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CONRAD BADIUS

by LEWIS LUPTON

IN 1557 there was published a small octavo edition of the English New Testament, usually ascribed to William Whittingham, the title-page of which bears this inscription: "The Newe Testament of ovr Lord Iesus Christ. Conferred diligently with the Greke, and best approued translations. With the arguments, as wel before the chapters, as for euery Boke and Epistle; also diuersities of readings, and most proffitable annotations of all harde places; wherunto is added a copious Table. At Geneva Printed by Conrad Badius. M.D.LVII." Mr. Lupton, in the course of a series of studies made in connexion with the history of the Geneva Bible, has compiled this interesting account of the man who printed its 1557 precursor.

I. CONRAD BADIUS'S FATHER: JOSSE ASCENSIVS BADIUS

*"The man who taught all Europe Latin"*¹

THE father of Conrad Badius was "the doyen of the Paris book trade" whose daughter married Robert Estienne. Josse Bade, or *Ascensius* as he is often familiarly called from his use of that name in his books (and which we will use to avoid confusion with his son) was born at Ghent in 1462. After receiving his early education there he proceeded to Italy where he studied under J. B. Ferrari. He then became professor of Latin first at Valence and next at Lyons. In the latter place he met Jean Trechsel, the leading printer of the city. To him he entrusted his first printed book, an edition of the works of Philippe Beroald which appeared in 1492. Ascensius soon became Trechsel's editor and corrector and, as was usual, a member of his household. Here he learned the trade, and here too he got to know his master's daughter, Hostelye Trechsel, who later became his wife. In 1493 Ascensius and Trechsel published their best known work, an edition of a Latin classic, the *Comedies of Terence*. It had a series of woodcuts of the Roman stage. Ascensius contributed a 22-page preface describing the author and the plays.

The association between the two men was harmonious as well as successful and continued until Trechsel's death in 1498. Disputes then arose over the division of the estate and Ascensius, in defending the interests of Hostelye, found himself embroiled with his

¹ *A Dissertation on Conrad Badius and his Work* (Philadelphia, 1934). The following article is based in the main on this valuable dissertation.

stepmother. This led to his withdrawal from Lyons to Paris. At first he associated himself with Jean Petit, a bookseller, but in 1503 he set up for himself. From then until the year of his death, a period of over thirty years, he issued between seven and eight hundred editions, chiefly in folios and quartos, an average of twenty-five each year. They form a curious assortment of titles and authors. Practically all the Latin classics are there; old chronicles of France furnished him by Guillaume Petit the King's Confessor; treatises drawn from the archives of the monks of St. Victor redolent of the most rigid Papal orthodoxy, and the choicest of Reformed and Humanist Scholarship as represented by the works of Guillaume Budé and Erasmus. The same variety is to be seen in his prefaces addressed to friends and patrons. Le fèvre, the Bible translator, and Louis Berquin, the martyr, are cheek by jowl with Bishop Fisher and Lord Chancellor More, champions of the old order in England.

Though there were among his patrons men who were suspected of heresy he had no leanings that way. He seems to have felt that such matters were not his province.

Budé and Erasmus, his most distinguished patrons, were at one time also his intimate friends, but the publication in 1528 of a work entitled *Ciceronianus*, a discussion of contemporary skills in Latin, in which its author Erasmus said that the Latin of Ascensius was superior to that of Budé caused an uproar. Erasmus broke off his relationship with the printer and Budé was also ready to quarrel with him. That their friendship survived is to the credit of both men, though Ascensius had the more difficult position, for he was attacked on all sides with as much acerbity as if *he* had made the unfortunate comparison!

Ascensius's house was a meeting place for scholars old or young, residents of Paris or distinguished strangers. John Vaux, editor of the first Latin grammar printed in the Scottish dialect, braved the perils of shipwreck and piracy to obtain the noted printer's assistance. The printing of the book gave Ascensius some concern due to the unfamiliarity of the language! In this group of scholars we must not forget the three printers who married his daughters, Robert Estienne, Jean de Roigny and Michael Vascosan.

Had Ascensius been nothing more than a printer, humanists would have still been much indebted to him for the number of authors he made available to them. But he was also a painstaking editor who prepared his editions for use in the classroom. For this reason he provided copious notes, a practice which his son turned to good account in Bible printing. There was a real need for books

of this kind. Europe was *learning to learn*. The demand was steady and came from England as well as the Continent.

In catering for beginners, Ascensius used a Latin style of such simplicity that later printers regarded it as due to ignorance; nevertheless this did not prevent them from passing off his work as their own! But the technical side of learning was not his chief interest. In the prefaces for tutors their *moral* responsibilities are emphasized. Nor are admonitions to pupils lacking, as can be seen in the *Apex Ascensianus Scholasticus* which for generations formed part of the Latin grammar used at Eton. His character was that of a moralist with strong satiric tendencies.

Humanist, printer, grammarian, pedagogue and poet, it is impossible to deny the importance of the contribution of Josse Ascensius Badius to the French Renaissance. It is all the more touching to reflect that as far as we know his gifts were not crowned with the divine grace which came to his son. As to the question of his learning compared with that of Conrad it is difficult to judge. Josse printed nothing in French while Conrad confined himself for the most part to that tongue. Perhaps we may trust Henri Estienne's judgment on this point. He preferred Conrad but says of Josse that he was not only a man of good spirit and scholarship but, for his time, a *prodigy*.

