

GARDNER-WEBB UNIVERSITY

LATE MEDIEVAL METHODS  
OF NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION FROM 1300 TO 1500

A TERM PAPER SUBMITTED TO

DR. LORIN L. CRANFORD

in

PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

for

RELIGION 492

by

TODD NEWTON

BOILING SPRINGS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 23, 2004

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The medieval period of biblical interpretation has seemingly not been given the attention it deserves by scholars.<sup>2</sup> This period is one of the most difficult and complex of all the periods.<sup>3</sup> Scholars during this period were sensitive to the nature and possibilities more than any other period.<sup>4</sup> Even though allegory was still dominant, grammatical exegesis became a necessity and was widely practiced.<sup>5</sup> Medieval scholars kept looking back at the golden age and focused on tradition which had disappeared. They tried to preserve this lost age and explain it to their own generation.<sup>6</sup> In their desire to pass on the traditions of old, they looked for new ways of doing this and discovered that those traditions were not perfect as they had been taught.<sup>7</sup> After this was discovered, it took a long time for it to sink in but when it finally did medieval society was rocked to its foundation and gave way to a more secular society.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Some editorial revision has been done with the format in order to make the paper conformed more closely to Turabian. Dr. Cranford.

<sup>2</sup> Gerald Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present. (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 129.

<sup>3</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 129.

<sup>4</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 130.

<sup>5</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 130.

<sup>6</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 131.

<sup>7</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 131.

<sup>8</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 130.

### **Late Medieval Methods of Interpretation**

During the late Middle Ages Europe was devastated by the Black Death and the church survived the exile of the pope in Avignon.<sup>9</sup> The church also had to overcome the schism that followed the exile.<sup>10</sup> New intellectual movements began to emerge by the fifteenth century. These new movements proved to be uncontrollable by the church.<sup>11</sup> “The scholastic system of Thomas Aquinas fell apart, and there was no generally accepted replacement. Scholars increasingly went their own way, and questioned the authorities they had accepted in the past.”<sup>12</sup> Scholars sometimes consulted Jewish authorities in order to gain a historical sense of a passage.<sup>13</sup> This medieval interest in Jewish interpretation did not really diminish but it was not used as much during the later period.<sup>14</sup> Allegory was the more dominant method of interpretation of the Bible but this came under fire during the late Middle Ages.<sup>15</sup> Allegory is the method of interpreting scripture

---

<sup>9</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 132.

<sup>10</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 132.

<sup>11</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 132.

<sup>12</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 132.

<sup>13</sup> Robert M. Grant. A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible. (New York: The MacMillian Company, 1963), 118.

<sup>14</sup> Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, 119.

<sup>15</sup> Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, 119.

by taking the literal sense of a passage and seeing it as more symbolic of a deeper and hidden meaning.<sup>16</sup>

The scholars of the late middle ages emphasized a more literal and grammatical interpretation of the scriptures. They were not innovating and seemed to be recycling or adding to ideas already expressed by earlier scholars.<sup>17</sup> These scholars seemed to share Thomas Aquinas' view of a literal interpretation of scripture, but they differed in that they believed that the scripture could stand alone.<sup>18</sup> This is referred to as *sola scriptura*. *Sola scriptura* is "a theological principle that seeks to base all doctrine in scriptural revelation; it is associated with 16<sup>th</sup>-century Protestantism."<sup>19</sup> For these scholars, scripture is not just one of the pillars of the faith, it is the very foundation.<sup>20</sup> These scholars stood by their interpretation of the Bible regardless of what earlier scholars believed.<sup>21</sup> "The Church was not to be the arbiter of the meaning of scripture, for scripture, the word of God, was the Church's judge."<sup>22</sup> In some ways, it was believed that scripture could be divorced from theology in the late middle ages.<sup>23</sup> "Ancient documents were rediscovered, and efforts were made to popularize the new learning, especially a knowledge of the Bible,

---

<sup>16</sup> Ralph Keen. The Christian Tradition. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 2003), 199.

