vaughan and Hermes Trismegistus," 63.

⁷¹ Thomas Vaughan's books include *Anima Magica Abscondita*; *Anthroposophia Theomagia*; *Magia Adamica*; and *Lumen de Lumine*. See Holmes, *Hermetic Philosophy*, 16.

⁷² The twin brothers were raised together, went to University together, and both practiced their professions in Brecknockshire at the beginning of their careers. When Thomas left Brecon to pursue alchemy in London and Oxford, the parallel images between *Silex* and Thomas's alchemical works suggest their continued contact. *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷³ Lodowick Lloyd's bookshop, The Castle, stocked a variety of alchemical and hermetical texts. It was previously owned by Humphrey Blunden, who was the publisher of the hermeticist Jacob Boehme, as well as Thomas and Henry Vaughan. Lloyd purchased *Silex* 1650 as a package deal when he took over The Castle. Lloyd was the publisher of *Silex* 1655, in addition to scientific works. West, *Scripture Uses*, 63-65.

⁷⁴ Vaughan translated Noelle's *Systema Medicinae Hermeticae Generale* and *De Generatione*. Nolle acknowledges his indebtedness to Paracelsus, "the great Father and leader of the German philosophers" and cites both Quercetanus and Croll as authorities. Calhoun, *Henry Vaughan*, 113, 123.

⁷⁵The "man-mouse" is the Cambridge Platonist Henry More, with whom Thomas Vaughan was engaged in a bitter dispute over hermeticism's legitimacy. The very first line of *The Man-Mouse* is Job 38:2-3. Thomas Vaughan addresses More, "Who is this that darkneth counsel by words without knowledge...Gird up thy loins like a man, for I will demand of thee, and answer thou me." Thomas Vaughan, *The Man-Mouse Taken in a Trap, and Tortur'd to Death for Gnawing the Margins of Eugenius Philalethes* (London: Humphrey Blunden, 1650).

nature by appealing to Job. His opponent (the Cambridge Platonist Henry More) had accused him of putting scripture to “poor and pitiful services” by using it to “decide the controversies of the world and nature.” Thomas Vaughan responds:

I prithee wherein was the wisdom and power of God manifested, but in his creation of the world? Thou dost scorn and condemn nature, but was the blood of Christ shed to any other end, but to make a natural body a spiritual body?⁷⁶ Read the five last chapters of Job, and thou shalt find that God, when he would prove the transcendency of his wisdom, makes use of no other argument but the controversies of the world and nature, which thou dost blasphemously call “pitiful services.”⁷⁷

Thomas Vaughan’s reference to Job as proof of God’s investment in nature can be traced to Paracelsus, the early sixteenth-century Swiss hermetic physician. Paracelsus’s *The Water-stone of the Wise Men* ends with an epilogue in which he admits his lack of university training in theology; instead, he claims, “As for that knowledge vouchsafed me by God, I obtained it not by study in any of their famous academies or universities, but in the universal school of nature (Job 12).”⁷⁸ Paracelsus had Job 12:7-9 in mind:

But ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee; and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee:

Or speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee: and the fishes of the sea shall declare

⁷⁶ Hermeticism applied the principles of alchemy to spiritual development. A natural body could be refined into a spiritual body, which elevates the natural body beyond mere matter, thus collapsing strict dualism.

⁷⁷ Thomas Vaughan, *The Man-Mouse*, 108-109.

⁷⁸ Paracelsus, *Paracelsus His Aurora, and Treasure of the Philosophers, as Also the Water-Stone of the Wise Men*, trans. J.H. Oxen (London: Giles Calvert, 1659), 214.

unto thee.

Who knoweth not in all these that the hand of the LORD hath wrought this?⁷⁹

This passage from Job provided Paracelsus with support for his hermetic conviction that divinity expresses itself in all facets of nature, not just man.

When Vaughan portrays man as just one piece of nature, he brings together his hermeticism with the Calvinist tradition. Calvin's *Sermons Upon Job* set the precedent for reading Job as a representation of human marginality. According to Calvin, the catalogue of animals in Job show us that God's purpose in creating extends far beyond mankind:

Now a man might ask a question, why God keepeth still such kind of beasts [as the Behemoth and Leviathan], seeing they do men no service. For it should seem that the cause ceaseth why God should nourish them any longer. But let us mark, that they cease not to be as beautifyings of this world, to the end that men might behold the majesty of God in them.⁸⁰

Contrary to exegetical tradition, Calvin does not read the Leviathan or Behemoth as a remnant of chaos or symbol of the devil. Instead, Calvin explains, "We must take this text simply as it standeth, and not shiftingly."⁸¹ He suggests that the power of these verses comes from recognizing animals as animals, just as he insists that we need to read Job as an actual human. Moreover, Calvin argues, man does not have dominion over these animals. He writes, "True it is that, at the creation of the world, all beasts were given unto Adam to have lordship and dominion

⁷⁹ King James Version, Job 12:7-9.

⁸⁰ Jean Calvin, *Sermons of Master Iohn Calvin, Vpon the Booke of Iob*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: Lucas Harison and George Byshop, 1574), 782.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 800.

over them. But we have lost the possession thereof in that we be gone away from God, like as when a subject committeth any lewdness or treason against his prince, his goods are forfeited and he himself is quite out of favor.”⁸²

Vaughan’s Job poetry manifests this hermetic/Calvinist impulse toward human marginality.⁸³ “Resurrection and Immortality”—the New Testament complement to “Death. A Dialogue”—seems like it should promise a glorious resurrection through Christ, in contrast to the bleak vision of death in the “Old Testament” poem.⁸⁴ Indeed, “Resurrection and Immortality” has an epigraph from Hebrews 10:20: “By that new, and living way, which he hath prepared for us, through the veil, which is his flesh.” The verse, which draws attention to Christ’s physical body as a gateway to man’s salvation, previews the Body’s hope about resurrection in the poem: namely, that the promise of resurrection applies to both body and soul. However, as in “Death. A Dialogue,” the promise of man’s exceptional treatment at the resurrection is somewhat obscured by an allusion to Job. The poem starts with the Body’s pondering of its postmortem existence.

⁸² Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 782. R.A. Durr remarks that, for seventeenth-century poets like Vaughan, “The creatures bear a superiority to post-lapsarian man in regard to their constancy to and consequently intimacy with the Creator—despite the fact that ideally man, their high priest, is best qualified for such intimacy, being made in His image...The conception of the Bible of Nature is authorized by such verses as Job 12:7-8: “But now ask the beasts, and they shall teach thee; and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee: Or speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee: and the fishes of the sea shall declare unto thee.” Durr, *Mystical Poetry*, 131-32.