II. CONRAD BADIUS

"Savant, correcteur, imprimeur, pasteur, auteur théâtral, et digne d'admiration dans chacune de ces fonctions" (Doumergue).

The life of Conrad Badius is not only of interest for its own sake but has a singular attraction for us because he was known to the English exiles at Geneva, printed the New Testament for them and attended the marriage of William Whittingham. We know nothing of his childhood and birth. His mother died before his father, and at the death of Ascensius in 1534 the children were placed in the care of their brothers-in-law. Conrad was brought up by Robert Estienne and his two younger sisters lived with Jean de Roigny who had daughters of his own who were about the same age.

In the Estienne home in Paris Conrad knew what it was to live under the overt hostility and real danger arising from suspicion of heresy. It left no deep mark on the lad. He remained indifferent to the great religious issues of the time and was impatient of the continued discussion which they occasioned. His life had always been filled with books. The great folios containing solemn treatises

on the new doctrines merely bored him, until one day he picked up one that was to make a difference. He did not accept the Christian teaching it contained but it made him *laugh*. (The book was probably *Praise of Folly* by Erasmus, one of his father's best sellers.) Suddenly his laughter stopped. What if these things were real? "My conscience", said he, "was suddenly overcome with horror of the abyss over which in my heedlessness I might fall." It was the turning point of his life. He never forgot the experience and wrote about it years afterwards, "Thus I was brought to nothing and yet everything through laughter". This was in the preface to his *Satyres Chrestiennes*. Remembering how effective humour had been in his own case he was to use it himself.

Having thrown in his lot with the Protestants it was natural that in the year 1540 he should go to Basle for the continuation of his studies. His tutor, Simon Grynaeus, in whose house he lived, was one of the foremost Hellenists of the day and a distinguished mathematician to boot. Conrad now learned Reformed theology as well as Greek in the classes on the New Testament and showed such a keen interest in the new doctrines that Grynaeus took him with him to the Diet of Worms to see and hear the Protestant champions. This resulted in another incident which exercised a great influence on his future. Thanks to Grynaeus's intimacy with Calvin they lodged in the same house with him and Melancthon. Badius had the joy of listening to those supposedly austere Reformers capping verses after a particularly stiff session at the assembly. No better introduction of the lad who loved a laugh to the Man of Geneva could have been devised. The enthusiasm kindled then bore fruit in due course, for it was through the agency of Badius as printer and editor that the greater part of Calvin's commentaries and sermons were issued in French.

At the close of the Diet tutor and student returned to Basle. Some time in the spring of that year Grynaeus took in a new student-lodger, Sebastien Castellio,¹ whom Badius was to pillory twenty years later as a character named *L. Ambitieux* in his satire on the Papacy—*Pape Malade*. Whether any of the traits depicted by Badius in his comedy are based on unpleasant recollections of the months they spent together at Basle we do not know, but Castellio, though a meek man, had a knack of arousing the most violent antipathies. His self-conceit coupled with his imperfect French would be very irritating to a young Parisian.

The next year Badius returned to Paris and began his appren-

¹ Sebastien Castellio (1515-63), translator of the Bible into Latin (1551) and French (1555).

ticeship to the art of printing. In 1546 his name appeared on the title page as the printer of the *Epistre à Octavien* from the works of Cicero.

Two years later he became a master-printer and set up his shop near the College of Sainte-Barbe. During this period Conrad made and developed important friendships. Some were with the sons of old friends of his father, like the Budé brothers and François Berault. Others were young jurists, Laurent de Normandie and Jean Crespin, secretary to Charles du Moulin. All these were destined to meet again at Geneva.

But the outstanding figure in this circle of scholars was, of course, the brilliant young Theodore de Bèze, prior of Villeserve and Longjumeau. For him Badius printed a charming little volume entitled *Poemata*. It is dated July 1548 and had a new printer's mark similar to the one used by his father and showing a printing shop. It was from the atelier of the designer Geoffroy Tory who also drew the elegant portrait of Beza which follows the title page.

In the summer of 1546 Badius had carried out a very delicate commission. Robert Estienne, whose struggles with the Sorbonne over the orthodoxy of his new translations of the Bible were becoming more and more serious, had since 1545 been laying plans for the transfer of his family and business to a more congenial atmosphere. François, the second son, had already been confided to his mother's relatives in Strasbourg, and in 1546 Badius managed to smuggle Robert junior out of Paris to Lausanne. The same process was repeated with Charles in 1549.

Meanwhile, Conrad's friendship with Beza was to lead to a change in his own circumstances. It is probable that he had planned to leave Paris when Estienne did but his departure was hastened. In the autumn of 1548 Beza sold his benefices in the Catholic Church and retired to Geneva. Apparently the government did not get wind of this transaction at the time. At least they took no action until the following spring. The sale was not regarded as valid by the church authorities and when Beza returned to France in 1549 the buyer came to him for his money back. On April 3 the Parliament issued a warrant for the arrest of M. Deode de Bèze, and on April 5 another against his alleged accomplices Denis Sauvage and Conrad Badius. A further blast on April 6 accused the culprits of heresy, of selling benefices, decamping with the proceeds and of retiring to Geneva. Clearly the prosecution was directed against Beza rather than the other two but orders were given to post placards in the hope of capturing them. There was nothing for it but flight and on May 3 Beza was back in Geneva. Where

