Ezra Horbury

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Introduction

si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset
Proverb

Reading the Bible is not the same as reading scripture. Though we may think of them as synonymous, a Bible contains much beyond the scripture: introductions, explanations, illustrations, organisational material, and much more besides that facilitates our engagement with the scripture—and may serve its own purposes besides. In reading the Bible we rarely forge an unmediated encounter with the scripture but must read around it, beyond it, above and beneath it: reading the body alongside its margins. In the reading of English bibles, these engagements with the Christian canon are most influentially shaped by the translation of the Bible into vernacular English and its many editorial evolutions in the early modern period.

Reading the Margins of the Early Modern Bible seeks to answer how readers of early modern bibles specifically read—and wrote about—their margins. The 'margins' of the title broadly encompasses both the literal margins of the page and those other paratextual parts of the Bible that are 'marginalised' in scholarship, such as headings, indexes, and summaries. The readers of these margins comprise a wide and sometimes overlapping taxonomy: clerical readers, professional readers, lay readers, and literary readers. There are two general categories of readers around which this book is organised: those who read biblical margins for editorial reasons—because they are themselves authoring paratexts—and those who read for any other purpose, be it the composing of sermons, the adaptation of psalms to verse, or plagiaristic copying of paratexts for their own publications. We can forget that the process of editing the early modern Bible is also a process of reading it, and biblical editors are themselves, necessarily, readers as well. This book, therefore, asks how a diverse early modern populace read the margins of the Bible and the impact this had on its interpretation.

When scholarship is as extensive as that concerning the early modern Bible, one might ask if there is, really, anything new to say about the topic. In its

preoccupation with *how* the margins are read, this book seeks to answer a question that has gone surprisingly ignored across biblical scholarship. A huge amount has been said of biblical paratexts, especially those of the Geneva Bible, with work by David Daniell and Debora Shuger presenting particularly weighty approaches to the topic. Yet scholarship is marked by an interest in either the content of particular paratexts at the expense of others (largely the Geneva glosses) or the content at the expense of the use. A central concern of this book is to call for our attention to how these paratexts were actually read and used, as reflected in published writings, rather than analysing their content in isolation. With this interest comes a necessarily literary methodology, and we see how readers frequently engage with the margins of the Bible through literary, rather than predominantly theological, hermeneutics. This is as true of clerical readers as it true of lay. Throughout these writings we see the Bible used, again and again, as a *book*: one that is read, reread, skipped over, copied, paraphrased, and half-remembered by its writing audience.

By shifting our focus from the scripture to the paratexts, this book also puts forth the argument that the editing and readership of early modern bibles does not, in fact, present a world in which biblical editions were all 'fighting it out'. There are certainly movements to promote (or defame) one Bible or another, and anxieties about the effect of a particular edition, but when we turn to the actual use of these editions we discover a far more mutual relationship between the works. Many paratexts of these bibles are a network of overlapping texts rather than unique, discrete editions, and the story of the Bible's evolving paratexts is one of borrowing and mutuality.

In terms of scope, this work begins with William Tyndale's New Testament and concludes with the readership of the King James Version (KJV), including the Rheims New Testament and complete Douai-Rheims Bible. It charts how margins were read, modified, and developed, as well as the philological, theological, literary, and other cultural impacts of these paratexts on both religious and literary writings. The margins of early modern bibles framed countless engagements with the scripture, but also created engagements with themselves, with readers seeking edification (e.g. Horatio), explanation, inspiration, and material to study, borrow, or steal for their own purposes. There was no one way to read the margins of the early modern Bible, and this book explores a diversity of approaches across lay and clergy, Protestant and Catholic, and Anne Wheathill to Shakespeare.

A brief history of paratextual theory

To begin, it will be useful to survey the state of paratextual scholarship concerning early modern bibles. Scholarship on biblical notes is split around the work of Gerard Genette. Although scholarship on biblical notes as a distinct corpus,

separate from scripture, has long been a field of enquiry, Genette's theorisation of such notes as 'paratexts' has massively reshaped the methods with which we approach these notes. Genette first began to discuss paratexts in his 1982 *Palimpsestes*, in which he considered paratexts to be a form of hypertexts, then developed the concept fully in his 1987 work *Seuils*, translated into English in 1997 as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Modern scholarship on paratexts is heavily indebted to this work, and there are clear differences between the methods and intent of work on biblical notes before and after this watershed.

It has nonetheless taken some time for Genette's theories to see widespread adoption by scholars of literary or biblical history. It is only in the past decade and a half that they have become what we might call fashionable, with early modern studies encompassing the publication of works such as *Renaissance Paratexts*, *Paratexts in English Printed Drama to 1642*, *Thresholds of Translation: Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473–1660)*, *The Brand of Print: Marketing Paratexts in the Early English Book Trade*, and *Producing Women's Poetry, 1600–1730: Text and Paratext, Manuscript and Print*. William Slights' *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* presents one of the earliest examples of early modern scholarship to develop Genette's thinking, while other works such as Evelyn Tribble's *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* developed theories of the margin outside of Genette's influence.

Biblical notes are a special case in considering the history of paratextual scholarship, as no other form of paratext has ever attracted the same degree of scrutiny and debate as those appended to religious works. With a long legacy of scholarship on biblical notes predating Genette's advances, there was perhaps a reluctance to attempt to re-examine or reinvigorate this early scholarship. Weighty and influential works that engage with biblical notes, such as Ian Green's *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, David Daniell's *The Bible in English*, Thomas Fulton's *The Book of Books*, and important shorter works such as Peter Stallybrass' chapter on 'Books and Scrolls', offer little to no engagement with Genette's theories. Even Debora Shuger's landmark *Paratexts of the English Bible, 1525–1611* does not discuss the work. Renske Annelize Hoff's recent work provides a notable exception.[1] Of course, brilliant work on biblical paratexts can be accomplished without it explicitly considering itself paratextual scholarship, read via Genette. However, one great strength of Genette's work is its lucidity, clarity, and ease of application. It did not fundamentally transform research on biblical notes, and nor did it need to. But Genette provides a framework and consistent vocabulary for navigating paratexts that are of especial use in a field that must

[1] Renske Annelize Hoff, 'Involving Readers: Practices of Reading, Use, and Interaction in Early Modern Dutch Bibles (1522–1546)' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Groningen, 2022).

parse a massive vocabulary for often overlapping concepts: for example, a 'summary' might refer equally to *casus summarii* or *argumentae*.

Recent years have seen a rapid development of scholarship on biblical paratexts, with noteworthy output by Eyal Poleg, Katrin Ettenhuber, Vivienne Westbrook, Femke Molekamp, and Aaron Pratt. The frequency of such publications has increased as paratextual scholarship and print studies have become trendier, but there are other reasons for the increase in this kind of research. The past decades have seen technological innovations that have vastly increased the viability of studying biblical paratexts. Online repositories have facilitated the ability to compare biblical editions side by side without the necessity of a library holding both physical copies. The strides made in text digitisation have also increased the accessibility of these paratexts. This is not simply an issue of convenience: the ability to access a Bible in a pure text format allows for the paratexts to be extracted and isolated and thus subject to linguistic data analysis that was not previously possible. Of course, paratexts must not remain entirely isolated from their texts or we lose the contexts in which they were produced and read, as well as the scripture that creates their meaning, but temporary extraction enables forms of analysis that were never before possible. It notably allows one to easily compare paratexts for certain pieces of scripture across many different bibles and thus to identify trends in how a particular pericope was designated.

Among this scholarship there have been various attempts to adapt Genette's work to a specifically early modern context. While I make some innovations in the application of Genette's theories to some specific paratextual elements, in general I wish to remain as close as possible to Genette's definitions. The chief utility of Genette's theories is the clarity they offer in framework and vocabulary; too much innovation in this regard would destroy the point of the thing. For example, Pratt suggests that 'it might even be wrong to use the term "paratext" with these books [early modern bibles] at all, at least insofar as "para" implies a subordinate position in a hierarchy of value'.[2] Though this is a theoretically stimulating position for considering the priorities of market demographics, to abolish the hierarchical understanding of scripture and notes could prove chaotic and confusing in practice. I prefer to situate my definition of paratext in the contexts of book production and the material realities of printing, and with regard to how paratexts are conceptualised among early modern readership. The biblical paratexts are thus what Patrick Andrist defines as holding a 'subordinate position in the greater scheme of the overarching book project'.[3] Even for instances in which we can identify the paratexts as having an equal or even greater interest than the scripture to which

[2] Aaron T. Pratt, 'The Trouble with Translation: Paratexts and England's Bestselling New Testament', in *The Bible on the Shakespearean: Stage Cultures of Interpretation in Reformation England*, ed. Thomas Fulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2018), pp. 33–48 (p. 35).

[3] Patrick Andrist, 'Toward a Definition of Paratexts and Paratextuality: The Case of Ancient Greek Manuscripts', *Manuscripta Biblica*, 3 (2018), 130–49 (p. 137).

they are appended, we cannot lose sight of the spiritual necessity of paratexts remaining subordinated to scripture—even if reading practices may complicate this relationship.

Here I briefly lay out Genette's vocabulary as is relevant to this book project. I omit those paratexts that have no place in the study of early modern works such as press quotations, ISBNs, and barcodes. The paratexts I discuss are therefore the publisher's peritexts, concerning what Genette calls 'the whole zone of the peritext that is the direct and principal (but not exclusive) responsibility of the publisher'.[4] This includes: the cover, title page, typesetting, format, author's name and title, names of the translators and editors, dedications, epigraphs, author's likeness, author's signature, covering image, colophon, if the work appears in a series (and corresponding information for editors involved in the series' production), reprint information, publisher location, number of printings, date, and aspects of the book's material construction. Then there are dedications, inscriptions, epigraphs, prefaces (preludes, prologues, introductions), postfaces, intertitles, tables of contents, running heads, and notes.

Immediately there are some modifications we might make to these categories in order to apply them to an early modern context. Author likenesses are most relevant in portraits of evangelists. Author signatures are not a feature of early modern bibles, but initials may serve a similar purpose in marking an author's presence in a markedly different (often more anonymous) way than simply including the printed name. The category of a peritext unique to the publisher is troubled when printers' decisions are made by editors or authors. Typesetting is also an issue in which an author (or translator) may have particular input, as in Martin Luther's instructions to print 'HERR' in majuscule any time the word referred to God. Aspects of the material construction of these books are further complicated by separately printed Old and New Testaments being bound together in the print shop.

But several of these categories must be complicated to consider their specific application to early modern bibles. Indexes are given almost no mention in Genette, yet they are an often theologically inflected way to aid a reader's navigation of the material. A table of contents requires a means by which the sections listed can be identified; while in many instances these will be basic paratextual elements, such as 'The book of Matthew, chapter V', in other instances they will include unique titles for specific pericopes. Tables of contents may also be organised by subject (e.g. sin, grace, mercy), which present their own unique means of navigating the text. Running heads appear in two distinct types, what I call 'nominal' and 'synoptic'. For example, the nominal running head for Matthew 13 in the 1560 Geneva is 'S. Matthewe. Chap. XIII.', whereas its synoptic running heads include 'The nature

[4] Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 16.

of hypocrites' and 'False Christs'. 'Notes', obviously, is the most jumbled taxonomy. Arguments, summaries, explanatory glosses, linguistic glosses, annotations, and intertextual references are all different kinds of 'notes', and much of this volume is concerned with their creation, transmission, and reception.

Like Genette, I pay little attention in this volume to images, diagrams, and decoration, which in early modern bibles encompasses the title page illustration, rubrication, author portraits (such as of Luke), general illustrations, maps, genealogies, and certain fancifully decorated tables. While such materials can be considered paratexts of a sort, their production and transmission require entirely different methodologies than those applied to more conventional textual elements and are beyond the scope of a volume of this length.

Aside from Genette, there are other works that theorise paratexts and their readership, most notably Jacques Derrida on *débordement* and parergon, as well as Roland Barthes on the pleasurable reading of the text. Barthes' conception of pleasurable reading as one defined by abrasions imposed upon the text may run instinctually counter to our understanding of how a pious reader might make use of their Bible but are in fact consistently reflected in early modern reading practices. These are ideas I engage with where necessary, but which do not form a theoretical framework for the entire book.

Early Christian paratexts

What was the first biblical paratext? This is an impossible question to answer, but it raises some important concerns for mapping the paratexts of early manuscripts and their relation to those early modern print works that are the focus of this volume. Scholars of paratexts in religious works are uniquely beleaguered by the problem of theological canonicity, which is a more fraught issue with more severe implications than that of any other discipline. The Christian canon, comprised as it is of different authors, genres, time periods, cultures, styles, and languages, exacerbates this process even more so. These works intersect and refer to one another in ways that muddy boundaries between text and paratext. We might point to the first biblical paratexts being enfolded within the scripture itself. The introduction to the Epistle of Jude—'Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James, To those who are called, beloved in God the Father and kept for Jesus Christ' (Jude 1.1–2)—might be considered a paratext to the body of the epistle. The same might be said of 2 Peter 1, James 1.1, or the opening to each of Paul's epistles, which each direct the reader to the contexts of that text's production. More substantially, the prologue to Luke (Luke 1.1–4) is an introductory paratext to the account that follows. We might restrict our definition of paratext to only non-canonical works, but this would necessarily become denominationally inflected.

These questions are only philosophical insofar as this project is concerned (adopting an early modern perspective, I treat all of the aforementioned as text and scripture, not paratext), but they demonstrate the difficulties in demarcating the bounds of the text and paratext. We also may meaningfully define paratexts along disciplinary lines, for the taxonomy of paratexts to a book historian will differ from those of a theologian. Many post-Genette works on paratexts seek to define their specific adaptation of his theories to biblical sources. Important to early Christian manuscript studies is the ParaTexBib project, which seeks to catalogue such paratexts in Greek manuscripts, focusing on the gospel books.[5] The project loosely defines paratexts as, variably, 'all material accompanying a main text' and that 'all contents in Biblical manuscripts except the Biblical text itself are *a priori* paratexts'.[6] The project leaders, Martin Wallraff and Patrick Andrist, elsewhere present an exceptionally thorough consideration of how to approach biblical manuscript studies via Genette and, in short, define a paratext as 'a piece of content which distinguishes itself from other pieces of content on the basis of its subordinate position in the greater scheme of the overarching book project'.[7] This thus rejects palimpsests and the physical features of a manuscript, the latter of which is something considered differently in print studies.

There are some forms of biblical paratext that originate in early manuscripts from which we may trace an uncertain thread to early modern practices. Nominal headings or running heads are present among some of the earliest manuscripts, such as the *codex sinaiticus*. Tables of *κεφάλαια* (chapters) present in Greek manuscripts similarly bear formal resemblance to contents lists and *capitula* found in medieval texts, but without carryover in content these resemblances are more akin to coincidence than influence. There are some exceptions, wherein we might trace longstanding paratextual influences from the early manuscript traditions, which are highlighted when encountered. There are also those formal elements we might consider to be paratexts, such as the division of books or majuscules. Titles are the most notable paratext to linger from early manuscripts to the early modern period and before; the Eusebian Canons continued to appear in manuscripts into the Middle Ages but were replaced with Stephen Langton's divisions of books into chapters and verses.

A final important dimension to early paratexts is to be found in the shifting development of the early biblical canon, wherein early commentaries, epistles, and accounts are absorbed into the biblical canon. A work commenting on the biblical text may thus be transformed into something that exists uncertainly

[5] Paratexts of the Bible (ParaTexBib), Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, http://paratexbib.eu/. Accessed 22 June 2023.
[6] Martin Wallraff and Patrick Andrist, 'Paratexts of the Bible: A New Research Project on Greek Textual Transmission', *Early Christianity*, 2.6 (2015), 237–43 (p. 239).
[7] Andrist, 'Toward a Definition of Paratexts and Paratextuality', p. 137.

as text or paratext simultaneously. This marks an entirely different form of relationship between text and paratext, as in these early debates there is no demarcation between canonical text and commentary, and commentary may transform into canon. These include early texts rejected from canonicity such as the Infancy Gospels, the Gospel of Nicodemus, or the Gospel of Peter, or later attempts to add to or alter the canon, such as Ignatius' epistles and the Gospel of Marcion (and, later, fringe groups who attempted to canonise Augustine's writings). Such texts cast particular unease on the relationship between text and paratext. Should a literary work such as *The Shepherd of Hermas* be considered a paratext when absorbed into the biblical canon? What process occurs when the paratext of one text becomes subsumed into the text in a later edition? These questions have different answers depending on whether one is asking for the sake of book history or theology, and for the most part they are beyond my remit. These questions impact our definitions of text and paratext primarily in the issue of the apocrypha, which occupy a similarly uneasy, hybrid role. But for the sake of maintaining clarity of method and vocabulary, this book considers all apocrypha as text, regardless of differing opinions on canonicity.

Early Christian paratexts are of most interest to us in how we situate our own research in relation to their scholarship, for the sake of maintaining theoretical continuity in the study of biblical paratexts across different times. To again adopt Andrist's position, 'paratextuality depends on the historical situation and perspective of the reader'.[8] To that end, from a theoretical perspective we consider those works paratextual that would have been considered so in the early modern period. Fortunately, many of these concerns are lessened by the print tradition, which more clearly demarcates original texts from their additions. However, before reaching the print revolution we must address the questions thrown up by biblical paratexts of manuscripts in the medieval period.

Medieval bibles

Antiquity is littered with manuscript bibles and paratextual additions, far too many to summarise here, so I take up the thread again with St Jerome's translation of the Bible: the Vulgate and the foundation of medieval biblical production. Begun in 382 AD and completed before the end of the century, the Vulgate became the dominant translation of the Bible for over a millennium. It was declared the official Bible of the Catholic Church at the Council of Trent, opposing Protestant translations (in Latin and the vernacular) that had become commonplace. There are multifarious editions of the Vulgate that made many contributions to medieval

[8] Ibid., p. 146.

biblical paratexts. Early introductions include the rare Monarchian prologues. Early contents lists accompany the title of each book and employ the terms *cata* and *secundum* to designate the concept of 'according to'.[9] Jerome's preface is an important early paratext that was frequently reprinted, while capitula lists and the interpretations of Hebrew names were often repeated. Many Vulgate glosses circulated across the centuries, eventually giving rise to the *Glossa Ordinaria*, whereas early English editions included the Lindisfarne gospels and the Vespasian Psalter.

The paratextual format of the early modern Bible was properly born between the 12th and 13th centuries. The Paris bibles—or what Eyal Poleg and Laura Light term the late medieval Bible, which I follow—are a form of Vulgate Bible produced between *c*. 1230 and 1450 throughout Europe.[10] These bibles were marked not only by sharing the same order of books but by their paratextual elements: prologues, running heads, the Langton chapter divisions, and the interpretations of Hebrew names. As Poleg explains, these bibles were produced for those at universities studying theology for whom 'a new type of Bible' was created, 'small in size and with aids to assist use and reference'.[11] Such works 'facilitated discrete reading strategies, and its analysis reveals a time when the Bible's narrative qualities were put in the shadow of the Bible as a composite text'.[12] While Tyndale's first English New Testaments eschewed the traditional late medieval format, it was maintained by Luther, Olivétan, and English pandects. Other forms of medieval bibles that constellate the relationship between text and paratext in a way that seems alien to early modern habits include the medieval picture bibles, such as the *Biblia Pauperum* and *Bible Moralisée*. While the *Biblia Pauperum* contained large amounts of scripture set within images, the *Bible Moralisée*—like stained glass—related biblical episodes in predominantly or even entirely pictorial forms.

The medieval commentary tradition encompassed many patristic writers, although Augustine and Jerome took centre stage. Greek commenters were less well known. The development of biblical scholarship in the 5th century meant that, as Franz Van Liere summarises, 'the Late Antique conception of the monastery' was transformed 'from an ascetic refuge, a place in the "wilderness" away from the world, to a school and a scriptorium, a place where biblical texts were read, studied, preserved, and reproduced'.[13] Collections of patristic citations thus became popular. Writings by figures such as Bede, Alcuin of York, Isidore, and

[9] H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 196.
[10] Eyal Poleg and Laura Light, 'Introduction', in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, eds. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 1–7.
[11] Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), p. 109.
[12] Ibid., p. 110.
[13] Franz Van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 143–4.

Rabanus Maurus produced commentaries that gave way to early medieval glosses. This, in time, led to the creation of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, which printed the glosses themselves either in the margins of scripture or in an interlinear fashion. At this time, there was a perceived difference in authority between the interlinear and marginal glosses, with interlinear preferred as more authoritative.[14] Biblical history became an important part of this movement, from which Peter Comestor issued his *Historia Scholastica*. This work then became its own form of biblical gloss when integrated into the late 13th-century *Bible Historiale*.

Most other late medieval bibles did not contain glosses. Glosses were read separately or consulted in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, which was primarily a study resource, and its paratexts were authoritative and predictable, intended to encourage uniformity among readers. Centuries before William Tyndale's desire for a bare text there were criticisms circulating about these glossing practices, as by Robert of Melun, Peter Comestor, and Peter the Chanter. But the *Glossa Ordinaria* remained important long into the early modern period, providing as it did a valuable selection of patristic and other theological perspectives on the scripture. A major difference between glosses in the medieval and early modern period concerns the nature of canonicity and the shifting relationship between text and paratext. While the primarily patristic sources that comprised the *Glossa Ordinaria* were open to dispute, they lacked the threatening timeliness of those disseminated in the 16th century. Liere identifies one niche example that provoked particular debate: that of 1 Samuel 17, the story of David and Goliath, and whether or not this sanctioned duelling, which was 'a hotly debated issue at a time when the Church was trying very hard to ban tournaments as a form of public entertainment'.[15] Debates over particularly contentious sections such as the Song of Songs and Apocalypse were commonplace. But when the gloss advertises itself as an inextricable part of the scripture, this was intended to be a good thing; by the late 15th century, '[t]he Gloss, in some sense, had become the Bible'.[16]

This shows a shifting relationship between text and paratext. The *Glossa Ordinaria* did not perform the same function as a glossed early modern Bible. Before the production of portable late medieval bibles, scripture was primarily encountered aurally, even among clergy and monastics. The Bible was not rooted in a single material object but was encountered through mass and liturgical readings. Though physical bibles were used and studied, the material Bible was not the primary repository of scripture. The *Glossa Ordinaria* consequently served as a

[14] See Lesley Smith, *The* Glossa Ordinaria*: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 83–4; Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964); Christopher De Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (New York, NY: Phaidon Press, 2001).
[15] Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*, p. 168.
[16] Smith, *The* Glossa Ordinaria, p. 1.

study resource similar to discrete *glossae collectae*, and the proximity of its glosses to the scripture itself was more a concern of happenstance and convenience. Though debates did occur over the potentially problematic nature of the *Glossa Ordinaria* requiring students to consistently encounter scripture alongside commentary, these debates did not erupt in comparable violences, monarchical disruption, or ecclesiastical restructuring to those that took place in the Reformation.

The early modern gloss thus served an entirely different function to the commentaries of these medieval bibles. One crucial difference between medieval and early modern glosses was their intended role as a reading exercise. Though medieval glosses were understood as comfortable authorities on the text, clergy were not encouraged to read them simply to learn the correct exegeses of scripture but to hone their scholastic skills. Most importantly, these glosses substituted a mediator—a priest and papal interference—and allowed the lay reader to forge interpretation for themselves. The glosses were not to be critically studied but to perform the authoritative service of a priest. Authorship of these glosses was a serious concern but their readership even more so. They facilitated an entirely different process of exegesis.

European early modern bibles

This book concerns the lineage of English bibles, but such works developed among a verdant landscape of European works that provided constant influences and frequent sources to the English works. Germany, France, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Swiss Confederation were the major hubs from which these bibles were produced, with several texts, translators, and editors providing the richest sources for English bibles and their paratexts. The European developments such as the first printing of chapter summaries (in 1480, in Zainer's Ulm folio) and title pages (in 1489, by Pruss of Strassburg) had impacts on the format of English and European bibles that last into the modern day. As M. H. Black writes: 'By the end of the fifteenth century, it had become easy to refer to a Bible, and the system of reference was "built in" and not added by the rubricator.'[17]

While the first print publication of the Greek New Testament was the 1514 *Complutensian Polyglot Bible*, it was Erasmus' 1516 *Novum Instrumentum Omne* and its subsequent editions that instigated many of the ensuing influences. Erasmus provided many important and controversial paratextual additions to this work. His first edition included a dedication to the Pope, a preface, an exhortation to the reader, an explanation of his method of translation, his annotations, and

[17] M. H. Black, 'The Evolution of a Book Form', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, vol. 3, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 408–75 (p. 419).

two types of summaries, Greek *hypotheseis* and Latin *argumenta*. Arguments were likely first included by the Marcionites, but Erasmus replaced these Marcionite prefaces to the Pauline epistles with his own Arguments.[18] Erasmus' popularity—or notoriety—led to these new arguments and their authorship being explicitly advertised on the 1519 title page. Erasmus objected to the printing of his work without these annotations, complaining that a bare edition of his New Testament was naked and defenceless. Erasmus' paratexts drew criticism from various figures; his prologues were criticised by Luther and Melancthon 'for their perceived humanist and skeptical flavour'.[19] But Erasmus' notes would prove major influences in the composition of English bibles.

Erasmus' work, particularly his second 1519 edition, provided the basis for Luther's 1522 German New Testament, which created the wellspring of many paratexts in early modern bibles. Luther's New Testament included various paratextual elements; for his 1524 edition, he had his printer Johann Rhau-Grunenberg print 'HERR' in capitals when standing for Yahweh, and partially capitalised (HErr) when referring to the God of Israel.[20] He was not the first to use this kind of typography to indicate the importance of God; in Lefèvre's *Quincuplex Psalterium*, *dominus* is printed in red capital letters, 'with a corresponding marginal siglum denoting the Hebrew'.[21] Luther included diagrams, prologues, and marginal notes that attracted a great deal of criticism, although they also became sources for many English works, as I will soon discuss. His belief in the utility of commentary on the page of the Bible, printed or otherwise, is evidenced in his version of the psalter, which contained empty margins so that his students could fill them with notes from his own lectures.[22] Luther's New Testament incepted what are known as the 20 glorious years of Dutch Bible production,[23] and his work provided a basis for the 1528 Vosterman Bible. Luther's New Testament provided the marginal notes to the Vosterman Bible as well as a source of the 1525 Zurich New Testament. Robert Estienne's bibles provide an additional and important paratextual influence, most notably in the headings, which I discuss in Chapter 1.

The final dominant European Bible in paratextual influence, and perhaps the most important, is that of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. The New Testament was published in 1523 (translated from the Vulgate yet checked against the Greek) and

[18] Riemer A. Faber, 'The Argumentum as Paratext: Editorial Strategies in the Novum Testamentum', *Erasmus Studies*, 37.2 (2017), 161–75 (p. 161).
[19] Ibid., p. 172.
[20] William Yarchin, 'Communicating Divine Ineffability through Paratext: How the Bible Means More than Its Words', *Journal of Religious & Theological Information*, 18.1 (2019), 23–37 (p. 32).
[21] Ibid., p. 31.
[22] See James Kearney, 'Reformed Ventriloquism: The Shepheardes Calender and the Craft of Commentary', *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual*, 26 (2011), 111–51 (p. 124).
[23] Bert Tops, 'The Quest for the Early Modern Bible Reader: The Dutch Vorsterman Bible (1533–1534), Its Readers and Users', *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, 6.2 (2019), 185–222 (p. 185). For Dutch bibles, their paratexts, and readership, see Hoff, 'Involving Readers'.

the complete Bible in 1530, in a beautiful edition by Martin De Keyser, but it was the 1534 revision whose paratexts proved most influential. Lefèvre borrowed the prefaces, running heads, and interpretation of Greek and Hebrew names from Estienne, which, combined with his own marginal notes, became the basis for much of the English biblical paratexts. Even though Lefèvre complained that 'glosses and wild imaginings' should be removed from bibles, his complaints were directed towards medieval scholasticism and not his own paratexts.[24] A semi-revision of Lefèvre's work was completed by his student Pierre Olivétan in 1535, introducing new notes, many of which were also borrowed into English editions.

It is here we reach the influences on English bibles. Tyndale's 1526 New Testament was paratextually sparse, containing only nominal headers, chapter divisions, prefaces, and only intratextual references in the margins. Tyndale's later works, however, contained much of Luther's commentary,[25] and his prologues drew substantially on Luther's writings. As Brooke Foss Westcott writes, excepting Acts and Apocalypse 'all Tyndale's Prologues correspond generally in character and form with Luther's, and every one besides that to 1 Corinthians is framed out of or with reference to them'.[26]

Luther's influence is even more overt in Coverdale's 1535 complete Bible, containing Tyndale's New Testament and Pentateuch, as well as his own translations from Luther and the Zurich Bible. Many of these glosses were translated from Luther or Paginus, though some are his own. The chapter headings are often taken from the Zurich Bible.[27] Coverdale's work also provided the basis for the 1537 Matthew Bible, edited by John Rogers, and this is the most paratextually expansive English Bible we encounter until the publication of the 1560 Geneva. There are headings, prefaces, tables, and glosses, lifted from Tyndale, Coverdale, Luther, Lefèvre, Olivétan, Erasmus, Pellican, Bucer, and Oecolampadius.[28] The title page text is Olivétan's, the calendar and almanac are Tyndale's, the exhortation is partially Lefèvre's, the sum and content is Lefèvre's, the dedication borrows from Olivétan, the table from Olivétan, the names of the books are from Olivétan, the summaries are from Lefèvre, Coverdale, and Bucer, and the many glosses are drawn from a range of sources.[29] Rogers drinks deep from Lefèvre's well, but his synthesis of so many works reflects substantial abilities as an editor

[24] Quoted in William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 75.
[25] See Daniel Cheely, 'Glossing the Vulgate after the Reformation: The Marginalia of the Catholic Tutor, Thomas Marwood', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 47.3 (2017), 561–86.
[26] Brooke Foss Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible* (London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1868), p. 156.
[27] See James Frederic Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1953), p. 86.
[28] S. L. Greenslade, 'English Versions of the Bible', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 151.
[29] See Gervase E. Duffield, 'The First Psalter Printed in English', *Churchman*, 85.4 (1971), 291–3.

and translator. Rogers' paratexts reflect a fusion of many languages and influences, brought together in what would become the basis for the Great, Geneva, Bishops', and even KJV paratexts.

It is also important to mention the 1547 Vulgate Louvain Bible, which was published as a reaction against Protestant editions and even used these texts as its own sources. Translated by Nicolaus van Winghe, this work contained few paratexts, which were discouraged by the Catholic authorities. This work formed the basis for Nicolaus van Winghe's 1548 Dutch translation and Nicolas de Leuze's 1550 French translation. Though the work contained no textual paratexts, it did contain illustrations.[30]

In 1559, Barbier and Courteau published what might be considered the first Geneva Bible and established the hugely influential layout of text and paratext that would concretise the appearance of early modern bibles for centuries.[31] The first English Geneva Bible, drawing on the translations of Tyndale, Erasmus, and Beza (whose Greek New Testament had been published in 1556), translated much of these French Geneva paratexts but also drew on the assembled material present in the Great Bible. As Stallybrass writes, 'following the lead of Pagnini's Latin translation of 1528 and Estienne's French translation of 1553, systematically divided the chapters into verses for the first time in English'.[32] Known for its extensive glosses, the Geneva Bible became the most widely read English Bible well into the 17th century.

Reading paratexts

Having established the meaning and provenance of paratexts, I turn to the proper aim of this volume. Who read these paratexts, why, and to what effect? Among the significant work on biblical paratexts, we know little of their actual use. Among all the rich and heated rhetoric over the potentially corrupting and seditious energies of biblical paratexts, not only in the early modern but persisting well in the modern era, the actual purposes to which these paratexts were put always fall to the wayside. For Daniell, evaluation of the paratexts is restricted to their content rather than how that content was interpreted. Even in Shuger's extensive work, the focus remains on the creation and content of the paratexts, whereas

[30] See Wim François, '*Solomon Writing and Resting*: Tradition, Words and Images in the 1548 Dutch "Louvain Bible"', in *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700*, eds. Celeste Brusati, Karl A. E. Enenkel, and Walter Melion (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 181–213.
[31] Black, 'The Evolution of a Book Form', p. 443.
[32] Peter Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, eds. Jennifer Anderson and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. 42–79 (p. 72).

this book's work is concerned with reading practices—those of biblical editors and of the bibles' audiences—and is literary-theological rather than historical-theological. As fascinating as the paratexts are on their own terms, we can only understand a limited amount about attitudes towards scriptural paratexts without looking to how those paratexts were put into practice. This book, then, is one that addresses the long-overlooked demographic of the audience who used those biblical paratexts.

The book treats two categories of paratext that see some overlap: organisational and explanatory. Organisational paratexts are those that, at their most simple, aid the reader in navigating the Bible. At their most abstract and reduced, organisational paratexts manifest in pagination and foliation markers. But the more elaborate the organisational paratext, the more likely they may verge into the category of explanatory. The nominal and synoptic headings point at one of these discrepancies, where 'Genesis I' and 'The creation of the world' fulfil very different functions. Contents lists and indexes may similarly foist interpretive functions on the reader, regardless of their creators' intentions (and let there be no doubt that some of these paratextual authors intended to influence their readers' interpretations). Chapter summaries are paratexts that might have been initially conceived as organisational, as they allow the reader to identify more easily in which chapter a particular episode occurs, but their prolixity—which rapidly expands over the 16th century—situates them firmly in the category of explanatory. Glosses, the most notorious form of explanatory paratext, may in fact offer little (though not zero) in the way of interpretive influence when directing a reader to another passage, or may fix a highly contentious reading on a passage.

But who read these paratexts, and how were they used? The largest and most obvious demographic is clerical writers, but not all clergy use paratexts in the same way. Even discounting denominational differences, the individual preferences and habits of particular clergy prove crucial factors. Is clerical use of the paratexts evidence of adventurous reading habits? Or are the more widely educated clergy more likely to turn beyond the Bible itself for biblical commentary, and thus neglect the commonplace paratexts that lie in the margin? I can only make use of written evidence for this, and so answers to these questions are sought in the use of paratextual quotations in published works, such as commentaries and sermons. Distinct patterns of use emerge, with paratexts used as literary inspiration, as an easy way to fill a page, and what appears to be unconscious absorption as writers incorporate from memory different parts of scripture and paratext. Certain types of paratext will be of different use to different demographics, too. Organisational paratexts that alert the reader to the specific book and chapter will have diminishing use to demographics who read their bibles extensively, as the size and weight of an individual's volume (as well as recognisability of scripture) will necessarily predominate over extensive consulting of an index.

I have thus far said 'audience' of these paratexts. While my title concerns *readers* of paratexts, this is necessarily because the surviving evidence for engagements with these paratexts is found in the written rather than the spoken. But a key overlooked sphere through which paratexts can disseminate is the aural: the keen audience of churchgoers, listening attentively to a sermon that intermingles scripture with paratext in ways that may be indiscernible to the listeners' ears. This is a major way in which the paratexts of the Bishops' Bible—traditionally excluded from paratextual scholarship—could read an audience beyond those of its immediate clerical readers. While these moments of transmission and their immediate impact on listeners cannot be recorded, we can establish that they did indeed happen by the inclusion of these paratexts in biblical sermons.

This book begins with a discussion of the ways in which organisational paratexts sought to shape reading practices, then addresses four categories of readers over its subsequent chapters: editors, clerical, Catholic, and literary. To begin, I consider the ways in which organisational paratexts framed a reader's engagement with the Bible. There are many places one could start with reading the Bible: the title page, the contents list, the prologue, or the letter to the reader. But in most encounters with the Bible, a reader would not begin at the beginning and read discontinuously to the end. I begin in the place that most readerly encounters began, for both those in the early modern period and those consulting these bibles today: the headings at the top of the page. In early modernity as today, readers dip in and dip out, they search, they pause, they resume. In such staccato reading practices, the headings prove a crucial navigator. 'Headings' designate the collection of information found at the top of the biblical page, including running heads (synoptic and nominal) and pagination. After explaining the history and creation of these headings, the chapter turns to how the headings disseminated theological framings and their impact on later paratexts, including their shifting relationship with translation. Similarly, many readers may, in fact, start at the back: with the indexes. Here, they can search out a particular word, phrase, or concept and construct an entirely different method of reading practices. The second half of Chapter 1 turns to the concordances of Robert Herrey, the 'tables' of the 1560 Geneva, and the Rheims New Testament indexes, including William Fulke's incorporation of a Rheims index into his Rheims-Bishops New Testament. Analysing the theological and literary content of these indexes reveals drastically different approaches to how readers were encouraged to 'word search' the Bible.

Chapter 2 is concerned with the very first readers of any given margin: its authors and editors. Focusing on the glosses and summaries, the chapter addresses how biblical editors read and edited the glosses of other bibles in creating their own, arguing for a more mutualistic understanding of the relationships between early modern bibles. It begins with a contextual discussion of the Bishops' Bible glosses, discussing them alongside those of the Geneva and resisting the popular scholarly

position that the Geneva Bible glosses were uniquely inflammatory. It examines the extensive use that the editors of the Bishops' Bible made of the Geneva glosses in composing their own, and then turns to the thematic content of the glosses of the Geneva Bible. Conventionally and primarily viewed as Calvinistic and seditious, I consider instead the historiographical aim of these glosses and that their anti-Catholic content cannot be found to have had a seditious influence. I then turn to the summaries, addressing the history, composition, and translation of biblical summaries from 1530s continental bibles into later English works, and demonstrate the impact of these summaries on bibles in the late 16th and 17th centuries. Discussing their evolution and translation, Chapter 2 demonstrates the transmission of French paratexts into English and what became the foundation of English paratexts, as well as the Geneva glossers attempts to re-Hebraicise biblical language.

Chapter 3 is concerned with clerical readers and the impact of biblical paratexts on published religious writings. It begins by investigating the use of the Geneva glosses in early modern writings to demonstrate the active role of biblical margins in influencing and informing religious writing and advances three major points that reconceptualise their use. First, it demonstrates that the Geneva notes were not—contrary to longstanding arguments—only the purview of private readers; rather, preaching allowed them to reach a public audience, whereas other publications reprinted these glosses to reach a secondary reading audience. Second, it demonstrates how these glosses were incorporated into writings, investigating patterns of use in individual writers as well as the types of individual glosses that were regularly incorporated by multiple authors. Finally, Chapter 3 reassesses the now dominant claim that the Geneva Bible notes did not perceptibly shape the theology of its readers; it argues instead that the Tomson notes were highly influential in disseminating and cementing Calvinist and Bezan theology on the sacraments, and had a lasting impact on Protestant theology long after the diminishment of the most vibrant forces of the Reformation. It then explores the impact of summaries and arguments on exegeses. By tracing words, phrases, and ideas from summaries across sermons and other religious writings, Chapter 3 demonstrates the significant impact summaries had on shaping biblical exegeses. It focuses on several particularly impactful subjects: clerical marriage, sodomy, the Anglicisation of Hebrew names, the Sermon on the Mount, and sexualised depictions of Eve. This demonstrates that biblical summaries were not only widely read but had a perceptible impact on the attitudes of clerical writers.

Chapter 4 turns to the far more neglected Catholic works: the Rheims New Testament and complete Douai-Rheims Bible. It considers how the paratextual architecture of these works reacted to a Protestant landscape, exploring the impact of the Geneva Bible on the construction of Catholic paratexts and then analysing the far more discursive style of the Catholic arguments, their heavy engagement

with patristic writers, and the impact these arguments had on Catholic religious writings. It then addresses the philological contributions of the Rheims New Testament paratexts before discussing its summaries. Chapter 4 argues that these summaries present a vastly different understanding of the relationship between scripture and paratext than Protestant paratexts, and the means by which the Catholic Church constructed its own authority through paratextual framing. It concludes with a discussion of the prefatory matter to the Catholic works, examining Martin's preface alongside the introductory preface of the Douai-Rheims and the changes in how Catholic narratives construct the relationship between the reader and their Bible in late Reformation England.

Chapter 5 turns to literary readers, first predominately poetic works and then re-evaluating existing scholarship on how Shakespeare supposedly read the Bible. Against scholarly narratives that inaccurately position Shakespeare as a thorough and incisive reader of biblical margins, I begin with women's writing, discussing the works of Anne Wheathill, Anne Locke, Mary Herbert, and Lucy Hutchinson, and the distinct ways in which these writers modified and engaged with the margins of the Geneva Bible. I then discuss Edmund Spenser's use of glosses in *The Faerie Queene* and the influence of the KJV margins on John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Across these analyses it emerges that literary and clerical readers often made very similar uses of the margins, predominantly turning to them not for theological authority but for literary inspiration and a means to further creative engagements with scripture. I conclude the chapter with 'How Shakespeare didn't read the Bible', which acts as an overview of the problematic trends in how scholarship has presented Shakespeare's engagement with biblical paratexts. I close by asking for us to consider more carefully the contexts in which these paratexts were read, and what it truly tells us about readers of the early modern Bible.

The most surprising, and yet perhaps quietest, discovery of this volume is the persistent imaginative use to which the paratexts are put. Rather than stoking denominational fires or skewing interpretation, across both clerical and lay readers the paratexts serve to inspire the writer's imagination, prompting creative tangents, vibrant metaphor, and the inclusion of vivid detail. Together, these specify and realise ancient scripture for an early modern audience, indicating a readership that saw paratexts as a means not only to navigate and unlock the meaning of scripture but to transform it into culture that strikes with relevance and immediacy.

Formatting

I have, wherever possible, sought to faithfully reproduce the content as it appears on the page. Early modern spellings are largely maintained, with some alterations

for clarity, including updating the long S. I have made certain other exceptions to increase the ease of reading this book. Many early modern books prefer to use commas rather than periods when printing citations, for example 'Mark 1,4' rather than '1.4'. I have standardised all commas to periods. Where spaces appear to be doubled or missing, I have standardised these to single spaces. I have expanded contractions, which are always indicated with square brackets. Words that have been ambiguously elided in the print have been separated ('dowel' to 'do wel'), though common elisions remain ('shalbe').

I do not include pagination or foliation for scripture, which is more easily locatable from book, chapter, and verse references. For the same reason, I do not include pagination or foliation for paratexts that are appended to scripture. However, I *do* include pagination or foliation for paratext that is *not* appended to scripture. For example, a gloss on Exodus 3.2 will not be accompanied by additional references, whereas a quotation from an index will be. Book, chapter, and verse numbers provides a sufficient means of navigation, and one that will be unaffected by differences in foliation between editions. Furthermore, given that this book is concerned with how the early modern Bible was read, it is sensible to follow the practice of navigating by scripture rather than foliation. For all non-biblical materials, conventional methods of citation for foliation and pagination are included.

I have largely omitted the selection of footmark notes that appear in biblical quotations to reference paratexts. Reproducing these footnotes would provoke more confusion than clarity, so they have been omitted except in circumstances where their inclusion is useful to the reader.

Scripture is normally quoted from the biblical edition under discussion, but when not specific to the edition the KJV translation is used.

1

Directing Readers

Readers leave many footprints in our journeys through books. Fingerprints, bookmarks, annotations, folded pages, bent spines, food stains, kiss stains, dirt, human ephemera. Much can be gleaned from the physical manifestations of readership, but there are ways in which a reader interacts with a book that we can never, or almost never, capture. We can trace the page of an octavo lovingly held for so long that the vellum or paper discolours, but we can sense little of the fleeting travels a reader makes from an index to a page number or how an eye might glance across a dozen headings. While physical evidence of these reading practices is slim, we can find evidence for how these organisational paratexts impacted the understanding of a passage as reflected in written outputs, as well as learn how editors intended their readers' reading practices to be shaped. In this chapter, I address organisational paratexts and their influence on readers. I do not discuss contents lists, whose brevity and plainness make their influences especially difficult to analyse, but treat headings and indexes. I begin with the history of headings, how their evolving content and placement frames scripture, and their use and influence. I then turn to indexes and the reading practices they encourage in those of Robert Herrey and the Geneva Bible, before concluding with the strange, dependent relationship that William Fulke came to have with the Rheims index in his condemnation of the Rheims New Testament.

Headings

When reading the Bible, one usually does not start at the beginning. I specifically say *the Bible*, rather than scripture, for most will have opened a book to the first chapter of Genesis at one time or another. For the Bible itself, let us take the example of the KJV. Does a reader start at the frontispiece? The address to Prince James? The 'translators to the reader'? Would our reader dutifully pore through these prefatory materials, and then continue to plough through the almanac line by line? The Bible is simply not read in this way, at least not commonly. Consider

the experience of a late 16th-century lay reader possessing a copy of the Geneva Bible. How does this reader open the Bible? To what page do they turn? How do they navigate? A strict adherent to what Peter Stallybrass describes as continuous reading practices would open their Bible at its most recent bookmark.[1] But the majority of readers would be seeking a particular passage, and even strictly continuous readers would often have need to follow the intratextual annotations to consult another chapter, or they might simply want to reread a particular passage. Let us say our reader wishes to consult the parable of the widow in Luke 21. They might turn first to the index—the second table, or '[a] table of the principal things that are conteined in the Bible'—but, after a tedious search, they would be frustrated, finding it listed under neither widow nor parable.[2] The reader must then flip through the Bible until they find Luke, then scan the top of the page until they find the following heading, or running title:[3] 'Of the poore widdow' (on KK3v).

It is reasonable to assume that, of all the encounters between the early modern reader and their Bible, quite possibly the majority of these will begin between the reader and the heading. Set at the very top of the page, preceded only in some instances by the foliation, the heading is the most useful and common tool to navigate the Bible. Headings are such a ubiquitous facet of books that little thought is now given to their early years in printed books. Even among scholarship on the history of printing, headings prove elusive entities to pin down. This may not seem surprising to the modern reader, who is accustomed to unobtrusive headings that list, perhaps, only the name of the book and the name of the chapter in its heading. A discontinuous reader of this volume may have navigated here by glancing at the contents page and then flicking through the pages until the desired chapter heading appeared. Once the chapter is located, little thought is exercised on the use or content of the heading. But to what uses were the headings of early modern bibles put?

Only the Geneva Bible preface offers any context for the headings it contains, wherein it is explained that the translators have 'set ouer the head of euery page some notable worde or sentence which may greatly further aswel for memorie, as for the chief point of the page'.[4] This is a fair description of their purpose, for headings are rarely—though not never—the conveyors of doctrine. These notable

[1] Peter Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, eds. by Jennifer Anderson and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. 42–79.

[2] Even if searching for an entry listed in the index, the reader is given only chapter and verse numbers, and so the same scanning of running titles will be necessary.

[3] As I discuss throughout, there is considerable inconsistency in how these forms of paratexts are designated. I primarily use 'heading', which is the preferred early modern term, but it should be noted that this term can be used more loosely in the early modern period than in strict reference to running titles.

[4] *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva: 1560), fol. iiiiv.

words and sentences at the top of the page describe what the Report to the Synod of Dort refers to as 'headings' when Samuel Ward's account of the seventh rule calls for 'new headings' to be set to 'every chapter' in the King James translation.[5] But what exactly is a *heading*? Claire M. Bourne, who has written the best history of the running title, stresses, '[t]echnically, a *headline* is the whole line of text at the top of the page, including page numbers',[6] but the components of these headlines may be referred to interchangeably as heading, head, header, and running title into the late 17th century.

These terms could designate a variety of different components of the printed page. The earliest recorded usage of an English term designating some kind of material at the top of the page is with the Old English 'heafde', in the sense of the head of a page; however, the typographically specific idea of a paratextual heading (as opposed to written material that appears incidentally at the top of the page) did not emerge until much later. The Genevan 'head' and the King James 'headings' were just two instances of many terms to describe this paratextual space. It was the advent of printing that cemented the paratextually specific idea of a heading, as they needed to be printed separately from the main material of the page. This separated them both conceptually and materially, and meant they emerged in different conditions than the paratexts on the rest of the page (excepting foliation and pagination marks). This granted them a unique role in the creation of early modern bibles.

These issues of terminology have presented a problem for scholarship on headings, of which there is very little.[7] Across such scholarship they are variably called headings, subject headings, explanatory headings, running titles, and subject titles with little consistency. For example, A. S. Herbert, Horace Moule, and Thomas Darlow note that some bibles contain 'subject headings' and some 'explanatory headings', but they neither use these terms to consistently signify the same type

[5] 'Report to the Synod of Dort', in *Records of the English Bible: The Documents Relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525–1611*, ed. Alfred W. Pollard (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), p. 339.

[6] Claire M. Bourne, 'Running Titles', in *Book Parts*, eds. Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 191–208 (pp. 193–4).

[7] Fredson T. Bowers, 'Notes on Running-Titles as Bibliographical Evidence', *The Library*, s4–XIX, 3 (1938), 315–38; Kegan Paul, 'Bible Chapter Headings in the "Authorized Version"', *The Theological Review*, 6.24 (1869), 99–111; Cynthia Miller-Naudé and Jacobus Naudé, 'Interpretation and Ideology in the Metatexts of Ben Sira: The Headings of the Geneva Bible (1560) and the King James Version (1611)', in *Construction, Coherence and Connotations: Studies on the Septuagint, Apocryphal and Cognate Literature*, eds. Pierre J. Jordaan and Nicholas P. L. Allen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), n.p.; Jacobus Naudé, 'The Role of the Metatexts in the King James Version as a Means of Mediating Conflicting Theological Views', in *The King James Version at 400 Book: Assessing Its Genius as Bible Translation and Its Literary Influence*, eds. David G. Burke, John F. Kutsko, and Philip H. Towner (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), pp. 157–94; Matthew Day, '"Intended to Offenders": The Running Titles of Early Modern Books', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, eds. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 34–47.

of paratext, nor do they always note when bibles contain headings.[8] Many bibles that contain them are not labelled as such, and the headings do not always appear identically in variants of what some bibliographers (including Herbert, Moule, and Darlow) list as a single edition. Identifying the content and purpose of these headings, then, must be done by individual edition.

More stable definitions are gained by considering the printing history of the headings, since they were printed separately to other paratexts. Fredson Bowers explains this process: 'the type for running titles was not distributed with the rest of the letterpress after each forme was printed, but was left standing instead and used again in subsequent formes'.[9] Additionally, 'the recurring use of identical type in various formes is proof enough that running titles were not normally set afresh (like catchwords and signature marks) in each page-galley'.[10] Alfred W. Pollard expands on this process when writing of the First Folio: 'these headlines were not set up afresh for each page but were either transferred from forme to forme or were left in the forme and the new letterpress placed below them'.[11] To clarify our terminology and to understand these processes in more detail, I specify that headings fall into two categories—the organisational and synoptic:

1 Organisational: these describe the content of the page in a purely taxonomic and often partly numerical fashion, usually containing the name of the book and the number of the chapter. For example, 'Apocrypha', 'S. Matthewe', 'Chap. III.IIII'. We might split organisational headings into two subcategories: those that are printed multiple times (book titles) and those that are unique or reprinted only in rare instances (chapter numbers).
2 Synoptic: these contain a word or phrase that summarises the content of the page, ranging from single words to entire sentences. For example, 'Adam', 'The Passouer', 'Water of life offered freely'.

Organisational headings are unlikely to change much between editions of the same Bible, but synoptic headings will change significantly. When a new edition of a Bible is prepared, even the most elaborate synoptic headings are subject to revision by the printers. The addition or subtraction of material (prefaces or postfaces), the printing of a book in a different size, or minor changes in layout mean that headings will not fall on the same pages on which they did originally, and thus they must be revised. John Smith complains of the difficulty of this, for running titles 'are commonly divided into two lines; and sometimes made very

[8] A. S. Herbert, Horace Moule, and Thomas Darlow, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, 2 vols (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1903; revised 1968).
[9] Bowers, 'Notes on Running-Titles as Bibliographical Evidence', p. 315.
[10] Ibid., p. 316.
[11] Alfred W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays, 1594–1685* (London: Methuen, 1909), p. 134.

trouble-some to the Compositor besides, by crowding the Parts and Sub-parts of a work, such as Book, Chap. &c. into corners of them; or by changing the Running title with the Head of every Chapter'.[12] While the first edition of a Bible often had its headings authored by its editors, in subsequent editions it is the printer's purview to determine which headings should be included, excluded, and altered depending on the layout of the page.