⁸³ Although my focus is *Silex Scintillans*, in which Vaughan’s explicit Job allusions appear, his early secular verse suggests his concern with being an inconsequential piece of nature’s grand design. The coupled poems in *Olor Iscanus* alternate between idealism, in which man is the centerpiece of nature, and realism, in which man faces his inconsequence. In “To The River Isca,” a pastoral vision of “literary utopia” (Post, *Unfolding Vision*, 31), the poet/speaker imagines himself as a blessed addition to any landscape he encounters. He writes, “Poets (like Angels) where they once appear / Hallow the place, and each succeeding year / Adds reverence to’t” (Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 70). He describes his eventual death as the setting of his “sun,” conflating his identity with the world’s source of life. But the idealistic vision in “To the River Isca” is followed by its polar opposite in “The Charnel-House,” which provides “a display / of ruined man” (72). He has lost his conflation with the sun; instead, the “grudging Sun / Calls home his beams, and warns me to be gone” (73). The sun is the marker of time and activity in this poem, and the poet is pushed to the periphery.

⁸⁴ The postscript of “Resurrection and Immortality” (from Daniel 12:13) also describes the time between death and the resurrection, when the body “shalt rest.” Daniel 12:13 in the King James Version reads: “But go thy way until the end be, for thou shalt rest, and stand up in thy lot, at the end of the days.” Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 153.

The Body recalls how a silkworm is made to “knell / about her silent cell” until she is endowed with the “vital ray” that metamorphoses her into something that “winged away.” As was common in the Renaissance, it uses the silkworm as a hopeful predictor of its own future: if providence can transform a silkworm into a moth,⁸⁵ certainly God can keep the same covenant with man. But a touch of doubt lingers behind the Body’s final question, which compares the silkworm’s metamorphosis to its own fate:

Shall I then think such providence will be

Less friend to me?

Or that he can endure to be unjust

Who keeps his Covenant even with our dust?⁸⁶

The Soul, who finishes the rest of the poem, chastises the Body for raising such a “querulous” concern. The Soul insists that a “preserving spirit” passes through Earth and restores “all / That to it fall.” Although the Body must “fall”st to be refined again,” this period of waiting precedes a

⁸⁵ The word “moth” is never mentioned in the poem; the Body simply mentions that the “silk-worm...winged away.” Vaughan’s choice to specify “silk-worm” suggests a moth rather than a butterfly as the metamorphosed creature. One of the clearest distinctions between a moth and a butterfly is that a moth makes a cocoon that is wrapped in a silk covering, while a butterfly makes a chrysalis with no silk covering. Even without extensive knowledge of zoology, the moth’s silk-covered cocoon could have made the “silk-worm” distinct for him. Library of Congress Science Reference Section, “What Is the Difference between a Moth and a Butterfly?,” www.loc.gov/rr/scitech/mysteries/butterflymoth.html. Last updated July 31, 2017.

We know that at least some early modern readers were attentive to this difference. The distinction between “worm” and “silk-worm” was enough to warrant two different entries in a sixteenth-century primer designed for elementary children. The primer teaches the Latin term for “silk-worm” (*bombix*) separate from “worm” (*tinea*). John Stanbridge, *Vocabula Magistri* (London: J. Day for Abraham Vele, 1560?), 17.

Despite this evidence that “silk-worm” was a meaningful choice, some Renaissance writers who use “silkworm” as a symbol for the resurrection are vague about the result of the silkworm’s metamorphosis. For instance, a sermon by Dr. Thomas Morton, Lord Bishop of Durham, in 1641 makes reference to how “the Bombyx, the Silk-worm...dies and out of his dust comes a fly.” It is possible that Vaughan, too, thought of the silk-worm as changing into “something that flies” rather than a moth. Regardless, the Body’s question is an interesting parallel to Job’s question about moths. Thomas Morton, “A Sermon Preached by Dr. Thomas Morton, Lord Bishop of Durham at the Spittle on Monday, April 26. 1641. Before Sir Wright, Lord Major,” in *The Great Work of Redemption Deliver’d in Five Sermons* (London: For J. Playford, 1660), 108.

⁸⁶ “Resurrection and Immortality,” in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 152.

time when it shall “one day rise, and clothed with shining light / All pure and bright, / Re-marry to the soul.” In the Soul’s estimation, it is petty for the Body to entertain the idea of moths receiving better treatment than men.

Most Renaissance humanists would join the soul in assuming man’s superior treatment relative to an insect. As the influential fifteenth-century humanist Marsilio Ficino describes, “Indeed if God does not in any way neglect the least parts of the world, certainly He will not despise mankind, which is such a precious part of the world that it is the mean between temporal and eternal things.”⁸⁷ But the parallel between the Body’s question and a similar question in the Book of Job legitimizes the Body’s doubts about God’s exceptional care of man. Eliphaz warns Job:

I heard a voice, saying, ‘Shall man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his maker? Behold, he put no trust in his servants; and his angels he charged with folly: How much less in them that dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, which are crushed before the moth?’⁸⁸

The passage provides a Biblical basis for the Body’s speculation about mortal men, namely that they *could* be crushed before the moth.⁸⁹ As Zuñiga explains, the phrase “*before the moth*”

⁸⁷ Charles Trinkaus calls Ficino’s *Theologia Platonica* the “fullest and most far-reaching exposition of the ideal of human autonomy in the Renaissance.” Charles Trinkaus, “Marsilio Ficino and the Ideal of Human Autonomy,” in *Ficino and Renaissance Platonism*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler and Olga Zorzi Pugliese (Ottawa, Canada: Dovehouse Editions Canada, 1986), 142.

⁸⁸ King James Version, Job 4:17-19.

⁸⁹ This verse about the moth only has this non-anthropocentric implication in the King James version, which is the one that Vaughan used. The King James Version makes the verse more ominous than the Bishops’ Bible or the Douay-Rheims. The Bishops’ Bible states, “How much more in them that dwell in houses of clay, and whose foundation is but dust, which shall be consumed *as it were* with a moth?” (Matthew Parker and Richard Jugge, *The Holie Bible: Conteyning the Olde Testament and the Newe* (London: Richard Iugge, 1568), n.p.) The Douay-Rheims states, “How much more they that inhabit houses of clay, which have an earthly foundation, shall be consumed *as it were* of the moth?” (Gregory Martin, William Allen, and Laurence Kellam, *The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English, out of the Authenticall Latin : Diligently Conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and Other Editions in*

suggests that “in the grave, men are destroyed before vermin, who eat them slowly away.”⁹⁰ The voice in the Book of Job that speaks to Eliphaz about man’s infirm position sounds like the Body in Vaughan’s poem, which does not know with certainty whether it outranks a silkworm in God’s eyes.