Badius spent the next twelve months we do not know for it was not until June 17, 1550 that he too asked for *droit à habiter* at Geneva. It is more than likely he was engaged in the clandestine removal of his own and his brother-in-law's effects, including the latter's son, Charles, from Paris to safer quarters. In the Latin edition of Calvin's *Commentary on Isaiah* (dedicated to our Edward VI) the cartouche which frames a text on the title page had previously enclosed Tory's portrait of Beza in the first edition of *Poemata* printed at Paris in 1548. Thus we know for certain that at least one of Badius's blocks made the journey to Geneva. The *Commentary* is dated at Geneva, January 3, 1551, and bears Crespin's imprint but it is unlikely that the refugee jurist had either the skill or the means for producing a fine volume such as this so soon after his arrival. It is more probably the work of Badius. He whose career had opened in Paris with an oblation to Cicero, the great master of Latinists, was now to devote his powers to the task of making Calvin's writings available, not only in Latin, but to the common man.

III. HE LOVED THE NAKED TRUTH

And nowe I haste to Geneva, of which, if I should make any long oration, when I had saide all, I should seem scarce to have declared halfe. I greatly marveile at the citizens and magistrates, that they were not afrayde to receive so many thousand straungers into one citie; and also that the straungers, although they were the more in number, and the superiours, yet would submit themselves as though they were the inferiours, insomuch that they did not reckon themselves to be Lordes and citizens but private men and straungers.

Let other men fayne other miracles; but Geneva seemeth to me to be the wonderfull miracle of the whole worlde; so many from all countries come thether as it were unto a sanctuary, not to gather riches, but to live in povertie; not to be satisfied but to be hungry, not to live pleasauntly but to live miserably, not to save their goodes but to lose them. We have read (in Roman history) of consuls taken from the plough to beare rule, but here we see flourishing fortune, great riches and dignities turn to the plough. To descend from an horse to an asse wittingly and knowingly, is it not a great marveile?

Is it not wonderfull that Spanyardes, Italians, Scottes, Englishemen, Frenchemen and Germanes, differing in manners, speech and apparell, sheep and wolves, bulles and beares, being coupled onely with the yoke of Christe should live so lovingly and friendly like a spirituall and Christian congregation, using one order, one cloyster and like ceremonies?

Is it not wonderfull that with so many stoute enemies hanging over them and looking still to devoure them, such as Sathan and the Pope, they should not onely be safe but also live so long in quietnes?

Thanks be therefore unto God, because he hath appointed the pas-tour of his scattered and dispersed flocke, the captaine of the banished,

to be the chiefe of these miserable people, by whose counsel so great a congregation hath been nourished together under one hande of love, so that now nothing is more loving than these enemies, nobody more happy than these miserable men.

Happy is that people who enjoyeth these things, and have so worthy a bishop, which gathereth together the dispersed, comforteth the broken in heart, favoureth exiles, and confirmeth the weak with example and doctrine.¹

IV. BADIUS AT GENEVA

There was a tremendous demand for the writings of Calvin. He appreciated to the full the value of this method of preaching Reformed doctrine, but the difficulty hitherto had been to find printers. Of the four great printers connected with Calvin, Robert Estienne had not as yet left Paris, Gerard could not cope with all the work, Jean Crespin, a lawyer by training, had little experience and less capital, but with the arrival of Badius it was possible to begin at once the work of propaganda which was to continue for a decade under the supervision and at the expense of Laurent de Normandie, Calvin's fellow-townsmen and intimate friend.

His first three publications at Geneva appeared almost immediately and are dated 1550. The first was a series of five volumes of excerpts in Latin from Calvin's *Institutes*. The second was the Biblical play which Beza wrote for his students at Lausanne, *Abraham Sacrifiant*. The other was a Latin version of the Geneva *Catechism*. Then, rather surprisingly, nothing more appeared under his name until 1554. Two editions of the French Bible dated 1552 which have Crespin's imprint are thought to have been printed by Badius as is also the first edition of Crespin's *Book of Martyrs*. The most likely solution is that both Badius and Crespin were consolidating their position financially by concentrating on book-selling. By 1554 Badius was in a position to purchase his own press. In October he took an apprentice and issued an edition of the New Testament in French and Latin with his own imprint. From then onwards a steadily increasing stream of publications flowed from his presses.

Some of the more important works prepared by Badius for Normandie and his colporteurs, in addition to New Testaments, were the *Psalter* and Calvin's *Commentaries on the New Testament and the Psalms*, almost all of which were in French. But his principal

¹ From the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to *The Pageant of Popes*, an English translation made in 1574 from John Bale's *Acta Pontificum Romanorum*, first published in Latin at Basle in 1558 and translated into French in 1561 by Conrad Badius. (Slightly abridged and modernized.)

task was the publication of Calvin's *Sermons*. In these he was not only the printer but the editor and it was his responsibility to select those best suited for the edification and comfort of "the poor faithful in many countries who seek for Evangelical liberty". Once the discourses were selected, his next problem was to obtain Calvin's permission to print them. The Reformer was willing enough to prepare his theological treatises and commentaries for the press, but he viewed his lectures and sermons in another light. To his mind they were not fit for a wider audience than Geneva and he grudged the time and strength for their revision.

