ANTOINE ARNAULT. THE FRENCH JANSENIST MILIEU AND THE PROMOTION OF VERNACULAR BIBLE READING

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Abstract: In the seventeenth century, the Jansenists, with their strong emphasis on the need for Christian revival, gained a reputation as promoters of vernacular Bible reading. Relying on tradition as a source of theology, on the writings of the Church Fathers, medieval scholastic authors and contemporary writers, as well as on the liturgical practice of the early Church, Jansenist scholars rediscovered the role of the laity in the life of the Church. This knowledge resulted in a vehement effort to grant lay people access to translations of the Bible and of liturgical texts. The Jansenist milieu associated with Port-Royal in France provided in particular the most outstanding translations in the period 1653-1708. From the end of the seventeenth century until the nineteenth century for instance, the so-called *Bible de Port-Royal* was the most widespread French translation of the Bible.

This contribution aims to study Antoine Arnauld, one of the leading intellectuals of the Port-Royal group, and more particularly his involvement in the translation of Biblical texts and the promotion of vernacular Bible reading. The article is divided into three main sections. The first section provides a short overview of Arnauld's life. The next section deals with the influence of Arnauld on the edition and the coming about of *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons* (1667). The third and last section lists Arnauld's endeavours to defend the Mons translation and the principle of vernacular Bible translation. The objective of this overview is to serve as a point of departure for further research.

Keywords: Antoine Arnauld, Port-Royal, Jansenism, *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons*, vernacular Bible reading.

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[1] The *EncyclopædiaBritannica* defines *Jansenism* as "a religious movement in Roman Catholicism that appeared chiefly in France, the Low Countries, and Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It arose out of the theological problem of reconciling divine grace and human freedom." The movement is named after "Cornelius Otto Jansen (Jansenius), a theologian at the University of Leuven (Louvain) and later bishop of Ypres. Jansen's views

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reading. Relying on tradition as a source of theology, on the writings of the Church Fathers, medieval scholastic authors and contemporary writers, as well as on the liturgical practice of the early Church, Jansenist scholars rediscovered the role of the laity in the life of the Church. This knowledge resulted in a vehement effort to grant lay people access to translations of the Bible and of liturgical texts. The Jansenist milieu associated with Port-Royal in France provided in particular the most outstanding translations in the period 1653-1708 (Weaver 1985: p. 510-521, p. 510-512). From the end of the seventeenth century until the nineteenth century for instance, the so-called *Bible de Port-Royal* was the most widespread French translation of the Bible.

This contribution aims to study Antoine Arnauld, one of the leading intellectuals of the Port-Royal group, and more particularly his involvement in the translation of Biblical texts and the promotion of vernacular Bible reading. The article is divided into three main sections. The first section provides a short overview of Arnauld's life. The next section deals with the influence of Arnauld on the edition and the coming about of *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons* (1667). The third and last section lists Arnauld's endeavours to defend the Mons translation and the principle of vernacular Bible translation. The objective of this overview is to serve as a point of departure for further research.

1. FRENCH EXILE IN BRUSSELS

This contribution does not intend to deal with Arnauld's life exhaustively. Therefore, only a short overview of his live will be provided.[2] Arnauld was born in Paris on 6 February 1612 as the twentieth and last child of Antoine Arnauld senior and his wife. Stimulated by his father and through the influence of Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, also known as the *Abbé de Saint-Cyran*, the family became closely associated with Jansenism. Moreover, nine of the ten Arnauld children who survived to adulthood were connected to Port-Royal in various ways. Arnauld's sisters Angélique and Agnès were for instance both abbess of the abbey of Port-Royal.

Arnauld never met Jansenius in real life. However, thanks to — among others — the *Abbé de Saint-Cyran*, who advised him to read the Fathers of the Church, Arnauld became acquainted with the person and the ideas of Jansenius. Gifted with an unflagging zeal, Arnauld was a controversialist with a versatile mind, an encyclopaedic spirit, and a preference for teamwork. He studied law, was

were published posthumously in 1640 in his *Augustinus*, a vast treatise defending the theology of St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and attacking certain teachings and practices associated especially with the Jesuit order." See *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Jansenism" (July 23, 2013), http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/ 300421/Jansenism.

