

THE 'ROCK'.
MARCUS MARULUS' THEOLOGICAL PATRIMONY
CONCERNING THE INTERPRETATION
OF »YOU ARE PETER AND UPON THIS ROCK
I WILL BUILD MY CHURCH«

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The lay theologian of Split, Marcus Marulus (1450-1524), shows a distinctive interest in the patrimony not only of the Church Fathers and the Sacred Scriptures but also of classical, pagan antiquity. With his philosophical and theological focus and with his retrieval of biblical and patristic theology he fits squarely into the wider picture of Renaissance humanism, the *Devotio Moderna*, and the theology-for-piety (*Frömmigkeitstheologie*) of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Marulus is part of the intellectual movement *ad fontes*. His voluminous Repertorium is a splendid proof of this return. Marulus' classical, biblical, and patristic repertoire will be taken into consideration here next to his study of the *Biblia Latina* itself which he has at hand in an edition of 1489. The center of attention will rest on the heritage of biblical and ancient Christian theology (Patristics) in Marulus' Latin works with respect to one of the most contentious verses of the entire New Testament, Mt 16:18 and the meaning of the 'rock': »And so I say to you, you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church«.

There are basically three options for interpreting the 'rock': (a) the person of Peter, (b) the faith of Peter as he expressed it with respect to Jesus Christ as the Son of God, or (c) Jesus Christ himself as the Rock. Marulus as a Christocentrist prefers the traditional interpretation of the 'rock' as handed down from the fathers and the doctors of the Church through the centuries. The idea that the rock in Mt 16:18 would be the person of Peter is an idea that may have become popular in the Catholic Church during the later Catholic Counter-Reformation, but it is completely foreign to the Roman Catholic lay theologian of Split.

Key Words: Marko Marulić, lay theologian, history of exegesis, theology-for-piety, *Devotio Moderna*, Renaissance humanism, Apostle Peter.

During the Marulić Days of 2013 we ponder over »The Heritage of Classical Antiquity in Renaissance Texts«. For Marcus Marulus the ancient heritage includes not only classical antiquity, but also and always the ecclesiastical patrimony of the early Church,¹ which he cherished immensely. In the following, only one word, ‘rock’, will be the focus of our attention, primarily with respect to what the early Church and the long Catholic tradition bequeathed to him, the »Father of Croatian Literature«, concerning the proper understanding of the ‘rock’ in Mt 16:18, which is one of the most contentious verses in the entire New Testament.

Many people have seen the cupola of Saint Peter’s Basilica in Rome on television during the recent reports about the transition from the reign of Pope Benedict XVI to Pope Francis. Viewers may wonder what the full inscription on the inside ring at the base of the dome says. It reads: *TV ES PETRVS ET SVPER HANC PETRAM AEDIFICABO ECCLESIAM MEAM*; it is the Latin version of the biblical verse Mt 16:18. The time when the inscription was finished (ca. 1620) was the era of the Catholic Counter-Reformation – about one hundred years after Marulus’ year of death (1524) – a time when his Latin books were still in high demand in certain German-speaking regions.

The present topic is not so much an elaboration of what the verse may or may not have meant in the era of the Counter-Reformation, but what it meant to a Croatian nobleman on the eve of the Reformation, around 1500, when Saint Peter’s Basilica as we know it was not even built. This nobleman is one of the first Croatian Scripture scholars to become internationally known, and it is worth finding out what he has to say, especially since he is known as »the Father of Croatian literature« in the vernacular. His Latin works are the only texts in which the contentious ‘rock’ appears. The riches of these works are still to be excavated in future research on Marulus’ *Gedankenwelt*.

When we approach the topic of what Marulus thought of the biblical verse, we need to consider briefly the *Sitz im Leben* of his work by referring to the cultural-historical and church-historical context in which he lived, a context which shows a distinct interest not only in the patrimony of the Church Fathers and of the Sacred Scriptures but also in classical, pagan antiquity. With his philosophical and theological focus and with his retrieval of biblical and patristic theology Marulus fits squarely into the wider picture not only of the Renaissance humanism coming from Italy with its return *ad fontes*, but also of the *Devotio Moderna* coming from the Low Countries.² Besides that, Marulus is an ideal candidate for what in recent

¹ Charles B é n é, »Les Pères de l’Église et la réception des auteurs classiques,« in August B u c k, ed., *Die Rezeption der Antike. Zum Problem der Kontinuität zwischen Mittelalter und Renaissance*, Ernst Hauswedell, Hamburg, 1981, 41-53.

² On the *Devotio Moderna* and the Brethren of the Common Life, see Ross F u l l e r, *The Brotherhood of the Common Life and Its Influence*, SUNY Press, Albany, 1995; John Van E n g e n, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2008.

decades has been labeled the »theology-for-piety« (*Frömmigkeitstheologie*).³ Late-medieval *Frömmigkeitstheologie* was a pastoral theology and promoted pastoral ministry through biblical preaching and through it the fostering of the spiritual life of the laity and Christian values in every-day living. Marulus, too, is concerned (to some degree) with the ethicizing of theology, which is one of the typical traits of the contemporaneous theology-for-piety.⁴ Marulus himself expressed this element of contemporaneous spirituality in one of his most famous poems, which the late Pope John Paul II quoted in 1998 at the occasion of his visit to Croatia:

Felix qui semper vitę bene computat usum.
Happy is the one who always puts his life to good use.⁵

Marulus was interested in questions of the then »modern« spirituality (*Devotio Moderna*) with its simplified devotions for lay people as disciples of Christ. Marulus concentrated on the reform of Christian spirituality and Christian living. In considering Marulus' *Sitz im Leben*, it was predictable that he should have translated the most significant book of the *Devotio Moderna* and of the theology-for-piety, i. e., the *Imitatio Christi*, into the vernacular. It is a book with many

³ The expressions *Frömmigkeitstheologie* and connected to it the *Bernhard Renaissance*, i. e., the popular revival of interest in the works of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, were coined by Berndt H a m m, *Frömmigkeitstheologie am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu Johannes Paltz und seinem Umkreis*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 1982. *Frömmigkeitstheologie* is best translated into English with »theology for piety«. In the light of the contemporary *Bernard Renaissance* to which Berndt Hamm (1945-) alerted the scholarly world, the research results by Zvonko P a n d ž i ć, presented in his *Nepoznata proza Marka Marulića*, Tusculanae Editiones, Zagreb, 2009, become more acceptable; I rely on the German summary at the end of the book (with respect to Bernard of Clairvaux and Pseudo-Bernard, 152-155). According to Pandžić, Marulus read and translated much of the work of Saint Bernard and Pseudo-Bernard (!) as it became accessible to him in Split.

⁴ *Ethisierung der Theologie*; Berndt H a m m, »Hieronymus-Begeisterung und Augustinismus vor der Reformation: Beobachtungen zur Beziehung zwischen Humanismus und Frömmigkeitstheologie (am Beispiel Nürnbergs),« in Kenneth H a g e n, ed., *Augustine, the Harvest, and Theology (1300-1650): Essays Dedicated to Heiko Augustinus Oberman in Honor of his Sixtieth Birthday*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1990, 127-235, here 139.

