

Richard Pace and the Psalms

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In the library of Winchester College is a multi-lingual psalter formerly owned by the diplomat and scholar, Richard Pace (c.1483–1536). Pace left extensive notes in this volume, the product of his study of the Hebrew Scriptures in comparison with the Vulgate and Greek Septuagint. They demonstrate his engagement with a variety of Jewish, patristic and humanist learning. A broader set of theological and devotional themes also emerge. For Pace, the Psalms were primarily a prophetic text, foretelling the coming of Christ and the Gospels, but they likewise reflected an interest in devotion, rhetoric and prayer typical of humanists of the period.

In the Fellows' Library of Winchester College are two books that were formerly owned by the diplomat and scholar, Richard Pace (c. 1483–1536). Pace is chiefly remembered today as a much-travelled ambassador in the early years of Henry VIII.¹ He was made a royal secretary in 1516 and dean of St Paul's Cathedral in 1519 but was frequently away from

BL = British Library, London; CSP: *Spain = Calendar of letters, despatches and state papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain: preserved in the archives at Simancas and elsewhere*, ed. G. Bergenroth, Martin Hume and Pascuel de Gayangos, London 1862–1953; CWE = *Collected works of Erasmus*, Toronto 1974–; L&P = *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII: preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England*, ed. J. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. Brodie, London 1862–1932; ODNB = *Oxford dictionary of national biography*; TNA = The National Archives, Kew; WCFL = Fellows' Library, Winchester College

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¹ Jervis Wegg, *Richard Pace: a Tudor diplomatist*, London 1971; Catherine Curtis, 'Pace, Richard (c.1483–1536)', ODNB.

London and the court representing English interests abroad. His prominence, however, declined in the 1520s as a result of ill health and disfavour. In 1525 he was recalled from Venice suffering from fevers, insomnia and 'flux of the bowels'.² Two years later, Pace's efforts to involve himself in the royal divorce by secretly liaising with the imperial ambassador in London were discovered and he was sent to the Tower.³ Confinement proved to be the last straw for Pace's health and by 1528 he was said to be mad, regularly falling into fits of rage and 'renting and terring his clothes'.⁴ Despite his release from confinement in 1529, he never again returned to health and was gradually relieved of his remaining duties up to his death in 1536.

The two surviving books at Winchester, however, are both products of Pace's other career: his life as a humanist and biblical scholar.⁵ As a young man, Pace had studied Latin and Greek at the universities of Padua, Bologna and Ferrara under the tutelage of Niccolò Leonico Tomeo and Paolo Bombace.⁶ In the course of his life, he published translations of Plutarch and Lucian and corresponded with the leading scholars of the age, such as Desiderius Erasmus, whom he had met in Ferrara in 1507.⁷ Perhaps unsurprisingly, the first survivor at Winchester is Erasmus' Greek New Testament and notes, the *Novum instrumentum* (Basle 1516).⁸ This may be the copy that Pace owned around 1517, when he wrote from Constance to commend and correct Erasmus' efforts.⁹ Pace was at that time composing his satirical declamation, *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur*

² Francis Gasquet, *Cardinal Pole and his early friends*, London 1927, 87–9; Thomas Lupset to Desiderius Erasmus, 23 Aug. 1525, *ep. mdxcv*, *CWE* xi. 230–2; *CSP: Spain*, iii/2, 224.

³ *CSP: Spain*, iii/2, 224.

⁴ TNA, SP 1/51, fo. 15r.

⁵ Catherine Curtis, 'Pace on pedagogy, counsel and satire', unpubl. PhD diss. Cambridge 1996, 16–62; Wegg, *Pace*, 10–13.

⁶ Wegg, *Pace*, 4–7; D. Wright, 'Langton, Thomas (c.1430–1501)', *ODNB*; R. Brown, 'Thomas Langton and his tradition of teaching', *Transactions of the Antiquarian and Archeological Society of Cumberland and Westmorland* xxvi (1926), 150–246; Curtis, 'Pace on pedagogy', 16–62; Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English students in Italy, 1485–1603*, Cambridge 1998, 91–102; Martin Lowry, 'Paolo Bombace', in Peter Bietenholz and Thomas Deutcher (eds), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a biographical register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, Toronto 1985–7, i. 163–5.

⁷ Richard Pace, *Plutarchi Cheronaei opuscula ... Ex Luciano*, Rome 1513, and *Plutarchi Chaeronei libellus De avaritia, per eximum Richardum Pacaeum*, Rome 1522/3.

⁸ Desiderius Erasmus, *Nouum instrumentum*, Basle 1516, WCFL, A19 bk269. In 1 Corinthians an annotator has corrected four Greek words. The hand shows some similarity with Pace's own but the sample size is too small for a positive identification. For Pace's Greek hand see BL, MS Harleian 6989, fos 27r–28v.

⁹ BL, MS Harleian 6989, fos 27r–28v; Richard Pace to Erasmus, 5 Aug. 1517, *ep. lix*, *CWE* v. 57.

(Basle 1517), which closely aligned him to the educational and religious ideals of Erasmus.¹⁰

The second surviving volume, however, speaks to Pace's studies in the 1520s. The *Psalterium in quatuor linguis hebraea graeca chaldaea latina* (Cologne 1518) was another multi-lingual biblical text, edited by Johannes Potken.¹¹ It was designed to resemble Agostino Giustiniani's *Psalterium, hebraeum, graecum, arabicum, chaldaeum* (Genoa 1516) and reproduced the Psalms in four parallel columns of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Ge'ez.¹² Potken had become acquainted with the latter language through Ethiopian Christians in Rome and mistakenly believed this to be the authentic 'Chaldean' text, as opposed to the genuine 'Chaldean' (Aramaic) text reproduced in Giustiniani's edition. Both the New Testament and the psalter can be identified as Pace's thanks to a large black fore-edge inscription ('R. Pace') on their respective text-blocks. Their existence at Winchester has been noted twice in recent catalogues of the college by James Willoughby and Paul Quarrie; however, no extended discussion of either volume has subsequently been conducted.¹³ Pace left little trace in his New Testament but he heavily annotated the psalter in his distinctive italic hand. Quarrie refers to these jottings as 'linguistic study', a rather vague formulation for what are in fact Pace's corrections of the Vulgate based on his reading of the Hebrew.¹⁴ Pace had begun learning Hebrew around the year 1525 and appears to have worked on and off on the Psalms until his arrest in 1527.

It is unclear where or when Pace acquired the *Psalterium in quatuor linguis*. He did pass through Cologne twice in 1519, travelling to and from the Imperial Diet at Frankfurt which elected Charles v.¹⁵ The year before, Thomas Lupset had informed Pace of books for sale in Paris, brought there by the renowned Greek scholar, Janus Lascaris.¹⁶ However, Pace was first seen translating the Psalms in northern Italy. In February 1525 Pace was monitoring events around the town of Pavia in

¹⁰ Richard Pace, *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur: the benefit of a liberal education*, ed. Frank Manley and Richard Sylvester, New York 1967; Catherine Curtis, 'Richard Pace's *De fructu* and early Tudor pedagogy', in Jonathan Woolfson (ed.), *Reassessing Tudor humanism*, Basingstoke 2002, 43–77.

¹¹ Johannes Potken (ed.), *Psalterium in quatuor linguis hebraea graeca chaldaea latina*, Cologne 1518, WCFL, A19 bk164; Ian Christie-Miller, 'Psalterium in quatuor linguis: Hebraea, Graeca, Chaldaea [i.e. Ethiopic], Latina (Cologne 1518): Baltic trade and cultural connections: evidence from the paper', *The Electronic British Library Journal* xv (2016), no. 3.

¹² Christie-Miller, 'Psalterium in quatuor linguis', no. 3.

¹³ James Willoughby (ed.), *The libraries of collegiate churches*, London 2013, ii, SC 345.5–59, 819–35; Paul Quarrie, *Winchester College and the King James Bible*, Winchester 2011, 57–8.

¹⁴ Quarrie, *Winchester College*, 57.

¹⁵ In May and July: BL, ms Cotton Vitellius B. xx, fos 124r–v, 173r.