God’s potential preference for moths over human bodies in “Resurrection and Immortality” is the first of many instances in *Silex Scintillans* where Vaughan foregrounds man’s shortcomings relative to the natural world, a theme that resonates with hermeticism’s view of nature’s divinity and Calvin’s reading of Job. In “The Search,” the speaker goes to the “wilderness” to find “beasts more merciful than man.”⁹¹ In “Distraction,” he wishes he were “a star, a pearl, or a rainbow” so that his “light had lessened not.”⁹² In “Christ’s Nativity,” he wishes he were a “bird, or some star” so that he would be above the “road of sin.”⁹³ In “The

Divers Languages: With Arguments of the Bookes, and Chapters, Annotations, Tables and Other Helpes, for Better Understanding of the Text : For Discoverie of Corruptions in Some Late Translations, and for Clearing Controversies in Religion (Doway: Laurence Kellam, 1609), 1066.).

In his commentary (first publ. 1584), Zuñiga draws attention to the difference between man being consumed “before the moth”—which he traces to the Hebrew tradition—and “as the moth”—which he traces to the Vulgate interpreters (79). Diego de Zuñiga, *Didaci a Stunica ... In Job Commentaria Quibus Triplex Eius Editio Vulgata Latina, Hebraea, & Graeca Septuaginta Interpretum, Necnon & Chaldaea Explicantur: Et Inter Se Cum Diferre Hæ Editiones Videntur, Conciliantur & Præcepta Vitæ Cum Virtute Colendæ Literaliter Deducuntur* (Romae: Franciscum Zannettum, 1591), 79-80.

⁹⁰ Although Zuñiga explains this interpretation, Zuñiga himself prefers the Vulgate’s translation—that man is destroyed “as the moth.” Whereas “before the moth” draws attention to the moth’s involvement in man’s postmortem decay, “as the moth” makes man responsible for his own corruption. He explains, “For of his own accord, and by no force external to him, man is daily wasted away, grown old, and, as if by a moth, gnawed away and consumed.... Since a man ages for reasons intrinsic to his nature, why is it not evident and certain that all wicked men, however much they seem to overflow with power and might, cannot extend their life, but death is extracted as a penalty? From this it is plain enough how great is God’s mercy and how stupid the man of sin, who does not obey God, but resists and dares to violate his justice.” Zuñiga, *In Job Commentaria*, 79-80.

⁹¹ “The Search,” in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 158.

⁹² “Distraction,” in *ibid.*, 165.

⁹³ “Christ’s Nativity,” in *ibid.*, 199.

Constellation,” he admits that “the herb he treads knows much, much more” and that man is “taught obedience by the whole creation.”⁹⁴

In these poems and elsewhere, Vaughan is exceptional in celebrating nature on its own terms, rather than its relationship to man.⁹⁵ Diane McColley explains, “Using living things as metaphors can reduce their reality in the minds of readers: lions are not lions, but courage or wrath.” In contrast to this reduction of metaphors to their figurative meaning, Vaughan expresses a “specific and affirmative perception of actual animals, plants, elements, and processes.”⁹⁶ His praise of nature not only borrows from hermeticism, which acknowledges the light of God in animals, plants, and minerals, but also the Book of Job, which provides a model for affirmation in God’s poetic display of his own creatures. McColley writes, “[In] the Book of Job, the Voice from the Whirlwind (chapters 38-41) delivers a stunning rebuke to the presumption that animals are ‘created only for our use’ when the Voice from the Whirlwind displays the dynamic power of nature and the wild energies of animals, culminating with the Behemoth and Leviathan, as antidotes to human pride.”⁹⁷

Vaughan’s Job poems glorify nature’s harmony with God’s will, in contrast to man’s restlessness. When Herbert contrasts humanity’s disobedience with nature’s obedience in “Man,” he intends to point out man’s sinfulness and liability to judgement. Vaughan is more interested in

⁹⁴ “Constellation,” in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 231-232.

⁹⁵ Rudrum suggests that poems like Vaughan’s “The Book” are “marked by the tendency, not peculiar to the hermetists, but very strong among them, to see man as part of nature rather than as standing over and against nature.” Rudrum, “The Book: A Hermetic Poem,” 164.

⁹⁶ McColley, *Poetry and Ecology*, 5. McColley identifies the seventeenth century as “the beginnings of empirical science and an awareness of what we now call ‘ecological’ issues.” Poets “embraced new knowledge of nature and recognized the costs of power over nature intemperately used” (1).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 181.

man's irreconcilable difference from God, which is his existential condition. Seelig comments, "For Herbert the problem is precisely in his soul, which he knows to be stubborn and rebellious; for Vaughan...man's frailty, his mortality, his fleshly nature is the more serious concern."⁹⁸ "Man" uses imagery from Job to suggest the purposelessness of human life. Contrary to our expectation for a poem entitled "Man," the poem elevates the rest of nature. The speaker reflects:

Weighing the steadfastness and state
Of some mean thing which here below reside
Where birds like watchful clocks the noiseless date
And intercourse of times divide,
Where bees at night get home and hive, and flowers
Early, as well as late,
Rise with the sun, and set in the same bowers

I would (said I) my God would give
The staidness of these things to man!⁹⁹

For plants and animals, "no new business breaks their peace." The animals do not have to choose piousness over another available activity, so they unceasingly attend to "divine appointments." As Seelig notes, it is the creatures' "peace rather than their obedience" that is attractive to Vaughan.¹⁰⁰ This celebrated peace is not available to man, as the next stanza indicates.

⁹⁸ Seelig, *Shadow*, 45.

⁹⁹ "Man," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 239.

¹⁰⁰ Seelig, *Shadow*, 58.

Math hath still either toys, or care,
He hath no root, nor to one place is tied,
But ever restless and irregular
About this earth doth run and ride.

He knows he hath a home, but scarce knows where.¹⁰¹

The image of the de-centralized man—a man moving continuously with no home in this world—emphasizes the essential difference between a flower and a man: he “hath no root.” Jonathan Post describes this contrast between Herbert’s and Vaughan’s “Man” poems: “The idea central in Herbert’s—that man is the stately center of the world and waited on by all things but God—is inverted by the younger author, who finds man ‘ever restless and Irregular’: he chases after every whim even though God is everywhere about him.”¹⁰²

The end of the poem borrows an analogy from Job to emphasize man’s instability. Vaughan describes, “Man is the shuttle, to whose winding quest / And passage through these looms / God ordered motion, but ordained no rest.” The comparison to a fast-moving shuttle—the instrument that a weaver uses to wind a thread through a loom—depicts man’s life as a constant flurry of futile motion. The metaphor emphasizes the insignificance of man’s earthly life, as it does in Job 7:6. Job laments, “My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle, and are spent without hope.”¹⁰³ Although the verse would have had heretical implications if “without hope” were taken to mean “with no hope for the resurrection,” it was also an orthodox comment on how man spends his life: recklessly, with no hope that his activities will amount to something

¹⁰¹ “Man,” in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 239.