⁵ Penultimate verse (77) of the *Carmen de doctrina Domini nostri Iesu Christi pendentis in cruce* (*The Song About the Teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ Hanging on the Cross*), LS, no. 168. The poem was published in Latin and English on facing pages in Franz P o s s e t, »A Cistercian Monk as Editor of the *Carmen* of the Croatian Humanist Marcus Marulus (died 1524): The German Humanist Henricus Urbanus, O. Cist. (died 1538),« *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 39 (2004), 399-419. For the contemporary English version by Graham McMaster, see *The Marulić Reader*, ed. Bratislav L u č i n, Književni krug, Split, 2007, 159-163. See also: Charles B é n é, *Sudbina jedne pjesme = Destin d'un poème = Destiny of a Poem: Carmen de doctrina domini nostri Iesu Christi pendentis in cruce Marci Maruli*, Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka, Književni krug Split, Zagreb – Split, 1994.

biblical references; it is »the world's most influential devotional manual«. ⁶ No wonder that it was of great interest to the Scripture scholar of Split. He believed, though, that Jean Gerson (1363-1429), a representative of the theology-for-piety, ⁷ was the author of the *Imitatio Christi*, which he translated into »Dalmatian«. ⁸ However, the scholarly consensus is that Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471) was the author. Marulus most probably used one of the numerous Venetian editions printed during the 1480s and 1490s. ⁹

We have no indication, although Marulus must have esteemed Jean Gerson highly, that the Split humanist and lay theologian knew anything about Gerson's ideas about ecclesiastical politics, such as his criticism of papal authority (conciliarism). The »ecclesiality« (*Kirchlichkeit*) of the representatives of theology-for-piety is striking. They were not interested in criticism of the ecclesiastical establishment. They may actually be considered great advocates of ecclesial conformism with the traditional sacramental life of the laypeople and the traditional veneration of the saints of the Church. They were not interested in academic debates and scholarly disputations. Their preaching, if they were priests, was aimed at edification. Their focus was on the simplicity of a Christian, virtuous life-style. ¹⁰ Berndt Hamm's characterization of theology-for-piety (although without any reference at all to Marulus) sounds very much as if it were a description of Marulus' intentions found with his spiritual-theological works. With Franjo Šanjek ¹¹ we may solidify the viewpoint about the connection between

⁶ Kenneth Michael B e c k e r, *From the Treasure-House of Scripture: An Analysis of Scriptural Sources in De Imitatione Christi*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2002, 11 and 13.

⁷ Sven G r o s s e, *Heilungswissheit und Scrupulositas im späten Mittelalter. Studien zu Johannes Gerson und Gattungen der Frömmigkeitstheologie seiner Zeit*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 1994.

⁸ Note the choice of words for the translation: *De latino sermone in dalmaticum* [sic], as quoted by John V. A. F i n e Jr., *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2006, 194. The translation, *Od naslidovan'ja Isukarstova*, is one of the few prose works in Croatian generally accepted as that of Marulus (the others are the dedicatory epistle and two short summaries in his *Judith*, as well as commentaries to the verses of the epic, and two letters to Katarina Obirtić). – For the linguistic aspects on the translation into Croatian, see Marijana H o r v a t and Sanja P e r i ć G a v r a n Ć i ć (original paper in Croatian), »Observations on the Lexis of Marulić's *Naslidovan'je* (*Imitation*) – from Latin Original to Croatian Translation.« *CM XIX* (2010), 235-235. Marulus was well aware of the difficulty of the task when he undertook the translation of the *Imitatio Christi*. When he could not find appropriate solutions in the Croatian vocabulary, he would create loan words and introduce neologisms.

⁹ Cf. Augustin d e B a c k e r, *Essai bibliographique sur le livre De imitatione Christi*, L. Grandmont-Donders, Liège, 1864.

¹⁰ A brief, good description of this kind of theology is found in H a m m, »Hieronymus-Begeisterung« (see note 4), 139-140.

¹¹ »Marulić and the Spiritual Movements of Humanism and the Reform« in 'Dossier: Marko Marulić', ed. Bratislav Lučin, in *Most /The Bridge. A Journal of the Association of*

Marulus and the spiritual movements of humanism and the reform of Christian life through the *Devotio Moderna* and theology-for-piety (although Šanjek does not use the notion *Frömmigkeitstheologie*).

Marulus fits quite well into the just sketched historical context of late-medieval spirituality and also into the context of the history of *Seelsorge* (pastoral care and pastoral ministry, which is an all-too-neglected field of scholarly investigation). As a layman Marulus has left a mark on history through his efforts as persuasive propagator of the Catholic faith (*propagator fidei*, to use the title of Mladen Parlov's book, which takes Eisengrein's expression for Marulus).¹² He exercises indirect pastoral care through his religious literature for the elite, primarily for the humanists.

With Branko Jozić we observe that Marulus less shared the Renaissance optimism of his time (overrated as it may be) than he participated in the trends of the *Devotio Moderna* and perhaps in maintaining the traditional *contemptus mundi* viewpoint, »a reflection of the dualist polarization that the Christian worldview has never entirely managed to escape«. ¹³ Spiritually appealing to Marulus was the religious literature of the *Devotio Moderna* and theology-for-piety because both dealt with the life of the individual lay person. Marulus with his »modern« spirituality shows a similarity to the Dutch contemporary, Wessel Gansfort (Basilius Gansfort, or Frisius, 1419-1489). After all, the Netherlands were, as we recall, the headwaters of the *Devotio Moderna*. However, the spiritual waters of that movement flowed from the Low Countries upwards back through the Upper Rhine Valley and from that region down the Danube Valley and also across the Alps into northern Italy and into Marulus' homeland. He was thus a contemporaneous example of a spiritual outlook that was similar to that of Wessel Gansfort, who »was neither a priest nor a monk, and had no intention of becoming one.« ¹⁴ Both Marulus and Gansfort are known for the combination of several theological and spiritual traits, as they intertwined in their life and work certain elements of humanism, scholasticism, and mysticism – all under the impact of the *Devotio Moderna*. Erasmus of Rotterdam (ca. 1466-1536), too, grew up under the influence of the *Devotio Moderna* and pursued interests similar to those of Marulus. All in all, Marulus was part of the broader cultural and intellectual movement »back to the sources« (*ad fontes*), which was at work in both the *Devotio Moderna* and in

Croatian Writers 1-4 (1999), 133-139. The *Devotio Moderna* as Marulus' spiritual background is featured also in Pa n d ž i ć (see note 3).

¹² Mladen Parlov, *Propagator fidei. S Marulom na putu*, Crkva u svijetu, Split, 2012; cf. Guilielmus Eysengrein, *Catalogus testium veritatis*, Dilingae, excudebat Sebaldus Mayer, 1565, 197v.

¹³ Branko Jozić, »Marulić and the Dualist Temptation«, CM XVIII (2009), 239-248.

¹⁴ See the subsection »Marulić in the Context of European Lay Theologians« in Franz Posset, »Open Letter of a Croatian Lay Theologian to a 'German' Pope: Marko Marulić to Adrian VI.« CM XVIII (2009), 5-27, here 149-150.

Renaissance humanism.¹⁵ In addition, he was part of what has become known as late-medieval theology-for-piety.

With his specific spiritual, fundamentally non-political, *Weltanschauung* Marulus was not concerned with any high church-political issues of his time, important as they may have been to others. Issues of ecclesiastical law (canon law) with regard to the final authority in the Church were not the themes that he wrote about, even though they had been smoldering since the fourteenth century. A struggle raged between the conciliarists and the papalists as to whether an ecumenical council or a pope alone would hold the highest authority in matters of faith.¹⁶ But Marulus in Split appears disconnected from the conciliarist movement and untouched by the staunch opposition of the Renaissance popes to any conciliarist programs. He may have also been unaware of the papalist representatives who sought support from contemporaneous canonistic literature about the absolute supremacy of the popes. And yet, the starting point of the papalist camp for all its defenses of papal primacy and power was the verse with the 'rock' in Mt 16:18.¹⁷ The question then would be: Did Marulus share the papalist interpretation of Mt 16? No, since he did not use Mt 16 in church-political terms or for any political purposes, be it pro or contra, either as to papal supremacy or as to conciliar authority in the Church. Rather, he utilized the theological patrimony of the Church Fathers of the early Church in order to clarify his spiritual and theological understanding of the 'rock' in Mt 16:18. The controversial metaphor occurs in the following, wider context of Mt 16:13-18,¹⁸ which, with its Christological significance, is always part of Marulus' thinking when he mentions the 'rock':

venit autem Iesus in partes Caesareae Philippi et interrogabat discipulos suos
dicens quem dicunt homines esse Filium hominis / at illi dixerunt alii Iohan-
nem Baptistam alii autem Heliam alii vero Hieremiam aut unum ex prophetis
/ dicit illis vos autem quem me esse dicitis / respondens Simon Petrus dixit tu
es Christus Filius Dei vivi / respondens autem Iesus dixit ei beatus es Simon
Bar Iona quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi sed Pater meus qui in caelis est
/ et ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam
meam et portae inferi non praevallebunt adversum eam.¹⁹

¹⁵ Franz P o s s e t, »Introduction,« in *Marcus Marulus and the Biblia Latina of 1489. An Approach to his Biblical Hermeneutics*, Böhlau, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 2013, 20-23.

