

# Jerome & the Vulgate

*The grumpiest scholar in church history, a cave in Bethlehem, and the Latin Bible that ruled the West for a thousand years • c. AD 347–420*

By Shane Gunn • Primary-source study

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**Where this fits:** Lesson 12 of the Pleasant Springs *Church History* series — middle of the three-lesson Scripture arc. Lesson 11 covered **the Hebrew Masoretic Text**; this lesson covers Jerome’s Latin translation of that same Hebrew; Lesson 13 will cover how the Bible came into English. Jerome’s contemporary **Augustine (Lesson 9)** argued with him fiercely about the project. See the full **Series Timeline**.

## WHY THIS LESSON MATTERS

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For a thousand years, from roughly AD 500 to 1500, *the Bible* in the Christian West meant one specific Latin translation: the work of an Illyrian monk named **Eusebius Hieronymus**, known to history as **Jerome**. Every theologian between Augustine and Luther read it. Every cathedral manuscript was a copy of it. Every Eucharistic lection was chanted from it. Every medieval peasant who ever heard a priest read Scripture was hearing Jerome. Benedictine monks copied it, scholastics commented on it, popes appealed to it, reformers attacked it, and the Council of Trent in 1546 declared it “authentic” for the Catholic church forever.

The name *Vulgate* (*editio vulgata*, “the common edition”) was applied to it later. Jerome never used the word. He simply called it the translation he had made from the *hebraica veritas* — the Hebrew truth — in his cave workshop next to the Grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem, with a

Jewish tutor, five Hebrew-speaking scholars, and a few wealthy Roman women bankrolling the project.

This is a lesson about how the most influential translation in Western history was made — by a brilliant, abrasive, insecure, brilliant man who picked a fight with Augustine about a gourd, hated half the bishops who hated him, and in the end produced a book that shaped the prayer and thought of fifty generations.

*Greek NT (2 Tim 3:16): πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ἐλεγμὸν, πρὸς ἐπανάρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τῆς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.*

2 Timothy 3:16 (ESV): “All Scripture is breathed out by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness.”

## PART 1 — THE LATIN BIBLE BEFORE JEROME

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Christianity had been Latin-speaking for almost two hundred years before Jerome began work. The Gospel had arrived in Carthage by the late 2nd century (see [Lesson 6](#) on Tertullian). Latin converts needed a Latin Bible, and so a collection of translations — known collectively to modern scholars as the *Vetus Latina* (“Old Latin”) — had grown up.

The Old Latin Bible was not one translation; it was dozens. Different churches in different provinces had different Latin versions, translated from the Greek Septuagint for the Old Testament and from the Greek New Testament directly. Their styles ranged from the literal and awkward to the stylishly literary. Their quality ranged from excellent to catastrophic. Augustine, writing in the 390s, complained that:

*“In the early days of the faith, when any Greek manuscript came into the hands of anyone who also thought he knew a little Latin, he dared to translate it.”*

— **Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine* 2.11.16 (c. AD 396)**

Pope Damasus (r. 366–384) thought this chaos was beneath the dignity of the Roman church. The same Bible passage was being read in three different Latin versions on the same day in

three neighboring parishes. What was needed was *one* reliable Latin text. Around 382, the Pope turned to the best Latin-Greek scholar in his circle: his Illyrian secretary Jerome.

## PART 2 — THE LIFE OF JEROME (C. AD 347–420)

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**c. 347** • Born **Eusebius Hieronymus** at Stridon, on the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia (modern Croatia/Slovenia). His family were wealthy Catholic Christians.

**c. 360–367** • Studies rhetoric in Rome under the famous grammarian Aelius Donatus. Loves Cicero and Virgil. Baptized in Rome around 366.

**c. 368–372** • Travels in Gaul; experiences a first ascetic awakening at Trier.

**c. 374** • While seriously ill at Antioch, Jerome has a famous dream. Christ sits on a throne of judgement. When Jerome claims to be a Christian, Christ replies:

***Ciceronianus es, non Christianus.*** “*You are a Ciceronian, not a Christian. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.*”

— **Jerome, *Letter 22.30* (to Eustochium), recounting the dream of c. 374**

**374–377** • Withdraws to the Syrian desert of Chalcis as a hermit. Learns **Hebrew** from a local convert from Judaism — a radical choice; most Christian scholars of his day knew only Greek. Jerome will be a Hebraist for the rest of his life.