¹⁶ J. Gee, *The life and works of Thomas Lupset*, New Haven 1928, 297.

the company of Lupset and Reginald Pole.¹⁷ Whilst anxiously awaiting the outcome of the battle, Pace, Pole and Lupset had all been in contact with their Paduan friend and tutor, Leonico.¹⁸ Leonico, writing to thank Lupset for the latest news, ended one missive by expressing amazement at ‘the pious studies of Pace, who amidst the terrible disturbances ... keeps his soul in such perfect peace, that he can occupy himself in translating the Psalms’.¹⁹

Leonico, Lupset and Pole had all been concerned for Pace’s health and the ambassador was recalled to England in November 1525.²⁰ Pace retired to the Bridgettine House of Syon to recuperate and his Hebrew studies took on a new impetus.²¹ While convalescing, Pace enlisted the help of the Cambridge scholar, Robert Wakefield, to teach him Hebrew, Aramaic and possibly Arabic.²² Two years later, Gasparo Spinelli, the Venetian secretary in London, visited Pace at Syon and found the scholar ‘surrounded by such a quantity of books that for my part I never before saw so many in one mass’.²³ Pace, Spinelli wrote, had ‘commenced correcting the Old Testament, in which, as likewise in the Psalms, he found a stupendous amount of errors’.²⁴ These studies would soon reach the printer ‘and the work will assuredly prove most meritorious, and render him immortal’.²⁵

¹⁷ Wegg, *Pace*, 249–60; John Edwards, *Archbishop Pole*, Farnham 2014, 16; Thomas Mayer, *Reginald Pole: prince and prophet*, Cambridge 2000, and *Cardinal Pole in European context: a via media in the Reformation*, Aldershot 2000; and ‘Lupset, Thomas, (c.1495–1530)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁸ Daniela De Bellis, ‘La vita e l’ambiente di Niccolò Leonico Tomeo’, *Quaderni per la Storia dell’Università di Padova* xviii (1980), 36–75; Luca D’Ascia, ‘Un erasmiano italiano? Note sulla filosofia della religione di Niccolò Leonico Tomeo’, *Rivista di Storia e Letterature Religiose* xxvi (1990), 242–64; Jonathan Woolfson and Andrew Gregory, ‘Aspects of collecting in Renaissance Padua: a bust of Socrates for Niccolò Leonico’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* lviii (1995), 252–65.

¹⁹ Gasquet, *Cardinal Pole*, 84–5.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 87–9; Lupset to Erasmus, 23 Aug. 1525, *ep. mdxcv*, *CWE* xi. 230–2; *CSP: Spain*, iii/2, 224. Erasmus thought syphilis was the cause: Erasmus to Lupset, c. Oct 1525, *ep. mdccxiv*, *CWE* xi. 305.

²¹ Edward Jones and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *Syon Abbey and its books: reading, writing and religion, c.1400–1700*, Woodbridge 2010; Alexandra da Costa, *Reforming printing: Syon Abbey’s defence of orthodoxy*, Oxford 2012.

²² Jonathan Woolfson, ‘Wakefield, Robert (d.1537/8)’, *ODNB*; Wegg, *Pace*, 257, 274; James Carley, ‘Religious controversy and marginalia: Pierfrancesco di Piero Bardi, Thomas Wakefield and their books’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* xii (2002), 206–45, and ‘Thomas Wakefield, Robert Wakefield and the Cotton Genesis’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* xii (2002), 246–65. Pole may have joined Pace in study: Robert Wakefield, *On the three languages [1524]*, ed. G Lloyd Jones, New York 1989, 46.

²³ *Calendar of state papers and manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy*, ed. Rawdon Brown, George Bentinck, Horatio Brown and A. B. Hinds, London 1864–1947, iv. 144.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

In 1527 Pace too spoke of a grand project to correct the entire Old Testament from Hebrew, 'if God will grant me life'.²⁶ The only product of Pace's studies to reach the press, however, was a brief preface to a now-lost translation of Ecclesiastes: the *Praefatio in Ecclesiasten recognitum ad hebraicam veritatem* (London 1527).²⁷ Any further pieces were prevented from publication by Pace's incarceration and the criticisms of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who circulated a treatise rebutting the *Praefatio* in manuscript.²⁸

Until now, the *Praefatio* is all historians have had to assess Pace's Old Testament work. Catherine Curtis once speculated that a Hebrew Bible (Soncino 1488) associated with Thomas Cranmer (now at the British Library) may have preserved some or all of Pace's work, since the blank pages of that copy contain unattributed sixteenth-century translations of various Old Testament books.²⁹ However, a comparison of Pace's corrections to the psalter at Winchester with those in the Soncino volume show few similarities and, as Curtis admitted, the Soncino notes are not in Pace's hand.³⁰ The psalter, then, contains the clearest window on to Pace's work as a translator. In its pages we catch the dean in the act of study, reflecting on rival biblical sources, the Church Fathers and collaborating with other readers. A broader set of contemporary theological concerns also emerges. Pace read the Psalms as a book of prophecy foretelling the coming of Christ and, though his corrections do not amount to a comprehensive theology of Psalms, they do show an interest in some of the themes at the heart of humanist contemplation of Scripture. It is the psalter's notes, then, and the light that they shed on Pace's approach to Psalm scholarship and theology which form the focus of this present article.

Pace began translating the Psalms at a time of renewed interest in the rival texts of the Old Testament. In the opening decades of the sixteenth

²⁶ 'si deus vitam suppeditabit': Richard Pace, *Praefatio in Ecclesiasten recognitum ad hebraicam veritatem*, London 1527 (RSTC 19082), sig. A3v.

²⁷ Richard Rex, 'The earliest use of Hebrew in books printed in England: dating some works of Richard Pace and Robert Wakefield', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* ix (1990), 517–25; G. Lloyd Jones, *The discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: a third language*, Manchester 1983, 106–9.

²⁸ The definitive account of Fisher's treatise is Richard Rex, *The theology of John Fisher*, Cambridge 1991, 148–61. For the tract itself see Richard Rex, 'St John Fisher's treatise on the authority of the Septuagint', *Journal of Theological Studies* xliii (1992), 55–116, and TNA, SP 6/5, fos 45r–83v.

²⁹ *Biblia hebraica*, Soncino 1488, BL, C.50.c4*; Curtis, 'Pace on pedagogy', 312–16; Basil Hall, 'Cranmer's relations with Erasmianism and Lutheranism', in Paul Ayris and David Selwyn (eds), *Thomas Cranmer: churchman and scholar*, Woodbridge 1993, 8.

³⁰ The translator frequently used the word *Iehova* instead of *domine*, a feature not present in Pace's psalter. Pace's consistent use of *laudare* is not present in the Soncino.

century, several scholars had come to challenge the accuracy of the Vulgate Old Testament when compared to the Hebrew text.³¹ Many of their complaints stemmed from the fact that the Vulgate had not been translated directly from Hebrew, but had been rendered from the Greek Septuagint. The latter was named after the seventy-two elders who had translated the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek in the reign of Ptolemy.³² It had thus been composed before the time of Christ and, as a result, was traditionally considered to have been divinely inspired.

At the centre of a renewed study of the Hebrew Scriptures in Pace's time was the German scholar, Johann Reuchlin, who became a European *cause célèbre* for championing the language and Jewish biblical commentary.³³ Reuchlin's improved Hebrew grammar had been printed in 1506 and was followed by several landmark works of Hebrew printing in Italy and the Empire.³⁴ Multi-lingual texts, like the *Psalterium in quatuor linguis*, proliferated and Pace was well-placed to follow these developments. In the early 1520s he was in Venice as David Bomberg printed a second edition of the Rabbinic Bible and the Talmud.³⁵ Back in England, the brothers of Syon had taken an interest in humanist scholarship and their library contained two Hebrew psalters, a concordance printed by Robert Estienne and Reuchlin's commentary on the Seven Penitential Psalms.³⁶ Richard Reynolds, one of the brothers, knew the language.³⁷

Most importantly, Pace's Hebrew teacher, Wakefield, had taught and studied at several European universities and briefly succeeded Reuchlin as professor of Hebrew at Tübingen in 1522.³⁸ Pace later described how Wakefield had shown 'a wonderful facility in teaching [Hebrew]', such that 'in a few days, I was passing through the hateful boulders of grammars with ease and was climbing onto the higher things in which I achieved a great deal within a month'.³⁹ Much of Pace's study with Wakefield presumably involved the works of Reuchlin and other humanists, since several

³¹ Lloyd Jones, *The discovery of Hebrew*, 26–36, 39–55.

³² Kristin De Troyer, 'The Septuagint', in Euan Cameron (ed.), *The new Cambridge history of the Bible*, Cambridge 2012–15, i. 267–88.

³³ David Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the campaign to destroy Jewish books*, Oxford 2011.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 5.

³⁵ Woolfson, 'Wakefield'; Alfredo Cioni, 'Bomberg, Daniel', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* xi, Rome 1969, 382–6; Bruce Nielsen, 'Daniel van Bombergen, a bookman of two worlds', in Joseph Hacker and Adam Shear (eds), *The Hebrew book in early modern Italy*, Philadelphia, PA 2011, 56–75.