The account which Badius gives of the matter in his preface to the *Sermons on the Ten Commandments* sheds a pleasing light on the nature of the two men and the relationships between Calvin and his inner circle of friends. He says something like this:

I would never have been allowed to print them had I not begged and pleaded many times, and had I not pressed and made a thorough nuisance of myself. Not that his nature was trying or difficult, but rather his whole judgment was that those works which did see the light of day should do so with all their embellishments.

It upset him to think that what he had preached simply and plainly to suit his congregation, should suddenly without preparation or arrangement be thrust into the world (as if he thought that all he said should immediately be strewn everywhere and that the whole world should be filled with his writings).

Nevertheless he is so good natured that he is unable to defend himself from the constant nagging of those around him. He sometimes gives in but lets them know nevertheless that he would have it otherwise. You may well wonder at the rashness of those who undertake such matters . . .

From this preface and those to other volumes of sermons we gain other insights into the opinions of Badius and the conditions of the times. For instance, he found an appalling ignorance among the people, even of the Ten Commandments. "The reasons for their profession of faith are so obscure that they appear non-existent. Some conform to the edicts of the Pope and deduce therefrom such errors that it is impossible to understand them. Some learn confused and disjointed rhymes by heart like parrots in a cage. The great need is of practical discourses prepared by a skilful expositor of Scripture instead of the idle tales, quibbles, puns, sophistries, visions of dreaming monks and old wives' fables produced by a bunch of jokers with gilded mouths." He complained bitterly of the "great doctors of the Sorbonne raging from the pulpit and disgorging arrogant words against the children of God instead of nourishing the starving lambs with the good pasture of the Word of God". Badius also lamented divisions which arose in the Reformed Churches, saying that "Satan has made breaches in the

pens of the Saviour's sheepfold. Indeed he has entered by the holy gate of sacred unity to break up the Lord's Supper. The Papists persecute us with swords and spears but these, who say they preach the Gospel, defame us by their writings." He defends Calvin's preaching. "These", said he, "are not commonplace ideas chewed to pieces, nor are they patronizing formulas designed to suit the Scriptures to every traveller, but they are true, pure, plain expositions correctly drawn from the text. Those who think that he does nothing but slander the Pope and his followers without proper exposition of the Scriptures need to realize how unjustly he is blamed."

Nor was Badius unmindful of the difficult lot of "the faithful in France who are every day handed over to the iniquities and persecutions which are raised against you. From every side injurious slanders incessantly break your hearts. You, who seek only peace, are counted seditious trouble-makers. False brethren and apostles spy on you. Firebrands stir up Princes and judges to persecute you. Also the sects, which like thistles grow among the good seed, to produce Libertines, Epicureans, Atheists, Servetists, Castellianists and others who restore the ancient heresies and make new ones, give you plenty of trouble, so that without the miraculous help of God it would be impossible for you to survive."

Finally, in the last of these prefaces, he has a word for a class of listeners which dates as far back as Paul's time, "professional sermon-tasters and curiosity mongers, for whom Calvin's method of teaching, pure, simple and free from all ostentation and affectation of human eloquence, has no appeal. I am here speaking of a crowd of fidgety and inquisitive people, who have itching ears, frequent the preaching of the Word of God more to find fault or to have something to chat about, than to feed on the doctrine of salvation. They reduce preaching to the level of a stage performance. However pure a pastors' doctrine might be, unless he pleases them by his gestures and has the gift of the gab they consider him of no account. But what need", exclaims Badius, "to take notice of such criticisms? These printed sermons are the silent teachers of those who are deprived of hearing the living voice. Many by this means have come to an understanding of the truth, and many newly called to the ministry in these trying times have profited by the study of them, finding there not only a statement of belief but training in exegesis and homiletics."

In addition to the works of Calvin, Badius published many books for his friend Beza, among these were the *Juvenilia* (or *Poemata*), the *Abraham Sacrifiant* and the *Confession de la foy Chrestienne*,

all dedicated to Melchior Wolmar and forming a sort of trilogy which corresponded to the three different stages in Beza's spiritual life, first the humanist, then the Christian humanist and lastly the Reformed theologian.

Other friends, patrons or collaborators were Bullinger, who makes more frequent mention of Badius than any other of Calvin's correspondents; Pierre Viret; Louis Enoch, Beza's successor as Rector of the College; Michael Cop, son of another Rector whose address caused such an upheaval in Paris that it had resulted in Calvin's flight. Michael became a minister at Geneva. Charles de Jouvilliers, brother-in-law of the Budés, and Calvin's devoted secretary; Jean and Louis Budé, Jean Crespin, Nicolas Colladon, not forgetting William Whittingham for whom he not only printed the New Testament and an edition of the Psalms in 1557 but also acted as one of the witnesses at the Englishman's marriage to Katherine Jacquemayne.

But his closest friendship was with Robert Estienne, his brother-in-law, who had come to Geneva in November, 1550, a few months after his own arrival. It is pleasant to see that Badius was able to repay some of Estienne's early kindness to him by acting as *curateur* for François Estienne after his father's death in 1559.

We know but little of our printer's life. The *Registres du Conseil* contain only a few entries concerning him. The first is on June 6, 1550, when he asks for a copy to be made on parchment of an agreement with a certain Sieur de Montz. Other entries deal with the baptism of his four children, and the death of his eldest. This child, Anne, was Calvin's god-daughter (surely it is a tribute to the Reformer's good nature that we find him so frequently accepting this sort of obligation). She was baptized on June 7, 1552, and died August 4, less than two months later in the Quartier de Rive. Five years later, February 17, 1557, is recorded the baptism of a son to whom Badius gave the significant name of Barnabas, "son of consolation". Marie, for whom Beza was god-father, was baptized December 17, 1558, and Elizabeth July 12, 1561. Of his wife we know only that her name was Roberte. Since there is no record of the marriage it must have taken place elsewhere than in Geneva.