[2] For biographical information on Arnauld, see Lesaulnier & McKenna 2004: p.77-85; Jacques 1975: p. 705-730, p. 705-708.

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specialized in philosophy and theology, competent in mathematics and sciences, and was skilled in the literary domain.[3]

In imitation of his father, Arnauld was intended for the bar, but he decided to study theology in Paris. In 1635, he received his bachelor's degree. Six years later, in 1641, he obtained a doctorate in theology and was ordained a priest. That same year, 1641, the first French edition of Jansenius' *Augustinus* appeared in Paris, and Arnauld embarked on a new career. Already during his studies, he had shown interest for the Augustinian ideas. With an inexhaustible energy, Arnauld joined the Solitaires of Port-Royal around 1640 and became directly involved in the controversies surrounding the *Augustinus*. The Solitaires were Frenchmen who chose to live a humble and ascetic life in retreat at Port-Royal and were closely linked to Jansenism. In the meantime, Arnauld maintained an extensive correspondence with the leading mathematicians, scientists, and scholars of his time. Throughout his life, he alternated periods of living in the monastery of Port-Royal with periods of hiding to escape from his opponents. From 1679 onwards, he went into voluntary exile in the Southern Low Countries and travelled all over this region[4]. He settled in Brussels, where he died on 8 August 1694 at the age of 82. Arnauld's complete works (thirty-eight volumes in forty-three parts) were published in Paris in the period 1775-1783.[5]

2. ARNAULD AND THE NEW TESTAMENT OF MONS

The second part of this contribution examines the influence of Antoine Arnauld on the edition and the coming about of *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons* (1667). Before entering into the essential issues, the ecclesiastical regulations concerning Bible reading in the vernacular in France after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the nineteenth ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic church, will be discussed.

On April 8, 1546, the Council of Trent declared that only the Vulgate was to be considered as the standard and "authentic" Bible version for the Latin Church. The Council remained, however, silent on the question of the legitimacy of vernacular Bible translations. In a sense, the *Index Tridentinus* with its *regulae* for reading Scripture, which appeared in the wake of the Council on March 24, 1564, disrupted the silence. Besides a revision of the papal catalogue of prohibited books of 1559, and the brief *Dominici Gregis* of pope Pius IV, this Index contained ten general rules composed by a commission, also known as the *Regulae Indicis* or Tridentine rules. These ten rules defined the Catholic position with regard to printed books in an exact legislation. Furthermore, they specified the contours of the Roman book censorship, the main goal of which was to prevent the spread of the so-called

[3] Jacques 1987: p. 66-76, p. 66-68.

[4] For further information on his exile, see Jacques 1976.

[5] For a more detailed division of Arnauld's works in six classes, see Arnauld 1781: p. 1-26. For further information on the complete works, see Jacques 1975: p. 708-730.

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unacceptable and heretical doctrines. The notorious Fourth Rule or *Regula Quarta*[6] authorized the reading of vernacular biblical texts only to those who were deemed capable (*capax*) according to the Catholic Tradition, and who had obtained the explicit, individual, and written permission (*permissio*) from the bishop or the inquisitor, on the advice of the parish priest or confessor (Bujanda et al. 1991: p. 150-153).[7] The reasoning was the following: Bible reading in the vernacular causes more harm than good because of the boldness of men. Those, however, who presumed to read or possessed vernacular Bibles without such permission did not receive absolution from their sins until they had handed over such Bibles to the ordinary.

Quite obviously, discrepancies concerning the right interpretation of the Fourth Rule of Trent arose throughout Europe. In France, three main positions can be distinguished, in addition to the numerous intermediate positions.