³⁶ Vincent Gillespie (ed.), *Syon Abbey*, London 2001, SS1:546–51, 390, 391. Two of these survive: Merton College, Oxford, 76.B.11; Bodleian Library, Oxford, 8^o A.11.Th. (2).

³⁷ Virginia Bainbridge, 'Reynolds, Richard (d.1535)', *ODNB*.

³⁸ Woolfson, 'Wakefield'.

³⁹ 'ut inter paucos dies, illos odiosos grammatices scopulos satis faciliter pertransirem, et ad altiora ascenderem in quibus intra mensem tantum profeci': Pace, *Praefatio*, sig. A2.

editions of these works are known to have passed through Wakefield's hands.⁴⁰

The evidence of the psalter at Winchester suggests that Pace may have exaggerated his competency in Hebrew and related languages. What follows does not provide a systematic account of Pace's knowledge of Hebrew. Rather it details his working method and some of the influences upon his translation, before considering the broader biblical and theological implications that spring from it. Pace usually stayed remarkably close to his sources. There is only one reference to Aramaic and none at all to Arabic. There are occasions when Pace departed from his various authorities or indicated an awareness of Hebrew grammar. Above Psalm ix.9 he correctly noted that the Hebrew verse used the particle *lo* and thus implied that the entire sentence was negative (though the Vulgate and Septuagint did likewise).⁴¹ Pace's contemporaries generally understood Hebrew grammar by deploying the terms developed to learn Latin grammar. Unlike Latin, for example, classical Hebrew does not use a system of tenses for verbs, but employs two aspects—perfect and imperfect—which regulate whether an action has been completed or not.⁴² In *De rudimentis hebraicis*, however, Reuchlin implied that the imperfect aspect was identical to the Latin future indicative and Pace translated it as such, though modern grammarians would disagree.⁴³

Thanks to the *Praefatio*, historians have had an idea of Pace's place in the burgeoning humanist study of Hebrew and his surviving psalter helps to confirm the picture.⁴⁴ In the former Pace described his method of biblical translation. 'I place first', he alleged,

those things which are had in our translation [the Vulgate], and afterwards the words of the Septuagint translators and finally the Hebrew: and those things which the Seventy say in Greek, I expound word for word and likewise in the Hebrew. And having understood every single word, it is possible to obtain the sense and to manifestly see that the Septuagint translators had translated nearly all the Hebrew word for word, excepting those things which they did not understand in the Hebrew idiom.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Carley, 'Religious controversy and marginalia', 240–2.

⁴¹ 'In hebraeo non habetur non sed subauditur quia negatio in principio orationis apud hebraeos, totam orationem reddit negationem': Potken, *Psalterium*, sig. b1v, WCFL.

⁴² J. Weingreen, *A practical grammar for classical Hebrew*, Oxford 1959, 56–7; Brian Cummings, *The literary culture of the Reformation: grammar and grace*, Oxford 2002, 200–1.

⁴³ Johann Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis*, Pforzheim 1506, 585.

⁴⁴ See n. 27 above.

⁴⁵ 'Primo pono quae habentur in nostra translatione: deinde verba lxx interpretum, postremo hebraica. Et ea quae dicunt lxx graece, interpretor ad verbum, sicut et hebraica: ut unusquique intellectis verbis, possit colligere sensum: et manifeste videre lxx

The need to better understand those Hebrew idioms led Pace to consult the commentaries of David Kimhi, Rashi and the Targumim.⁴⁶ The latter were Jewish scriptural translations and paraphrases written in Aramaic on the Old Testament books.⁴⁷ These often provided a word-by-word translation of the Bible into Aramaic and were a valuable guide to difficult passages.⁴⁸ It is likely that Wakefield introduced Pace to these sources since he is known to have studied a variety of Jewish manuscripts and commentators.⁴⁹ A striking example in Pace's psalter of the sheer variety of his sources is his notes on Psalm cxviii (cxix). Commenting on the Vulgate's use of 'avaricia' in verse 36, Pace noted that: 'baz' a is not only that noun "avarice" in Hebrew but also means "fraud", "sham" and "injury".⁵⁰ All three alternatives are drawn from Reuchlin's *De rudimentis hebraicis*.⁵¹ Yet, in the same place, Pace also noted that 'the Chaldean Targum interprets it as "riches", others as the "love of riches". The LXX put υπερηφάνια, that is, arrogance'.⁵² Pace, however, left the word unchanged.

Though Pace recorded Jewish commentators and sources in the margin, it is not always readily apparent what status they were being afforded in the translation process itself, beyond the listing of alternatives for individual words. On reaching Psalm cxiii (cxiv).7, Pace observed at the head of the page that the Hebrew text contained the word *huli* but that Rabbi Salomon, that is Rashi, had indicated that the final letter, *yod*, was redundant and had no grammatical value. Thus "'*hol*" should be read, not "*huli*".⁵³ Furthermore, Pace pointed out that *hol*, 'according to Rabbi Salomon, is not a verb in this place but a noun: meaning "creator" so

interpretes omnia hebraica ad verbum ferme transtulisse, exceptis his quae non intellexerunt, et usos esse per totam scripturam idiomate hebraeo': Pace, *Praefatio*, sig. A3r.

⁴⁶ Wakefield, *On the three languages*, 138; Pace, *Praefatio*, sigs E1v–2r.

⁴⁷ David Stec, *The Targum of Psalms: translated with a critical introduction, apparatus and notes*, London 2004, 1–4.

⁴⁸ Alistair Hamilton, 'The study of tongues: the Semitic languages and the Bible in the Renaissance', in Cameron, *New Cambridge history of the Bible*, iii, 17–36.

⁴⁹ Carley, 'Religious controversy and marginalia', passim; Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 'Robert Wakefield and his Hebrew manuscripts', *Zutot* vi (2009), 25–34, and 'Robert Wakefield and the medieval background of Hebrew scholarship in Renaissance England', in Guilio Busi (ed.), *Hebrew to Latin, Latin to Hebrew: the mirroring of two cultures in the age of humanism*, Berlin 2006, 61–87; Wakefield, *On the three languages*, 138; Pace, *Praefatio*, sigs E1v–2r.

⁵⁰ 'Baz' a est in hebreo quod nomen non modo auaritiam sed etiam fraudem et calumniam significat et iniuriam. Targum chaldaicum interpretatur diuitias. Alij amorem diuitiarum. LXX ponunt υπερ[ρ]ηφάνια, id est, superbiā': Potken, *Psalterium*, sig. u2v, WCFL. ⁵¹ Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis*, 88.

⁵² Potken, *Psalterium*, sig. u2v, WCFL.

⁵³ 'Mota est chuli in hebraeo est, quae vox secundum rabi Sa[lomen], non est verbum in hoc loco sed nomen, significans creatorem ut sit sensus a facie dei creatoris terrae, a chol legenda est non chulj': *ibid.* sig. t3v.

that the sense is: “in the presence of god, the creator of the earth”⁵⁴ Such a reading would have contradicted the Septuagint’s use of the verb σαλεύω (to shake) and the Vulgate’s *movere* (to stir or agitate). In the margin next to the phrase, however, Pace disregarded Rashi’s point and instead wrote down the verb ‘contremescit’, which he derived from another source: St Jerome. The passage reveals how closely Pace stuck to his sources, for later translators like Sebastian Münster, with a greater independent knowledge of Hebrew, recognised that *huli* was in fact an imperative (against both Rashi and Jerome) and thus translated it as ‘contremesce’ (‘shake!’).⁵⁵

Pace’s most important source for understanding the Hebrew psalter, however, was St Jerome. Though the Vulgate was commonly attributed to Jerome, a number of scholars in the period began to cast doubt on his authorship.⁵⁶ The saint’s writings had catalogued the Vulgate’s errors in detail and he had also advocated for Christians to return to the ‘hebraica veritas’ rather than rely on the Septuagint. Jerome had even made an independent translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew – the *Psalterium iuxta hebraeos* – which survived, despite its omission from the Vulgate.⁵⁷ Jerome was thus the cultural icon for biblical humanists like Pace who adopted the saint’s language and arguments to justify their own methods.