**c. 379** • Ordained presbyter at Antioch. Studies briefly under **Gregory of Nazianzus** at Constantinople (c. 380–382).

**382–384** • Returns to Rome as secretary to Pope Damasus. Begins the Gospel revision. Becomes spiritual director of a circle of wealthy ascetic Roman widows and virgins —

most notably the noblewoman **Paula** and her daughter **Eustochium**.

**384** • Pope Damasus dies. Jerome had assumed he would succeed him; instead the Roman clergy, tired of Jerome's acid tongue, choose Siricius. A campaign of scandal follows Jerome — gossip about his friendship with Paula, accusations of improper ascetic influence on Roman women.

**385–386** • Leaves Rome. Travels through Antioch, Alexandria (where he meets the desert fathers), and eventually settles with Paula in **Bethlehem**, where Paula's fortune funds a monastery for men, a convent for women, and a hostel for pilgrims. Jerome will live there for the next 34 years.

**390–405** • The Vulgate Old Testament. Jerome systematically translates book by book directly from Hebrew, using Jewish tutors (including one he will later remember teaching him “by night, for fear of the Jews”) and the surviving Greek versions — Origen's Hexaplaric text, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion — as checks on his Hebrew.

**393–406** • Engages in a vicious controversy with **Rufinus of Aquileia** (a former friend) over the legacy of Origen. The letters on both sides are some of the most savage in Christian history.

**395–420** • Steady stream of biblical commentaries (on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, Matthew, Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, Philemon), dialogues, the *De Viris Illustribus* (a catalogue of Christian authors), and roughly 150 surviving letters.

**404** • Paula dies; Jerome is shattered. He writes her eulogy.

**410** • Alaric sacks Rome. Pilgrims pour into Bethlehem. Paula's granddaughter Eustochium helps Jerome care for them.

**416–417** • Engages the Pelagian controversy, from a distance, in sympathy with **Augustine's** position. A mob of pro-Pelagian monks burns his Bethlehem monastery.

**420** • Dies in Bethlehem on 30 September. Buried first near the Grotto of the Nativity. His remains are later translated to Rome, where they rest in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore.

### **PART 3 — THE COMMISSION (AD 382)**

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In 382 Pope Damasus gave Jerome a specific assignment: revise the Latin Gospels against the best Greek manuscripts and produce a single, reliable text for Rome. Jerome did so. By 384 he had also revised the Psalter from the Greek Septuagint (the “Roman Psalter”).

The work was contentious from the first day. Latin Christians had been memorizing their Bibles for two centuries in particular Old Latin words and cadences. Jerome’s revisions — even when they were quiet corrections of obvious errors — sounded wrong to ears that knew the older wording. He wrote irritably in his Preface to the Gospels:

*“What learned man, what even unlearned man, will not, when he takes the volume in his hand and sees that what he reads is different from the flavour he has once tasted, break out into loud abuse, calling me a forger, a sacrilegious man, for having the audacity to add, to change, or to correct anything in the ancient books?”*

— **Jerome, Preface to the Four Gospels (AD 383)**

He was right about the reception. He was also right that the work needed to be done.

### **PART 4 — BETHLEHEM, PAULA, AND THE REAL WORK (386–405)**

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In 386 Jerome, Paula, and Paula’s daughter Eustochium arrived in Bethlehem. Paula was a Roman noblewoman of the Aemilian family — one of the richest in the empire — whose husband had died young. She had decided to spend her fortune on the study of Scripture and the care of pilgrims. Over the next four years she built, on land next to the Basilica of the

Nativity, a double monastery: men's and women's wings, a church, a pilgrim hostel, and a house for Jerome that included a scriptorium and a library.

The Bethlehem scriptorium was where the Vulgate Old Testament was produced. Jerome's regular team included:

- **Paula and Eustochium themselves** — both fluent in Latin and Greek, both learning Hebrew. Paula's Hebrew reportedly reached reading proficiency. Both women copied, compared manuscripts, and asked Jerome the questions that shaped his prefaces. Nearly all of Jerome's major Bible translation prefaces are addressed, by name, to Paula and Eustochium.