The public life of Conrad Badius might be said to begin and end with his becoming a *bourgeois* on October 17, 1555, *pour le prys de 15 Escus d'or*. He does not seem to have taken part in local controversies. Nor do his writings reflect any interest in them. Not that he was indifferent to the struggles but he liked his polemics on a larger scale.

On February 24, 1556, Badius appeared before the Council with

some manuscripts which were to be carefully examined. Among them was the first volume of *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, the book by which he is best known, and which, though only a translation, gained him a place on the *Index librorum damnatorum*! The original work was written by Bartholomew of Pisa, a Franciscan. In a series of blasphemous parallels it places St. Francis on the same level as Jesus Christ! Nothing was too incredible, revolting or ridiculous for the gullible monk to set down. The wonder is not that the Franciscans of the sixteenth century made a belated effort to suppress the book but that it had ever been allowed at all! This book, originally written by a monk in favour of the Romanists, was now brought out by Badius as a satire against that church. He accompanied the text with a running fire of comment, serious or mocking as the spirit moved him. He is quick-tempered but fond of a jest. He is scathing in his attacks but not as bitter and abusive as Henri Estienne or, for instance, John Bale. He was a many-sided man and the notes reveal many aspects. There are references to Augustine, quotations from the Bible, outbursts against the persecutions in France, classical allusions and descriptions of scenes in Paris. Above all he delighted in using proverbs as barbs for his shafts of satire.

The next attack which Badius made on the abuse of the church was his *Satyres Chrestiennes de la Cuisine Papale* which he printed anonymously in 1560. This satire is in the form of a papal banquet which is rudely interrupted by the ministers of the Reformed faith who destroy the food and provide a new repast of a more wholesome kind! The book closes with a promise that at the author's next attack he will disclose his name.

The third polemical work which Badius printed was a translation from Bishop John Bale's history of the Popes, *Acta Pontificum Romanorum*. Its most interesting feature to us is Bale's preface in praise of Geneva as it appeared to him in 1558. In this work, which was produced in 1561, Badius reveals himself as a poet, by his versification of the various rhymes in the original. Henri Estienne calls him a *great friend of the Muses* but one may be a friend yet follow afar off and "cloche à pied", as Badius himself humbly says in one of his prefaces. Like so many who tried their hand at verse in this period, he was never a great poet, yet he was at least spirited and readable which is more than can be said of most of his contemporaries.

In the same year of 1561 Badius also wrote the *Comédie du Pape Malade*. His reputation as a poet and a satirist had already been established and it was in a spirit of high expectancy that the Gene-

vans betook themselves to the Great Hall of the College on August 6 at 3 o'clock. Their pleasure was all the greater because the leading part, that of the sick Pope, was to be acted by the author himself. For everyone then knew who he was, even though in the printed version of the play he concealed his real name under the pseudonym, *Thrasibule Phenice*, in which the meaning of *Conrad*, skilful adviser, was given its Greek equivalent of *Thrasibule*, and his surname *Badius*, which means bay or reddish brown, became *Phenice*. A few years afterwards this was forgotten and for over two centuries the comedy was attributed to Beza. The play was a mixture of farce and morality, a sort of Protestant-humanist equivalent of the old Miracle and Morality plays. John Bale is said to have written something like a score of them. This one reflects the prevailing optimism of the Reformed party. Just as people of the last century used to call Turkey "the sick man of Europe" so the Papacy was regarded as being on its last legs. From every side came reports of defections to the new religion, in Romish strongholds. In France, Beza reported over 2,000 Reformed churches and Coligny estimated that in Normandy alone there were over fifty thousand Protestants. Conditions in the South of France were even more promising. New churches were springing up daily and demanding pastors from Geneva. But Calvin was not deceived. His attitude was one of suspicion filled with anxiety. To him the future was full of menace. He proved the truer prophet. Badius's sick Pope did not die then, is not dead yet, nor indeed likely to be.

V. PRINTER

"God by Tyme Restoreth Truth and Maketh her Victorious"
(Motto from the Badius imprint, 1557).

Conrad Badius filled a special position among the printers of Geneva. It was his job to make the writings of Calvin and the Reformers available to the man in the street. The work mainly consisted of translations into French, a lowly task for the son of the great Josse Ascensius Badius who "taught all Europe Latin". Nevertheless he devoted the same integrity and skill that his father brought to the classics to printing books in which simple truths were made plain. Like him, Conrad loved to provide *helps* for the reader. This was especially true of his Bible printing. His connection with Biblical publications would appear to begin in the year 1554 with an edition of Beza's Metrical Psalms bearing Crespin's name but in reality printed by Badius as we know from the records of a dispute which is preserved in archives of the Council. In this same year Badius began to take part in an interesting new develop-

ment in Biblical printing which was being forwarded by his illustrious kinsman. Very soon after Robert Estienne came to Geneva he introduced his system of *numbered verses*.