¹⁶ James H. B u r n s and Thomas M. I z b i c k i, eds, *Conciliarism and Papalism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997.

¹⁷ Charles L. S t i n g e r, *The Renaissance in Rome*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1998, 161.

¹⁸ For our purposes here, we focus on Marulus' Latin works in *Marci Maruli Opera Omnia*, ed. Branimir G l a v i č i ć (vols. I-XVI) and Bratislav L u č i n (vols. XVII-), Književni krug, Split, 1988-). For an introduction in English to the thought-world of Marulus, cf. *The Marulić Reader* (see note 5).

¹⁹ *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam editionem*, ed. Robertus Weber, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart, 1994, 1551 (which is deciphered text of Marulus desk copy of the Bible, IV, f. 25v).

When Jesus came to the region of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, »Who do people say that the Son of Man is?« They replied, »Some say John the Baptist, others Elijah, still others Jeremiah or one of the prophets.« He said to them, »But who do you say that I am?« Simon Peter said in reply, »You are the Messiah, the Son of the living God.« Jesus said to him in reply, »Blessed are you, Simon son of Jonah. For flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of the netherworld shall not prevail against it.«

Remarkably, within the same chapter 16, a few verses later, Jesus is upset with Peter who dared to rebuke him when he began to tell his disciples that he would suffer death in Jerusalem. These verses do not mirror a Peter who is solid as a rock. In fact, Jesus calls him »Satan«: »Then Peter took him [Jesus] and began to rebuke him, 'God forbid, Lord! No such thing shall ever happen to you.' He [Jesus] turned and said to Peter, 'get behind me, Satan!'« (Mt 16:23).

Could it be that within one and the same chapter of the Gospel the Apostle Peter is called »Satan« and 'rock'? The juxtaposition might be a hint that Peter is not meant to be the 'rock'. We are not pursuing biblical exegesis here, but we want to investigate how Marulus understood the 'rock' of Mt 16:18. In the interpretation and hermeneutics of biblical texts he often finds orientation from the deliberations of the Church Fathers, primarily Jerome, and also Augustine. Both are to him guarantors of the »Evangelical Truth«.²⁰

Returning to the Favorite Church Father, Saint Jerome

Marulus' return to the ancient sources is a return particularly to the theological insights of the Church Father Jerome. Jerome remains his favorite patristic author,²¹ as is the case with most of the contemporary Renaissance humanists.²² To illustrate this importance, one of Marulus' contemporaries north of the Alps, the eminent Catholic Hebraist Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) of Pforzheim, wrote

²⁰ *Hoc egit noster Hieronymus, hoc Augustinus, hoc alii ex doctoribus Euangelice veritatis quamplurimi. Dialogus de Hercule a Christicolis superato*, LMD I, 124.

²¹ This insight, then, makes the thesis even more likely that Marulus is the author also of *The Life of Saint Jerome (Život svetoga Jerolima)* in Croatian; P a n d ž i ć, *Nepoznata Proza Marka Marulića* (German summary, 152).

²² Bernhard R i d d e r b o s, *Saint and Symbol; Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art*, translated by P. de Waard-Dekking, Bouma's Boekhuis, Groningen, 1984); Eugene F. R i c e, Jr., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1985; H a m m, »Hieronymus-Begeisterung« (see note 4), 127-235.

that he venerates Saint Jerome like an angel from God (*angelus* originally meaning 'messenger').²³

In the *Repertorium*, under the Latin headword *Interpres* ('Interpreter'), we find evidence for Marulus' interest in this issue of scriptural interpretation. He collects sayings from Jerome's opus²⁴ with respect to textual interpretation²⁵ and he learns that the allegorical meaning moves and delights a person more than any other interpretation.²⁶ From Jerome he also takes the information that the Greek Septuagint translators of the Hebrew Bible did not want to put forth any mystical meaning. One must read the divine word (*sermo diuinus*) figuratively or *typicos* (which Marulus spells in Greek letters: *τυπικωσ* [sic]), in terms of »types«. The reason for the typological or figurative reading of the Scriptures is to bring out the truth of the story.²⁷ And so Marulus learns from Jerome some hermeneutical insights, i. e., that such interpretation does not disturb the historical truth.²⁸ Yet, a story is often metaphorically composed.²⁹ Any spiritual interpretation must always follow the order of the original story.³⁰ From Jerome he copied the following rule for biblical interpretation: When a prophecy about the future is told very clearly, one should not weaken what is written through some uncertain allegorization.³¹

Hebraica Veritas

In the process of studying the ancient, ecclesiastical heritage Marulus became familiar with an important hermeneutical principle found in Jerome's works: »The gospels are not to be interpreted in any other way than according to the Hebrew

²³ *Quamquam enim Hieronymum sanctum veneror ut angelum*, in *De Rudimentis* 549; Preface, in *Reuchlin Briefwechsel*, vol. 2, ed. Matthias Dall'Asta, Frommann-Holzboog, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 2003, 43 (letter no. 138).

²⁴ Rep II, 42-43, 44-45.

²⁵ And also from various other authors: *Emilius Probus* (Rep II, 37); *Apophthegmata Plutarchi* (Rep II, 39); *Tullius De Finibus* (Rep II, 42); *Aulus Gellius* on Homer and Virgil (Rep II, 92); *Sabellicus* on the Septuagint (Rep II, 103); *Josephus De Historia Iudeorum* (Rep II, 125); *Eusebius De Preparatione Evangelica* (Rep II, 126); *Origen* (Rep II, 128).

²⁶ *Alegorica significatio plus movet et delectat* 290; Rep II, 45. On Latin *interpres* in the Bible, see Rep II, 54-55, 68, 73, 76, 80.

²⁷ *LXX interpretes mystica prodere noluerunt. I. Extasis, mentis excessus I. ... Non omnia vere facta, sed in figuram fieri iussa 12. Obscuritas tribus rebus constat 16. τυπικωσ figuraliter 30. Hanc habet consuetudinem sermo diuinus, ut per tropologiam et metaphoram historię exprimat ueritatem*; Rep II, 111.

²⁸ *Historię ueritatem tropologia non confundit*; Rep II, 111.

²⁹ *Historia sepe metaphorice textitur*; Rep II, 112.

³⁰ *Spiritualis interpretatio sequi debet ordinem historię*; Rep II, 112.

³¹ *Regula Scripturarum est: ubi manifestissima prophetia de futuris textitur, per incerta alegorię non extenuare quę scripta sunt*; Rep II, 112.

Truth« (*Hebraica Veritas*).³² By this Jerome most likely meant the literal, original meaning of the biblical text, and also that the New Testament needs to be interpreted from the background of the Hebrew Bible.

Since Marulus lacked expertise in the biblical languages (Greek and Hebrew), one cannot count him among the »biblical humanists« in the strict sense.³³ Nevertheless, Marulus shows great interest in Greek and Hebrew words. Whenever he encountered words of these languages in the Latin literature he collected them for his *Repertorium*. However, concerning the Greek meaning of the 'rock' of Mt 16:18 and/or the potential Hebrew background of it, there are no independent or autonomous linguistic opinions discernible in Marulus' works. In other words, any consideration on his part of the 'rock' was solely based upon the exegetical tradition of the early Church.