¹⁰² Post, *Unfolding Vision*, 94.

¹⁰³ King James Version, Job 7:6.

significant or save him from death. Diego de Zuñiga—another writer interested in man’s insignificance (chapter 4)—explains Job’s metaphor by quoting from the Book of Wisdom. Wisdom also describes the course of man’s life with analogies to transient, trackless movement. Zuñiga writes:

From this verse it is clearly understood how short the course of our lives is seen to go, after we have come to its end. This is most clearly discussed in Wisdom, which talks of evil men: ‘All those are passed away like a shadow, and like a post that runs on, and like a ship that passes through the waves, which, when it is gone by, the trace cannot be found, nor the path of its keel in the waters. Or as when a bird flies through the air, and no mark can be found of its passage, but only the sound of the wings beating the light air and parting it by the force of her flight: she hath flown through, and there is no mark found afterwards of her way. Or as when an arrow is shot at a mark, the divided air quickly cometh together again, so that its passage is not known. So we also being born, immediately cease to be.’¹⁰⁴

For Zuñiga, Job’s comparison of his life to a weaver’s shuttle is not only a reminder of its shortness, but also the insignificance of his so-called accomplishments once he is gone. As he explains, the verse ends “without hope” because man “continues to do and has done those things which press him irremediably toward death.”¹⁰⁵ Although man may think that his achievements are adding up to something, his life’s work counts for nothing in God’s eyes and, in fact, drives him further from life with God. The same sense of the inconsequence of man’s activity ends

¹⁰⁴ Zuñiga, *In Job Commentaria*, 120. I consulted the Douay-Rheims translation for Wisdom 5:9-13.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 120.

Vaughan's poem, albeit with less emphasis on man's sinfulness (doing things that push him towards death) and more on man's vagrancy (doing things that mean nothing). The final stanza portrays no remedy for man as he "knocks at all doors, strays and roams" because God has "ordered motion, but ordained no rest."¹⁰⁶

The paired grief poems—"Thou that know'st for whom I mourn" and "Vanity of Spirit"—likewise depict a grief-stricken person confronting the futility of man's short existence. In the first, the speaker uses Job to question the rationale of a God who would spend so long "fashioning" man in order to destroy him so quickly:

Nine months thy hands are fashioning us

And many years (alas!)

Ere we can lisp, or aught discuss

Concerning thee, must pass;

Yet have I known thy slightest things

A feather, or a shell,

A stick or rod which some chance brings

The best of us excel,

Yea, I have known these shreds out last

A fair-compacted frame.¹⁰⁷

The complaint makes logical sense. Man's creation requires nine months of considerable effort, and then man remains incapable of piety for years following his birth. In the meantime, sticks

¹⁰⁶ "Man," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 240.

¹⁰⁷ "Thou that know'st for whom I mourn," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 170.

and feathers—that arise from “some chance”—“excel” the best of men and eventually “out last” man’s diligently fashioned frame. Job has a similar, albeit more pointed, question about God’s treatment of those he has fashioned. Job asks, “Is it good unto thee that thou shouldest oppress, that thou shouldest despise the work of thine hands?...Thine hands have made me and fashioned me together round about; yet thou dost destroy me.”¹⁰⁸

The following poem articulates the speaker’s fear of God’s disregard. “Vanity of Spirit” begins with questioning:

Quite spent with thoughts I left my cell, and lay
Where a shrill spring tuned to the early day.
I begged here long, and groaned to know
Who gave the clouds so brave a bow,
Who bent the sphere, and circled in
Corruption with this glorious ring,
What is his name, and how I might
Descry some part of his great light.¹⁰⁹

His questions repeat God’s theophany speech in Job, where God asks who laid the foundations of the earth and answers that he made the clouds.¹¹⁰ But Vaughan’s speaker is also intent on knowing why God would have implanted “corruption” in his design.

¹⁰⁸ King James Version, Job 10:3,8.

¹⁰⁹ “Vanity of Spirit,” in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 171-172. The speaker’s next question seems like it should be who framed the tiger’s awful symmetry.

¹¹⁰ King James Version, Job 38:1-9.

If this were George Herbert's poem, the speaker would wander for a few stanzas before discovering that God's "great light" had been there all along. Vaughan does not provide that comforting ending. The speaker first ravishes nature for the answer to his questions. He recalls how he "pierced" her store, "broke" her untouched seals, and "rifled through" her secrets. His violent penetration of the earth's "womb" yields nothing, so he turns to himself. When he finds "hieroglyphics quite dismembered" and "broken letters scarce remembered" inside of himself, he is "much joyed." He thinks he can crack their code and find the solution to his "mystery." Perhaps we, too, expect that his typical Protestant turn from outward signs to personal spirituality will yield the desired access to God's light. But this effort also fails. He had predicated his efforts upon an eventual discovery, but he is reduced to hopelessness. His line is likewise reduced to almost entirely monosyllables. He remarks, "But this near done, / That little light I had was gone: / It grieved me much." This is the anti-Herbert narrative. The speaker hasn't just failed to discover God's light; he has *less* light than when he started. To end the poem, the speaker concedes:

Since in these veils my eclipsed eye
May not approach thee, (for at night
Who can have commerce with the light?)

I'll disapparel, and to buy

But one half glance, most gladly die.¹¹¹

The expected revelatory moment is merely a realization of the unbridgeable gap between man and divine during his earthly life. God will never allow man to approach him in this world, and

¹¹¹ "Vanity of Spirit," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 172.

the misery of the “spent” speaker returns. Rather than endure the world of corruption and darkness, he vows to “disapparel”—to strip off his bodily form and “most gladly die.” This wish for death receives no redemptive stanza promoting patience or promising resurrection. Instead, we are faced with Vaughan’s “spiritual exile, estrangement, and severance from God” that he will give anything—even his life—to overcome.¹¹² We have heard this cry from Job, who “longs for death, but it cometh not.”¹¹³

The speaker’s death-wish as an initial reaction to his insurmountable separation from God is fitting for the conditions under which *Silex Scintillans* was written. Vaughan was dealing with the aftermath of a life-threatening illness, grieving for his young brother, and watching his side’s defeat in the Civil War. Yet Job’s complaints are not the end of the Book of Job, and the cries that fill Vaughan’s early Job poems are likewise answered in Vaughan’s most famous poem, “The Night.” In “The Night,” a Job-like speaker confronts his peripheral place in creation and turns his insufficient vision into the means for encountering divine mystery. For hermeticists, the Book of Job’s value lie precisely in this exploration of mystery. In *Medicina Diastatica*, Paracelsus uses Job to defend hermeticism’s consideration of something as inscrutable as the cosmos. He writes, “We are not more ignorant of anything, than of those which appertain to the heavens, as Job himself testifieth (38 cap.) in these words, *Knowest thou the dominion thereof in the earth?*”¹¹⁴ For Paracelsus, Job is not an example of what we know, but an example of what

¹¹² Pettet, *Of Paradise*, 22.