A TABLE OF BIBLES SHOWING THE INTRODUCTION OF NUMBERED VERSES¹

1551 GREEK-LATIN NEW TESTAMENT. 16°, printed by Robert Estienne at Geneva.

The Greek text followed that of Estienne's third edition (Paris, 1550) the famous *Editio Regia* from which the *Textus Receptus* of ordinary Greek Testaments is mainly derived. Two Latin texts are added in parallel columns, one on either side of the Greek, the Vulgate being printed on the inner side of the page and the version by Erasmus on the outer. All three columns are divided into *separate verses* with the *numbers* printed between the Greek and the Latin of Erasmus. The older method of dividing the chapters by Roman capitals (A. B. C., etc.) placed at intervals in the margin is also retained. This edition has some notes, chiefly Scripture references in the outer margins. The references are adapted for use with Bibles with or without verses, e.g. *Gene 29d. 35* indicates that the required reference is to be found in Genesis, chapter 29 at section "D" in the old pre-verse editions, or at verse 35 in those with verses.

1552 LATIN-FRENCH NEW TESTAMENT. Geneva, 16°, printer: Robert Estienne.

This edition, which introduced Estienne's innovation into the *French* language for the first time, consisted of parallel columns of the Latin of Erasmus and the usual Genevan French text (Olivetanus's version as revised by Calvin in 1546). Both columns are of equal size and divided into verses, with the numbers down the middle of the page. Latin occupies the inner column and the French is on the outer side, as are also the marginal notes and the usual capital letters in the margin.

1553 FRENCH BIBLE. Geneva, folio, printer: Robert Estienne.

This is the first *whole* Bible to have the verse divisions. It is beautifully printed in large clear Roman type and contains the usual Genevan French text. The verse *numbers* are placed on the left of the columns of text. The old capitals are retained. This edition has a few illustrations of Solomon's Temple and the Tabernacle furniture based on those used by Estienne in his third folio edition dated 1540. The cuts were prepared under the direction of Franciscus Vatablus, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Paris. Similar pictures from a French Bible (as can be seen by the wording) were printed in the English Geneva Bible itself in 1560.

¹The information in this section comes from three sources: (1) The collection of Bibles in the British Museum; (2) The collection of Bibles in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society; (3) The *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles* published by the aforesaid Society.

1554 LATIN-FRENCH NEW TESTAMENT. Geneva, 16°, printer: CONRAD BADIUS.

In this edition Badius began to share in this work of introducing the verse divisions by reprinting the diglot Testament which his brother-in-law brought out in 1552. It is obvious that Estienne was pursuing a concerted plan of publication designed to introduce his verse divisions uniformly throughout Europe. The need for a second edition of the Latin-French Testament seems to indicate that the idea was catching on. How well it succeeded ultimately is shown by the fact that it is his system which we use today.

1555 ITALIAN-FRENCH NEW TESTAMENT. Geneva, 16°, printer: CONRAD BADIUS.

Here we have the next step in Estienne's planned diglots. First it was Greek and Latin, then Latin and French, and now French and *Italian*. In this first edition in the Italian language to have the verse divisions the Italian translation made by Giovanni Lurgi Paschale was printed side by side with the Genevan French version. This time it is the Italian text (printed in *Italic* type) which occupies the outer column. Both columns are divided into verses with the numbers down the middle of the page and the usual capitals in the margin. Both the above Testaments, the Latin-French and the French-Italian are quite small and with *two* texts to accommodate, the type is too small for easy reading. But of the two the Italian-French, in which presumably Badius had a freer hand, is much better in this respect, for it only includes approximately one-third of the number of verses to a page than is found in the other. Indeed, the Italian-French volume has something of the airy elegance which is such a prominent feature of Badius's *English* New Testament. Like Estienne's first Greek-Latin diglot of 1551, these other small diglot Testaments were pilot editions ensuring the uniformity of the verse divisions in different languages. They were probably intended for the use of scholars and to serve as printer's copy for subsequent editions rather than for popular consumption.

1555 LATIN BIBLE. Geneva, 8°, printers: Robert Estienne and CONRAD BADIUS.

In this the *first complete* Latin Bible with the verse divisions we find Robert Estienne and Conrad Badius collaborating. It is an octavo edition with the usual Estienne Olive Tree title page but in the colophon on the last page we read: EXCUDEBAT ROBERTO STEPHANO CONRADVS BADIVS ANNO M.D.L.V. VIII IDVS APRILIS. The whole of the entire Bible is set in the same tiny type as the Latin-French Testament, which gives the book an exceedingly crowded and monotonous appearance. An unusual feature of this volume is found in the way in which the verses are indicated. There are no spaces between the verses but the columns of type run on continuously and at the place where the divisions should come a little paragraph mark is set in the line of type and followed by the number of the verse (§ 24). The old system of capital letters in the margins is still retained.

1557-6 LATIN BIBLE. Geneva, folio, printer: Robert Estienne.

If the 1555 Latin octavo with verse divisions compares unfavourably with sumptuous folios upon which Estienne's fame rests, the matter

was soon rectified for in less than two years a new and better-than-ever edition appeared. It had two complete Latin texts, one the Vulgate and the other Estienne's own choice. In the Old Testament this consisted of a revision of the version by Pagninus and in the New Testament A NEW TRANSLATION OUT OF THE GREEK by none other than Theodore Beza, together with his voluminous *Annotationes* occupying the bottom half of each page. The Vulgate was placed on the left of each page in a narrow column of small type, with the other on the right. The numbers of the verses are inserted between the two columns of text. It also retains the old divisions by capital letters. This Bible has two dates. The Old Testament title is dated 1557, but the New Testament gives 1556. So does Beza's Preface—LAUSANNAE M.D. LVI, but the colophon at the end is dated March, 1557. Presumably work on the New Testament was begun in 1556 but not completed until the spring of 1557, which means it was only just in time to influence the next book we have to mention.