Marulus' Catholic Patrimony

Viewing Marulus within the Catholic tradition might sound trivial, but it is not as simple as it sounds, because it is not clear at all what the Catholic tradition is with respect to the interpretation of the 'rock' in Mt 16:18. Three options are available from sixteenth-century Catholic Bible studies, indicating that the interpretation is highly controversial: the rock is (a) the person of the Apostle Peter, (b) the faith of Peter as he expressed and confessed it with respect to Christ as the Son of God, or (c) Jesus Christ himself is the Rock.³⁴

³² *Euangelistę secuti Hebraicam ueritatem non alicuius interpretationem* 376; Rep I, 112. On *Hebraica Veritas*, see R. Gerald H o b b s, »Hebraica Veritas and Traditio Apostolica. Saint Paul and the Interpretation of the Psalms in the Sixteenth Century,« in David S t e i n m e t z, ed., *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1990, 83-99. Jerome's maxim of searching for the »Hebrew Truth« became a hot issue in Marulus' days, but only outside his familiar surroundings, mainly in German-speaking lands, on the eve of and during the Reformation.

³³ For a definition of »biblical humanism« see Cornelis A u g u s t i j n, *Humanismus*, trans. into German by Hinrich Stoevesandt, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2003. Expertise in Hebrew would be much easier to acquire (at least in German-speaking lands) a few decades after Marulus' death, when a much younger fellow Croatian, Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Matija Vlačić, 1520-1575, or by the family's other name, Franković), of Labin (Albona) in Istria, went to Wittenberg. At the age of twenty-four he became a professor of Hebrew there. Oliver K. O l s o n, »Matthias Flacius Illyricus 1520-1575« in *Shapers of Religious Traditions in Germany, Switzerland, and Poland, 1560-1600*, ed. Jill Raitt, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981, 1-17, here 2.

³⁴ John E. B i g a n e, *Faith, Christ or Peter: Matthew 16:18 in Sixteenth Century Roman Catholic Exegesis* (Washington DC, 1981), 214-252. Karlfried F r o e h l i c h, »Saint Peter, Papal Primacy, and the Exegetical Tradition, 1150-1300,« in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities 1150-1300*, ed. Christopher R y a n, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 1989, 3-44. Examples for the options may be found at: <<http://www.catholic.com/tracts/origins-of-peter-as-pope>> (accessed January 15, 2014).

One may wonder which concept Marulus adopted from the theological heritage that had come down to him. This, however, might be an altogether misguided question. Marulus did not make a conscientious effort to sift through any potential options. He operated primarily with the concept that he encountered during his return to the biblical and patristic sources. In order to substantiate this thesis, we shall observe (a) how he handles the commentaries that accompany his edition of the *Biblia Latina*, and (b) what he adopts from the ancient Christian patrimony for his *Repertorium*.

We get a foretaste of Marulus' thinking about Saint Peter when we read his celebration of this apostle in an undated Latin poem. In it Marulus did not process a single trace from Mt 16:18.³⁵

What Does Marulus Read about the 'Rock' in the Commentaries within the *Biblia Latina* of 1489?³⁶

Marulus read in his *Biblia Latina cum comento* all the *postils* (*postillae*) by the renowned late-medieval Bible interpreter, the Franciscan Friar Nicholas de Lyra (ca. 1270-1349). Lyra's comments were criticized more than one hundred years later by the Spanish Bishop Paul of Burgos (1353-1435). The bishop's valid points of criticism were always added within the *Biblia Latina* as complementary notes to Lyra's comments. These comments of the Spanish bishop are called *Additiones*. Marulus read them, too.

When Marulus studied the commentaries in his *Biblia Latina* (and he did this thoroughly), he left numerous marginal notes and underlinings.³⁷ In Lyra's comments pertaining to the 'rock' and to the 'Church' Marulus marked, quite conspicuously, an Old Testament passage, whereas he left Lyra's New Testament comments on the 'rock' in Mt 16:18 largely unmarked. The reason for leaving the comments on this verse untouched was most probably that he did not find the interpretation of Mt 16:18 at all controversial.

(a) Lyra's Second Postil for Ezekiel's Vision of the New Temple, Concerning the 'Rock'

Lyra offers (on several pages, ff. 143v-144v) his understanding of the spiritual side of Ezekiel's prophecy in what he calls »the other exposition of the commentator« (*Alia expositio postillatoris*; see **Fig. 1**). Marulus marks the beginning of Lyra's interpretation of the prophetic text of Ezekiel 40 with an abbreviation

³⁵ LS, no. 172.

³⁶ P o s s e t, *Marcus Marulus and the Biblia Latina of 1489* (see note 15).

³⁷ P o s s e t, »The Illustrated *Biblia Cum Comento* from the Library of the Father of Croatian Literature, with Samples of his Marginalia,« CM XIX (2010), 141-161.

cōtempserunt. et ipsūm quoz pilato negantes per manus missū ei
occiderunt. propter quod eoz ciuitas et templū que edificata fue
runt per romanos destructa fuerunt sicut p̄cederat christū. Luc. 19.
Uidero istos ciuitatem scdm̄ ierusalem hēuit sup̄ eā. Et sic igitur
ps̄ una expositio quādam ad significatiōem visionis imaginarię super
tribus dicitur. Et cōtra dicim̄ expositiōes possēt argui. p̄ de ag
egredientibus de templo sanā tribus mare mortuis a sua salcedine et
amaritudine. secūdo de lignis sup̄ ripam fluminis faciētibz noua
fructus singula mētibz. hoc enim videtur aliquibz impossibilia. et
per cōsequētia si iudei redirent et babylō fecissent erga deū debitus
fuit. nō tamē illa fuisse eis facta cum fuisset impossibilia vt̄ aligibus
videtur. et p̄m̄ hoc expositio dicta nō videtur vera. Ad ista dicendū
q̄ aliqua sunt impossibilia nature. Illa que naturalit̄ curū paguntur. et
aliqua sunt impossibilia nature. possibilia tamē deo. Et ista sūt in du
plici gradu. nam aliqua sunt supra naturā quādam ad suū p̄ncipiū
nō in quādam ad sequēdū exercitiū sicut q̄ cecus videtur. nam eius
illuminaō est supra naturā. sed exercitiū oculi dāt per miraculū
est naturale. sicut oculi dāt per generatiōem naturā. Aliqua vō sūt
supra naturā vtroq̄ modo. sicut cōterro panis in corpus xp̄i. p̄ma
nētia eiusdem corporis sub specie panis. p̄dest igit̄ dicit̄ vt̄ videt̄ q̄
dulcoratio maris motus et possibilis sūt naturam. nam aque maris
collate per venas terre sunt notabiles et hoc modo de aqua. p̄cedē
tibus a mari oriuntur alibi fontēs dulces. et ideo nō videt̄ incōueni
ens q̄ aque egredientes de templo. habent virtutem naturalem
dulcorā aquas maris p̄cedit. nam in oueris partibus m̄di tot
num̄ fontēs dicitur virtutes et mirabiles habentes. hoc etiam cō
firmatur per scripturam. dicitur enim. Et p̄. q̄ aque maris in dū
cedim̄ verse sunt per immisiōem ligni quod videt̄ habuisse ad hoc
virtutem naturalem vt̄ dicitur vbi ibidem. Similiter dicendū
de lignis quolibet mense fructificantibus. videmus enim q̄ aliqua li
gna et renascētia fructificant bis in anno. et forte pluribus vici
bus in aliquibus terris. et sic possunt p̄cedere dicit̄ de fructificatiōe
quolibet mense. et cōtra q̄ in ista aliqua talia nō sunt. tamen ne
quāquā quia deus potest facere. et q̄ productio arboris est superna
turalis. tamen fructificatio lequens nō est. et hoc ab aliquo nega
tur. nō tamen negat̄ quod vni deus potest etia de qualibz arbore fru
ctum p̄ducere quolibet mense miraculose. et ideo si p̄cedere vte non
sufficit. pot̄ dici q̄ hoc beneficium diuinū fuisset iudeis. p̄m̄
et q̄ p̄t̄ debuit fructum fecerim. sicut p̄. 40. amon panis eos man
na in deserto. et p̄m̄ panis per orem quolibet die de corpore suū. et
sicut sanguinem in sacramento eucharistie.