- **Jewish tutors** — a succession of them over the years. Jerome names at least three: one from Tiberias; one from Lydda; and his most famous teacher, a rabbi called "Bar Anina," who came by night "fearing lest, if he were seen by his fellow Jews, they might treat him as a traitor." (Letter 84.3)

- **A rotating cast of scribes and monks** who copied, checked, and circulated his work.

The work proceeded book by book — Samuel and Kings c. 391, the Psalms from Hebrew c. 392, the Prophets c. 393, Job c. 394, Ezra-Nehemiah c. 394, Chronicles c. 395, the Octateuch (Genesis through Ruth) c. 398, Esther c. 404, finally the Pentateuch revision c. 405.

Fifteen years of patient, lonely, careful work in a small town on the edge of the empire. "Not brought forth in my own study," Jerome wrote of the Hebrew Psalter, "but far from my homeland, in a cave by the manger of the Lord, with the help of a Hebrew who had come to me by night" (Preface to the Psalms).

## PART 5 — *HEBRAICA VERITAS* — THE PRINCIPLE

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The word Jerome used for his translation principle was *hebraica veritas* — "the Hebrew truth." It was a controversial claim in his century. Nearly every Christian theologian before him had taken for granted that the Greek Septuagint (see [Lesson 11](#)) was the Christian Old Testament.

The LXX had been produced, tradition said, by seventy scholars working independently and miraculously producing identical translations; it had been quoted by the Apostles themselves; it had been the Old Testament of Justin, Clement, Origen, Athanasius, and the Cappadocians. Jerome proposed, essentially, that the Christian Old Testament had been based on a translation all along, and that the original Hebrew should now be consulted directly.

*“In the Old Testament, therefore, save the Psalter, which I corrected before with the utmost care — comparing it with the Septuagint — I now translate from the Hebrew, so that where the Septuagint sometimes disagrees with the Hebrew, any learned reader may consult the Hebrew.”*

— **Jerome, Preface to the Books of Samuel and Kings (c. AD 391)**

This was revolutionary, and Jerome knew it. Four things made it possible:

**1. Origen’s *Hexapla*** (see **Lesson 6**) had already laid out Hebrew, Greek transliteration, LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in parallel columns. Jerome had access to a copy in the library at Caesarea; he used it constantly.

**2. Living Jewish scholars** in Palestine and Mesopotamia knew the Hebrew text better than any Christian did. Jerome was humble enough to sit at their feet. His payment was in gold solidi (the tutors were working clergy; their knowledge was not free).

**3. The proto-Masoretic text** (Lesson 11) was already remarkably stable by Jerome’s time. The Hebrew he worked from is close to the consonantal text the Masoretes would finalize five centuries later. (A fact the Dead Sea Scrolls would confirm a thousand and five hundred years after that.)

**4. Jerome’s own formidable training** in Latin rhetoric, his years of Greek in Antioch and Constantinople, and his decade-plus of Hebrew in the Syrian desert and Palestine made him probably the only person in the 4th-century Latin church capable of the job.

“The Vulgate” is not a single unified translation. It is a composite produced over about twenty years, with different sources for different books. The finished work contains:

| Section  | Source text  | Jerome’s role   |
|--|--|---|
| <b>The Four Gospels</b>                            | Old Latin revised against Greek manuscripts                  | Revised by Jerome 383–384 in Rome; light touch  |
| <b>Rest of the New Testament</b>                   | Old Latin (Acts, Epistles, Revelation)                       | Probably revised by a Jerome associate, not Jerome himself — the quality is uneven  |
| <b>The Hebrew Old Testament (Genesis–Malachi)</b>  | Translated <i>directly from the Hebrew</i>                   | Jerome’s personal work, 390–405; the heart of the project   |
| <b>The Psalms</b>                                  | Gallican Psalter (from LXX) and Hebrew Psalter (from Hebrew) | Both by Jerome. The Gallican Psalter (from LXX) won liturgical acceptance and became the Vulgate’s standard Psalter. Jerome preferred his Hebrew Psalter. |
| <b>Tobit &amp; Judith</b>                          | From Aramaic   | Translated by Jerome quickly (Judith reportedly in one night) and reluctantly, from a Hebrew/Aramaic original he considered marginal.                     |
| <b>Wisdom, Sirach, 1 &amp; 2 Maccabees, Baruch</b> | Old Latin (from Greek)                                       | Not translated by Jerome; he considered them non-canonical. The Old Latin versions of these books were bound into Vulgate manuscripts alongside his work. |
| <b>Greek additions to Daniel &amp; Esther</b>      | Theodotion’s Greek   | Translated by Jerome but clearly segregated in his Latin; he flagged them as deuterocanonical.  |