¹¹³ Recognizing his estrangement from God’s favor, Job cries, “Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul; Which long for death, but it cometh not; and dig for it more than for hid treasures.” King James Version, Job 3:20-21.

¹¹⁴ Paracelsus, *Medicina Diastatica, or Sympathetical Mummy* (London: T. Newcomb, 1653), 91-92.

we don't know. And for Vaughan, man's realization of his unknowingness gives him his closest glimpse at God.

More than just preaching patience, Vaughan's Job poems explore whether a literally and figuratively peripheral being can encounter the sublimity of God, as Job does in the whirlwind.¹¹⁵ Vaughan has his most moving brushes with despair, but also his most powerful spiritual moments when he is overwhelmed by the mystery—the sublimity, even—of God and his creation. In “I walked the other day,” the speaker digs up a flower that is buried underground for winter, and it strikes him that this beautiful thing “lives of us unseen.”¹¹⁶ At first, as we have seen in other poems, he laments his own decrepit state relative to the flower. He quickly reburies the flower and “stung with fear / of my own frailty dropped down many a tear / upon his bed.” But then the speaker experiences a moment of spiritual discernment. “*Happy are the dead,*” he realizes, who live in their full glory, protected from the harsh elements of the world. He understands his own temporal position in “masques and shadows” and prays for the day when he will live in “light, joy, leisure, and true comfort.”

This idea of a flower revealing the divine nature appears again in “The Night.” The poem dwells on the dark/light paradox inherent in the Biblical story of Nicodemus, a Pharisee who comes to learn from Jesus at night in John 3:1-21. What interests Vaughan is how Nicodemus could “know his God by night,” seeing the divine in “that land of darkness and blind eyes.” Vaughan compares Nicodemus's revelatory experience to seeing a flower in a barren landscape:

O who will tell me, where

¹¹⁵ Philip West identifies Job as one of Vaughan's most frequently cited books. West, *Scripture Uses*, 177.

¹¹⁶ “I walked the other day,” in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 241.

He [Nicodemus] found thee at that dead and silent hour!
What hallowed solitary ground did bear
So rare a flower,
Within whose sacred leaves did lie
The fullness of the Deity.¹¹⁷

The speaker imagines the “fullness of the Deity” captured in a flower surrounded by nothingness, an attempt to analogize the wonder of Nicodemus finding Christ at night, a “dead and silent” time.

Although the speaker intends to capture the incomprehensible mystery of the divine through the Nicodemus story, he struggles to hold onto the story’s central paradox for the duration of the poem. In the first few stanzas of the poem, he is amazed at how the “veil” of night could uncover God, how dark could reveal “such light,” how Nicodemus could “at midnight speak with the Sun.” The power of the paradox lies in recognizing night as a “dead,” “silent,” and “blind” hour, which makes the revelation of Christ that much more startling and significant. Vaughan yearns for this same “positive embracing of abnegation, a transferring of potentiality from the darkness of a stricken soul, a stricken cause, and a stricken church, into a visionary intensity.”¹¹⁸

But as the poem continues, Vaughan gets led astray by his own dark/night metaphors. His initial grappling with a darkness that paradoxically reveals light gets flattened as he makes his apostrophe to “Dear night!” His address, although poetic, reasons away the mystery of

¹¹⁷ “Night,” in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 289.

¹¹⁸ Geoffrey Hill, “A Pharisee to Pharisees: Reflections on Vaughan’s ‘the Night,’” *English: The Journal of the English Association* 38 (1989): 102.

Nicodemus's encounter by describing "night," not as a dead, silent, and blind hour, but as an inherently spiritual time, a time when the soul retreats from the petty cares of the day.¹¹⁹ In the next few stanzas, the speaker associates night with undisturbed peace, apart from "this world's ill-guiding light." By the penultimate stanza, the speaker has settled upon a familiar Christian aphorism, namely, that our earthly concerns (metaphorical daytime) distract us from the peace that God offers (metaphorical nighttime). He pronounces:

But living where the sun
Doth all things wake, and where all mix and tire
Themselves and others, I consent and run
To every mire,
And by this world's ill-guiding light,
Err more than I can do by night.¹²⁰

The moralistic message is a far cry from the paradoxically revelatory darkness that first attracted him to the Nicodemus story.

These stanzas in which night is "calm and unhaunted" enact the spiritual problem that the poem identifies: as soon as the speaker tries to explain God using his earthly reference points—

¹¹⁹ This night is not "symbolic of our earthly condition of ignorance and sin," as it was in the initial paradox; instead, it is "the night of the spirit, familiar in the writings of the mystics." Durr, *Mystical Poetry*, 113.

Mahood suggests that the admirable ambiguity in Vaughan's poetry arises from his blend of symbolic values. Whereas Herbert's ambiguities arise from words with more than one meaning (i.e. collar/choler), Vaughan's ambiguities depend on multiple symbolic values inherent in the object itself ("night" as ignorance for Christians and transcendence for mystics). Mahood, "Symphony of Nature," 6.

Seelig makes a similar observation about the variety of light's symbolic registers in "The Seed Growing Secretly." She writes, "The problem of metaphor and connotation here is intimately related to Vaughan's method. If light is the shadow of God, then light may appropriately be used as the poetic image of God—'My soul's bright food, thy absence kills!'; but if light is the light of this world, it may be a danger rather than a blessing: 'Who breaks his glass to take more light, / Makes way for storms into his rest' (lines 43-44)." Thus, a single metaphor carries different meanings in different contexts. Seelig, *Shadow*, 88.

¹²⁰ "Night," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 290.

as soon as he understands God's darkness by putting it into the language of earthly darkness—he explains away the divine mystery. Seelig suggests that Vaughan's critics too often overestimate Vaughan's confidence in his own poem: "'The Night' is sometimes made to sound like an exceedingly clever manipulation of paradox in which the poet is scarcely involved. But it seems to me that Vaughan wishes to demonstrate precisely the reverse: man is not master and explorer of paradox; he is at the mercy of his own limitations and God's grace."¹²¹ The abrupt transition from the penultimate to the final stanza emphasizes the speaker's dissatisfaction with where his middle-of-the-poem metaphors have landed him. Judging from the disjuncture in logic and style at this point, the break between stanzas implies a moment of self-evaluation; the speaker has finished his impassioned confession about the day's distractions and the night's peace, yet realizes he has not, in the end, made the point that he set out to prove.