In line with the Spanish Inquisition, the French Ultramontanists, [8]placing strong emphasis on the prerogatives and powers of the Pope, adopted an ultra-restrictive position and prohibited every translation of biblical and liturgical texts (Chédozeau 1990: p. 73-161).

The French Gallican Church, anxious to maintain its autonomy from Rome, represents a second and more moderate group. They defended the principle of vernacular Bible reading and claimed the right for lay people to read the sacred texts within the strict framework of the Tridentine rules, and more in particular of the *Regula Quarta*. This position was widespread in the middle of the seventeenth century and resulted in a number of new French translations of the New

[6]Regula IV: "Cum experimento manifestum sit, si sacra biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde ob hominum temeritatem detrimenti qua mutilitas oriri, hac in parte judicio episcopia ut inquisitoris stetur, ut cum consilio parochi vel confessarii bibliorum a catholicis auctoribus versorum lectionem in vulgari lingua eis concedere possint, quos intellexerint ex hujus modilectione non damnum, sed fide íatque pietatis augmentum capere posse; quam facultatem in scriptis habeant. Qui autem absque tali facultate ea legere seu habere praesumpserit, nisi prius bibliis ordinario redditis peccatorum absolutionem percipere non possit. Biblio polae vero, qui praedictam facultatem non habent i biblia idiomate vulgari conscripta vendiderint vel alioquovis modo concesserint, liborum pretium in usus pios ab episcopo convertendum amittant, aliis que poenis pro delicti qualitate ejusdem episcopi arbitrio subjaceant. Regulares vero non nisi facultate a praelatis suis habita ea legere autem e repossint." See Bujanda et al. 1991: p. 813-822, here p. 816-817. For the discussion, Fernandez Lopez 2003: p. 161-178; Fragnito 1998: p. 95-109, here p. 98; Chédozeau 1990: p. 31-32.

[7] See also Chédozeau 1988: p. 427-435.

[8]The *Encyclopædia Britannica* defines *Ultramontanism*, derived from medieval Latin *ultramontanus*, 'beyond the mountains') as "a strong emphasis on papal authority and on centralization of the church. The word identified those northern European members of the church who regularly looked southward beyond the Alps (that is, to the popes of Rome) for guidance." See *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Ultramontanism" (July 23, 2013), http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/ 613447/Ultramontanism.

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Testament, such as the translation of Denys Amelote (1666-1670), which was soon considered as an appropriate alternative to the Mons translation. Moreover, Louis XIV, head and protector of the Gallican Church, ordered the distribution of more than 150,000 copies of the Amelote translation to the new converts after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685-1687 (Chédozeau 1990: p. 185-260).

With the appearance of Port-Royal, a third group came to the fore in the 1650's (Sellier 1998: p. 103-116). It is in this context that the efforts of Antoine Arnauld in favour of Bible reading in the vernacular will come to the fore. Port-Royal considered the reading of vernacular Bible translations not a right, but a (moral) obligation for every lay person, even for women. Therefore, the *Messieurs de Port-Royal* undertook an important translation project during the second half of the seventeenth century. This project consisted in the translation of Catholic devotional books and biblical texts and resulted in, among other publications, the *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons* in 1667 and the *Bible de Port-Royal* (1667-1693). During the first half of the seventeenth century, the French *Bible des théologiens de Louvain*, published in 1578 in Antwerp by Plantin and based on the translation of the Frenchman René Benoist, had been reprinted and reworked. This translation, however, was considered outdated and archaic. With regard to the Old Testament, this translation was the only acceptable French version. Concerning the New Testament, there had been already meritorious attempts to produce a more readable translation by, among others, François Véron (1646-1647), Michel de Marolles (1649) and Antoine Godeau (1668). (Chédozeau 1991: p. 134-168; Delforge 1991: p. 107-109; 123-143)