**Jerome on the canon.** In his prefaces, Jerome repeatedly insisted that only the books in the Hebrew canon were properly canonical Scripture. The others (Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Sirach, Baruch, 1–2 Maccabees) were “ecclesiastical books” — edifying, useful, good for private reading, but not authoritative for establishing doctrine. He called them *apocrypha*, not as an insult but

as a technical term: writings outside the Hebrew canon. The medieval Catholic church gradually ignored his distinction and treated the whole Vulgate as Scripture; the Reformers 1,100 years later reopened exactly this question (see **Lesson 2 Part 5** on the three canons). The 1546 Council of Trent sided against Jerome and declared the deuterocanonicals fully canonical.

**The Lord's Prayer in Jerome's Latin.** To give a feel of his style:

#### PATER NOSTER — MATTHEW 6:9–11

*Pater noster, qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum.*

*Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo et in terra.*

*Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie...*

(Jerome's Matthew uses *supersubstantialem*, "super-substantial", for the puzzling Greek word *epiousion* — a more literal and philosophically loaded rendering than the more common *cotidianum* ("daily") kept in Luke 11:3. Medieval theologians made enormous interpretive weight rest on that single Latin word.)

## PART 7 — JEROME AND AUGUSTINE: THE GOURD

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The most famous argument of Jerome's life was a long, prickly, ultimately cordial correspondence with **Augustine of Hippo**. The two greatest Latin fathers exchanged nearly twenty surviving letters between 394 and 419.

**Augustine's objections** to the Vulgate project were theological, pastoral, and personal.

- **Theological:** Augustine believed the Septuagint had been providentially produced and was itself inspired. To go "behind" the LXX to the Hebrew seemed to overturn the Old Testament the Apostles themselves had quoted.

- **Pastoral:** the Old Latin Bibles in use in Augustine's North African churches were translated from the LXX. If Jerome's new version read differently, Augustine was the

bishop who would have to explain the difference to his confused congregation.

- **Personal:** Augustine’s Hebrew was minimal; Jerome’s was formidable. The argument exposed a scholarly gap Augustine did not enjoy acknowledging.

**The gourd crisis (Jonah 4:6).** Around 403 Augustine wrote Jerome a worried letter (*Letter 71*). A neighboring bishop — Augustine names him only “a certain brother of ours who is now a bishop” — had tried out Jerome’s new Latin Jonah on his African congregation. When he got to Jonah 4:6 — the plant God grew over Jonah’s head — he hit a single word that ruined him. The Old Latin (translating the LXX’s *kolokyntê*, “gourd”) said *cucurbita*, “gourd.” Jerome’s new translation (rendering the Hebrew *qiqayon*, which is in fact the castor-oil plant) said *hedera*, “ivy.”

The congregation rioted. The local Jews, consulted, sided with the Old Latin — because Greek-speaking Jews also said “gourd.” The bishop had to back down publicly or lose his flock. Augustine wrote Jerome begging him not to create more such problems.

*“A certain brother of ours, a bishop, having introduced in the church over which he presides the reading of your translation, they came upon a passage in the prophet Jonah, very different from that which had been so long familiar to the ears and memory of all. Tumult arose among the people... the bishop was compelled to ask the testimony of the Jews, who answered, whether in ignorance or from prejudice, that the word cucurbita... was what was found in the Hebrew. In short, the bishop was compelled to correct your version.”*

— **Augustine to Jerome, Letter 71.5 (AD 403)**

**Jerome’s reply** (*Letter 75*) is classic Jerome — learned, defensive, slightly cutting. He points out that the Hebrew word is neither “gourd” nor “ivy” — it is the castor-oil plant, which has no exact Latin name — but between the two imperfect Latin options, he chose *hedera* because the shade-giving properties of Palestinian ivy were closer to the castor plant than a gourd vine’s. He adds that the North African Jews consulted were, as Augustine himself says, either “ignorant or prejudiced,” and that he, Jerome, stands by his scholarship.