A final important point on terminology considers the alternate sense of 'heading' in the 16th century, one far more common than its print use. This is 'heading' in the sense of *be*-heading, the removal of one's head; more figuratively, it could designate the 'chopping of, or clipping of any thing'.[13] As Gaveston says of the 'honour' he will suffer at the hands of the lords, 'then I perceive, / That heading is one, and hanging is the other, / And death is all' (ix.28–30).[14] Thus, while to *head* can mean to add a head, it can also mean to remove one. Paratextual headings are themselves a form of beheading: while they add text to the top of the page, that text is often an abbreviation of the scripture itself. For example, the heading to Genesis 8 in the KJV reads, 'The Arke resteth', which alters and abbreviates Genesis 8.4, 'And the Arke rested in the seuenth moneth, on the seuenteenth day of the moneth, upon the mountaines of Ararat'. Titles in later 16th-century bibles, especially those of the Geneva, the Barker Bishops', and the KJV were frequently a double heading: the addition of a paratext to the top of the page, but one comprising the 'beheaded' contents of the text itself.

History of headings

Paratextual headings in one form or another have appeared above scripture since the earliest manuscripts and can be found in texts such as the Codex Sinaitcius, the Aleppo Codex, and the Codex Vaticanus. These headings are purely organisational, displaying the name of the book contained on the page; after Stephen Langton established the concept of chapter divisions, headings began to also incorporate chapter numbers. This type of heading became a ubiquitous element of medieval bibles, but synoptic headings are a far more recent invention not encountered until the 16th century.

The first synoptic titles can be found in Robert Estienne's Vulgate Bible, and Estienne has been credited with their invention.[15] Estienne's headings are glib,

[12] John Smith, *The Printer's Grammar* (London: 1755), p. 208.
[13] Richard Huloet, *Huloets dictionarie newelye corrected* (London: 1572), fol. Yiv.
[14] Christopher Marlowe, *Edward II*, eds. Martin Wiggins and Robert Lindsey (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).
[15] This claim is M. H. Black's, 'The Evolution of a Book Form', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, vol. 3, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 408–75. The only evidence we have that Estienne was their inventor is that this text is the earliest found to contain them.

for the most part comprising only one word (such as 'Adam', 'Noe', 'Abram'), with multi-word synopses being abbreviated (e.g. 'templi aedif'). Estienne's headings contained a curious feature that lasted across many decades of English bibles, excluding the Geneva, up until the 1584 Barker edition of the Bishops': beginning with Genesis, Estienne's headings appeared in every chapter and on every page until 2 Esdras 8. At this point, for no apparent reason, the headings stop. They do not appear again. This pattern of stopping the running titles in 2 Esdras or nearby continued into English bibles until the Geneva.

From Estienne, the concept of the synoptic headings was translated into French for Olivétan's 1534 revision of Lefèvre. In Genesis, the running titles are translated with reasonable fidelity, but they diverge in Exodus to become longer and more descriptive, allowing the reader to navigate with greater precision. As with many paratextual implementations that arose in France, the headings made their way into English bibles via John Rogers and the 1537 Matthew Bible. These headings are not, like most of Rogers' paratextual material, taken from the 1530 Lefèvre Bible but Olivétan's 1534 revision of that text.[16] It is Olivétan, then, and not Estienne, who set the tone for the headings of the first 50 years of bibles produced in England. It appears that Rogers also consulted Estienne's Vulgate while assembling these titles, as while the *content* is largely translated from Olivétan, the *form* mimics those of Estienne: whereas Olivétan's headings continue until the apocrypha, Rogers' synoptic titles temporarily stop at 2 Esdras 10, as they do Estienne's Vulgate.[17] As in Estienne, there are no titles at all in Job, then only descriptive titles from the Psalter to Song of Songs (e.g. 'i. Of Dauid', 'The Prouerbs of Salomon'). The synoptic titles resume at Isaiah and then run until the end of Malachai, stopping before the apocrypha. The Taverner Bible, Becke Bibles,[18] and Great Bibles similarly terminate their headings in 2 Esdras or nearby, including John Cawood's 1560s editions.[19] The Jugge Bishops' Bible does the same. Though there is no

[16] Vivienne Westbrook identifies the 1530 Lefèvre as the source of the headings, but in my judgment the material aligns much more closely with Olivétan's revision. See Vivienne Westbrook, *Long Travail and Great Paynes: A Politics of Reformation Revision* (Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic, 2001), p. 170 n. 2.

[17] The last running title in Estienne appears at 2 Esdras 8, but this is due to a different page layout.

[18] Becke produced several editions of the Bible between 1549 and 1551 across several different printers—John Walley, Thomas Petyt, William Bonham, Nicholas Hill, and John Day—but the headings remain consistent across these editions. The 1551 editions are longer with a larger typeface than those of 1549 and headings are thus often duplicated; in such instances, the alteration of the headings are likely the provenance of the printers. Similar decisions are made in the printing of the Quattuor Sermones; see Alexandra Da Costa, 'From Manuscript into Print: The Festial, the Four Sermons, and the Quattuor Sermones', *Medium Aevum*, 79.1 (2010), 47–67. In Becke's 1549 edition printed by Mierdman on behalf of John Day the titles only run up to the Pentateuch; this is likely attributable to the fact that John Day was also printing another of Becke's bibles in the same year: a smaller, multivolume Bible, whose headings are also taken from the Taverner edition.

[19] Two other editions, the 1550 Froschauer/Mierdman and the 1553 Jugge, include synoptic headings in Job, being the only editions to do so except those bibles that include running titles in every chapter. Whitechurch also commissioned the 1550 Rouen version, printed by N. Roux, which is formatted the same way except its titles do not begin until Exodus 9.

practical or theological reason for this, Estienne's early termination of the running titles was maintained in English bibles for over 30 years. During this time, synoptic headings evolved from the extremely brief to the narrativistic: 'Adam' is replaced with 'The creation of the worlde', 'Moses' is replaced with 'The praier of Moses', and 'Noe' is replaced with 'The Arke is taken'. This is maintained even into the KJV, which is almost bare of exegetical glosses but well stocked with synoptic running titles to guide the reader.

Reading headings

How are headings read? The following table displays how the headings to Matthew 2–4 appear across the spread of the page:

Bible	**Left page (verso)**	**Right page (recto)**
Tyndale New Testament, 1526	The Gospell	Of. S. Matthew. fo. iiii
Coverdale Bible, 1535	The gospel of S. Mathew	The gospel of S. Mathew. Fo. iii

Both Tyndale's New Testaments from Cologne and Worms spread the organisational headings across two pages, whereas the Coverdale Bible prints the full title on each page. These two headings demand two different readerly approaches to the page: in Tyndale, both pages must be read as one to comprehend the heading; in Coverdale, each page can be read in isolation. Such reading practices are complicated in the Geneva Bible, which displays its headings thus:

Left page (verso)	**Right page (recto)**
The birth of Christ. S. Matthewe. The wisemen.	Iohn Baptiste. Chap.III.IIII. Christ tempted. 3

With the addition of the numerical chapter header as well as four synoptic headings, the reader must now not only read across both pages to comprehend the organisational heading but also be capable of distinguishing where synoptic ends and organisational begins (otherwise a reader might misunderstand the second page as chapters 3 and 4 of some fictional John the Baptist gospel). Such interspersing of synoptic and organisational headings thus demand a higher level of readerly knowledge and the ability to parse the different types of title. Corroborating the Geneva preface's comment on the mnemonic utility of the headers, Bourne states that '[l]ess practised readers were assumed to actually need the cognitive assistance that running titles provided';[20] however, this intermixing

[20] Bourne, 'Running Titles', p. 196.

of synoptic and organisational titles assumes a certain level of basic sophistication on the readers' part. Similarly, writing of running titles in early modern books more generally, Philip Tromans describes running titles as 'concise and immediately comprehensible segments of text, foregrounded by surrounding white space', but the Geneva Bible's tightly printed headings muddy both these features.[21] While the Barker Bishops' takes a similar approach in the types of its headings, its larger format allows for more clearly delineated columns.

By contrast, the 1568 Bishops' printing omits synoptic headings from the New Testament entirely (more on this later) and switches between several ways of formatting. Only three columns of synoptic headings are used, with the fourth column displaying the chapter number and a different size of typeface used for the synoptic and organisational headings, as follows:

Left page (verso)	**Right page (recto)**
Melchisedech. Genesis. Abram.	Abram. Genesis. x.

In the Pentateuch, the synoptic headings are displayed in roman type. The second part of the Bible, from Joshua to Job, displays these synoptic headings in italics.

This allows a reader to instantly identify which section of the Bible they are in, expediating the search for a specific book, but it also requires a higher level of knowledge than that of the Geneva. A reader who cannot distinguish between these sections of the Bible gains nothing from the shift. At the psalms, the Bishops' Bible restores the roman type, but rather than continuing with synoptic headings (as the Geneva does) it instead displays the reading order of the psalms, divided by month, day, and morning or evening. These are the last of the Bishops' Bible running titles. The running titles thus expect and mould different practices of use and browsing for private versus liturgical use, with different levels of knowledge expected in the reader.

Though strictly different in their typographical presentation, the content of the Bishops' Bible running titles is closer to that of the Geneva, on which they were clearly based. Prior to the Geneva, biblical books used brief, often single-word running titles. The Geneva running titles, by contrast, often utilise longer phrases that constitute full sentences, many of which were copied over directly into the Bishops', such as 'The creation of man', 'The creation of woman', 'The woman seduced', 'The promised seede', 'Habel slayne', and 'Religion restored'. To take Genesis as an example, only four headings appear in the Geneva Bible that are not copied into the Bishops', whereas there are 10 additional titles present in

[21] Philip Tromans, *Buying and Selling: The Business of Browsing in Early Modern English Bookshops* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 124–5.

the Bishops' (for a total of 23 in the Geneva and 28 in the Bishops'). This does not include the orthographical differences between the two bibles, though it is worth noting that the Geneva headings often, though not always, reflect the more Hebraic forms of names favoured in this translation. The number of additions is due to the greater length of the Bishops' Bible, which has much larger black letter type compared to the small Roman of the Geneva, as well as larger headings, larger chapter divisions, and more rubricated letters.

The Bishops' Bible running titles conclude at 2 Chronicles 31, thus mimicking the form, but not the content, of the Great Bible summaries (which variably conclude in the middle of 2 Chronicles, at its end, or during 1 or 2 Esdras). The Geneva offers the first English Bible with headings running throughout the entire book, both the Old and New Testaments. The Bishops' Bible thus mimics the Great Bible's form yet implements the Geneva Bible's content, suggesting that formal continuity—or, less charitably, the *appearance* of continuity—was more important to the editors of the Bishops' Bible than continuity of content.

Jugge was both the printer and financier of the Bishops' Bible, having a monopoly on the printing of the Bishops' Bible until 1575. With Jugge we can identify a clear pattern of the printer involved in the process. Jugge had previously printed New Testaments, starting in 1552, but he took on a dual role as printer and reviser. Jugge edited Tyndale's glosses and incorporated some of his own.[22] He introduced a small number of new headings to his quarto editions, but these smaller editions had fewer pages and thus an overall reduction in the number of headings. The variants between the quarto and folio editions are slight, quite possibly because Jugge's financial difficulties after the death of his patron, Archbishop Parker, in 1575 prevented him from more elaborate alterations to the paratexts. Before the Court of High Commission, Jugge was required to surrender the right to print folio bibles, only being permitted to print quarto editions, which he did until his final 1577 edition in the year of his death. The office of Royal Printer was then acquired by Christopher Barker, who began his own print run of bibles. Paratextually speaking, Barker's first 1578 Bishops' Bible is all Jugge. This Bible is that to which Barker refers in his circular to the city companies, 'nowe I vnderstand that my Booke is mistaken for another Bible which was begon before I had authoritie'.[23] As this Bible needed Barker's consent to be completed, it 'therefore hath the name to be printed by the assignment of Christopher Barker'.[24] Though legally Barker's, the paratextual materials are Jugge's work and it bears none of the hallmarks that would come to characterise Barker's later editions of the Bishops', much of which are lifted from the Geneva.

[22] Westbrook, *Long Travail and Great Paynes*, p. 139.
[23] *Records of the English Bible*, ed. Pollard, p. 326.
[24] Ibid., p. 327.

In 1575, Barker acquired the rights to print the Geneva Bible in England from the Privy Council. Barker's versions of the Geneva were those with Tomson's revisions, taken from Beza's 1565 Latin version, while the headings of these Geneva editions are drawn from the summaries of Jugge and Barker's versions of the Bishops' Bible. The limited space allotted for the headings could not of course accommodate a full summary, so the summaries are 'beheaded' to make these new Geneva headings:

Jugge's heading	**Barker's Bishops' summaries**	**Barker's Geneva headings**
Noah	16 Noah is bydden to go out of the arke. 18. He goeth out	Noah goeth out of the Arke
Noah	10 The signe confirming the couenaunt, the raynebowe in the cloudes	The Couenant and Rainebowe
Abram	6 Abram iuste by fayth	Abram iustified by faith' taken from '6 Abram iuste by fayth
Iacob	11 Iacob goyng into Haran, seeth a ladder in a dreame	Iacobs dreame of the ladder

Paratextually speaking, Barker's first real edition of the Bishops' Bible is that of 1584, which was a far more elaborate affair than Jugge's editions, containing a brand new set of headings that spread the meaning of the heading across the page:

Left page (verso)	**Right page (recto)**
The Wise men. Herodes S. Matthew. Crueltie. Iohn Baptist.	Christ tempted. Chap.iiii. He calleth Apostles. 463

Their author is unclear, but it seems likely they originated in the print shop. Barker finally dispensed with the custom set by Estienne of terminating the headings in 2 Chronicles, 1 Esdras, or 2 Esdras and expanded the headings to appear throughout the entire book. Barker's editions of the Geneva Bibles contained the same headings as those he would then use for the Bishops'. Thus the paratextual relationship between the Geneva and the Bishops' Bible became increasingly interwoven. These headings continued to be revised as Robert Barker took over the press.

Use and influences

These ways of navigating encourage a tropological understanding of the Bible organised by stories, subjects, and themes, condensed into hyper-brief summaries.

Running titles are not neutral spaces. As Matthew Day writes, 'both those involved in book production and those who read texts were alive to the possibilities of running titles and attended to them'. He goes on to say that 'those involved in textual production used running titles: for advertising purposes; for religious persuasion; to guide readers' reception of the text; and to engage in polemic, whether political, satirical, xenophobic, or religious'.[25] Kegan Paul usefully points out that, in the KJV, 'the theological schools of the headings of different books are marked: the doctrine of election is not prominently brought out in the headings to the Epistle to the Romans, where we might expect to find it, but it is prominent in those of the Epistle to the Ephesians'.[26]

As expected, the Genevan headings are recurrently Calvinist. They emphasise justification by faith and the ineffectuality of works, promoting the idea of salvation *sola fide*. In the penultimate running title of Isaiah, the heading refers to Isaiah 66.3, which speaks of sacrifices done without faith.[27] In the summary, this is paraphrased as 'He despiseth sacrifices done without mercy and faith' but condensed even more pointedly in the heading as simply 'Workes without faith'. This significantly departs from the canonical warnings against faithless sacrifices. No reference to 'works' appears in this passage until Isaiah 66.18—'For I will visit their works, and their imaginations'—but the heading takes more than a little creative licence in summarising the entire sense of the passage as being a warning against 'works without faith'. In its wake, the next and final title in Isaiah refers to 'The Church restored', suggesting a Reformation tone in this context.

The heading to Luke 9 places a similar emphasis on salvation *sola fide*. In Luke 9, the heading is brief and direct, 'Faith saueth', which seems to collapse Luke 9.56 ('For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them') and Jesus speaking out against the 'generation faithless' in Luke 9.41. The similar heading to Romans 4, 'Iustification by faith', is more easily justified by the content of the scripture it summarises, Romans 4.5,[28] but it nonetheless interprets and condenses the passage to prioritise faith. This passage does not explicitly describe justification by faith but rather how 'faith is counted for righteousness', and God's justification in this passage serves as an epithet, not a result of faith. Similarly, while the titles to Romans 9, 'Predestinacion', and 1 Ephesians, 'Eternal predestinacion', do

[25] Day, '"Intended to Offenders"', pp. 34–5.
[26] Less accurately, Paul claims '[t]he coincidences between them and the headings of the Bishops' and the Geneva Bibles are slight and apparently accidental', which I have discussed. Paul, 'Bible Chapter Headings in the "Authorized Version"', p. 102.
[27] 'He that killeth a bullock, is as if he slew a man: he that sacrificeth a sheep, as if he cut off a dog's neck: he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood: he that remembereth incense, as if he blessed an idol: yea, they have chosen their own ways, and their soul delighteth in their abominations.'
[28] 'But to him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.'

not abbreviate the scripture, they append a theological lexis to passages that do not contain such a thing.

One example that departs dramatically from the text is the heading to Acts 3, which states, 'Christs bodie is in heauen'. The overwhelming majority of this passage details the narrative of Peter healing the man who cannot walk, followed by Peter's exhortations of Christ. It should be noted that the heading appears over Acts 3.15–26, whereas the narrative of the healing act itself occupies Acts 3.1–11; therefore, this heading emphasises the content of Peter's preaching rather than the physical happenings contextualising it. The heading refers only obliquely to the scripture itself and may take a cue from the glosses. The passage referenced is Acts 3.21, 'Whom [Christ] the heauen must receive until the times of restitution of all things', which makes no mention of Christ's body. This reference is found in the gloss, note L, which reads, 'We therefore beleue constantly, [that] he is in none other place'. We encounter here again the précis-of-précis telephone logic that moves from 'Whom heauen must receive' to 'he is in none other place' to 'Christs bodie is in heauen'. The scripture makes no reference to the body of Christ, but this phrasing does not help to recall debates on the real presence and the location of Christ's body after the resurrection in relation to the eucharist.

Another heading that departs from the text, though in a more ideological and political manner than theological, is that of Revelation 6, 'The crye of martyrs'. This is a summary of Revelation 6.10: 'And they cried with a lowd voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, doest thou not iudge and auenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?' The 'cry' might be canonical but 'martyrs' is not. In a vacuum, there is little controversy in shortening 'them that were killed for the word of God' to 'martyrs', but the concept of a 'martyr' is by definition ideologically loaded. One person's martyr is another person's justly executed heretic. It is hard not to sense a connection to the contemporaneous martyrology that blossomed in the reign and wake of Mary. John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, though its first English translation was published in 1563, uses the term extensively and the full titles of editions printed in the 1570s and 1580s describe its contents as 'a full discourse of […] the sufferyng of martyrs' and a discussion of the 'great persecutions agaynst the true martyrs of Christ'. For a Protestant audience reading the Geneva Bible, 'martyr' would easily function as a byword for those persecuted during the Reformation.

The headings of the Geneva do indeed display Calvinist leanings and are not shy about departing from the text in favour of précis and doctrinal language, and take the gloss or summary as their source rather than the scripture. But that these headings are copied into the Bishops' Bible demonstrates their unobjectionable nature—at least to Barker. The headings may (mis)represent scripture, but such (mis)representations were easily received.

To turn to the headings of the KJV, it might be a surprise to find that these headings are not, as the Synod of Dort commanded, a set of 'new headings' to

organise the scripture.[29] Like the summaries, which drew considerably on the content of earlier bibles, the titles are largely taken from the 1602 edition of the Bishops' Bible. Norton has observed that '[t]he KJB [King James Bible] of 1611 reproduces peculiarities of the Bishops' Bible, some of which are found only in the 1602 printing'.[30] These 'peculiarities' include the headings, which follow those of the 1602 Bishops' more closely than in any other edition.

The KJV headings were based on those of the Bishops' but were nonetheless edited, likely by Thomas Bilson and Smith, the final revisers of this edition. Norton speculates that the headings must have been fixed as the text was set, presumably due to the headings requiring necessary editing depending on which columns of text fell on which page and thus which heading would best emphasise the column below.[31] As further evidence to this position, whereas the running titles of previous bibles were largely self-contained units of text, those in the KJV are often run-on sentences, sometimes spanning several pages. This lends strong credence to it being the editors, not the printers, who authored these particular titles, as they were clearly not created on a page-by-page basis.

The KJV headings are characterised by several features. They strive for a sense of continuity between the Old and New Testaments. Some basic features of this are present in earlier bibles, such as those that refer in the headings to 'Christ promised' (Isaiah 7) and embed the messianic prophecy in the paratexts, but the KJV introduces other features. The actions of several major biblical 'villains'—Pharaoh, Israel, Herod, and Pilate—are all described in the same way: 'Pharaohs crueltie' (Exodus 2), 'Israel's crueltie' (2 Chronicles 28), 'Herods crueltie' (Matthew 2), and 'Pilates crueltie' (Luke 13). This encourages the kind of typological approach to character found in medieval works such as *Speculum Vitae Christi* and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*.

Like the Bishops' Bible, the KJV also fixes its own interpretations of scripture through the headings. The heading to Genesis 18 describes 'Three Angels' in reference to the three men that visit Abraham at Mamre, but the scripture itself never describes these figures to be angels (in contrast with the two angels as men who visit Lot in the next chapter). The reading of these men as angels is common and also present in Genesis Rabbah; for Calvin, that the men are angels is assumed, and he argues that Moses 'calls the angels men, because, being clothed with human bodies, they appeared to be nothing else than men. And this was done designedly, in order that he, receiving them as men, might give proof of his charity.'[32] Opposition to this

[29] 'Report to the Synod of Dort', p. 339.
[30] David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 35.
[31] Ibid., p. 63.
[32] See also Thomas Cooper, *A briefe exposition of such chapters of the olde testament* (London: 1573), fol. 245r and Anonymous, *A true relation of an apparition in the likenesse of a bird with a white brest* (London: 1641), fols. B4v–C1r.

view is discussed by Augustine, who speaks of those who 'think that one of them was Christ' but provides no citation.[33] Later references to this disagreement likely take their cue from Augustine, though there are some, such as Roger Hutchinson, who maintain the three men are not angels but, on account of being addressed as 'Lord', should instead be taken as manifestations of the godhead.[34]

Another interpretive heading concerns the representation of the Sodomites. In Genesis 19, in both the 1605 Bishops' and the KJV, is the heading 'Abraham prayeth for the Sodomites'. The term 'Sodomites' appears elsewhere in scripture (Deuteronomy 23:17; 1 Kings 14:24; 1 Kings 15:12; 1 Kings 22:46; 2 Kings 23:7), but it had acquired a particular meaning by this point in history beyond merely hailing from Sodom; similarly, in the summary to Genesis 19, 'Lot' is distinguished from 'the Sodomites'. The suffix -ite reifies heritage into identity, and 'Sodomite' became the most derogatory term of this type in biblical usage. The use of 'Sodomite' in the running title here is an anachronistic retroactive appellation that integrates the Augustinian reading of the Sodomites' sin *contra naturam* into their nature as a tribe. The primary sense of the term is no longer the geographical designation of a group of people but of the crime with which that group is associated. The Sodomites' sin has totally eclipsed their identity as the citizens of a town.

Barker's headings are also notable for introducing a financial lexis to frame biblical events into the headings, much of which was incorporated into the KJV. This is likely encouraged by the renewed popularity of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and its lexis of financial behaviour. The first example comes at Exodus 36, with the running title 'The people liberall' summarising the chapter and the many offerings brought to the to the sanctuary. The term *liberal* is first dated by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) to the Wycliffe Bible as a translation of 2 Maccabees 4.49, though it is omitted from the King James translation. The term is used elsewhere in the paratexts at Luke 16, but first here in a heading. 'Prodigal' also appears in the paratexts of many English bibles of this period. Similarly, the running title to Isaiah 5 warns 'Against couetousnes & rioting'. The first part of this title refers most clearly to Isaiah 5.15, 'Thus hath man a fall and is brought lowe, and the hygh loke of the proude shalbe layde downe', rendered more clearly in the KJV as 'And the meane man shall bee brought downe'. 'Meanness' is similarly part of this Aristotelian lexicon. Finally, Proverbs 6, with its discussion of being 'surety for thy friend', is summarised as 'Of Suretiship' in the 1602, which is maintained into the KJV. The *OED* dates this word, suretyship, to Coverdale's translation of Proverbs 6, where it also appears in a summary, though it was excised from later

[33] Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans,* Loeb Classical Library, 16.29, vol. 2, trans. Marcus Dods (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1871), p. 144.
[34] Roger Hutchinson, *The Image of God* (London: 1560), fols. O1v–O2v.

translations. Despites its rejection from the translation itself, it is maintained in the paratextual heading.

We may not think much of headings, brief as they are and overlooked by scholarship. So often they may seem unobtrusive and unremarkable, but these headings are one of many places in which paratextual content framed scripture in a manner that encouraged specific interpretations, and which encouraged an understanding of the Bible as defined by the key passages that featured in these headings. A space in which not only editors but printers too could shape paratexts, the headings provided one of the foremost points of entry into framing the readerly experience of scripture.

Indexes

Background

In his *Index, A History of the*, Dennis Duncan presents a story about 'our accelerating need to access information at speed, and of a parallel need for the contents of books to be divisible, discrete, extractable units of knowledge'.[35] For Duncan, the evolving index reflects emerging ways in which readers interacted with books and the new methods they used to extract knowledge. My interest in this chapter is the biblical index as a tool that attempted to shape readers' engagement not only with the text itself but with religion more broadly. From the straightforward indexes of the 1530s, to the widely utilised Geneva indexes, to the combative yet strangely derivative indexes of Catholic bibles and Protestant William Fulke's modification of them, the indexes of the early modern Bible had readers in mind. From aiding navigation to shaping theology, the indexes of early modern bibles constructed a diverse range of reading practices.

The first index in an English Bible appeared in 1537, although the biblical index was not a novel phenomenon to the early modern period. Since the early Christian era, exegetes have made use of glosses, lists of names, and lists of places that serve index-adjacent functions, but the earliest forms of what more might reasonably be called indexes—alphabetical subject lists—are found in medieval concordances. The earliest 'index' of this sort is that of Hugh of Saint Cher, the 13th-century *Concordantiae Sacrorum Bibliorum*, a book in which 'every instance of every word (barring things like articles and prepositions) was logged and given a locator consisting of book, chapter, and an indication of how far through the chapter it appears', as Duncan writes.[36] This was followed by the even lengthier

[35] Dennis Duncan, *Index, A History of the* (London: Penguin, 2021), p. 1.
[36] Dennis Duncan, 'Indexes', in *Book Parts*, ed. Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 263–74 (p. 268).

Concordantiae Anglicanae in the next decades, but such unwieldy indexes proved impractical for readerly use. Late medieval Vulgates also commonly contain lists on the interpretations of names, indexes of first lines, and alphabetical tables of histories, but do not include the subject-specific indexes that characterise the concordance. In the 15th century, Conrad of Halberstadt's widely popular *Concordantiae Maiores Bibliae* was published in Basel and printed throughout Europe (later revised by Sebastian Brant), laying the groundwork for what would become the vernacular indexes of the 16th century.

In the 1520s and 1530s, a wave of vernacular concordances hit western Europe. There is the 1524 *Concordanz das Newen Testaments*, the 1535 *The concordance of the new Testament* (variously attributed to Miles Coverdale, William Tyndale, and its printer William Gybson), and then the 1537 *Index Bibliorum* by Conrad Pellican. Pellican's work was translated into English as *A Briefe and a Compendious Table, in maner of a C., openyng the Waye to the principall Histories of the whole Bible*, and also abbreviated as the *Epitome Locorum*. For paratextual indexes attached to bibles and testaments themselves, the earliest might be that of the Zurich Bible of 1531. These different indexes served different purposes and courted different readers. For example, as Anja-Silvia Goeing points out, '[t]he German-language Zurich Bible addressed the needs of the pious Zwinglian. Pellicanus's Latin index catered to the organizational interests of the erudite reader.'[37] An index was not merely a tool but part of a genre, shaping its readers' journeys through the text according to an editor's preference and agenda.

The first index appended to an English Bible did not appear until 1537. This is 'A table of the pryncpyall matters contayned in the Byble' by John Rogers. Like much of the Matthew Bible paratexts, the index is a close translation of its French source, Olivétan's Bible, this time taken from the 'Indice des principales matieres' by Matthieu Gramelin (Thomas Malingre). The index is extensive (albeit much shorter than later indexes), useful, and theologically inflected. With nearly 300 subjects and almost 1,000 entries on matters of theological import, the index offers an extremely useful map for the Reformed reader to find their way through the scriptures. Like its French source, the Rogers index has been described as having 'provided a conspectus of reformed teaching which was quite uncompromising in its message', with entries on mass and purgatory explicitly pointing out their absence in the Bible.[38] Yet while these Catholic concepts are singled out for their scriptural absence, similarly non-canonical concepts from Reformer theology also appear, such as abrogation, excommunication, and predestination. Its longest entries are, in descending order, law, covetousness, and Antichrist, after

[37] Anja-Silvia Goeing, *Storing, Archiving, Organizing: The Changing Dynamics of Scholarly Information Management in Post-Reformation Zurich* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 20.
[38] Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c. 1530—1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 42.

which there is a steep drop off, and its most commonly cited books are far and away Romans and Matthew.

The Rogers' index next came into the hands of Richard Taverner, who made some alterations before including it in his 1539 Bible. Taverner toned down some of the more combatively anti-Catholic elements, removing entries for mass and purgatory, and instead pointed the reader to more appropriate Protestant readings of the concepts with which they deal (the last supper and the purgation of sins, respectively). Taverner also removed the 'and Images' from the section titles 'Idols and Images', which initially served as a sideways glance to idolatrous Catholic icon worship. In a more overtly anti-Catholic move, Taverner upgrades Rogers' list of moments referring to Rome or Romans to its own entry, titled 'Rome', opening as Rogers does with an entry on '[the] propre name of [the] co[n]cubine Nachor [*sic*]'—an unusual Anglicisation of what the Vulgate renders *Roma* and the Geneva *Reumah*.[39] Clearly, any reader looking to learn about biblical Rome would be confronted with a rather specific interpretation of the concept. On the same anti-Catholic theme, Taverner defends his inclusion of an entry on 'saint' to move away from a Catholic understanding: 'The word saynt or holy, is taken diuersly in the byble: that is to say, for the holy place of the temple in the which the people of the Iewes ought to praise god.'

Through Olivétan, Rogers, and Taverner, this index is mostly plain and paraphrastic, marked by occasional anti-Catholic or Protestant proselytising. It was short-lived in England, being jettisoned from the Great Bible (though it appears again in Becke's editions), and proved insufficient to reader John Merbecke. Merbecke, best known now as a composer, was arrested on behalf of Bishop Gardiner and narrowly avoided joining the Windsor Martyrs for his attempts to create a paratextual aid of his own. His concordance was explicitly inspired by the Matthew Bible, as Merbecke is reported to have said: 'When Thomas Mathewes bible came first out in print, I was much desirous to haue one of them: and being a poore man not able to buye one of them, determined wyth my selfe to borrow one among my frends, & to wryte it foorth.'[40] The creation of paratexts is born from both poverty and ignorance, for Merbecke did not at first know what a concordance was until it was explained to him by the preacher Richard Turner that 'it was a booke to finde out any word in the whole Bible by the letter'.[41] Merbecke learned 'that there was such a one in Latin already' but he had 'no learning to goe about such a thing', and so set about creating one in English, working from a Vulgate concordance and the Matthew Bible.[42] It can be reasonably speculated that the Latin

[39] Other contemporary spellings include Rheuma, Rhuma, and Ruma, but I have not found the Rome spelling in either the paratexts or scripture of any other edition.
[40] John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (London: 1583), p. 1217.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

concordance Merbecke used was a copy of the Brant index, as Merbecke's layout and choice of entries are extremely similar to those of these editions, including the use of both English and Latin entries. Although Merbecke's concordance was confiscated, he recommenced his labour and eventually produced *A concorda[n]ce that is to saie, a worke wherein by the ordre of the letters of the A.B.C. ye maie redely finde any worde conteigned in the whole Bible* in 1550. This concordance contains only direct quotations from scripture, organised by subject entry, and reflects the needs of the less learned audiences of 16th-century vernacular bibles.

Although Merbecke's index was limited in influential scope, its source text—Halberstadt-Brant—is the probable source of a more significant index, that of Estienne's *Hebraea, chaldaea, graeca et latina nomina*. Estienne's index was published in 1537 and is much briefer. He splits his indexes into two, the first being an index of names and the second an index of *rerum et sententiarum*, differing most markedly by his inclusion of the original Hebrew and Greek vocabulary in the margins, whereas Halberstadt-Brant remains firmly in the Latin. Estienne's index had its most lasting influence upon English vernacular bibles via another index, however; one that has been much overlooked: it became the source text for the indexes of Robert F. Herrey, the most widely read biblical indexes of the early modern period.[43]

Robert Herrey's concordances

The best-selling English Bible of the 16th century was the blackletter Geneva quarto, first published in 1578 by Christopher Barker. From the 1580s on, its title advertised that these editions contained two concordances, '[t]wo right profitable and fruitfull concordances, or large and ample tables alphabeticall', which could also be purchased separately.[44] Their author was Robert F. Herrey, about whom almost nothing is known, although the 'R. F. H.' we identify as Robert Herrey may be a pseudonym for the schoolmaster and Brownist Robert Harrison.[45] The concordances have two separate aims: the first is dedicated to explaining 'all the Hebrewe, Caldean, Greeke, Latine, or other strange names', and the second to 'all the English words, conducting vnto most of the necessariest and profitablest

[43] This source was discovered by DeWitt T. Starnes but has received little acknowledgement; DeWitt T. Starnes, *Robert Estienne's Influence on Lexicography* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press: 1963).
[44] *The Bible* (London: 1580), fols. A1r–M4v.
[45] See Albert Peel and Leland Carlson, *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), p. 550 and Starnes, *Estienne's Influence*, p. 35. Authorship attribution for the concordances is difficult given the absence of material on 'Robert Herrey'. From a stylistic perspective, the language of the concordances is straightforward and not theologically complex, which is not out of place alongside the catechisms written in Harrison's schoolmaster prose. It might be noted that Barker did not publish any of Harrison's other works, but this does not foreclose the possibility of his authorship.

doctrines, sentences and instructions'.[46] These concordances provide the most thorough and most widely used examples of biblical concordances in the early modern period; perhaps, even, in the entire English-speaking world.

Despite this, the indexes have attracted little scholarship,[47] and most studies have focused on its anti-Catholic leanings.[48] There is much more to these indexes, however, than anti-Catholicism. Like the Geneva, a tendency to read these texts through anti-rosary-tinted glasses damages our understanding.[49] These indexes were not primarily intended as anti-Catholic propaganda but as navigational tools, and indeed, like the Revelation marginal note, the anti-Catholic content of the work makes up a tiny portion of the whole.[50]

The second index and longer of the two was the most thorough English index at the time of its publication.[51] Like Estienne, Herrey uses a single index for the Old and New Testaments, with no differentiation between quotations from either book. Such a method of quotation is similar to that which characterises the intratextual glosses of the Geneva but with one crucial difference. For those marginal glosses, the verses cited are chosen due to their relevance *for the particular passage*. In Herrey, verses are cited for containing any reference to or engagement with the indexed term. If the intratextual reading practices promoted by the Geneva deserve criticism for the spiralling to-ing and fro-ing they encourage, Herrey's index dispenses with any kind of theologically specific lens in favour of a 'word-searched' intratextuality.

Herrey's selection of entries is eclectic. He is not deterred by entries of little theological merit, and one may successfully use his index to identify a comprehensive list of all biblical references to such mundane subjects as bees, feet, plates, or grapes (for which one must 'looke Cluster'[52]). This suggests the figurative capacity

[46] *The Bible* (1580), fols. A3r–M4v.

[47] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 77; Starnes, *Estienne's Influence*, pp. 34–44; Debora K. Shuger, *Paratexts of the English Bible, 1525–1611* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 273–6.

[48] Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls', pp. 52–60; Maurice S. Betteridge, 'The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and Its Annotations', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 14.1 (1983), 41–62.

[49] This scholarly tendency has been criticised by Tom Furniss: 'the Geneva notes could only be read as justifying revolutionary struggle against idolatrous tyrants through selective quotations that sidestep other notes and prefaces that offer responses to tyranny and idolatry that are incompatible with revolution'. In Tom Furniss, 'Reading the Geneva Bible: Notes toward an English Revolution?', *Prose Studies* 31.1 (2009), 1–21.

[50] To critique Stallybrass, he asserts that the index 'attempts to secure an interpretation of the bible in which the main threat is Catholic idolatry. There are, indeed, no less than forty-seven entries under "idole," "idolatry" etc'. ('Books and Scrolls', p. 60). While some of these entries are anti-Catholic, we must not forget that the Bible is a text that is innately and often violently opposed to idolatry, quite independent of the Reformation. Not every denouncement of idolatry can be taken as a coded attack on specifically *Catholic* idolatry.

[51] As evidence of this index's enduring popularity, Stallybrass claims that Patrick Collinson used this concordance until 1991; 'Books and Scrolls', p. 52.

[52] *The Bible* (1580), fol. H4v.

of the kinds of discontinuous reading Herrey allows, for one can much more easily construct comparative readings across concepts that appear dotted throughout the Bible when collected together in this way, stripped of context. There is an Augustinian suggestion of how one might make metaphorical use of entries such as *Bees* and *Figge*[s], to '*enucleanda*' ('de-kernalise') the nuts of scripture and construct a reading from discrete terms.[53] Similarly, a term that might appear cursory in context is granted greater meaning by being indexed alongside other examples of more overt theological import.

See, for example, the entry for *Finger*, which includes three listings for the finger of God and one, 'A gyant slayne [that] had 24. fingers and toes, 2 Sam 21.20,21'.[54] Herrey's entry for *Flocke* similarly combines metaphorical flocks shepherded by Jesus with obscure references to animal husbandry.[55] By granting 'flock' the context of the definitively metaphorical flocks of Christ, this metaphorical reading is brought forth even more suggestively. This lexically privileged collection necessarily grants potentially incidental terms with a grander context and provokes metaphorical readings that might otherwise never occur to the continuous reader.

We must also consider the audience for this index. Though some theological terms are listed, Herrey's chosen terminology is often extremely mundane. Some terms have definitions without scriptural citations, such as *Cubite* and *Angel*, whose use is presumably intended for a less educated audience. Some of Herrey's entries provoke images of how a reader might consult his index. The entries for *Beauty* and *Comeliness* instruct us to look for *Faireness*, which lists all biblical figures described as fair (Saul, David, Absalom, the daughters of men, the wives of Abraham and Isaac, Rachel, Abigail, Bathseba, the two Tamars, Abihag).[56] Such content raises the question of how a reader might use these entries. Is our hypothetical reader looking up *comeliness* because they are hoping for useful advice on how to deal with one's own comeliness or that of another, or because they want a list of the most good-looking biblical figures? Herrey also utilises a more vulgar idiolect than that of the translators or marginal commenters. Words such as *Garish (attyre, looke Apparel)*, *Pratler (looke Babbler)*, and *Whelpes (looke Dogges)* suggest Herrey has in mind an audience with a vocabulary more aligned with the 16th-century commonplaces than that which might be found in the translation proper.

Elsewhere Herrey strays into theologically murkier waters and, as Shuger shows, deploys 'pointed innuendos'.[57] Herrey's definition for *Angell* is entirely his

[53] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford, 1995), III. xii.18: 'Quorum ad caritatis pastum enucleanda secreta sunt'.
[54] *The Bible* (1580), fol. G8r.
[55] Ibid., fol. G8v.
[56] Ibid., fol. G5v.
[57] Shuger, *Paratexts*, p. 275.

own, derived neither from scripture nor Estienne. The word, he tells us, 'Signifieth a Messenger: commonly taken for spirites celestial which serue God to accomplish his heauenly will, and are of the nature of fire'.[58] Herrey's use of 'commonly taken' here indicates an awareness of the multiplicity of interpretations and defers any authoritative conclusion, inviting an openness to challenge that does not characterise the marginal notes. Under *Church*, one can feel the creaking weight of arguments over Tyndale's translation of *εκκλησία* as 'congregation' in Herrey's exceptionally lengthy and totally unsourced definition: the word 'signifieth a Congregation: it is taken in the newe Testament, for the companie of the faithfull assembled in the name of Christ. So the whole flocke of Christians, dispersed through the worlde, is called a Catholike or uniuersall Church.'[59]

Thus Herrey engages in a degree of overtly Protestant editorialising in this index. Under *Abuses*, Herrey writes of the 'Abuses in the Church to bee redressed by good princes according to Gods word'.[60] This is supported by a range of references, none of which offer direct support for Herrey's claim. Good princes redressing abuses is hard not to read as a coded description of the royal Church of England redressing those abuses of the Catholic Church. The entry for *Ambition* takes similar liberties where its references to 1 Timothy 3.6 and 3 John 9—'He may not be a yong scholer, lest he being puffed vp fall into the condemnation of the deuill' and 'I wrote vnto the Church: but Diotrephes which loueth to haue the preeminence among them, receiueth vs not'—are imaginatively summarised as, 'Ambition a great plague to the Church'.[61] See also the entry for *Common*, 'The common welth prospereth when godly Princes haue the gouernement',[62] which is a curious, slapdash collapse of Proverbs 28.2 and 29.2–8.[63] What in Proverbs 29 comprises a list of parallelistic syntaxes about the righteous, fathers, kings, and neighbours becomes a cherry-picked support for England's regal rule with the legalistic references to commonwealth, princes, and the government. Similarly, one of Herrey's entries for *Idolatrie* is a rather loose précis of the cited passage, Ezekiel 8.3–5: 'Idolatrie used especially of the priestes and head gouernours themselues.' The passage refers specifically to the idolatrous elders of Israel and women mourning the god Tammuz or Dumuzid, but Herrey's decontextualisation and interpretation renders this 'as priestes and head gouernours'[64]—terms that are not present in Ezekiel, which is 'men of the Ancients of the house of Israel' in

[58] Ibid., fol. E6v.
[59] Ibid., fol. F6r.
[60] Ibid., fol. E6r.
[61] Ibid., fol. E7r.
[62] Ibid., fol. F7r.
[63] Proverbs 28.2: 'For the transgression of the land there are many princes thereof: but by a man of understanding and knowledge a realme likewise endureth long'. Proverbs 29.2–8: 'When the righteous are in authoritie, the people rejoyce: but when the wicked beareth rule, the people sigh. […] A King by judgement mainteineth ye countrey: but a man receiving giftes, destroyeth it.'
[64] *The Bible* (1580), fol. H8r.

the Geneva translation and 'Lordes of the councell of the house of Israel' in the Great Bible.

Such editorialising is combined with good old-fashioned doctrine. Under *Workes* we have 'Workes are the fruits of faith, and the assurance of our hope […] and doe make our election sure'.[65] *Supper* tells us, 'The wordes (This is my body) used in the Lords Supper, are spoken figuratively', 'Christes nautrall body can be but in one place at once, and therefore is not in the bread and wine at the Lords Supper', and we are told to 'Looke *Transubstantiation*'.[66]

Herrey's concordances were some of the most widely used indexes not only of the Bible but of any early modern book, and it is important to understand the content of such texts to understand how the Bible would have been read. As Betteridge and Stallybrass have argued, they are indeed anti-Catholic and theologically Protestant, but it is necessary to understand exactly *how* these biases are manifest. Herrey is never so bold to declaim the Pope as the Antichrist, as in the Geneva glosses to Revelation, nor does he present a coded dismissal of Catholic priests, as in the gloss to locusts at Revelation 9. Herrey's concordances may not be deliberately deceptive, but their frequent collapsing of scripture, their obfuscatory citational practices, and their ambiguity concerning the source of their content (Herrey or scripture) present a level of authorial muddiness we never find in the glosses. That the concordances never came under explicit attack like the glosses did suggests such denser materials flew under critics' radar, but this is not a sign that their content and influence should be discounted. Herrey's concordances were exceptionally widely read and remained in use for hundreds of years.

Geneva tables

The 1560 Geneva Bible contains two indexes: 'A brief table of the interpretation of the propre names which are chiefly found in the olde Testame[n]t' and 'A table of the principal things that are conteined in the bible, after the order of the alphabet'.[67] The first of these tables does as its title suggests, giving a multiplicity of meanings for the names of people and places throughout the Bible. It is prefaced by an explanation as to how 'the wickednes of time, and the blindnes of the former age hathe bene suche that all things altogether haue bene abused and corrupted, so that the very right names of diuerse of the holie men named in the Scriptures haue bene forgotten, and now seme strange vnto vs'.[68] The translators have 'set forthe this table of the names that be moste vsed in the olde Testament with

[65] Ibid., fol. M3v.
[66] Ibid., fol. L4v.
[67] *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament*, fols. HHh3r–Lll3r.
[68] Ibid., fol. HHh3r.

their interpretation[n]s, as the Ebrewe importeth, partly to call backe the godlie from that abuse', and 'chiefly to restore the names to their integritie, whereby many places of the Scriptures and secret mysteries of the holie Gost shal better be vnderstand'.[69] This is a philological index in the vein of Estienne's list of names, whereas the second table is a meatier, more interpretive work. This second table is far more faithful than those of Herrey. Like Herrey's index, it collapses both the Old and New Testament (and all of the books within them) to a single catalogue. This results in excerpted proscriptions for Levitican priests appearing alongside those for Christians, and thus we read how 'priests are forbid to shaue their heads or Beards' absent of any context.[70] There are occasional theological intrusions, but only those that are widely accepted, such as the two men Lot invites into his home being angels (prompted by ἄγγελοι in the Septuagint), the serpent being read as the devil, and there being one pillar in Exodus 40; there is nothing as overtly anti-Catholic as we find in the Herrey indexes. Quotations are often paraphrastic, though rarely misleadingly so; one exception is that to 1 Corinthians 11.14, which is imaginatively summarised as claiming that 'It is comelie for a woman to haue long Heere', omitting the harsh proscription against men wearing long hair.[71] By and large, the Geneva indexes are far more faithful and far less combative than the glosses for which this edition became infamous.

Unlike Herrey's indexes, the Genevan alphabets did not have a long print history in England. When Barker acquired the rights to print both the Bishops' and the Geneva, he jettisoned the Genevan alphabets and instead incorporated Herrey's concordances into both of them. Given that Herrey's alphabets replaced those of the Geneva, their differences give a useful understanding of the competing means by which the Bible was being indexed at this early point in the history of the vernacular biblical index. Herrey and the Geneva's prefaces offer a useful entry point, as Herrey's preface was included in both the Geneva and Bishops' editions that incorporated his concordances, as well as the original print run of the concordances alone. These prefaces make their differences in tone and aims clear from the outset: The Herrey alphabet addresses itself to the 'Good Christian Reader', with the hopes of that reader 'mayest enioye and reape the profite of these two Alphabets'.[72] The Geneva, by contrast, is combative and anti-Catholic, opening with a condemnation of 'the wickednes of time, and the blindnes of the former age'.[73] Throughout, Herrey's preface is always in a less grand register and is characterised by a humility and focus on readerly experience that is absent from the Geneva. Herrey contextualises the alphabets in relation to the readers' needs and

[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid., fol. IIi3r.
[71] Ibid., fol. KKk2r.
[72] *The Bible* (1580), fol. A2r.
[73] *The Bible and Holy Scriptures* (1560) [Geneva], fol. HHh3r.

makes reference to the different needs of the learned and less learned among his audience. The Geneva preface addresses the readerly experience only once, when informing them that 'he shal finde them [untranslated Hebrew names] in places moste conuenient amongs the annotations'.[74] Another difference is that Herrey writes in the first-person singular and the Geneva in the first plural. Superficially this may seem unremarkable—Herrey was one person and the Geneva Bible created by a team of exiles—but Herrey's alphabets are also part of a collaborative project. He did not, as Starnes marks, author these alphabets himself but rather translated and edited them from Estienne. This is not to say that Herrey appears to take credit for work that is not his own; he is clear as such about his role as a collector, not author: he has 'collected, digested, and caused ["directions to common places"] to be printed for thy commodotie'.[75] Commodity, of course, has the twin meanings of *use* and of *purchase*, and I touch on the market aspects of Herrey's concordances later in this chapter. The Geneva preface presents its index as part of a reformatory, combative project; Herrey, though his index is arguably more anti-Catholic than that of the Geneva, frames his indexes as tools for readerly utility.

Let us also note the differences in framing of the actual purpose of these first tables, which is to render the Hebrew names intelligible to an English-speaking audience. In Herrey, this project is summarised simply: he has translated 'all the strange names and wordes' into English 'to the ende thou mayst by that meanes, learne to be conduced vntoo so much of the interpretation, Historie, Common place, and knowledge of them, and euery one of them, as I trust thou shalt thinke needful'.[76] In actuality, of course, it is Estienne who has translated these and Herrey who is translating Estienne. Herrey concludes his aim by deferring to the reader, always permitting them to make the final judgement on the value and purpose of his alphabets. This task is described quite differently in the Geneva. For Herrey, the Hebrew names are 'strange names'; in the Geneva, they '*seme* strange vnto vs' (emphasis added).[77] The Geneva contextualises those strange names as those of 'the very right names of diuerse of the holie men named in the Scriptures haue bene forgotten' and instead become 'the signes and badges of idolatrie and heathenish impietie', in another anti-Catholic comment.[78] It is therefore the Geneva alphabet's aim 'to call backe the godlie from that abuse' and 'to restore the names to their integritie'.[79] For Herrey, the utility of this alphabet is one of comprehensibility, a means by which an English speaker can gain access to the unfamiliar Hebrew terms. For the Geneva, that unfamiliarity is politicised, and the recovery

[74] Ibid.
[75] *The Bible* (1580), fol. A2r.
[76] Ibid.
[77] *The Bible* (1560), fol. HHh3r.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.

of meaning is a revolutionary task that serves to beat back the legacy of idolatrous abuses of Catholicism.

These are not intended as criticisms of the Geneva; although published fewer than two decades apart, these are very different people creating documents in very different landscapes. The Genevan table is an act of restoration, reformation, and revolution: its very newness is its justification for its existence. Herrey, by contrast, situates himself within the legacy of the Geneva, making unqualified reference to how he has 'folowed [the] *Geneua* Translation' and referenced other translations that might differ.[80] Indeed, in the context of Reformation discourse on biblical translation and editing, it is not the Geneva that is notable for its inflammatory tone but Herrey's for the absence of this. It is ironic, then, that the *contents* of Herrey's alphabets are far more inflammatory than those of the Geneva. The Geneva alphabet is also notable for being a rather taciturn creature in comparison to Herrey's; in the Geneva, Adam is defined as: 'Adam, man, earthlie, read Gen 2.15'.[81] The Herrey entry for Adam begins with 'man, earthly, red, or bloody', and continues for half a column of text.[82]

I discuss in this chapter how the Geneva Bible paratexts were marked by an attempt to re-Hebraicise proper nouns. Herrey employs similar aims but often to the detriment of readability. He also prints the more common, anglicised, or Vulgate version of these names in the margin, which can cause difficulty when navigating the text. If one wants to find the entry on Eve (the most common name by which she was called in England at this time), consulting the 'Ev-' entries comes up blank. If one instead looks for *Heuah*, then we are redirected to 'Hauah', though 'Eua' appears here in the margin. We must go to *Hauah* to have success, which offers the very short entry: 'Hauah. *liuing, or giuing life.* The wife of Adam. Ge. 3.20 and 4.1 looke Heuah.' In the margin we find *Heua* and *Heuah* but no *Eue* or *Eua*. There is thus a disconnect between the expectations of readerly navigation and the organisation of this index. Estienne, on the other hand, omits the *Heuah* entirely and gives no alternate names. While the Geneva Bible editions use *Heuah* in the scripture and *Eva* in the summaries, the index does not make such concessions for the name(s) readers would be most familiar with.