Many of Pace’s corrections to the Vulgate column of his psalter mirror Jerome’s wording in the *Psalterium iuxta hebraeos*, and he likely translated with the saint’s work open beside him. Discussing Psalm ii.12, for example, Jerome had explained that the line’s verb could be read as either ‘to kiss’ or ‘to worship the son’.⁵⁸ Pace dutifully recorded ‘osculamini vel adorate filium’ by the verse.⁵⁹ Jerome’s writings were also a valuable encyclopaedia of the biblical world. Pace justified inserting a reference to Cappadocia in Psalm cxix (cxx) by pointing out that ‘in Hebrew, *Meshek* is a word that signifies Cappadocia according to some’, above which he wrote ‘Jerome’.⁶⁰ Occasionally, however, Pace did take exception to Jerome’s translations, such as his rendering of *galmi* in Psalm cxxxviii (cxxxix).14 as ‘informem’ (unformed), preferring ‘embryonem’ (embryo).⁶¹

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Sebastian Münster, *Biblia sacra*, Zürich 1539, fo. 225v.

⁵⁶ Jerry Bentley, *Humanists and holy writ: New Testament scholarship in the Renaissance*, Princeton 1983, 50–1, 161–2.

⁵⁷ Jerome, *Psalterium iuxta hebraeos Hieronymi*, ed. Paul de Lagarde, Leipzig 1874. Pace could have used the ninth volume of the Basle edition of Jerome: *Omnium operum divi Eusebii Hieronymi*, Basle 1516.

⁵⁸ Jerome, *The apology against Rufinus*, 1.19, in *Dogmatic and polemical works*, trans. John Hritzu, Washington 1965, 84–5.

⁵⁹ Potken, *Psalterium*, sig. a2v, WCFL.

⁶⁰ ‘Meschek est in hebraeo quae dictio secund[um] aliquos cappodotia[m], Hierony [mus]’: *ibid.* sig. x4v.

⁶¹ ‘Pro imperfectum meum, hiero[nymus] ponit informem me respiciens ad id quod verbum hebraicum in hoc positum sed golmi significat embryonem’: *ibid.* sig. ç2v.

One of the chief reasons for studying Jerome in the Renaissance was also to gain access to snippets of other early versions of the Old Testament previously gathered in Origen's *Hexapla*. In the *Hexapla*, Origen had compiled several versions of the Old Testament, namely a Hebrew text, the Hebrew transliterated into Greek and the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion and the Septuagint. However, the text was lost to scholars of the sixteenth century.⁶² Armed with the testimony of Origen and Jerome, however, Pace could justify his own efforts at correction. As he argued in the *Praefatio*, 'St Jerome, citing Symmachus and Aquila hundreds of times, prefers them to the Septuagint, just as Origen likewise sometimes prefers Aquila.'⁶³

Pace can be seen contemplating these various versions in his corrections to Psalm cxxvi (cxxvii).⁶⁴ At the foot of the page, Pace paraphrased a passage from one of Jerome's letters listing a variety of alternatives for the Vulgate's use of 'filii excussorum' ('the children of them that have been shaken') in verse 5: 'Jerome, the epistle to Marcella: Where we have "*filii excussorum*", Aquila has "*filii pubertatum*". Symmachus and Theodotion, "*filii iuuentutis*". The Sixth edition, "*exacuti sensus*". From which it is clear that the Christian people are understood by the young.'⁶⁵

Remarkably, another contemporary annotator, writing a neat secretary hand continued this quotation (see Figure 1), recording Jerome's interpretation of 'panem doloris' ('bread of sorrows', Psalm cxxvi [cxxvii].3).⁶⁶ This hand is unidentified but the similarity of purpose suggests it was done at Pace's direction.⁶⁷ Likewise, besides Psalm I (li).6 a third contemporary hand recorded that Reuchlin had proposed 'formatus sum' (I was formed) as an alternative to the Vulgate's 'conceptus sum' and Pace in turn edited the line to give the former.⁶⁸ In all likelihood, then, Pace was not working alone, but correcting his psalter in the presence of others. There were certainly plenty of candidates to help. Pace had begun translating in the company of Lupset and Pole. In Venice, the Signoria provided a space on the island of Santa Maria Maggiore, perhaps in its Benedictine monastery, which was known to house sick

⁶² Thomas Scheck, *Erasmus's life of Origen: a new annotated translation of the prefaces to Erasmus of Rotterdam's edition of Origen's writings (1536)*, Washington 2016, 82–109.

⁶³ 'Unde diuus Hierony[mus] centies citans Symmachum et Aquilam, eos praefert lxx sicut Origenes quoque interdum Aquilam': Pace, *Praefatio*, sig. B2v.

⁶⁴ Potken, *Psalterium*, sigs x4v–y1r, WCFL.

⁶⁵ 'Hierony[mus] in epistola ad Marcellam ubi nos habemus "filij excussorum", Aquila habet "filij pubertatum". Sym. et Theodo. "filij iuuentutis. Sexta editio, "exacuti sensus". Ex quo manifestum est populos adolescentiae intellegi christianos': *ibid.* sig. x6v.

⁶⁶ Jerome, *Lettres*, ed. Jérôme Labourt, Paris 1949–63, ii, *ep.* xxxiv, pp. 44–9.

⁶⁷ My thanks to James Carley and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger for discounting Robert Wakefield as an annotator.

⁶⁸ Potken, *Psalterium*, sigs h4v–5r, WCFL.

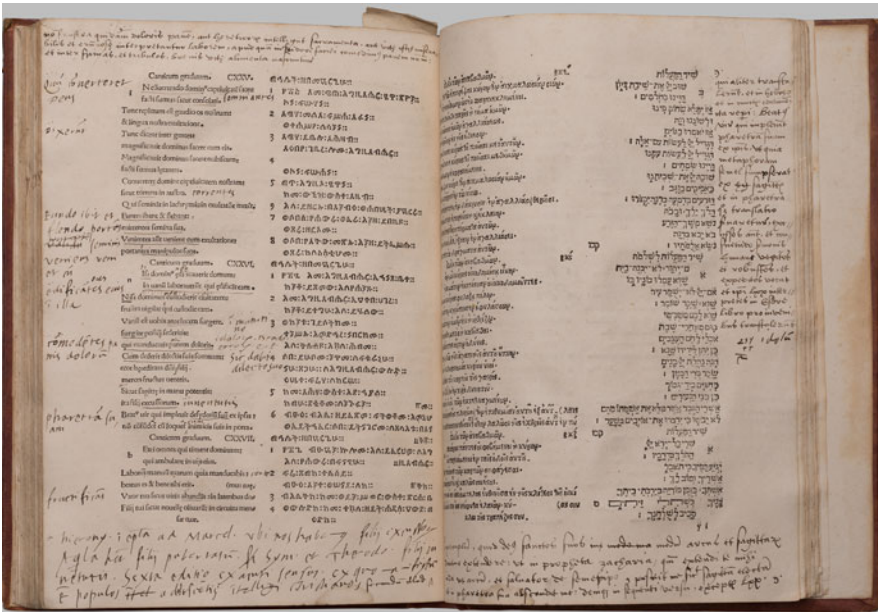


Figure 1. *Psalterium in quatuor linguis Hebraea Graeca Chaldaea Latina*, Cologne 1518, sigs x6v-ÿ1r, WCFL, A19 Bk164. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College.

dignitaries and possessed a beautiful library.⁶⁹ At Syon, he was joined not only by Wakefield but Jan Crucius, a Greek scholar from Louvain.⁷⁰

Pace’s *marginalia* in the psalter likely reflect different layers of reading in Italy and England and they were almost certainly not finished translations. Several Psalms have no corrections and at times Pace merely recorded multiple variants in the margin. What is clear, however, is that much of the material gathered in the psalter was used in the *Praefatio*. Despite its claim to be a preface to a new translation of Ecclesiastes, the majority of Pace’s remarks were in reality drawn from the Psalms and many of his changes to the psalter mirror comments in the printed tract.⁷¹ That in

⁶⁹ Gino Damerini, *L’isola e il cenobio di San Giorgio Maggiore*, Venice 1959, 53–7, 145–53; Giorgio Ravegnani, *Le biblioteche del monastero di S. Giorgio Maggiore*, Florence 1976; Marino Zorzi, ‘Dal manoscritto al libro’, in Gino Benzoni and Antonio Menniti Ippolito (eds), *Storia di Venezia: dalle origini all caduta della Serenissima*, Rome 1992–8, 817–958.

⁷⁰ C. van Leikenhorst, ‘Jan van der Cruyce’, in Bietenholz and Deutcher, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, i. 371; Rex, *Fisher*, 149.

⁷¹ The *Praefatio* comments on Psalms iii, vii, xxi (xxii), xxvi (xxvii), xxxiv (xxxv), xxxix (xl), l (li), lvii (lviii), lxxi (lxxii) and lxxxvii (lxxxviii), all of which are reflected by changes in the margins of his psalter.

turn suggests that the majority of the psalter's notes were compiled before the *Praefatio* was printed in 1527.