The Vulgate has read *hedera* in Jonah 4:6 for sixteen hundred years.

**How it ended.** By 415, with both men aging and the Pelagian controversy forcing them into the same theological camp, Jerome and Augustine had become careful friends. Augustine

quietly began using Jerome's Vulgate for his own citations. The last letters between them are warm.

## PART 8 — THE VULGATE'S LONG REIGN (C. 500–1500)

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Jerome's translation took about a hundred years to win general use in the Latin West. By Gregory the Great (see **Lesson 10**) it was the standard. By Alcuin's Carolingian reform of the late 8th century it was universal. After 800, when a Western priest said "the Bible," he meant Jerome.

- **The Carolingian Bibles (c. 800).** Alcuin of York, working for Charlemagne, produced a corrected standard edition of the Vulgate that circulated in uncial Bibles throughout the Frankish empire. His work stabilized the text for the medieval period.

- **The Paris Bible (c. 1230).** Scholars at the University of Paris produced a standardized Vulgate with the chapter divisions invented by **Stephen Langton** (d. 1228), later Archbishop of Canterbury. These are essentially the chapter divisions we still use today — first developed for the Vulgate, then exported to every later translation.

- **Verse divisions.** Verse numbers in the Latin Old Testament were added by Santes Pagninus (1528); verse numbers in the New Testament were added by Robert Estienne ("Stephanus") in 1551. Both innovations were first applied to the Vulgate.

- **The Gutenberg Bible (c. 1455).** The first major printed book in Europe was the Vulgate. Gutenberg's 42-line Bible was Jerome's Latin. For the next fifty years, "printing a Bible" meant "printing the Vulgate."

**The downside.** A thousand years of copying, despite Alcuin and the Paris correctors, had left the Vulgate with thousands of scribal variants. By 1500 there was no single reliable Latin text. This, combined with the rise of Hebrew and Greek scholarship in the Renaissance (Erasmus' 1516 Greek New Testament), was the scholarly precondition of the Reformation. Luther, Tyndale, and the other reformers

read Jerome with tremendous respect and then reached past him to the Hebrew and Greek Jerome himself had insisted on.

## PART 9 — TRENT, THE CLEMENTINE, AND THE NOVA VULGATA

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**8 April 1546** • The **Council of Trent**, in its Fourth Session, declares the Vulgate “authentic” (*pro authentica*) for lectures, disputations, preaching, and public reading in the Catholic church. The decision is a response to Protestant Reformers who had challenged the Vulgate’s readings against the Hebrew and Greek. Trent does not claim the Vulgate is inspired or infallible; it claims it is the authoritative Latin text the Catholic church has received.

**1592** • The **Sixto-Clementine Vulgate** is published by Pope Clement VIII. A previous attempt by Sixtus V (1590) had to be hastily recalled when scholars found thousands of errors in the freshly printed text. The Clementine remains the Catholic church’s standard Latin Bible for the next four centuries.

**1926–1995** • The Benedictine monks of the Abbey of San Girolamo in Rome produce the **Benedictine Vulgate** (also called the Stuttgart Vulgate when adapted by the Württemberg Bible Society), a modern critical edition reconstructing as nearly as possible what Jerome actually wrote.

**1979** • Pope John Paul II promulgates the **Nova Vulgata** (New Vulgate), a modern Latin revision commissioned after Vatican II. The Nova Vulgata is now the official Latin text of the Catholic church’s liturgy.

**Today** • The Vulgate continues to be studied as a primary historical source, used in some Latin-rite Catholic liturgies, and read devotionally by Latin-reading Christians of every tradition.

## WHY THIS MATTERS FOR US

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• **Translation is a gift from God.** Jerome's project assumed — rightly — that Scripture must be rendered into the language people actually read. The Latin West without the Vulgate would have been a West with a Greek Bible it could not read. Pentecost (Acts 2) is the pattern: the gospel speaks every language. Jerome's work is a Pentecost-shaped act.