Herrey's index, unlike the Geneva, is characterised by an often-unwieldy multiplicity of meanings—what Stallybrass describes as 'a wonderful key to reading the bible as a form of deep play with proper names'.[83] The Geneva offers a singular authority on the meanings of these names, fighting against the proliferating lists of alternative meanings that sometimes hamper Herrey's. For example, under his entry for the city of Abez, Herrey gives its meaning inaccurately as 'An egge, dirty;

[80] *The Bible* (1580), fol. A2r.
[81] *The Bible* (1560), fol. HHh3r.
[82] *The Bible* (1580), fol. A4v.
[83] Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls', p. 53.

or of linnen'.[84] Despite its inaccuracy, such entries remained a lingering influence on vernacular biblical concordances. This entry, which is not present in any other sources, can also be found in Thomas Wilson's concordance. Herrey's index has also been shown to be an influence on Alexander Cruden's 18th-century *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures*.[85] The most popular indexes of the 16th century, Herrey's work was a persistent, oft-used, and innovative means to navigate the Bible.

Catholic indexes and the Protestant tradition

While Protestant texts dominated and therefore controlled the paratextual apparatus of vernacular bibles, it was not until the publication of the 1582 Rheims New Testament that a vernacular index was produced by Catholic authorities. The Rheims indexes display a very different attitude to biblical indexing to those of their Protestant predecessors, but they are also surprisingly congruent with those works in ways that strongly suggest the influence of Protestant indexes upon the Catholic. The Rheims New Testament is accompanied by a glossary and an index, introduced respectively as a list of 'hard words explicated' and 'a table of controversies'.[86] This latter table is fully titled 'An Ample and Particular Table Directing the Reader to Al Catholike truthes, deduced out of the holy Scriptures, and impugned by the Aduersaries'. As this title suggests, this index is an aggressively defensive means of navigating scripture; if the Geneva Bible glosses might have been criticised for being too polemical, this is nothing in comparison to the vitriol of the Rheims index. Reprinted and revised with the complete Douai-Rheims in 1610 (the revisions I discuss shortly), what I call the 'Rheims index' is of uncertain authorship, though was most likely created by Thomas Worthington, the author of the annotations, which are marked by a similar degree of hostility. There is a second index, 'A Particular Table of the Most Principal Thinges Conteyned as wel in the holie text', which appears in the first and second (1635) editions of the complete Douai-Rheims Bible, which I address secondarily.

I first approach the formal aspects of this index. The most crucial means by which this index differentiates itself from both vernacular indexes and the Latin indexes that preceded it is the lack of chapter and verse citations; the Rheims index instead uses page numbers, but these are not to direct the reader through scripture. All indexical references are to either the post-chapter annotations or to the marginal notes. This immediately raises several practical and ideological issues. An index dependent on pagination is necessarily volume-specific. As Stallybrass

[84] *The Bible* (1580), fol. A3r.
[85] Starnes, *Estienne's Influence*, pp. 34–44.
[86] *The New Testament of Jesus Christ* (Rheims: 1582), fols. Bbbbb 3r–Eeeee 2r.

has discussed, many early modern bibles became compendia of the scripture itself and various apparati. An index that navigates by chapter and verse can be removed from one Bible and attached to another or sold separately (or first sold separately and *then* appended to a Bible, as is the case for the Herrey indexes). An index that navigates by pagination can only ever be relevant to the single volume to which it is attached. To avoid the need of updating the index for the complete Douai-Rheims Bible, pagination starts anew at the New Testament in order to maintain the accuracy of its entries, and so all editions of the Rheims New Testament and Douai-Rheims Bible are quartos. Importantly, this is an index for navigating the notes and annotations of the Bible, not the scripture, which means less agency is granted to the reader and more significance and authority is granted to the paratexts.

The other major formal difference between the Rheims index and those of Protestant bibles is typographical. In the indexes of Protestant bibles, the same typeface is used for all subject entries. In the Rheims index, terms of special significance are printed not in lower-case italics but in small capital letters with larger letter spacing. These terms include CHVRCH, CROSSE, GOD, MASSE, CHRISTIANS, MARIE, B. LADIE, the SACRAMENT of the altar, and the SACRIFICE of the altar. CHRIST and IESVS do not have the same degree of letter spacing, but this seems likely to be a typographical oversight rather than a deliberate deprivileging of the terms. There is thus a visual, typographical hierarchy of significant concepts in the Catholic Bible, including the usual suspects (God, Christ, Church) as well as those that are peculiarly important to Catholicism (Marie, the sacrament of the altar, mass). Other presumably important concepts such as grace and the commandments do not receive such typographical privileging. This is the first of many ways in which a particular Catholic method emerges in this index; not one that simply prioritises Catholic theology over Protestant but that shapes the reading of the Bible along specifically counter-Reformation lines.

The Rheims index is soaked in anti-Protestant—and specifically anti-Calvinist and anti-Beza—rhetoric (who, we are told, 'maketh God author of sinne').[87] A petty and representative example of this trend is found under the entry for Protestants, which concisely and snippily tells us to 'See Heretikes'.[88] This comprises the whole entry. Elsewhere, Protestant practices are decried for being heretical, schismatic, and ridiculous, whereas we are told that Protestants themselves are impudent, full of malice, and carping infidels. There is nothing to such a vituperative degree present in the Protestant indexes, and it is important to bear in mind when considering criticisms of Protestant bias that such works consistently prove to be the less combative.

[87] Ibid., fol. Bbbbb 4r.
[88] Ibid., fol. Ddddd 2v.

The Rheims index is surprisingly timely. Whereas indexes to the Protestant bibles engage little with contemporary occurrences, that of the Rheims understands itself as a counter-Reformation document that is characterised by a particular Catholic temporality. There are two aspects to this temporality: backwards-looking and forwards-looking. Forwards-looking temporality concerns the preoccupation in this index with the end times, and specifically how its imminent arrival can be identified in Protestant behaviour; backwards-looking temporality concerns enforcing continuity with the Church Fathers and the 'primitiue church' as part of a project to delineate Protestantism as a heretical aberration.[89] As part of this, Protestants themselves are given their own continuity with heretical sects. To begin with the use of the Church Fathers, whereas references to specific patristic theologians was largely absent from the Herrey index, the Rheims index enjoys a lively population of references. Augustine is our most commonly spotted figure, to which I have found 13 references, but we also encounter Chrysostom, Jerome, and Pope Leo. This includes the misleading comment, 'S. Augustine falsely alleaged for tvvo Sacraments only', which précises the marginal note 'S. Augustine falsely alleaged of the Heretikes for tvvo Sacraments only'.[90] Augustine provides not only an authority whose claims can be cited without refutation but a means by which continuity to the early church can be established and, by contrast, Protestants can be understood as part of a continuity of heresy. On the subject of limbo, an anachronistic disorientation is induced by the comment that '[t]he Caluinists deny this article', which is immediately followed by 'S. Augustine calleth them Infidels that deny it'.[91] Much concern is given to the ancient fathers, the ancient canons, and the primitive church as part of an attempt to establish the Catholic Church as part of an ancient continuity, opposed to the heretical disruptions of Protestants and their predecessors.

Part of the Rheims' index forwards-looking is the understanding of novelty as heretical. Protestants are generally attributed with a spiritual pretentiousness, a claim to 'Vaunting great knowledge' of topics they cannot know, but especially for the attempts to bring a newness to scripture that ought to be eternal.[92] In the entry for 'Heretikes', they are censured for 'Teaching new doctrine', for their 'New termes and speaches' and their 'Contempt of Councils and fathers'. Such novel approaches are the 'Corrupting of Scriptures', 'Denying the bookes of Scriptures and Doctors', and 'Controuling of the very text of Scripture, and the sacred writers thereof'.[93] Such is the bifurcated nature of this anti-Protestantism. Protestants are simultaneously guilty of a heretical novelty, but they are also part of a longstanding

[89] Ibid., fol. B 8v.
[90] Ibid., fol. Ddddd 2v.
[91] Ibid., fol. Ccccc 3r.
[92] Ibid., fol. Ccccc 3r.
[93] Ibid.

continuity of heretics. They are compared to Donatists, Capharnaites, Arrians, Pagans, and Vigilantius. Both novel and ancient, the Protestant menace is a protean threat to the Catholic establishment.

The index also presents an eschatological understanding of Protestantism. Catholic eschatologies are far less common than those of Protestant groups, although there have been some arguments for their prominence having been overlooked. As David M. Whitford points out, 'neither in France nor elsewhere in Catholic Europe did apocalyptic interpretation exercise as pervasive an influence as in Protestant settings'.[94] It was an extremely useful rhetorical tool for Reformers; as Richard Kenneth Emmerson writes, 'the Protestant identification of Antichrist with the papacy and Catholicism in general' was revolutionary as it represented a 'change in doctrine in which not merely some specific papal problem, but the papacy itself, [was] repudiated'.[95] Yet the temporality presented in the Rheims index seeks a comparably revolutionary position, styling itself as a break from what is characterised as a longstanding tradition of heresy of which Protestantism is only the most recent incarnation. The Rheims index employs a comparable form of eschatology to the Geneva, and it is not inconceivable that it took its cue from here given the extent to which the Rheims is otherwise indebted to Protestant translations and paratextual formatting.

The Geneva Bible is a particularly (if somewhat unfairly) infamous document of Protestant Reformer eschatology. It contains a smattering of egregious notes in this regard, including annotations to Revelation 13.1, the beast rising out of the sea, identifying it as 'the description of the Romaine empire', and for Revelation 11.8 we encounter 'the great citie, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt', this 'Mean[s] the whole jurisdictio[n] of the Pope, which is compared to Sodom for their abominable sinne, and to Egypt because the true libertie to serue God is taken away', among other references to the 'Pope Turke', his association with Satan, and the need to fall from him and glorify God. Most infamously is the note to the beast of the whore of Babylon, Revelation 17, which interprets it as 'the papall seate' and the whore's cup as the 'popes decrees, decretalles, bulles, / dispensations, suspentions, and cursynges'. Yet the Rheims New Testament employs its own form of anti-Protestant eschatology in the marginal notes to Revelation, and one that explicitly rebukes the theologies expressed in the aforementioned notes. In the note to Revelation 12.14, 'where she is nourished for a time & times, and halfe a time', we are told 'This often insinuation that Antichrists reigne shal be three yeares & a half […] proveth that the heretikes be exceedingly blinded with malice, that hold the Pope to be Antichrist, who hath ruled so many ages'.

[94] David M. Whitford, *T&T Clark Companion to Reformation Theology* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 249.
[95] Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1984), p. 206.

Again, a contextualising continuity is employed, this time as a counterstrategy, situating the Pope as a longstanding figure that cannot, on account of that age, be interpreted as the Antichrist. This note is explicitly attacked by George Withers in his *A view of the marginal notes of the popish Testament* (1588), in a rare example of clarity in criticism of paratexts, writing that, '[a]s for the ages, which you suppose your pope hath ruled, you may cut off the one halfe of them, which I am sure you imagine'.[96] The Rheims index also engages with this eschatology, for while the Protestant church is simultaneously presented as an apocalyptic novelty and part of an ancient continuity of heretics, the Rheims index also presents the Catholic Church as being attacked by the 'Heretikes his [Antichrist's] foreunners' of 'our daies', being in the end times in its entry for Antichrist.[97] It warns, under Masse, 'How Antichrist & his Ministers shal abolish the Masse'.[98] Combined with the marginal notes to Revelation, there is a paratextual effort to engage in the same kind of eschatologies that characterise Protestant theologies and, especially, the Geneva Bible paratexts.

The Rheims index is not merely a means of navigating scripture or Catholic theology but specifically a refutation of Protestant theology; the index offers, as it repeatedly tells us, examples of the 'Heretikes arguments answered'.[99] The breadth of topics covered is too great to treat each in detail, but they include entries that address the importance of charity and work for justification, the falsity of alleging that faith alone will grant salvation, the necessity and attainability of chastity for priests (and the impermissibility of clerical marriage), the falseness of Protestant communion and 'Caluins bread', the devotional nature of Catholic practices and that they are not (as Protestants allege) mere superstition, the necessity of auricular confession and the hypocrisy of Protestants for their own participation in confession and absolution, the value of mysticism, and the undesirable nature of Protestants' application of 'sense and reason' when one should use faith alone.

It also engages with the contentious topic of translation. Having opposed the translation of the Bible into English for so long, this first Catholic English translation must present criticism that now takes issue with specifically Protestant practices of translation rather than vernacular bibles in principle. We may therefore read how Amen and alleluia are not to be translated, how Beza is guilty of 'fansie corruptio[n]s of the Greeke text',[100] that 'The Caluinistes applying the word [idol] against sacred Images, are conde[m]ned long since by the 2 Councel of Nice'[101] and 'are ashamed of their translating, image, for idol',[102] how priest was 'heretically

[96] George Wither, *A View of the Marginal Notes of the Popish Testament* (London: 1588), p. 296.
[97] *New Testament of Jesus Christ*, fol. B3v.
[98] Ibid., fol. C8v.
[99] Ibid., fol. D3v.
[100] Ibid., fol. B4r.
[101] Ibid., fol. C3v.
[102] Ibid.

changed into Elder',[103] and that Protestants 'auoid the word in their English translations of the new Testament'[104] so that they 'auoided the name of Church, and thrust it out of the Bible',[105] as well as how they 'auoid the word merite'.[106] And as a means of self-justifying paratexts, we are told 'The bare letter killeth both Iew & Heretike':[107] an imaginative exposition of 2 Corinthians 3.6, 'For the letter killeth: but the Spirit quickeneth' (Douai-Rheims). The text has been 'corrupted by old heretikes' and we must remember that 'Scriptures haue not only a literal sense, but also a mystical and allegorical', for the Protestants' urging that scripture is 'easie for euery ma[n] to vnderstand by his priuate spirit, & therfore they reject the Doctors exposicio[n]s, & admit nothing but Scripture'.[108] The Vulgate is the 'authentical Latin translation[n]' that 'Beza preferreth […] before al the rest',[109] whereas the Protestant Bible is, simply, a 'heretical translation'.[110] Finally, with a refreshing lack of complexity, we may learn how 'The curse for adding and diminishing thereof: and that it pertaineth to heretikes, not to Catholike expositors'.[111] The Rheims index allows the Catholic reader to navigate a vernacular Bible by a compass that ensures they understand that their reading of an English translation, which has been opposed for so long, is now not only sanctioned but exists in opposition to a translation that remains heretical and, by nature of its heresy, justifies the acceptability of the Rheims New Testament.

There are, unsurprisingly, many instances of Catholic theologies expounded by the index; there are too many to list exhaustively, although I point out its rebuttal of Protestant interpretations in relation to idolatry and prayer. Under the entry for 'Idol', the Rheims index is at pains to point out (not incorrectly) that 'Idols in al the Bible, signifie the false Gods of the Pagans' and not, as implied, Catholic practices of worship.[112] 'The Caluinistes applying the word against sacred Images, are conde[m]ned long since by the 2 Councel of Nice',[113] and image should not be translated as idol, we are told. Instead, in a neat rebuttal of the Protestant formulation of Catholicism as idol-worship, we learn that it is in fact 'Heresies [that] are the idols of the new Testament'.[114] Prayer and the Protestant practice of English

[103] Ibid., fol. D2v.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., fol. B8v. This refers to the instructions to the translators of the KJV, 'The old Ecclesiastical Words to be kept, *viz.* the Word *church* not to be translated *Congregation &c*'. *Records of the English Bible*, ed. Pollard, p. 53.
[106] Ibid., fol. C8v.
[107] Ibid., fol. D8v.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid., fol. E1v.
[110] Ibid., fol. C3r.
[111] Ibid., fol. D8v.
[112] Ibid., fol. C3v.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.

prayer are condemned under the lengthy entry for 'Prayer', for 'Seruice & praier in the Latine togue [are] much better then in the vulgar', supported with reference to Augustine's use of Latin, the delightfully petulant 'Our people at their first conuersion sang Alleluia, not, praise ye the Lord', and the instruction that 'It is not necessarie that they vnderstand either publike or private praiers'.[115] Miscellaneously, the priority of works over faith is regularly emphasised, with the importance of charity and work, Protestant communion is referred to as 'Caluins bread',[116] faith is said to be 'necessarie in this Sacrament'[117] and that 'The Protestants judge thereof by sense and reason',[118] Protestant hypocrisy is denounced with how 'English Ministers heare confessons, and absolue, against their owne doctrine', and devotion is repeatedly defended as not being superstition.[119]

The Rheims index is, as its name proclaims, an index to controversies, not scripture. It is extremely polemical and serves far more as a guide to Catholic interpretation than the location of relevant terms. This index underwent far less revision than those of Protestant bibles, yet it *did* undergo a transformation at the hands of the Puritan divine William Fulke. The Rheims New Testament found one of its largest audiences by means of Fulke's comparative edition of the Rheims and Bishops' translation, a work that sought to denounce the Rheims translation by comparison with that of the Protestant vernacular; Fulke's edition was the means by which the Rheims New Testament found an audience among the translators of the KJV and led to its influence upon that translation.[120] Fulke's use of the table is curious. When analysing the Bishops' and Rheims' scripture proper, Fulke compares the two editions line by line. For the annotations, he similarly refutes the Rheims edition line by line. Not so for the index. It is first given a slight rebrand, now becoming: 'A Table Directing the Readers to All Controversies Handled in this Worke: Gathered according to the Table drawen by the Rhemists'.[121] Fulke took the Catholic index as his base text and significantly modified it in order to serve as an index suitable for the Protestant reader. As part of his modifications, Fulke adopts a more standard typography and thus we are not treated to a privileged taxonomy of terms in upper case. He also throws out the organisation of citations by pagination that uniquely characterises the Rheims index and instead replaces it with the more standard chapter and verse citations. Of course, the Rheims index does not primarily direct the reader to the scripture but rather the notes, so Fulke is effectively repurposing the index as a navigational aid for

[115] Ibid., fol. D4r.
[116] Ibid., fol. C1r.
[117] Ibid., fol. D3v.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid., fol. C1v.
[120] *The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ*, ed. William Fulke (London: 1589).
[121] Ibid., fol. 496v.

scripture rather than commentary. This mitigates the divorcement in the Rheims index between scripture, interpretation, and indexing-of-interpretation by bringing the reader back directly to the source and making potential theological discrepancies (or what would appear to be discrepancies to a Protestant reader) more apparent. Practically, this makes the Rheims-Fulke index a more practical document for the printers, as references no longer correlate with a constantly shifting set of pagination.

Fulke's modifications are not purely formal, of course; he adds new entries, though perhaps of more interest are his modifications to existing entries. Fulke is not, as he is in all other elements of the Bishops'-Rheims edition, commenting on the Rheims but rewrites it to suit his own purposes. It is unclear to the reader (where it is not with the comparison of scripture and annotations) where the Rheims' notes end and his own begin. For the first entry, 'Absolution', Fulke replicates the Rheims entry faithfully, excepting the use of scriptural citations rather than pagination, and the addition of 'in the same places' to the sentence, 'What is to loose and binde'.[122] This is an instance in which Fulke adopts the Catholic text entirely for his own purposes and absolves it into the new 'Fulke-Rheims' index. Elsewhere, Fulke must bemore extreme in his modifications. Calvin's entry was once a litany of abuse: '*CAluins* blasphemie against the diuinitie of Christ. […] Against Christs ovvne merites […] Against the saincts in heauen. […] that God is author of sinne […] Concerning Christs suffering the paines of the damned & that he vvas abandoned of his father. […] Against remission of sinnes.'[123] It now reads, 'whether hee blasphemed against the divinitie of Christ', and also the question of his possible blasphemies 'against Christes owne merits', 'Whether he hold that God is the author of sin', 'concerning Christs suffering the paines of the damned, and that he was abandoned of his father' and 'against remission of sinnes'.[124] For 'Monks', the Rheims index reads, '*Monkes & Monastical* life. Vvhether they should worke with their handes. 561. 562. They were shauen in the primitiue Church: and Nunnes clipped of their heare, 562. See Exemites. Religious.'[125] In Fulke, this is slightly modified: '*Moonks* whether they should worke with their hands, 2 Thes. 3 [section] 2. Whether there was any religion in shauing of their heads, and Nonnes clipping of their haire in the ancient Church, ibdem. See *Eremites, Religious.*'[126] The variant is in framing, not vocabulary, copying the Rheimist words but inviting the reader to establish for themselves the validity of these claims. Indeed, the vast majority of Fulke's entries begin with the judgement-inviting *whether*. Elsewhere Fulke is more polemical; the entry for 'Chaste or single life' becomes 'in Popish

[122] Ibid., fol. Ww5v.
[123] *New Testament of Jesus Christ*, fol. B4r.
[124] Ibid., fol. Ww5v.
[125] *New Testament of Jesus Christ*, fol. C8v.
[126] *The Text of the New Testament* [Fulke], fol. Xxxx1v.

cleargie, whether it be angelicall'.[127] Under 'Penance', 'Whether Popish *Penance* bee required before baptisme in such as be of age'.[128]

Fulke adds some new entries, such as holy water, and thus the final index becomes a patchwork of Fulke and Worthington, Protestant and Catholic, with no attention drawn to the seams. While the Rheims index drew on the tendencies of its Protestant predecessors, here Fulke offers us a collaborative text that brings together Catholic and Protestant work in one index. In such ways do paratexts allow for interdenominational influences, and we can see how an index proves appropriate for such collaboration in ways that summaries or glosses never do.

As mentioned, the Rheims New Testament table is not the only index found in Catholic vernacular bibles. The Douai-Rheims Bible contains a further index, 'A Particular Table of the Most Principal Thinges Conteyned as wel in the holie text',[129] one maintained into the 1635 second edition though substantially revised as 'An ample and particular table directing the reader to al catholike truthes'.[130] This table appears after the Old Testament and is ostensibly a navigational guide to the principal things therein, but it often strays into the New Testament and various doctrinal issues. Like the table of controversies, the first (although not second) edition of this table indexes by pagination rather than chapter and verse citations. In its first iteration, it presents a shorter and less combative index to the Douai-Rheims than the table of controversies, though it is still preoccupied with points of interdenominational dispute. These are toned down in the 1635 revised edition of this table, as explained later in this chapter, but still maintain a distinctly anti-Protestant tone. 'Communion of Protestantes is no Sacrament', we are told unambiguously,[131] with similarly blunt indexical references to there being 'No priest at al amongst Protestantes',[132] and that heretics 'foolishly compare their errors with Catholique Religion'.[133] Calvin and Beza are namechecked, who respectively 'contemneth al the fathers […] maketh God the auctor of sinne […] carpeth at Moyses […] chargeth the booke of Wisdome with error'[134] and 'corrupteth the Gospel'.[135] The 'Protestantes doctrine concerning hardning of hart' also merits an entry, with many entries specific to the eucharist, sacrament, and transubstantiation.[136] On the doctrine of *sola fide*, we may learn that 'Faith is aboue reason', that 'Faith alone doth not iustifie', and that 'Faith and good workes gaine heauen'.[137] And, finally,

[127] Ibid., fol. V8r.
[128] Ibid., fol. X2r.
[129] *The holie Bible* (Douai: 1609–10), pp. 1097–1123.
[130] *The Holy Bible* (Douai: 1635), fols. Bbbb3–Eeee2r.
[131] *The holie Bible* (1609–10), p. 1101.
[132] Ibid., p. 1115.
[133] Ibid., p. 1106.
[134] Ibid., p. 1100.
[135] Ibid., p. 1099.
[136] Ibid., p. 1116.
[137] Ibid., p. 1104.

entries on Catholicism offer the information that the 'Catholique name designeth true Christians, and the true Church' and that 'Catholiques are spiritual souldiars'.[138] It is also marked from the Protestant indexes with a much higher emphasis on prefiguration, despite this being a popular subject for Calvin.

The index lists many other points of Catholic doctrine, including information on angels, idols and images, original sin, limbus, and purgatory. Relics and the sanctification of 'Marie the most B[lessed] virgin' are also indexed.[139] We may learn also of how 'Mysteries are spiritual hid thinges aboue natural capacitie' and the mystical nature of names and numbers.[140] Translatory practices are also presented in a Catholic manner, telling how 'Alphabet in Hebrewe is mystical and very hard' and that 'Translations doe not fully expresse the sense of the original tongue', as well as how 'Hebrew Bibles now extant are not more certaine then the Latin'.[141] This index to 'the Most Principal Thinges Conteyned as wel in the holie text' certainly strays regularly beyond the bounds of that text and incorporates the Douai-Rheims paratexts into its citations.

The index is revised in its 1635 incarnation, the second edition of the Douai-Rheims. These revisions are a source of how attitudes about how an index should be formatted and what it should contain evolved among Catholic editors in the first half of the 17th century. In formatting, the major difference between these editions is the decision in the 1635 second edition to eschew the style of citation by pagination entirely, incorporating instead the familiar verse and chapter citations that had long been used by the Vulgate indexes (and the English Protestant indexes). The organisational shift also included replacing long lists of references with descriptive phrases to shorter lists of chapter and verse citations. Whatever attempt had been made to treat the Douai-Rheims as an exceptional Bible with a volume-specific index was abandoned and the Catholic indexes were brought in line with the popular Protestant style.

The majority of the revisions to the index are abbreviations and removals of its entries, with comparably few additions made. Entries for Christ, church, David, Job, and Psalms are among the few that are substantially expanded. Around 50 entries in total have been removed, many of which are marked by several identifiable characteristics, although not all of these removals suggest a clear reason for their having been stripping away. One category of entries removed is that of obscure terms, such as *Peregrination* and *Thau*, along with explanatory details of less important biblical figures, including how 'Iechonias king of Iuda was preserued in Babylon',[142] that 'Leui liued longest of al his brethren',[143] how 'Salathiel the

[138] Ibid., p. 1100.
[139] Ibid., p. 1111.
[140] Ibid., p. 1113.
[141] Ibid., p. 1106.
[142] Ibid., p. 1107.
[143] Ibid., p. 1111.

sonne of Iechonias, and father of Zorobabel, was borne and died in the captiuitie of Babylon',[144] and that the Lacedemonians were descended from Abraham.[145] There has clearly been an effort in this revision to tone down those entries with less utility and, perhaps, to remove vocabulary that did not 'catch on' in the first edition. The Douai-Rheims translations themselves were characterised by many new and unusual vocabulary choices, some of which gained popularity and many others of which were cast by the wayside, and the revision of this index indicates an awareness that some of these vocabulary decisions may have been less successful than others.

Several entries relating to Protestant doctrine have also been removed, including 'Faith is aboue reason'[146] and two similar entries on transubstantiation ('Transubstantiation confessed by Rabbines' and 'Transubstantiation co[n]fessed by Hebrew Rabbins'),[147] and 'Protestantes doctrine concerning hardning of hart'.[148] The entry for '*Gloria Patri*' has also been removed, along with an entry on the 'Prayse of Sainctes' and one that tells us how 'Al sinnes are remissible during this life', resulting in an overall toning down of those overtly didactic doctrinal elements of the table.[149] Similarly, those entries that speak to the nature of the canonicity of various books (including references to the canonicity of Wisdom and Tobias) have almost been entirely removed, with both 'Parables are pithie Allegorical sentences'[150] and 'Prouerbes are common, briefe, pithie sentences' also removed.[151] We no longer learn that Ecclesiasticus 'is a storehouse of al vertues',[152] that 'The booke of Prouerbes perteyneth particularly to beginners, Ecclesiastes to such as procede, and the Canticles to the perfect in pietie',[153] that 'Sapiential bookes teach the way to serue God',[154] and 'Al fiue are Canonical Scripture'.[155]

This Catholic index was revised to reflect changing attitudes, whereas the other index to controversies remained the same. By contrast, the Rheims-Fulke index became a point of cooperation between the Puritan Fulke and his Catholic text when it comes to readerly use of the index. There is no way of distinguishing between Fulke's words and those of Worthington and, now that the citations refer to the chapter/verse rather than the annotations, the reader might very well simply use this index for a practical purpose: as a means to navigate the Bible.

144 Ibid., p. 1118.
145 Ibid., p. 1120.
146 Ibid., p. 1104.
147 Ibid., p. 1103.
148 Ibid., p. 1116.
149 Ibid., p. 1120.
150 Ibid., p. 1114.
151 Ibid., p. 1116.
152 Ibid., p. 1103.
153 Ibid., p. 1116.
154 Ibid., p. 1119.
155 Ibid.

The evolving English Bible deployed a wide range of techniques to aid in a reader's navigation, including contents lists, pagination, headings, titles, and indexes. However deliberately or inadvertently, they encouraged certain reading practices that emphasised tropological understandings of scripture, intratextual comparisons, word searching, and, overall, a far more rapid and efficient journey through the text than medieval predecessors had allowed. The focus of this book now shifts from the ways in which reading practices were shaped by bibles to direct evidence of reading practice in written—predominantly published—outputs. The ways in which the margins of the early modern Bible were read and engaged are reflected in a wide array of textual output across diverse demographics, which I now address, beginning with the very first reader of a biblical margin: its author.

2

Editors as Readers

The English Bible is a group project. While certain individuals—William Tyndale, Miles Coverdale, Archbishop Matthew Parker—can be singled out for having a particular influence on its creation, we must acknowledge that early modern bibles were the product of cooperation, borrowing, translation, modification, and mutuality. William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament or Ambrose Ussher's ill-fated attempt to translate the entire Bible on his own are exceptions, not the rule. The paratexts, too, are rarely the output of a singular trailblazer but are more often assembled, cut, and cobbled together from a range of existing sources. We cannot, therefore, sharply delineate between author or editor of the paratexts and their audiences. Editors are readers too, and much paratextual architecture is the product of the careful reading and modification of paratexts already in circulation.

This chapter begins with the first readers of biblical margins—their authors—and how that authorship is the product of a network of borrowing and modification. My secondary aim in this chapter is to push against often hagiographic narratives that present the history of the English Bible as a product of Great Men, and also against a view of this history as entirely combative—as a 'battle of the bibles'. The editing and evolution of these margins, from early 1530s French paratexts into the 1611 KJV, reveal an array of editorial reading practices, sometimes marking those of a single reader, but together the project of editing biblical paratexts emerges as one of borrowing and modification.

This chapter focuses on two of the most prolix and mutual forms of paratext: the glosses and the summaries. While some paratexts are longer (the prefaces), and others reflect more extensive borrowing practices (the headings), the glosses and summaries combine length and mutuality to create a dense network of evolving paratextual architecture. I begin here with the glosses. With historiography on biblical glosses, particularly those of the Geneva, dominated by perceptions of their thrillingly seditious nature, I aim to represent the glosses as they were in large part intended and functioned: as practical aids to the understanding of scripture. I begin with a discussion of the Bishops' glosses to demonstrate the

rather ordinary nature of Genevan glosses, which have historically been considered extraordinary, and then turn to how the writers of the Bishops' Bible glosses are themselves readers of the Geneva glosses and explicate their use of Geneva glosses to tackle polysemy and competing translations. The chapter goes on to discuss the historiographical interest of glosses in religious writings, and then reassesses the influence of Junius' notes in Revelation.

In its second half, this chapter turns to the summaries. It opens with linguistic data analysis, demonstrating the extent to which these summaries were copied into later editions and their lasting role in navigating and studying the Bible. The chapter then addresses the evolving format of these summaries out of the medieval tradition and over the early modern period. The next three sections address translation and revision: first, John Rogers' translation of Jacques Lefèvre's French summaries, which became the basis of many subsequent editions; second, the Geneva Bible and the translation of proper names; and third, how Richard Taverner revised the Coverdale paratexts.

Glosses of the Bishops' Bible

The original Bishops' Bible glosses had a slender run. First printed in 1568, the work was revised in 1572 and then superseded in 1584 by a new edition, heavily augmented with the glosses of the Geneva Bible. Once Jugge lost the licence to print the Bishops' Bible and Barker—who already held the licence to print Geneva Bibles in England—took over, the first run of Bishops' glosses ceased to be printed. In comparison to the Geneva glosses, famed for their supposed controversiality, those of the Bishops' have attracted little attention for their comparable mildness; as Tribble writes, the Bishops' glosses are 'moderate in tone and apparently instructional and exegetical in aim, guiding interpretation without invoking the controversy that may lie behind the passage'; Shuger similarly argues that they are 'softer' than those of the Geneva but 'scarcely theologically vacuous'.[1] This short print run combined with their moderate tone (as well as scholars' tendency to dichotomise Elizabethan-Jacobean bibles as solely comprising the Geneva and KJV) has meant the Bishops' Bible paratexts have proved of little scholarly interest.

This causes two issues. The original glosses of the Bishops' Bible may not have been as widely reprinted as those of the Geneva, but they nonetheless found (or were foisted upon) a large audience. The Bishops' Bible appeared in 20 editions and 16 New Testaments. Its language and glosses—which Daniell uncharitably

[1] Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1993), p. 43; Debora K. Shuger, *Paratexts of the English Bible, 1525–1611* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), p. 187.

describes as 'flatulent' and 'inept', respectively[2]—were read and absorbed by those preachers who read the text daily, and likewise they impacted those who heard the preaching informed by it, including Shakespeare. The Bible also remained on display in churches and could thus be consulted by lay readers. Second, the neglect of the Bishops' Bible and overemphasis on the Geneva is not only a loss for the former but also results in an uneven and incomplete context for the latter. Many grand claims about the habits of the Geneva fail to account for how they might equally be said of the Bishops', and by comparing the glosses of the two bibles this inaccuracy can be clearly demonstrated.

Since Thomas Hobbes' startling comment that the translation of the Bible into English was the source of the Civil War,[3] beliefs in the controversiality of the Geneva dominated into the early 20th century.[4] Much good recent work has been done to dissuade modern scholarship of this notion, but misapprehensions still prevail. Arguments as to the Geneva's exilic bias and verve were often hung on its frequent use of 'tyrant' in scripture and translation, which has been traditionally read as a product of its editors' exile and rebellious feeling against Queen Mary. Yet as Tom Furniss argues, such readings are overblown: 'the Geneva notes could only be read as justifying revolutionary struggle against idolatrous tyrants through selective quotations that sidestep other notes and prefaces that offer responses to tyranny and idolatry that are incompatible with revolution'.[5] Thomas Fulton in particular dismantles Adam Nicolson's claim of '400 tyrants' populating the Geneva Bible (i.e. references to tyrant, tyranny, etc.), counting instead 124 (with nine in the scripture). 'Tyrant' is simply, Fulton argues, part of 'a religio-political lexicon for Tudor culture' that 'transform[s] the ancient language for early modern use'.[6]

Such arguments can only be fully appreciated by comparing the phenomenon in tandem with the Bishops' Bible. While Fulton counts 124 references to 'tyrants' and 'tyranny' in the Geneva, I count 102 in the 1568 Bishops', with 32 in scripture and 29 in the glosses specifically. Although clearly a drop off, the difference is hardly dramatic and is more attributable to the comparative prolixity of the Geneva glosses than a revolutionary spirit. In the translation itself, the corresponding terms are most commonly rendered as 'oppress/our', 'cruel/ly', and 'wicked'. Such numbers suggest there is little correlation between the effluence

[2] David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 346 and 343.
[3] Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth* (London: 1679), pp. 20–1.
[4] Adam Nicholson, *God's Secretaries: The Making of the King James Bible* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 2009), p. 58.
[5] Tom Furniss, 'Reading the Geneva Bible: Notes toward an English Revolution?', *Prose Studies* 31.1 (2009), 1–21 (p. 1).
[6] Thomas Fulton, *The Book of Books: Biblical Interpretation, Literary Culture, and the Political Imagination from Erasmus to Milton* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), p. 133.

of tyrants and the revolutionary bent of the editors. Paratextual phrases such as 'Against the tiranny of princes and false prophetes' (the summary to Micah 3) and the 'Pharaos and tirauntes of their dayes' (the argument of the 66th psalm) perform a similar function to that which Fulton identifies, translating ancient figures to an early modern audience. Such tyrannous language is primarily a result of Old Testament contexts, not of editors' attempts to incite revolution.

Similarly, the Bishops' Bible glosses provide important context for James I's supposed bridling at the Genevan gloss to Exodus 1.19. In this passage, the midwives' deceit of pharaoh to protect the Israelites' newborns is glossed as follows in the Geneva: 'Their disobedience herein was lawful, but their dissembling euil.'[7] This encouragement of deceiving one's prince allegedly provoked James I's ire, but while the passage is unglossed in the Bishops', the glosses are elsewhere uncomplimentary about princes. In a bizarre misreading of Genesis 12.15–16, when pharaoh meets Sarai, the pharaoh and his princes (or 'officials') are conflated. The 'princes' commend Sarai to pharaoh, after which the scripture reads: 'And *he* entreated Abram well for her sake' (emphasis added). The subject is pharaoh, yet 'he' is glossed as if it were the princes: 'Princes are liberall to them that satisfie their affections.' In this ungrammatical formulation, even the authorised Bishops' Bible speaks negatively against royal rule, not from subordination but from the original anti-authoritarian context. Paratextual criticisms of authority were not, and should not be seen as, necessarily encouraging of revolution. The Bible, and especially the Old Testament, is a text containing many narratives of revolution, and their rendering as such reflects historical accuracy rather than political agenda.

But the Bishops' Bible glosses are not without their own agendas, however mild they have been considered. The glosses take particular issue with divination, attacking astronomy, astrology, aeromancy, and oneiromancy; this is clearest in Genesis, where the condemning glosses have little connection to the scripture. Where the scripture describes the 'lyghtes in the firmament of the heauen', being 'for signes, & seasons, and for dayes, and yeres' (Genesis 1.14), the gloss reads, 'These lyghtes were not made to serue Astronomers phantasies: but for signes in natural thinges, and tokens of gods mercie or wrath'. At 'And God set them in the firmament of the heauen' (Genesis 1.17), the gloss reads, 'The true vse of the heauenly bodyes is oft repeated, lest men shoulde abuse them'. At Genesis 40.8, when Joseph asks the cupbearers whether the interpretation of dreams belongs to God, the gloss imaginatively reads: 'Astrologers and witches are condempned.' The Geneva, by contrast, mildly glosses this passage as: 'Can not God raise vp suche as shal interpret suche things?' And again, at Exodus 10.13, where 'the Lorde brought an east winde upon the lande all that day, and all that nyght', the gloss

[7] For discussion of the theological differences in the Bishops' and Geneva glosses treatment of this passage, see Shuger, *Paratexts*, pp. 202–5.

imaginatively proffer: 'Herby we learne that distemperate & noysome weather, is chiefly to be ascribed to the juste iudgement of God, and not to any natural cause.' Such hostility to divination might be grouped alongside the invectives of rationalists such as Pico della Mirandola (and more imaginatively, a Weberian turn to modernity), but it may be more productively seen as an extension of Thomas Cranmer's famous comment, 'I forbid not to read, but to reason'. Divinatory interpretation has no place in the new hierarchy of hermeneutics that the Bishops' Bible (and all authorised bibles) seek to enforce, whereby the power of interpretation lies with the preacher, not the reader, be it of scripture or dreams.

The Bishops' Bible expanding Geneva glosses

Glosses permit readers to engage in what Barthes describes as abrasive reading: turning from scripture to margin at one's leisure, enjoying 'the abrasions I impose upon the fine surface: I read on, I skip, I look up, I dip in again'.[8] The concept includes Stallybrass' biblically specific concept of discontinuous reading,[9] moving to marginal glosses not only in the present passage but to those in other chapters or books, directed by intratextual references or personal interest to margins elsewhere in the Bible. These readings allow the literary theologian to interweave scripture and exegesis, translation and its alternatives, in personal, creative ways.

Glosses often provide linguistic multiplicity to contrast the necessarily singular form of the translation. Writers who are well versed in the original languages—such as Lancelot Andrewes or William Tyndale—often provide multiple translations in their exegeses, but the inclusion of alternative translations in an English gloss ensures that even those who lacked Hebrew could be sensitive to linguistic multiplicity. Writers turn to the margin to not only expand the scripture but to replace the canonical translation with a preferred alternative found in the gloss:

Author	**Location**	**Scripture**	**Gloss**	**Quotation**
Robert Horne[10]	Genesis 25.27	'And the boyes grewe, and Esáu [was] a cunning hunter, and liued in the fields'	'Ebr. **a man of the field'**	'Esau was **a man of the Field**'

[8] Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. Richard Miller (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1998), pp. 11–12.
[9] Peter Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer Anderson and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. 42–79.
[10] Robert Horne, *The Christian governour* (London: 1614), fol. E8v.

Author	Location	Scripture	Gloss	Quotation
Robert Wilkinson[11]	Genesis 25.27	'And the boyes grewe, and Esáu [was] a cunning hunter, and liued in the fields'	'Ebr. **a man of the field**'	'Esau was prophane but because hee was **a man of the fielde**'
Henry Holland[12]	Genesis 43.30	'And Ioséph made haste (for his affection was inflamed toward his brother, and soght [where] to wepe)'	'Ebr. bowels'	'*his **bowels** were inflamed towards his brethren*'
Edward Elton[13]	Genesis 43.30	'And Ioséph made haste (for his affection was inflamed toward his brother, and soght [where] to wepe)'	'Ebr. bowels'	'Iosephs affection was so strongly mooued towards his brother Beniamin, that his bowels were enflamed'
Gervase Babington[14]	Genesis 47.7	'And Iaakōb saluted Pharaōh'	'Ebr. **Blessed**'	Joseph 'saluted Pharaoh, or **blessed** him'
Zachary Bogan[15]	1 Sam. 26.16	'It is not well done of thee: As the Lorde lyueth, ye are worthy to dye'	'**Ebr. sonnes of death**'	'This thing is not good that thou hast done, as the Lord liveth, ye are worthy to die (or, according to the **Hebrew, ye are sons of death**)'

Note: Bold typeface indicates the similarities between the versions.

Holland, Elton, and Babington here replace the glossed term with its marginal alternative, whereas Bogan reformats the gloss parenthetically, thus maintaining its subordinate or alternative quality.

These practices are even perceptible in the Bishops' Bible itself. Though the editor of these glosses—most likely Matthew Parker, as Shuger argues[16]—excised the most provocative paratexts, it still provided marginal alternatives and often mined the 1560 Geneva to do so, which provided glosses from both its margins and from the scripture itself:

[11] Robert Wilkinson, *A jewell for the eare* (London: 1602), fol. B5v.
[12] Henry Holland, *The historie of Adam, or the foure-fold state of man* (London: 1606), fol. Z1v.
[13] Edward Elton, *An exposition of the Epistle of St Paule to the Colossians* (London: 1615), p. 983.
[14] Gervase Babington, *Certaine plaine, briefe, and comfortable notes upon everie chapter of Genesis* (London: 1592), fol. 180r.
[15] Zachary Bogan, *A view of the threats and punishments recorded in the Scriptures* (Oxford: 1653), p. 229 (fol. Q3r).
[16] Shuger, *Paratexts*, p. 186.

Location	Geneva gloss	Bishops' gloss
Genesis 10.11	'Or, **the stretes of the citie**'	'Or, **the streetes of the citie**'
Genesis 19.22	'Because Gods **commendement** was to **destroye** the citie and to **saue Lot**'	'The angell had in **co[m]maundement** both to **saue Lot**, and to **destroy** Sodome, so that one must be done before the other'
1 Samuel 6.9	'**The wicked attribute almost any thing to fortune and chance, whereas in dede there is nothyng done without Gods prouidence & decree**'	'**The wicked attribute almost all thinges to fortune and chaunce: Whereas in dede there is nothing done without gods prouidence & decree**'
Acts 7.48	'He **reproueth the grosse dulnes of the people** [who] abused the **power of God in that they wolde haue conteined it within the te[m]ple**'	'Here is **reproued the grosse dulnes of the people**, who vaynely fantasied that **Gods power was conteyned within the temple** which is the place of my rest? not the house built with mennes handes: but an humble & a quiet spirite, whiche trembleth at my holye worde'

Note: Bold typeface indicates the similarities between the versions.

The Bishops' Bible is rarely as exegetical as the Geneva, but the Fall provides an opportunity to modify and even expand on the Genevan glosses. At Genesis 3.9–19, the Geneva glosses Adam's responses as 'His hypocrisie appearethin that he hid the cause of his nakednes, which was the transgression of Gods commandement' and 'His wickedues and lacke of true repentance appearethin this that he burdeneth God with his faute, because he had giuen him a wife'. The Bishops' Bible revises this interpretation: first, with the shorter but stronger 'Adam playeth the hypocrite' and then with a shift in blame, where 'Adam burdeneth God and the woman with his fault'. It is important to the Bishops' Bible's interpretative strategy that Adam burdens the *woman* (and not simply God, having given him a wife) with the fault, in order to stress a continued upturning of appropriate interpretive hierarchies. At 3.17, the gloss chastises Adam further: 'He shulde haue ben his wyfes schoolmaister, and preferred gods voyce before his wyues.' The gloss foreshadows Galatians 3.24–5, wherein the law is identified as the schoolmaster, and enacts a similar chain of being with Adam as schoolmaster to Eve, where the law is schoolmaster to the Israelites, and where the preacher (and the authorised Bible) is that to the laity. The glosses pick up again on the theme of appropriate education, with Cain lamenting at Genesis 4.14 that it is 'A great punyshment not to be vnder the tuition of God'. The theme of wrongful authority is stressed also at Genesis 16.2, 'He obeyeth the preposterous counsell of his wyfe', and Genesis 41.8, 'He was worthye to be ingnoraunt, who knowing his dreame to be of God, sought

so vaine scholemaisters'. This reading of the Fall has a double role: in admonishing Adam for his inability to enforce appropriate educational authority, the glosses justify their own existence in performing their own role of 'schoolmaster'.

In highlighting this modification of the Geneva gloss, it must be emphasised that biblical editors too were readers. The Geneva glosses were read, modified, and incorporated into the Bishops' Bible even in its first edition, before Barker rebuilt its entire paratextual architecture to import that of the Geneva. Such incorporations may not always be intentional; a half-remembered gloss may find its way into the margin of a new Bible without the editor being aware of their intentions. In other places, the Bishops' glosses entirely reproduce the scripture of the Geneva, recontextualised in the margin:

Location	**Geneva scripture**	**Bishops' scripture**	**Bishops' gloss**
Genesis 4.13	'Then Káin said to the Lord, **My punishement is greater, then I can beare**'	'My iniquitie is more then that it may be forgeuen'	'Or, **My punyshement is greater the[n] that I may beare**'
Genesis 4.7	'If thou do wel, **shalt thou not be accepted**'	'If thou do well, shalt thou not receaue?'	'Or, **Shall ther not be an acceptation**'
Genesis 9.27	'God **persuade** Iápheth'	'enlarge Iapheth'	'Or, **perswade'**
Genesis 16.2	'it may be that I shall **receiue a childe** by her'	'it may be that I may be builded by her'	'*Or*, **Receaue a childe**'
Exodus 25.18	'And thou shalte make two Cherubims of golde: of worke **beaten out with the hammer** shalt thou make them'	'And thou shalt make two Cherubims of golde: euen of a whole worke shalt thou make them'	'*Or*, **beaten with hammer**'

Note: Bold typeface indicates the similarities between the versions.

It is worth noting that, while the first generation of Jugge Bishops' bibles was slender, we can still find traces of preachers utilising these unique glosses before they were superseded:

Author	**Location**	**Scripture**	**Gloss**	**Quotation**
Thomas Cooper[17]	Genesis 1.6	'And God said: let there be a firmament betwene the waters'	'***Hebre.* A stretchyng out, or setting abroad'**	'Firmament, that is, **as the Hebrue speaketh. *A Stretching out or a Setting abroad***'

[17] Thomas Cooper, *A briefe exposition of such chapters of the Olde Testament* (London: 1573), fol. L8v.

Author	Location	Scripture	Gloss	Quotation
Thomas White[18]	Genesis 31.1	'AND he heard the wordes of Labans sonnes saying, Iacob hath takē away all that was our fathers, and of our fathers [goodes] hath he gotten all his glorie'	'**The enuious children of couetous Laban**'	'So *Hagar* is youre mother, and you resemble muche **the enuious children of couetous *Laban***, an Idolater, who mighte well be youre father, for couetousnesse is Idolatrie'

Note: Bold typeface indicates the similarities between the versions.

These glosses are turned to for explication, to provide alternative meanings, and to empower the reader to make their own decisions about translation. The alternative translations provided by the Genevan margins enabled readerly polysemy where, à la Barthes, 'the Biblical myth is reversed, the confusion of tongues is no longer a punishment, the subject gains access bliss by the cohabitation of languages *working side by side*: the text of pleasure is a sanctioned Babel'.[19] The Geneva glosses empower the reader in ways that the KJV does not, which simply prints the Hebrew term in the margin, discouraging linguistic play. As Karen Edwards argues, the KJV glosses 'do not make the interpretation of its strange words seem more doubtful but rather make them seem more fixed and impervious to alternative readings'.[20] They deprived writers of such creative possibilities, increasing fixity and monosemy, although many readers continued to turn to the Geneva and separate editions of its notes to facilitate linguistic freedom.

Historiography in the glosses

Glosses provide windows into history. While the Renaissance preoccupation with *historia sacra* may be uncharitably portrayed as esoteric antiquarianism,[21] the

[18] Thomas White, *A sermo[n] preached at Pawles Crosse on Sunday the thirde of November* (London: 1578), fol. D4v.

[19] Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, pp. 3–4.

[20] Karen L. Edwards, 'The King James Bible and Biblical Images of Desolation', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, eds. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 71–82 (p. 81).

[21] See Robert Armstrong, 'Introduction: Protestant England and the English Bible', in *The English Bible in the Early Modern World*, eds. Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 1–28 (p. 7); Peter N. Miller, 'The "Antiquarianization" of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–57)', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 62.3 (2001), 463–82; Dmitri Levitin, 'From Sacred History to the History of Religion: Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity in European Historiography from Reformation to "Enlightenment"', *The Historical Journal*, 55.4 (2012), 1117–60 (p. 1124);

simple details of ancient cultures painted in the margins could bring to life a time that seemed otherwise inaccessible. Coins, weights, and measures were crucial to explain, for what does 'the shekel of the Sanctuarie' mean to the common reader? In non-Genevan bibles, shekels (or sheqels) were variably translated as sicle, penny, and silverling; the Hebraic 'shekel' was not restored until the Geneva translation.[22] All early modern bibles translate the coin referenced in Matthew 22.19 as 'penny', although Tyndale glosses it as 'ever taken for that the Jewes call a sicle, and is worth x. pence sterling'. Elsewhere, Tyndale employs 'silverlings' as in Acts 19.19 where 'silverlynges' is glossed as 'These syluerlinges which we now and then call pence the Iues call sicles / a[n]d are worth a .x. pe[n]ce sterlynge'. 'Silverling' and 'sicle' are the favoured terms of the Bishops'.[23] But without exchange rates these shekels and sicles were meaningless. Coinage is thus frequently glossed in the Geneva:[24]

Location	Scripture	Gloss
Genesis 23.15	'the lande (is worthe) foure hundreth[e] shekels of siluer'	'The commen shekel is 20. pe[n]ce, so them 400. shekels mount to 33. li. 6. shill, and 8. pe[n]ce, after 5. shil. sterl. the once [ounce]'
Exodus 30.13	'This shal euerie man giue, that goeth into the nombre, half a shekel, after the[h] shekel of the Sanctuarie: [a shekel (is) twenty geráhs] the halfe shekel (shalbe) an offring to the Lord'	'This shekel valued two commune shekels: & the geráh valued about. 12. pence after 5. shil sterl. the once of siluer'
Jeremiah 32.9	'And I boght the field of Hanameél, myne vncles sonne, that was in Anathóth & weighed him the siluer, (euen) seuen[f] shekels, and ten (pieces) of siluer'	'Which mouu[n]teth to of our money, about ten shilings sexpence, if this shekel were the commune shekel, read Gen 23. 15. for the shekell of the Temple was of double value and ten pieces of siluer were halfe a shekel: for twentie made the shekel'
1 Samuel 17.5	'and the weight of his brigandine (was) fiue thousand[b] shekels of brasse'	'That is, 156. lib. 4 onces after halfe an once the shekel. and 600. shekels weight amounteth to 18'
Mark 6.37	'Shal we go and bye[t] two hundreth penie worthe of bread, and giue them to eat?'	'Whiche is about fiue pounde sterling'

Kevin Killeen, *Biblical Scholarship, Science and Politics in Early Modern England: Thomas Browne and the Thorny Place of Knowledge* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 52–3.