Alia expositio postillatoris.

*Alia vero q̄ de segregatiōe fidelū duplex est regnum. vni q̄m̄ ad sp̄m̄
predicant nō intelligitur alia edificatiō m̄lis sed solū edifi
catio sp̄m̄alis ecclesie in motibus fidei et sacramētis. In eccle
sia vero q̄ de segregatiōe fidelū duplex est regnum. vni q̄m̄ ad sp̄m̄
hoc designatur per edificā replendū et q̄m̄ ad sp̄m̄. et hoc desi
gnatur per dūtionē terre et edificā ciuitatis circa finē lit̄. vtrūq̄
tamen regnum est deo. Igitur dico eis beato gregorio q̄m̄ ad hoc q̄
per montem in quo propheta dicitur dimissus vel postus. et. 40.
cap. intelligitur cōstitutio de quo scribitur. Dan. 2. Lap̄s qui percussit
rat̄ statum iacens est mons magnus. et impletus vniuersū terram.
quod exponitur de xpo doctore vniuersi debetate et latit̄. Super ista
autē montē fundatur ecclesia. sicut ipse dicit. Mat. 16. Super hac p̄
eram edificabo ecclesiam meam. sup̄ me. et hoc q̄m̄ ad duplex re
gimen ecclesie p̄dicant. Et sicut ps̄ p̄cedentibus p̄mo agendus
est de edificā in sp̄m̄alibus. q̄ p̄mo describit̄ in p̄cedētibz ip̄sū tē
plum̄ circa cuius edificām̄ describit̄ tribus partibus. et p̄terior medi
us et interior. per exteriorē vero q̄m̄ circūdat̄ oia edificia intelligitur
p̄fectio seu custodia diuina ad cōcedēdū. de quo mat̄o dicitur. 31a.
26. Ut bea fortitudinis nostre frons saluatoris ponatur in ea murus et
per murum vero mediū intelligitur custodia seu protectio angelica
que includitur sub diuina. vnde ps̄. 124. Montes in circuitu eius. i.
angeli. vt̄ dicit̄ glossa Augustini. qui sunt in circuitu ecclesie per mo
dum mur̄. per murum autem interiorē q̄ est minoris ambitus intelli
gitur p̄fectio seu custodia diuina per platos ecclesie et eorum m̄m̄
tros q̄ p̄m̄notis efficacia est q̄ angelica. De hoc autē muro cōtra ma
los platos de Eccl. 13. Non opposuisti vos murum p̄ omo vni.
Intra muros istos est ingressus et tribus partibus. p̄ quas intelligit̄
tres partes terre habitabiles. scilicet asyatica. et europaea. ex quibz ingres
si sunt ecclesiam multē per susceptionē fidei et sacramētorum. et gre
ditur de p̄. 2. egredientur de faturo. De istis vero tribus terre p̄
ribus dicitur. 10. ceterum. 27. Terra terra terra. ad istos domini.
de quibus tribus terre p̄ribz plures audierit sermone ap̄loz alioz q̄
ipsi dicit̄. in quā cū efficiat credēdū. Et qualibet autē parte trium p̄tia
dicaturū sunt tres parte in tribz muris ex opposito se respicientes per
quas significat̄ tres gradus vel statū venientium ad fidem. incipiē*

tū q̄ designatur per portū exteriorē sicut p̄m̄. p̄cientiam q̄
significat̄ p̄ media vel secūda. p̄fectio q̄ designatur p̄ ter
tiam vel interiorē. De portis istis de p̄. 20. Diligite oia portas
syon super omnia tabernacula iacob. per tabernacula iacob
intelligitur status vel gradus fidelium ip̄e legis moisaice. p̄ por
tas syon status vel gradus fidelit̄ ip̄e legis euāgelice. que dicit̄
ter. amozis. ter. azytus. ter. timolus. et quod p̄te syon be
ne dicitur p̄dilectē. In portis autē exterioribz non sunt edificia
magna. sed quedā domicilia sup̄ eas edificata. vt̄ supra dicit̄
per quod designat̄ q̄ statū incipiētiū eadēbus notabilē p̄fectō.
In portis autē medijs et interioribz sunt edificia pulchra ad desi
gnatiōem p̄fectiōis et p̄fectiōis maioris p̄fectionem. p̄fectiōm̄
actu p̄fectiōis in portis actu p̄p̄nqua. ad q̄ designatiōem ad
portas medias et ascensū p̄fectiōis gradū t̄m̄ ad interiorē vero
sen tertias et ascensū p̄ octo gradus. De ista qui quilibet p̄z
tarū vestibulū. porticiū. onas frōtes et sex thalamos. per vbi
p̄cedētis porticiū. intelligit̄ q̄ p̄ueniens. de q̄ dicit̄ ps̄. 58.
20. In eius p̄ncipio me. mia nāq̄ dei et eius gratia sunt. id est
porticiū vero gratia subleuans de quo dicitur ps̄. 22. Adia est
subleuatur me. vel aliter potest dici q̄ vt̄ vestibulū et porticiū
designatur voluntas bona et operatio sancta. de quibus dicit̄ Au
gustinus sup̄ Joannē. p̄cedet vbi subleuatur p̄ficere. per
vbi frōtes q̄ sunt ad decore et fortitudinē postari p̄ quod fa
cte sunt ad modū duarū turretarū et stragi p̄te cuiuslibet por
te designatur p̄fectiō in aduersarij. que stabilis dominē et ip̄a
tentiā frangit. et modētia in p̄p̄rie q̄ tenet boiem me. super
bis cūctis. De istis vbi. p̄te illa de ps̄. 121. Et p̄te in vira
retia et abundantia in turribz. nisi nāq̄ per patientiam in aduer
sario. et per modestiam in p̄p̄rie. acq̄m̄ et cōseruāt abundantia
oibz vniq̄m̄. b̄nificiōm̄ in nobis. per thalamos autē in q̄m̄ boies
domini et q̄m̄ intelligit̄ p̄. vii. ps̄. 3. In pace id est plus vob
m̄ et requiescā. Et t̄ complex p̄. in t̄m̄ a fraterna dō v
cū thalami esse. b̄nē et inde vt̄ vtrāq̄ p̄te et p̄te et p̄te et p̄te
p̄. q̄ pace internā tria faciūt. p̄m̄tia et p̄ctiōm̄ m̄da. Eccl.
4. 4. Doice diuites in viritate p̄p̄tūm̄ istud habetio
pacificas in omnibz. i. in oibz. p̄p̄. Secundum est
amicitia diuina. Aug. libro 2. sessiōis. Inquiret̄ die cōtra dū
noe requiescat in te. ps̄. 108. p̄m̄ multa diligētibz legem t̄m̄
que et p̄p̄m̄ amozis. Et t̄m̄ et sufficientia modētia p̄te
aliqua cōtēntis h̄m̄ q̄. 5. et in se pacificas. de quo p̄te
p̄m̄ q̄ dicit̄ Mat. 23. Beati pacifici q̄m̄ filij dei vocabunt̄. tales
enim filij dei quodammodo deo assimilatur q̄ nō indiget alio
extra se. sed et sibi sufficientissimū. Sicut altera parte p̄te
tres thalamos. q̄ tria faciunt pacē fraternā. p̄m̄tia et dūm̄
vra. que in tantū pacifica et q̄ facti pacifice babitare cum
suo fr̄o. et hoc est p̄te in hoc virtute. nisi castus nō dicit pacifice
cum luxurioso nec iustus cū iniquo. sed dūm̄tia habet pacifi
cē cū superbo. q̄ sicut superbus dominari a uere b̄nibus sub
iici et se uerget̄ p̄t̄ q̄m̄. et p̄m̄ gērit̄. 2. Cum bis q̄
oderūt pacem eam pacificus. i. cū sup̄bis. de quibus dicit̄ p̄. 13.
Intra sup̄bos sp̄m̄ uirga sūt. Et dūm̄tia et egras iusta sūt
nulla societas pot̄ et pacifica. sic ps̄ de societate latronum q̄m̄
aduersarij iusticiā nō em̄ inter se iuste dūm̄tia sp̄m̄ p̄te
iter eos inter discordia. i. de 31a. 32. Erro p̄m̄ iusticiā p̄te
et taciturnitas debita que et ois clausus ne p̄m̄p̄at in uerba
dicōdie feminaria. vii. per oppositū de Eccl. 2. Sicut et
bilingua maledictus. multos enim turbant pacem habetio
De quolibet et oibz thalamos p̄t̄ dicit̄ quod scribit̄. Deu
ro. 33. Am̄tissimus dūm̄tia b̄nibus cōm̄ fidei et cōtra thalam
m̄m̄ notabilē tota die. q̄m̄ debet vere oblitū dicit̄ thalamia in
giter cōm̄ozatur. Post expositiōem postquam p̄cedendum
est ad expositiōem garophylorū q̄ supra describit̄ est circa p̄
uimentū orientale. et dicitur est triginta et q̄ designatur ip̄e
decē p̄cepto p̄m̄ tribz necessitas. ip̄e legis moisaice. et ip̄e le
gis euāgelice. et ip̄e legis euāgelice. Denarius autē numerus multū
tiplicat̄ ternariū cōsurgit in tricesimū. Et bene dicitur ga
rophylora a gāz et p̄p̄loz q̄m̄ feruare. nā p̄ p̄m̄tionē decem
p̄ceptoū seruatur diuinitē virtutū. Post expositiōem garophy
lorū sicut expositio m̄te q̄ supra dicit̄ sunt octo. p̄ quas desi
gnant̄ q̄m̄ tres veteres te. q̄m̄ notū nō. de quibus tamē de
m̄sa p̄p̄alibus refert̄ eos ip̄e p̄m̄. p̄m̄ q̄m̄ de beatis.
Non in solō pane vultu hōm̄ cū oī vob q̄m̄ gēdit̄ de oie
vob. Q̄m̄ vob restantur q̄m̄ dicitur p̄te quā dicit̄ q̄m̄ plenius in
cipio. Et. dicitur enim in libris legalibus. h̄m̄salis. p̄p̄p̄ta.
et sapientialibus. Et similiter diuidim̄ nouū testamētū. nā
libri legalibz cōrespondent euāgelia. h̄m̄salibz. dicit̄ ap̄loz
sapientialibz. Ep̄stole pauli. et ep̄stole canonice. p̄p̄t̄ libz aut