1557 ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT. Geneva, 16°, printer: CONRAD BADIUS.

Thus, on June 10, 1557, was published the first English New Testament to have numbered verse divisions and, indeed, many other improvements which had never before appeared in any English version of the Scriptures. For, in spite of its small size, this was no mere pilot version but a beautifully finished product that compared favourably with any other Testament in Geneva at that time. The single column of type on each page is wonderfully clear with the verses nicely spaced. In one small respect the verse typography of this edition had an improvement which was not included in any of the previous editions mentioned in this list nor, indeed, in the English Geneva Bible itself. In these other volumes the actual verse numbers were placed beside the columns, but in the 1557 Testament the number is *inset* at the top left-hand corner of the verse as in our Authorized Version today. This Testament retained the divisions by capital letters. This latter method of division was left out of the Geneva Bible proper, indicating that by 1560 verse numbering was so generally accepted as to render the old system obsolete. *Both* inner and outer margins were used for notes, one for Scripture references, the other for a critical apparatus explaining the text, translating money values, giving hints on geography and providing useful information of every kind. In the general skill of his printing, Badius ranks with the Estiennes. There can be no higher praise than that! Nevertheless the writer has to confess that in his eyes the perfection of elegance attained by these men lacks the warmth and character of cruder efforts. For instance, it is difficult to imagine a greater contrast than the book from which Whittingham worked and the one which was printed for him. Jugge's 1552 revision of Tyndale's New Testament is one of the most picturesque books to be seen. Prefaced by a portrait of the boy King Edward, it is printed in Gothic with curly initials as big as the palm of your hand, and most profusely illustrated, whereas Badius's edition of 1557 is simplicity itself. One cannot but admire the marvellous clarity of the Roman type and, although there are no illustrations, classical initials at the beginning of each book add elegance to plainness. Even so, the general impression is expressed by the phrase *clear but cold*, reminding us of mountain air and, dare we say it, the theology of Geneva.

Conrad Badius did not equal his father in the length of his career. The one printed for over thirty years, the other for fifteen. Nor did the son bring out so many titles. One published over seven hundred, the other but one hundred. Josse's average worked out at twenty-five books a year, Conrad's is only seven. An even greater disparity is seen in the British Museum where there are more than a score of works by the father but only two by the son. Perhaps the classics will always have more appeal than sermons!

It was natural that the son of such a father should take a pride in his profession. He never presented any book before the Council of Geneva which was rejected by the censors, nor is there any record of an infringed copyright. The printer's errors in his works are very few indeed. Nevertheless there were two occasions when he was in trouble with the Council. The first was in 1554 when he printed Beza's Psalter without permission, and again in 1560 for the same fault, except that in this latter instance he merely *anticipated* the granting of the licence. He was sent to prison for a few days in each case. Apparently his close connection with Calvin and Beza did not protect him from the wrath of the Council, indeed it may have augmented it. The independent citizens of Geneva sometimes got a considerable pleasure out of snubbing the lordly French gentry in their midst.

Badius is known to have used four printer's marks. The first is to be seen in his earliest works, the *Epistre à Octavien* and Beza's *Poemata*. It is the same design as his father used, showing the interior of a printing shop, but the tiny Lorraine cross at the foot of the design shows that this was a new one engraved for him by Geoffroy Tory. At Geneva he also used for a time a design of a printing press but in a simplified version. Another mark which he used when the book seemed suitable was a rather grotesque one of a plumed skull over which a scorpion creeps.

But the most noted of his marks shows a naked lady being led out of a dark cave by old Father Time, the usual figure with a scythe, long whiskers and an hour-glass who yet contrives somehow to be a blend of Saturn and Pan! The mark is a combination of earlier ones used by Simon de Colines and Knoblauchs both of whom were related by marriage to Badius. This is the mark which graces the title page of the English New Testament of 1557, together with the explanatory legend: GOD BY TYME RESTORETH TRUTH AND MAKETH HER VICTORIOUS.

The design became very popular. We can see how it expressed the printer's optimism concerning the course of the Reformation. We can also imagine the intensity with which the persecuted Eng-

lish Protestants at home longed for the day when *God by Tyme* should again bring back Lady Truth to the land.

We can also understand how it was that it appealed to quite a number of the English gentry who *borrowed* it for their own crests. It was an adaptable emblem capable of more than one interpretation, for it is said that it also captured the fancy of Queen Mary and that she used it for her private cipher. Presumably in her mind she was Lady Truth and the dark cave signified the reign of Protestant King Edward. It was a truer instinct which caused the emblem to be enacted as a tableau in the triumphal progress at the accession of Queen Elizabeth. For my part, I like to think of the device as *a symbol of the man who used it*—a man whose background was that of humanism and the classics but who, along with Calvin, Beza, Estienne and Crespin had received such a clear illumination of the mind by the Holy Ghost that the remainder of life was devoted to the service of *Truth*.

VI. PASTOR

"Badius mense Octobre ex peste interit" (Beza to Calvin, 1562).