[22] The *OED* records the Geneva as the earliest English use of the word; *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 'shekel (n.)', March 2023, www.oed.com/view/Entry/177853. Accessed 6 July 2023.

[23] Hence Isabella's 'Not with fond sicles of the tested gold' in *Measure for Measure* (II.ii.152).

[24] See also glosses at Ezra 2.69, 2 Samuel 14.26, 2 Chronicles 9.16, among others. These only concern financial measurements; there are many additional glosses for measurements of weight.

The Bishops' Bible glosses these values with a similar practice, though it defines the coins by different amounts. For example, at Genesis 23.15, 'A sicle is in value foure grotes, when the ounce is at eyght grotes'. A particularly extensive definition of the differences between the common and sanctuary sickles appears at Numbers 3.47.[25]

Even after the publication of the Geneva, the term 'shekel' remained rare until the 17th century, and so its inclusion merited explanation. Contextualising ancient coinage forms part of a growing cultural historiography that communicates biblical histories as relatable, lived, material experiences.[26] A work such as Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, preoccupied with the banal, petty, and esoteric, proved quite concerned with the meaning of shekels. Browne exhibits what Killeen describes as 'efforts to establish a rigorous cultural context for the Bible [which] involve an exhaustive attention to scriptural minutiae'. Yet such attempts were part of a broader cultural movement that engaged in 'extensive efforts in the period to re-conceive the biblical era via a process of historical reconstruction',[27] and the glossing of shekels is a key part of this process.

In these examples, the gloss is reproduced to contextualise and translate the value of the strange, Hebraic 'shekel', both common and silver. Their shared source is apparent in the lack of adjustment for inflation, with the same values for common (20 pence) and silver shekels (half a crown, or two shillings and six pence) quoted over a century:

Author	**Location**	**Scripture**	**Quotation**
Thomas Bentley[28]	Judges 16.5 Genesis 23.13	'euerie one of vs shal giue thee [Delilah] eleuen hundredth *shekels* of siluer'	'foure score and a xi. pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence a man, after **xx.d [20 pence], a shekel**'
Godfrey Goodman (Bishop of Gloucester)[29]	Genesis 23.15–6	'four hundred shekels of silver'	'**the common shekell is accounted twentie pence**, which if it shall please you to multiplie, foure hundred shekels will amount to three and thritie pound sixe shillings, eight pence; supposing fiue shillings sterling the ounce'

[25] 'Sicles were of two sortes: the one common, the other belongyng to the sanctuarie and that of the sanctuarie was double the wayght of the common The common sicle wayed two grotes, and the sanctuarie sicle foure The scripture in this place, and in the thirtie of Exodus, and Ezechiel fourtie and five, sayeth, that the sanctuarie sicle doth way twentie Gerahs, whiche the Grecians do call Obolus, & we in Englyshe, an halfepenie, when eyght grotes of our money was an ounce: and the Hebrues do thinke that Obolus doth way the wayght of sixteene barlye cornes.'

[26] See Debora K. Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice and Subjectivity* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1994), p. 30.

[27] Killeen, *Biblical Scholarship*, pp. 47–8.

[28] Thomas Bentley, *The sixt lampe of virginitie* (London: 1582), p. 140.

[29] Godfrey Goodman, *The fall of man, or the corruption of nature* (London: 1616), p. 372.

Author	Location	Scripture	Quotation
Thomas Brooks[30]	Genesis 23.16	'And Abraham hearkened vnto Ephron, and Abraham weighed to Ephron the siluer, which he had named, in the audience of the sonnes of Heth, foure hundred shekels of siluer, currant [*money*] with the merchant' (KJV)	'**The common shekel is about 20. pence**, so then 400. shekels amount to 33. pound, six shillings and eight pence, after five shillings sterling the ounce'
George Fox[31]	N/A	N/A	'*A Silverling* is often in Scripture used for a Shekel, which is half an ounce, and worth two shillings six pence'

Note: Bold typeface indicates the similarities between the versions.

Bentley also supplements his use of the gloss with a quotation from Lyra on its value multiplied by five, '336.li.xiii.s.iiii.d'. Goodman and Brooks primarily consult the KJV for scriptural quotations yet supplement these readings with either the Geneva glosses or a book (such as Ainsworth's *Annotations*) that reproduces them.

Glosses that facilitated imagistic exegeses also provided lively opportunities for writing readers to paint more vivid pictures of the episode described, with clothing and jewels attracting particular attention:

Author	Location	Scripture	Gloss	Quotation
Humphrey Lynde[32]	Matthew 23.5	'All their workes they doe for to be seene of men: for they make their phylacteries broad, and make long the frindges of their garments'	'a thread, or **riband of blewe** silke in the fringe of a corner, the beholding whereof made them to **remember the lawes and ordinances of God**' (Tomson)	'They resemble the Phylacteries of the Jewes, which had **a Ribband of Blue** upon the borders of their garments, that by them they might the better **remember the Commandements of God**'

[30] Thomas Brooks, *The crown & glory of Christianity* (London: 1662), p. 129.
[31] George Fox, *Instructions for right-spelling, and plain directions for reading and writing true English* (London: 1683), pp. 36–7.
[32] Humphrey Lynde, *A case for the spectacles, or, A defence of Via tuta* (London: 1638), p. 103.

Author	Location	Scripture	Gloss	Quotation
John Guillim[33]	2 Samuel 13:18	'And she had a garment of diuers coulers upon her: for with suche garme[n]ts were the Kings daughters that were virgins appareled'	'For that which was of **diuers coalers** or pieces, in those dayes was had in **greatest estimacion**. Gene. 37. 3. iudg. 5. 30'	'that Joseph, the speciall beloved son of Israel, was by his father clad in a coat of **divers colours**', and that such garments were held in '**high estimation**'
Sebastian Münster[34] (Münster is a cosmographer, not exegete, using the Geneva glosses as a source on history)	Matthew 7.6	'pearls before swine'	'A pearle hath his name among the Grecians, for the **orient brightnesse** that is in it: and a pearle was in ancient time in great estimation among the Latines: for a pearle that Cleopatra had, was valued at **two hundreth and fiftie thousand crownes**' (Tomson)	*'Cleopatra* gaue for one pearle that was brought out of this countrie, **ii. hundred and fiftye thousand crownes**. The goodnes of pearle is iudged by the whitnes, greatnes, roundnes, playnnes, **orie[n]t brightnes** and weight'

Note: Bold typeface indicates the similarities between the versions.

Writers recognised the glosses' explicatory value and passed it on to new audiences, in writing and preaching. These historicist minutiae should not be considered merely fussy antiquarianism but an effective means to translate emotional and spiritual import to an early modern audience.[35] As John Donne expertly asks, '[a]t how cheape a price was Christ tumbled up and down in this world?' He then answers, God 'sold him to the world again, if not for a Turtle, or for a Pigeon, yet at most for

[33] John Guillim, *A display of heraldrie* (London: 1660), p. 365.
[34] Sebastian Münster, *A briefe collection and compendious extract of the strau[n]ge and memorable things, gathered oute of the cosmographye of Sebastian Munster* (London: 1572), fol. A4v.
[35] For an original history of sartorial detail that reflects these trends, see Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine and the confines thereof with the history of the Old and New Testament acted thereon* (London: 1650), book 4, p. 107. Fuller exhibits what Killeen describes as a 'detailed attention to the material aspects of the past, and its focus on the anthropological significance of the information' that 'shows a remarkable sense of temporality and the significance of custom'. Killeen, *Biblical Scholarship*, pp. 48–50.

5. shekels, which at most is but 10. Shillings. And yet you have had him cheaper then that, to day in the Sacrament: whom hath Christ cost 5. shekels there?'[36] Such material details ensured that ancient contexts were not only understood intellectually but that their emotional impact conveyed spiritual weight that would otherwise dissipate in translation.

Junius' notes to Revelation

It was not the notes to the 1560 Geneva Bible or even the 1576 Tomson editions that cemented the Geneva Bible's fierce reputation among later scholars but rather Franciscus Junius' notes to Revelation. These were first published in Latin in 1592 then translated into English as *Apocalypsis: A briefe and learned commentarie upon the reuelation of Saint Iohn*. Junius' notes are of a very different colour to those of the 1560 Geneva, or even those of Tomson. While the original editors of the Geneva Bible might have intended the readers of Revelation to 'Read diligently: judge soberly', as they state in their Argument, Junius' excessive anti-Catholicism was likely not what they had in mind. As Ian Green writes: 'Men like Parker, Whitgift, Hooker, and Andrewes were not hostile to bible study […] But they were opposed to marginal notes in official translations which placed a permanent and potentially polemical slant on a matter open to different interpretations.'[37] Did Junius' polemicism impact his readers? While Crawford Gribben astutely argues that the notes encouraged diligent reading practices with 'the introduction of literary-critical terms' that dismantled 'the radical Anabaptist eschatologies', there is limited evidence for such reading practices in written engagements with the notes.[38]

[36] John Donne, 'SERMON IV. Preached at S. Pauls upon Christmas day. 1626', *LXXX sermons preached by that learned and reverend divine, John Donne* (London: 1640), pp. 30–1.

[37] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 75.

[38] Crawford Gribben, 'Deconstructing the Geneva Bible: The Search for a Puritan Poetic', *Literature and Theology*, 14.1 (2000), 1–16 (p. 9). Gribben's argument suffers from a lack of attention to contexts—both those of other paratexts and those of the market—and this prompts unnecessarily critical conclusions. His assertion that 'Junius' ending was the fourth attempt to close the Geneva Bible' (p. 7) misrepresents market conditions at the time; constant alterations and additions to these bibles were a feature, not a bug. As King and Pratt argue: 'That Robert Barker continued to print the Geneva–Tomson–Junius version in addition to the others (often in complete Bible editions) attests to consumers' particular interest in the Book of Revelation during this period.' See also Aaron T. Pratt, 'The Trouble with Translation: Paratexts and England's Bestselling New Testament', in *The Bible on the Shakespearean: Stage Cultures of Interpretation in Reformation England*, ed. Thomas Fulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2018), p. 35. To expand on these arguments, the later editions of the Geneva Bible containing Junius' notes were specifically advertised as such in their titles: *Together with the annotations of Fr. Junius upon the Revelation of S. John*. The additions of Junius' annotations were not an attempt to close biblical glossing but to continuously open it to take advantage of the market. John N. King and Aaron T. Pratt, 'The Materiality of English Printed Bibles from the Tyndale New Testament to the King James Bible', in *The King James Bible after Four Hundred Years*, eds. Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 61–99 (p. 83).

While Junius' writings are imaginatively vicious—he writes, for example, of 'the fierie, smoakie, and stinking darts of the Pope' (Revelation 9.15)—we must not collapse them into generic criticisms of the Geneva Bible's controversiality. Parker's criticism of the Bible's 'bitter notis' was levelled at the 1560 notes, decades before Junius had written his commentary on Revelation. Although James I, harbouring Catholic sympathies, might not have approved of Junius' anti-papal diatribes, he never spoke against them and, indeed, may never have even read them. Junius' attacks on Catholicism, papal authority, and idolatry may be savagely phrased, but in sentiment they did not differ from mainstream Protestant anti-Catholicism in the 1590s. In 1593, the year of the English translation of Junius' notes, the English Parliament legally 'prohibited Catholics from approaching within five miles of any corporate town; and catholic parents were in certain cases deprived of the right to educate their children'.[39] Such vicious anti-Catholicism was, by this point, quotidian.

For examples, the most notorious anti-Catholic Geneva glosses prior to Junius are found in Revelation, but these glosses only echoed sentiments and readings that had long been in circulation. The gloss to Revelation 9.3 expounds the 'Locustes upon the earth' as 'false teachers, heretikes, a[n]d worldlie suttil Prelates, with Mo[n]kes, Fieres, Cardinals Patriarkes, Archebishops, Bishops', which echoes a common reading of locust-Catholics that had long been an important component of Reformation rhetoric, found in earlier works by John Frith, John Bale, Heinrich Bullinger, and Matthias Flacius.[40] The relevance of Revelation's locusts to swarming clergy was similarly picked up in Catholic counter-interpretations, with Richard Bristow seeing Protestants as 'marveilous Locustes by a certayne falling starre let out of hell'.[41] The notes to the Rheims New Testament themselves even encourage this reading, glossing Revelation 9.1 as heralding 'The fal of an Arch hereticke, as Arius, Luther, Calvin out of the Church of God'.[42] Though the Geneva glosses were active participants in disseminating anti-Catholic attitudes, they were not its source, and indeed did not differ from mainstream attitudes at the time.

As Junius' writings were published separately and prior to their appearance in the Geneva Bible glosses, establishing the provenance of their influence in the Bible itself or elsewhere proves difficult. This is exacerbated by their popularity; Junius' 1575 preparation of Beza's notes were widely circulated among both

[39] J. B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth: 1558–1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945), p. 355.

[40] See for example John Frith in 1529, 'And there came out of the smoke locustes upon the erth. This is the people of the universite which is rootide and brought upe in philosophye and are called with a propre name locustes / By cause they folowe the Angell of the bottomlesse pitte / which is ye Pope clene forsakinge their kinge (Christe) and flye on swarmes / as it is said in the .iij. of the Proverbes.' *A pistle to the Christen reader* (Antwerp: 1529), fol. E1r.

[41] Richard Bristow, *A reply to Fulke* (Lovaine: 1580), p. 130.

[42] See Coral Georgina Stoakes, 'English Catholic Eschatology, 1558–1603' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2016), pp. 114–15.

Reformed ministers and English Puritans.[43] Furthermore, readers were not only liable to encounter Junius' notes on apocalypse in either their original publication or the Geneva Bible; Henry Smith's extremely popular *Gods arrowe against atheists*, which was reprinted 11 times before 1640,[44] quotes large portions of Junius' notes verbatim.[45] The anonymous T. B.'s *The saints inheritance after the day of jvdgement* includes multiple pages of Junius' quotations, sourced to the biblical 'Annotations'.[46] Such publications provide evidence for the general appeal of Junius' notes and their afterlives in later publications.

That Junius' annotations on various biblical books were influential in the development of Reformed scholasticism is undeniable; his writings are commonly cited among 17th-century preachers such as John Goodwin, Edmund Reeve, Obadiah Howe, Thomas Valentine, and Samuel Rutherford. But can the annotations to Revelation in their life as glosses to the Geneva be shown to specifically influence biblical readers? As the use of the Tomson notes demonstrates, fierceness and rhetoric were not—despite Parker, Heylyn, and James I's concerns—commonly incorporated into secondary writings. It is exactly because of their fierceness and excessively anti-Catholic focus that the Junius notes saw little adoption by secondary writers. A better understanding of how these notes were read is granted by their handwritten annotations, which congregate around simpler, spiritual moments of exegesis. Even in the most vicious of the Geneva glosses, anxieties that they might provoke sedition—at least in published works—cannot be corroborated.

Editing summaries

Above Exodus 23 in the 1537 Matthew Bible there appears a sentence that does not belong to the scripture it introduces. It reads, 'Here I set no some: because I wolde all men shuld reade the chapter thorowoute'. 'Some', or 'sum', refers to the summaries commonly found atop each chapter in early modern bibles. They condensed important points of narrative and theology into a sentence or paragraph and helped the reader to navigate the Bible and remember its contents. But the summary to Exodus 23 raises a serious concern: were people truly reading the summaries rather than 'the chapter thorowoute'? Did paratext replace scripture? While we cannot say how often a time-pressed reader might have skipped the

[43] Basil Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 38–93 (p. 83).
[44] Dewey D. Wallace, *Shapers of English Calvinism, 1660–1714: Variety, Persistence, and Transformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 45.
[45] Henry Smith, *Gods arrowe against atheists* (London: 1593), fols. Q3r–Q3v.
[46] T. B., *The saints inheritance after the day of judgement* (London: 1643), fols. B4v–C1r.

scripture entirely in favour of an easily digestible summary, these summaries had an observable impact on how their accompanying passages were interpreted. They can also tell us what editors thought it prudent to summarise (and what to omit), as well as how they reflected or attempted to shape how readers navigated these passages.

Chapter summaries appear immediately before the chapter itself and summarise its most notable features in order to aid navigation and learning. These paraphrastic texts contract thousands of words of scripture into only a few dozen. Significant biblical events or controversial subjects can be condensed, omitted, reframed, rephrased, or otherwise represented to suit the editor's purposes. The Geneva and the Douai-Rheims bibles also contain a second form of paraphrase, the 'Arguments', which appear before each book rather than each chapter. Although 'argument' as a term is used broadly in early modern writings and is often used in reference to the *casus summarii*, for clarity this chapter only uses the term 'argument' to refer to those synopses that bear the label.

The summaries are closely related in form, cultural role, and—occasionally—content to other types of biblical paraphrase. Paraphrases were a long-established facet of early modern encounters with scripture. Prior to the advent of vernacular translations, the lay English Christian's engagement with scripture would almost always be mediated by a third party, most obviously the priest as preacher, but also commentary, concordance, catechism, poetry, and, for the less learned, songs, stained glass, woodcut, textiles, and other visual interpretations. As James H. Morey argues: 'The Bible in the Middle Ages, much like the Bible today, consisted for the laity not of a set of texts within a canon but of those stories which, partly because of their liturgical significance and partly because of their picturesque and memorable qualities, formed a provisional "Bible" in the popular imagination.'[47] Before the popularisation of accessible print bibles and the concordant increase in literacy, the Bible was not encountered as a book but rather a series of third-party paraphrases; 'the Bible' was experienced as a patchwork of sermons, stories, poems, and pictures. Inheriting this tradition of scriptural engagement, the inclusion of chapter summaries in English bibles would seem an entirely natural and explicable consequence, cemented by their long history in the Vulgate and, before that, the existence of marginalia and *titloi* in the earliest manuscripts.

Given this history, it is unsurprising that these summaries were reproduced as separate texts. *A Collection of the Contents, of All the Chapters Contained in the Bible* (1605), which was reprinted as H. S.'s *A Diuine Dictionarie* in 1615, was derived entirely from the *casus summarii* of the Great Bible and sought to serve

[47] James H. Morey, 'Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible', *Speculum* 68 (1993), 6–35, (p. 6).

mnemonic and organisational ends by reproducing non-canonical descriptors for the scriptures. From the preface 'To the Christian Reader': 'I could not so readily finde the same but by turning ouer a great Volume: now for the readier finding thereof, I haue made this briefe collection of the contents of all the Chapters conteined therein, whereby the same may be the more easily found.'[48] The work contains condensed forms of the chapter summaries, presenting a précis of a précis, as well as summaries of the whole book. Reprinted frequently,[49] these works provided another vehicle by which the *casus summarii* were encountered, where they are divorced from scripture and treated as a useful authority in their own right.

The ubiquity and acceptance of the concept of the paraphrase results in there being little explicit discussion of their role in early modern texts. The Geneva New Testament provides a rare exception:

> They may serue in stede of a Commentarie to the Reader: for many reade the Scriptures with myndes to proffit, but because they do not consider the scope and purpose wherfore the holy Gost so writeth and to what ende (which tiling the Arguments do faithfully expresse) they either bestowe their tyme without fruit, or els defraude them selues of a great deale which they might atteyne vnto otherwise. To the intent therfore that, not onely they which are already aduanced in the knollage of the Scriptures, but also the simple and vnlearned might be forthered hereby, I haue so moderat them with playnenes and breuitie, that the verie ignorant may easely vnderstande them and beare them in memorie.[50]

This preface prioritises the summaries' utility, presenting them as tools to aid efficient and accurate interpretation of scripture, as well as offering the mercurial advantage of 'seru[ing] in stede of a Commentarie to the Reader' and preventing the customer from needing to purchase additional commentaries (and give their money to a rival bookseller). This is characteristic of the Geneva Bible's use as a personal Bible and also, perhaps, of the lesser financial means of its intended demographic. They compete with other paraphrases; in aiming to displace commentaries, the summaries may offer instead a hegemonic, contained, authoritative explication of scripture. The presumed or even intended aim may be primarily humanistic—seeking to provide the unlearned with all the necessary tools to interpret scripture without necessitating clerical intervention or additional texts—but it also promotes interpretive homogeneity. The familiar paradox of Protestant humanism and anti-clerical attitudes is present: the Geneva Bible allows the unlearned physical access to scripture without need of a priest, but the necessary hermeneutic tools are also provided to ensure the reader constructs the 'correct' reading. Without these appropriate hermeneutic tools, the uneducated

[48] H. S., *A Divine Dictionarie; or, The Bible Abreviated Containing the Whole Scripture* (London: 1615) n. p.
[49] *A Divine Dictionarie* was reprinted in 1615, 1616, and 1617.
[50] 'Preface to Geneva New Testament', in *Records of the English Bible*, ed. Alfred W. Pollard (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), pp. 275–9 (pp. 277–8).

may 'defraude them selues of a great deale'.[51] Similarly, under the guise of ensuring the accessibility of scripture to the unlearned, the Geneva proclaims its implicit modification of scripture in its synoptic goals: the scripture has been 'moderat[ed] […] with playnenes and breuitie', implying the insufficient plainness of scripture (or of this translation).[52]

Tables of intertextual summaries

The authorship of these summaries can be difficult to determine.[53] Coverdale authored his own, Rogers translated from Lefèvre yet incorporated additions from Coverdale and himself, while the authors of the summaries to the Geneva, Bishops', KJV, and Douai-Rheims are uncertain. Those to the Douai-Rheims were most likely authored by either Martin or Thomas Worthington. Those to the Bishops' were likely assembled by Parker, who took on the task of authoring all prefatory matter when distributing the work of creating the Bishops' Bible.[54] Many summaries were reused in subsequent bibles.[55] The following table details the percentages by which English bibles borrow *casus summarii* from their predecessors:[56]

Pentateuch	Matthew in Great (%)	Great in Geneva (%)	Geneva in Bishops' (%)	Great in Bishops' (%)	Bishops' in KJV (%)
Genesis	63	8	2	85	2
Exodus	77	31	3	7	4
Leviticus	50	43	43	86	9
Numbers	61	45	34	85	5
Deuteronomy	58	25	92	33	4

[51] Ibid., p. 278.
[52] Ibid.
[53] As previously cited, except the Geneva Bible: *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva: 1561). The summaries in the 1561 revision appear to be identical to the 1560 first edition.
[54] 'Parker's Note as to the Translators', in *Records of the English Bible*, ed. Pollard pp. 295–8.
[55] Kegan Paul incorrectly argues that the translators of the KJV authored all their own 'headings' (by which he means chapter summaries and not what should properly be called heads, headers, or running titles) and that '[t]he coincidences between them and the headings of the Bishops' and the Geneva Bibles are slight and apparently accidental'. With such high similarity percentages, this cannot be coincidental. Kegan Paul, 'Bible Chapter Headings in the "Authorized Version"', *The Theological Review*, 6.24 (1869), 99–111 (p. 102).
[56] An early version of this table appeared in *Harvard Theological Review*: Ezra Horbury, 'The Bible Abbreviated: Summaries in Early Modern English Bibles', *Harvard Theological Review*, 112.2 (2019), 235–60. This version includes corrected and expanded data for the percentages of those summaries taken from the Bishops' Bible. The earlier data in *Harvard Theological Review* assumed the Jugge Bishops' as a source for the KJV, whereas this version correctly takes the 17th-century Tomson Barker editions of the Bishops' as their source.

Pentateuch	Matthew in Great (%)	Great in Geneva (%)	Geneva in Bishops' (%)	Great in Bishops' (%)	Bishops' in KJV (%)
Wisdom					
Job	92	42	96	43	3
Psalms	0	0	1	0	1
Proverbs	82	22	100	23	4
Ecclesiastes	57	0	60	0	4
Canticles	0	0	0	0	0
Wisdom	95	79	99	80	0
Ecclesiasticus	95	57	84	83	3
Manasseh	100	0	100	0	0
Historical					
Joshua	63	49	39	32	1
Judges	39	38	88	43	6
Ruth	86	45	96	60	10
1 Kings	23	17	90	28	5
2 Kings	55	24	95	29	3
3 Kings	66	32	92	36	3
4 Kings	68	48	92	46	4
1 Chronicles	68	49	95	56	5
2 Chronicles	77	34	97	35	5
1 Esdras	90	60	91	62	7
2 Esdras	87	62	98	63	9
3 Esdras	94	3	97	3	5
4 Esdras	93	43	94	43	2
Tobias	97	3	93	9	2
Judith	96	4	92	4	4
Esther	70	64	92	66	6
Esther (additional)	90	58	66	94	18
1 Maccabees	93	74	95	88	1
2 Maccabees	89	75	96	89	13
Major prophets					
Isaiah	92	23	23	79	2
Jeremy	87	44	62	90	4

Pentateuch	Matthew in Great (%)	Great in Geneva (%)	Geneva in Bishops' (%)	Great in Bishops' (%)	Bishops' in KJV (%)
Lamentations	0	0	0	91	0
Baruch	81	80	92	93	1
Ezekiel	93	52	78	85	3
Daniel	90	42	59	87	1
Minor prophets					
Hosea	98	42	98	49	3
Joel	100	87	100	89	11
Amos	100	55	61	32	3
Obadiah	100	0	0	100	0
Jonah	84	38	92	43	0
Michah	100	55	54	94	0
Nahum	96	16	97	84	0
Habakkuk	99	33	100	33	0
Zephaniah	93	72	83	95	0
Haggai	100	73	100	76	0
Zechariah	98	59	73	90	0
Malachi	100	87	98	69	7
Gospels					
Matthew	87	36	30	86	34
Mark	94	39	30	49	15
Luke	90	44	8	11	6
John	87	47	27	14	13
Acts	92	28	42	46	12
Pauline epistles					
Romans	92	10	25	1	3
1 Corinthians	96	28	99	28	2
2 Corinthians	89	4	99	3	5
Galatians	99	36	99	36	10
Ephesians	62	60	99	65	6
Philippians	64	37	99	37	0
Colossians	96	27	100	27	46
1 Thessalonians	68	43	100	42	0

Pentateuch	Matthew in Great (%)	Great in Geneva (%)	Geneva in Bishops' (%)	Great in Bishops' (%)	Bishops' in KJV (%)
2 Thessalonians	95	78	99	79	0
1 Timothy	68	31	99	31	0
2 Timothy	79	73	100	77	0
Titus	99	39	100	36	0
Philemon	0	0	100	0	100
Hebrews	96	60	99	61	10
General epistles					
James	64	56	80	56	10
1 Peter	63	75	100	75	28
2 Peter	34	62	99	64	14
1 John	96	73	99	73	10
2 John	100	93	100	91	0
3 John	99	92	100	91	0
Jude	53	0	0	0	0
Revelation	94	62	99	60	15

These percentages denote identically duplicated strings, and thus which summaries have been edited the least. An entirely new summary will score the same as one that contains the same words in a different order. By necessity, this analysis used keyed Text Creation Partnerships editions. No edition of the Matthew Bible has been keyed, so this material was obtained manually.

These data were collected by first extracting the summaries from the full keyed texts. TCP errata were then corrected where possible. To conduct the analysis, each book was first processed using software for identifying and correcting early modern spelling variants with training on the summaries.[57] VARD 2 autonormalised spelling at 20 per cent, and the remaining variants were manually standardised. The standardised texts were cleaned of verse numbers and punctuation, then spell checked and proofed, before being subjected to a text similarity checker. Minor tense or grammatical disagreements were ignored while variant spellings of proper nouns were not. Purely coincidental similarities were discounted.

This analysis involved processing nearly 200,000 words of data. The final percentages were checked against an entirely manual and subjective process of comparison to ensure there were no significant errors. Some mistakes are unavoidable

[57] For the history of using the VARD software in standardising early modern texts, see 'Publications', *VARD*, 12 April 2016, http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/vard/publications/.

with data of this size, due to VARD 2's standardisation or human error, so the results should be taken with this in mind.

Format

In this section I discuss the format and transmission of the *casus summarii* across the English bibles. As the aforementioned data demonstrate, these summaries are highly intertextual and no bible presents entirely new material for its summaries. If one wishes to investigate the origins of the 1611 KJV paratexts, one must look to the 1602 Bishops' Bible that formed its base, from which one must look to the earlier Jugge Bishops' Bible and to the 1560 Geneva and 1539 Great Bibles from which that text borrowed; these bibles in turn made use of the 1537 Matthew Bible, whereas both the Geneva and Matthew Bible made use of the 1534 Lefèvre and 1535 Olivétan French Bibles. From here we could work our way back into the medieval French and Vulgate Bibles from which these texts borrowed, and some elements can be ultimately traced to the earliest patristic commentaries—but it is necessary to draw the line somewhere. Therefore, I begin in 16th-century France, with the 1534 Lefèvre Bible. It is this Bible, with its copious paratexts, that provided Protestant martyr John Rogers with the source for the paratexts of the 1537 Matthew Bible.

The Lefèvre Bible provides the greatest early contribution to English biblical paratexts. The same cannot be said for Tyndale's New Testaments, despite providing the first *casus summarii* in an English Bible.[58] The summaries of the 1535 Coverdale Bible had more staying power, as Rogers combined these summaries with those of the Lefèvre Bible and inserted them into the Matthew Bible.[59] Rogers redistributed Coverdale's summaries from a prefatory list appearing before each book to interstitial summaries appearing between each chapter, as was the common formatting in editions of the Vulgate. When summaries appear before each chapter, they must either be read or consciously skipped, promoting stronger links between the summary and the scripture than summaries read in bulk at the beginning of a book. Rogers' placement ensures a greater integration of paratext.

While publication of what would eventually become the Bishops' Bible continued to delay, Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer commissioned Coverdale to revise the Matthew Bible to provide an English vernacular Bible in the interim. Coverdale augmented the Matthew Bible with translations from the Vulgate and

[58] Lloyd E. Berry erroneously claims that 'Coverdale's Bible was the first to introduce chapter summaries', in the introduction to *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), p. 3.

[59] Ezra Horbury, 'Miles Coverdale as a New Source for the Matthew Bible Notes', *Notes and Queries*, 65.1 (2018), 22–3.

German Bibles in a minor revision. Between the English bibles, there are greater similarities between the Great and Matthew Bible summaries than there are between those of any other two bibles, although the Bishops' Bible's similarity to the Geneva Bible is not a distant second.

The Matthew Bible may have had little new to offer in the way of scriptural translation, being mostly a revision of Tyndale and Coverdale's work, but it provided a wealth of new paratextual material—or, at least, paratextual material that was new to English audiences. The Great Bible makes fewer inventions. It omits much of the contentious preliminary matter of the Matthew Bible, including its rather Lutheran table of principal matters, but maintains many of the *casus summarii*. Its fidelity to the summaries of the Old Testament and New Testament varies significantly, which is unsurprising with Coverdale as the reviser. Coverdale retains almost entirely the New Testament summaries of the Matthew Bible, which were themselves a repurposing of the prefatory summaries Coverdale authored for his 1535 Bible. Coverdale evidently judged these he had authored himself as needing little alteration, and many (including most of those of the gospels) are identical to those Coverdale first authored in 1535 as prefatory contents.

Though a milestone in English vernacular bibles, by the latter half of the 16th century the Great Bible had been outclassed by the Geneva Bible. With its broad margins, running heads, numeration, and lucid, attractive layout, the Geneva Bible established what became the familiar format of the English Bible. Its summaries are expansive, often twice or thrice the length of those in the Great and Matthew Bibles, and each book was preceded by an extensive 'argument' in addition to its summary. Much of the arguments' content is Calvinistic; it is through these arguments that 'the English Geneva Bible delivered Calvin's theology to an English readership', as Femke Molekamp writes.[60] The summaries are less theologically adventurous, though important exceptions are discussed below.[61] One innovation entails the integration of verse numbers into the summary, so it is clear exactly to what part of the scripture the parts of these longer summaries correspond. This also has the effect of reconceptualising the whole summary as a series of shorter summaries attached discretely to scriptural passages, rather than a single grand summing-up of the entire passage. Exceptions to this usually comprise summaries of laws, genealogical lists, and prophecies. This facilitates the conceptualisation of chapters broken into discrete chunks rather than a single concept, which is exacerbated by the further abstraction of these chunks as running heads.

The Geneva Bible's formatting was mimicked by the Bishops' Bible, including its long summaries, though the arguments are dropped. The Bishops' Bible was

[60] Femke Molekamp, 'Genevan Legacies: The Making of the English Geneva Bible', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, eds. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 48.

[61] See pages 119–32.

the primary authorised pulpit Bible from 1568 to 1611, though it continued to be printed into the 1630s. Given Archbishop Parker's rule against 'bitter notis', one might expect the Bishops' Bible to depart drastically from the paratexts of its forebears, yet the Bishops' Bible replicated not only much of the formatting but also the content of the Geneva Bible summaries. This is especially true of the New Testament, in which nearly all summaries from 1 Corinthians onwards are copied from the Geneva Bible. It is uncertain who was their author and compiler, though the evidence suggests Parker; in the 'Note as to the Translators', Parker allocates to himself the authorship of various prefatory materials, including 'the argument of the scriptures', so he is most likely the compiler of the *casus summarii*.[62]

The KJV follows in the example of the Bishops' and Geneva Bibles when it comes to formatting and layout, though it had the most significant break in the content of *casus summarii* of all English bibles. It is far more difficult to establish the extent to which the KJV borrowed from its predecessors than earlier bibles, as augmentations to summaries in other bibles are usually far less integrated. For example, Genesis 3 of the Matthew Bible is summarised thus: 'The serpent deceaveth the woman. The serpe[n]t the woman & the man are cursed / and dryven out of Paradise. Christ oure sauvour is promysed.' This is modified in the Great Bible as the following: 'The serpent deceyueth the woman. The serpent is cursed: the punishment of the man and woman. Adam driuen out of Paradise. Chryste our sauyour is promysed.' The alterations can be clearly delineated. In the KJV summaries, there are enough terms and phrases in common with the Bishops' Bible that it is clear some extent of influence occurs, but it cannot be easily reduced to a percentage. This is most true of the New Testament summaries, and the Old Testament summaries may be completely new inventions. This would accord with the editors' instruction to create 'new headings' and 'new arguments' for the Bible, though even with this instruction the summaries produced were still not entirely new; repackaging of existing content as new material is hardly a novel phenomenon among biblical editors. The KJV summaries have unsurprisingly enjoyed the greatest longevity among the summaries of early modern bibles and are still used today to aid navigation of the KJV and the Geneva Bible texts.[63]

Translation: Rogers and Lefèvre

Although the primary aim of these bibles was to provide English translations of scripture, they also often provided English translations of continental paratexts. The bibles to which this is most directly relevant are the Matthew and Geneva

[62] 'Parker's Note as to the Translators', pp. 295–8.
[63] Such as on Bible Gateway, whose homepage is in the top 900 websites visited worldwide; *Bible Gateway*, November 2018, https://www.biblegateway.com. Accessed 21 March 2024.

Bibles, but translated paratexts appear throughout the other English bibles as well, as later editors copied the material of their predecessors.

The first to feature substantially translated paratexts is the Matthew Bible. Its editor, John Rogers, has not received much critical attention outside of Joseph Lemuel Chester's 19th-century biographical text,[64] and little new research had been conducted on his work. This is unfortunate, as Rogers' editorial practices had lasting effects on the shape and content of English bibles. Rogers assembled a wealth of paratextual content for the Matthew Bible, including 'The Summe [and] content of all the holy Scripture', 'A Table of the pryncipall matters conteyned in the Byble', running heads, *casus summarii*, prologues, and an index titled 'The Table wherin ye shall fynde the Epistles and the Gospels'. Much of this was translated from the 1534 Lefèvre Bible and its successor, the 1535 Olivétan Bible,[65] including the *casus summarii* of the Lefèvre Old Testament; however, Rogers' translations are not as faithful as is usually assumed.[66]

There has been little scholarly discussion of Rogers' translatory practices. Molekamp simply writes, as is exemplary of critical attitudes to Rogers' paratexts, '[m]any of the English paratexts are direct translations of those found in the French Bibles'.[67] This is indeed true of some of the paratexts, such as Thomas Malingre's 'Indice des principales matieres', which became Rogers' 'Table of pryncypall matters', but Rogers was far less faithful in translating the Old Testament summaries. Sometimes he presents verbatim English renderings of the French vocabulary and syntax, and sometimes he departs to so great an extent that the result should be taken as his own invention entirely. Although these paratexts are usually referred to as 'translations',[68] much of their content is pure Rogers, while other elements draw on Coverdale's Old Testament summaries. The Lefèvre Bible *casus summarii* usually summarise scripture without adjectival flourish or editorialising interjection, whereas Rogers' translations, when they diverge, are invariably longer and

[64] Joseph Lemuel Chester, *John Rogers: The Compiler of the First Authorised English Bible; The Pioneer of the English Reformation; and Its First Martyr* (London: Longman and Green, 1861).
[65] *La saincte Bible en Francoys* (Antwerp: 1534); *La Bible* (Neuchâtel: 1535).
[66] Claims that present the Matthew summaries as translated directly from the French are found in Molekamp, 'Genevan Legacies', p. 42; Vivienne Westbrook, *Long Travail and Great Paynes: A Politics of Reformation Revision* (Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic, 2001), p. 41; Frederick Fyvie Bruce, *History of the Bible in English* (3rd ed.; London: Lutterworth, 1979), p. 66; Ariel Hessayon, 'The Apocrypha in Early Modern England', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, eds. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 131–48 (pp. 136–7); David Daniell, 'Rogers, John (c. 1500–1555), Biblical Editor and Martyr', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23980. Accessed 23 September 2004. Mozley and Greenslade admit a degree of originality to Rogers' input but do not address it; see James Frederic Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1953), p. 145; and S. L. Greenslade, 'English Versions of the Bible', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 151.
[67] Molekamp, 'Genevan Legacies', p. 42.
[68] Ibid.; also see Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles*, p. 157.

more evocative, some examples of which I discuss later in this chapter. For the New Testament, however, Rogers opted to use the summaries Coverdale had written as prefatory matter for the 1535 Coverdale Bible; these are lifted identically.[69] In reducing Rogers' contributions to mere translations of the French, we overlook notable aspects of the work, some of which had lasting repercussions for later editions.

One such repercussion concerns Rogers' translation and interpretation of references to sin, wickedness, and transgression in the paratexts. Rogers tends to collapse a wide variety of French vocabulary into more limited English terms. This happens frequently with 'wicked' or 'wickedness'. Rogers translates a variety of disparate French terms as wicked or wickedness, such as *mauvais* (4 Kings 21, 3 Kings 15), *iniquite* (Job 16), and *perverse* (Ezekiel 22). He also adds the term to comparably neutral summaries, introducing an element of moral judgement not present in the French. 'La desolation de Hierusalem par les Romains' introduces 'wycked Jewes' in Daniel 9; *linfidele* in Job 18 is expanded to 'unfaythfull [and] wyckyd'. In the summary to Ezekiel 22, as well as translating *perverse* as 'wicked', Rogers adds entirely new references to both 'wyckednesses' and the 'wickednes of the people'. The summary for Jeremiah 31, a lengthy and original contribution of Rogers', includes that 'all the wycked dye in their wyckedness', prompting an intratextual reading with Ezekiel 3.19. The word is very common in Rogers' summaries and is used in translations and expansions of, as well as departures from, the French summaries. It appears more often than any other word suggesting moral judgement. Another example of this is Rogers' translation of a variety of French terms with a single English word, such as giving both *fornicatresse* and *femme paillard* as 'harlot' (Leviticus 21, Judges 11). He does similarly with references to 'idolatry', a term employed in Exodus 34, Judges 4, Judges 6, Judges 13, and 3 Kings 3; in the Lefèvre Bible, the word is only present in Exodus 34. Rogers' fondness for the term might be prompted by its anti-Catholic suggestion. Even in Exodus 34, however, the syntax differs, with the French 'ydolatrerie des gentils' translated as 'and their ydolatrie also'.[70]

We also see a conscious toning down of Rogers' and Lefèvre's more exotic phrasings in later English bibles. One such instance concerns the summary to Proverbs 1 and its synopsis of Proverbs 1.10. In the Lefèvre Bible, the *casus summarium* strikingly refers to the 'incitations voluptueuses des pecheurs', summarising Solomon's instructions not to consent to the invitations of sinners. The French translation of Proverbs references the *pecheurs* and their attempts to invite or attract (*attirer*), but the paratextual interpretation of this as 'incitations

[69] Mozley notes that Rogers' summaries for Revelation derive from Coverdale, though he does not find them elsewhere; in Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles*, pp. 145–6.

[70] Rogers maintains the same spelling of idolatry, 'idolatrye', for all instances aside from its use in the Exodus 34 summary. Here, he uses 'ydolatrie', beginning with the 'y' as the term does in French.

voluptueuses' is quite the departure. In the Matthew Bible, Rogers maintains Coverdale's translation of Proverbs 1.10, urging one to 'co[n]sente not unto synners, if they entyce the', but he translates the French *casus summarium* with relative fidelity: 'We may not herke[n] unto the voluptuous provocacion [and] inticynges of synners.' This is maintained verbatim into the Great Bible, though the reference to sinners' 'voluptuous provocation' is then dropped from the Bishops' Bible. The summaries to Proverbs 1 in the Bishops' Bible retain the syntax and sense of the Great Bible summary but mitigate the prurient phrasing of Lefèvre and Rogers. Given that the Bishops' Bible lifts *casus summarii* verbatim from the Great Bible and that these instances are too similar in syntax and vocabulary to their predecessors to be wholly new inventions, it is reasonable to conclude that the editors were consciously copying and mitigating the more characterful summaries of the Great Bible.

Another passage on transgression subject to paratextual disagreements is Genesis 19, the destruction of Sodom. Rogers' summary for Genesis 19 is the second- longest synopsis in the 50 chapters of Genesis, second only to Genesis 1. Here, Rogers' summary is not only a significant departure from the French but uniquely prurient: 'The fylthy lustes of the Sodomytes.' There is, strangely, no use of 'wicked' in the summary, despite Rogers' predilection for the term and its appearance in scripture at Genesis 19.7. Rogers instead uncharacteristically opts for a more prurient phrasing. 'Fylthy' is absent from scripture, though Tyndale's translation of Genesis included in the Matthew Bible does feature the word 'lust' in Genesis 19.5. Here, the Sodomites say of the angels, 'brynge the[m] out unto us that we may do oure lust wyth them'. The translation of the Hebrew ונדעה as 'that we may do oure lust' was not widely accepted by early modern translators; it was rejected by Coverdale and all subsequent revisers, who instead render this passage as 'that we may know them'. The ultimate consensus of 'know' as the appropriate translation is possibly the result of the similar sense in Genesis 4.1, 'Adam vero cognovit Havam uxorem' in the Vulgate, which the Wycliffe Bible renders, 'Forsothe Adam knewe Eue his wijf'.[71]

Although the 'lustes' of Rogers' paratext derive from Tyndale's translation of Genesis 19.5, 'filthy' is entirely Rogers'. Later revisions replaced Tyndale's 'do oure lustes' with the more accurate 'know', but Rogers' *casus summarium* remained. Both the Great Bible and the Geneva Bible retained Rogers' 'the fylthy lustes of the Sodomites'—despite eschewing the translation that led to the original inclusion of the words.

While the sexual reading of the Sodomites' intentions towards the angels was widespread at this time, it was not the sole or even predominant interpretation.

[71] *The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments*, eds. Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1850), 1.85.

The sexual reading is first recorded in St Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei contra paganos*, which speaks of the Sodomites' 'stupra in masculos', and in the *Confessions*, from which the description of the Sodomites having committed 'flagitia […] contra naturam' grew popular among medieval theologians.[72] The reading at this point was so commonplace that little justification had to be given for its assertion. For example, when Martin Luther writes of the Sodomites wanting to commit an unnatural sexual act, he cites no authority and offers no argument for the reading.

The *casus summarium* to Genesis 19 is the second-longest synopsis in the 50 chapters of Genesis, second only to Genesis 1: how God made the world. In the Lefèvre, the chapter is summarised as 'La paillardise des Sodomi[t]es/et leur destruction'. The 1535 Olivétan has the marginal note, 'La paillardise [et] dissolutio[n] de ceusy [de] Sodomah', which Rogers does not include. This 'paillardise' describing the Sodomites, common to both French bibles, does not appear in the French translations of scripture. This term is attributed to the Sodomites' intentions instead of their canonical description, that they wish to act wickedly, 'faire ce mal' (Genesis 19.7). This is also the case in the Matthew Bible. The term is difficult to translate. The closest term would be 'whoredom', but this carries a specifically pagan or Catholic suggestion.

Whereas many of Rogers' *casus summarii* are verbatim translations from the French, his synopsis of Genesis 19 is a complete departure. This summary is exegetical and fixes a sexual reading on to the Sodomites at the expense of any other. Such interpretive intrusion is highly unusual for Rogers. His contraction also removes the object of the Sodomites' lusts, the angels, and without it suggests the possibility of a recursive desire, the Sodomites' desires for one another.

The summary is also notable for its avoidance of the term 'wicked'. This is one of the few adjectives Rogers regularly employs, and the root even appears in the scripture of Genesis 19.7, where Lot asks that the Sodomites do not act 'wickedly'. If Rogers felt a descriptor was necessary, the obvious choice would be 'the wickedness of the Sodomites'. Yet he avoids this. Rogers' departure from his usual style, vocabulary, and fidelity to scripture results in one of the most striking *casus summarii* in the Old Testament of the Matthew Bible.

Although the 'lustes' of this paratext derive from Tyndale's translation of Genesis 19.5, the 'fylthy' is entirely Rogers. He only uses the word three times in the Matthew Bible paratexts. Rogers' summary also excludes any other competing reading of the Sodomites' transgressions. In Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, the Sodomites' primary sin was that of pride. The Sodomites' inhospitality was another common reading of the cause of their destruction. In the New Testament, the episode of Sodom is famed not primarily for its possible

[72] Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, book 30, p. 144; Augustine, *Confessions*, book 3, p. 118.

condemnation of homosexual acts but for the destructive power of divine judgement. None of this sense is permitted by Rogers' reading; it only admits the Pauline reading of homosexual desire with the implication that those desires were the cause of the city's destruction.

Both the Great Bible and the Geneva retained Rogers' 'the fylthy lustes of the Sodomites'—despite eschewing the translation that led to its original inclusion. While the Great Bible reproduced Rogers' *casus summarii* verbatim, the Geneva differed more significantly. The Geneva Bible took many of its paratexts from the French tradition, drawing on the notes of Calvin's secretary, Nicholas des Gallars, and the 1559 *Bible de Genève*. It still drew on the Matthew Bible, however, and the Genesis 19 *casus summarium* in the Geneva is similar to that of the Matthew Bible. They open almost identically. The Matthew begins: 'Lot receaued two Angelles into hys house. The fylthy lustes of the Sodomytes. Lot is delyuered & desyreth to dwell in the cytie Zoar.' The Geneva: 'Lot receiveth two Angels into his house. The filthy lustes of the Sodomites. Lot is delivered.' Between these summaries, 'The filthy lustes of the Sodomites' is maintained, identical save for the modernised spelling in the Geneva. Despite the amendment of Tyndale's translation that removed 'lusts' from the scripture, the word remains in Rogers' lingering summary.

A modified form of the phrase appears in the 1568 Bishops' Bible. The Bishops' Bible is where we first see a non-orthographic departure from Rogers' 'the fylthy lustes of the Sodomytes'. In the Bishops' Bible, we instead find 'The lust of the Sodomites'. The inclusion being sheer coincidence is extremely unlikely, given the specificity of the vocabulary and syntax, and it was not a common phrase at this time. It is possible that Parker was familiar with the 'filthy lusts' paratext, half-remembered the phrase, and then unknowingly introduced it into the Bible, though this is pure conjecture. If an intentional inclusion, the question is why Parker would include this particular phrase, given the rejection of Tyndale's translation.

A final example of paratextual disagreement over transgression is found in 1 Samuel 2.12: 'Now the sons of Eli *were* sons of Belial; they knew not the Lord' (KJV). 'Belial', the Hebrew term for worthlessness, was frequently mistranslated and misunderstood as a figure, being personified an incarnation of Satan. The inclusion of Belial is first found in Wycliffe and is the chosen term in the Coverdale, Taverner, Great, Bishops', and KJV Bibles. The Matthew Bible unusually has 'the sonnes of Eli were unthryftye children', while the Geneva has the more accurate 'the sonnes of Eli were wicked men'. The summaries, on the other hand, entirely eschew any mention of Belial. In Coverdale, 'The sonnes of Eli do wickedly'; in the Matthew, Taverner, and Great Bibles, there is only reference to 'The offence of the sonnes of Eli'; in the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles, the reference is to 'The sonnes of Eli, wicked'; in the KJV, it is to 'the sin of Eli's sons'. The Matthew Bible summary

is taken from Lefèvre and is very close to the French: 'Le Cantique de Hanna: le peche des fils de Eli: comment Eli sut reptins pour lindulgence quil saifoit enuers ses enfans' becomes 'The songe of Hannah. The offence o[…] the sonnes o[…] Eli. Eli is rebuked for the vnmesurable suffraunce of his chyldren.' 'Indulgence' becomes 'unmesurable suffraunce' and 'peche' becomes 'offence', though it is otherwise faithful. This translation of 'peche', most obviously 'sin', as the less common 'offence' is characteristic of Rogers' habit of diverging from the French in translations for terms denoting transgression. It is 'peche' here, and not the 'unthryftye' of scripture, that provides the 'offence' of the Matthew Bible summary. From there it is copied into the Taverner and Great Bibles, independent of their restoration of 'Belial' to scripture. The Geneva Bible, with its more accurate translation and new summaries, presents a summary derived directly from scripture: 'The sonnes of Eli were wicked men' becomes 'sonnes of Eli, wicked'. In the Bishops', the translators have lifted the summary entirely from the Geneva; the only other alterations are in spelling, with 'Hannah' changed to 'Hanna' and 'Elkanah' to 'Elhana'. This is despite the Bishops' scripture maintaining the 'children of Belial' of the previous translations. The KJV departs entirely from references to 'offence' or 'wickedness', featuring 'the sin of Eli's sons' in the summary while retaining 'sons of Belial' for the scripture. For Gregory Martin, such an alteration was evidence of the 'itching ambition' of the Protestants in 'Englishing' too many terms: 'Againe, if *Hosanna*, *Raca*, *Belial* and such like be yet untranslated in the English Bibles, why may not we say *Corbana*, and *Parasceve*[?]'[73]

Translating *ḥawah* into Eve

Another phenomenon concerns the translation of proper nouns. The denomination of Eve presents an interesting case. חַוָּה (*ḥawah*) in Hebrew and Εὔα (*eua*) in the Greek, her name was variously translated as Eve, Eva, Heva, Hava, and Hevàh in English bibles. The name is translated inconsistently between scripture and summary, despite being rendered almost exclusively as either Eve or Eva in other texts. Why, when the Old Testament scripture has been translated with a more Hebraic version of the name, do editors reject it in favour of the more common Eve or Eva in the summary? This question also concerns not only what she is called but where, as most bibles (Tyndale, Coverdale, the Matthew Bible, the Great Bible, the Geneva Bible, the Bishops' Bible) give her name inconsistently between the Old Testament and the New Testament. In the KJV, she is only called Eve, a decision prefigured by her paratextual designation that prioritises vernacular usage over accuracy.