In the final stanza, he halts his ornate metaphors, piled with appositional, adjectival, and adverbial phrases, and returns to where he started, to the idea of the paradoxical darkness that characterizes God's nature:

There is in God (some say)
A deep, but dazzling darkness; as men here
Say it is late and dusky, because they
See not all clear;
O for that night! where I in him
Might live invisible and dim.¹²²

¹²¹ Seelig, *Shadow*, 101.

¹²² "Night," in Vaughan, *Complete Poems*, 290.

The shift from his “unity of vision”¹²³ is not only signaled by the stylistic departure from the speaker’s previously authoritative voice (now he passively reports what “some say” with an indefinite relative pronoun), but also how the speaker uses night to complete his analogy. God’s darkness is no longer comparable to a night of “calm retreat” and spiritual discernment, as it was in the previous stanzas. Instead, God’s darkness is the “late and dusky” night when men “see not all clear.”¹²⁴ The speaker wishes for “*that night*”—the deep, dazzling darkness variety as opposed to the calm retreat—in the last two lines. It is the kind of darkness that consumes him, making his life an indistinguishable part of the divine. It is the kind of deep darkness that he expects on the night of his death when he collapses into complete being, both “possessed by God and gripped by a sense of his own unworthiness.”¹²⁵ Although the final stanza tries to embody the incomprehensibility of God in the metaphor of darkness, its appearance at the end of a series of metaphorical attempts also reminds us of the insufficiency of the poet to do what God does, that is to show the sun at midnight. Post writes, “In God’s dazzling darkness the fusion of noon and midnight will be made complete and permanent,” but Vaughan’s “metaphoric communion” is insufficient.¹²⁶

¹²³ Commenting on the “Dear Night!” stanza, Jonathan Post suggests, “[A]ppositional phrases allow Vaughan to create a still point in the center of the poem in which the static quality of each description works to arrest the motion of the verse and to determine the verbal quiet necessary for a unitary vision” (*Unfolding Vision*, 206). In my mind, this static center, although “unified” from a human vantage point, contrasts with the awe-inspiring movement implied in “dazzling.” In other words, the unitary vision, although tidy, falls short of God’s mystery.

¹²⁴ Geoffrey Hill explains, “Coldness, destitution, deprivation (as in the *Mount of Olives*), darkness, blindness, deadness, silence, are made the magnetic points of contact with the Divine Grace.” Hill, “A Pharisee,” 103.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹²⁶ Post, *Unfolding Vision*, 211.

This deep, dazzling darkness—an image that would have been familiar to Vaughan and his contemporaries through popularized Christian mysticism¹²⁷ —is also Job’s experience of God. In the early modern period, one of the most popular verses from Job was a reflection on the deepness and darkness of God’s wisdom and power:

Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know? The measure thereof is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea. If he cut off, and shut up, or gather together, then who can hinder him?¹²⁸

Although spoken by Zophar, the verse was regularly employed by early modern commentators to express the mystery of the divine nature. Calvin writes:

¹²⁷ Contemporary critics have debated the extent to which this reference to “deep, dazzling darkness” is indebted to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, a late fifth-/early sixth-century theologian and mystic who authored the *Corpus Areopagiticum* (aka *Corpus Dionysiacum*). As is typical of early Christian mysticism, Dionysius believes that language is improper for describing God, which means that all of his attributes must be understood through negation.

Dionysius’s idea of divine light as a profound darkness was familiar to Renaissance hermeticists. For instance, Thomas Vaughan describes, “That which is above all degree of intelligence is a certain infinite, inaccessible fire or light. Dionysius calls it Divine Darkness, because it is invisible and incomprehensible.” The analogy between encountering God and experiencing the sun at midnight was also a favorite of Renaissance hermeticists. In *Three Principles of the Divine Essence*, Jacob Behmen writes, “There is a wonderful time coming, but because it beginneth in the night, there are many that shall not see it, by reason of their sleep and drunkenness; yet the Sun will shine on the children at midnight.” Thomas Vaughan, *Lumen De Lumine; or, a New Magical Light*, ed. Arthur Edward Waite (London: John M. Watkins, 1910), 269; Jacob Bohme, *The Second Book, Concerning the Three Principles of the Divine Essence* (London: M.S. for H. Blunden, 1648), “Preface to the Reader”.

Pettet says Vaughan’s imagery in “The Night” is an “undoubted echo from Dionysius the Areopagite.” He suggests that Vaughan may have come across Dionysius firsthand or through Thomas’s *Lumen de Lumine*. Rudrum agrees that Vaughan’s idea of experiencing the sun at midnight is directly indebted to hermeticism. As Rudrum points out, the first translation of Behman’s *Three Principles* was issued by Humphrey Blunden, publisher and seller of the Vaughan brothers’ work. It is likely that Henry Vaughan encountered this work because Thomas Vaughan mentions it in his *Coelum Terrae*. Pettet, *Of Paradise*, 152; Rudrum, “‘The Night’: Some Hermetic Notes,” 147-48.

Contra Pettet and Rudrum, Post suggests that establishing a direct line of influence from Vaughan to individual hermeticists is hardly helpful. When Vaughan was writing in the seventeenth-century, Dionysius’s idea that God is best understood through darkness, silence, and unknowing would have been a familiar one. Post, *Unfolding Vision*, 3; 210.

As I have suggested, Vaughan had more than a passing familiarity with hermeticism, which undoubtedly influenced his worldview, particularly his reading of Job. That said, tracing this poetic line to a particular hermeticist seems less helpful than recognizing the way that hermeticism blended with Christianity in Vaughan’s thought.

¹²⁸ King James Version, Job 11:7-10.

Let us have an eye to our own measure. Behold how man who would overreach the whole earth, needeth no more than six foot to cover him. Man is desirous to enclose the whole sea in his imagination; and in the meanwhile he himself is nothing. He would fain surmount the heavens; and how shall he come thither? He would gage the bottom of the depths, and what means hath he to do withall? Nevertheless, let us put the case that man's mind is able to fly above the heaven, and that nothing could be hidden from it; yet should we come short of God's wisdom, because it is infinite.¹²⁹

Zuñiga similarly annotates this section as “The incomprehensible wisdom of God.” He writes, “It teaches that the wisdom of God is infinite and incomprehensible in every respect. Compared to all the ways of measuring height, depth, length, and width, compared to all things which seem huge to us, God is said to be that much greater.”¹³⁰ In “The Night” Vaughan's speaker is attracted to this version of a deep, dark God, one that encapsulates the “fullness of the Deity” in an arresting beauty.

The part of Job that interested Vaughan in “The Night”—that is, Job's recognition of God's incomprehensible power and attraction to its manifestation in creation—gave rise to the modern notion of the sublime. Although it was not until 1757 (a century after *Silex Scintillans*) that Edmund Burke defined “the sublime” as an experience of terror at wondrous inscrutability,¹³¹ early modern readers of Job were familiar with the concept. As Zuñiga

¹²⁹ “The 43rd Sermon, which is the second upon the 11th Chapter,” in Calvin, *Sermons Upon Job*, 218.