Pace's sources and methods reveal how his engagement with the Masoretic text was heavily informed by his reading of the Fathers, Christian Hebraists and even Jewish commentators. Yet his faith in the *hebraica veritas* was not shared by all, even like-minded humanists.⁷² John Fisher, responding to the *Praefatio* in 1527, believed that Pace was misguided in favouring the Hebrew text above the Septuagint. For one thing, Fisher pointed out, the Septuagint was cited multiple times in the New Testament.⁷³ The Apostles, then, must have approved of the Greek version as opposed to the Hebrew, regardless of what Origen and Jerome had later proposed.

Pace devoted a fair amount of space in the *Praefatio* to answering this question. He discussed, for example, the quotation of Psalm viii.2 in Matthew xxi.16 which was drawn from the Septuagint and uttered by no less of a figure than Christ himself.⁷⁴ Pace explained that 'Where Christ says: "Out of the mouths of infants and sucklings, you have perfected praise [perfecisti laudem]"', translating the Septuagint's *κατηρίσω ἄϊνον*, the Hebrew line appeared to disagree, reading *yissadta oz*, "you have founded strength [fundasti fortitudinem]".⁷⁵ Rather than contradict Christ, Pace went to remarkable lengths to resolve the difference and show that there is 'no discrepancy between Christ, the Septuagint and the Hebrew'.⁷⁶ For one thing, 'the verb *καταρίζω* does not really mean "*perficio*" but "*apto*" and "*aptare*" can rightfully be said "*fundare*", because to establish is nothing else than to prepare well and to build one thing from another'.⁷⁷ Moreover, the Septuagint text may have become corrupt over time, for 'if someone should change the accent from *ἄϊνος* into *αἰνός* which means "powerful (*validum*)", then it would have the same meaning as "*oz*" has in Hebrew'.⁷⁸

⁷² Rex, *Theology*, 149.

⁷³ W. Schwarz, *Principles and problems of biblical translation: some Reformation controversies and their background*, Cambridge 1955, 61–91; Abraham Wasserstein, *The legend of the Septuagint: from classical antiquity to today*, Cambridge 2006; Richard Rex, 'Humanist bible controversies', in Cameron, *New Cambridge history of the Bible*, iii. 61–81.

⁷⁴ Pace, *Praefatio*, sig. F2r–v.

⁷⁵ 'ubi dicit Christus: Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem, sicut transtulerunt 70 licet sit in hebraeo issadta hoz fundasti fortitudinem': *ibid.* sig. F2r.

⁷⁶ 'Et hoc modo nulla erit discrepantia inter Christum, LXX et hebraicum veritatem': *ibid.*

⁷⁷ 'Illud autem verbum *καταρίζω* non proprie significat perficio sed *apto*, et *aptare* potest recte dici *fundare*, quia *fundare* nihil aliud est quam bene *aptare* et alterum cum altero componere': *ibid.*

⁷⁸ 'Sed si quis mutet accentum ab *ἄϊνος* in *αἰνός* quod *validum* significat, tunc idem erit quod est in hebraeo *oz*': *ibid.* sig. F2v.

In the psalter, too, Pace preferred the Hebrew to the Septuagint, even when the New Testament disagreed with the Masoretic text. In Acts ii, for instance, St Peter quotes Psalm xv (xvi).8–11 from the Septuagint as evidence of Christ's divinity. Pace even noted this fact at the head of this page in the psalter.⁷⁹ However, he made a series of minor changes to the passage in order to better reflect the Hebrew phrasing, rather than preserve the exact text with apostolic sanction.⁸⁰ Pace's notes on Psalm xiii (xiv) had a similar purpose. The Vulgate of Pace's time included three extra verses (5–7) which were present in neither the Septuagint nor the Hebrew but had been interpolated from Romans iii in the early Christian era.⁸¹ Pace excised the verses while recording that 'the following three verses are not in the Hebrew'.⁸² Some caution, however, must be observed in considering the notes in the psalter, for there remain some outstanding discrepancies upon which Pace's views are unclear.⁸³ As he noted in the *Praefatio*, whilst a learned linguist might be able to fix many inconsistencies between the Greek and Hebrew Old Testament, it may be impossible to entirely harmonise the two.⁸⁴ Thus, whilst Pace was markedly favourable to the Hebrew against the Septuagint, it is fair to say that the full implications of this position were not entirely resolved.

Such a thorough rejection of the Septuagint may have emerged from Pace's conversations with Wakefield, for the latter was also adamant that the Greek text was corrupt and that Hebrew was a divine language which preserved 'the same kind of *prepon*, propriety, and celestial idiom as God uses when he speaks'.⁸⁵ Only a theologian learned in Hebrew, Wakefield believed, could accurately approach the divine.⁸⁶ While Wakefield flirted with the cabbalistic theories of Reuchlin and Pico, however, Pace's own theological thinking was informed by his deep affinity with the Erasmian and Italian humanists with whom he had lived and worked.

Few books of the Bible have taken on such a broad range of devotional, liturgical and theological significance as the psalter. 'Who indeed has

⁷⁹ 'In actis apostolorum ca. 2. sic ligitur hic versus Replebis me iocunditate cum facie tua': Potken, *Psalterium*, sig. b5v, WCFL. ⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ R. Gerald Hobbs, 'Hebraica veritas and traditio apostolica: Saint Paul and the interpretation of the Psalms in the sixteenth century', in David Steinmetz (ed.), *The Bible in the sixteenth century*, Durham, NC 1990, 92.

⁸² 'Tres versus sequentes non sunt in hebraeo': Potken, *Psalterium*, sig. b3v, WCFL.

⁸³ One such instance is the punctuation of Psalm xciv(xcv).7. The Masoretic text reads: 'we are the people of his pasture and the sheep of his hand today, if you will hear his voice'. However, the Septuagint had attached the line to the following verse, changing the meaning of the line (a punctuation reproduced in Hebrews iii.7). Pace's notes in the psalter, nevertheless, make no comment on this: Hobbs, 'Hebraica veritas', 93.

⁸⁵ Wakefield, *On the three languages*, 74.

⁸⁴ Pace, *Praefatio*, sig. F3v. ⁸⁶ Ibid. 170–2.

not written on the Psalms?', Erasmus once complained.⁸⁷ For Pace, the Psalms were far more than a case study in biblical transmission. In England, both Fisher and John Longland discussed various Penitential Psalms, the sequence most regularly called upon in times of tribulation.⁸⁸ Erasmus had begun expounding the Psalms in 1515 as a book of moral instruction but by the time of his death his discussions had shifted to reflect on the emerging religious division throughout Europe.⁸⁹ Though on the surface Pace was simply correcting the Vulgate in his psalter, a detailed look at several of his translations reveals a set of deeper theological and devotional subtexts for his work.

Perhaps the most important facet of Pace's interpretation of the Psalms was their relevance to Christ. Among medieval and early humanist exegetes there was an increasing emphasis on reading the Psalms, particularly the Messianic Psalms quoted in the New Testament, as literal prophecies of Christ's birth, death and resurrection.⁹⁰ For humanist commentators, such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, this reading was often justified by an appeal to the literal sense of Scripture, as opposed to the other senses deployed in medieval exegesis (allegorical, tropological and anagogic).⁹¹ Pace similarly was adamant that 'no secret in the scriptures can be constructed, unless it should be founded upon a proper understanding of the simple letter and according to the letter of the law and the mystery of the gospel'.⁹² That statement, however, belied the fact that text and doctrine were not always in perfect agreement.

In the *Praefatio*, Pace explained much of the language of the Old Testament in relation to Christ. The sacrifices seen in the Old Testament should be compared with Christ's in the New, since 'if we could not compare the old sacrifice with the new, the new would plainly lose its great power of demonstration'.⁹³ He likewise noted that, strictly speaking, the name Jesus was not to be found in Hebrew, but derived from the words *yeshua*, *yeshua* and *teshuah*, 'all of which do not mean "saviour" but

⁸⁷ Erasmus to Jacopo Sadoleto, c. Apr. 1530, *ep.* mmcccxiia, *CWE* xvi. 301.

⁸⁸ John Fisher, *Treatise concerning the fruitful sayings of David*, London 1508 (*RSTC* 10902); John Longland, *Psalmus sextus*, London 1527 (*RSTC* 16793).

⁸⁹ Dominic Baker Smith, 'Introduction', *CWE* lxiii, pp. i–lxxii.