[73] 'Preface to the Rheims New Testament', in *Records of the English Bible*, ed. Pollard, pp. 304–6.

The English convention of naming the first woman 'Eve' derives from the Vulgate. There, the name is rendered 'Eva' in both the Old and New Testaments.[74] 'Eve' and 'Eva' had been the common English translations for the name of the first woman for centuries, but when translating from Hebrew to English it became necessary to reassess how that name should be translated and whether it should be translated in the same manner in both the Old and New Testaments. Tyndale accepted inconsistency and printed her name 'Eve' in the New Testament and 'Heva' in the Old Testament. This New Testament designation is followed by every English Bible, but her Old Testament denominations are not so consistent. Following Tyndale's lead, the Coverdale, Matthew, Great, and Bishops' Bibles name her 'Heva' in the Old Testament. In the summaries, however, she is 'Eva' in the Coverdale and Great Bibles, 'Heva' in the Bishops' Bible, and unmentioned in the Matthew Bible.[75] Only the Taverner Bible, the Douai-Rheims Bible, and the KJV refer to her in all instances as 'Eve'; all other bibles contain some degree of variation.

The Geneva Bible uniquely renders the name as 'Heváh', and does us the kindness of explaining the reasons for its naming practices. In the introduction to 'A brief table of the interpretation of the propre names which are chiefly founde in the olde Testame[n]t', wherein the meaning of 'Heváh' is glossed as 'liuing, or giuing life', the naming practices of previous translators are condemned:

> Whereas the wickednes of time, and the blindnes of the former age hathe bene suche that all things altogether haue bene abused and corrupted, so that the very right names of diuerse of the holie men named in the Scriptures haue bene forgotten, and now seme strange unto us, and the names of infants that shulde euer haue some godlie aduertisements in them, and shulde be memorials and markes of the children of God receiued into his housholde, hathe bene hereby also changed and made the signes and badges of idolatrie and heathenish impietie.[76]

These accusations of abuse and corruption are veiled attacks on those names popularised by Catholic use, a suggestion most lucid in the coded accusations of 'idolatrie and heathenish impietie'. For the Geneva translators, the restoration of 'Heváh' and removal of 'Eve' from the Old Testament is a rejection of Catholic corruption. Yet these attempts to introduce or restore an aspirated version of Eve's name were unsuccessful, as Heváh, Heva, and Hava are all rarely used in comparison to Eve or Eva and the spellings were not taken up by subsequent English bibles.

While the Geneva translators tried to break from the corrupted tradition of 'Eve', quite the reverse was true in the Coverdale, Taverner, and Great Bibles, wherein colloquialism triumphed over accuracy. The KJV renders her name as 'Eve' in not only the summaries but also the scripture, breaking from the tradition

[74] Eve is named four times in the Bible: twice in the Old Testament (Genesis 3.20; 4.1) and twice in the New Testament (2 Corinthians 11.3; 1 Timothy 2.13).
[75] The Lefèvre Bible summaries call her Eva but Eve in the scripture.
[76] *The Bible and Holy Scriptures* (1560), fol. HHh3r.

of 'Heva' maintained since Tyndale. Bishop Bancroft explains the decision: 'The Names of the Prophets, and the Holy Writers, with the other Names of the Text, to be retained, as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.'[77] Here, 'names' encompasses the proper nouns, including 'Eve', and this instruction for how such names were 'vulgarly used' includes the vernacular 'Eve'. Bancroft, then, instructs the translators to prefer the common, though less accurate, names over both those in the original languages and those chosen by earlier translators.

Eve is not the only figure to have her name altered in this way; Isaac is another whose corrupted, Anglicised, colloquial name triumphed over a more accurate moniker. Isaac's name (יִצְחָק) was rendered 'Izhak' in the more Hebraic Geneva Bible and 'Isahac' in the Bishops' Bible, but 'Isaac' remained the most popular form in England (and, not coincidentally, the form in which he is designated in *casus summarii*). As a result, he is 'Isaac' in the KJV. On the translation of Isaac's name, Jeffrey Shoulson writes, '[t]he King James translators are reassimilating a figure who threatened to become alien and exotic with an unfamiliar name […] the King James translators' preferred name for the second patriarch effectively sustains his conversion from a Jewish, Hebraic figure (יִצְחָק) to a Christian, English one (Isaac)'.[78] The same is true, even more so, of Eve. Unlike Isaac (who is variably denoted as Isaac in the Coverdale Bible, Isaac in some Great Bibles and Isahac in others, and Isahac in the Bishops' Bible), Eve is consistently called 'Heva' in her Old Testament references. Shoulson's emphasis here on the fear of these names becoming 'alien' and 'exotic' echoes the anxiety of the Geneva translators, whose acknowledgement of the Hebraic names becoming 'strange' is given as evidence for the restoration of those Hebraic names. By the time of the KJV, that strangeness was no longer something to be rehabilitated but a reason for which such names should be rejected altogether. In rejecting the existing Hebraic legacy of naming the first woman 'Heva', the KJV not only established consistency in the English naming conventions between the Old and New Testaments but definitively chose popular, vernacular usage over accuracy. The legacy of Eve—and not Heva—is the triumph of the vernacular over Hebraic authority.

Whether this shift was facilitated by the summaries is difficult to determine, but they are certainly a signpost for it. That the paratexts summarise scripture with less accurate, vernacular terms demonstrates an editorial willingness to sacrifice accuracy for familiarity and the acknowledgement that the vernacular is preferred for navigating the Bible, even if Hebraic terms are provided for the translation of scripture. The summaries thus act as barometers for when the vernacular contradicts scripture. A reader goes searching for Eve, not Heváh.

[77] 'The Rules to Be Observed in the Translation of the Bible', in *Records of the English Bible*, ed. Pollard, pp. 53–5 (p. 53).
[78] Jeffrey S. Shoulson, *Fictions of Conversion: Jews, Christians, and Cultures of Change in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 110.

Richard Taverner's summaries: Exodus 3, Jeremiah 42, Ezekiel 33, Revelation 22

Richard Taverner's revision of the Great Bible, published in 1539, is an edition of neither great influence nor critical utility. Naseeb Shaheen elucidates its only known point of lasting influence, arguing that his unique translation of Matthew 10.29—'fall on the grounde'—was 'significant in the history of the English Bible'.[79] Though the work had marginally more impact that Daniell's declaration of it as 'a version which had no influence' would suggest,[80] the work's chief interest is not in its breadth of impact but as a window into individualistic revisionary practices. As Debora Shuger points out in Taverner's modification of the prefatory paratexts, alterations may 'radically soften' paratexts' theology or 'create a space of licit disagreement'.[81] Alongside Tyndale, Coverdale, and Ussher, Taverner's work grants us rare insight into the authorial intent that underlies the translatory and editorial process of composing an English Bible.

Taverner's revision of the translation is significant—Westbrook finds 'no fewer than 3000 changes in Joshua–2 Kings alone'—and vividly characterises his attitudes: 'What makes Taverner difficult to pin down as a reviser is the fact that he reads contextually so that what he considers to be an appropriate change in one place may be inappropriate in another. He does not systematically remove all instances of an identified word, because sometimes that word will be the right choice—in Taverner's opinion.'[82] Taverner's revisions to the summaries are far less extensive than to the translation, demonstrating that he did not share the handwringing of later critics and contemporaries over the potential seditiousness of the notes.

But he did make changes. I have counted 98 summaries that Taverner altered (Figure 1), 70 in the Old Testament and 28 in the New Testament. Of these, 55 revisions are abbreviations, wherein Taverner omits part of a summary, usually a subclause; 11 were purely grammatical; 26 swapped out vocabulary; and 10 made additions to the summary. Only seven were complete rewrites. Of the 28 revisions to the New Testament, 24 were merely abbreviations.

Of the revisions to the translation, Westbrook writes:

> Many of Taverner's changes show that one of his principal aims in revising the Bible was to make meaning clearer to the common people. This aim may be achieved by

[79] Naseeb Shaheen, 'The Taverner Bible, Jugge's Edition of Tyndale, and Shakespeare', *English Language Notes*, 38.2 (2000), 24–9 (p. 26).
[80] Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 220.
[81] Shuger, *Paratexts*, p. 50.
[82] Vivienne Westbrook, 'Long Travail and Great Paynes: a Politics of Reformation Revision' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1998), pp. 95 and 102.

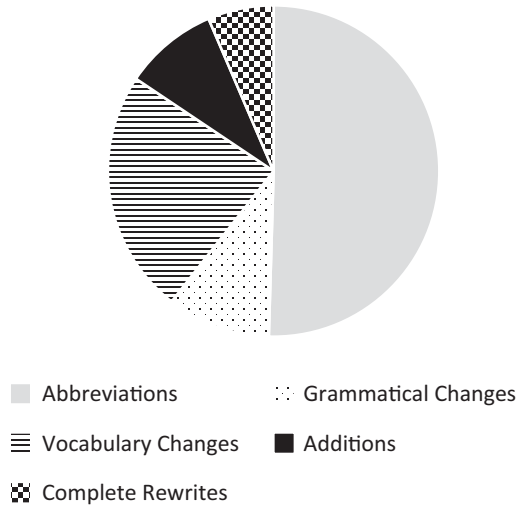

Figure 1 Taverner revisions to summaries.

> removing excessive repetition which may confuse the reader, by replacing obscure words and phrases with clearer ones, or by suggesting vocabulary that is appropriate to the context of the narrative, rather than a vocabulary that persuades the reader towards a theological interpretation of it.[83]

While these trends mostly characterise his revisions to the summaries, they do not always dissuade a theological reading.

Many of Taverner's changes are characterised by simplification. Such examples include, 1 Samuel 14 changing harnessebearer to esquyre, 1 Samuel 20 changing *betwixt* to *betwene*, 1 Kings 9 changing *the second tyme* to *agayn*, 1 Kings 10 changing *uttermost* to *furthest*, Job 14 changing *obtayne* to *haue*, and Exodus 24 changing *assendeth* to *goeth*. In Numbers 12, Taverner changes the Hebraic *Miriam* to *Mary*. Taverner alters *incomprehensible* to *not reperevable* in Job 11, shifting away from an acalepstic reading of God. Here, Taverner's urge to facilitate a comprehensible engagement with the Word manifests theologically and not just linguistically.

Elsewhere, Taverner displays a more editorial and, at times, theological voice. Taverner twice changes *remnant* to *rest*, first in Jeremiah 42 and then in Ezekiel 33.[84]

[83] Ibid., p. 102.

[84] Jeremiah 42, the Matthew Bible reads, 'The Captaynes aske counsell of Jeremye what they oughte to do. Jeremye monyseth the remnaunt of the people not to go into Egypte'. The Taverner Bible reads, 'The Capitaynes toke counsell of Jeremye what they oughte to do. Jeremye monyssheth the rest of the people not to go in to Egypte'.

In the scripture of the Matthew Bible, there are three uses of 'remnant' present across Jeremiah 42.2, 42.15, and 42.19. In Taverner's revision, there are only two. Taverner switches this first use of 'remnant' to 'rest' in 42.2, so the scripture reads 'for the rest wherof there be verye fewe lefte' rather than 'for the remnant thereof'. In Hebrew, the same term is used in all three of these instances, הַשְּׁאֵרִית (sharith), so Taverner's translation creates an inconsistency. But Taverner not only revises the scripture; he also revises the summary, changing *remnant* to *rest* in both text and paratexts. This not only simplifies the texts but emphasises his own alteration to the scripture.

Taverner makes the same paratextual alteration to Ezekiel 33; however, here there is no corresponding scriptural revision. In the Matthew the summary reads: 'The worde of the Lorde agaynst the remnaunt of the people. Agaynst the mockers of the wordes of the Prophet.' In Taverner: 'The worde of the Lorde agaynst the rest of the people. Agaynst the mockers of the wordes of the Prophet.' Again, *remnant* is altered to *rest*. Unlike in Jeremiah 43, however, there is no use of either term in the passage. The passages carries the same sense as that of Jeremiah, referring to the remnant of the tribe of Judah, and so Taverner's paratextual alteration is not carried out to reflect a revision of the scripture the summary it immediately precedes, but rather a revision he made in an early book.

Taverner's changes to the summaries are very rare: less than 1 per cent of the total word count. But the double example of here Taverner changing *remnant* to *rest* suggests there is a logic to what he's doing. Taverner appears to be motivated by a desire for the summary to reflect his very minor revision of the translation of a particular word.

Elsewhere, Taverner's alterations are more theologically motivated. In the summary of Exodus 3, Taverner revises 'Moses kepeth shepe. God appereth vnto hym in a bush [and] sendeth hym to the chyldren of Israel / and to Pharao that *tyraunt'* to 'Moses kepeth shepe, God appereth vnto him in a bushe / and sendeth him to the childrenn of Israel / and to Pharao the *oppressour*' (emphasis added). *Tyrant* becomes *oppressor*. The Geneva translators' use of 'tyrant' has long been attributed to a deliberate lexis of exile that was not carried over into the KJV due to their supposed anti-monarchical sentiment.[85] Of these notes, Craig writes, '[h]ere we have some reflection of the political thought of the time, and this was the question: what should a sincere Christian do when confronted by what he knew, on the basis of his interpretation of the Bible, to be unchristian demands, demands emanating from the sovereign authority?'[86]

Certainly, there is a more discernible potential intent to the anti-tyranny notes and translation of the Marian exiles. In Rogers' translation of the Lefèvre notes,

[85] Fulton, *Book of Books*, p. 490.
[86] Hardin Craig, 'The Geneva Bible as a Political Document', *Pacific Historical Review*, 7.1 (1938), 40–9 (pp. 44–5).

'a Pharaon quy les oppressoit' becomes *tyrant* rather than *oppressor*, despite the obvious cognate. Though not writing in a climate of such anti-monarchism as the Marian exiles, Rogers was nonetheless working without the king's approval and was subsequently martyred for it. Taverner, on the other hand, revising this Bible with Henry VIII's approval and motivated by a need to please the king that Rogers lacked, would understandably possess a similar desire to downplay or erase anti-monarchical sentiment.

One final revision of note appears in the summary to Revelation 22. This is how it appears in the Matthew Bible:

> The ryuer of the water of lyfe, the frutefulnes and lyght of the cytye of God. The Lorde gyueth euer his seruauntes warnynge of thynges to come, the angell wyll not be worshypped. To the worde of God maye nothyng be added nor **minished** there from.

In the Taverner Bible, this is how it appears:

> The ryuer of the water of lyfe, the frutefulnes and lyght of the cytye of God. The Lorde gyueth euer his seruauntes warnynge of thynges to come, the angell wyll not be worshypped. To the worde of God maye nothyng be added nor **taken** there from.

'Minished' becomes 'taken'. To 'minish' means to lessen, perhaps in emphasis, whereas 'taken' denotes removal. Taverner's only change to the Revelation paratexts explicitly concerns the adding to and taking away from scripture. The revision lessens the proscription of taking away from scripture—which is exactly what Taverner did in revising the translation.

These revisions of biblical paratexts reflect how generations of editors positioned the scripture in relation to its margins and how those margins were intended to be read. Hopes to influence interpretation, encourage deeper study, bring history to life, and ensure the laity could comprehend their bibles all informed the first century of English vernacular Bible reading. While the reading habits of the laity were frequently the primary concern of these editors, the vernacular Bible was inevitably widely read by a clerical audience too, whose own biblical knowledge could range from the expert to the slipshod. I turn now to the demographic of clerical readers who found the margins of their bibles a valuable resource in producing their own readings of scripture and disseminated their content to an even wider audience.

3

Clerical Readers

Biblical paratexts were intermediaries. They hinder direct engagement with scripture by means of introductions, summaries, explanations, references, and organisational architecture. Bringing the vernacular Bible to a general, lay audience removed the necessity of the preacher, but scripture could not go unmediated. It was needed to shape the experience of the lay reader to ensure their reading of the Bible was conducted correctly. Paratexts, then, were intended far more for a lay audience than clerical, for whom there was far less urgent need to mould biblical reading practices. There were still advantages of doing so, of course: paratexts might stabilise exegeses and provide valuable assistance to the less literate members of the clergy. In theory, a competent and educated priest would have little need of biblical paratexts: they would not contain information they did not already know.

In practice, however, scholarship has attended little to the clerical use of paratexts. For example, in the two most notorious verdicts on the Geneva Bible glosses, Archbishop Matthew Parker declared them to be 'diverse prejudicall notis',[1] while James I condemned them as 'seditious' and 'traiterous'.[2] However, is this actually true? Could biblical glosses provoke prejudice, sedition, and treason in their readers? Does any evidence substantiate this and, if not, what use did writers actually

[1] Alfred W. Pollard, ed., *Records of the English Bible: The Documents Relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525–1611* (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), p. 295.

[2] Quoted in Thomas Fuller, *The church-history of Britain* (London: 1655), p. 14 or fol. Bbbb3v. This claim as to the seditiousness of the Exodus 1.19 and 2 Chronicles 15.17 glosses holds little weight; Furniss and Craig present the best rebuttals of these claims. See Tom Furniss, 'Reading the Geneva Bible: Notes toward an English Revolution?', *Prose Studies*, 31.1 (2009), 1–21 and Hardin Craig, 'The Geneva Bible as a Political Document', *Pacific Historical Review*, 7.1 (1938), 40–9. In writings, these glosses can only be found in debates over their controversiality and are never used to inform the seditious perspectives with which they are attributed. The 2 Chronicles 15.17 gloss (which chides King Asa for his lack of zeal in only deposing and not executing his regent mother) had no perceptible impact on written works, as Asa is consistently characterised as exceedingly zealous. For 17th-century debates over these notes, see Matthew Pattenson, *The image of bothe churches* (Tournai: 1623), fol. I6r; Henry Janson, *Philanax Anglicus* (London: 1663), fols. E3r–v; Thomas Morton, *A full satisfaction concerning a double Romish iniquitie* (London: 1606), fols. O4r–v.

make of glosses and other paratexts? This chapter seeks answers to how clerical writers engaged with biblical paratexts by starting with the most notorious form: the Geneva glosses.

While scholarship has attended to attitudes about the Geneva glosses,[3] their history,[4] and their theological content,[5] little attention has been paid to the tangible purposes to which these glosses were put by their readers.[6] Not only do we not know how the glosses were used, but our understanding of glosses is heavily coloured by contextless analyses or the unfavourable condemnations of their critics. Importantly, the contexts I address are entirely textual and this project is one concerned with reading and writing practices. While I attend to the political and theological contexts in which these writings were produced, this investigation

[3] For work on attitudes about glosses, see William Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 101–28; William Slights, '"Marginall Notes That Spoile the Text": Scriptural Annotation in the English Renaissance', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 55.2 (2002), 255–78; Karen Edwards, 'The King James Bible and Biblical Images of Desolation', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c.1530–1700*, eds. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 71–82; David Norton, *A History of the English Bible as Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1993), pp. 11–56; Lesley Smith, *The* Glossa Ordinaria*: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Brad Pardue, *Printing, Power, and Piety: Appeals to the Public during the Early Years of the English Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 135; Suzanne LaVere, *Out of the Cloister: Scholastic Exegesis of the Song of Songs, 1100–1250* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 74; Elaine Fulton, *The Search for Authority in Reformation Europe* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 128–9 and 145–9; Franciscus Anastasius Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Laura Kendrick, 'Visual Texts in Post-Conquest England', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture*, ed. Andrew Galloway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 149–71.

[4] Femke Molekamp, 'The Geneva and the King James Bibles: Legacies of Reading Practices', *Bunyan Studies*, 15 (2011), 11–25; Femke Molekamp, 'Genevan Legacies: The Making of the English Geneva Bible', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, eds. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 38–53; Aaron T. Pratt, 'The Trouble with Translation: Paratexts and England's Bestselling New Testament', in *The Bible on the Shakespearean: Stage Cultures of Interpretation in Reformation England*, ed. Thomas Fulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2018), pp. 33–48.

[5] James Kearney, 'Reformed Ventriloquism: The Shepheardes Calender and the Craft of Commentary', *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual*, 26 (2011), 111–51; David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 284–8, 297–9, 304–10, 318–19, 352–7, and 369–75; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 101–67; Richard L. Greaves, 'Traditionalism and the Seeds of Revolution in the Social Principles of the Geneva Bible', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 7.2 (1976), 94–109; Debora K. Shuger, *Paratexts of the English Bible, 1525–1611* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 179–216.

[6] The only extended discussion of the subject is John David Alexander's 1956 thesis, although see also Betteridge's discussion of Whitgift and the vestarian controversy as well as Don Cameron Allen's brief discussion of John Donne and marginal notes. See also Groves on Edmund Spenser and R. M. Cornelius on Marlowe. John David Alexander, 'The Genevan Version of the English Bible' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1957); Don Cameron Allen, 'Dean Donne Sets His Text', *English Literary History*, 10.3 (1943), 208–29; Beatrice Groves, 'Shakespeare's Sonnets and the Genevan Marginalia', *Essays in Criticism*, 57.2 (2007), 114–28; R. M. Cornelius, *Christopher Marlowe's Use of the Bible* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1984), p. 284; Maurice S. Betteridge, 'The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and Its Annotations', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 14.1 (1983), 41–62 (p. 52).

aims to demonstrate textual impacts; it does not relate these glosses to the actions of these writers beyond the page.

This chapter investigates the use of biblical paratexts in early modern clerical writings, first the glosses and then the summaries. I begin with an overview of rhetoric against glossing, and then advance three major points that reconceptualise the use of the Geneva glosses. First, it demonstrates that the Geneva notes were not—contrary to longstanding arguments[7]—only the purview of private readers; rather, preaching allowed them to reach a public audience, while other publications reprinted these glosses to reach a secondary reading audience.[8] Second, it demonstrates *how* these glosses were incorporated into writings, investigating patterns of use in individual writers as well as the types of specific glosses that were regularly incorporated by multiple authors. Finally, this chapter reassesses the now dominant claim that the Geneva Bible notes did not perceptibly shape the theology of its readers; it argues instead that the Tomson notes were highly influential in disseminating and cementing Calvinist and Bezan theology on the sacraments and had a lasting impact on Protestant theology long after the diminishment of the most vibrant forces of the Reformation.

In the second half, this chapter turns to the impact of the summaries on navigating and interpreting the Bible. It discusses their role in popularising non-canonical titles for chapters or pericopes, such as 'the Sermon on the Mount', 'the prodigal son', or 'Esau's mess of pottage'. It then discusses the influence of two chapter summaries—that of Eve's 'seduction' in Genesis 3 and the 'filthy lusts of the Sodomites' in the Genesis 19—on their readers in conceptualising these episodes, and finally it addresses Richard Taverner's processes of revision.

This corpus comprises the glosses of the 1560 Geneva Bible (and 1557 New Testament), 1576 Tomson editions, and 1599 Tomson-Junius editions. The history of these glosses' origins, authorship, and evolution has been well-documented.[9]

[7] To John Harris, the Geneva was 'never the Bible of public reading in Church but always the Bible of private devotion', and, to Beatrice Groves, one whose annotations 'had no part in the communal church service and formed instead part of the private experience of the reading individual'. John W. Harris, '"Written in the Margent": Shakespeare's Metaphor of the Geneva Bible Marginal Notes', *Notes and Queries*, 64.2 (2017), 301–4 (p. 301). Groves, 'Shakespeare's Sonnets and the Genevan Marginalia', p. 115. Other scholarship that emphasizes their private nature includes Vivienne Westbrook, *Long Travail and Great Paynes: A Politics of Reformation Revision* (Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic, 2001), p. 137; Molekamp, 'Genevan Legacies', p. 38; see Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), especially pp. 179–83; Hannibal Hamlin, *The Bible in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 11.

[8] Robert Armstrong is the only scholar I know to have previously considered this: 'the encounter with the "theological Bible" came not, at first, through print but through preaching', and 'neither in their production nor in their reception should Bibles be divided into neatly public and private spheres'. Armstrong remains speculative, however, and does not further discuss the subject. Robert Armstrong, 'Introduction: Protestant England and the English Bible', in *The English Bible in the Early Modern World*, eds. Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 1–28 (pp. 21 and 4–5).

[9] Aside from Betteridge and Daniell's thorough histories, see also Crawford Gribben, 'Deconstructing the Geneva Bible: The Search for a Puritan Poetic', *Literature and Theology*, 14.1 (2000), 1–16; Molekamp, 'Genevan Legacies', pp. 38–53; Tribble, *Margins and Marginality*.

Rhetoric of glossing

It is easy to become caught up in the lively, condemnatory rhetoric surrounding early modern glossing. Accusations of treason and sedition are attractive and lend weight to compelling narratives about the development of supposedly aggressive Calvinist theology in Elizabethan England. As I demonstrate, such narratives do not present an entirely accurate portrait of the actual purposes to which paratexts were put, but it is also worth considering this rhetoric in more detail. It is dominated by the aforementioned infamous claims of James I and Archbishop Parker, but these are hardly the only complaints to circulate about biblical glossing. It is also worth noting here that 'gloss' does not necessarily refer exclusively to a marginal explanatory comment but could be used more generally to paratextual material, predominantly those in the margin. I begin this chapter by contextualising the commonly cited pieces of anti-glossing rhetoric among contemporary writers, and then turn to the actual use of glosses and summaries in early modern religious writings.

It is not difficult to find condemnations of glosses in early modern religious rhetoric. Against scholastic Catholic glossing, William Tyndale believes 'the olde doctours' have 'blinded the scripture whose knowleage (as it were a keye) letteth i to god, with gloses and tradicio[n]s'.[10] For Philip Melanchthon, scholastic practices had given rise to a Bible filled with 'frigid petty glosses'.[11] George Joye complains of St Jerome's 'fryuole gloses' and wishes 'wolde the scripture were so puerly & plyanly tra[n]slated that it neded nether note glose nor scholia so that the reder might once swimme without a corke'.[12] In the wake of early Protestant translations, criticisms against the purity of scripture and its corruption provokes a healthy spate of rhetorical imagery. For William Barlow, Luther and Tyndale 'corrupt the trewth wyth theyr false gloses'.[13] One writer opposes 'suffer[ing] the same to putrifie & corrupt, by admitting false gloses and expositions of mens own braynes & deuises'.[14]

Glosses are filthy and pestiferous, infecting and dirtying the clean scripture: they are 'durty gloses' (Phillip Melancthon), 'pestilent gloses' (Levinus Lemnius), 'pestilent, and lying gloses' (Thomas Becon), 'pestilent tradition[n]s, false interpretations, and gloses' (Edmund Bonner), 'stincking gloses' (Alexander Ales), and 'roten gloses' (Joachim Vadianus).[15] Thomas Elyot elaborates on this

[10] William Tyndale, *The Christen rule or state of all the worlde* (London: 1548), fol. D2r.
[11] Qtd. in Basil Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 38–93 (p. 40).
[12] George Joye, *An apolgye made by George Joye* (Antwerp: 1535), fol. C7r.
[13] William Barlow, *A dyaloge describing the originall grou[n]d of these Lutheran faccyons* (London: 1531), fol. x2r.
[14] *An excellent and a right learned meditacion* (London: 1554), fol. A4r.
[15] Phillip Melancthon, *The justification of man by faith only* (London: 1548), fol. D7v; Levinus Lemnius, *An herbal for the Bible* (London: 1587), p. 229; Thomas Becon, *The reliques of Rome* (London: 1563), fol. 197v. Edmund Bonner, *A profitable and necessarye doctrine* (London: 1555), fol. 23r; Alexander

imagery, where the glosses and annotations are 'the fecis or dragges of the sayde noble doctrines': scripture is eaten, digested, and excreted as glosses.[16] John Hall pens the catchy lines, 'Of wexe they make scripture a nose, / To turne and wryng it evry waye, / With many a false and filthy glose: / Suche as by errors walke astraye.'[17] We sense the physical presence of these glosses, stinking up the margins, with the nose of scripture turning from side to side. John Bale offers a similar sense of decay and filth:

> They stopped vp Abraha[m]s pyttes, as Genesis diffynes
> With mudde and with myre, & left them full vnclene
> […]
> With fylthy gloses, and dyrtye exposytion,
> Of Goddes lawe wyll I hyde, the pure dysposycions
> The keye of knowledge, I wyll also take awaye
> By wrastynge the text, to the scriptures sore decaye.[18]

The stopping up of Jacob and Abraham's wells with glosses abounds: 'the heape of your other doctoures, haue stopped Iacobs welles, the louelye fountaynes of the heauenly water with the fillthy mud of their gloses' (Anthony Gilby),[19] and 'corrupting the pure fountaines, and peruerting the text it self with their gloses, paraphrases, notes, figures &c' (Henry Barrow).[20]

Glosses are filthy and pestilent but also a cloudy darkness obscuring the light of scripture. The Bible is 'so darkened with mens gloses' (Urbanus Rhegius), 'false spelles & darke gloses' (Anthony Gilby), 'now in such light of the text, such darknes of the glosse is at last worne out' (Richard Harvey), 'Antichriste hath obscured the glory of God, & the true knowlege of his word, ouercastyng the same with mystes and cloudes of errour and ignorance, thorough false gloses and interpretations' (Thomas Cranmer).[21] And they strangle, too: they are 'noisome weedes' (Levinus Lemnius), the Catholics have 'crammed the worlde ful, and chaoked it with their gloses' (John Bale), and 'false dangerous damnable

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Ales, *Of the auctorite of the word of god agaynst the bisshop of London* (Strasbourg: 1544), fol. A7r; Joachim Vadianus, *A worke entytled of ye olde god* (London: 1534), fol. k4r.

[16] Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Governour* (London: 1537), fol. 53r.

[17] John Hall, *The courte of vertue* (London: 1565), fol. 73v. This same sentiment is expressed by Joachim Vadianus, fol. k4r. For more on this image, see Hall, *The courte of vertue*, p. 48 and H. C. Porter, 'The Nose of Wax: Scripture and the Spirit from Erasmus to Milton', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (1964), 155–74.

[18] John Bale, *A newe comedy or enterlude* (London: 1562), fol. f2v.

[19] Anthony Gilby, *An answer to the devillish detection of Stephane Gardiner* (London: 1548), fol. 166r–166v.

[20] Henry Barrow, *A plaine refutation of M. G. Giffardes reprochful booke* (Dordrecht: 1591), p. 117.

[21] Urbanus Rhegius, *A declararation* [*sic*] *of the twelve articles of the christen Faythe* (London: 1548), fol. P1r; Gilby, *An answer to the devillish detection*; Richard Harvey, *A theologicall discourse of the Lamb of God* (London: 1590), p. 7; Thomas Cranmer, *A defence of the true and catholike doctrine* (London: 1550), fol. 3r.

gloses' have 'made it as it were of pleasaunt wine, moste sowre vineger' (Thomas Stapleton).[22]

Against this rich rhetoric that declaims paratextual elements as a dark, pestilent, filthy, choking plague upon the text of scripture, it is little wonder that scholarship sees glosses as currying little favour. But against these lively comments, there is the neglected question of how the glosses were actually used. Despite all this bile, the English Bible emerged in the 17th century as still full of glosses, and its readers were regularly content to use them. Against this rhetoric, how, then, were glosses actually used?

Preachers' use of glosses

I begin with the systematic use of glosses, and then turn to individual writers. We might be surprised to discover that, with some exceptions, the more doctrinal Geneva glosses are not among the popularly cited. Far more often we see the Geneva glosses serve as prompts to expand on a passage or to provide an alternate reading of a phrase, or they may be traced as the half-remembered influences on an exposition. I discuss here four expositions by John Knox, Edward Dering, William Perkins, and Richard Turnbull, followed by the layman Thomas Bentley's *The monument for matrones*, each of which integrate the Geneva glosses into their work in different patterns.

First of all, the glosses are not regular features among the writings of the clergy. Indeed, most exegeses display little to no evidence of engagement with the glosses. This is not to say they were not read or used by these authors but that glosses did not form an integral, identifiable part of most expositions. Glosses are used exceptionally, in different ways by different writers, with unique exceptions for historiographical points of interest and detailed expositions of doctrine.

The following table displays the glosses incorporated into John Knox's sermon on Isaiah 26.13–21:[23]

Location	Scripture	Gloss	Quotation
Isaiah 26.16	'chastening'	'by thy **roddes** [they] were moued to pray vnto thee for deliuerance'	'the rodde of his mercye'

[22] Lemnius, *An herbal for the Bible*, p. 229; John Bale, *The pageant of popes* (London: 1574), fol. P2v; Stapleton qtd. in John Bridges, *The supremacie of Christian princes over all persons throughout theor dominions* (London: 1573), fol. G4v.

[23] John Knox, *A sermon preached by John Knox* (London: 1566).

Location	Scripture	Gloss	Quotation
Isaiah 26.18	'the inhabitants of the worlde'	'The **wicked & men without** religion'	'wicked men without God'
Isaiah 26.21	'the earth shal disclose her blood'	'The earth shal vomit and cast out the innocent blood, which it hath drunke, that it may **crye for vengeance** against the wicked'	'all the bloude of Goddes children shall crye vengeance, not onely in general, but also in particuler, vpon euerye one, that hath shed the bloude of anye that vniustly suffered' 'we had rather be preserued stil aliue, than to haue our bloud to be reuenged after our death'
Isaiah 26.19	'the dewe of herbes'	that 'dead in winter, florish againe by theraine in the spring time: so thei that lie in the dust, shal rise vp to ioye when thei fele the dewe of Gods grace'	'the earth decked and beautified with herbes, floures, grasse, and fruites', 'taken awaye by stormes and vehemencie of the winter', 'soft dewe' emits from 'the pores […] of the earth, which before by vehemencie of frost and colde were shut vp, opened againe'

Note: Bold typeface indicates the similarities between the versions.

The fingerprints of glosses are discernible, but they prompt imagism far more than theology. Knox has read and absorbed the language of the glosses that recur in his expositions, with God's rods, irreligious and wicked men, *peccanti clamanti*, and the seasonal imagery making linguistic tracks. The glosses also serve as creative prompts for Knox, allowing him to expand on images of crying blood and flourishing herbs and develop them into more extravagant and spiritual exhortations to his readers. Knox does not regurgitate theology; he has no need to and can contribute his own 'bitter' readings if needs be. The Geneva's Matthew 4, 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God' (4.7), is glossed with a warning to 'leaue suche lawfull meanes as God hath appointed, to seke others after our owne fantasie'. If there is any suggestion of anti-Catholicism here, it is opaque; to Knox, however, it prompts a jab at those 'Papists [who] are so diligent in establishing their dreams and fantasies'.[24] Though the gloss might prompt an explanatory aside, the bile is all Knox's.

The following table displays the same for an Edward Dering exposition of Hebrew 5.7:[25]

[24] Ibid., fol. B1r.
[25] Edward Dering, *A lecture or exposition upon a part of the. v. chapter of the epistle to the Hebrues* (London: 1573).

Location	Scripture	Gloss	Quotation
Hebrew 5.7	'Whiche in the dayes of his flesh did offer vp prayers and supplications, with strong crying and teares vnto him, that was able to saue him from death, and was also heard in that which he feared'	'**horrors of death**'[26]	'the **horrours of death**, and a constience burdened wyth the wrath of God'
Hebrew 5.7	" "	'**he swet droppes of blood**'[27]	'**his sweate was as drops of bloud**'
John 6.27	'Philippe answered him, Two hundreth peny worthe of bread is not sufficient for the[m], that euerie one of them may take a litle'	God 'appointed him [Christ] to be the **Mediator**, he set his marke and seale in him to bethe onelie one to reconcile God and man together'	Those who 'haue taught you to praye vnto sayntes, aungels, or archangeles, to be your **mediatours**, that haue tolde you of iustification in your owne workes'

Note: Bold typeface indicates the similarities between the versions.

Dering's expositions are similarly inflected by the glosses, but once again they inspire creativity rather than theology. When Dering launches into an anti-Catholic diatribe on John 6.27, there is nothing to provoke this in the gloss. Like Knox, he brings his own anti-Catholicism to the table and is clearly not swayed to these conclusions by the nearest glosses. For all the Victorian backlash against the anti-Catholicism of the Geneva glosses, exegetes need little prompting to justify anti-Catholic interpretations of scripture.

As a Puritan, Perkins unsurprisingly made regular use of the Tomson-Geneva notes. The following table displays the glosses and Perkins' posthumously published exposition on Matthew 5.22 ('But I say vnto you, whosoeuer is angry with his brother vndutifully, shall be culpable of iudgement. And whosoeuer sayeth vnto his brother, Raca, shall be worthy to be punished by the Councill. And whosoeuer shall say, Foole, shalbe worthy to be punished with hell fire'):[28]

Tomson-Geneva gloss	William Perkins
'*n The Jewes used foure kindes of punishments, before their gouernment was taken away by Herode, hanging, beheading, stoning, and burning*'	'**the Iewes vsed these foure kinds of punishments; hanging, beheading, stoning, and burning**'

[26] Possibly drawn from 'sorrowes of death' (Acts 2.24).
[27] Modified from 'sweate was lyke droppes of blood' (Luke 22.44).
[28] William Perkins, *A godly and learned exposition of Christs Sermon in the Mount* (Cambridge: 1608).

Tomson-Geneva gloss	**William Perkins**
'*m Where as we read here,* ***Hell, it is in the text it selfe, Gehenna, which is an Hebrewe worde made of two, and is as much to say, as the valley of Hinnom, which otherwise the Ebrewes called Topheth****: it was a place where the Israelites were wont most cruelly to sacrifice their children to false gods, whereupon it was taken for a place appointed to torment the reprobates in Iere. 7.31*'	'**the words translated hell fire, are properly the fire of Gehenna; for there was a place neere to the suburbs of Ierusalem called Gehenna, which is a compound Hebrew word, signifying the valley of Hinnon, wherein was a place called Tophet, Ier. 7. 31'**
'*l By that iudgement which stoode of* ***23. Judges, who had the hearing and deciding of weightie affaires, and maiters of life and death****: as the highest Iudges of all were, to the* ***number 71****, which had the hearing of most weightie affaires, as the matter of a whole tribe, or of an high Priest, or of a false prophet*'	'the Iewes: for they had three courts; The first was held by *three men* for meane matters, and other cases of small importance. The second was held by ***three and twentie men,*** **wherein were determined matters of great importance, that could not be decided in the first court; as matters of life and death**: and it was kept in the cheife cities of the land. The third court was held at Ierusalem onely, called the court of **the *Seauentie-two,*** from which none might appeale to any other'
'[n] he sheweth that some sinnes are worse than other some, but yet they are all such that we must give accompt for them, and shalbe punished for them'	'a more grieuous and greater kind of punishment then the former, because it was a higher degree of sinne'

Note: Bold typeface indicates the similarities between the versions.

The glosses are thoroughly integrated, particularly the historical contexts, and are not merely creative prompts as they are for Knox. Some information is presented in Perkins' own words, such as his explanation of the translation of Gehenna, whereas other facts are lifted almost verbatim (the court of 23 judges). Much of this is information that Perkins must have already known, yet he repeats the exact language of the glosses. The glosses, then, are accorded a certain degree of authority. Prior to the explosion of these glosses one would turn to specific works of the Church Fathers or the sourced citations of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, but these glosses of sometimes dubious authorship now serve as a sufficient authority by virtue of being attached to a Bible.

Sometimes the glosses' influence can be traced only haphazardly, with echoes of phrasing and syntax emerging in the exposition but lacking any discernible methodology. Richard Turnbull, a little-known preacher at St Mary Colechurch, exhibits frequent though fleeting engagement with the Tomson glosses in his exposition on James I (from the first chapter):

Location	Scripture	Gloss	Quotation
James 1.5	'If any of you lacke[c] wisdome, let hym aske of God, whiche giueth to all men liberally, and reprocheth no man, and it shalbe giuen hym'	'if we aske it rightly, that is, with a sure confidence of God, who is most **bountifull** and **liberall**'	'Seeing God then is **bountifull** of nature, and giueth to all men **liberally'**
James 1.6	'But let him aske in faith, and wauer not, for he that wauereth, is like a waue of the sea, tost of the winde, and caryed away'	'*Why then, what neede other **Mediatours?***'	'S. Iames, who willeth vs to pray without doubting & wauering, it taketh away the multiude of **mediators'**
James 1.13	'Let no man say when he is["][g] tempted I am tempted of God: for God can not be tēpted with euil, nether tempteth he any man'	**'wee beare about in our bosomes that** wicked **corruption'**	**'we beare about in our owne bosomes** naturall **corruption'**
James 1.13	" "	'Euery man is the **author of these temptations** to himselfe, & not God' 'Here is a reason shewed, why God cannot bee the **author of euill** doing in us, because hee desireth not euill'	'he dischargeth God from being author of euill temptations: partly, because the nature of God is such, as he can neither tempt, nor be tempted to euil'
James 1.18	'Of his owne will begate he vs with the worde of trueth, that we shulde be as the first frutes of his creatures'	'wee **snuffe** and are angrie when wee are reprehended: against which faults hee setteth a **peaceable** & **quiet** mind, and such an one as is desirous of puritie'	'The other euill which hindereth the woorde of God in man, is wrath and anger, choler and **snuffing** whe[n] wee are taught and informed in the worde. For we cannot profitably heare, vnlesse we be **peaceable**, **quiet**, and modest'
James 1.26	'If anie man among you semeth religious, and refraineth not his tongue, but deceiueth his owne heart, this mans religion (is) vaine'	'*The fountaine of all **brabling**, and cursed speaking, and **sawcine[ss]e**, is this, that men know not themselues*'	'Thus men thinking themselues to haue an absolute libertie to prate and prattle what they lust, without hurt or danger: by their **saucie** pratling and **brabling**'

Note: Bold typeface indicates the similarities between the versions.

Although Turnbull's sentiments are lightly Calvinist, with his rejection of a 'multiude of mediators' and dislike of 'brabling' prayer, this exposition lacks any evidence of a desire to consciously reproduce these glosses for any authority they might contain. Those phrases that exactly reproduce the gloss are unremarkable and are more suggestive of an unimaginative writer relying on glosses for the substance of his sermon, or of unintentionally recalling a phrase once read rather than of a conscious intention to reprint the text. Turnbull's exposition presents its own notable means of using the glosses: lightly, perhaps unconsciously. We see evidence for this outside of his main theme: when writing of the Jews' refusal to recognise Christ's divinity, Turnbull writes, 'the foolish Iewes […] accounted him for an abiect of Galile, the sonne of a poore Carpe[n]ter'. This closely reproduces the gloss to John 7.24, which calls Christ 'an abiect and rascall of Galile, and a carpenter's sonne'. In contrast to the many expositions that appear entirely untouched by the glosses, by authors who did not use or care for the Geneva paratexts, Turnbull exemplifies the preacher who reads the Geneva glosses and absorbs them, yet does not turn to them regularly in composing his writing.

In the work of skilled theologians, then, the glosses prove creative prompts rather than theological rudders. When dealing with an amateur, however, the glosses serve a more integral function. Thomas Bentley, a gentleman, was a law student of Gray's Inn and a devout Anglican, best known for his anthology *The monument of matrones*, a collection of writings by and about women.[29] At 1,500 pages long, the book is notable for its length and that it was intended for a female audience; however, Bentley's work is regularly misogynistic, and when writing on biblical accounts Bentley 'frequently edits them to reinforce patriarchal values'[30] and 'expands the biblical narrative by silently folding in text from the marginal commentary or from passages other than those he cites as his sources'.[31] The following table displays an indicative sample of Bentley's integration of the Geneva glosses, regularly inflected by misogyny:

Location	**Scripture**	**Gloss**	**Quotation**
Genesis 3.7	'breeches'	'*Ebr* things to girde about the[m] to hide their priuities'	'things to gyrde about their loynes to hyde their priuities'

[29] Thomas Bentley, *The monument of matrones* (London: 1582).
[30] Colin Atkinson and Jo Atkinson 'Subordinating Women: Thomas Bentley's Use of Biblical Women in "The Monument of Matrones" (1582)', *Church History* 60.3 (1991), 289–300 (p. 291). See also Colin Atkinson and Jo Atkinson, 'The Identity and Life of Thomas Bentley, Compiler of The Monument of Matrones (1582)', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31.2 (2000), 323–34.
[31] Atkinson and Atkinson, 'Subordinating Women', p. 293.

Location	Scripture	Gloss	Quotation
Genesis 30.8	'Then Rahél said, With excelle[n]t wrestlings haue I wrestled with my sister and haue gotten the vpper hand: and she called his name, Naphtalí'	'The arrogancie of ma[n]'s nature appeareth in that she contemneth her sister, after she hath receiued this benefit of God to beare children'	'Then Bilha her mayde conceiued agayne and bare Rahel the second sonne, whose name she called Naptali, then after shee had receiued this benefite of God to haue children borne vnto her (such is the arrogancie of mans nature)'
Genesis 34.1	'Then Dináh the daughter of Leáh, whiche she bare vnto Iaakób, went out to se the daughters of that countrey'	'This example teacheth that to much libertie is not to be giuen to youthe'	Dinah was 'taking a little too much libertie' in travelling 'alone from her father and brethren, to see the daughters or women of that countrey'
Genesis 35.4	'And they gaue vnto Iaakôb all the strange gods, which (were) in their hands, & all their earings which were in their eares'[32]	'For therein was some signe of superstition as in tablets a[n]d Agnus deis'	Jacob puts away his wife's 'superstitious trashe'
2 Samuel 19.12	'So Michál[e] let Dauid downe through a windowe: and he went, and fled, and escaped'	'Thus God moued bothe the sonne and daughter of this tyrant to fauour Dauid against their father'	God 'moueth the heart of Michal against the tyrant her father, and to fauour her husbande'
Ruth 1.20	'Call me not Naomi, (but) call me Marà: for the Almyghtie hathe giuen me muche bitternes'	'Or, bitter'	'but call me Mara that is bitter, for the almighty hath geuen mee much bitternes'

Bentley does make more neutral use of glosses, such as those to Genesis 30.3 and Judges 23.13, but his misogyny is thoroughly integrated into the work. Like the anti-Catholicism of Knox and Derring, Bentley is not helped to these readings by the glosses; his bitterness is entirely his own. To Bentley, the glosses once again prove creative prompts, although they are also a useful means to pad his text. Bentley might make misogynistic hay out of the glosses, but his impulse to turn

[32] The Genevan gloss to Genesis 24.22 explicitly clarifies the wearing of earrings by men, as 'God permitted manie thynges both in apparell and other things which are nowe forbid', so there is little reason to assume that Jacob collected this jewellery exclusively from women.

to them so frequently is motivated by a basic lack of literary drive. He makes use of few sources in compiling *The monument of matrones* and integrating so many glosses allowed Bentley to pad the volume and make it a more weighty, attractive, expensive tome. The Genevan glosses are incorporated into many bitter readings by theologians and laypeople alike, but they are not the cause of this bitterness. Writers brought their own prejudices to the table and there is little evidence that the glosses can be faulted for such prejudices' inclusion.

Tomson notes and sacramental metonymy

The Geneva glosses, especially those of Tomson, provoked debate not only among early modern authorities but modern scholars as well. They were regarded on the one hand as a piece of virulent, dangerous Calvinism, and on the other as a largely neutral and educational theological document.[33] As David Daniell summarises, the Geneva Bible 'was made an object of horror by the Victorian High Church, which invented for it a myth of unacceptably total and aggressive Calvinist colouring'.[34] Though some dedicated anti-Calvinists still hold this position, in academic circles it has mostly fallen by the wayside. But though these notes cannot be faulted with provoking sedition, they were not without theological sway, and they did in fact prove capable of cementing doctrinal nuances in their readers.

In 1576, a new edition of the Geneva New Testament was published, revised and with additional notes by Laurence Tomson.[35] Tomson adapts Pierre L'Oiseleur's translation of Beza's notes to his 1565 Latin-Greek New Testament, also incorporating notes from Camerarius, but their content hews close to Beza.[36] Daniell comments that these notes' 'suggestiveness' are worthy of further study, some of which has been conducted by Furniss, Torrance, Shaheen, and Shuger.[37]

[33] See Green: 'the doctrinal content of the explanatory notes' was not 'heavily loaded towards the Genevan position: the great majority were in the Protestant mainstream rather than on that side of the river in which the high Calvinist current ran strongly'. Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 74–5.
[34] Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 291.
[35] Ibid., p. 354. For biographies of Tomson and the history of these notes, see ibid., pp. 348–57 and Molekamp, 'Genevan Legacies', pp. 48–51. See also Betteridge, 'The Bitter Notes', pp. 44–58; Kearney, 'Reformed Ventriloquism', pp. 130–4; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 76; Greenslade, S. L. 'English Versions of the Bible', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 158; John N. King and Aaron T. Pratt, 'The Materiality of English printed Bibles from the Tyndale New Testament to the King James Bible', in *The King James Bible after Four Hundred Years*, eds. Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 61–99 (p. 82).
[36] See Molekamp, 'Genevan Legacies', p. 49.
[37] Furniss, 'Reading the Geneva Bible', pp.1–21; Iain R. Torrance, 'The Bible in Sixteenth Century Scotland', in *The History of Scottish Theology: Celtic Origins to Reformed Orthodoxy*, vol. 1, eds. David Fergusson and Mark W. Elliott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 160–72; Naseeb Shaheen, 'Shakespeare and the Tomson New Testament', *Notes and Queries*, 42.3 (1995), 290–1; Shuger, *Paratexts*, pp. 191–2.

Although even the Tomson notes have been unfairly saddled with accusations of what Daniell ironically calls being 'thick, black, dour, utterly Calvinist to the point of revulsion',[38] these notes nonetheless not only contain noticeably Calvinist (and Bezan) theologies but are also responsible for the wider dissemination of Bezan thinking on the sacrament. The Geneva Bible glosses, as Tribble argues, were intended to produce 'an informed, educated, and coherent community of readers', and in encouraging coherence the Tomson notes on metonymy succeeded exceedingly.[39]

The Tomson notes regularly propose typological, allegorical, synecdochic, and—most importantly—*metonymic* readings of the New Testament. These themes are almost entirely absent in the Bishops' Bible, which only mentions allegory and never metonymy or synecdoche.[40] The 1560 Geneva Bible similarly omits metonymy and typology, with only one non-sacramental reference to synecdoche.[41] The typological readings we encounter in the Geneva, which includes readings of David, Solomon, and the Kings of Judah as types of Christ, were not unusual and many are also present in the Douai-Rheims paratexts. However, the relationship between figurative logic and the sacraments was much more controversial. The following quotations express some of the most difficult Tomson glosses on metonymic readings of the sacraments, which reflected and contributed to Reformation debates on metonymy:

Location	**Gloss**
Matthew 26.26	'Mark saith, Had giuen thankes: and therfore blessing is not a consecrating, vvith a coniuring kinde of murmuring and force of vvordes: and yet the breade and the vvine are chaunged, not in nature but in qualitie, for they become vndoubted tokens of the bodie and bloode of Christe, not of their ovvne nature or force of vvordes, but by Christ his institution, vvhich must be recited and layed forth, that faith may finde vvhat to lay holde on, both in the word and in the elements'
Matthew 26.26	'This is a figurative speache, which is called Metonymia: that is to say, the putting of one name for an other: so calling the breade his bodie, which is the signe and sacrament of his bodie: and yet notwithstanding, it is so a figuratiue and changed kinde of speache, that the faithful doe receiue Christ in dede with all his gifted, though by a spiritual meanes, and become one with him'
Mark 14.12	'This is spoken thus, by the figure Metonymia, which is usual in sacraments, and by the Passouer is meant the Paschal lambe'

[38] Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 353.
[39] Tribble, *Margins and Marginality*, p. 34.
[40] The Bishops' Bible gloss to Galatians 4.24 roughly and muddily explains, 'By an allegorie, that is another thyng is meant'.
[41] Matthew 27.44, 'That same also the thieves whiche were crucified with him, cast in his teeth', is glossed as 'Meaning by this synecdoche the one of the theeves'.