• **Scholarship serves the church.** Jerome was an irritable, hyper-scholarly monk — exactly the kind of Christian easily dismissed as “just an academic.” The church would be immeasurably poorer without him. Some gifts come wrapped in difficult personalities. We should be grateful anyway.

• **The Jewish tutors were essential.** Jerome paid Jewish rabbis in gold to teach him Hebrew, to read manuscripts with him, to argue over roots and meanings. The Latin Bible of the Christian West was shaped by Jewish teachers whose names are mostly lost. This is the same pattern as **the Masoretic preservation**: the Christian church's Scripture is, in substantial measure, a gift Jewish scholars kept safe while we were not looking.

• **Corrections hurt. Do them anyway.** Jerome's Vulgate was resisted for a century because people preferred the translations they had memorized as children. This is a universal pastoral reality. When a church needs to correct a cherished but wrong reading (of Scripture, of history, of its own past) it will hurt. Jerome shows us it is worth it.

*LXX (Ps 118:105): λύχνος τοῖς ποσίν μου ὁ νόμος σου καὶ φῶς ταῖς τρίβοις μου.*

Psalm 119:105 (ESV): “Your word is a lamp to my feet and a light to my path.”

**Jerome's own most-quoted line** appears in the preface to his Commentary on Isaiah:

*“Ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ.”*

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

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**1.** Jerome's dream — "you are a Ciceronian, not a Christian" — cut him off from the reading he loved. What beloved but competing allegiance might God be naming in you right now?

**2.** Jerome chose to go behind the Greek LXX to the Hebrew, despite Augustine's warnings. Was that courage or arrogance? How do we tell the difference when reformers today argue we should "go back to the sources"?

**3.** The gourd-vs-ivy crisis was about a single word. What does it tell us about how congregations receive even small changes in Scripture's wording? Where have you seen that dynamic in your own church life?

**4.** Paula, Eustochium, and their household funded the Vulgate. What would it look like today for wealthy Christians to deploy their resources the way Paula did?

**5.** Jerome disagreed with his church about which books were canonical and lost. The Catholic church received the deuterocanonicals despite his protests; the Reformers sided with Jerome 1,100 years later. Is there a comfort in being on a minority side of a settled question for centuries?

**6.** "Ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ." If that line is true, what does it demand of our congregation's weekly engagement with the Bible — and what would have to change to meet that demand?

## CLOSING PRAYER

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Father of all tongues, we thank you for Jerome in his cave at Bethlehem, for Paula who paid his bills, for Eustochium who copied his work, and for the Jewish rabbis whose names we do not know who patiently taught him the Hebrew he needed. Thank you for the Vulgate and for the thousand years of Christian life it shaped. Forgive us where we love translations more than the Word they serve, and forgive us where we love novelty more than the Word we have received. Make us students like Jerome, generous like Paula, careful like the rabbis, patient like Augustine — and hungrier than any of them for the Christ to whom all Scripture points. Ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of you. Save us from both. Through Jesus Christ, the Word made flesh. Amen.

## FURTHER READING

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### Primary sources:

- Jerome, *Prefaces* to the biblical books — short, polemical, indispensable.
- Jerome, *Letters* 22 (to Eustochium on virginity, 384) and 108 (Paula's eulogy, 404) — his two most important letters.
- Jerome–Augustine correspondence: *Letters* 56, 67, 71, 72, 75, 81, 82, 112, 115, 116 (394–415).
- Jerome, *On Illustrious Men* (*De Viris Illustribus*), c. 393 — the first Christian literary catalogue.
- The Vulgate itself — the Stuttgart critical edition (*Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Weber-Gryson) is the modern standard.
- Council of Trent, Fourth Session Decree on the Canon (8 April 1546).

### Modern studies:

- J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (1975) — still the standard English biography.
- Megan Hale Williams, *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship* (2006).
- Stefan Rebenich, *Jerome* (Routledge Early Church Fathers, 2002).
- Andrew Cain, *The Letters of Jerome* (2009).
- Pierre Nautin, *Jérôme et Origène* (1977) — on the Origenist controversy.
- H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (2016).
- Alister E. McGrath, *In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible* (2001) — helpful framing for how the Vulgate fed into the English translations of our next lesson.

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*Next in series: The English Bible — Wycliffe to Tyndale to Geneva to KJV (c. 1380–1611)*