Antoine Arnauld was involved in the Port-Royal translation project right from the beginning, and, more in particular, he collaborated on the translation of the New Testament.[9] The preparations for the Mons translation were initiated by his nephew Antoine Lemaistre around 1653. He translated the Gospels and the Apocalypse, but only on the basis of the Vulgate, which did not satisfy the other *Messieurs*, who preferred the original Greek text (Arnauld 1776a: p. iii). Then the project came to a standstill for a couple of years. At the end of 1656, or the beginning of 1657, Lemaistre re-launched the project again with his brother Louis-Isaac, also called de Sacy,[10] and in cooperation with the *Messieurs de Port-Royal*, including among others Antoine Arnauld, but also Pierre Nicole and Blaise Pascal. However, Antoine Lemaistre died on November 4, 1658, and his brother Louis-Isaac (Sacy) continued his work (Pétavel 1970: p. 139-145). Antoine Arnauld was charged with translating the remaining books of the New Testament, namely the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. Moreover, together with Pierre Nicole, he

[9]For information concerning the coming-about of *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons,* see Chédozeau 2007: p. 333-388, p. 333-346; Mairé & Dupuigrenet Desroussilles 1988: p. 171-201; Pétavel 1970: p. 139-145; 148-150.

[10] Louis-Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy (1613-1654), brother of Antoine Le Maistre, was priest, theologian, author, poet, and, as translator, the driving force of the French translation of the Bible, called the *Bible de Port-Royal* or the *Bible de Sacy*.

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presided over the revision of the books that had already been translated on the basis of the Greek text, existing Latin and French translations, and the writings of the Church Fathers (Arnauld 1776a: p. iii).

After another standstill in the period 1660-1665[11] and an additional revision by Arnauld and Nicole, in 1665, the *Messieurs* submitted the translation to chancellor Séguier for approval. The latter, however, refused the privilege, probably because he had a marked preference for the above mentioned translation of Denys Amelote. The translation of the Port-Royal group was almost immediately condemned by the archbishop of Paris, Hardouin de Péréfixe, and this condemnation will be discussed in the third section of this article. Port-Royal thus turned to the Low Countries, where there was a more favourable attitude towards the translation. The Louvain theologian, Jacobus Pontanus, gave his approval to the translation on 14 June 1666. The translation furthermore received approbation from the bishop of Namur, Joannes Wachtendonck, in October 1666. Earlier, on 12 October 1665, the bishop of Cambrai, Gaspard Nemius, had already given his approval for printing to Gaspard Migeot, on the assumption that the translation would be or had already been approved by a royal censor (Arnauld 1776a: p. iv-v; Chédozeau 1988: p. 344-346). The Spanish King Charles II provided the royal privilege to print the book for six years. Both in the privilege of Charles II and in the approval of Gaspard Nemius, quite remarkably, Arnauld is the only one to be designated, with the remark that the translation was the work of "a doctor of the Sorbonne". This indication was probably added to emphasize the authority and the quality of the translation.[12]

According to the information on the title page, *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons* was published in 1667 in Mons (Bergen) by the printer Gaspard Migeot. This was, however, a false printing address, because the translation was actually printed in Amsterdam by Elzevier. During the first six months, more than 5,000 examples of the translation were sold and the translation was reprinted several times during the seventeenth century,[13] undoubtedly aided by the "Peace of the Church" (1669-1679), but also long thereafter. The so-called "Peace of the Church" or

[11] This delay was due to the renewal of the Formulary controversy in France in 1660 (Arnauld 1776a: p. iii).

[12] Arnauld had obtained his doctorate in theology in 1641. The privilege of Charles II states "Charles […] a donné Privilege à Gaspard Migeot, libraire juré en la ville de Mons, de pouvoir lui seul, imprimer ou faire imprimer, vendre & distribuer, par tous les pays & Seigneuries de Sa Majesté, le Nouveau Testament traduit du latin en français, par un *Docteur de Sorbonne* (italics mine)., & ce pour le terme de six ans […]". The approbation of Gaspard Nemius affirms "Gaspard Nemius, Dei & Apostolica e Sedis gratiâ, Archiepiscopus & Dux Cameracensis […] hinc est quod Novum Testamentum e Vulgatâ Latinâ editione per unum *Doctorem Sorbonicum* (italics mine) in idioma Gallicum fideliter translatum […]". See Arnauld 1776a: p. xxxi-xxxii.