Location	Gloss
Luke 22.8	'The la[m]b which was the figure of the Passeouer: And this is spoken by the figure Metonymie, which is very usuall in the matter of the Sacramentes'
Luke 22.20	'Here is a double Metonymie: for first the vessell is taken for that which is conteyned in the vessell, as the cup, for the wine which is within the cup. Then the wine is called the couenant or Testament, whereas in deede it is but the signe of the Testament, or rather of the bloud of Christ, whereby the Testament was made: neither is it a vain signe, though it be not al one with the thing that it representeth'

These passages are very close to Beza's glosses.[42] Beza's writings were not English Reformers' first exposure to metonymic readings of the Lord's Supper. He developed these ideas from Calvin,[43] who argued influentially for a metonymic reading of the sacred mysteries in his *Institutes*,[44] but these debates were frequently rehearsed in the writings of English Reformers; as Judith Anderson writes, '[m]etonymy is the figure invoked by reformers of different stripes and with different intentions perhaps more often than any other to explain the words of institution'.[45] Thomas Cranmer was a notable proponent of the metonymic presence, arguing that Christ's *est* 'is a figuratiue speach, called *Metonymia*, when one thing is called by the name of another […] the body of Christ is really in the sacrament vnder the forme of bread'.[46] As he also writes, 'the bread after consecration is not called Christ his body, bycause it is so in deed, for then it were no figurative

[42] Compare Beza's original note to Matthew 26.26 to Tomson's translation: 'Itaque non est cur consecrationis (quam vocant) vocabulo magicam aliquam verborum sacramentalium murmurationem intelligamus. […] ac proinde panem & vinum in sacra ill actione, qualitate mutari, quum fiant corporis & sanguinis Domini symbola'. Beza also describes Christ's 'Est' as a 'metonymicè', writing 'Neque tamen vel transsubstantio, vel realis (quam vocant) coniuncto, vel transsusio, aut commistio cogitanda, sed signi & rei coniunctio symbolica & sacramentalis'.

[43] Beza writes of this in his earlier response to Joachim Westphal: 'Nam si dicas, Hic panis est corpus meum, propositio esse vera no[n] potest, nisi vel transsubstantiatio Papistica verborum pronuntiationem iisdem temporis mome[n]tis consequatur (quod absit ut profiteamur) vel metonymicâs ista intelligantur ut affirmamus: vel synecdochicas dicamus positum HOC id est HIC PANIS CUM HOC CORPORE'. *De Coena Domini, plana & perspicua tractatio* (N.p. [Estienne]: 1559), p. 26 or fol. B5v.

[44] 'Dico metonymicum esse hunc sermonem, qui usitatus est passim in Scriptura, ubi de mysteriis agitur. Neque enim aliter accipere possis quod dicitur, Circuncisionem esse foedus, agnum esse transitum, sacrificia Legis esse expiationes: denique petram, ex qua in deserto aqua profluebat [Exod. 17. b. 6], fuisse Christum, nisi translatitie dictum accipias'. John Calvin, *Joannis Calvini Opera Selecta*, vol. 5, 2nd ed., eds. Petrus Barth and Guilelmus Niesel (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2018 (repr. 1974)), IV.17, p. 370.

[45] Judith H. Anderson, *Translating Investments: Metaphor and the Dynamic of Cultural Change in Tudor-Stuart England* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2005), p. 53.

[46] Thomas Cranmer, *An aunswere by the Reverend Father in God Thomas Archbyshop of Canterbury* (London: 1580), p. 58 fol. F5v.

speach, as all the old authors say it is'.[47] John Foxe, however, did not support these readings; he found Cranmer's writings on the eucharist 'crabbed and obscure and the quotations inaccurate', as Mozley summarises.[48] To Foxe, in critiquing Peter Lombard, such formulations 'leaue vs not so much as one crumme of breade in the Supper […] For what nourishment can bare superficiall formes voyde of al substance yeeld?' He goes on to ask: 'What aunswere will *Lombarde* make here? hee will crowde vnder his trope and Grammer figure *Metonymia.* Wherewith it lyketh him well to sport himselfe in his owne forged fourmes, but will not suffer vs to deale with any trope at all in substaunces by any meanes.'[49] Foxe's definition of metonymy in *Actes and Monuments* is also far sniffier than its conventional denotation as a figurative speech: '*Metonymia is, a figure, when the name that properly belongeth to one, is inproperly* [sic] *transferred to an other thing*'. To Anderson, Foxe's assertion that it is not Christ's '*reall substance* […] *but the propertie of hys substance*' is a '*metonymy*',[50] yet Foxe clearly does not categorise his interpretation of the presence in his way.

Arguments over metonymy prove slippery; indeed, these debates often seem to be less over whether or not the Lord's Supper should be considered a metonymy but over what metonymy actually *is*.[51] Early debates portray metonymy as a distinctly Catholic means of understanding presence. While the *OED* cites John Hooper as first using the term[52]—as 'metonymiam'—he is predated by William Salesbury (as 'metonimy'),[53] though both use the term to attack Catholic doctrine. Hooper writes, 'The popes doctrine sayth, Vnder the forme of bread is Christes bodye' and that Catholics 'exponud (est) in thys plae [*sic*] per Metonymiam. And that Christ ment not that the cupp was the new testament, but the wyne contaynid in the cuppe.'[54] To Salesbury, however, metonymy

[47] Ibid., p. 189 fol. R5r.
[48] James Frederic Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1940), p. 46.
[49] John Foxe, *The Pope confuted* (London: 1580), fol. K8v.
[50] Anderson, *Translating Investments*, p. 54.
[51] There are actually two interrelated debates on metonymy and the Lord's Supper at play, both highlighted in Tomson's notes. The one concerns the presence of Christ in the bread (and, to a letter extent, the wine) in Matthew 26.26. The other concerns Christ naming the 'cup' as a covenant in Matthew 26.27–8 (but more overtly at Luke 22.20). It is widely understood that Christ's reference to the 'cup' as a 'covenant' refers simply to the wine contained within it, and thus the comment is a metonymy. This metonymic logic is often cited as a reason to understand the presence of Christ in the bread and wine as a metonymy also, with the cup of blood being described in Tomson's notes and elsewhere as a 'double metonymy'.
[52] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 'metonymy, n.', March 2023. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/117628/. Accessed 6 July 2023. Another earlier instance is present in Thomas Wilson, *The arte of rhetorique* (London: 1553), fol. Aa1v.
[53] William Salesbury, *The baterie of the Popes Botereulx* (London: 1550), fol. F7v.
[54] John Hooper, *An answer unto my lord of wynthesters* [*sic*] *booke* (Zurich: 1547), fols. C2r-v. For more on Hooper and metonymy, see Anderson, *Translating Investments*, p. 55.

is a concept that Catholics reject: 'Metonimya' is the 'figuratyue speache vsed Christe him selfe whan he saide. Thys cuppe is the new testament in my bloud. Wher he ment of the wine, and not of the cuppe.' From this example, Salesbury argues, 'the Papistes must […] graunt that, that kind of speache is vsed in the text'.[55] Nicholas Ridley also makes an early argument that uses Christ's metonymic reference to the cup—'a figure called Metonymia'—as the basis on which to reject the Catholic understanding of Christ's real presence: 'this word (ys) hath no such strength or signification in the Lordes wordes to make or to signifie any transubstantiacion'.[56] The status of metonymy as either an explicitly Catholic or Protestant means of understanding Christ's figurative logic remains debatable in its early English adoptions.

Martin Luther's argument against transubstantiation might easily be considered a rejection of metonymy. He writes, 'Warumb solt man denn nicht viel mehr auch ym abendmal sagen / Das ist mein leib / ob gleich brod und Leib zwey unterschiedliche wesen sind / und solch (das) auffs brod deute?'[57] This criticises Catholic understandings of the Lord's Supper as expressed in the Fourth Council of the Lateran that argue the 'body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine';[58] Luther dismissed such positions as an absurd and newfangled arrangement of words.[59] Catholic writers turned repeatedly to interpretations of the Lord's Supper by Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine, and other Fathers and found there a figurative logic that closely resembles metonymy. As it is put by the Council of Trent, 'Christ is whole and entire under the form of bread and under any part of that form; likewise the whole Christ is present under the form of wine and under all its parts'.[60]

While continental debates between Luther and his opponents on the real presence continued throughout the 1550s, evidence emerges of English writers understanding the Lord's Supper in a specifically Bezan, sacramental way. A lucid explanation is given in *An apologie of priuate masse*, which explains: 'The figure is named *Metonymia:* when the name of the thynge is geuen vnto the signe. When these wordes therefore be laied vnto vs, This is my body, wée say it is moste true. But mistically, sacramentally, figuratiuely, not really and accordyng to the naturall

[55] Salesbury, *The baterie of the Popes Botereulx*.
[56] Nicholas Ridley, *Certe[n] godly, learned, and comfortable conferences* (Strasbourg: 1556), fol. F8v. For more on Hooper and metonymy, see Anderson, *Translating Investments*, pp. 54–5.
[57] 'Why should not one say much more in the supper / This is my body / whether bread and body are two different substances / and such (that) means bread?' Martin Luther, *Vom abendmal Christi Bekendnis* (Wittenberg: 1528), fol. U3r.
[58] 'The Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215', *Medieval Sourcebook* (New York, NY: Fordham University, 1996). https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/lateran4.asp.
[59] '*Absurda est ergo et nova verborum impositio*'. Martin Luther, *De captivitate babylonica ecclesiae praeludium Martini Lutheri* (Wittenberg: 1520), fol. B4r.
[60] John H. Leith, ed., *Creeds of the Churches: A Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to the Present*, 3rd ed. (Louisville, KY: Presbyterian Publishing Corporation, 1982), p. 431.

substance.'[61] This work goes on to discuss other uses of figurative speech in relation to circumcision and the Passover, arguing not only for a metonymic understanding of the Lord's Supper but for applying figurative hermeneutics to both the Old and New Testaments, and that such figurative hermeneutics are distinctly uncatholic.

By the 1560s, while there had been little change in Catholic interpretations of the logic of the Lord's Supper, Catholic writers had abandoned the term 'metonymy' for describing Protestant rejections of the real presence. The English Catholic Thomas Dorman characterises his opponents' position as Christ's *est* meaning not that 'we should receaue his very true naturall and fleshly body' but that this is instead 'a figure called *Metonymia*', which Protestants argue 'maie be proued by a nombre of examples out of the canonicall scriptures'. He then rebuts this position as 'a stra[n]ge kinde of reasoning', with the sarcastic summation, 'the scriptures speake figuratiuelie in some places. Ergo in all, and no where otherwise.'[62] Thus, while the substance of Catholic formulations of transubstantiation had not altered, and the Council of Trent's formulation—'Christ is whole and entire under the form of bread and under any part of that form'—could reasonably be conceptualised as a metonymy, the term was abandoned by Catholics and absorbed by followers of Beza as the correct understanding of the Lord's Supper. 'Metonymy', then, is less a descriptor of the figurative logics of doctrine and more a marker for the doctrines to which it was most commonly attached.[63]

The Tomson notes became the primary means by which Beza's writings on sacramental metonymy were disseminated among English readers. Some engagements with metonymy are more difficult than others to root directly in the Tomson gloss. For example, John Keltridge echoes the Tomson note to Luke 22.20 ('Here is a double Metonymie: for first the vessell is taken for that which is conteyned in the vessell, as the cup, for the wine which is within the cup. Then the wine is called the couenant or Testament') in his reading, 'Christ saith, this cup is the newe Testament in my bloode: In which wordes is a deuble Metonymie, a double figure.'[64] Thomas Sparke repeats the Tomson Matthew 26.26 note ('This is a figurative speache, which is called Metonymia: that is to say, the putting of one name for an other') in writing, 'we interprete the wordes of Christ as spoken by a *Metonymie*, that is, by a figure of speech whereby one thing beares the name of the other'.[65] Zacharias Ursinus follows this reading: 'breade ca[n]not be this *communion* but only by a figuratiue speech called *Metonymie*'.[66]

[61] The *OED* attributes this work to John Hooper, although I cannot corroborate this.
[62] Thomas Dorman, *A proufe of certeyne articles in religion, denied by M. Juell* (Antwerp: 1564), fol. Z1v.
[63] Ryan Netzley understands the Council of Trent to have affirmed metonymy, but this is not reflected in contemporary writings. Ryan Netzley, *Reading, Desire, and the Eucharist in Modern Religious Poetry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), p. 231 n. 23.
[64] John Keltridge, *Two godlie and learned sermons* (London: 1581), fol. D4r.
[65] Thomas Sparke, *The high way to Heaven* (London: 1597), p. 245 or fol. R3r.
[66] Zacharias Ursinus, *A collection of certaine learned discourses* (Oxford: 1600), p. 178 or fol. M1v.

Other influences are less ambiguous. I quote again Tomson's gloss to Matthew 26.26, closely adapted from Beza:

> Mark saith, Had giuen thankes: and therfore blessing is not a consecrating, vvith a coniuring kinde of murmuring and force of vvordes: and yet the breade and the vvine are chaunged, not in nature but in qualitie, for they become vndoubted tokens of the bodie and bloode of Christe, not of their ovvne nature or force of vvordes, but by Christ his institution, vvhich must be recited and layed forth, that faith may finde vvhat to lay holde on, both in the word and in the elements.

The influence of this gloss can be clearly traced in 17th-century writers, though many readers may have encountered them from secondary sources (with overt liftings bolded):

> Therfore to blesse is not heere taken for to consecrate with a magicall murmuring, by vertue of wordes: yet are **the bread and wine chaunged, though not in nature, but in quality**. For they are made Symbols of the body & bloud of Christ, not by their owne nature, nor yet by force of wordes, but by the institution of Christ, which ought to be rehearsed and opened: **that faith may haue what to embrace, both in the word, & in the Elements**. (John Willoughbie, 1603)[67]

> The bread & wine are changed, **not in nature, but in quality**: not in substance, but in vse: not in essence but in the end: not by force of certaine words, but by Christs institution. (William Attersoll, 1606)[68]

> [the] sacrame[n]ts of the body & bloud of Christ, appointed & set out for quicknning meat & drink, & so are translated from common & natural meat, to holy and spirituall meate, forasmuch as they are appointed to this vse and office, that it may be the bodie and bloud of Christ, not of it owne nature, but by diuine institution: which ought to be rehearsed, and declared, that faith may haue what to embrace, **both in the word and in the Elements**. (Guillaume Bucanus, translated by Robert Hill, 1606)[69]

> And therefore the translators of the Bible in King *James*'s time, say upon the words in St. *Matthew,* c. 26. v. 26. *Jesus took bread and blessed it,* That many Greek copies have it, *and gave thanks,* and therefore say they, blessing is not a Consecrating, **with a conjuring kind of murmuring, and force of words**. (Humphrey Brooke, 1681)[70]

Brooke here seems to even imply that Beza was a translator of the KJV.

By the 17th century, the metonymic reading became perceived as the Fathers' orthodoxy from which Catholics had departed. As William Whitaker writes in an

[67] John Willoughbie, *Mnemosyn[on kyrio-]eucharistion* (Oxford: 1603), p. 5.
[68] William Attersoll, *The badges of Christianity* (London: 1606), p. 42.
[69] Guillaume Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion framed out of Gods word*, trans. Robert Hill (London: 1606), pp. 759–60.
[70] Humphrey Brooke, *The durable legacy* (London: 1681), p. 53. This reading combines the Geneva gloss with that of the KJV, which reads only 'Many Greeke copies have, gave thanks' in addition to intratextual references.

argument with the Jesuit Edmund Campian, 'if that which was in Christs hands were his reall body, when he said so, then was transubstantiation before (which you deny) and then he had two bodies: but if it were bread, then is there a metonymie in his words, as wee truly say'.[71] Daniel Featley, in 1638, now cites Tertuallian as evidence against the Catholic interpretation rather than its basis: 'when Christ spake these words, *This is my Body, which Tertullian* constantly and perpetually filleth up thus, *this bread is my body*, he used a Metonymie, called *signatum pro signo,* or *figuratum pro figura, which* quite overthroweth your carnall presence, and beateth you out of your strongest fort'.[72] Metonymy, which could have proved a reasonable descriptor of the logic of the real presence, has now been rehabilitated as a Protestant orthodoxy from which transubstantiation attempted to wrest away.

The notes to the 1576 Tomson New Testament, which were then incorporated into many subsequent complete Geneva Bibles, had a demonstrable impact on English Protestant readings of the Lord's Supper and of sacramental metonymy more generally. Their popularity saw them copied into books of annotations, which ensured their longevity beyond the Geneva Bible's immediate readership. These glosses may not have proved traitorous or seditious as their opponents feared, but they nonetheless had a perceptible hand in the shaping of commonplace theology.

Genevan afterlives: the Assembly's Annotations

I turn now to the afterlives of the Geneva Bible glosses and their lasting legacy into the 17th century and beyond. Though the margins of the KJV were all but wiped clean of glosses, the Geneva notes did not disappear. The demand for translation, explication, and historical contexts had been created and so the market supplied. The *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament* (1645), otherwise known as the Assembly's Annotations, the English Annotations, or the Westminster Annotations was the solution to the KJV's reticent margins.[73] It was published under the name John Downame, the chief editor of a collaborative work produced 'By the Joynt-Labour of certain Learned *Divines*'.[74] The identity of these Divines is unclear; one source lists William Gouge, Thomas Gattaker, John

[71] William Whitaker, *An answere to the Ten reasons of Edmund Campian the Jesuit* (London: 1606), p. 268.
[72] Daniel Featley, *Transubstantiation exploded* (London: 1638), pp. 77–8 or fols. E3r–v.
[73] 'Annotations upon All the Books of the Old and New Testament', in *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 1857.
[74] John Downame *et al.*, *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament* (London: 1645), frontispiece.

Ley, Francis Taylor, Daniel Featly, and 'Mr. Reading',[75] another also includes a 'Mr *Pemberton*',[76] while the 19th-century *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature* gives a different and more extensive, though unsourced, account:

> The notes on the Pentateuch and on the four gospels are by Ley, subdean of Chester; those on Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther by Dr. Gouge; those on the Psalms by Meric Casaubon; on Proverbs by Francis Taylor; on Ecclesiastes by Dr. Reynolds; and on Solomon's Song by Smallwood. The Larger Prophets fell to the lot of the learned Gataker; the Smaller, in the first edition to Pemberton, in the second to bishop Richardson. The eccentric Dr. Featley undertook the Pauline epistles, but did not complete his work; and Downham and Reading were both employed on the work, though what they did has not been specified.[77]

The project was originally intended to provide the marginal annotations of the Authorised Version in a subsequent reprinting, but this proved impossible due to two factors. The first was the incredible length to which the *Annotations* stretched, far surpassing the volume of notes in the Geneva and what the physical margins of the KJV could accommodate. The second was the unexpected collapse in the Bible-buying market when bibles became so cheap to produce that the demand for such massively expensive editions plummeted. Since these notes were intended for the margin, the divines' 'endeavour was to be as brief and concise, as well we might, and we were therefore constrained […] to let passe many things not unworthy otherwise of due observation and large discussion'.[78] As their originally intended home in the margin proved inappropriate and their publication as a separate document became unavoidable, the notes began to grow.

The work is remarkable for its extensive discussion of the production and evolution of vernacular bibles, both before and during the Reformation, and provides an unusual degree of insight into clerical perspectives on these texts. The downfall of the Popish party, the Mass, and idolatrous practices are joyfully celebrated alongside the triumph of Elizabeth, 'that renowned Queene (whose zeale and constancie to true Religion, hath embalmed her name to perpetuall memory)', is exhorted.[79] It mourns lay people's limited access to the Bible, who experienced a '*famine of the word*' wherein 'some thought themselves provided for […] if after many weekes *fasting* they might be sure of a Sermon once a Quarter'.[80] Against this

[75] Dean George Lampros, 'A New Set of Spectacles: The "Assembly's Annotations", 1645–1657', *Renaissance and Reformation, New Series*, 19.4 (1995), 33–46.
[76] Giovanni Diodati, *Pious and learned annotations upon the Holy Bible* (London: 1648), fol. A4v.
[77] William Lindsay Alexander, 'Assembly's Annotations', in *A Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature*, vol. 1, eds. John Kitto and William Lindsay Alexander (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1876), pp. 245–6.
[78] John Downame *et al.*, 'The Preface', *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament this third, above the first and second, edition so enlarged*, 3rd ed. (London: 1657), p. 7.
[79] Downame, *Annotations* (1652), fol. B1v.
[80] Ibid.

impoverished backdrop came the vernacular translations, aimed at the common people as well as clergy, at women as well as men. After presenting a history of such translations stretching back to the possibly apocryphal 8th-century Aldhelm psalter, the text turns its praises to the Geneva translation, being the 'best known, and most used' of modern vernacular translations; such comments appearing in the mid-17th century attest to the lasting power of the Geneva glosses. The paucity of glosses in the KJV is lamented, for the Geneva notes were not

> admitted to the Margine of the Reformed and Refined Edition of the Bible, so that though that by correction of the errors of precedent Translators, the light was snuffed, and so burned clearer then before, the people complained, that they could not see into the sense of the Scripture, so well as formerly they did, by the *Geneva* Bibles, because their spectacles of Annotations were not fitted to the understanding of the new Text, nor any other supplyed in their stead.[81]

The Downame text is a response to this loss. Having successfully petitioned the House of Commons for the licence to reprint the Geneva notes, the *Annotations* were produced. The Geneva notes were reviewed and corrected, 'doubtfull' notes were cleared, and new notes were supplied in the case of those deemed defective. In these practices of augmentation, the divines also turned to other contemporary works. They were fond of the annotations of Giovanni Diodati, a Calvinist who translated the New Testament into Italian (and made many other vernacular translations). His work was translated into English in 1643.[82] That Downame *et al.* made such extensive use of these annotations was an advertising boon to Diodati's publishers, who reprinted his work in 1648 and cited these borrowings as evidence of its popularity.[83] The divines also borrowed from several Dutch bibles.[84] They are aware of a great continuity of such borrowings, having borrowed 'as they have done of those, who did precede them',[85] and present the task of augmenting the Geneva notes as a great collaboration of the notes to other translations.

There is some murkiness about where these divines stand on the fallibility of the Geneva notes. On the one hand, some are 'doubtfull' and some 'defective'.[86] On the other, they are 'Sound and Orthodox in Doctrine, and guiltie of no errour'.[87] Meanwhile, 'what doubts we met withall, which we thought (for the present) too hard to be easily resolved, we put into a particular Catalogue, and adjourned their

[81] Ibid., fols. Brv–B4r.
[82] On Diodati, see Christopher Yetzer, 'A Short History of the Italian Bible with a Focus on the Work by Giovanni Diodati', Academia. 8 July 2021. https://www.academia.edu/40774174/A_Short_History_of_the_Italian_Bible_with_a_Focus_on_the_Work_by_Giovanni_Diodati. Accessed 21 March 2024.
[83] Diodati, *Pious and learned annotations*, fol. A4v.
[84] Richard Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics: Holy Scripture: The Cognitive Foundation of Theology* (Ada, MI: Baker Publishing Group, 2003), p. 91.
[85] Downame, *Annotations* (1652), fol. B4r.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.

resolution to a Day of more deliberate Discussion'.[88] The Geneva notes are thus potentially fallible, but not on any doctrinal points, and they are simultaneously, contradictorily, lacking in any errors. The distinction between these two types of fallibility is never explained and there is certainly a vested interest in maintaining the view of the Geneva notes as being clear from 'errour'. We also learn about the intended utility of these notes, as the *Annotations* echoes some of the points made in the Geneva New Testament prefaces, but it also introduces some of its own. We encounter the common metaphors of marginal notes acting as a light that illuminates the dark places of scripture, but we are also provided with specific examples of how glosses are intended to aid the reader. The inclusion of glosses, write the divines, would have prevented the heresies of the Peputians (the supposed misinterpretation of Luther regarding the acceptability of making women priests), the Seleucians (dualism), and the Ascites (the need to bring everywhere a bottle). Most grievously, we learn 'that if *Origen* had met with a sound Comment or Marginall Note upon *Matth.* 19. 12. it might have prevented his Castration of himself, whereto he was induced, by taking (and thereby mistaking) the words in the extreamest rigour of the literall sense'.[89] These glosses are not seditious but simply a sensible safeguard against self-castration. The divines also present a utilitarian, market-oriented view on providing such notes, for many clergy, they write, 'have not the means to purchase, or leisure to peruse, so many books, as (by Order of the Committee) we were furnished withall'.[90] The annotations are always a means to edify but may also practically serve as a cheaper alternative to the purchase of additional books. This is similar to the sentiment expressed in the Geneva preface, where the Geneva notes are said to 'serue in stede of a Commentarie to the Reader'.[91]

The *Annotations* is a colossal work and expands on almost all points of the Geneva glosses. Its length and collaborative authorship make its general theological content difficult to comment on holistically, though it is thoroughly Calvinist.[92] It includes prefatory arguments as well as extremely extensive commentary that sometimes touches on nearly every word in a sentence, often copying the Geneva notes entirely and then expanding upon them. It compares translations, offers alternating views from historical and contemporary philosophers and theologians, provides many points of intratextual readings, and is generally an excellent

[88] Ibid., fol. B4v.
[89] Ibid., fol. B3v.
[90] Ibid., fol. B4r.
[91] 'Preface to Geneva New Testament', *Records of the English Bible*, ed. Pollard, pp. 277–8.
[92] For brief discussions of this work's theology, see Victoria Brownlee on Song of Songs, in *Biblical Readings and Literary Writings in Early Modern England, 1558–1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 194; David M. Barbee, 'Holy Desperation and Sanctified Wrath: Anger in Puritan Thought', in *Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Karl A. E. Enenkel and Anita Traninger (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 172–95 (p. 182).

companion to the understanding of the scriptures. The work was very popular, being published in two increasingly expanded editions in the next 12 years and, as mentioned, was cited in the republication of Diodati's annotations as evidence for the utility of that text. This marks an integral shift in the market and reading practices of early modern vernacular bibles. No more were readers expecting or wanting a Bible whose margins contained all they needed to know of the scripture; they instead wished for an accessible yet extensive commentary. The market had been liberated from crown control of scripture. The vernacular Bible was no longer a singular authorised work with tightly regulated margins but something that became increasingly mass produced and whose interpretation grew more and more free. Though perhaps this did not fulfil Tyndale's intention of delivering the vernacular word to 'a boy that driveth the plough', the English Bible was now not subject to the monarch but to the market.[93]

Living on in *Assembly's Annotations*, the Geneva Bible glosses maintained a long legacy, being reprinted, rephrased, and adapted across sermons, histories, and other writings. When examined in the contexts of their use, these glosses never prove, as the authorities feared, a source of anti-monarchical sedition. Indeed, they do not even prove themselves that common a source in printed expositions by readers of the Geneva Bible. But when they are invoked, we see the rich variety of uses to which they were put. The areas that prove popular to many preachers are those on history, those that provide vivid details of a life once lost to common readers. Elsewhere, we see that the use of these glosses differs drastically between individuals, perceptibly shaped by individual preachers' beliefs, readings habits, and idiolects. Though they did not provoke the sedition with which they have been charged, these glosses nonetheless provided an important vehicle through which the doctrine of metonymic presence was spread and cemented into the 17th century and transformed into a common authoritative source that helped to unite Protestant hermeneutics around a single, central text. More than anything, the Geneva glosses are a source of history and creativity. They remained a light illuminating the darkness of a book whose pages remained dim even in the wake of the publication of the KJV.

Matthew 5 and Genesis 25: non-canonical titles

Glosses, and particularly those of the Geneva Bible, have always been held as the most controversial and dangerous paratexts, apt to stir up sedition through overly Calvinist or anti-monarchical interpretation of scripture. As shown, this

[93] William Tyndale, *The whole workes of W. Tyndall, John Frith, and Doct. Barnes, three worthy martyrs* (London: 1573), fol. B1r.

is not an accurate reflection of how these glosses were used, but another effect of the emphasis on Geneva glosses is the neglect of influence wrought by other marginal spaces in the Bible. The summaries are rarely quite so provocative as glosses, but their influence could be more extensive. Positioned before the beginning of scripture, summaries were regularly read as part of biblical navigation, and readers could easily come to know the content of a summary better than the scripture itself.

Due to this navigational role, summaries prove particularly influential in popularising how scripture was conceptualised and nominated. They play an important role in popularising titles. 'Parable of the X' is a common titular construction, with titles such as 'the parable of the two eagles' (Ezekiel 17) and 'the similitude of the wretched infant' (Ezekiel 16) originating with or being popularised by the *casus summarii*. The most influential of these is 'the parable of the prodigal son' (Luke 15.11–32), whose English usage is almost entirely a result of its inclusion in the 'Table of Principal Matters' in the Matthew Bible and subsequent integration into the summaries of the Geneva Bible, Bishops' Bible, and KJV. The passage had previously been known in English as the parable of the 'lost' son, but Rogers' translation of 'prodigal' from Lefèvre's table (and its subsequent inclusion in summaries) encouraged its English use.[94] The term 'prodigal' was best known from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (rendered *prodigalitas*), and the prominent inclusion of 'prodigal' in these bibles' summaries and running heads resulted in a spate of Aristotelian exegeses of Luke 15.11–32.[95] To add to this, the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles both reference Christ's praise of 'liberality' in the summary to Luke 16, another word strongly associated with Aristotle's work, the inclusion of which is very likely inspired by the frequency with which Lukan economics were being read via Aristotle.

Another phrase codified by its inclusion in the summaries is that of Esau selling his birthright for a 'mess of pottage' (Genesis 25.29–34). The phrase is wholly non-canonical, though it was already in vernacular use dating from the 15th century.[96] The phrase 'Esau selleth his birthright for a messe of potage' is used in the Matthew, Great, and Geneva Bibles' summaries, integrating the colloquial 'mess of pottage' into the summaries. Despite the wide use of the phrase, the Bishops' Bible and the KJV drop it in favour of the more faithful 'Esau selleth his birth right', omitting the colloquialism. Unlike the denomination of Eve, this colloquialism was apparently too vulgar. A final example concerns the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5–7). This title is less self-suggesting than it might appear and

[94] Ezra Horbury, 'Aristotelian Ethics and Luke 15.11–32 in Early Modern England', *Journal of Religious History*, 41 (2017), 181–96.
[95] Ibid.
[96] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. 'mess (n.1)', March 2023, www.oed.com/view/Entry/117092. Accessed 6 July 2023.

did not, in fact, come into common use until the 16th century. Its English use and lasting popularity can be traced to Coverdale's *casus summarium* for Matthew 5, which refers to 'the moste excellent [and] lovinge Sermon of Christ in the mount'. The two aspects of this designation—the discourse being both a sermon and delivered on a mountain—are not derived directly from the text. Matthew 5 contains no reference to the discourse as a 'sermon', and even the translation of the location as 'mount' or 'mountain' was not universal.[97] The title finds its earliest articulation in St Augustine, who titled his exegesis of the passages, 'De Sermone Domini in Monte secundum Matthaeum'.[98] This Latin title was sufficiently widely used to appear as a title in the Vulgate, wherein the section is titled 'Sermo in monte'. Despite its Latin popularity, it was not until Coverdale that a comparable designation appeared in English, wherein Matthew 5 was first said to contain the 'Sermon of Christ in the mount'. The English designation is sometimes dated to a later point,[99] but Coverdale appears to be the earliest source.[100]

Stirring neither sedition nor treason, the summaries are often an overlooked yet influential section of the biblical margin, shaping how biblical episodes were named and conceptualised. Common phrases and titles that persist to this day—the parable of the prodigal son, the Sermon on the Mount—are not scriptural canon but the additions of early modern summaries, absorbed so thoroughly into our common language that we no longer notice their non-canonical nature.

Eve's 'seduction' and intratextual sodomy

Titles are not the only elements popularised by the *casus summarii*. While scholarly attention has been fixed on seditious glosses, the summaries have proved themselves quietly capable of significantly affecting interpretation of scripture. I focus here on two episodes: the concept of Eve's seduction, and of the association between Catholics and sodomy, both of which were facilitated by the synoptic framings of certain biblical episodes.

The concept of Eve's seduction concerns her culpability for the Fall as well as the extent to which there is a sexual element to both her deception by the serpent and her giving of the forbidden fruit to Adam. 'Seduce' acquired its sexual

[97] The Wycliffe Bible translates the term as 'hill'.
[98] Harvey K. McArthur, *Understanding the Sermon on the Mount* (London: Epworth Press, 1961), p. 11; Henry Edwin Savage, *The Gospel of the Kingdom: Or, The Sermon on the Mount, Considered in the Light of Contemporary Thought and Ideals* (London: Longmans, Green, 1910), p. 28.
[99] J. F. Bethune-Baker, 'The Sermon on the Mount', in *The Rise of the Christian Church*, ed. J. F. Bethune-Baker, *The Christian Religion: Its Origin and Progress*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), pp. 317–28 (p. 319); *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 'sermon (n.)', March 2023, www.oed.com/view/Entry/176489. Accessed 6 July 2023.
[100] McArthur, *Understanding the Sermon*, p. 161 n. 1.

suggestion in the late 16th century and many early modern uses of the term are non-sexual in nature, yet its increasingly sexual usage frequently occurs in reference to Eve. Though sexualised conceptions of the Fall have a long history, as in Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*, the specifically sexual usage of the English 'seduce' to describe the events of Genesis 3 only developed during the late 16th and 17th centuries. I posit that this usage is due in part to the Genesis 3 summary in the Geneva Bible, wherein the events of Genesis 3.1–5 are summarised as 'The woman seduced by the serpent', despite the absence of 'seduce' or its derivatives in scripture. This section examines the practical implications of the summary's content by investigating the usage of 'seduce' throughout the work of writers who used the Geneva Bible, and argues that the paratextual inclusion of the term facilitated the sexualisation of Eve's deception and giving of the fruit.

Before discussing the paratext in the Geneva Bible, we must address the contemporary context in which Genesis 3.1–5 was interpreted. The most important text is the Vulgate, which contains two references to the events of Genesis 3 that use *seducere*. These are 'Timeo autem ne sicut serpens Hevam seduxit astutia sua' (2 Cor 11.3) and 'et Adam non est seductus: mulier autem seducta in prævaricatione fuit' (1 Tim 2.14). The *seductus*/*seducta* of the Vulgate translation of 1 Timothy will echo throughout early modern exegeses of Genesis 3; however, whereas in Timothy this figures as a denial of Adam's seduction and citation of Eve's, the early modern repetition reconfigures this as Eve's seduction by the serpent and then Adam's seduction by Eve. The Fathers' conception of the seduction of Eve and the seduction of Adam as separate events are conflated into one phenomenon in such texts. As the Vulgate translation uses various forms of *seducere*, it is unsurprising that the obvious English derivatives (seduce, seduction) would also be used to refer to Genesis 3; however, 'seduce' did not enter the English language until the 15th century, and it only retained its non-sexual Latinate meaning for about a century before developing a sexual connotation. Importantly, 2 Corinthians 11.3 and 1 Timothy 2.14 are not translated with any form of 'seduce' in the Geneva Bible. Excepting the Doaui-Rheims Bible, all English translations used 'beguiled' for 2 Corinthians 11.3 and 'deceived' for 1 Timothy 2.14. The Doaui-Rheims Bible unsurprisingly translates the Vulgate's *seduxit*, *seductas*, and *seducta* as 'seduced' in all instances, and Catholic exegeses of the Fall as a sexualised seduction are commonplace. Genesis 3.13, on the other hand, wherein Eve explains, 'The serpent beguiled me' (Geneva Bible), the verb is either 'beguiled' or 'deceived' in all English translations, including the Douai-Rheims Bible; in the Vulgate, it is *decepit*.

Despite the absence of any description of Genesis 3 as a 'seduction' in the Geneva Bible, exegetical descriptions of it as such by readers of the Geneva Bible are commonplace. Its Genesis 3 summary, 'The woman seduced by the serpent', likely hails from French bibles, as references to 'Le serpent seduict la femme' appear as a marginal note in the Olivétan Bible and a summary in the Lefèvre Bible.

These French paratexts probably derive from 2 Corinthians 11.3 and 1 Timothy 2.14, which both use *seduict*. But the Geneva Bible eschews the term in scripture, maintaining it only in the summary. There is, therefore, a disagreement between the Genevan scripture and its paratexts. To what extent is Eve beguiled and deceived, and to what extent is she seduced?

It must be emphasised that the sexual meaning of 'seduce' was not as prominent in the 16th century as it is today. It is not recorded in an early modern lexicon as having a sexual meaning until 1598.[101] Interestingly, if coincidentally, the earliest recorded use of 'seduce' in a sexual sense is 1560, the Geneva Bible's year of publication.[102] After 1560, descriptions of Genesis 3 as a 'seduction' and implications that this seduction is sexual in nature become increasingly common among Protestant exegetes who take the Geneva Bible as their text.

The first evidence in favour of this trend is the scarcity of descriptions of Genesis 3 as a seduction prior to the publication of the Geneva Bible, despite its use in the Vulgate. Aside from two direct translations of the Vulgate, the only instance I have found is in Thomas Cranmer's *Certayne Sermons* (1547), with a reference to Eve having been 'seduced by the subtile perswasion of the Serpent'.[103] This usage is rare compared to the rate at which instances appear after the publication of the Geneva Bible. The writers discussed here all used the Geneva Bible as their primary source for scripture, as can be ascertained by examining their scriptural quotations.

In George Gifford's *A Catechisme Conteining the Summe of Christian Religion* (1583), the early presaging of what will later become an unambiguously sexual usage of 'seduce' is apparent. He writes: 'The Diuell in the Serpent did seduce the woman, perswading her that their estate shoulde bee bettered by eating of the fruite forbidden: she entised the man and so they sinned.'[104] There is an echo of the parallelistic syntax of the Vulgate translation of 1 Timothy 2.14, 'Adam non est seductus: mulier autem seducta', in Gifford's 'the Serpent did seduce the woman […] she entised the man'. The shift from 'seduce' to 'entise' moves from the more neutral 'seduce' to a term with a more prominently gendered and sensual, if not necessarily sexual, meaning.[105] This exaggeration of the scripture to emphasise the gendered, sensual, and sexual qualities of Eve's being seduced and seducing were longstanding features of Genesis exegesis, but their grounding in the English 'seduce' will become more apparent in the following texts.

[101] John Florio, *A World of Words* (London: 1598), p. 451.
[102] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 'seduce (v.)', March 2023, www.oed.com/view/Entry/174721. Accessed 6 July 2023.
[103] Thomas Cranmer, *Certayne Sermons; or, Homelies* (London: 1547), fol. H4r.
[104] George Gifford, *A Catechisme Conteining the Summe of Christian Religion* (London: 1583), fol. A4v.
[105] Entice is defined as 'to allure' in John Baret, *An Alveary; or, Triple Dictionary, in English, Latin, and French* (London: 1574) Y6r; it is listed as synonymous with to 'sweetely to draw towardes' in William Thomas' *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar* (London: 1550), fol. B1v.

Two texts in 1601 and 1610 by Nicholas Gibbons and Richard Stock respectively make more neutral use of the term, showing that it still had the capacity to suggest wholly non-sexual usage by the 17th century.[106] The 1607 *Certain Godly and Learned Sermons* by Edward Philips is more carnal, however, and departs rather bizarrely from scripture. For Philips, it is necessary to invent several motivations and actions on Eve's behalf. He writes: 'The Serpent indeed blew the coles, but the fire was in her owne heart, and she would not confesse that shee abused her selfe to bee seduced by the Serpent.'[107] This 'fire' in Eve's 'heart' reconfigures the serpent's seduction from a corruption of innocence to the encouragement of an existing sinful impulse, totally contrary to the idea of prelapsarian innocence. Philips' Eve has no state of innocence. He then asserts fictitiously that Eve 'would not confesse' of her seduction, despite Eve quite clearly doing so at Genesis 3.13. 'Why hast thou done this?' And the woman said, 'The serpent beguiled me, and I did eate." The imagery of fire, coals, and Eve having 'abused' herself enhances the damnatory and carnal invention of Eve's prelapsarian sin, and finally, this invention makes it entirely and emphatically Eve, rather than the serpent, who is at fault for the Fall. Philips' syntax, 'seduced by the serpent', is exactly that of the summary.

This sexualised misogyny is particularly apparent in Joseph Hall's 1612 work, *Contemplations vpon the Principall Passages of the Holy Storie*, and it is here the idea of the 'seduction' of Eve is presented as innately sexual. Hall writes: 'A woman seduced *Adam,* women betray these sons of God, the beauty of the apple betrayd the woman, the beauty of these women betrayd this holy seed, *Eue* saw and lusted, so did they, this also was a forbidden fruit, they lusted, tasted, sinned, died.'[108] Sexual suggestion chimes in the emphasis of Eve's beauty, the betrayal of seed, and the repetition of 'lusted'. Eve's deception by the serpent is here reconfigured as a knowing betrayal of Adam, absolving him of the Fall. Despite Eve's canonical giving of the fruit to Adam being based on her assessment of the goodness of the fruit (Genesis 3.6), Hall roots the responsibility in Eve's 'beauty'. For Hall, the fruit being 'pleasant to the eyes' becomes 'the beauty of the fruit', which is then elided with the 'beauty' of Eve, and herein lies the blame for the Fall. The semenic suggestion of the genealogical 'seed' heightens this, though it is the repetition of 'lust' that elevates this reading to sexual extremes. In Hall's rewriting, Eve harbours a sexualised desire for a fruit that mirrors her own beauty, and with her beauty she knowingly betrays Adam's patrilineage through their shared lust. Hall's misogyny is likely prompted by the Pauline reference to Eve having 'deceived Adam' (1 Timothy 2.14), but his interpretation of Genesis roots that sexual reading in the non-canonical 'seduce'.

[106] Nicholas Gibbons, *Questions and Disputations concerning the Holy Scripture* (London: 1601), p. 104; Richard Stock, *The Doctrine and Use of Repentance* (London: 1610), p. 287.
[107] Edward Philips, *Certain Godly and Learned Sermons* (London: 1607), p. 69.
[108] Joseph Hall, *Contemplations upon the Principall Passages of the Holy Storie* (London: 1612), p. 70.

Another misogynistic reading, contemporary to Hall, is Thomas Bentley's *The Sixt Lampe of Virginitie* (1612). Bentley quotes scripture with a parenthetical insertion of his own exegesis: 'THE Lord God said vnto the first woman Eue [which being seduced by the serpent, did first taste, and afterward entised her husband Adam to eate of the forbidden fruite in Paradise, contrarie to Gods commaundement] Woman, why hast thou done this?'[109] The work is an often misogynistic instructional text directed at women, telling of 'the seuerall duties and office of all sorts of women in their vocation out of Gods word, with their due praise and dispraise by the same'. This particular section is titled 'The penal punishmentes, and terrible threatnings of God in his worde, against all sortes of vngodlie women, for their sinnes and wickednesses' and perhaps unsurprisingly makes no mention of any fault of Adam in Genesis 3. No typographical shift marks the end of his quotation of scripture, and he shifts immediately into misogynistic exegesis, writing that 'thus doth the Lorde punish the bodie of woman'. Again, Eve's giving of the fruit to Adam becomes an 'entise[ment]'. The sexual suggestion, though less emphatic than Hall's hypersexualised reinterpretation, is nonetheless present. 1 Timothy 2.14 might be seen informing Bentley's parenthetical exegesis, wherein the parallel deceived/deceived becomes Eve 'being seduced by the serpent […] and afterward entised her husband'; however, the Pauline reading of Eve simply repeating the actions of the serpent in deceived/deceived, which might cast her as more blameless, is eroded into the exaggeration of seduced/enticed.

A third contemporary text is Francis Rollenson's *Twelue Prophetical Legacies* (1612). Rollenson's topic is the pains of conception and childbirth, related in uncomfortably graphic detail with reference to women being 'ript vp' before delivery. He lists the various discomforts and pains to which the pregnant and delivering female body is subject, citing Pliny, Aristotle, and St Basil, all of which are a result of Eve having been 'seduced by the Serpent'.[110] There is no reference to Paul here, and Rollenson's phrase immediately precedes the quoted scripture from Genesis 3.16, mimicking the formatting of the Geneva's prefatory summary. His description of Eve having been 'seduced by the Serpent' is identical to the paratextual syntax.

Finally, Robert Wolcomb's *A Glasse for the Godly* (1612) offers an exegesis with the characteristic absolution of Adam's blame in favour of Eve as the corrupted corrupter. Wolcomb exhibits a peculiar bias in which he and his readers are allied with Adam against Eve. He writes: 'Should we not haue cried out and said vnto him; ô thou wretch, take heede to thy selfe; see thou doe it not; the woman is seduced; beleeue not her entisements?' Again, Eve offering Adam the fruit becomes the far more suggestive 'entisement'. There is also the familiar introduction of a verbal

[109] Thomas Bentley, *The sixt lampe of Virginitie* (London: 1582), p. 103. Square brackets are Bentley's.
[110] Francis Rollenson, *Twelve Prophetical Legacies* (London: 1612), pp. 267–8.

component to Eve's offering to Adam of the fruit, which in scripture is an entirely physical act. This idea, what Petrarch calls the *sussurro femmineo*, of Eve's having addressed Adam with a linguistic enticement transfigures the giving of fruit into a verbal seduction.[111] As for the grammar, Wolcomb's 'seduced' here shifts from a transitive verb to an adjectival state; seduction is not an action the serpent performs on Eve but a transformative process that renders her 'seduced' and therefore corrupt. It is because of this corruption, Wolcomb implies, that Adam should not have believed her. Finally, Wolcomb continues his reinterpretation of the giving of the fruit as a discursive situation by arguing that he and the (presumed male) reader would have tried to prevent the Fall by rhetorical means: 'Should this haue béene our perswasion to Adam, that he should looke to himselfe, and shal we not perswade our selues after the same manner, when we are compassed & thronged with the like tentations?'[112] If we could speak to Adam this précis of Deuteronomy 4.9, then the Fall could have perhaps been prevented. Here, then, the seduction of Eve no longer denotes the deception by the serpent but a state of corrupt, sexual seduction.

During the 50 years from the publication of the Geneva Bible and the earliest recorded sexual use of 'seduce' to the publication of the KJV and Hall, Rollenson, and Wolcomb's exegeses, 'seduce' acquired a prominent sexual meaning. In these texts we see Genesis 3 continually conceptualised as a seduction by exegetes who use the Geneva Bible as their source, despite the absence of any such reference to the event as a seduction in scripture. The only reference to Genesis 3 as a seduction is paratextual. In the absence of scriptural corroboration, the term remains and enables sexual and misogynistic readings of the Fall.

My second example concerns the KJV summary to Leviticus 20, which contains the following: '10 Of adulterie. 11. 14. 17. 19 Of Incest. 13 Of Sodomie. 15 Of Beastialitie. 18 Of uncleannesse.' This '13 Of Sodomie' references Leviticus 20.13, 'If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination', though it also has close association with Leviticus 18.22, 'Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind: it [is] abomination'. The summary plainly labels Leviticus 20.13 as a description 'Of Sodomie'. The term introduces an interesting recursive intratextuality, as the passage itself makes no reference to Sodom or Genesis 19. Such intratextuality is unusual in *casus summarii*, as such practices are left to the purpose of cross-referential marginal notes, and among the many such notes to Leviticus 20 there is no encouragement to turn to Genesis 19. This use of 'Sodomie', then, is less an encouragement to cross-referential reading or a deliberate moment of intratextuality but rather the editor's deferment to the contemporary common usage of sodomy to denote homosexual acts, which derives from Genesis 19. Sodomy was not the favoured legal term; this

[111] Francesco Petrarca, 'Adamo', in *Prose*, ed. Guido Martellotti (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1955), pp. 228–9 (p. 229).
[112] Robert Wolcomb, *A Glasse for the Godly* (London: 1612), p. 156.

was 'buggery', according to the Buggery Act 1533, and could refer to penetrative bestiality or homosexual anal intercourse.[113] Sodomy retained a semantic broadness, also being used to denote bestiality, and there is a discrepancy between the early modern English usage of the term and its paratextual role here, wherein it strictly denotes a man 'l[ying] with mankind'. Bestiality is given its own category, '15 Of Beastialitie', denoting Leviticus 20.15. There is then a blurring here between the twin meanings of sodomy denoting specific sexual acts and the ambiguousness of the Levitical 'lie with', though my interest here is rather in the codification of sodomy by religious writers as the descriptor for the acts described in Leviticus 20.13 and 18.22. I suggest that the inclusion of 'sodomy' in the KJV summary functions taxonomically in contrast to the other sexual acts listed (adultery, incest, bestiality, uncleanness), that the word as descriptor for the acts described in Leviticus 20.13 and 18.22 was taken up by subsequent writers as a result of this inclusion, and that this contributed to the codification of 'sodomy' as the name of such acts as described in Leviticus.

Though Levitical readings of Genesis 19 are common among certain modern Christian groups, the popularity of this intratextuality appears to be an early modern phenomenon. In assessments of medieval interpretations of Genesis 19, Leviticus is conspicuously absent.[114] Peter Cantor provides an exception, but, as John Boswell notes, this reading 'had been ignored or treated allegorically by most writers since the Council of Jerusalem'.[115] I have found no intratextual gloss of Genesis 19 and Leviticus prior to the KJV. Indeed, even in more general exegetical writings, I have found no English instance of this intratextuality before 1591[116] and only one instance quoting from the Vulgate.[117] While earlier examples of the intratextuality probably exist, their obvious rarity suggests the Levitical reading of Sodom was absent from the popular imagination. Notably, while the association between 'sodomy' and intermale sex was longstanding, it is not until 1656 that an early modern lexicon establishes the connection,[118] though there are casual uses of the definition predating this. After the publication of the KJV, instances of primarily religious writers describing Leviticus 20.13 as such occur far more frequently.

[113] 'An Act for the Punishment of the Vice of Buggery', in *The Statutes at Large, of England and of Great Britain: From Magna Carta to the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. John Raithby (20 vols, London: G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1811), 3.145.

[114] No reference is made to this reading in Mark D. Jordan, *The Silence of Sodom: Homosexuality in Modern Catholicism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Michael Carden, *Sodomy: A History of a Christian Biblical Myth* (London: Routledge, 2014); Robert Mills, *Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

[115] John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 277. Thanks to Robert Mills for pointing me to this reading.

[116] William Perkins, *A Golden Chaine* (London: 1591), fols. L5v–L6r.

[117] Andrew Chertsey, *Jhesu: The Floure of the Commaundementes of God* (London: 1510), fol. P5v.

[118] Thomas Blount, *Glossographia; or, A Dictionary* (London: 1656), fol. N8r.