⁹⁰ M. Kuczynski, *Prophetic song: the Psalms as moral discourse in late medieval England*, Philadelphia, PA 1995; G. Sujin Pak, *The judaizing Calvin: sixteenth-century debates over the messianic Psalms*, Oxford 2009, 13–29.

⁹¹ Pak, *Judaizing*, 20.
⁹² 'quo nullum mysterium in scriptura possit construi, nisi fundetur supra simplicem literam bene intellectam et de litera legis et evangelico mysterio': Pace, *Praefatio*, sig. B3v.

⁹³ 'Praeterea mandavit deus in lege veteri, ut immolarentur animalia et victimae, non typice tantum et figuraliter (ut tu fortasse sentis) sed vere, et iuxta simplicem literam, ut videlicet nos pedetentim, ab imis ad summa, id est, a carnalibus ad spiritualia perduceret ... Atqui nisi conferamus immolationem veterem cum nova, magnam vim sui demonstrandi nova plane amittet': *ibid.* sigs B5v–C1r.

“salvation”⁹⁴ Pace probably had in mind Isidore of Seville, whose *Etymologies* had proposed that ‘the Hebrew word “Jesus” is translated “σωτήρ” (saviour) in Greek, and “salutaris” (healer) or “salvator” (saviour) in Latin’.⁹⁵ Pace singled out these same Latin and Greek words as misleading since Hebrew ‘does not have such endings for nouns [i.e. agent nouns], which are in Latin “-or” or in Greek “-ήρ” as σωτήρ and *salvator*, for such things are expressed [in Hebrew] through participles’.⁹⁶ Rather than leave his observation there, however, Pace sought to understand the differences in the grammars of Latin, Greek and Hebrew through a rhetorical lens:

For if we would wish to consider the matter more deeply, the noun ‘salvation’ indicates, expresses and extols the majesty of Christ to a greater extent than ‘saviour’. Since it has greater power and emphasis, as when we want to praise someone for [their] evident piety and excellence. We say that he is not only pious but also piety itself.⁹⁷

Pace thus sought to set his linguistic analysis within a Christological one, whereby fidelity to the Hebrew could be construed as fidelity to Christ.

Another telling example was his annotation of Psalm ii.12. The Vulgate had followed the Septuagint for this verse, rendering the opening phrase as ‘apprehendite disciplinam’ (embrace discipline). However, as Jerome explained, *nasheku-var* presented the translator with a series of choices.⁹⁸ The verb *nashak* is literally ‘to kiss’ but often applied more figuratively, in Jerome’s account, to signify ‘to worship or adore’. *Var* was more problematic for ‘it has various meanings in their language’ such as son, wheat, elect and pure. Jerome’s preference was ‘adore pure’, that is, ‘worship purely’, though he saw no harm in Christians understanding the many alternatives.⁹⁹ Pace, in contrast, wrote ‘osculamini vel adorate filium’ (kiss or adore the son) by the verse, suggesting that he was keen to use a knowledge of Hebrew to heighten the Messianic overtones of the psalm. The argument was intimately connected to Pace’s wider

⁹⁴ ‘Sciendum est, igitur hoc nomen Iesus, nusquam legi apud hebraeos, nec in significatione salvatoris, nec alterius cuiuspiam rei ... Caeterum habent iescha, ieschua, teschua, quae omnia non salvatorem, sed salutem significant’: *ibid.* sig. D2r; cf. Wakefield, *On the three languages*, 94.

⁹⁵ *The etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen Barney, W. Lewis, J. Beach, Oliver Berghof and Muriel Hall, Cambridge 2006, vii.ii.7, p. 155.

⁹⁶ ‘Et quod plus est, eorum linguam non habere tales nominum terminationes, quales sunt latinae in or, et graecae in ήρ ut σωτήρ et salvator, nam talia exprimunt per participia’: Pace, *Praefatio*, sig. D2r.

⁹⁷ ‘Nam si rem penitius intueri voverimus, magis indicat, exprimit, et extollit maiestatem Christi, nomen salus, quam salvator. Siquidem maiorem vim et emphasis habet: ut quum volumus laudare aliquem ab insigni pietate et excellentie. Dicimus eum non modo pium esse, sed ipsam etiam esse pietatem’: *ibid.*

⁹⁸ Jerome, *Apology against Rufinus*, 1.19, pp. 84–5.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 84.

promotion of the Hebrew text against the Septuagint. As he contended in the *Praefatio*, the Septuagint translators had actually obscured these prophetic readings, ‘as they did [for] the 26th Psalm, placing “illumination”, in the place of “light”. For in the Hebrew it is “the lord is my light”, as Christ says of himself in the gospel: “I am the light of the world”’.¹⁰⁰ Pace corrected his psalter accordingly. The Vulgate’s use of *illuminatio* in Psalm cxxxviii (cxxxix).10, for example, was changed to *lux*.¹⁰¹

Nevertheless, there were several occasions where Hebrew proved less supportive of Pace’s Christocentric agenda. The language of Psalm xxi (xxii), by example, was often related to the events of Christ’s death and resurrection. The Vulgate translation (following the Septuagint) rendered Psalm xxi (xxii).18, for example, as a blatant reference to the crucifixion (‘They pierced [*foderunt*] my hands and feet’). Yet the Masoretic text for this passage is without a verb and literally reads: ‘Like a lion, my hands and my feet.’ Pace faithfully translated the line as ‘Sicut leo, manus meas et pedes meos’, a version which removed any obvious reference to Christ whilst also contradicting his favoured source, Jerome.¹⁰²

Issues of overlapping textual authority and Christ’s presence in the Old Testament have resonated throughout Christian history. However, Pace was also translating at a time of escalating religious division, some of which was focused on the correct interpretation of certain Psalms. Martin Luther twice lectured on the psalter and found its stark representation of the relationship between man and God amenable to his radical understanding of faith and justification.¹⁰³ R. Gerald Hobbs has shown how the likes of Martin Bucer and Conrad Pellican also brought an evangelical bent to their study of Hebrew and the Psalms.¹⁰⁴ Pace was no evangelical. In 1521 he was involved in the burning of Luther’s books at St Paul’s and he translated Fisher’s anti-Lutheran sermon for the occasion into English.¹⁰⁵ By 1527, however, Pace’s confidence that an investigation of the errors of the Vulgate and Septuagint would ‘provide a manifest opportunity to the learned to investigate the truth’ was perhaps not

¹⁰⁰ ‘illuminatio, pro luce. Est enim in hebraeo: Dominus lux mea, sicut Christus de se ipso dicit in evangelio. Ego sum lux mundi’: Pace, *Praefatio*, sig. D4r.

¹⁰¹ Potken, *Psalterium*, sig. c1v, WCFL.

¹⁰² Ibid. c6v; Jerome, *Psalterium iuxta hebraeos*, 22.

¹⁰³ Berndt Hamm, *The reformation of faith in the context of late medieval theology and piety: essays*, trans. Robert Bast, Leiden 2004, 163–70; Alister McGrath, *Luther’s theology of the cross: Martin Luther’s theological breakthrough*, Oxford 1986, 100–1, 149–71.

¹⁰⁴ R. Gerald Hobbs, ‘How firm a foundation: Martin Bucer’s historical exegesis of the Psalms’, *Church History* liii (1984), 477–91, and ‘Conrad Pellican and the Psalms’, *Reformation & Renaissance Review* i (1999), 72–99.

¹⁰⁵ John Fisher, ‘The sermon ... made agayn the pernicious doctryn of Martin Luther’, in *English works of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester (1469–1535): sermons and other writings*, ed. Cecilia Hatt, Oxford 2002, 77–97.

shared by all in England, especially John Fisher, whose reaction to Pace's views has already been noted.¹⁰⁶

Pace's psalter shows next to no engagement with Luther or others embroiled in the Reformation disagreements of the 1520s. In Psalm xxxi (xxxii), 'virtually the battle-hymn of the Lutheran republic of the spirit', Pace seems to sidestep the passage most attractive to Luther – 'Blessed is the man to whom the Lord does not impute sin' (xxxii.3) – substituting 'sin' ('peccatum') for Jerome's preferred 'iniquitatem'.¹⁰⁷ That is not to say, however, that Pace was unconcerned with themes of sin and justification. Above Psalm cxviii (cxix) Pace summarised two traditional explanations of verse 83, which was rendered cryptically in the Vulgate: 'Since I am made like the skin in frost [*sicut uter in pruina*].' At the head of the page, Pace noted Arnobius' view that sin makes one, 'empty on the inside and shrivelled on the outside'.¹⁰⁸ Jerome, too, 'truly explains it thus: we will be like the skin in the frost which the love of sin makes cool in us'.¹⁰⁹ Pace remained interested in these views despite also recognising that the Greek and Latin versions of the line conflicted with the Hebrew, where the line read as 'the skin in smoke', presumably because the image of a smoke-stained skin might equally apply to man's sinful nature.