Our thoughts concerning the devotion of Badius to the Truth are confirmed by the pattern of his life. He had now exercised four of the five functions in which Doumergue says he was worthy of admiration, scholar, editor, printer and dramatist. Now he was to enter on the last stage of his career as a minister of the Gospel. Was it his performance of the *Sick Pope* in his play at the College during August 1561 which caused his friends to urge him to take up the Christian ministry? Certainly no man was more qualified by study. As editor of Calvin's works he had served a notable apprenticeship in theology. It seemed as if an even more useful future was opening up before him. There were urgent calls for ministers from Orleans. No more strategic point could have been chosen for that peaceful penetration of France which had always been and still was the great dream of Calvin's life. The place was a stronghold of Reformed doctrine. The time seemed ripe. Even Calvin who had not hitherto shared his followers' optimism had (since the January Edict permitting the French exiles to return to their homes) allowed himself to begin to be hopeful of the future. Not that the danger was over entirely. Only the day before Badius made formal application word came to the city of the Massacre of Vassy. But the printer had counted the cost. Undeterred by the ominous news Badius went forward with his request and on March 23, 1562, he made what was to be his last appearance before the Council: *"et a requis luy octroyer conge pour se retirer a Orleans*

il est apelle pour servir au ministere de la parolle de Dieu''.

So Conrad Badius set off for Orleans. It was a city that meant much to many of them. Calvin, Beza and William Whittingham had studied there. It was the home of the latter's wife, Katherine Jacquemayne. Second only to Paris in importance, it was a big place full of fine old buildings. Badius was accompanied by Roberte, his wife, and two of the children. Elizabeth, the youngest, had been left behind. She was but an infant nine months old. No doubt they intended to send for her as soon as they had a settled abode. Badius also left his *name* behind. At his request it was retained on the Geneva register of *bourgeois*, probably as a precaution so that the French authorities would assume he was still there.

By the time the little family party reached Orleans the entire situation had changed. On the arrival of Beza and Condé with an army on April 2, after a hurried march from Paris, the city had been transformed overnight into a great armed camp. Later in the month, on April 20, image breaking began. A week after that Badius met many of his fellow ministers at the Synod of France. He heard with disgust the renegade monk and quack-doctor, Jerome Bolsec, make his *second* profession of the Reformed faith.

On May 13 Beza left Orleans, not to return until November. Much was to happen in the interval. However, Badius was glad of the company of two Geneva friends, François Berault, lecturer in Greek, and Matthew Beroald, lecturer in Hebrew. A grim interlude occurred on July 31 in the execution of Jerome Gaeset, Curé of St. Paterne at Orleans, on the charge of attempted treason. Not quite a year had passed since Badius had drawn his portrait under the character of *L. Hypocrite* in his play *The Sick Pope* and now he was present at his death little realizing how soon his own was to follow.

Shortly afterwards the King's forces surrounded the city and it was besieged. All the citizens, even the women, were called to help in the work of fortification. During August signs of the plague began to appear. In the next three months more than ten thousand people died. October 12 was kept as a public fast and the Lord's Supper was celebrated on October 17. With the coming of the cold weather the infection abated and when Beza returned to the city on November 2 the worst was over, but among the dead were our printer and his family. Beza conveyed the news to Calvin in a letter which shocks us by its stark brevity! "*Badius mense Octobre ex peste interit*". Was that all Beza could find to say of the dear friend of his youth? He does not even mention his wife or the two children, Barnabas, aged six, and Marie, Beza's god-child, nearly four.

Yet with ten thousand dead and the guns of Dreax scarcely silent it was no time to chronicle private griefs. Elizabeth, the only surviving child, died, also of the plague, at Geneva in 1566.

Badius was about forty years of age. Of his last six months as a minister of the Word of God I have seen no record. One feels somehow disappointed. Disappointed at Beza's terse reference to his death, Disappointed not to know anything of him as a pastor. It is difficult to avoid an impression that all through his career at Geneva others were preferred before him. Yet his character cannot have been seriously defective or he would not have been accepted for the ministry. Was he more of a humanist like the cosmopolitan Estiennes and less ardent in his support of the Reformation than Crespin or Beza? It does not seem so, for the fact that he left his trade for the Christian ministry suggests high idealism. Perhaps it was merely that his friends overshadowed him. He could scarcely hope to equal the prestige of the Estiennes as printers, or Beza as a scholar and statesman, and Crespin, whom he might have surpassed, had the good fortune to publish a best seller—his Martyrology. The only public homage paid to the memory of Badius was by his nephew, Henri Estienne, in two epitaphs, one in Greek, the other in Latin. They constitute a certificate of ability and character from a man who was a shrewd judge of both, and though the tribute was tardy, for it was not composed until 1569, it is all the more genuine for that. Badius died for the Faith just as surely as those who gained the martyr's crown. We would here pay our tribute to the man who printed the English New Testament in 1557 and honour the memory of one who loved the Naked Truth well enough to print it, to preach it and to die for it.

CONRADI BADI EPITAPHIUM

Quod patri haud dederunt rudioris tempora secli
 Addiderant large tempora nostra tibi.
 Doctrinae heredi tibi iam Conrade paternae
 Accessit cultus gratia magna novi.
 Sed Superi dotes quantum auxere paternas
 Tantum aevi fines diminuere tui.¹

London.

¹ Henri Estienne, 1569.