One trend entails writers simply citing Leviticus as the definition of sodomy. Henry Ainsworth (1627) provides an early example. He writes of the 'unnaturall sin, which the Scripture calleth *lying with the male*, Lev. 18. 22. and 20. 13. is called *Sodomy*, as being first practised in Sodom, and the cities about it'.[119] When Ainsworth writes that this sin 'is called Sodomy', he omits the authority responsible for the definition, while the citation of what 'Scripture calleth' the 'unnaturall sin' immediately prior confuses the source from which the denotation of sodomy derives. A similar phenomenon occurs in Samuel Danforth's *The Cry of Sodom* (1674), wherein Danforth cites Leviticus 20.13 and references the titling of this act as 'called Sodomy'. He exaggerates Genesis 19 and subsequently confuses the etymology of the term: 'This sin raged amongst the Sodomites, and to their perpetual Infamy, it is called Sodomy.' It is unclear among whom this 'infamy' has developed, and Danforth's phrasing suggests that the definition may derive from scripture despite this being inaccurate.[120] John Trapp (1649) again quotes Leviticus 18.22 and calls it 'the *Sodomites* sin', as does a 1647 anonymous text.[121]

Lancelot Andrewes' *The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine at Large* (1650) has a more interesting usage, as he formats sodomy as a navigational marginal note.[122] Andrewes' marginal notes are otherwise almost entirely scriptural citations, mimicking the use of cross-referential notes in the bibles themselves, and most that are not scriptural references act as navigational titles (the section on 'uncleanesse' also uses rape, whoring, and polygamy as marginal notes). Sodomy, then, is not here merely a descriptor invoked for its recollection of Genesis 19 but a navigational descriptor, performing an analogous navigational function as it does in the KJV.[123] This kind of taxonomic use appears again in George Mackenzie's *The Laws and Customes of Scotland* (1678). Despite the legal conflation of bestiality and homosexual acts under the single category of 'buggery', Mackenzie maintains a distinction between the behaviours. He quotes Leviticus 20.13–15 as detailing sodomy and bestiality, two terms that are absent in the scripture yet present in the summary.[124] This replication of the summary as a kind of taxonomy of the behaviours discussed in Leviticus 20 is repeated more extensively in Samuel Cradock (1683), where it is very clearly derived directly from the KJV summary. Here, Cradock reproduces the taxonomy of the KJV summary as a bullet-pointed

[119] Henry Ainsworth, *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses* (London: 1627), p. 75 (emphasis in original).
[120] Samuel Danforth, *The Cry of Sodom* (Cambridge, MA: 1674), p. 5.
[121] John Trapp, *A Clavis to the Bible* (London: 1649), p. 149 (emphasis in original); John Trapp, *The Counter Buffe; or, Certaine Observations upon Mr. Edwards* (London: 1647), pp. 8–9.
[122] Andrewes was previously thought to use only the Geneva, but it has been demonstrated he made use of multiple editions, including the KJV; see Peter McCullough and Valentine Cunningham, 'Afterlives of the King James Bible', in *Manifold Greatness: The Making of the King James Bible*, eds. Helen Moore and Julian Reid (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2011), pp. 139–61 (p. 141).
[123] Lancelot Andrewes, *The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine at Large* (London: 1650), p. 448.
[124] George Mackenzie, *The Laws and Customes of Scotland* (London: 1678), pp. 161–2.

contents list for describing those behaviours from which 'we are forbidden'. As can be seen with reference to the KJV summary, Cradock's taxonomy is a straight derivation. His list comprises: 'Fornication with a Bond-Maid betrothed', 'Adultery', 'Incest', 'Sodomy', 'Bestiality', and 'Lying with a woman having her Sickness'.[125] Cradock makes frequent reference to Leviticus 20 in this section, and, aside from the expansion of adultery into two categories and the rephrasing of menstruation, the taxonomies are identical in order and vocabulary.

The minister John Webster in his *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677) advances this taxonomical habit to the point of implying that Moses makes direct use of the term 'sodomy'. Webster argues that mortals cannot copulate with Devils since Moses makes no reference to the act among those prohibited sexual acts in Leviticus. In referencing the topics Moses discusses, Webster erroneously claims, 'Moses […] named and prohibited the less sins of bestial Copulation and Sodomy'.[126] While Moses' description of how man must not 'lie with a beast' (Leviticus 20.13) is semantically close to 'bestial copulation', there is no instance in which Moses describes man 'l[ying] with mankind, as he lieth with a woman' as 'sodomy'. This should not be taken as a misquoting of scripture; Webster is not claiming Moses literally described the act as 'sodomy'. What occurs here is the complete absorption of the Levitical description into the word sodomy to such an extent that Webster can use the term interchangeably with the scriptural quotation itself. Sodomy is no longer here an act merely associated with homosexual acts or one possible interpretation of Genesis 19 but an interchangeable synonym for when 'man lie with mankind'.

By the latter half of the 17th century, the term also appears in a similar manner in legal texts, with the Levitical description given as the definition for sodomy.[127] The frequent citation of sodomy in conjunction with Leviticus 20.13, that such a citation is unusual prior to the publication of the KJV, and that such citations often replicate the taxonomic role or format of the summary strongly suggest the inclusion of 'sodomy' in the Leviticus 20 summary contributed to both its association with the passage and its general use to denote homosexual acts.

Genesis 19: sodomitical Catholics

In the Protestant writings of early modern England, sodomy is linked frequently and often graphically with papistry. At this time, 'sodomy' denotes a category of behaviours rather than a particular sexual act and has no suggestion of the modern

[125] Samuel Cradock, *The History of the Old Testament* (London: 1683), p. 161.
[126] John Webster, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (London: 1677), p. 50.
[127] John Cotton, *An Abstract of Laws and Government* (London: 1655), p. 25; John Cotton, *New-Haven's Settling in New-England and Some Lawes for Government* (London: 1656), pp. 23–4; Massachusetts General Court, *Acts and Laws Passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of Their Majesties Province of the Massachussets-Bay* (Boston, MA: 1692), p. 23.

notion of homosexual as a sexual identity. As Mario Digangi writes, unlike the more neutral term of homoeroticism, sodomy 'always signifies social disorder of a frightening magnitude'.[128] Sodomy encompassed a range of threatening sexual behaviours not limited to same-sex acts, though accusations levelled at Catholics invariably asserted homosexual acts or homosexual paedophilia (with little distinction made between the two). Such accusations were commonplace; as Jordan writes, 'Reformation polemics made the figure of the priest-sodomite a fixed and familiar one'.[129] References abound to sodomitical priests and popes, with much of the focus falling on the supposed facade of celibacy, which was often cast as a facilitator or excuse for sodomitical behaviours. These arguments were often raised in debates concerning clerical marriage. Clerical marriage generated considerable controversy, especially with the marriages of such prominent Protestant figures as Martin Luther, Thomas Cranmer, and Matthew Parker, and the argument that enforced clerical celibacy led to sodomy gaining particular traction among those that wished for clerical marriage to be legitimised. In the 16th century, as Helen Parish writes, '[t]he prohibition of clerical marriage was the mark of the false church, and the English church, which upheld the celibate priesthood, was therefore a church as yet unreformed'.[130] Attacks on Catholic celibacy as a path to sodomy became one of the most popular forms of Protestant rhetoric in arguing for clerical marriage.

John Bale and John Foxe, both contemporaries of Parker, engaged with these arguments with especial intensity. 'For Bale', Tom Betteridge argues, 'all papists were sodomites and the inevitable result of papistry was sexual disorder'.[131] Bale identified chastity as a precursor to sodomy, although 'it is unclear in Bale's texts if the enforced celibacy produced sodomy or was simply an excuse for it'.[132] Bale conceived of sodomy as a vice potentially realised in all men, whereas Betteridge argues that Foxe saw sodomy as a disordered, transgressive category defined against orderly, Humanist homoeroticism. For both writers, Catholicism is identified with sodomitical disorder. Parker did not write as extensively on Catholicism and sodomy as Foxe and Bale, but he supported similar views on clerical marriage and himself married without Elizabeth's approval. He edited or may have authored the *Defence of priestes mariages*, a response to Thomas Martin's *A traictise declaryng and provyng, that the pretensed marriage of priestes, and professed persones, is no mariage*, and which draws on familiar Protestant rhetoric in its

[128] Mario Digangi, *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 6.
[129] Jordan, *The Silence of Sodom*, p. 133.
[130] Helen L. Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the Reformation: Precedent Policy and Practice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2000), p. 235.
[131] Tom Betteridge, *Sodomy in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 12–13.
[132] Ibid., pp. 23–4.

attack on what Martin describes as 'pretended Matrimonie', an excuse for 'Heresie and Lecherie'.[133]

The *Defence of priestes mariages* draws on the episode of Sodom repeatedly. It is first mentioned in the preface in reference to God wrath, 'from the first destruction of Sodome and Gomorrha, vntyll the laste day of Gods feareful iudgement', thus setting the scene for Catholicism as a rung on the ladder of divine judgement between Sodom and the end of days.[134] This is in keeping with the most popular use to which Genesis 19 was put: as a representation of divine judgement. In *Defence of priestes mariages*, accusations of Catholic sodomy are more rhetorical device than material for argument, with little explanation for its citation. This association is so common that it requires no justification. Several casual references link sodomy with papistry: 'Pope *Siritius* replenished Rome with curtisans, by his Sodomiticall Lawe', a 'good father, in his hotte zeale against mariage chastitee, gaue great aduenture, to induce libertee of Sodomiticall vice', and 'infamous Sodomie, a peculier vice then moste vsed emonges the religious'.[135] The author also cites the arguments of German writers who 'call your filthie fained chastitie, a bandie *Sodomiticall* carelesse liuing. As the practise declareth to manifest to stande in, to proue. Thei call al suche as haue not the gifte & by their yerely experience: séeth the impossibilitée not fro[m] chastitée, but from filthines of brutishe buggery and boyly bestlynesse, to mariage chastitée.'[136] The associations between sodomy and Catholicism were widespread among Protestant Reformers. By the 17th century, this association was so well known that the Jesuit Thomas Fitzherbert could somewhat frivolously denounce anti-Catholic rhetoric by arguing:

> For what conclusion can be drawne from one or some particuler to a general, as to say, Eaton the preacher did pennance on, the Pillery in cheapsyde and after at Paules Crosse for lying with his daughter, such a minister was hanged for a rape, such an other for sodomy, such a one for a murder; ergo, all ministers are murderers, sodomites, rauishers of women, and incestuous persons.[137]

In *Defence of priestes mariages*, Parker himself subscribes to the association between Catholicism and sodomy. It is upon his authority that the 'lusts of the Sodomites' paratext was maintained into the Bishops' Bible. The phrase was modified from 'filthy lusts' to 'lusts', and so its inclusion must have merited some degree of consideration. Why 'filthy' was finally rejected is unclear, but the modification indicates the *casus summarium* was not lifted wholesale without scrutiny. Given

[133] Thomas Martin, *A traictise declaryng and provyng, that the pretensed marriage of priestes, and professed persones, is no mariage* (London: 1554), fol. A1r.
[134] 'To the reader', *A defence of priestes mariages* (London: 1567).
[135] Ibid., pp. 202, 205, 285.
[136] Ibid., p. 166.
[137] Thomas Fitzherbert, *A defence of the Catholyke cause* (Antwerp: 1602), fol. 45v.

the frequency with which sodomy was associated with Catholicism in Parker's circle, and given the expected importance of the Bishops' Bible to bolstering the Church of England's authority and securing a Reformed Protestant country, the inclusion of this paratext may very well have been in aid of promoting the visibility of the destruction of Sodom and the Sodomites' supposed concupiscent transgressions.

There is a measure of codification in its use in anti-Catholic rhetoric. These writers position (usually clerical) marriage against a category of transgressive, concupiscent behaviours supposedly committed by Catholics. The addition of 'filth' introduces an element of abjection that for some writers is exclusively sodomitical. John Old, writing in his *A short description of Antichrist unto the nobilitie of Englande*, charges Rome as the 'churche of Antichrist' for their 'fylthy and abhominable Sodomitical lustes'.[138] The forbidding of marriage to priests and vowesses results in 'moch adulterie, fornication, deflowringe of virgins, murder of infantes, and of maryed men, whoredome and the fylthie synne of buggery'.[139] As is the tendency of such polemic, he positions supposedly feigned Catholic chastity against clerical marriage: 'yf oure Antichristian priestes were pure & cleane towardes God, his ordinaunce of matrimonie wold not be forsaken of them'. But they 'haue eyes full of adulterie and of the insatiable luste and offence, & so defiled with filthy lustes. To our English priestes, godly matrimonie is nother pure nor cleane, and therfore are they vnworthy of chast matrimonie, because their conscie[n]ces be neither pure nor cleane.'[140] Cleanness and pureness are lacking in those who preach the anti-Christian doctrine of prohibited marriage, who are filled with lusts marked by filthiness. The term 'filthy' is specifically applied not to adultery, fornication, deflowering, or whoredom but only to 'buggery' and 'Sodomitical lustes'. Elsewhere in this text, 'filth' is most commonly used to describe the sects and generation of the Antichrist: filth is conceived of as something Other and abject to Christianity. Another such contrast emerges in Matthias Flacius Illyricus' response to the Council of Trent, wherein he accuses 'sacrificyng Priestes' of being 'bounde to kepe the lawe of vnclene sole lyfe, forswearyng Mariage' and indulging in 'vnclenlines, and fylthy lustes'.[141] In another treatise defending clerical marriage, John Véron's *A stronge defence of the maryage of pryestes agaynste the Pope Eustachians*, the author's mouthpiece, 'The true Christian', charges those who oppose clerical marriage with living 'an vncleane & filthy life', comparable with 'abhominable whoremongers & adultetrers, & as stinking & filthy Sodomites',

[138] John Old, *A short description of Antichrist unto the nobilitie of Englande* (Emden: 1555), fol. f8r, fol. 29v.
[139] Ibid., fol. 12r.
[140] Ibid., fols. 11r–v.
[141] Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *A godly and necessarye admonition of the decrees and canons of the Counsel of Trent* (London: 1564), p. 114.

where again filth is solely attributed to sodomy.[142] Elsewhere, 'Sodomiticall and filthy actes' are the unavoidable consequence for those 'mounsters of Antichriste' should they 'chaunce to want and lacke women'.[143] The Catholic parody Robyn Papist declares that St Paul was wracked with 'filthy lustes & inco[n]tynency of the flesh', which the true Christian refutes, saying instead that the passage refers to 'persecutions and troubles'.[144] This attributes to Catholics a perception, even expectation, of a particular type of concupiscence that 'true christian[s]' cannot perceive. For many Protestants, specifically filthy lusts designates a category of concupiscence that is positioned against marriage that is commonplace among Catholic priests. While it would go too far to assume that filthy lusts unanimously served as a euphemism for sodomy, such attributions were often coded accusations of sodomitical behaviour.

To add credence to this, it is telling that the Catholic Douai-Rheims Bible shies away from a sexual interpretation of Genesis 19 in its own paratexts. Despite references to the Sodomites' 'lusts' appearing in the paratexts of the Matthew, Great, Geneva, and Bishops' Bibles, the Douai-Rheims is conspicuously lacking in any such suggestion. In contrast to the lusts and filthy lusts of the Sodomites rampant in Protestant bibles, the Douai-Rheims' *casus summarium* reads: 'Lot receiving Angels in his house, is abused by the Sodomites.' Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei contra paganos* is cited in the marginalia to this chapter, but the quote, from 16.30, does not contain any of the sexual content of that passage in Augustine. It draws attention instead to the transformation of Lot's wife to salt, a note neglected in the paratexts of Protestant bibles. The only potentially sexual meaning to be found here is that the servants of God ought not to look back on 'vice', but the word denotes the Sodomites' vicious excesses, perhaps in an Aristotelian sense, rather than a specifically concupiscent category of behaviours.[145] The summary also has an interesting relationship with the scripture. In Genesis 19.8, the Douai-Rheims translation has Lot asking that the Sodomites 'abuse' his daughters rather than the Angels, a much more loaded term than the Protestant translations. The Matthew has 'do w[ith] the[m] as semeth you good', the KJV 'do ye to them as is good in your eyes'. The Douai-Rheims' 'abuse' is the obvious translation of the Vulgate's 'abutimini' and so should not be viewed as unusually sexual like Tyndale's translation of 'וְנֵדְעָה'. Most instances of 'abuse' in the Douai-Rheims are non-sexual. What sexual suggestion 'abuse' may have, however, is neutered by the *casus summarium*. Its use in

[142] John Véron, *A stronge defence of the maryage of pryestes agaynste the Pope Eustachians* (London [1562?]), fols. 28r–v.
[143] Ibid., fol. 37r.
[144] Ibid., fol. 61r.
[145] 'Vice' did not have an especially strong sexual meaning at this time and denoted a broader category of immoral excess. The KJV also describes the Sodomites as 'vicious' in its own *casus summarium* to Genesis 19.

the summary, where Lot is 'abused by the Sodomites', is clearly non-sexual, which desexualises its appearance in the scripture itself. This is in marked contrast to the Protestant bibles' paratexts.

The summaries comprise some of the lengthiest paratexts in early modern bibles, and variably rephrase, abbreviate, expand, and frame interpretation of scripture. They range from the exceedingly brief to the verbose and were borrowed from for many subsequent biblical editions. The summaries do not present themselves as interpretive and thus have held less appeal for scholarship, yet they persistently prove themselves as important means of framing the meaning of scripture. Unlike summaries, glosses frequently serve an obvious explanatory purpose, and were identified as such repeatedly and vehemently by contemporary commenters.

4

Catholic Readers

The Rheims New Testament (1582) and the less widely read Douai-Rheims Bible (1609–10) are among the least popular early modern bibles among a field of scholarship that remains highly skewed by Protestant sympathies.[1] James Carleton's 1902 study remains the most extensive and useful treatment of these works' linguistic influence, in which he charts 13 types of influence on the latter Protestant Bible.[2] These linguistic influences have been further traced by David Norton and Gordon Campbell,[3] and other scholars have pursued these works' various impacts.[4] However, the Douai-Rheims Bible still commands a minimal position in early modern scholarship, darkened by accusations such as Daniell's of being 'mercifully' uninfluential and adorned with 'unpleasant' paratexts.[5] The bibles certainly met with an ill reception among English readers upon their first publication, dominated as the discourse was by cantankerous Protestant rhetoricians such as William Fulke and William Rainolds. The Rheims New Testament became best known by Fulke's rigorous rebuttal to it published in 1589, which printed the Rheims New Testament and Bishops' side by side in order to fully demonstrate the 'traiterous' nature of the Catholic work.[6] This had the unintended consequence of bringing the Catholic New Testament to an audience that would have otherwise never encountered it, but also ensured its early reception was steeped in

[1] *The New Testament of Jesus Christ* (Rheims: 1582); *The holie Bible* (Douai: 1609–10).

[2] These are 'the Vulgate-Latin Influence', 'English in place of Latin words', 'Modernization', 'Archaisms', 'Improvements', 'Changes for the Worse', 'Participial Construction Introduced', 'Literal Renderings', 'Concise Renderings', 'Change in Order of Words', 'Familiar Words and Phrases', 'Less notable Words', 'Suggestions only taken'. James G. Carleton, *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), pp. 32–83.

[3] David Norton, *A History of the English Bible as Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 45–7; Gordon Campbell, 'The Catholic Contribution to the King James Bible', in *The English Bible in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 131–40.

[4] Michael J. Lewis, 'Unearthing the Entitled: 1 Kings, Douay-Rheims, and Samuel Butler's *The Way of All Flesh*', *The Explicator* 72.4 (2014), 266–9; Mark Dahlquist, 'Hamlet and the Snare of Scandal', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 69.3 (2018), 167–87.

[5] David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 368.

[6] William Fulke, *The text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar Latine by the papists of the traiterous seminarie at Rhemes* (London: 1589).

anti-Catholic criticism. Anti-Catholic sentiment has long skewed the perception of the Rheims and Douai-Rheims' influence, especially on the KJV, with Campbell noting that 'Protestants were long in denial about Catholic influences on the King James Bible'.[7] These comments primarily concern the translation, however, whereas my interest lies with the paratexts.

Arguments as to the uninteresting or repugnant tone of these paratexts have also been made, with Daniell alleging that '[t]hough the Geneva Bibles have been abused for their "bitter" notes, that unhappy epithet is more properly applied to those by Gregory Martin in his Rheims New Testament'.[8] Yet while these paratexts inarguably outstrip the Geneva in their aggression, such aggression is only one element of a much larger text. In this section I treat the synoptic paratexts of the Rheims New Testament and Douai-Rheims Bible, including Arguments, chapter summaries, and Annotations. While chapter summaries are familiar elements of all bibles, and Arguments are essentially lifted in form from the Geneva, the Annotations are unique to the Douai-Rheims texts. They comprise lengthy notes at the end of each chapter, complete with their own marginal glosses, and are more akin to the paratexts of the *Glossa Ordinaria* than those of earlier English bibles. While this study of the Arguments and summaries intends to be relatively comprehensive, I have restricted my study of the Annotations to those of the New Testament and of relevant passages in the Old Testament. This is due to the sheer length of the Old Testament Annotations yet narrow sphere of readership in the early modern period; it is not until Challoner's revision in the late 17th century that they found a substantial audience.

Four editions of the Rheims New Testament were released at this time: 1582, 1600, 1621, and 1633. The 1600 Antwerp New Testament is worth noting here, for—as Hoppe notes—it was this edition and not the 1582 that formed the paratextual basis for later editions.[9] However, these paratextual revisions do not extend to the Arguments, summaries, or annotations; the later work only incorporates new paratextual sections, such as 'The summe of the 4 Gospels' and the 'Argument of St. Matthews Gospel', among various other prefatory and explicatory sections, and also modifies its marginal notes.

Arguments

Both New and Old Testament include one Argument per biblical book, preceding the first *casus summarii* (which are affixed to each chapter). The authorship of the Arguments is unclear. Thomas Worthington is customarily identified as the author of the Old Testament annotations, and it is likely he contributed at least partially to

[7] Campbell, 'The Catholic Contribution', p. 131.
[8] Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 366.
[9] Harry R. Hoppe, 'The Copyright-Holder of the Second Edition of the Rheims New Testament (Antwerp, 1600), Richard Gibbons, S J', *The Library*, s5–VI.2 (1951), 116–20 (p. 117).

these Arguments, although there are significant stylistic differences between books. Excluding their own marginal notes, these Arguments total around 28,000 words. These Arguments' functional debt to those of the Geneva Bible is hard to overlook, with both the Genevan and Douai-Rheims Arguments to Genesis opening with a gloss on the title, with the Geneva's 'This worde signifieth the beginning and generacion of the creatures' mimicked by the nigh identical 'called Genesis, which signifieth birth or beginning' in the Douai-Rheims. Yet their differences are also startling. The Rheims New Testament prints its Arguments as separate paratexts to the book that they preface, so that 'THE ARGVMENT OF S. MARKES GOSPEL' is its own heading on a page prior to 'THE HOLY GOSPEL OF IESVS CHRIST ACCORDING TO MARKE'. The summary, by contrast, remains subsumed into the organisational umbrella of these book titles. In the Geneva, 'THE ARGUMENT' appears beneath the title of the gospel, with no titular separation between Argument and scripture. Among a sea of accusations that the Geneva sought to usurp and corrupt the true language of scripture, this clear demarcation between paratext and scripture serves to keep the Arguments on separate pages and separate from holy canonicity.

The Arguments (unlike the Annotations and glosses) are almost entirely in English, with Latin making very rare intrusions. They serve as the first and simplest entry point into the scripture itself (once one is free of the prefaces), requiring little foreknowledge to understand, and are heavily synoptic. Many provide a significant degree of context to the reader. Both the Geneva and Douai-Rheims make brief historicist notes; for example, in the Geneva, we are told that Jacob's family stayed in Egypt, 'where they remained for the space of foure hundreth yeres', while the Rheims similarly informs us that there was a space of 'aboue two thousand and foure hundred yeares' between the creation of the world and the coming of Moses. However, the Douai Old Testament also treats us with useful information as to the authorship of a given book, as with Tobias, of which 'The author is vncertaine: but S. Athanasius (in Synopsi) reporteth the contentes at large'), Ecclesiasticus, which 'was written by Je*sus the sonne of Sirach in Hebrew*, about the time of Simon Iustus, otherwise called Priscus: and *translated into Greke by the auctors Nephew*', and Acts, which were 'written by S. Luke in Rome the fourth year of Nero, An. Dom. 61'. The Arguments ensure that the reader can access not only the theological content of these works but the historical too, and these readers were expected to be of quite different demographics for the Geneva and Douai-Rheims Bibles. The Geneva Arguments are intended as a guide for the lay reader to access and interpret the Bible, whereas those of the Rheims are aimed at the clergy. As Comerford has demonstrated, Catholic educational reforms in the 16th and 17th centuries centred on clergy, not the general public,[10] and the Arguments were intended to

[10] Kathleen M. Comerford, 'Clerical Education, Catechesis, and Catholic Confessionalism: Teaching Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.*, eds. Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp. 241–65

provide the often-undereducated clergy with the tools to contextualise the books from which they preached. The Arguments also contain navigational information for those books with more complex marginal apparatus, such as 1 Maccabees, which describes how one must read it following 'the direction of the Alphabet letters, set in the inner margen, beginning with A' and then to 'procede as the signe of a starre directeth to the next letter B. […] And when the capital letters are ended, the smaller wil direct you'. The Douai-Rheims Arguments, while not as egalitarian in their aims than the Geneva, nonetheless sought to provide paratextual material that would serve to educate its readership.

This contextual drive even extends to explicating the style of the authors, with Isaiah described as having a 'high and eloquent' style, 'according to his liberal education being of the royal bloud'. Amos, on the other hand, writes 'in a meane stile: as a musitian soundeth the same songue, by a simple pipe, & by a cornet, trumpet or other musical instrument'. Lamentations, by contrast, is a 'litle book' with

> manie doleful pathetical speaches, powred out from a pensiue hart, as in great calamities it commonly happeneth, with litle connexion of sentences; but otherwise foure whole chapters are very artificially compiled in verse; not by number of times, with measure of long and short syllables, as the Grekes and Latines vse, but after the Hebrew maner, obseruing number of syllables, and beginning euerie verse, with a distinct letter, from the first to the last in order, with some smal varietie, of the Hebrew Alphabet.

Although Catholic writers customarily snub (or declare heretical) the Genevan editors' attempts to bring a sense of Hebraic context to the reader, we see here an attention to Hebraic metre in a work that otherwise eschews Hebraic language. Attention, it seems, can be paid to the ancient contexts of these works, but that attention must be rendered in an Anglo or and Latinate style. Such historicism is unique to the Old Testament; in the Rheims New Testament, the Arguments provide minimal historical details, especially for the gospels. These Arguments instead prioritise the simple sectioning of the passage into pericopes to aid in navigation, with the Matthew Argument providing little else.

The Douai-Rheims Arguments are also distinguished by their heavy employment of patristics, which make no appearance at all in those of the Geneva. Ettenhuber has written extensively on the use of patristics in the KJV and Rheims New Testament prefaces and translation and writes that the Protestant Smith 'fuses doctrinal, hermeneutic, and philological concerns' alongside the fathers,[11] while the Catholic Martin rejects change and instead forges continuity with the primitive

[11] Katrin Ettenhuber, '"Take vp and read the Scriptures": Patristic Interpretation and the Poetics of Abundance in "The Translators to the Reader" (1611)', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 75.2 (2012), 213–32 (p. 232).

church, using citation to 'elevate […] and canonize' Augustine in particular.[12] But for Ettenhuber and other critics, the Catholic use of patristic scholarship lacks the innovation of Protestants, being always cast as a backwards-looking reach for antiquity.[13] This somewhat undersells Catholic patristic scholarship; as Chung-Kim writes: 'The Catholicization of patristic scholarship, prompted by Tridentine reforms, meant upholding the validity and authority of ecclesiastical tradition in an effort to educate a generation of Catholic clergy.'[14] While research on Catholic patristic scholarship in the early modern period has focused on Augustine,[15] the Douai-Rheims Arguments are not at all Augustine-centric and aim to provide a variety of sources from which the reader can cite authority. They serve primarily to bolster the authority of Catholic doctrine. In the Argument to Kings and Paralipomenon, the mystical interpretation of those books is argued for after 'These two great Doctors S. Gregorie and S. Beda, insisting in the steppe of other lerned holie Fathers, that had gone before them, expound these histories not only historically but also mystically' (fol. Zzz2v). But the Douai-Rheims Arguments also serve as a suggested further reading for the clerical Catholic reader, pointing them to further books to deepen their understanding of scripture in contexts that repudiate Protestant beliefs. In the Argument to Tobias, we read how 'S. Chrysostom ho. 15. ad Heb alleageth Tobias, as Scripture denouncing curse to contemners. S. Augustin made a special sermon of Tobias, as he did of Iob, which is the 226. sermon *de tempore* S. Gregorie *parte. 3. pastor. curae admon.* 21. alleageth it as holie Scripture'.

There is often an air of defensiveness about patristic citation in the Arguments, but to be reactionary is not inherently negative. Importantly, whenever the patristics are quoted, their work is rendered in English. This would be the first time many English readers had been able to access patristic writers in their native tongue and, given the poor Latin literacy of many clergy, would have allowed some clergy their first ever access to patristic texts. The Arguments include English quotations from Gregory's prologue to 1 Kings, pseudo-Augustine's *Quæstiones Ex Utroque Testamento*, Cyprian's *De Oratione Dominica*, Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, Jerome's epistles to Paulinus, and Ambrose's *De Tobia*, among many others. In the

[12] Katrin Ettenhuber, '"A comely gate to so rich and glorious a citie": The Paratextual Architecture of the Rheims New Testament and the King James Bible', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, eds. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 54–70 (p. 60).

[13] See Pontien Polman, *L'Element Historique dans la Controverse Religieuse du XVIe Siecle* (Louvain: Universitas catholica louvainiensis, 1932), pp. 542–3; William P. Haaugaard, 'Renaissance Patristic Scholarship and Theology in Sixteenth-Century England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 10.3 (1979), 37–60.

[14] Esther Chung-Kim, 'Reception in the Renaissance and Reformation', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation*, eds. Paul M. Blowers and Peter W. Martens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 686–703.

[15] Arnoud Visser, 'How Catholic Was Augustine? Confessional Patristics and the Survival of Erasmus in the Counter-Reformation', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61.1 (2009), 86–106.

Arguments to those books deemed apocryphal by Protestants, a veritable bibliography is supplied for arguments as to each book's canonicity. Patristic and papal authority are the watchwords in these explanations, with Judith's canonicity justified with reference to Jerome having 'supposed this booke, not to be canonical, but after warde finding that *the Councel of Nice accounted it in the number of holie Scriptures*, he so estemed it'. For Ecclesiasticus, 'Manie ancient Fathers alleage sentences of this Booke, as the sayinges of Salomon', followed by a smorgasbord of evidentiary citations (mentioned earlier). Likewise, the Council of Trent 'expresly define that Baruch is Canonical Scripture' in Baruch's Argument, and Jerome 'testifieth that he found it in the Vulgate Latin Edition, and that *it conteineth manie thinges of Christ, and the later times*'.

There is trace evidence of the use of the patristic quotations as encountered through these Arguments. Anthony Errington, a Catholic divine, likely made use of these Arguments in repeating a quotation from Augustine's *De Fide et Operibus* from the Argument to the epistles. Though Errington was well read in the patristics, this is the only quotation he supplies from this particular work, and his phrasing repeats exactly its appearance in the Rheims New Testament. In its original context, Augustine writes '*ut vehementer astruant fidem sine operibus nihil prodesse*'.[16] In the Rheims New Testament, this is quoted with translation as 'to avouch vehemently, *fidem sine operibus nihil prodesse*, that saith without workes profiteth nothing'. This is a reasonably literal translation, although *astruant* is more likely to be translated as 'affirm' or 'build' than 'avouch'. Errington quotes the same passage on the same theme with the same translation, adding and removing nothing: 'Saint Augustine wrote a booke *de fide & operibus*', in which '(saith he) the other Epistles of Peter, Iames and Iude were written, *to auouch vehemently that fait without good works profiteth nothing*'.[17] Another instance of this practice can be found in the Annotation to Matthew 18.17, which provides the following quotation from Augustine's *Contra Aduersarium*: 'Man is more sharply and pitefully bound by the Churches Keies, then with any yron or adamantine manicles or fetters in the world.' This is not only quoted directly in Christopher Blackwood's *Some pious treatises*, but the Rheims annotation is given as its source: '*Augustine* saith, *Excommunication is a greater punishment, then if a man were executed by sword, fire, and wilde beasts.* A man is more pitifully bound with the Churches keys, then with iron or adamantine manacles. *Cart. annot. Rhem.*'[18] Such examples show that the novelty of translating the patristics was itself a new and useful kind of patristic scholarship.

The Arguments become more combative when concerning Protestant scepticism as to the canonicity of Catholic books. Of Esther, the Argument writes,

[16] Augustine, *De Fide et Operibus*, 14.21 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2024).
[17] Anthony Errington, *Catechistical discourses* (Paris: 1654), fol. Hhijr.
[18] Christopher Blackwood, *Some pious treatises* (London: 1654), fol. O1v.

'OF the authoritie of this booke only two or three ancient writers, doubted, before the councels of Laodicea, and Carthage declared it to be Canonical […] And the councel of Trent *(sess. 4.)*'. The Council of Trent declared all of Esther was 'to be read in the Catholique Church, and be conteyned in the old vulgare latin Edition, are sacred and Canonical Scripture'. This bent becomes explicitly anti-Protestant in the Argument to the Sapiential books, of which it is said, *'Al fiue* are *Canonical* and assured holie *Scripture:* as is shewed before: and may be further proued of the two later, which Protestants denie'. There is little attempt to engage with the specificities of Protestant Arguments on these subjects, only sweeping dismissals. The closest we find to a specific engagement is in the Argument to Maccabees, a book

> which the Jewes and Protestants denie, because they are not in the Hebrew Canon. The Protestants further alleaging that they are not in the former Canon of the Church, before S. Jeroms time. Moreouer obiecting certaine places of these bookes, which they say, are contrarie to sound doctrine, & to the truth of other authentical histories; or contradictorie in themselues. None of which thinges can procede from the Holie Ghost, the principal auctor of al Diuine Scriptures.

Details of doctrinal disagreement are dismissed. The Arguments are not a space to deconstruct Protestant Arguments, but nor are they primarily a venue to rail against them. Protestant figures are only named once in the Argument to Judith, which asserts that the book is 'not a poetical Comedie (as Martin Luther shameth not to cal it […] in his German Preface of Iudith, but a sacred Historie)', in contrast to the barrage of insults they receive in the prefaces. The Arguments may be tendentious at times, but they are also informative and historicist, and they write movingly of the texts that they introduce.

Philology

While the Rheims New Testament 'appeared to have little effect on English culture before 1611', as Daniell somewhat sniffily writes, both the Rheims New Testament and Douai-Rheims Old Testament had commanded a notable philological influence.[19] From the translation proper, Norton identifies 'abstracted', 'adulterating', 'co-operate', 'neophyte', and 'victim' among the words that the Douai-Rheims could possibly be credited with pioneering, although it was not until the 19th century that they saw general use.[20] Daniell adds 'paraclete', 'acquisition', 'advent', 'calumniate', 'resuscitate', 'character', and 'evangelise' to these, albeit by way of the KJV.[21] There are some words we might credit to the Rheims New

[19] Daniell, *Bible in English*, p. 362.
[20] Norton, *A History of the English Bible*, p. 45.
[21] Daniell, *Bible in English*, p. 362.

Testament annotations, such as 'companation', 'libament', 'purgable', 'defectual', 'circumpanation', 'fiduce', 'irreiterable', 'autotheism', and 'Platonicker', though these self-evidently did not find longstanding, widespread use. Of more interest is the term 'linguist', whose earliest use can be traced to the Rheims New Testament, although its contextless appearance suggests it was not a neologism. The term is used derogatorily and perhaps raises the sense of Babylonian tongues (*lingua* literally meaning tongue) in its criticism of Protestant translators, 'Much like to some fond Linguists of our time, who thinke them selues better then a doctor of Diuinitie that is not a Linguist'.[22] But Martin also uses the term positively in his *Discouerie*, where he sneers at Protestant beliefs in the superiority of their translations and invites them to 'dare shew their face before our campe of excellent Hebricians, Grecians, Latinistes, of absolute linguistes in the Chaldoe, Syriake, Arabike &c.'.[23] The next year, Fulke responds to Martin's efforts with a similarly snide remark, calling him 'the principall Linguist of the Seminarie at Rhemes'.[24] But for contrast, one year later, John Rainolds and John Hart debate the translation of words and use 'linguist' entirely positively.[25] In its first English uses, 'linguist' is deeply rooted in the debate over biblical translations, with an apparently neutral meaning that becomes soured if a linguist—a scholar of a secular discipline—thinks themselves better than a doctor of divinity.

The Rheims New Testament might also be credited with popularising the supposed names of the Magi, commonly thought in the Catholic faith to be Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar (with several variant spellings). This naming practice is entirely rejected by Protestants, including the assumption that the magi are kings as opposed to wise men. The Rheims New Testament was the first Bible to include these as the names of the magi, writing in the Annotation to Matthew 2.10–11: 'These are commonly called the three kings of Colen, because their bodies are there, translated thither from the East Countrie: their names are said to haue been Gaspar, Melchior, Baltasar.' While Worthington hedges his bets with 'commonly called', he is far bolder in Matthew 2.12 in claiming quite uncanonically that 'These Sages were three'. This assertion of the magi's names drew widespread criticism and was supposedly a clear instance of Catholic fancy intruding upon the meaning of scripture, with John Bois complaining 'that these were crowned Kings, and but three, whose names are *Melchior, Gaspar, Balthasar* […] is a tale painted on a wall not written in the word'.[26] William Rainolds advances a hopelessly unconvincing defence of the

[22] *The New Testament of Jesus Christ* [Rheims New Testament], fol. Mmmr, margin.
[23] Gregory Martin, *A discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures* (Rheims: 1582), fol. R2r.
[24] William Fulke, *A defense of the sincere and true translations of the holie Scriptures* (London: 1583), fol. f5v.
[25] John Rainolds, *The summe of the conference betwene John Rainoldes and John Hart* (London: 1584), fols. D4v–D5r.
[26] John Bois, *An exposition of the festivall epistles and gospels* (London: 1615), fol. L3r.

Annotation: he first writes that they do 'not precisely auouch[e] them to be Kinges in such sort as we commo[n]ly esteeme of that name, but after an other sort and some inferiour degree',[27] and his next defence absurdly asks, 'who hath heard them called by any other names? And I suppose they were not namelesse. And if they had names, why not Gaspar, Melchior, Baltazar, rather then [*sic*] William, Iohn, and Thomas, or any other, that M. W. [Whittaker] list to imagine.'[28] Apparently, the magi must be named, and the only choices are Melchior or John.

Summaries

The summaries are another source of theological interest. The summaries of the Rheims New Testament and Douai-Rheims Bible are printed in an identical style to those of the Geneva, save for appearing in one single column spread across the page (as is the scripture). They are set in italics beneath both the title of the book and number of the chapter, muddying the line between text and paratext. It is probable that two authors created these summaries, with one writing those of the Old Testament up to but excluding the books of Maccabees and one composing those for Maccabees and the New Testament, as there is a marked difference in length and style of the summaries at this juncture. The summaries are much more detailed than those of Protestant bibles; together, the New and Old Testaments contain nearly 66,000 words of summaries, in contrast with the 39,000 words in the KJV, 47,000 words in the Bishops', and the 41,000 words of the Geneva.

Stylistically, the summaries are far more colourful than those of their Protestant predecessors. Paradise is imaginatively described as having been 'planted with bewtiful & swete trees, & witered with foure riuers', Christ washes his disciples' feet in a 'most wonderful louing maner', the Levite's wife of Judges 19 is 'vilanously abused by wicked men', and all throughout the authors pepper their summaries with non-canonical adjectives: Jonathan 'killeth a monstruous giant', Christ will redeem us 'from thraldome of the diuel', to praise God is 'incomparably excellent', the Jews are 'subiect to childish, and effeminate gouerners', and so on. They employ characteristically Latinate vocabulary such as 'crucifige', 'excecated', 'vastation', and 'expiate' that, while not neologisms, were not in popular use at the time (and did not appear to catch on). These Latinate preferences can be strained, as with the attempt to replace 'crucify' with 'crucifige' (not present in the translation), or the bizarre decision to use the neologism 'exhiertance' rather than 'inheritance'.

[27] William Rainolds, *A refutation of sundry reprehensions, cavils, and false sleightes* (Paris: 1583), fol. Hh3v.

[28] Whittaker reasonably responds, 'I graunt as well maie we thinke the one [name] as the other: but reason is there none to thinke either'. William Whittaker, *An answere to a certeine booke* (London: 1585), fol. Aa8r.

As Ettenhuber writes of similar Latinate choices in the translation, they have 'the same effect as a mock Tudor cottage would on a modern housing estate, neither a faithful echo of the past nor a real conversation with the present'.[29] Their additional presence in synoptic materials suggests that this is not merely an attempt (or pretended attempt) to resurrect a Latinate past but may reflect the natural writing habits of those trained in Latin rather than English writing. Elsewhere we find the charmingly Middle English summary to Ecclesiasticus 29, which warns that one must 'Goe not a ghestning for delicate chere', meaning 'a cheerless banquet',[30] but on the whole all paratexts are inclined to Latin.

These summaries make interesting use of paratextual vocabulary to refer to the scripture itself around which their own paratexts are organised, thus eroding the boundary between canonical and not. Although the Douai-Rheims is not alone in this practice, it exhibits it far more extensively than that of Protestant bibles. First, there is the summary to Psalm 1, which explains 'The Royal prophet Dauid placed this Psalme as a Preface to the rest'. The Geneva offers a similar perspective but softens the interpretation of Psalm 1 as a preface, 'it semeth he did set this Psalme first in maner of a preface'; the Bishops' Bible mimics this phrase. When the Douai-Rheims describes the sapiential books as '*an Epitome* or briefe Summe *of al holie Scripture*: most conueniently therfore placed in the middes of the rest, as the Sunne amongst other Planetes, a shining great light in a large house', are we to infer that other 'summes' in this Bible (the prefatory 'THE SVMME AND PARTITION OF THE HOLIE BIBLE' or 'THE SVMME OF THE OLD TESTAment', or the summaries themselves) should also be viewed as guiding lights? Deuteronomy is described as 'but an Abbridgement' of Moses' law in Exodus; should paratextual abridgements be considered as having similar relation?

These issues are exacerbated by language that refers to 'readers'. In the Luke 1 paratexts, both the Douai-Rheims annotations and KJV summary describe the chapter as a 'preface', being 'The preface of Luke to his whole Gospel' in the KJV. However, the language is more suggestively intratextual in the Douai-Rheims, where it becomes 'a familiar preface of the Author as to his frende, or to euery godly Reader'. The preface to the reader, in both concept and phrasing, is a distinctly early modern phenomenon, and Worthington's language here suggests a companionship between Martin's 'Preface to the Reader' and Luke's preface 'to euery godly Reader', wherein both readers are presumed to be English, Catholic readers. With Martin's preface in mind, the annotation has a hint of exclusionarity: that it is not

[29] Ettenhuber, 'A comely gate', p. 67.

[30] 'gestening(e ger.', in *Middle English Dictionary*, eds. Robert E. Lewis *et al.* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1952–2001). Online edition in Frances McSparran *et al.*, eds., *Middle English Compendium* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Library, 2000–18). http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary. Accessed 2 March 2021. Many thanks to Natalie Jones for pointing me to this.

appropriate for ungodly readers (i.e. Protestants), and that Catholic readers are united as the unique addressees of both the Lucan and early modern prefaces. This theme continues in the postfatory 'THE SVMME, AND THE ORDER OF THE EVANGELICAL HISTORIE', where John 1 is referred to as 'THE preface mouing the Reader to receiue CHRIST', mobilising the same framing language. These emphases on the 'reader' also shift the expected audience of the gospels; in the context of the Douai-Rheims, no longer is the receptor of the Bible expected to be an illiterate hearer of scripture but a direct reader. In promoting this expectation of the literacy of the recipient of scripture, the Word is reframed as something to be *read*, not *heard*. Similar paratextual language is used in the summaries of 2 Maccabees 2 and Esther 11, which respectively read, 'The Preface of the Auctor abridging the historie of the Maccabees written by Iason in fiue bookes' and 'An Appendix and conclusion of this historie'. The Douai-Rheims employs this paratextual vocabulary with the effect of presenting the Bible as a network of paratexts whose canonicity or lack thereof become muddied, and scripture is recalibrated for a literate audience. While Martin's preface communicates a strong aversion to the transformation of scripture from a sacred, inaccessible object to a vulgar commonplace, the paratextual framing of the books themselves more practically stress the importance of accounting for the literary context in which the books will be received.

The summaries also suggest how the compilers of the Douai-Rheims bibles contextualised scripture itself among the major theological quandaries of the time. The definition of idolatry is among the foremost of these issues. In the wake of Calvin's attack on idolatry, Protestant criticisms of the use of sacred images, statues, and even the imagination became commonplace. However, this basic tenet has led to the misunderstanding that all references to idolatry in Protestant texts are coded attacks on Catholicism, a comment usually raised regarding the Geneva. Of the Genevan notes, Fulton argues that the 'frequent terms *idolatry* and *idolaters*' are meant to signify 'papists'.[31] Writing on Herrey's concordance to the Geneva Bibles, Stallybrass considers the 47 entries under 'idol' or its derivates as evidence of 'attempt[ing] to secure an interpretation of the bible in which the main threat is Catholic idolatry'.[32] Meanwhile, Furniss makes the more general and reasonable argument that 'the Geneva notes could only be read as justifying revolutionary struggle against idolatrous tyrants through selective quotations that sidestep other notes and prefaces that offer responses to tyranny and idolatry that are incompatible with revolution'.[33] If the number of paratextual references

[31] Thomas Fulton, 'Toward a New Cultural History of the Geneva Bible', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 47.3 (2017), 487–516 (p. 498).
[32] Peter Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, eds. by Jennifer Anderson and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. 42–79 (p. 60).
[33] Tom Furniss, 'Reading the Geneva Bible: Notes toward An English Revolution?', *Prose Studies*, 31.1 (2009), 1–21 (p. 1).

to idolatry serve as an index to anti-Catholic sentiment, than the Douai-Rheims paratexts must be extraordinarily self-loathing. To compare the frequency of these terms in the summaries, the Geneva Bible has 72, the Bishops' 77, the KJV 81, and the Douai-Rheims 113. If we account for these summaries being lengthier and quantify these amounts as percentages, the differences are minimal: the KJV has 0.21 per cent of the summaries composed of 'idol' or its derivates, the Bishops' has 0.17 per cent, the Geneva 0.18 per cent, and the Douai-Rheims is tied with the Bishops' at 0.17 per cent.[34] Clearly, a simple correlation between references to idolatry and anti-Catholicism cannot be produced.

One hypothesis to explain this trend that accounts for earlier interpretations of the use of 'idolatrous language' might be that the authors of these paratexts specifically identify idolatrous moments in scripture in order to set themselves apart from it. Idolatry is 'purged' in the summary to Numbers 33 where it is not mentioned in Protestant bibles. Another explanation is found in the decision to describe as 'idols' what Protestant bibles call 'images' in order to implicitly distinguish between Catholic images and graven idols; for example, 'Al occasions of idolatrie are to be auoyded' in the summary to Deuteronomy 16, whereas the KJV summary writes only against 'images'. The Deuteronomy 27 summary has 'cursing idolaters', while Protestant bibles have only 'cursing'. In the summary to Judges 6, Gideon 'gathereth an armie against Idolaters', which goes unmentioned in Protestant bibles after Matthew. The overwhelming majority of these references to idolatry occur in the Old Testament summaries, with idolatry here associated with Midianites. Idolatry is confined to the ancient contexts of the Israelites, Gentiles, and Egyptians. These summaries suggest idolatry was prohibited, purged, and forbidden before the coming of Christ, leaving Catholicism free of its taint.

While Catholics were attacked for supposed idolatry, they were also criticised for their treatment of scripture as constituted by obfuscatory mysteries. The Council of Trent affirmed the mystery of the Catholic faith. In response to what Woodward describes as Reformers' attempts 'to overturn the hieratic structure of the Catholic Church' by 'differentiat[ing] "true" mysteries from the "false" mysteries of Catholicism', there is a strong emphasis on mystery in the Douai-Rheims summaries.[35] Some of these are generic, such as the summaries to Psalm 28, 'the most sacred Mysteries, brought by Christ into this world', or to Isaiah 10.21, the 'diuers mysteries of Christ', or Isaiah 53.7, 'the mysterie of his ignominious death for al mens sinnes'. Others gesture at the existence of mysteries to which only a certain sect are privy, such as the summary to Hosea 14.10, 'Al which mysteries only the

[34] These percentages assume roundings to the nearest thousand and may differ negligibly depending on digitisation errors or inconsistencies.

[35] Marshelle Woodward, 'Crafting Transcendence: Mystery and Poetic Authority in Early Modern England' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2015), p. 22.

godlie wise shal vnderstand'. Others still are more explicit, as with the summary to Ecclesiasticus 21–2,[36] 'Mekenes and modestie auaile much: but curiositie to know secret mysteries is dangerous', or to 1 Corinthians 14.1–2,[37] whose discussion of speaking in tongues is transformed into a jab against polyglot bibles, 'Against their vaine childishnes, that thought it a goodly matter to be able to speake (by miracle) strange languages in the Church, preferring their languages before prophecying, that as, opening of Mysteries: he declareth that this Gift of languages is inferior to the Gift of prophecie'. The summary to Psalm 117 strays bizarrely far from scripture in its enforcement of ecclesiastical hierarchy: 'The Laitie demand participation of Christs Mysteries, promising to serue him duly: 25. Which the Pastors freely impert, and together with the people, solemnely celebrate Gods praise.'

These writings are combined with a consistent emphasis (echoing Martin) on the benefit of some aspects of the scriptures remaining inaccessible to the common reader. As Woodward writes: 'Though Catholics believed that scripture was a source of mysterious truths, they discouraged laymen from peering too far into this sacred knowledge, which was reserved for priests and the learned alone.'[38] In the Argument to Genesis, we learn how before Moses, 'the Church exercised Religion by Reuelations made to certaine Patriarches […] But the peculiar people of God being more visibly separated from other nations, & manie errors abunding in the world' meant Moses had to explicate it as an intermediary. The reader is invited to understand a direct relationship with God as the bygone sphere of the patriarchs and that these 'manie errors abunding in the world' remain in the present day. Similarly, in the Argument to Canticles, 'For though al holie Scriptures are the spiritual bread, and food of the faithful, yet al are not meate for al, at al seasons'. The Argument to Lamentations makes this especially clear, as Jerome 'iudgeth, and therfore explicateth the significations, and certains connexions, of the two and twentie Hebrew letters: as we haue noted upon the 118. Psalme: but aboue the capacitie of our vnderstanding'. The reader is discouraged from seeking out the understanding of such hard places, and such understanding is confined to a now inaccessible history. As Woodward argues, 'Catholics of all stripes commonly viewed the Protestant search for transcendent scriptural mysteries as profane, presumptuous, solipsistic and socially disruptive'.[39] Unlike the Geneva Bible, which explicitly seeks to reveal the dark places of scripture, the Catholic bibles intend to ensure the laity understand the importance of their lack of understanding. While

[36] 'Seeke not thinges higher then thy self, and search not thinges stronger then thy habilitie: but the thinges that God hath commanded thee, thincke on them alwayes, and in manie of his workes be not curious.'
[37] 'FOLOW Charitie, earnestly pursue spiritual things: but rather that you may prophecy. For he that speaketh with tongue, speaketh not to men, but to God: for no man heareth. But in spirit he speaketh mysteries.'
[38] Woodward, 'Crafting Transcendence', pp. 19–20.
[39] Ibid., p. 49.

paratexts are commonly associated with the task of explication, the Catholic paratext serves to prevent it.

The paratexts also serve to affirm the authority of Catholicism itself, not just its doctrines. Unsurprisingly, 'Catholic' occurs frequently in these paratexts, and all but one (1 John 4, for which 'Catholic' also appears in Protestant bibles) in the New Testament. The meaning of the word is laid out in the Argument to the epistles, wherein the non-Pauline epistles 'are called *Catholicae Epistolae*, the *Epistles Catholike*. […] they are termed *Catholike*, that is, *vniuersal*'. It is sometimes employed with general meaning of 'universal', as in 'the Catholique Church' or 'the Catholike fayth'. Yet in the summaries to the New Testament the reader is intended to take 'Catholic' in the sense of the 16th-century Catholic Church, projected backwards to allow for a continuity of persecution and salvation. If we recall that other paratextual material, the 'Preface to the reader' and the indexes, ensures that 'heretic' serves as a byword for Protestant,[40] it becomes clear that the summary to Luke 17 should be read within a counter-Reformation narrative:

> The nine Jewes are vngrateful after that he hath cured their leprosie: but the one Samaritane (the one Catholike Church of the Gentils) far otherwise. 20 The Pharisees asking, when cōmeth this kingdom of God (of whose approching they had now heard so much) he teacheth that God must reigne within vs: 22 and warneth vs after his Passion neuer to goe out of his Catholike Church for any new secrete co[m]ing of Christ that Heretikes shal pretend.