Fig. 1. Folio 143v of Marulus' *Biblia*, with paragraph *Alia expositio postillatoris* of Ezekiel 40, and marginalia on the lower left side (hardly visible).

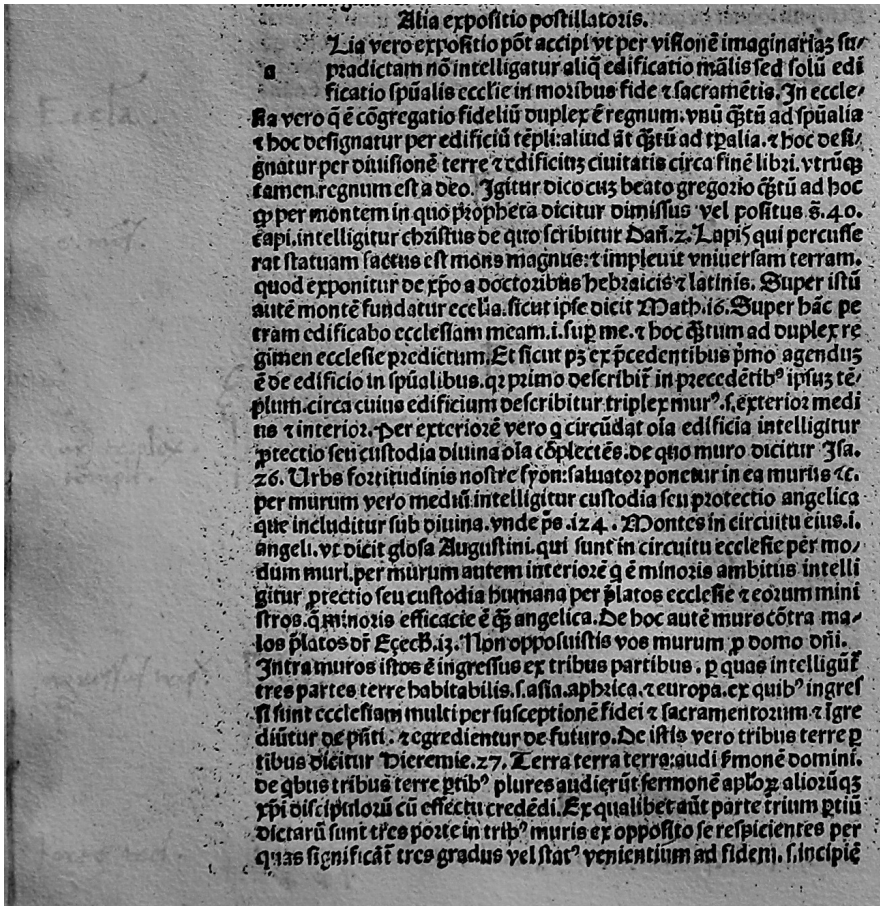


Fig. 2. Detail, f. 143v of Marulus' *Biblia*, with the paragraph *Alia expositio* and the marginal note *Eccl[esi]a*.

in the margin: *Eccl[esi]a* («Church», barely visible; see **Fig. 2**). This marginal note is entered at the line where Lyra states that there is not only the material side of the prophet's vision of the edifice of the Temple, but also the spiritual side, which concerns the Church and her sacraments (f. 143v). This is so because the mountain on which the Church is built is Christ! For his interpretation Lyra refers to the Church Father Gregory the Great.³⁸ Christ as the Mountain is interpreted by Lyra by two biblical cross-references, one to the Book of Dan 2:34 about the strong stone (*lapis*) striking the statue made of various metals and breaking it; the other to Mt 16:18. Lyra continues (in Latin): *i. [e.] super me* («that is, upon me»; see detail of folio 143v)³⁹, which means that Christ says (according to Lyra) that he is building his Church upon himself. Marulus now knows from his reading of those biblical comments that Christ is the Rock, which is the Christological interpretation of Mt 16:18.

(b) Lyra's Comments on Matthew's Gospel

Lyra always offers a strictly Christ-centered interpretation, pointing out that the expression «upon this rock» means «upon Christ» (*super Christum*; f. 25v). In his *Additiones* on Lyra's comments for this verse Bishop Burgos, of Jewish descent, has no criticism of the given interpretation. And, remarkably, the third commentator whose remarks are also always included in the *Biblia Latina cum comento*, i. e., Friar Matthias Doring (ca. 1400-1469), has no reason to defend his confrere (which Doring normally does when Bishop Burgos dares to criticize Lyra's comments).⁴⁰ Therefore, one may conclude that Lyra's authoritative, Christ-centered interpretation of the 'rock' had gone unchallenged through centuries of biblical exegesis. Thus, Marulus has no reason whatsoever to question Lyra's teaching that the 'rock' means Christ, and not Peter. Marulus has no underlining or any marginal note here on Peter or *petra*. There was nothing unusual in what he read in the comments in his *Biblia*. By following the accepted medieval exegetical tradition, Marulus remains firmly convinced that the 'rock' on which the Church is built is Jesus Christ himself. Christ, who is God and man, is the warrant that the Church would last until the end of the world.⁴¹

³⁸ *Igitur dico cum beato gregorio... per montem ... intelligitur christus [sic];* f. 143v.

³⁹ *Super istum autem montem fundatur ecclesia sicut ipse dicit Math. 16. Super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam. i. sup. me;* f. 143v; P o s s e t, *Marcus Marulus and the Biblia Latina* (see note 15), 148.