A similar motive might be detected in Pace's use of the transliterated Hebrew word for man, *adam*, in the psalter, in place of the Latin *hominum*. Where the Vulgate of Psalm x (xi).5 reads 'His eyes gaze upon [*respiciunt*] the poor man, his eyelids examine [*interrogant*] the sons of men [*filios hominum*]', Pace's version has 'the eyelids shall approve of [*probabunt*] the sons of *adam*'.¹¹⁰ At first glance, the change may simply reflect Pace's desire to emphasise the original Hebrew. However, in the context of a God judging the actions of mankind, it is reminiscent of St Paul's comparison of Adam and Christ in Romans v. Paul's suggestion that Adam's sin led to the spiritual death of mankind before the coming of Christ restored grace recalls Pace's comparison of Old and New sacrifices in the *Praefatio*. Pace's friend, Erasmus, was particularly fond of the contrast when discussing the Psalms. 'Those who have modelled themselves on Christ and fled from sin will enjoy immortality' whilst 'those who have followed the devil and the old Adam ... will be condemned to eternal punishment'.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ 'eisque insignem veritatis inquirendae occasionem prebere': Pace, *Praefatio*, sig. A3r.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. sig. e2v; Cummings, *Literary culture*, 225.

¹⁰⁸ Potken, *Psalterium*, sig. u5v, WCFL.

¹⁰⁹ 'Uter in pruina: intus vacuus, foris contactus. Arno[bius]. Hierony[mus] vero sic exponit: Erimus quasi uter in pruina quod refrigerat in nobis ardor peccatj': ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. sig. b2v.

¹¹¹ Erasmus, *Exposition of Psalm 1*, ed. Dominic Baker Smith, *CWE* lxiii. 10.

Pace was thought to be near death on his return from Venice in 1525 and his decision to place the Scriptures at the heart of his recovery in Italy and then at Syon was undoubtedly also a devotional response to a crisis as well as a scholarly one. On two previous occasions bouts of ill health and overwork had led to periods of literary activity at Constance and Rome.¹¹² Even in health, he could be found diligently exploring the Vatican library or aiding Lupset and Pole in their searches for early Greek texts.¹¹³ He also had the example of several Italian acquaintances who had explored lives of ascetic, contemplative and devotional revival. Pietro Bembo and Gasparo Contarini's relationship with the Camaldolese hermits whilst students at Padua is well known and may have involved some study of Hebrew.¹¹⁴ Certainly Bembo went on to own a remarkable Hebrew library.¹¹⁵ John Colet, Pace's predecessor at St Paul's, had retired to the Charterhouse at Sheen late in life to contemplate the Scriptures.¹¹⁶ Pace's close friend, Pole, was also an enthusiast for the psalter, studying it with the Hebraist Jan van Kampen and the evangelical Marcantonio Flaminio in the 1530s and 1540s.¹¹⁷

As a resident of Syon, Pace could not have ignored the significant role that the psalter's verses played in the liturgy and daily devotion of the brothers and sisters. Richard Whitford, another friend of Erasmus living at Syon, called upon the Psalms to explain the nature of worship. A picture of prayer, Whitford suggested, could be found 'in the thyrde psalme ... I cryth to our lorde with my voyce and he herde me from his holy hyll'.¹¹⁸ Pace's version, aware of the Masoretic text's use of *anah* (to answer), makes the interchange between God and the person praying more explicit: 'Voce mea ad dominum clamabo et respondebit mihi de

¹¹² Pace, *De fructu*; Curtis, 'Pace's *De fructu*', 43–77; Richard Pace, *Plutarchi Chaeronei libellus de avaritia, per eximium Richardum Pacaeum*, Rome 1522/3.

¹¹³ *I due primi registri di prestiti della Biblioteca Vaticana: Codici Vaticani latini 3964, 3966*, ed. Maria Bertola, Vatican City 1942, 108; Jonathan Woolfson, 'Reginald Pole and his Greek manuscripts in Oxford: a reconsideration', *Bodleian Library Record* xvii (2000), 79–95.

¹¹⁴ J. B. Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and his friends', *Studies in the Renaissance* xvii (1970), 218–19; Massimo Danzi, *La biblioteca del cardinal Pietro Bembo*, Geneva 2005, 90–1.

¹¹⁵ Massimo Danzi, 'Cultura ebraica di Pietro Bembo', in Simone Albonico (ed.), *Per Cesare Bozzetti: studi de letteratura e filologia italiana*, Milan 1996, 283–307.

¹¹⁶ J. B. Trapp, 'Colet, John (1467–1519)', *ODNB*.

¹¹⁷ Anne Overell, 'Pole's piety? The devotional reading of Reginald Pole and his friends', this *JOURNAL* lxiii (2012), 458–74; *The correspondence of Reginald Pole*, ed. Thomas Mayer, Aldershot 2002–17, i. 89; Mayer, *Pole*, 32–3, 115–23; Carol Kidwell, *Marcantonio Flaminio: poet, humanist, and reformer*, London 1965. For van Kampen see Henry de Vocht, *History of the foundation and the rise of the Collegium trilingue louvaniense*, Louvain 1951–5.

¹¹⁸ Richard Whitford, *The pomander of prayer*, London 1531 (*RSTC* 25421), sig. B7r.

monte sancto suo' (I will cry to the Lord with my voice and he will answer me).¹¹⁹ These emotive, prayerful aspects take on an added import when we recall that humanists often interpreted the Bible as a form of holy rhetoric. Erasmus argued that the Psalms forced the reader to 'open the eyes of our minds' and tugged 'at the ears of our heart'.¹²⁰ Wakefield presented the learning of Hebrew in a similar way. It was the language of God, Christ and the Holy Spirit.¹²¹ Each of its words was 'full of spirit and life ... alive, animated, fiery, barbed and full of spiritual wisdom' such that it 'shakes the minds of its audience out of lethargy and drowsiness'.¹²² Pace was tapping into a sense, so prevalent among humanists, that scholarship, even technical philological scholarship, could enrich the spiritual life of the believer.

There are hints that Pace's interest in rhetoric and devotion shaped his responses to certain Psalms. Pace left Psalm cxviii (cxix)'s famous call to praise the Lord's justice seven times a day (verse 164) untouched, but he heavily altered verses 171–4. 'My lips will copiously pour out [*copiose effundant*] a hymn ... My tongue will speak [*loquetur*] your eloquence ... and your law is my delighting [*oblectationes meae*].'¹²³ In these verses there is a close alignment of prayer to God with rhetorical and Erasmian ideals. The lips are speaking copiously. The tongue will no longer 'proclaim' ('pronunciabit') the Lord's eloquence, but actually 'speak' it. Pace's decision to supply an additional adverb *copiose* with his translation of the Hebrew verb *nava* (to flow) was particularly suggestive.¹²⁴ This was a nod towards Erasmus' highly influential concept of *copia*, whereby the speaker cultivated an abundant style, rich in allusion and meaning.¹²⁵ Wakefield, in a related vein, proposed that Hebrew was more 'copious' and that a single Hebrew word had many more meanings than those in other languages.¹²⁶ By drawing on such a term, Pace clearly aligned the Hebrew text with contemporary rhetorical theories. Moreover, he did so in a way which powerfully connected the prayerful discourse of the Psalm with the literary modes of his time.

Pace's corrections of the Psalms also show a consistent emphasis on praise. In Psalm cxxxvii (cxxxviii) 1, 2, 5, Pace excised all instances in which the Vulgate used the verb *confiteri* (to acknowledge or confess),

¹¹⁹ Potken, *Psalterium*, sig. a2v, WCFL.

¹²⁰ Erasmus, *Exposition of Psalm 38*, ed. Baker Smith, *CWE* lxiv. 11. See Dominic Baker Smith, 'Introduction', *CWE* lxiii, pp. xxxi–xxxiii.

¹²¹ Wakefield, *On the three languages*, 82.

¹²² *Ibid.* 80.

¹²³ Potken, *Psalterium*, sig. x3v, WCFL.

¹²⁴ Pace did likewise at Psalm xviii (xix).2: 'copiose effundit'. Jerome uses 'fundant': *Psalterium iuxta hebraeos*, 165.

¹²⁵ Peter Mack, *A history of Renaissance rhetoric, 1380–1620*, Oxford 2011, 80–8; Terence Cave, *The cornucopian text*, Oxford 1979.