<sup>17</sup> Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, 128-129.

<sup>18</sup> Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, 129.

<sup>19</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 214.

<sup>20</sup> Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, 129.

<sup>21</sup> Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, 129.

<sup>22</sup> Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, 129.

<sup>23</sup> Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, 146.

which was still regarded as indispensable.”<sup>24</sup> It was during this time that nationalism began to surface and people began to realize that there was more in the world than their own civilization.<sup>25</sup> A new market for books developed with the appearance of Vernacular literatures and the invention of the printing press.<sup>26</sup> The Bible was at the center of all this new activity and biblical translation and interpretation became more important.<sup>27</sup> “Greek scholars arrived from the East, fleeing a dying Byzantium, and they brought with them a Christian learning which had previously been unknown.”<sup>28</sup> While studying biblical languages, scholars found out that the Latin Vulgate was not perfect and that some of the ancient traditions such as the belief that the pope gained his authority from the Emperor Constantine were not true.<sup>29</sup> The church had lost control of biblical interpretation by 1500 and interpretation was now in the hands of a new breed of scholar.<sup>30</sup> This marked the end of the medieval order and sparked a new age of Western Christendom.<sup>31</sup>

After the decline of Aquinas’ scholasticism a more radical rationalism surfaced.<sup>32</sup> It was associated with the name William of Ockham.<sup>33</sup> Ockham needed proof before he would believe in something. He also believed in getting right to the point and would not include any

---

<sup>24</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 132.

<sup>25</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 132-133.

<sup>26</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 133.

<sup>27</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 133.

<sup>28</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 133.

<sup>29</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 133.

<sup>30</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 133.

<sup>31</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 133.

<sup>32</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>33</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

evidence that was not relevant to his point.<sup>34</sup> It was this shaving away of unnecessary facts that was called his “razor.” His ideas were not favorable to allegorical exegesis and were revolutionary to literal interpretation as well.<sup>35</sup> Ockham was formerly a member of the Franciscan order and was even excommunicated by the pope for apostasy. It is important to note that the Church never officially condemned his theology.<sup>36</sup>

One of the most prominent scholars of the late middle ages was John Wycliffe. Proof of just how revolutionary Ockham’s work was shows up in the work of Wycliffe.<sup>37</sup> Wycliffe is also known as the one with the most support for the idea of *sola scriptura*.<sup>38</sup> He believed that any pastor that went beyond the literal meaning of the biblical text was leading his flock astray.<sup>39</sup> He was against an allegorical interpretation of the text and wanted Bible study to be intellectual and more accessible to the regular people.<sup>40</sup> “He was eager to put the Bible in the hands of the regular people and to translate it into the vernacular.”<sup>41</sup> Wycliffe believed that a person needed to have a moral interpretation of the scriptures and that the literal sense was the only way to go.<sup>42</sup> He also

---

<sup>34</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>35</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>36</sup> Medieval Philosophy: From St. Augustine to Nicholas of Cusa. eds. John F. Wippel and Allan B. Wolter. (New York: The Free Press, 1969), 446.

<sup>37</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>38</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>39</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>40</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>41</sup> Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, 130.

<sup>42</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

believed that a person would be right with God if they followed the precepts in the Gospels.<sup>43</sup> “He had no time for the sacramental excesses of the church, and denied the novel doctrine of transubstantiation, which he thought was unbiblical.”<sup>44</sup> The doctrine of transubstantiation stated that the bread and wine that remained after consecration of the Eucharist was an “accident” or an appearance.<sup>45</sup> In Wycliffe’s view, the bread and wine remained after consecration and that Christ’s presence in the Eucharist was figurative rather than literal.<sup>46</sup> These beliefs for Wycliffe exiled from Oxford and he was declared a heretic in 1378.<sup>47</sup> He attacked the Roman Catholic Church for some of their unbiblical aspects and declared that the authority of the pope was not scriptural.<sup>48</sup> As a result of his beliefs, Wycliffe was denounced by the Church at the Council of Constance in 1415.<sup>49</sup> Wycliffe believed that scripture contained all truth and that human wisdom was worthless compared to scripture.<sup>50</sup> If it couldn’t be found in scripture then it had no place in religious life. He was, however, forced to admit that some things were implied in the biblical text but not directly stated, such as the doctrine of the Trinity.<sup>51</sup> For Wycliffe, the church fathers were

---

<sup>43</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>44</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>45</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 176.