¹³⁰ Zuñiga, *In Job Commentaria*, 176.

¹³¹ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1757). For a history of the word in English, including its use in Sydenham's sermon, see James Porter, *The Sublime in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016), 38-44.

describes, God appears to Job, not to reassure him, but to “terrify him and restrain him” through a display of divine mystery.¹³² Job’s terrified wonder is explicated at length in a 1633 sermon by Humphrey Sydenham.¹³³ Sydenham was a Calvinist turned Laudian, and his sermon *Jehovah-Jireh* teaches that God’s infinite power is deserving of our praise. As Debora Shuger notes, the sermon contains perhaps the earliest use of the word “sublimity” in its modern sense: “the mix of dread, exaltation, and awe in face of the *mysterium tremendum*, of transcendent power, both creative and destructive.”¹³⁴

When Sydenham reads the Book of Job, he stands in fearful awe of God’s magnificence. In his sermon, he describes how the “atheist and infidel” quibble about God’s absolute versus actual power, which distracts them from what is really important:

Let’s now hear the Christian speak, what dialect he uses, how he sings of the power of his Creator. . . In the view of those celestial bodies, the contemplative man stands (as it were) planet-struck in his intellectuals; whilst he considers the heavens, he loses them; and that moon and those stars which should enlighten him, dazzle him. The finger of God in them he doth acknowledge, but not discover. He made them by his power, he confesses; he ordaineth them. But how he ordained or made them so, his apprehension is at a stand or bay; and

¹³² Zuñiga, *In Job Commentaria*, 536. The English preacher Thomas Adams (1612-1653) also uses Job to suggest God as a figure of terror, even when he demonstrates his love. He writes, “Job complains, that the terrors of God do fight against him (Job 6.4). And David says, From my youth up thy terrors have I suffered with a troubled mind (Psalm 88.15.16). If he [God] will do thus much in love, what shall be the judgments of his wrath!” Thomas Adams, *God’s Anger; and Man’s Comfort* (London: Thomas Maxey, 1652), 9.

¹³³ Humphrey Sydenham, *Sermons Upon Solemn Occasions: Preached in Several Auditories* (London: John Beale for Humphrey Robinson, 1637). Reprinted in Debora K. Shuger, *Religion in Early Stuart England, 1603-1638: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Waco, TX: Baylor UP, 2012), 654-63.

¹³⁴ “Humphrey Sydenham,” in Shuger, *Religion in Early Stuart England*, 288.

transported beyond measure, cries out... The thunder of his power, who can understand? Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is high as heaven, what canst thou do? Deeper than hell, what canst thou know? If he cut off or shut up or gather together, who can hinder him? (Job 11:9-10).¹³⁵

This is not the reflection of a medieval exegete. Although medieval thinkers sensed man's inconsequence relative to the supernatural order (as when Chaucer's Troilus looks back on "this little spot of earth" and begins to "despise / this wretched world"¹³⁶), Sydenham, like Vaughan, senses man's inconsequence when he observes the *natural* order. He not only feels the awe-inspiring presence of God when he contemplates Heaven (singular, capital "H"), but when he scans "the heavens." The awe-inspiring presence of God in creation momentarily disarms him, as it did Job, leaving him "planet-strucken in his intellectuals."

In Vaughan and Sydenham's portrayal of a "deep, dazzling God," we see on the horizon the sublimity that would come to obsess the Romantic poets. Indeed, by the time we get to William Blake's famous *Illustrations on the Book of Job* (created 1785-1825; collected in 1826), the story had been transformed into an awe-inspiring testimony to the mystery and divinity of creation.¹³⁷ When Blake illustrates "Behold now Behemoth which I made with thee" (Fig. 1),¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Humphrey Sydenham, *Jehovah-Jireh* in Shuger, *Religion in Early Stuart England*, 657.

¹³⁶ Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde* (Westminster: William Caxton, 1483), 116.

¹³⁷ William Blake, *עַם בְּיַד אֱלֹהִים Illustrations of the Book of Job. Invented and Engraved by W. Blake* (London: William Blake, 1826).

¹³⁸ Blake's engraved illustrations to Job (published 1826) began as a collection of watercolors that Blake painted for Thomas Butts in 1805-1806. William Blake, *Behemoth and Leviathan*, [1805-1810]. The Morgan Library and Museum, Dept. of Drawings and Prints. Accession Number 2001.77. Catalogue Record URL: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=215796>.

the vibrant colors of the Leviathan, the rippling muscles of the mythic Behemoth, and the combination of Job's fear, wonder, and curiosity capture the Romantic's reverence for a model of piety that emphasizes man's peripheral place in the face of dazzling power.



Figure 1. William Blake, "Behemoth and Leviathan," [1805-1810], Morgan Library and Museum, Accession Number 2001.77.

Works Cited

- Adams, Thomas. *God's Anger; and Man's Comfort*. London: Thomas Maxey, 1652.
- Blake, William. "Behemoth and Leviathan." The Morgan Library and Museum, Dept. of Drawings and Prints, [1805-1810].
- . ספר איוב *Illustrations of the Book of Job. Invented and Engraved by W. Blake*. London: William Blake, 1826.
- Bohme, Jacob. *The Second Book, Concerning the Three Principles of the Divine Essence*. London: M.S. for H. Blunden, 1648.
- Browne, Sir Thomas. *Religio Medici*. London: For Andrew Crooke, 1642.
- Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1757.
- Calhoun, Thomas O. *Henry Vaughan, the Achievement of Silex Scintillans*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1981.
- Calvin, Jean. *Sermons of Master Iohn Calvin, Vpon the Booke of Iob*. [in English] Translated by Arthur Golding. London: Lucas Harison and George Byshop, 1574.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *Troilus and Criseyde*. Westminster: William Caxton, 1483.
- Christopher, Georgia B. "In Arcadia, Calvin...: A Study of Nature in Henry Vaughan." *SP* 70 (Oct. 1973): 408-26
- Durr, R.A. *On the Mystical Poetry of Henry Vaughan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1962.
- Herbert, George. *The English Poems of George Herbert*. Edited by Helen Wilcox. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007.
- . *George Herbert and the Seventeenth Century Religious Poets*. Edited by Mario A. Di Cesare. New York; London: W.W. Norton, 1978.
- Hill, Geoffrey. "A Pharisee to Pharisees: Reflections on Vaughan's 'the Night,'." *English: The Journal of the English Association* 38 (1989): 97-113
- Holmes, Elizabeth. *Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy*. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1933.
- Judson, Alexander C. "The Source of Henry Vaughan's Ideas Concerning God in Nature." *SP* 24 (1927): 592-606
- Kermode, Frank. "The Private Imagery of Henry Vaughan." *The Review of English Studies* 1.3 (1950): 206-25