¹²⁶ Wakefield, *On the three languages*, 110, 84.

replacing them with *laudare* (to praise).¹²⁷ The cumulative effect was to emphasise the joyous aspect of the Psalm. This was certainly supportable from both the Greek and the Hebrew, since the verbs ἐξομολογέω and *yadah* can rightly be rendered as confess, acknowledge or praise.¹²⁸ Indeed Wakefield used the many meanings of *yadah* as an example of the richness of Hebrew.¹²⁹ Jerome and most translators into Latin, however, had favoured *confiteri*.¹³⁰ Pace was likely aware that the Book of Psalms, that is *Sefer Tehillim* in Hebrew, literally translated as the ‘Book of Praises’. Certain Christian commentators had also highlighted the role of praise. Athanasius argued in his *Epistle to Marcellinus on the Psalms* (a text translated by Reuchlin) that the text taught the reader ‘how one must praise the Lord and by speaking what words we properly confess our faith in him’.¹³¹ Yet it seems more probable that Pace’s changes to Psalm cxxxvii (cxxxviii) were influenced once more by the Fathers and his fellow humanists. Jerome had been concerned to mitigate the negative connotations of *confiteri*. As he explained in his *Homily on Psalm 74* (75), sometimes the ‘expression “*confitebimur*” [we will confess] does not signify repentance, but rather, give praise or thanks’.¹³² Erasmus, too, discussing Christ’s use of ἐξομολογέω in Matt. xi.25, suggested that the Greek text was closely related to the ‘quality of Hebrew speech for “I praise” or “I give thanks”’.¹³³

The notes in Pace’s psalter were only part of a larger project and its chance survival ought not to skew our overall perspective of Pace’s intentions. The Book of Psalms is perhaps unique for its sheer variety of devotional, theological and scholarly matter. However, Pace was also translating Ecclesiastes, a book that was often chosen for its relative brevity and its lack of doctrinal importance.¹³⁴ Pace’s notes in the psalter are also incomplete with no comments at all on Psalms cii (ciii)–cviii (cix). Yet, as this survey has shown, Pace’s attention to Hebrew provoked an array of questions on the uneasy relationship of biblical texts, traditions and theology, questions which place him at the heart of the humanist investigation of the Bible and its meaning.

¹²⁷ Potken, *Psalterium*, sigs ỹ6^v–ç1^v, WCFL.

¹²⁸ Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis*, 210.

¹²⁹ Wakefield, *On the three languages*, 110–12.

¹³⁰ Jerome, *Psalterium iuxta hebraeos*, 179.

¹³¹ Athanasius, *The life of Anthony and the letter to Marcellinus*, trans. Robert Gregg, New York 1980, 109; Price, *Reuchlin*, 34.

¹³² Jerome, *Homilies*, i. 60.

¹³³ ‘Et confiteor dixit, iuxta sermonis Hebraei proprietatem, pro laudo, gratias ago’: Desiderius Erasmus, *Annotationes in nouum testamentum*, Basle 1527, 50.

¹³⁴ Andrew Taylor, ‘Suffering and scholarship: the contexts of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey’s Ecclesiastes’, *Translation and Literature* xxii (2013), 170. Wakefield’s later *Paraphrasis in librum Koheleth* (London 1528?) may reflect some of the pair’s shared interests: see especially the discussion of the LXX and Jerome at sigs D2v–3r.

Pace's studies were abruptly ended in 1527. Having weathered the criticisms of Fisher, he had tentatively returned to London and to court. Henry VIII's quest for a divorce put a premium on those with a knowledge of Hebrew and it was Pace who recommended Wakefield to the king as an interpreter of Leviticus and Deuteronomy.¹³⁵ Unlike Wakefield, however, Pace's allegiances were with the queen. In the midst of the divorce negotiations, Pace offered to meet the imperial ambassador.¹³⁶ When his overtures were revealed, Pace was sent to the Tower in October. His books and papers were seized and searched for incriminating material.¹³⁷ Inigo de Mendoza, the ambassador in question, was concerned for Pace's mental health even prior to imprisonment but the latter's confinement led to total collapse.¹³⁸ The following year Pace was pronounced beyond recovery by his relative Thomas Skevington.¹³⁹

There is no evidence that Pace had access to his psalter in the Tower or at the abbey of Beaulieu to which he was later moved. In 1528 Skevington and another relative, Thomas Pace, were making efforts to reclaim the dean's possessions from Thomas Wolsey, though it is unclear whether they had any success.¹⁴⁰ At present, it is uncertain how two of his books ended up at Winchester College, though his family did have strong connections to the city.¹⁴¹

When Pace was formally released from confinement in October 1529, the imperial ambassador noted that he might make a return to the court, 'unless his mind should again become unsettled'.¹⁴² Pace even wrote to Erasmus not long afterwards, though the letter is now lost.¹⁴³ The lack of later correspondence or mention in imperial dispatches may confirm that Pace was unable to return to political or scholarly prominence. In his last years, very little is said of the dean, despite his lingering

¹³⁵ *L&P* iv/2, 3233, 3234. ¹³⁶ *CSP: Spain*, iii/2, 224. ¹³⁷ *Ibid.* ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Glanmore Williams, 'Skevington [formerly Pace], Thomas', *ODNB*.

¹⁴⁰ TNA, SP 1/51, fos 15r-v; J. Baker, *The men of court, 1450-1550: a prosopography of the Inns of Court and Chancery and the courts of law*, London 2012, ii, 1183.

¹⁴¹ The catalogue of the college's library in 1565 listed both a copy of Erasmus' 1516 New Testament translation 'cum annotationes' and a 'psalterium 4 linguarum'. There were three copies of the *Nouum instrumentum* at the college by the seventeenth century, only two of which remain in the library today. One copy can be discounted as that given by Ferdinand Bye in 1641. Pace's must either be that listed in 1565 or that given by Roger Hurd in 1593. The psalter is more straightforward since there is no record of another Cologne Psalter being given at a later date, nor do any of the other psalters match the description. It was certainly in the library by 1634 when the more detailed inventory specified a 'Psalmi Davidici Hebr. Graec. Chald. Latin Col. 1518': Willoughby, *Libraries of collegiate churches*, ii, SC 345:5 and 345:59, pp. 819, 835. Information also supplied by Richard Foster, Fellow Librarian of Winchester College.

¹⁴² *CSP: Spain*, iv/1, 194.

¹⁴³ Erasmus to Pace, 22 Mar. 1530, *ep. mmcclxxxvii*, *CWE* xvi, 233-4.

on until 1536. He was absent from the convocation of 1529.¹⁴⁴ In 1534, when the dean and chapter of St Paul's swore perpetual allegiance to Henry and Queen Anne, Pace was not amongst the signatories.¹⁴⁵ On the eve of Pace's death in 1536, Thomas Cromwell had adjutors appointed to the deanery of St Paul's noting that,

Master Richard Pace[y] ... long ago appeared and still appears to be deprived of the right judgement of mind, and moreover was and is continually plagued, at present, by not immoderate weakness, or rather, loss of mind, nor yet is there any hope that he will be restored of mind at some time in the future.¹⁴⁶

Perhaps in time other discoveries will illuminate Pace's later years. Despite his personal misfortune, however, the discovery of his notes in the psalter at Winchester places Pace at the centre of a rich world of collaborative scholarship and devotion in the 1520s. In its pages, we can see Pace at work, comparing the Latin, Hebrew and Greek texts and drawing on the witness of biblical humanists, Jewish sources and the Church Fathers to aid his efforts. For Pace, the Psalms were primarily a prophetic text, foretelling the coming of Christ. However, they also resonated with his personal and devotional context. Pace had begun to translate the Psalms to keep his mind at peace. In the humanist vision of Scripture as holy rhetoric he found a language to praise and pray to God. A better understanding of Pace's place in the study of Hebrew and the Old Testament is not only important for his own biography, or for those with whom he worked such as Reginald Pole and Robert Wakefield. It also reflects on the broader fault lines emerging in early sixteenth-century Europe over the sacred Scriptures and their interpretation in the light of differing texts and traditions. The loss of Pace's papers and his spectacular fall from grace ought not to obscure the scale of this achievement, even if it was soon eclipsed by the likes of Sante Pagnini, Sebastian Münster and Leo Jud.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ TNA, SP 1/56, fo. 59r.

¹⁴⁵ *L&P* vii. 865.

¹⁴⁶ TNA, SP 1/102, fo. 51v.

¹⁴⁷ Lloyd Jones, *The discovery of Hebrew*, 39–55.