<sup>46</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 176.

<sup>47</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 176.

<sup>48</sup> Jack B. Rogers and Donald K. McKim. The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach. (San Francisco: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1979), 73.

<sup>49</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 73.

<sup>50</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

useless unless what they taught was found in the scriptures. He believed that the Old and New Testaments had to be read together. All philosophy had to be backed up by scripture if it was to be taken seriously.<sup>52</sup> He believed that if there was a conflict between the teachings of the Church and the scriptures, that the scriptures authority comes first.<sup>53</sup> This conflicted with the church's view that there was both a written and unwritten apostolic message.<sup>54</sup> In his work, *The Truth of Holy Scripture*, Wycliffe said that, "The Bible is therefore the only source of doctrine that will insure the health of the Church and the salvation of the faithful."<sup>55</sup> Wycliffe was opposed to the Aristotelianism that was prevalent in his day and became increasingly frustrated with the spiritual sterility of skepticism.<sup>56</sup> He was greatly influenced by Augustine's formula of faith leading to understanding, when it comes to the authority of scripture.<sup>57</sup> Wycliffe often cited Augustine in the placement of reason. Augustine said, "If reason is set against the authority of the Divine Scripture, no matter how keen it may be, it fails of accuracy, for it cannot be true."<sup>58</sup> Wycliffe also followed Augustine when it came to interpreting scripture. He relied on the leading of the

---

<sup>51</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>52</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>53</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 74.

<sup>54</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 74.

<sup>55</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 74.

<sup>56</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 73.

<sup>57</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 74.

<sup>58</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 74.



Holy Spirit and relied on his regenerated reason.<sup>59</sup> Wycliffe's Augustinianism led him to be called, "John, Son of Augustine."<sup>60</sup> He believed that the Bible's meaning was clear to anyone who prayerfully sought it, without any interpretation from the church.<sup>61</sup> Wycliffe had several rules for reading the scripture: obtain a reliable text, understand Scripture's logic, compare parts of Scripture with each other, and maintain a humble, seeking attitude so the Spirit can lead us.<sup>62</sup> It may be surprising to see that he used allegory at times when he was so against it.<sup>63</sup> Wycliffe wrote postills on the entire Bible.<sup>64</sup> A postill is a literal commentary interwoven with the scriptural text.<sup>65</sup> He also believed that all things happen for a reason and that God determines everything that happens.<sup>66</sup> He maintained that God knew everything that was going to happen and God's will was unchanging, unlike the will of man. What God knows about the future cannot be changed.<sup>67</sup> Wycliffe believed that holding a church office presupposes that a person is going to

---

<sup>59</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 74.

<sup>60</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 74.

<sup>61</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 74.

<sup>62</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 74.

<sup>63</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>64</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 143.

<sup>65</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 152.

<sup>66</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 176.