[13] Five editions were published that same year in 1667, and four more in the following year of 1668. See Arnauld 1776a: p. v. See also Chalon 1844.

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"Clementine Peace" was installed in 1669, when pope Clement IX, after negotiations with the Jansenists, restored some peace to the French Church, and lasted until 1679. As part of the composition of the *Bible de Port-Royal*, the Mons translation was reviewed by the last *Messieurs* in the period 1696-1708. This entire Bible translation consisted of 32 volumes in-octavo.[14] In the prologue, the (moral) obligation to read the New Testament was justified that following way: the reading of the Bible is the reception of the Word of God, just as the Eucharist is the reception of Christ's body (Chédozeau 1991: p. 145-147).

3. ARNAULD AND THE DEFENCE OF VERNACULAR BIBLE READING

It is not surprising that the Mons translation was severely contested in France and the Low Countries, not only immediately after its publication in 1668, but also in the following decades of the seventeenth century. Arnauld wrote several works in defence of the Jansenist ideas, the majority of them anonymously. The third and last section of this contribution lists Arnauld's endeavours to defend the Mons translation and the principle of vernacular Bible translation. The purpose of this survey is to serve as a starting point for further research. However, this contribution does not intend to give an exhaustive overview of all the works Arnauld wrote on the topic.

The Mons translation was criticized at three levels and it is important not to underestimate the role of the Jesuits in the redaction of these criticisms. In both France and the Low Countries, the majority of the reactions came thus from the Society of Jesus, or from religious groups influenced by them; second, and to a lesser degree, the secular and royal authorities intervened in the discussions; third, the translation was submitted to the dogmatic judgments of the Holy See. Arnauld provided every attack with a suitable answer, sometimes assisted by the other *Messieurs*. Of course he was not the only one to react to these writings. A selection of the expressed allegations will be discussed in a chronological order.

The French Jesuit and historian Louis Maimbourg was the first to react to the Mons translation in his sermons, given from August to October 1667.[15] Arnauld and Pierre Nicole retorted to him in seven letters that were published in 1668 under the title *Deffense de la traduction du Nouveau Testament imprimé à Mons* (Arnauld & Nicole 1668a[16]). That same year, Maimbourg defended his sermons in his *Deffense des sermons faits par le R. P. Maimbourg je suite* (L.D.S.F. 1688).

The archbishop of Paris at the time, Hardouin de Beaumont de Péréfixe, issued two ordinances against the Mons translation in which he attacked the reading,

[14] For further information on the *Bible de Port-Royal*, see Sellier 2012: p. 147-159; 161-173.

[15] For more background information on the controversy between Maimbourg and Arnauld, see Arnauld 1776a: p. vi-ix.

[16] The work was slightly modified and reprinted in the following year in Cologne. This second edition was inserted in Arnauld 1776a: p. 551-784.