⁴⁰ P o s s e t, *Marcus Marulus and the Biblia Latina* (see note 15), 168-169.

⁴¹ Mladen P a r l o v, »Marulićevo poimanje otajstva Crkve,« CM X (2001), 167-186 (Marulić's Conception of the Mystery of Church).

The 'Rock' in the *Repertorium*

The autograph of Marulus' *Repertorium historiarum per alphabetum* (as the full title says), with about 1600 pages in its printed edition (published only recently), is splendid proof of his contribution to the rebirth of the classical and ecclesiastical antiquity in his time.⁴² In looking up the books which he listed in his personal testament, we find that he included the *Repertorium* under »historical« texts, *Historici*.⁴³ This might be misleading: paying attention to certain keywords, one may actually detect Marulus' *theological* thinking and his spiritual priorities. The keywords reveal him as a representative of what around 1500 is labeled »theology-for-piety« (*Frömmigkeitstheologie*). For instance, under »A«, the last three lemmas are »Angel«, »Apostles«, and »Anti-Christ« (*Angelus, Apostoli, Antichristus*). Under »B« one finds, for example, »Baptism« and »Benediction«.

The three hefty volumes of the *Repertorium* constitute much of Marulus' theological inheritance, in a personalized lexicon put together for his private use. The notion of the *Repertorium* as a »dictionary« reminds one of a contemporaneous book title which displays both expressions: *Dictionarius seu repertorium morale* by the medieval monk Petrus Berchorius OSB, but the opus became available in print only much later, i.e., in 1516-1517 (published by Jacob Sacon in Lyon), and one may wonder whether Marulus was inspired by it for the title for his own *Repertorium*, if, indeed, he had knowledge of it.

Where in the three volumes of the *Repertorium* should we start to look? We may narrow it down when we bear in mind Marulus' theological conviction, developed from his Bible studies, that Jesus Christ is the God-man and the Rock, as Marulus found in the commentary part of his *Biblia*. Thus, when we investigate the *Repertorium*, an additional hermeneutical and simultaneously dogmatic principle comes into play, the result of Marulus' study of Lyra's biblical interpretation. When Marulus collects data on Jesus Christ, he does so under the Catholic dogmatic premise of the divinity and humanity of Christ, which is proper Catholic Christology and which he finds displayed in the medieval commentaries within his Latin Bible. Marulus approaches the Scriptures and the Church Fathers from the position of Catholic theology, and not from historical-critical exegesis in the form of the later historical criticism. If the observations just made (concerning his theological standpoint) would remain unacknowledged, we would likely misunderstand him.

It is useless to search for Marulus' insights into the meaning of the 'rock' under the entries of the letter »P« for Latin *petra* (rock) or for the name *Petrus*. And, one must remember that with respect to the 'rock' of Mt 16:18 Marulus does not rely on typology or tropology, or on any allegorical interpretation, because the literal sense for him is clearly at hand in Mt 16:18, namely that Christ is the

⁴² *Repertorium*, ed. Branimir Glavičić, Književni krug, Split, 1998 (I, II), 2000 (III).

⁴³ As edited in CM XIV (2005), 42.

Rock.⁴⁴ We are led instead to search (perhaps to some people's surprise) under the letter »D«, for *Deus Christus* (God-Christ), and we are most successful with the passages from the books of Origen and of Jerome.⁴⁵ Marulus collects excerpts first from Jerome (ca. 347-419), then from Origen, although Origen (185-ca. 254) is the much older source.⁴⁶

Marulus' notes taken from Saint Jerome on »God« and »God-Christ« comprise several pages in the printed edition of the *Repertorium*.⁴⁷ These Trinitarian and Christological elaborations are the proper theological context for statements about the 'rock'. Immediately after the relatively long entries on God (*DEVVS*) follows one on »God-Christ« (*D[EV]S CH[RISTV]S*). It is in the context of the sections about the divinity of Christ, where one finds excerpts relevant to our topic: »The Rock is Christ« and the [little] »rocks are the apostles«. ⁴⁸ This is one of Marulus' most significant Christological and ecclesiological insights drawn from his patristic sources. He repeatedly copies those excerpts which say: »The Rock is Christ. Christ is God.«⁴⁹ »Christ is the Rock«. ⁵⁰ The same conviction and a similar word play on the one Rock (Christ) and the other rocks (the Apostles) emerge, for example, in a medieval source which Marulus did not excerpt - a work of the »last of the Church Fathers«, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). Bernard wrote of Christ as the Rock and Peter as the marble column. According to Bernard, the Lord said to Peter that he would build his Church upon himself (i. e., upon Christ) and not upon Peter.⁵¹ It is unlikely, though, that Marulus knew of Saint Bernard's saying. But the hint in Bernard (in the context of the contemporary Bernard Renaissance around 1500) may support the impression of there being a general patristic and medieval conviction, summarized by Lyra and handed down to Marulus that the 'Rock' is Christ.

⁴⁴ However, in many other instances, especially in his interpretations of the Old Testament, he loves to employ allegories and typology, including 'rock' and 'stone'; see samples below.

⁴⁵ For our focus on Christ, we will investigate (not exclusively) the entries under »D«: *Deus, Deus Christus, dii gentilium*; Rep I, 240-341.

⁴⁶ Why this is so, is not our immediate concern here.

⁴⁷ Rep I, 321-325; 328-332; 333-334.

⁴⁸ *Petra Christus. Petre apostoli* 55; Rep I, 322; see also Rep I, 95 (on *Apostoli*).

⁴⁹ *Petrus Christus* 194. *Christus Deus, Gygas* 195; Rep I, 323.

⁵⁰ *Christus petra...* 291; Rep I, 323.

⁵¹ 'Tu es Petrus, Tu es', inquit, 'Petrus' dictus a me petra, tu eris columna marmorea, 'et super hanc petram', id es super meipsum, 'aedificabo ecclesiam'. Noluit ille qui petra erat fundari ecclesiam supra Petrum, sed super petram; *Sententiae* III, 112, alternate text as found in the note of the critical Latin edition of Bernard's works, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. 6-2:194; see Franz Posset, *Die zweifältige Erkenntnis: Geistliche Lesungen zum Thema Selbsterkenntnis und Gotteserkenntnis nach Bernhard von Clairvaux*, Traugott Bautz, Nordhausen, 2003, 84-86. Bernard's image of *columna* for »apostles« is likely derived from Paul in Gal 2:9: »James and Kephias and John, who were reputed to be pillars...«; see also Marulus' excerpt from Jerome, Rep I, 100 (entry *Apostoli*): *Petrus et Ioannes columnę*.

Marulus' excerpts concerning the meaning of the 'rock' continue as follows: The name 'Peter' is derived from *petra*.⁵² According to Jn 1:42 (quoted in the Vulgate version) Simon, son of John, is to be called 'Cephas' which is rendered 'Peter', an insight which Marulus includes in his entry on the 'Apostles'.⁵³ However, what Marulus did not know or excerpt was Jerome's other statement, i. e., in his commentary on Gal 2 that 'Peter' is the translation of the Hebrew and Syriac 'Cephas', which in Latin and Greek is *petra*.⁵⁴ Marulus neglects this linguistic insight, a neglect which may function as further proof that biblical word-exegesis was not his primary concern.

In his entry *DEVS CHRISTVS IESVS* Marulus simply repeats from Jerome's opus that Christ is the Rock, found in the context of a reference to 'Syon' (Zion) which also means 'Christ'.⁵⁵ One may assume that the reference to Zion meant Is 28:16: »See, I am laying a stone in Zion, a stone that has been tested, a precious cornerstone as a sure foundation.« It is noteworthy that a Refomer, Martin Luther, should in a sermon of 1522 have incorporated the reference to the stone in Zion of Is 28:16 in the same way. Luther preached as follows: The 'rock' means nothing else but the Christian evangelical truth as is said also in Is 28 (verse 16).⁵⁶ When Marulus continues with his excerpts from Jerome, he writes (not unlike Luther) that from Christ the Rock »the rivers of the evangelical teaching burst out.«⁵⁷ Marulus also notes that Christ is the stone of contradiction and the rock of scandal.⁵⁸ Another large excerpt on the »Church« (*Ecclesia*) is also from Jerome, with this decisive phrase: »The Church of God [is built] upon the Rock Christ.«⁵⁹ In this connection it is a bit surprising that our Scripture scholar does not quote for further support the verse of 1 Cor 10:4 (*petra autem erat Christus*, »and the rock was Christ«). Perhaps he felt no need for arguing as he might not have sensed at all that this could be a controversial issue, as it would become in the early Reformation in Germany.