<sup>67</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 176.

use it properly. If that person is in a state of sin they cannot function properly.<sup>68</sup> It was this belief that resulted in a conflict with the church. He believed that the papal hierarchy at Avignon was not living properly. The church took offense to this and issued an order for his arrest and imprisonment. This was to be carried out by the secular authorities, but they did not carry out the orders.<sup>69</sup> Wycliffe's followers were known as Lollards. They were known by this name because they were thought to mumble their prayers.<sup>70</sup> They went out preaching in the vernacular and helped to translate the Bible into their own native tongues.<sup>71</sup> They were very radical in their attack on the church and openly condemned pilgrimages and veneration of the saints, which were popular practices at the time.<sup>72</sup> They passed out evangelistic tracts throughout the countryside.<sup>73</sup> "Some from the upper classes condemned Wycliffe and his followers for encouraging the poor to seek a better life."<sup>74</sup> They practiced a simple faith and refused to pray for the dead or worship saints.<sup>75</sup> These poor preachers were also severely persecuted for their beliefs.<sup>76</sup> Wycliffe and his Lollards can be seen as one of the forerunners of the reformation.<sup>77</sup> He has often been called the

---

<sup>68</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 176.

<sup>69</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 176.

<sup>70</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 177.

<sup>71</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 177.

<sup>72</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 177.

<sup>73</sup> James Reed and Ronnie Prevost. A History of Christian Education. (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1993), 175.

<sup>74</sup> Reed and Prevost, A History of Christian Education, 175.

<sup>75</sup> Reed and Prevost, A History of Christian Education, 175.

<sup>76</sup> Rogers and McKim, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, 74.

“morning star” of the Reformation.<sup>78</sup> He was also the first to issue an English translation of the Bible.<sup>79</sup> “The English people enthusiastically received Wycliffe’s translation, but the church prohibited the common person from reading the Bible in the vernacular. Offenders who were caught with the English Bible often lost their lives.”<sup>80</sup>

Nicholas of Lyra was a popular scholar well into the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>81</sup> He was ignorant of Greek but knew Hebrew and Jewish commentaries.<sup>82</sup> He was familiar with the works of Jewish scholar Rashi.<sup>83</sup> One of his main concerns was to take a literal interpretation of scripture.<sup>84</sup> He insisted that the literal meaning was the basis for all other meanings that may develop and that deviating from that leads to the ruin of the most elaborate allegorical superstructure.<sup>85</sup> Some scholars believe that he was against allegory.<sup>86</sup> However, other scholars believe that he used allegory in a broader sense of the passage and would not focus on using allegory with a single verse.<sup>87</sup> He also had an influence on Martin Luther because of his aim to trace the development

<sup>77</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 154.

<sup>78</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 143.

<sup>79</sup> Keen, The Christian Tradition, 176.

<sup>80</sup> Reed and Prevost, A History of Christian Education, 172.

<sup>81</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 142.

<sup>82</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 142.

<sup>83</sup> Edwin C. Blackman. Biblical Interpretation. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957), 115.

<sup>84</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 142.

<sup>85</sup> Blackman. Biblical Interpretation, 115.

<sup>86</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 142.

<sup>87</sup> Blackman. Biblical Interpretation, 115.

through a passage without allegorizing an individual verse.<sup>88</sup> “His postills were the first biblical commentaries to be printed.”<sup>89</sup>

John of Ragusa came to prominence in 1431 at the Council of Basel.<sup>90</sup> He laid down some rules for biblical interpretation at this council.<sup>91</sup> “His rules provide a good picture of the state of exegesis towards the end of the Middle Ages.”<sup>92</sup> His rules are a mixture of old and new traditions that seems to reflect the spirit of transition in the late middle ages.<sup>93</sup> Rule number one states that all scripture is inspired. This is not a new concept and John is not as confident in this theme as earlier scholars.<sup>94</sup> Secondly, nothing that is stated in scripture can mislead anyone.<sup>95</sup> “This was a restatement of the ancient doctrine of the perspicuity of Scripture, though in a context which makes it an attack on the excesses of allegorical exegesis.”<sup>96</sup> The third rule states that the teaching of Scripture accords with God’s goodness.<sup>97</sup> This was another attack on allegory. John rejected the traditional allegory that claimed that there were immoral statements in the

---

<sup>88</sup> Blackman, Biblical Interpretation, 115.

<sup>89</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 142.

<sup>90</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 143.

<sup>91</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 143.