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selling, and recitation of the translation without the permission of the bishops by appealing to the Tridentine decrees. The first ordinance, dated 18 November 1667, criticized the translation of a lack of formality because of the use of the Greek text. Arnauld and Pierre Nicole reacted, probably in 1668, with the work *Abus et nullité de l'ordonnance subreptice de Monseigneur l'archevesque de Paris* (Arnauld & Nicole 1668b). In this work, they dealt with nine so-called nullities that they claimed to find in Péréfixe's ordinance, and with nine moral questions concerning the Mons translation (Arnauld 1776a: p. ix-x). The indignant archbishop, most probably at the instigation of the Jesuits, reacted by writing a second and more extensive ordinance that appeared on 20 April 1668. This time, he condemned the Mons translation on the basis of the censures of the Parisian theologians of the previous century, against the Benoist translation and vernacular Bibles in general. The archbishop enumerated six arguments and stated for instance that the Mons translation was not in accordance with the Vulgate, the authentic version of the Latin Church, as declared by the Council of Trent. He furthermore proposed to extend the punishment of excommunication to all who dared to print, sell, distribute, or recite the translation, instead of only the printers and book sellers (Arnauld 1776b: p. vi-vii; Pin 1714: p. 212-216; 234-243). In imitation of De Péréfixe, and thus encouraged by the Jesuits, several French (arch) bishops condemned *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons*. The archbishop of Embrun, George d'Aubusson de la Feuillade, ordered his vicar-general Antoine Lambert, who was assisted by some Jesuits, to write an ordinance that was published in the beginning of December 1667. In this decree, d'Aubusson put forward that translations such as that of Mons were at the basis of the present heresies, stating "Étant certain que toutes les heresies qui sont nées dans son sein (l'Église [sic]), ont toûjours cherché leur fondement & leur défense dans les paroles de la sainte Ecriture mal entendüe" (Pin 1714: p. 229-232). The archbishop of Reims, Antoine Barberin (1659-1671), and the bishop of Evreux, Henri Cauchon de Maupas, also wrote ordinances against *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons*, dated 4 January 1668 (Arnauld 1776b: p. ii-vi). As a reaction to these decrees, Arnauld and Noël La Lane addressed an appeal to Louis XIV on 10 May 1668 in which they requested the king to hear them before condemning them. They also rejected the allegations that the archbishop of Embrun had made against them (Pin 1714: p. 248-252).

As far as the secular and royal authorities were concerned, they intervened in the discussions through the publication of a prohibition, dated 22 November 1667, issued by the Council of State, to which king Louis XIV added a short charge. This prohibition forbade both the selling and the recitation of the anonymous Mons translation without the permission and approbation of the French bishops. Furthermore, all exemplars of the translation had to be handed over to the secretary of the Parisian provost, or to the local royal judges. In practice, however, the prohibition was not observed. It is notable that this document is one of the few to which Arnauld did not react. Maybe out of self-preservation because he wanted to avoid difficulties with the royal authorities?

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The Mons translation was also submitted to the dogmatic judgments of the Holy See in Rome. On 20 April 1668, the same day that De Péréfixe's second ordinance was published, the Jesuits sent a draft on the Mons translation to Rome. Pope Clement IX condemned the translation, not in a bull, but in a simple brief (Mairé & Dupuigrenet Desroussilles 1988: p. 171-201). However, the papal nuncio in Paris sent this document to the French bishops without consulting the Parliament and thus without the necessary approvals. The royal prosecutor considered this an act against the rights of the bishops and the freedom of the Gallican Church. Therefore, the brief could not be received in France. Louis XIV ordered the nuncio to retract all the briefs he had sent to the bishops, which he readily did. The same brief had also been sent to the papal nuncio of Brussels and the bishops of the Low Countries, although it had either not been submitted to the Royal Council of the Low Countries for approval. The Council of Mechelen therefore published a prohibition for publication of the brief on 10 July 1668 (Pin 1714: p. 243-248; Arnauld 1776b: p. xi-xii). In short, Clement IX's brief was not executed in France or the Low Countries, undoubtedly in the aftermath of the "Clementine Peace", which was of only short duration. However, Pope Innocent XI condemned the translation again on 9 September 1679.