- King James I. *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament and the New*. London: Robert Barker, 1611.
- Knox, Dilwyn. "Ficino and Copernicus." In *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, edited by Michael J.B. Allen and Valery Rees, 399-418. Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2002
- Library of Congress Science Reference Section. "What Is the Difference between a Moth and a Butterfly?" www.loc.gov/rr/scitech/mysteries/butterflymoth.html.
- Mahood, M.M. "Vaughan: The Symphony of Nature." In *Essential Articles for the Study of Henry Vaughan*, edited by Alan Rudrum, 5-45. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1987
- Martin, Gregory, William Allen, and Laurence Kellam. *The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English, out of the Authentical Latin : Diligently Conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and Other Editions in Divers Languages: With Arguments of the Bookes, and Chapters, Annotations, Tables and Other Helpes, for Better Understanding of the Text : For Discoverie of Corruptions in Some Late Translations, and for Clearing Controversies in Religion*. Doday: Laurence Kellam, 1609.
- Martin, L.C. "Henry Vaughan and 'Hermes Trismegistus'." In *Essential Articles for the Study of Henry Vaughan*, edited by Alan Rudrum, 59-67. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1987
- Martz, Louis. "The Man Within." In *Essential Articles for the Study of Henry Vaughan*, edited by Alan Rudrum, 98-120. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1987
- McColley, Diane Kelsey. *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007.
- Morton, Thomas. "A Sermon Preached by Dr. Thomas Morton, Lord Bishop of Durham at the Spittle on Monday, April 26. 1641. Before Sir Wright, Lord Major." In *The Great Work of Redemption Deliver'd in Five Sermons*. London: For J. Playford, 1660
- Nelson, Holly Faith. "Biblical Structures in Silex Scintillans: The Poetics and Politics of Intertextuality." In *Of Paradise and Light: Essays on Henry Vaughan and John Milton in Honor of Alan Rudrum*, edited by Donald R. Dickson and Holly Faith Nelson, 165-91. Newark: University of Delaware, 2004
- Paracelsus. *Medicina Diastatica, or Sympathetical Mummy*. London: T. Newcomb, 1653.
- . *Paracelsus His Aurora, and Treasure of the Philosophers, as Also the Water-Stone of the Wise Men*. Translated by J.H. Oxen. London: Giles Calvert, 1659.
- Paracelsus, and Arthur Edward Waite. *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Aureolus Philippus Theophrastus Bombast, of Hohenheim, Called Paracelsus the Great, Vol. 1*. London: J. Elliott and Co., 1894.

- Parker, Matthew, and Richard Jugge. *The Holie Bible: Conteyning the Olde Testament and the Newe*. London: Richard Iugge, 1568.
- Patterson, Annabel. "Jonson, Marvell, and Miscellaneity?". In *Poems in Their Place: The Intertextuality and Order of Poetic Collections*, edited by Neil Fraistat, 95-118. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1986
- Pettet, E. C. *Of Paradise and Light; a Study of Vaughan's Silex Scintillans*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1960.
- Porter, James. *The Sublime in Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016.
- Post, Jonathan F.S. *Henry Vaughan: The Unfolding Vision*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982.
- Read, Sophie. *Eucharist and the Poetic Imagination in Early Modern England*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge UP, 2013.
- Rudrum, Alan. "Henry Vaughan's 'the Book': A Hermetic Poem." *AUMLA (Journal of the Australian Universities Language and Literature Association)* 16 (1961): 161-65
- . "Vaughan's 'the Night': Some Hermetic Notes." *The Modern Language Review* 64.1 (1969): 11-19
- Scott, Walter, and A. S. Ferguson. *Hermetica, the Ancient Greek and Latin Writings Which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, Vol. 2*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936.
- Seelig, Sharon C. *The Shadow of Eternity: Belief and Structure in Herbert, Vaughan, and Traherne*. Lexington, KY: UP of Kentucky, 1981.
- Shuger, Debora K. *Religion in Early Stuart England, 1603-1638: An Anthology of Primary Sources*. Waco, TX: Baylor UP, 2012.
- Stanbridge, John. *Vocabula Magistri*. London: J. Day for Abraham Vele, 1560?
- Sydenham, Humphrey. *Sermons Upon Solemn Occasions: Preached in Several Auditories*. London: John Beale for Humphrey Robinson, 1637.
- Trinkaus, Charles. "Marsilio Ficino and the Ideal of Human Autonomy." In *Ficino and Renaissance Platonism*, edited by Konrad Eisenbichler and Olga Zorzi Pugliese. Ottawa, Canada: Dovehouse Editions Canada, 1986
- Vaughan, Henry. *Flores Solitudinis*. London: for Humphrey Mosely, 1654.
- . *Henry Vaughan: The Complete Poems*. Edited by Alan Rudrum. New Haven: Yale UP, 1976.
- . *The Mount of Olives: Or, Solitary Devotions*. London: for William Leake, 1652.

- . *Silex Scintillans Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations*. London: Henry Crips and Lodowick Lloyd, 1655.
- . *Silex Scintillans, or, Sacred Poems and Priuate Eiaculations*. London: T.W. for H. Blunden, 1650.
- Vaughan, Thomas. *Lumen De Lumine; or, a New Magical Light*. Edited by Arthur Edward Waite. London: John M. Watkins, 1910.
- . *The Man-Mouse Taken in a Trap, and Tortur'd to Death for Gnawing the Margins of Eugenius Philalethes*. London: Humphrey Blunden, 1650.
- Veenstra, Jan R. "Jacques Lefevre D'etaples Humanism and Hermeticism in the De Magica Naturali." In *Christian Humanism: Essays in Honor of Arjo Vanderjagt*, edited by Alasdair A. MacDonald, Zweder R.W.M. von Martels and Jan R. Veenstra, 353-64. Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2009
- West, Philip. *Henry Vaughan's Silex Scintillans: Scripture Uses*. Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2001.
- Wood, P.B. "Review of *Hermeticism and the Scientific Revolution. Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar, 9 March 1974*." *The British Journal for the History of Science* 13.1 (1980): 70-72
- Zúñiga, Diego de. *Didaci a Stunica ... In Job Commentaria Quibus Triplex Eius Editio Vulgata Latina, Hebræa, & Græca Septuaginta Interpretum, Necnon & Chaldæa Explicantur: Et Inter Se Cum Diferre Hæ Editiones Videntur, Conciliantur & Præcepta Vitæ Cum Virtute Colendæ Literaliter Deducuntur*. Romae: Franciscum Zannettum, 1591.