<sup>92</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 143.

<sup>93</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>94</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>95</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>96</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>97</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

scripture that needed to be explained away.<sup>98</sup> John said that these supposed immoral statements could be explained and that they were examples of God's goodness.<sup>99</sup> Fourth, Scripture has many senses, and one of those senses is the literal sense.<sup>100</sup> "Any spiritual meaning to be derived from the text must come from the literal sense, and not be read into (or on top of) it."<sup>101</sup> Fifth, the author of scripture intended it to be read in the literal sense. It is infallible and contains everything that needs to be known for salvation.<sup>102</sup> This is a new concept and it seems to be a reflection of the thoughts of John Wycliffe.<sup>103</sup> This seems to claim scriptural authority for anyone who correctly interprets the scripture from a literal standpoint.<sup>104</sup> Sixth, the reader should examine the context and style of a passage.<sup>105</sup> Seventh, the difficulties found in the text are useful and necessary.<sup>106</sup> John believed that if scripture was simple people would not bother to study it.<sup>107</sup> Eighth, the church fathers are to be preferred over the modern scholars as interpreters of the Scripture.<sup>108</sup> John was a traditionalist and was not willing to let go of the church's heritage even when it was

---

<sup>98</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>99</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>100</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>101</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>102</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>103</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>104</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>105</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 155.

<sup>106</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 156.

<sup>107</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 156.

<sup>108</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 156.

shown to be wrong.<sup>109</sup> Ninth, commentators should be compared and made to agree if possible. If there is a disagreement, the commentator that is closest to Scripture is preferred.<sup>110</sup> The first part of this rule was based on tradition, but the second part is a new idea. It gives more authority to scripture, while the first half tries to maintain unity in the same way there was expected to be unity in scripture.<sup>111</sup> In earlier times, the final say would have been given to the church fathers.<sup>112</sup> Tenth, heretics have interpreted scripture falsely. The aim of biblical interpretation is to arrive at the truth.<sup>113</sup> This statement was not new and it upheld the authority of the church.<sup>114</sup> The heretics he was referring to was the Lollards and the Hussites, both of who were following the teachings of John Wycliffe.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 156.

<sup>110</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 156.

<sup>111</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 156.

<sup>112</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 156.

<sup>113</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 156.

<sup>114</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 156.

<sup>115</sup> Bray, Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present, 156.

### **Conclusion**

The late Middle Ages were filled with diverse thoughts and the church begins to lose its power. The chosen method of interpretation for the early Middle Ages, allegory, seems to be taking a back seat to a more literal interpretative method. More and more lay people were being encouraged to read the Scriptures in their own vernacular languages and to study the scripture without the influence of the Church. The work of John Wycliffe is very important. He was one of the fore fathers of the reformation and his influence helped to change the Church as it was know. His devout followers continued to spread his ideas after his death and they too can be considered pioneers in the reformation of the church. The late Middle Ages are referred to as the dark ages for a reason, they do not show a lot of new ideas. The ideas that surfaced were ideas of earlier scholars that were modified or re-taught by the medieval scholars of this time. This time period could be seen as the starting point of the reformation, and it is quite interesting that it has seemingly been overlooked by modern scholars. It has not been given the attention it deserves.

### **Bibliography**

- Blackman, Edwin C. Biblical Interpretation. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957.
- Bray, Gerald. Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1996.
- Grant, Robert M. A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible. New York: The MacMillian Company, 1963.
- Keen, Ralph. The Christian Tradition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 2003.
- Leclercq, Jean, O.S.B. The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture. New York: Fordham University Press, 1982.
- Medieval Philosophy: From St. Augustine to Nicholas of Cusa. Eds. John F. Wippel and Allan B. Wolter. New York: The Free Press, 1969.
- Reed, James, and Ronnie Prevost. A History of Christian Education. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1993.
- Rogers, Jack B., and Donald K. McKim. The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach. San Francisco: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1979.