Marulus collects excerpts concerning Christology and ecclesiology and concerning the conviction that Christ is the Rock not only from Jerome but also from Origen. The rock metaphor occurs twice; first in Marulus' entry *DEVS* (God), where his excerpts contain this series of Christological notes: Christ is the true light; Christ and the Church are like the sun and the moon...; and »Christ is

⁵² *Petra et ab eo Petr(us) petra...* 355; Rep I, 324.

⁵³ Rep I, 49 (entry *Apostoli*).

⁵⁴ PL 26:341.

⁵⁵ *Syon Christus* 60. *Petra* 66; Rep I, 329.

⁵⁶ »Nun Felß hayßt nicht anders dann die christliche Ewangelisch warhait Das ist auch gesagt durch Esaïam am 28. woelcher Christus allhie glosiert: 'ich will ain steyn legen in Sion...'«; *Weimarer Ausgabe*, vol. 10-III: 210,17-24.

⁵⁷ *Christus petra de qua erumpunt flumina euangelicę doctrinę*; Rep I, 332.

⁵⁸ *Christus lapis offensionis et petra scandali* 210; Rep I, 330.

⁵⁹ *Ecclesia Dei supra petram Christum*; Rep I, 368.

the Rock«. ⁶⁰ In the second instance we read: Christ is the Rock, and Christ is the Pastor. ⁶¹ Origen is an important source for the understanding of the 'rock' in the early Church and consequently also for Marulus.

When Marulus mentions Mt 16:18 in his *Repertorium*, he does so under the heading of »faith proper« (*fides recta*) in his section of excerpts from the Gospel of Matthew. In that instance Marulus is concerned with Peter's faithful acknowledgment of Christ being the Son of God; he is concerned with the »gates of hell«, which to Marulus mean the vices and the heresies that shall not prevail. ⁶² This entry in the *Repertorium* is significant for the simple fact that it shows Marulus' categorizations and his listing of Peter's faith in Jesus Christ by utilizing the wording of Mt 16:18. And, most of all, in this very context Marulus does not focus on the person of Peter as the 'rock'. Peter's proper faith in Jesus Christ is the salient point here. Marulus knows from the patristic patrimony what today the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* states in referring to Peter's faith in Mt 16:18: »'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God.' On the rock of this faith confessed by St. Peter, Christ built his Church« (*Catechism*, no. 424). As a typical representative of late medieval theology-for-piety Marulus understands the proper faith in Christ as the faith that is accompanied by good works. Marulus notes that the person who listens to the Word of God and acts accordingly resembles the one who builds upon the rock (employing the wording of Mt 16:18). ⁶³

When Marulus is reading his Bible and annotating the medieval comments found in his Latin Bible edition (as we have seen above) and when he is gathering his excerpts for the *Repertorium*, he does not have the opportunity to tell us anything explicitly about his own convictions concerning the 'rock'. His *Repertorium* only tells us what he has found during his studies and what he considered worth selecting and keeping. The *Repertorium* by its nature does not lend itself to elaboration on personal theological convictions. What is important, though, is to pay attention to the perspectives under which Marulus gathers his excerpts because these perspectives reveal what was important to him. From those perspectives we can observe that he is being led to conclude that the 'rock' is not the Apostle Peter, but Christ alone. And, we see that when he cites Mt 16:18 he does so with respect to the correct faith (*fides recta*) which Peter has confessed – and with the addition that it is a faith that is active in good works. Marulus has ethicized theology for practical purposes as a representative of the theology-for-piety.

⁶⁰ *Christus lux uera ... Christus petra*; Rep I, 338.

⁶¹ *Christus petra. Christus pastor*; Rep I, 339.

⁶² Rep I, 394.

⁶³ Under the subheading of »Faith without Works« (*Fides sine operibus*) he has this observation: *Qui audit et facit, assi(mu)labitur edificanti supra petram*; Rep I, 394. The critical edition has *assi(mi)labitur*, but the word should be deciphered as *assi(mu)labitur*. In Marulus' extant autographs one finds *assimul-* (*Vita Hier.* 38 = LMD II, 86); the spelling *assimil-* is not confirmed.

From the selections presented in his *Repertorium* we obtain a fairly good idea of what Marulus was after. However, as said, excerpts alone do not necessarily express his opinions. For a detailed analysis of Marulus' conviction we would have to turn to the authentic works from his own pen.⁶⁴ In conclusion, however, we may use Marulus' words from his late work (1519), *The Humility and Glory of Christ*, paraphrasing Mt 16:18 (Marulus uses »house« as substitute for »Church«): *Christus est igitur petra, super qua domus fundata*, an interpretation he has learned from the theological patrimony of the early Church: »Christ then is the Rock upon which the house is built which will stay stable even when it suffers from the winds and floods of temptations.«⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Cf. P a r l o v (see note 41), 178 (note 43).

⁶⁵ *Christus est igitur petra, super qua domus fundata, licet uentos et flumina tentationum patiat, stabilis tamen permanet.* De hum 554-555.

Franz Posset

TEOLOŠKO NASLIJEĐE MARKA MARULIĆA
I TUMAČENJE *Mt* 16,18: »TI SI PETAR-STIJENA I NA TOJ STIJENI
SAGRADIT ĆU CRKVVU SVOJU«

Laički teolog iz Splita Marko Marulić pokazuje izrazito zanimanje kako za naslijeđe klasične, poganske antike, tako još više za baštinu crkvenih otaca i Svetog pisma. Svojom filozofskom i teološkom usredotočenošću i vraćanjem biblijskoj i patrističkoj teologiji on se čvrsto uklapa u širu sliku renesansnoga humanizma, pokreta *devotio moderna* i »teologije pobožnosti« (*Frömmigkeits-theologie*). Marulić pripada intelektualnom pokretu kojemu je načelo povratak k izvorima (*ad fontes*). Njegov *Repertorij* sjajno je svjedočanstvo toga povratka: djelo pruža uvid u Marulićevu klasičnu, biblijsku i patrističku lekturu, a u ovoj se studiji razmatra zajedno s njegovom latinskom Biblijom iz 1489. Središte naše pozornosti usmjereno je na biblijsko i ranokršćansko (patrističko) naslijeđe u Marulićevim latinskim djelima, i to s obzirom na jedan od najprijeponijih redaka čitava Novog zavjeta, *Mt* 16,18, tj. na značenje riječi »stijena«: »A ja tebi kažem: Ti si Petar Stijena i na toj stijeni sagradit ću Crkvu svoju.«

Postoje tri osnovne mogućnosti za tumačenje »stijene«: (a) Petrova osoba, (b) Petrova vjera, kojom je on Isusa priznao Kristom, Sinom Božjim, ili (c) sam Isus Krist kao Stijena. Marulić, kao kristocentričar, priklanja se tradicionalnom tumačenju »stijene« kako su ga tijekom stoljeća namrijeli crkveni oci i naučitelji: stijena je sam Krist. U tome se Marulić oslanja – kako zaključujemo iz *Repertorija* – na tumačenje sv. Jeronima.

Ideja da bi stijena u *Mt* 16,18 bio Petar postala je raširenom u Katoličkoj crkvi tek tijekom protureformacije, no taj je pogled potpuno tuđ splitskom laičkom teologu.

Ključne riječi: Marko Marulić, laička teologija, povijest egzegeze, teologija pobožnosti, *devotio moderna*, renesansni humanizam, apostol Petar