Besides the reactions mentioned, objections against the Mons translation came from, among others, the Jesuit François Annat, one of the foremost opponents of Jansenism, in the work *Remarques sur la conduite qu'ont tenu les Jansenistes en l'impression et publication du Nouveau Testament imprimé a Mons* (1668). Two responses in the form of a letter were made to this work and were also refuted in two so-called *Réponses*. The Jesuit Michel le Tellier also took part in the controversies surrounding the Mons translation and published three works in 1672, 1675 and 1684. Arnauld never reacted to the latter work.[17]

Again under the impulse of the Jesuits, Charles Mallet (1608-1680), canon of Rouen and vicar-general in 1674, violated the "Clementine Peace" in 1676 with his *Examen de quelques passages de la traduction française du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons*,[18] which consisted mainly of a reprise of Maimbourg's argumentation.[19] Three years later, in 1679, he published his *De la lecture de l'Écriture Sainte en langue vulgaire.* Arnauld reacted vehemently to the assertions expressed in these two works. In 1680, he published his *Nouvelle défense de la traduction du Nouveau Testament imprimée à*

[17] These works were entitled *Réponse aux principales raisons de la nouvelle défense du Nouveau Testament de Mons*, 1672; *Avis importans et nécessaires aux personnes qui lisent les Traductions Françoises des Saintes Ecritures, et particulièrement celle du Nouveau Testament, imprimée à Mon*s, 1675; *Observations sur la nouvelle defense de la version française du Nouveau Testament imprimée a Mons, pour justifier la conduite des papes, des evesques & du roy à l'égard de cette version*, 1684. See Pin 1714: p. 233; Arnauld 1776b: p. xii-xiv; xxvi-xxvii.

[18] A second (reviewed and corrected) edition of this work appeared in 1677. A third version was posthumously published in 1682.

[19] For the controversy between Mallet and Arnauld, see Leduc-Fayette 1995: p. 97-112; Arnauld 1777: p. i-iii.

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Mons (Arnauld 1680c)[20] in two volumes. That same year, the work was followed by the *Continuation de la nouvelle défense de la traduction du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons* (Arnauld 1680a). As a reaction to Mallet's more general work of 1679 on the reading of the Holy Scriptures, Arnauld wrote his *De la Lecture de l'Écriture sainte contre les paradoxes extravagants et impies de M. Mallet, docteur de Sorbonne* (Arnauld 1680b), also published in 1680. Mallet's last work, *Réponse aux principales raisons qui servent de fondement à la nouvelle défense du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons,* was posthumously published in 1682 (Arnauld 1776b: p. xv-xxii).

Reactions also came from the Low Countries and more in particular from the Faculty of Theology of the Louvain University. The anti-Jansenist intriguant Nicolas Du Bois (1620-1696), royal professor of Sacred Scriptures at the Faculty from 1654 until his death in 1696, entered into a controversy with Arnauld. Du Bois was moreover an emissary of the Jesuits at the Louvain University. He criticized the Mons translation in his *Notae in gallicam versionem Novi Testamenti a Clement IX condemnata*, published in 1678. Arnauld for his part did not consider him to be an opponent to be afraid of (Arnauld 1776b: p. xxiii). The Louvain theologian Martinus Steyaert, initially a friend of Arnauld, but later an opponent, also entered into discussion with Arnauld. The latter resumed the debates on the Mons translation extensively in sections VI, VII, VIII and IX of his *Difficultés proposées à M. Steyaert* (Arnauld 1777: p. xiii-xxvi).

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Antoine Arnauld exercised an important influence on the development and the publication of the Mons translation in 1667 and its subsequent defence. Indeed, up until the end of his life, Arnauld countered the attacks of the opponents of the Mons translation and Bible reading in the vernacular in general. Most of these attacks were undertaken by the Jesuits, or their adherents.

The Mons translation was influential not only in France, but also in the Low Countries. At the end of the seventeenth century, and through the influence of the French Jansenists, the Jansenist-minded milieus in the Low Countries produced vernacular Bible translations. The New Testament of these Bibles relied mainly on *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons*. The production of these vernacular Bibles took place mainly in the Northern part of the Low Countries, although the printing addresses continued to refer to southern cities, like Antwerp. However, the tale of these Dutch Bible translations is another story, but for another time. Further work also needs to be done to establish whether the works of Antoine Arnauld were also influential in Romania, and, more in particular, in the translation of Nicolae Milescu.

[20] This work was reprinted several times, also in Holland where it appeared with a false title.

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