The passage is first read allegorically, with the Samaritan representing the Catholic Church, and then the summary advances a narrative that insists on never exiting the Catholic Church for heretics' churches, obviously suggesting an anti-Protestant reading. Catholic readings of allegory or signification similarly populate these paratexts. In the summary to Galatians 4, which explicitly identifies the passage as an 'allegorie', Abraham's sons are interpreted as the one being 'the children of the Jewes Synagogue' and the other as 'of the Cath. Church of Christ'. The summary to James 2 also presents the analogous struggle between heretics and Catholics to recall Protestant opposition with its description of how 'the Catholike by his workes sheweth that he hath faith: whereas the Heretikes hath no more faith than the Diuel'. In Jeremy 31, Rachel is read as 'The afflicted Church'. In the Argument to Proverbs, the author 'commendeth to al men certaine most excellent precepts, receiued of his mother; wherto he adioyneth the praise of a right wise woman: prophetically the Catholique Church'.

This interpretation is most prominent in the summaries to 1 and 2 Timothy. 2 Timothy's Argument makes its relevance to the reader clear: 'THE cheefe scope

[40] 'Augustine: *That Heretikes, when they receive power corporally to afflict the Church doe exercise her patience: but when they oppugne her onely by their evil doctrine or opinions. then they exercise her wisedom.* De civit. Dei li. 18. ca. 51.'

of this second to Timothee, is, to open vnto him that his martyrdom is at hand' where Timothy prophesies that 'in the last times certain shal depart from the faith attending to spirites of errour, and doctrines of diuels, speaking lies in hypocrisie'. The summary interprets this as a prophecy that some will 'depart from the Catholike faith' and, in the summaries to ensuing chapters, Timothy is said to urge one 'to keepe most carefully the Catholike Churches doctrine, without mutation', 'Not to contend, but to shunne heretikes: neither to be moued to see some subuerted, considering that the elect continue Catholikes, and that in the Church be of al sortes', to be 'constant in the Catholike doctrine', and that 'the time wil come when they wil not abide Catholike preaching'. This last summary to 2 Timothy 4 is a slightly warped interpretation of the scripture's 'they will not endure sound doctrine', which advances an anti-Protestant reading. There are also warnings against 'not harkening to the doctrines of Heretikes' and Paul's command to 'imitat[e] the faith of their Catholike Prelates and Martyrs' in Hebrews 13; and, finally, in the summary to Jude 1, 'Catholikes [are] therfore to be vnmoueable, to reproue the obstinate, to recouer al not desperate, to confirme the weake, and to liue them selues vertuously and without mortal sinne, which by Gods grace they may doe'. Read in the context of Martin's preface to the reader, which calls on its Catholic audience to know that 'No heretikes haue right to the Scriptures, but are vsurpers: the Catholike Church being the true owner and faithful keeper of them', these summaries construct a Catholic hermeneutic of the New Testament that casts its forewarnings and prophecies as being actualised in the rise of the Reformed church. These attitudes are put most plainly in the summary to James 1, complete with parenthetical asides within the summary, explicating itself, that urges its readers

> to reioyce in persecution (but if we be patient, and withal absteine from al mortal sinne) 9 considering how we shal be exalted and crowned for it, when the persecutor (who enricheth him self with our spoiles) shal fade away. 13 But if any be tempted to fall, or to any other euil, let him not say, God it the author of it, who is the author of al good onely. 19 Such points of the Catholike faith we must be content to learne without contradiction and anger, and to doe accordingly.

The Argument to James makes the sense more explicit: 'These pointes of the Catholike faith he commendeth earnestly unto us, inveighing vehemently against them that teach the co[n]trarie errors.'

Against this bolstering of the Catholic Church in passages that might otherwise be taken more generally, the Douai-Rheims summaries frequently hit on the undesirability of schism. 'Schism' does not appear in the paratexts of Protestant bibles. It appears only once in the Douai-Rheims scripture, at 1 Corinthians 12:25—'That there might be no schism in the body'—which is the same term used by the KJV (other translations use 'strife' or 'division'). Yet schisms are rife

in the Douai-Rheims paratexts, all adding up to the heretics' break with the Catholic Church being a herald of the end times. This is put most simply in 'THE CONTINUANCE OF THE CHURCH AND RELIGION IN THE THIRD AGE' in discussion of the Madianites, 'who kept some resemblance with the people of God in religion, and therin prefigured heretikes, that descend from Catholique race, but falling to schisme & heresie' (fol. BB2v). The Argument to the Johannine epistles is similarly strong in tone: one must become neither 'heretikes, nor Schismatikes: but rather to auoid al such, as the forerunners of Antichrist'. A schism must always be between two things, and we are led to understand that scriptural references to divisions should be read in the light of Protestant factionalism. This understanding is echoed in the summary to Luke 17: 'So damnable it is to be author of a Schisme, 3 that we must rather forgiue be it neuer so often. […] The nine Jewes are vngrateful after that he hath cured their leprosie: but the one Samaritane (the one Catholike Church of the Gentils) far otherwise.' In John 17, the church must remain 'in vnitie and veritie (that is, from Schisme and Heresie:)'. A parenthetical explanation is provided to understand the allegory of Ecclesiasticus 25.17–30, for which the summary explains: 'A wicked woman (heresie) is very detestable, 30. and most vntolerable, if she haue supreme dominion.' The 'watchmen al blind' of Isaiah 56.9 (referred to as 'blind watchmen' in the Protestant summaries) become the ecclesiastically specific 'euil pastors' in the Douai-Rheims summary. Altogether, this language develops an understanding of the sanctity of the Catholic Church, how it will be assailed by heretics, and the evil of schismatic sects.

These readings tend towards eschatology when it comes to the subject of the Antichrist. Catholic uses of eschatology have been neglected in favour of Protestant counterparts, but as Stoakes writes, 'the identification of Antichrist was not just a Protestant concern but rather the linchpin of Reformation debates between Catholics and Protestants'.[41] There are five instances of 'Antichrist' in the Bible, all in the Johannine epistles, but the Douai-Rheims summaries identify seven references to the figure. Outside of those references in the Johannine epistles, Antichrists are also identified in the vision of Daniel 12; Haggai 11's description of how the pastor 'shal not visite thinges forsaken, the thing dispersed he shal not seeke, and the broken he shal not heale, & that which standeth he shal not nourish, and he shal eate the flesh of the fat ones, and their hoofes he shal dissolue'; Matthew 24's description of the darkness and second coming; the same pericope in Mark 13; 'the persecution of Antichrist' in Luke 17 and 18; and 2 Thessalonians 2.3's 'the man of sinne be reuealed, the sonne of perdition'. This sense of 2 Thessalonians and its specification against the break with Rome is established in the Argument to this book, which reads, 'all those persecutions and heresies, raised then, and afterward against the Catholike Church, were but the mysterie of Antichrist, and not

[41] Coral Georgina Stoakes, 'English Catholic Eschatology, 1558–1603' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2016), p. 1.

Antichrist himself. but that there should come at length a plaine Apostasie, & thē (the whole fore running mysterie being once perfitly wrought) should folow the reuelation of Antichrist himself in person'. As with the creative exegetical wrangling of passages to make them refer to the Catholic Church, we see a similar phenomenon with the summary to 1 John 2:18–19, which elaborates on John's description of those who go out of the faith into many who have 'gone out of the Church and become Seducers al the ministers of Antichrist'.

The Douai-Rheims Bible and Rheims New Testament thus employ many similar tactics to those of Protestant bibles; but there are also uniquely Catholic habits to communicate theology, advance patristic knowledge, and impress doctrine upon a readership of clergy rather than laity.

Prefaces

The Rheims New Testament's 'Preface to the Reader' is, according to Daniell, 'one of the extraordinary documents in the history of Bible translating. There is nothing like it anywhere else. Large parts of the 26 pages are written in bile.' Daniell continues on this theme for a while, objecting to the 'unpleasant' 'maze of Latinate clauses', 'the deafening music of a whole brass band of self-righteousness'.[42] This is, perhaps, unfair. Martin's preface is named similarly to the preface in the Geneva that this text so often imitates, but the similarities in these titles betray the disparate audiences at which they aim. To what 'reader' is the Rheims New Testament addressed? Unlike Protestant bibles, this text is aimed firmly at a clerical, not lay, audience. As Martin writes, 'as it is a shame for a Bishop or Priest to be vnlearned in Gods mysteries, so for the common people it is often times profitable to saluation, not to be curious, but to folow their Pastors in sinceritie & simplicitie'. This preface addresses the clerical reader who must then disseminate its contents to appropriate demographics, understanding that 'in Scripture there is both milke for babes, and meate for men, to be dispensed, not according to euery ones / greedines of appetit or wilfulnes, but as is most meete for eche ones necessitie and capacitie'. The different 'reader' to which this preface's title refers points to the adverse attitudes adopted by Protestant and Catholic authorities regarding education, the dissemination of scripture to the lay masses, and the purpose of translating the Bible into the vernacular. As put succinctly by Fulton and Specland: 'The reader whom Martin's preface addresses is thus not a member of the laity potentially seduced by corrupt Bibles, but ostensibly a member of the Catholic clergy who can use a Catholic Bible to generate arguments against Protestant versions.'[43]

[42] Daniell, *Bible in English*, p. 367.
[43] Thomas Fulton and J. Specland, 'The Elizabethan Catholic New Testament and Its Readers', *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, 6.2 (2019), 251–75.

While the Protestant Reformation has been reductively though not inaccurately boiled down to an attempt to ensure scripture reached the 'ploughman in the field', the Catholic project of education prioritised the clergy. While many clergy made use of the Geneva, the Rheims is primarily intended for this kind of indirect public use: the clergy are to read it privately (where 'privately' is understood as an exclusively clerical space) and then disseminate its teaching to the public. As Comerford writes: 'Despite the attention paid to the general public, the training of pastors and preachers took precedence.'[44] While Catholic education during the Reformation has often been overlooked in favour of Protestant goals, '[e]ducational reforms were among the most lasting and widespread of those effected by the Catholic Reformation'.[45] Protestants and Catholics chiefly differed, however, in how the laity should be educated in scripture. Prior to the Reformation, '[r]eaders looked to the Bible primarily for moral rather than doctrinal content, with those members of the church who could read Greek and Latin teaching Bible stories with practical application to those who could not'.[46] In its wake, however, the Catholic Church employed a wide array of educational methods to reach both its clergy and laity; yet informal rather than formal methods might have become the most effective means to reach a lay audience. 'Grassroots' and 'informal, event-based' education became a major means by which the laity was reached, as Comerford demonstrates, while the education of the clergy remained the issue demanding the most urgent and direct treatment.

Martin's 'Preface to the Reader' aims at a clerical audience and repudiates the Protestant project to reach the poor ploughman directly. Indeed, the supposed attempt of Protestant vernacular translations to sidestep clerical intervention entirely was a perversion of educational theory. Martin prefers the geographical segregation of holy works that keeps them 'in Libraries, Monasteries, Colleges, Churches, in Bishops, Priests, and some other deuout principal Lay mens houses and handes' so that they might be 'vsed […] with seare and reuerence'. By contrast, and in direct response to Tyndale's call, it was preferable when 'The poore ploughman, could then in labouring the ground, sing the hymnes / and psalmes either in knowen or vnknowen languages, as they heard them in the holy Church, though they could neither reade nor know the sense, meaning, and mysteries of the same' (fols. A3r-A3v). Holy books, then, are the purview of religious, academic, and 'principal' spaces, not of the laboured ground of the fields. As Norton expounds, Martin 'stands at the opposite extreme from Tyndale's optimistic view

[44] Kathleen M. Comerford, 'Clerical Education, Catechesis, and Catholic Confessionalism: Teaching Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.*, eds. Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp. 241–65 (p. 243).
[45] Ibid., p. 241.
[46] Fulton and Specland, 'The Elizabethan Catholic New Testament and Its Readers', p. 259.

of the openness of the text's meaning, and yet the two men probably would not have disagreed on this matter if it did not involve the whole status of the Church's teaching, and if the matter of allegory were not so contentious to Tyndale.'[47]

By permitting scripture to reach any audience by a vernacular translation, appropriate educational hierarchies are perverted and the fifth (or fourth) commandment transgressed: 'Then the scholer taught not his maister, the sheepe controuled not the Pastor, the yong student set not the Doctor to schoole, not reproued their fathers of error & ignorance.' There is a sniffy dismissal of Protestant educational practices present in Martin's condemnation of 'euery schole-maister, scholer, or Grammarian that had a litle Greeke or Latin' being able 'to take in hand the holy Testament'. The physical emphasis here, 'to take in hand', is partially a criticism of the mass production and material access to the Bible that the printing revolution facilitated. While, as Natalia Maillard Álvarez summarises, '[i]t is nowadays amply recognised that not only did the Catholic Church not oppose the printing press',[48] there is certainly a resentment if not total opposition in Martin's following comment that 'neither was there any such easy meanes before printing was inuented, to disperse the copies into the handes of euery man, as now there is'. Despite the rich use the Catholic church made of the printing press during and even before the Reformation,[49] Martin clearly takes issue with its speeding of the Bible into the hands of the uneducated laity.[50]

Although Martin pretends a distinction between literacy and this kind of fallaciously authoritative wrangling of scripture, his argument is less that of a slippery slope and more a sudden precipice between reading and anarchy: 'euery man and woman is become not only a reader, but a teacher, controuler, and iudge of Doctors, Church, Scriptures and all'. Much of Martin's preface advocates demography, the rejection of a homogenous reading (or listening) audience—all one under Christ—in favour of discrete groups to whom different aspects of the Bible should be addressed. Virgins should 'meditate upon the places and examples of chastitie, modestie and demurenesse: the maried, on coniugal faith and continencie: the parents, how to bring vp their children in faith and seare of God: the Prince, how to rule: the subiect, how to obey: the Priest, how to teach: the people, how to learne'. Martin despises that the Bible in its unmediated totality should fall 'in the handes of euery husbandman, artificer, prentice, boies, girles, mistresse, maide, man: that

[47] Norton, *A History of the English Bible*, p. 42.
[48] Natalia Maillard Álvarez, 'Introduction', in *Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period*, ed. Natalia Maillard Álvarez (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. i–xiii (p. ix).
[49] Falk Eisermann, 'A Golden Age? Monastic Printing Houses in the Fifteenth Century', in *Print Cultures and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bentio Rial Costas (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 37–67.
[50] For more on debates regarding lay readership of bibles, see Ignacio J. García Pinilla, 'The Debate Surrounding Lay Bible Reading in Spain in the Sixteenth Century' and Max Engammare, 'Lay Debates about the Sacrality of the Bible in Sixteenth-Century Geneva', in *Lay Readings of the Bible in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Erminia Ardissino and Élise Boillet (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 86–112 and 65–85.

they were sung, plaies, alleaged, of euery tinker, tauerner, rimer, minstrel: that they were for table talke, for alebenches, for boates and barges, and for euery prophane person and companie'. He rejects entirely 'the indiscerete zeale of the / popular, and their factious leaders' as opposed to the 'wisedom & moderatio[n] of holy Church' (fols. A2r–A2v). Protestantism is treated as gross populism. Scripture should remain segregated and, therefore, holy. It is unfit material for those with worldly professions; it must remain in the private hands of the clergy. Humanism becomes homogeneity in Martin's view and only exclusivity is sacred.

In contrast to the Protestant anxieties that agonise over how one should deliver a challenging text such as the canticles or Revelations to an untrained audience, Martin implies that the more obtuse or complex books of scripture should be cordoned off entirely; it is a terrible thing when common readers claim to find 'no difficultie' in these texts. 'The wise wil not here regard what some wilful people do mutter', Martin writes, 'that the Scriptures are made for all men, and that it is of enuie that the Priestes do keepe the holy booke from them. Which suggestion commeth of the same serpent that seduced our first parents who persuaded them, that God had forbidden them that tree of knowledge'. Among the more general attacks this preface launches against heretical Protestant figures, it is Tyndale the serpent that presents the gravest enemy. Among the many specific issues Martin takes with Protestant translations, the heart of the matter remains that translating the Bible at all risks a Faustian capitulation to Satanic temptation.

But translate the Bible the Catholic church must, and it is Martin's job to justify this endeavour to his readership who, until now, have been hardlined to reject the possibility of vernacular translation. There is an unavoidable defensiveness to Martin's preface on this subject, as is hardly surprising for a book that must be, in essence, reactionary in nature. Walsham and Daniell present contrasting views on the Rheims' efforts: for Walsham, the decision to produce a Catholic translation of the Vulgate after so much resistance is 'an adept response to the challenges presented by the entrenchment of Protestantism';[51] to Daniell, it is 'an aberration', its prose 'so unpleasant' and 'deafening' in its 'self-righteousness'.[52] Yet Martin's preface strives impressively to rally a convincing argument as to the need to present a vernacular translation in the present time when such a decision hardly goes against prior doctrine. Martin displays a refreshing willingness to compromise and respond to the needs of both parishioners and the Church itself in a turbulent period for the Catholic church in England. Martin stresses the contemporary context that will receive the Rheims New Testament, stressing 'the doubtes of these

[51] Alexandra Walsham, 'Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible', *Journal of British Studies*, 42.2 (2003), 141–66 (p. 153).
[52] Daniell, *Bible in English*, p. 367.

daies' and 'the present time, state, and condition of our countrie' that demand 'medicinable' action (fol. A2r).

The critical reception of the Rheims New Testament, slender though it may be, emphasises its role as a last resort that opposes on principal any conciliation to modern practices. Walsham argues that the Rheims New Testament translation 'was never considered to be anything other than an exceptional and emergency measure'.[53] To Ettenhuber, 'change and revision are associated with the "windinges and turninges of divers errours"'.[54] Martin remains committed to tradition and continuity with the primitive church, always extolling the Latin Vulgate as the more accurate and primitive translation than the Greek and Hebrew that the Protestants take as their source. This allegiance to the primitive church is constantly perceptible in Martin's frequent deployment of patristic theologians, which ranges from his extensive quotation of Augustine—'Martin's Augustine is elevated and canonized through the process of citation', Ettenhuber writes—to including a 'five-point checklist on how to establish canonicity [that] is simply a series of glosses on patristic axioms'.[55] Martin effects a deft challenge to the Protestant argument that the Catholic church, as it stands, is a corruption or diversion from the primitive church. In response to criticisms of the Vulgate being 'Papistical' and therefore corrupt, Martin stresses its longevity: 'if the vulgar Latin be Papistical, Papistrie is very auncient, and the Church of God for so many hundred yeres wherein it hath vsed and allowed this translation, hath been Papistical'. Protestant theologians would indeed agree with this position and that its very veracity is reason to abandon the Catholic Church, but Martin's embrace of the longevity of papistry stresses its inescapability and advances the suggestion that there cannot be a *prior ad principium* return or restoration of pre-Catholic scripture.

The Rheims translation is wholly literal, and sometimes awkwardly or pretentiously so. Its classical neologisms introduced to artificially construct a peculiarly Latinate authority, needlessly eschewing English for the sake of self-aggrandisement. But its literality is not absolute. Ettenhuber makes the interesting argument that:

> By keeping the phrases of the Vulgate 'word for word, and point for point, for feare of missing, or restraining the sense of the holy Ghost' (c3v), the Rheims translation seeks to co-opt the power of the sacrament, and equates literalism with a notion of embodied speech which is more than a linguistic approximation, or a ghostly memorial of the original scripture utterance.[56]

[53] Walsham, 'Unclasping the Book?', p. 152.
[54] Ettenhuber, 'A comely gate', pp. 55–6.
[55] Ibid., p. 58.
[56] Ibid., p. 59.

However, the Rheims translation undercuts this idea of sacramentalisation with the linguistic multiplicity of its margins which, like the Geneva, offer the reader alternate routes of interpretation to the primary scripture. Martin *et al.* add 'the Greeke in the margent' 'when the sense is hard, that the learned reader may consider of it and see if he can helpe him self better then by our translation'. They also 'adde the Latin word sometime in the margent, when either we can not fully expresse it, […] or when the reader might thinke, it can not be as we translate'. There is here an open admission of the limits of Englishing the Vulgate and the translators' inability to achieve sacramental literalism. There is a much greater anxiety and awareness of weakness than Ettenhuber in this passage; Martin is not arguing for having achieved what Ettenhuber describes as 'embodied speech' but is rather motivated by '*feare* of missing' (emphasis added) the meaning of that speech. The marginal alternatives demonstrate the translators' awareness of their inability to succeed in their action (which is meant not as a criticism; such is the nature of translation) and willingness to provide aids by means of alternative Greek and Latin terms. Similarly, Ettenhuber argues that Martin's preface portrays 'the process of textual transmission […] as transparent, continuous, and largely unproblematic', which I argue accurately represents Martin's portrayal of the Vulgate's continuous relationship with the early church but does not sufficiently cover the acknowledged problems with textual transmission in the more immediate present.[57] I point to the marginal alternatives translations, the anxious 'feare of missing, or restraining the sense of the holy Ghost', and highlighting of the Council of Trent's decree 'that the vulgar Latin text be in such pointes throughly mended, & so to be most authentical' as evidence of Martin's awareness and admission of the problems of textual transmission.

The Geneva translation is thus far more expansive in its aims, attempting to open as many meanings as possible, whereas the Rheims anxiously attempts to ensure an accurate 'sense' can be conveyed. This is not to say the Geneva's aims are more noble or that it necessarily succeeded more adeptly, but we must acknowledge the differing circumstances of these positions. The English translators from Tyndale onwards were, from their point of view, attempting to shine light in a dark landscape obscured by Catholic dogma; any progress was meaningful. The Rheims New Testament translators needed to continue an existing translation and ensure the safe transmission of doctrine from Latin to English, from a stable language that had grounded the Catholic Church since antiquity, to the slippery proto-modernity of 16th-century English.

Despite Daniell's charge of Martin's preface being largely 'written in bile', Martin's charges against Protestantism are hardly vituperative in comparison to his opponents in the Geneva preface. Martin does not engage thoroughly with

[57] Ibid., p. 57.

Protestant doctrine beyond his regular rejections of the very concept of translating and disseminating the Bible at all, where he speaks harshly of how Satan has 'gained more by these new interpreters (their number, leuitie of spirit, and audacitie encreasing daily) then he did before by keeping the word from the people'. Martin's regular references to 'the Aduersaries' further stress this supposed Satanic alignment of the Protestants, but this is no less than Protestant implications that the Pope is Antichrist himself. The chief difference is that the Protestant reading is forwards-looking and apocalyptic, whereas Martin's preface looks back to align Protestant forces with the original adversary. Bristow, the author of the annotations, believed Antichrist had yet to arrive, which draws 'a significant difference between early modern Catholic and Protestant perceptions of their own age', as Stoakes writes.[58] Martin's concern remains the question of translation and identifies Wycliffe, not Luther, as the source of these troubles, referring to 'the troubles that Wicleffe and his folowers raised in our Church'. Since Wycliffe incepted the heretical vernacular, Protestants have 'most shamefully in all their versions Latin, English, and other tonges, corrupting both the letter and sense by false translation, adding, detracting, altering, transposing, pointing, and all other guileful meanes', echoing the end of Revelation, and turning scripture 'into new prophane nouelties of speaches'. Novelty must always be rejected.

Finally, following in the footsteps of the Geneva, the Rheims New Testament explains the paratextual aids it has provided to the reader. Martin refuses the Genevan habit of providing new titles for books but does include titles in the headings 'in the toppes of the leaues folowing, where we may be bolder', although this was abandoned in the full Douai-Rheims Bible of 1610, which I discuss in full detail in Chapter 1. After theologians argued so harshly against the inclusion of biblical annotations, Martin writes rather bluntly that the translators 'haue endeuoured by al meanes to satisfie the indifferent reader, and to helpe his vnderstanding euery way, both in the text, and by Annotations', without justification or explanation. No argument is made for the inclusion of annotations, despite the extreme length to which Martin has gone to justify the decision to translate the Bible into the vernacular.

In the following piece of prefatory matter, 'THE SIGNIFICATION OR MEANING OF THE NVMBERS AND MARKES vsed in this New Testament', the Rheims New Testament editors appear to be trying to one-up those of the Geneva with their system of references and navigational aids. They use a multitude of symbols to variably indicate the beginning of verses, that there is a corresponding annotation, that there is a corresponding marginal comment, or that there is an alternate marginal reading or that 'those wordes are not in some copies', as well as including a lettered system for further intratextual reading with the margin, and a final mark to 'signifieth the ending of Gospels and Epistles'.

[58] Stoakes, 'English Catholic Eschatology', p. 114.

The title page of the 1610 Douai-Rheims Bible revises that of the New Testament, shifting 'With ARGVMENTS of bookes and chapters, ANNOTATIONS, and other necessarie helpes, for the better vnderstanding of the text, and specially for the discouerie of the CORRVPTIONS of diuers late translations, and for cleering the CONTROVERSIES in religion, of these daies' to 'With Arguments of the Bookes and Chapters, Annotations, Tables, & other helps, for better vnderstanding of the text: for discouerie of Corruptions in some late translations: and for clearing Controuersies in Religion'. Dropping the phrase 'of these daies' heralds the melancholic acceptance pervading the preface that the Catholic struggle is not one likely to see a present end. 'THE CENSVRE AND APPROBATION' has been removed and replaced with a shorter 'APPROBATIO', which lists the new authors and explains, in Latin, that they have translated the work 'valde vtilem fidei Catholicæ propagandæ actuendæ', for the useful propagation of the acts of the Catholic faith. The three authors are Guilielmus Estius, or Willem Hessels van Est; Petrus Bartholomeus; and Georgius Colvenerius, or Georges Colveniers (Colvenère), all being professors at Douai.

It is unclear if these professors were the authors of the new introductory preface, although no evidence of another author is given. This is another preface to the reader, 'To The Right Beloved English Reader Grace and Glorie in Jesus Christ Everlasting', which begins the Bible. This preface has little new to offer, and instead reiterates the points of Martin's preface, which is reprinted before the New Testament. Its prose lacks Martin's easy—if combative—English style and labours through torturous Latinate syntax, for example: 'Wherefore we nothing doubt, but you our dearest, for whom we haue dedicated our liues, wil both pardon the long delay, which we could [n]ot preuent, and accept now this fruit of our labours, with like good affection, as we acknowledge them due, and offer the same vnto you.' In repeating Martin's arguments, it frames itself as an 'Epitome' for that which is 'there more largely discussed' in Martin's 'Preface to the Reader' (fol. A2v). Its chief points of concern are to argue against the dangers of 'ignora[n]t people' reading 'corrupted translations' and the need for an 'especial remedie' in the form of this Englishing of the Latin Vulgate (fol. A3r). It maintains the sense of exceptionalism and emergency that characterised Martin's preface written nearly 30 years before but makes no concession that this state of exceptionalism might become the norm. Its debt to Martin is obvious elsewhere, as it directs its readers who wish to know more as to the corruptions in English Protestant bibles to Martin's *Discouerie of manifold corruptions*. This is a rare example of a biblical paratext directing the reader to a contemporary non-biblical work.

In maintaining an anti-Wycliffite theme and in its use of patristic theology, the preface follows closely in Martin's footsteps and has little new to add; however, the preface does offer a new perspective on Catholicism in exile, which is absent from Martin's preface. Although both testaments were produced in exile, Martin makes

little acknowledgement of these circumstances. His focus is on the enemy, the adversary, rather than the difficult circumstances in which he found himself, living abroad among English exiles. The authors of the Douai Old Testament preface present the production of the English Old Testament as part of a martyrological narrative, having taken so long to produce due to their exile: 'the impediments, which hitherto haue hundred this worke, they al proceeded (as many doe know) of one general cause, our poore estate in banishment' (fol. A2r). Lacking in Martin's brimstone approach, the authors write emotionally of their diminishment in England and the difficulties they face there. They have become 'Relikes', having 'great sadness and sorrow of hart, not so much for our owne affliction, for that is comfortable, but for you our brethren and kinsmen in flesh and bloud' (fol. B1v). The preface concludes with a call to 'endure persecution for the truths sake' so as to 'receiue most copious great rewards in heauen' (fol. B2r). In contrast to Martin's emphatic writing of the need to maintain the strength of the Catholic Church, this rhetoric is much diminished. The preface ends not with hope for curing the present moment but for the rewards that await after death. Approaching its end, the preface turns to martyrdom and a sense that the present English struggle, of which the production of the English Vulgate has been a major part, ended in defeat:

> Many of you haue susteyned the spoile of your goods with ioy, knowing that you haue a better and a permanent substance. Others haue been deprived of your children, fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and nearest friends, in readie resolution also, some with sentence of death, to lose your owne liues. Others haue had trial of reproches, mockeries, and stripes. Others of bands, prisons, and banishments. The innumerable renowned late English Martyrs, and Confessours, whose happie soules for confessing true faith before men, are now most glorious in heauen. (fols. B2r–B2v)

5

Literary Readers

When first beginning this project, a major impetus for its importance was the substantial body of work demonstrating the incredible influence the Geneva Bible notes had on the work of Shakespeare. Scholarship on Shakespeare's engagement with biblical paratexts is expansive and impressive and far outstrips that of any other writer. Limited work exists on Spenser's, Marlowe's, Milton's, and Donne's turn to the glosses, but Shakespeare has long been the chief recipient of studies regarding the reading of the margins of the early modern Bible.[1] If Shakespeare had made such thorough use of these margins, then—surely—other writers would have done the same, and it would be a simple if strenuous project to uncover these other patterns of use. How disheartening, then, to unearth such slender evidence for other literary figures engaging with paratexts in the same way, in comparison to the wealth of evidence that buttressed Shakespeare's use of glosses. In time, the explanation revealed itself: Shakespeare did not incorporate dozens of Genevan glosses into his work. The scholarship was wrong.

Scholarship of the English Bible has historically struggled under the weight of the 'Great Man' theory. This is perhaps most succinctly demonstrated in the exceedingly hagiographic dedication of David Daniell's *The Bible in English*, 'To the memory of William Tyndale, 1494–1536, translator of genius, martyred for giving English readers the Bible from the original languages'.[2] But if there is one person more often hailed as a singular genius than William Tyndale, it is William

[1] On Spenser, see Beatrice Groves, 'Shakespeare's Sonnets and the Genevan Marginalia', *Essays in Criticism*, 57.2 (2007), 114–28 and James Kearney, 'Reformed Ventriloquism: The Shepheardes Calender and the Craft of Commentary', *Spenser Studies*, 26 (2011), 111–51; on Marlowe, see R. M. Cornelius, *Christopher Marlowe's Use of the Bible* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1984), p. 298; on Donne, see Don Cameron Allen, 'Dean Donne Sets His Text', *English Literary History*, 10.3 (1943), 208–29 (pp. 213–16); on Milton, see Harris Francis Fletcher, *The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose* (New York, NY: Haskell, 1970), pp. 59–63 and R. A. L. Burnet, 'Two Further Echoes of the Genevan Margin in Shakespeare and Milton', *Notes and Queries*, 28.2 (1981), 129.

[2] David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), dedication.

Shakespeare, and the intersection of bardolatry with nationalistic pride in the English Bible has produced a virulent strain of often quite bad scholarship.

This chapter deconstructs the myth of how Shakespeare read the biblical margin, but it first addresses ways in which other literary readers *did* engage with these margins, focusing on the poetry of women writers, Edmund Spenser, and John Milton. In concluding with Shakespeare, this book makes the case for a more accurate, textual understanding of literary writers' engagement with the margins of the early modern Bible.

Women's writing

Against the dominance of the Great Man theory, which has provoked an inaccurate fixation on Shakespeare's use of the glosses, it is perhaps fitting that some of the most extensive engagements with biblical margins appears in the work of women writers, particularly in psalm poetry. The integration of the Geneva glosses into psalm poetry, paraphrase, and song has been recognised in isolated incidences, not only in women's writing. Victoria Moul argues for an instance of Philip Sidney folding in the word 'yoke' from a Geneva gloss,[3] and Hannah VanderHart for several more engagements with the glosses.[4] Amy M. E. Morris argues that compilers of the Bay Psalm Book turned to the KJV glosses when expanding the psalter, 'as if they preferred to remain where possible within the textual circumference of the English Bible'.[5] Yet the influence of women's engagement with biblical margins on their own writing have little been considered evidence of a greater pattern of thinking.

An important exception to this is the nature of this influence on the shape and method, rather than the content, of women's writing. The paratextual architecture of the Geneva Bible had a significant impact on how many writers conceptualised the relationship between their text and its margins—*The Shepheardes Calender* might be the most notable example of this—and women writers were no different. Such influences can also be found in women's domestic or private religious writings, and as reflected in their own handwritten marginalia. As Femke Molekamp argues, women writers 'used their Bibles to leave an imprint of themselves in records, prayers, and ownership marks, and even mothers' advice. […] [O]wners are also frequently seen marking their Bibles with personal systems

[3] Victoria Moul, *A Literary History of Latin and English Poetry: Bilingual Verse Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), p. 109, n. 37.

[4] Hannah VanderHart, 'Gender and Collaboration in Seventeenth-Century English Poetry: Philip and Mary Sidney, Aemilia Lanyer, Katherine Philips and Mary, Lady Chudleigh' (unpublished PhD thesis, Duke University, 2019), pp. 28–34.

[5] Amy M. E. Morris, *Popular Measures: Poetry and Church Order in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2005), p. 102.

of hermeneutics, through underlining, notes, cross references, and other signs.'[6] Beatrice Groves usefully expands on these handwritten marginalia, identifying writers such as Grace Mildmay as engaging in writing practices influenced by paratextual architecture.[7]

These compelling instances show, unsurprisingly, that the marginal glosses of the Geneva Bible were a useful resource for those seeking to creatively expand or adapt the text, and thus mirror the similarly imagistic and creative uses of biblical paratexts in clerical writings. No study has been done, however, on a writer's systematic engagement with these glosses, or how they might be uniquely used by women writers in early modern England. I examine three engagements with the margins of the Geneva psalms by women writers—Anne Wheathill, Anne Locke, and Mary Sidney Herbert—whose distinct engagements with the biblical glosses demonstrate that women writers employed diverse strategies to engage with the margin in their published work.

For an extended example of engagements with the glosses, we can look to Anne Wheathill. Wheathill's *A Handfull of Holesome (though Homelie) Hearbs* is a prayer book aimed at English gentlewomen.[8] Wheathill folds full glosses from the Geneva into her prayer book without citation or impunity, demonstrating an implicit understanding that both psalm and gloss are, if not equally authoritative, then sufficiently comparable to be incorporated without comment or qualification. This is not necessarily evidence of how women writers specifically engaged with glosses, for it reflects the same practice exhibited by sermonists. Wheathill is either consciously mimicking the accepted—if not explicit, and indeed often counter to explicit comments on glossing—clerical understanding of the relationship between script and margin, or she is making a private judgement that reaches the same conclusions. The latter is more likely, if we can take the total absence of positive reflections on the indiscriminate combination of scripture and gloss as evidence that the practice was not regularly and openly encouraged.

As this table demonstrates, Wheathill's incorporation of the glosses is common and extensive—far more so than is found in the work of sermonists:

Psalm	Wheathill	Gloss
17.1	Hear thou my God, for I am despised; turn their shame upon their own heads: for they are **puffed up with pride, as the stomach that is choked with fat**	'i They are **puffed up with pride, as the stomach that is coated with fat**'

[6] Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 49.
[7] Beatrice Groves, 'Edified by the Margent: Early Modern Readings of Biblical Marginalia', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 76.3 (2023), 893–937.
[8] Anne Wheathill, *A Handfull of Holesome (though Homelie) Hearbs* (London: 1584).

Psalm	Wheathill	Gloss
17.4	For **though they wickedly provoked me to too evil for evil, yet thy word kept me back**: for I behaved my self uprightly towards mine enemies	‘e **Though the wicked provoked me to do evil for evil, yet your word kept me back**’
89:2	for **as the insensible heaven is not subject to any alteration and change, so shall the truth of thy promises be unchangeable**, sith our infirmities cannot in any wise comprehend thee in thy majesty	c **As your invisible heaven is not subject to any alteration and change: so shall the truth of your promise be unchangeable**
101.1	**The faithful, in all their adversities, too know that all shall go well with them: for GOD will be merciful and just**	c **The faithful in all their adversities know that all shall go well with them: for God will be merciful and just**
107.16	For **when there seemeth to mans judgment to be no recovery, but all things are brought to despair, then thou O GOD dost show thy mighty power**, there is nothing done without thy providence and decree	‘f **When there seems to mans judgement no recovery, but all things are brought to despair, then God chiefly shows his mighty power**’
109.7	For **as to the elect all things turn to their profit; so to the reprobate, even those things that are good, turn to their damnation**	d **As to the elect all things turn to their profit: so to the reprobate even those things, that are good, turn to their damnation**
112:4	**The faithful, in all their adversities, too know that all shall go well with them: for GOD will be merciful and just**	c **The faithful in all their adversities know that all shall go well with them: for God will be merciful and just**
119:91	**seance the earth and all creatures remain in that estate, wherein thou hast created them; much more thy truth endures constant and unchangeable**	91 b **Seeing the earth and all creatures remain in that estate, wherein you have created them, much more your truth remains constant and unchangeable**
125.3	And **though thou suffer thy children to live under the cross, least they should embrace wickedness; yet thou wilt not suffer it to rest upon them, that it should drive them from their hope**: for all thy promises are true	**Though God suffer his to be under the cross, lest they should embrace wickedness, yet this cross shall not so rest upon them, that it should drive them from hope**

Anne Wheathill incorporates glosses in their entirety, hardly editing and rarely condensing. This is a markedly different pattern of incorporation to that used by sermonists.

Wheathill’s extensive use of the glosses prompts the question as to whether such patterns are characteristic of psalm poets. Wheathill appears to be an outlier

in the extent of her use, but she is not alone in incorporating glosses into psalm poetry. We may also consider the case of Anne Locke. A well-known paraphraser of scripture and respected woman poet,[9] Locke's *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner*[10] presents an expanded paraphrase of Psalm 51 that exchanges text for paratext, printing each line of the psalm itself in the margin alongside the verse that expands it.[11] Locke's use of biblical translation is complex; although conventionally assumed that the *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner* presents an original translation of the Vulgate, June Waudby argues that her sonnet sequence 'represents a *bricolage* of several of the English versions most readily available to her, whilst also bearing evidence of other paraphrases and expositions'.[12] To what extent Locke consulted the Geneva Bible in compiling this version is difficult to determine; elsewhere, Jane Donawerth has found Anne Locke's incorporating a Geneva gloss to Isaiah 38,[13] and so it would make sense for her to employ similar habits here.

Combining multiple translations—including, perhaps, her own—it is difficult to make a strong case for the glosses leaving fingerprints of vocabulary on Locke's interpretation. We might identify the gloss to 51.12: 'Which maie assure me that I am drawen out of the selaverie of sinne', in Locke's 'the signes that dyd assure / My felyng ghost of fauor in thy sight'.[14] The gloss to 51.13, 'others by his example may turne to God', might also influence Locke's 'in me example make / Of lawe and mercy'.[15] These paraphrases appear alongside the corresponding glossed scripture. In instances that appear separate from the scriptural gloss, the glosses' emphasis on the conscience (51.3, 'My counscience accuseth me') might prompt Locke's 'My cruell conscience with sharpned knife / Doth splat my ripped hert'.[16]

[9] See Catherine A. Carsley, 'Biblical Versification and French Religious Paraphrase in Anne Lock's "A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner"', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews*, 24.1–2 (2011), 42–50 and Ruen-chuan Ma, 'Counterpoints of Penitence: Reading Anne Lock's "A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner" through a Late-Medieval Middle English Psalm Paraphrase', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles*, *Notes and Reviews*, 24.1–2 (2011), 33–41.

[10] [Anne Locke], 'A Meditation of a penitent sinner', *Sermons of John Calvin* (London: 1560), fols. Aa1r–Aa8r.

[11] The authorship of *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner* has been disputed by Steven May, who argues this sequence was written instead by Thomas Norton. This assertion has been challenged by Rosalind Smith. I proceed on the assumption that Anne Locke is the author of this work. See Steven W. May, 'Anne Lock and Thomas Norton's Meditation of a Penitent Sinner', *Modern Philology*, 114.4 (2017), 793–819 and Rosalind Smith, 'Authorship, Attribution, and Voice in Early Modern Women's Writing', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Women's Writing in English, 1540–1700*, eds. Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, Danielle Clarke, and Sarah C. E. Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 23–38 (pp. 35–6).

[12] June Waudby, 'Text and Context: A Re-evaluation of Anne Locke's "Meditation"' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hull, 2006), p. 11.

[13] Mary Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson, eds., *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), p. 12.

[14] Locke, 'A Meditation of a penitent sinner', fol. Aa6v.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., fol. Aa4v.

Similarly, the evocative gloss to 51.10, 'He co[n]fesseth that when God's Spiri[t] is colde in us', might prompt Locke's 'straining crampe of colde despeir'.[17]

More convincing than these isolated moments of vocabulary, however, is the tone of Locke's paraphrase. David's original psalm is a redemptive piece, beseeching God for mercy and forgiveness after the transgression of adultery and concluding with David making an example of himself to teach others the ways of God. Although Psalm 51 invokes mercy, cleansing, purging, and iniquities, there is little focus on the abjection of the transgression itself. The Geneva glosses are evocative in this regard: they speak of 'horrible sinnes' (51.1) and that 'My sinnes sticke so fast in me that I have nede of some singular kinde of washing' (51.2). This much better reflects Locke's preoccupation with filth, in which her meditation revels: 'The lothesome filthe of my disteined life',[18] 'Amidde my sinnes still groueling in the myre',[19] 'So soule is sinne and lothesome in thy sighte',[20] 'leprous bodie and defiled face',[21] 'My filth and fault are euer in my face',[22] 'Ah wash me, Lord: for I am foule alas'.[23] An expanded metaphor may also be tracked through the vivid, violent imagery of Locke's poem. The scripture of 51.17's 'broken heart' becomes the more graphic 'wounding of the heart' in the gloss, and in Locke's poem manifests as: 'My cruell conscience with sharpned knife / Doth splat my ripped hert.'[24]

If Locke is indeed prompted by the Geneva glosses in composing her paraphrase, her writings habits are expansive, vivid, and personal, making creative use of paratexts in composing a sonnet sequence that itself functioned as paratext: appended postfatory to Calvin's sermons, a subordinated text.

Finally, to address the most widely known and praised example of early modern psalm poetry, I turn to the Sidney psalter and both Philip Sidney and Mary Sidney Herbert's use of the Geneva glosses in its composition. The Sidney psalter uses the Geneva as its main source,[25] and so the Geneva's extensive glosses can be examined alongside the content of the Sidney psalter to establish borrowings. The Sidney psalter is never so extensive with its marginal engagement, with patterns of use more suggestive of minor or accidental borrowings.

[17] Ibid., fol. Aa7r.
[18] Ibid., fol. Aa2r.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., fol. Aa4v.
[23] Ibid., fol. Aa5v. On Locke's use of abject imagery, see Theresa Lanpher Nugent, 'Anne Lock's Poetics of Spiritual Abjection', *English Literary Renaissance*, 39.1, *Studies in English Poetry* (2009), 3–23.
[24] Locke, 'A Meditation of a penitent sinner', fol. Aa4v.
[25] Gillian Wright, 'Mary Sidney Herbert', in *The Oxford History of Poetry in English: Sixteenth-Century British Poetry*, vol. 4, eds. Catherine Bates and Patrick Cheney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 569–85 (p. 575).

There are some exceptional engagements throughout this psalter.[26] To begin with Philip Sidney's adaptations, the 'vailing places' (19.22) of Sidney's Psalm 19 reflects the repeated use of 'veil' in the gloss to 19.5, which is absent in scripture. In Psalm 25.17, the speaker's sorrows are 'enlarged'; in both the gloss and Sidney, they are 'encreast' (25.61). More richly, the scripture of Psalm 21.12 has only 'the strings of thy bowe shalt thou make ready against their faces', but the gloss 'As a marke to shote at' becomes 'For like a mark thou shalt a row / Sett them in pointed places' in Sidney Herbert (21.45).

Mary Sidney follows a similar and more extensive pattern of engaging with the Geneva glosses in her adaptation of the remaining psalms. Some such instances have been noted before, such as Michele Osherow's comment that, in Psalm 68, 'Sidney [Herbert] literally moves Miriam from the glossed margins of the Geneva psalm into the midst of the poem'.[27] Elaine Beilin also argues that Mary Sidney Herbert '[a]dopt[s] the Geneva gloss of hyssop as a cleanser of leprosy' in Leviticus 14:6.[28] In addition to these, Psalm 45.4 glosses 'the worde of trueth and of mekenes [and] of righteousnes' as referring to 'trueth, mekenes and justice', which follows into the Sidney psalter as 'justice, truth, and meekness' (45.12). Similar small lexical mirroring can be seen in Psalm 56.12, wherein 'Thy vowes are upon me' is glossed with 'I am bou[n]de to paye my vowes of tha[n]kesgiving' and becomes 'how deeply stand I bound / Lord' in Sidney Herbert (56.36–7). One notable lexical borrowing is the controversial use of tyrant, where the scripture of Psalm 52.1 gives 'man of power' but the gloss renders 'the tyra[n]t Saul', becoming simply 'tyrant' in the psalter (52.1). Psalm 44.12's 'Thou sellest thy people' is glossed as 'selaves' (slaves), which is the preferred term in Sidney Herbert's version (44.44).

Finally, for a later example of the imprints of Geneva glosses on women's writing, we can turn to Lucy Hutchinson's *Order and Disorder*.[29] Unlike Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Hutchinson's own late 17th-century epic poem displays obvious and enthusiastic engagement with the biblical paratextual apparatus. This has been conventionally noted with regard to the poem's own marginalia; as Elizabeth Scott-Baumann writes: 'The biblical marginalia to *Order and Disorder* allude to the *mise-en-page* of the Geneva Bible, its many cross-references, its politically charged vocabulary, and its resistance to clerical interpretation.'[30] Hutchinson fills

[26] Philip Sidney and Mary Herbert, *The Psalms of Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke*, ed. J. C. A. Rathmell (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1963).
[27] Michele Osherow, *Biblical Women's Voices in Early Modern England* (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2016), p. 29.
[28] Elaine Beilin, *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 146. However, as this comment is also present in the scripture, the argument is unconvincing.
[29] Lucy Hutchinson, *Order and Disorder*, ed. David Norbrook (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001). My thanks to Anna Wall for her guidance on this topic and for identifying Hutchinson's engagement with the glosses.
[30] Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement Women, Poetry and Culture 1640–1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 171.

her margin with biblical references, encouraging the reader to engage in the same intertextual reading practices as those encouraged by the Geneva and KJV. But Hutchinson not only incorporates this paratextually informed hermeneutics; she also repeatedly turns to the marginal glosses of the Tomson-Geneva in the composition of her own poem.[31]

At the most basic level, we find many instances in Hutchison's poem where she seems to incorporate the vocabulary of the gloss into her verse. In canto 1, she writes of 'Whatever mortals' vain endeavours be' (1.16), citing Ecclesiastes 6.10, and taking 'mortal' from the gloss ('God who will make him to feele that he is mortall'). Hutchinson's 'Within himself, his Son, substantial Word' (1.99) cites John 1.14, where Christ is glossed as 'the very substance of grace and trueth'. John 5.19's gloss on 'his Fathers authoritie' becomes 'the father's wise decree' in Hutchinson (1.113). Her reference to those 'renewed to heighten the delight' (1.192), which cites Revelation 20.5, contrasts with the gloss on those who 'shall not be renewed with that newnesse of the life'. Hutchinson's vision of the world as a 'rude congestion' (1.302) clearly borrows the 'rude lumpe' of the gloss to Genesis 1.2. And, as Wall points out, the gloss to Ecclesiastes 1.7 'offers an obvious precedent' for Hutchinson's own watery metaphor of 2.59–64; furthermore, as Wall writes, Hutchinson's 'And when hate moves it, set the world on fire' (3.104) comes from James 3.6's gloss, 'It is able to set the whole worlde on fire'. The new man of Ephesians (4.24), which is glossed as 'after the image of God', reflects Hutchinson's own 'Let him our sacred impressed image bear' (3.11), and God having 'given man a desire' as the gloss to Ecclesiastes 3.11 becomes man 'Whose life is but a progress of desire' (3.33) in Hutchinson.

Beyond these straightforward borrowings of vocabulary we can also see Hutchinson developing her poetics through images prompted by the marginal glosses. James 1.17 and its contexts say nothing of water imagery, but Hutchinson's 'thou eternal spring of glory' (1.31) may be prompted by the gloss's 'fountaine and authour of all goodnesse'. In John 15.1, 'I am that true vine, and my Father is that husbandman' is glossed with an expanded metaphor, 'Therefore that we may live and be fruitfull, we must first be grafted into Christ, as it were into a vine by the Fathers hand'; in Hutchinson, these same specifics of grafting and fruit recur in 'Whose leaves health to the nations contribute: / The spreading, true, celestial vine / Where fruitful grafts and noble clusters shine' (1.195–7). More conceptual patterns recur, too, showing the Geneva's impact on Hutchinson's interpretation of a given passage. Deuteronomy 29.29's neutral statement, 'The secret things belong to the Lord our God', contrasts with the chastising gloss, which criticises those who seek to learn such secrets: 'Moses hereby prooveth their curiosity, which

[31] Scott-Baumann assumes Hutchinson read bibles comparatively, drawing on Margaret Fell's reading practices. She identifies Hutchinson referring to the marginal glosses of the Tomson Geneva specifically, which is the edition to which I refer here. *The Bible, that is, The holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament* (London: 1599).

seeke those things that are onely knowen to God: and their negligence that regard not that, which God hath revealed unto them, as the Law.' This more negative statement manifests in Hutchinson's rejection of how 'It were presumptuous folly to inquire' (1.41). Job 26.7's 'He stretcheth out the North over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing' is clarified by the gloss as 'He causeth the whole heaven to turne about the North pole', and Hutchinson picks up a similar sense of circularity: 'A mantle of light air compassed it round' (2.73–4).

From basic vocabulary to more conceptual imprints, Hutchinson's epic poem drew on both scripture and gloss in its reimagining of the creation of Genesis. There is far more work to be done on women poets' engagement with biblical margins, and particularly in psalm poetry. The subject of this section by no means intends to collapse such distinct reading practices under a gendered genre of women's writing; Wheathill, Locke, Sidney Herbert, and Hutchinson each make unique use of the Geneva glosses in composing their own work. From a substitute for scripture in Wheathill to poetic prompts in Locke, Sidney Herbert, and Hutchinson, the Geneva glosses served different purposes for distinct women's voices.

Edmund Spenser

While *The Shepheardes Calender* is the better known of Spenser's works for paratextual architecture, *The Faerie Queene* also engages with Genevan glossing in a more oblique fashion.[32] The influence of biblical glossing comes in two forms: the influence of specific glosses, and the influence of a glossing hermeneutic or strategy of reading. This section examines the influence of the 1576 Geneva Bible's glosses on Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.[33] Spenser might be the literary figure most given to glossing strategies of writing. As well as *The Shepheardes Calender* and *The Faerie Queene*, an interest in paratexts can also be seen in Spenser's *Amoretti*, wherein Spenser makes frequent allusions to the annotations of *The Book of Common Prayer*'s psalter, as Beatrice Groves argues. In *Amoretti* 58, Groves argues that the superscription 'even echoes the layout of the marginal notes'.[34] Meanwhile, in *The Shepheardes Calendar*, Spenser includes his own glosses (if Spenser is indeed the glosser of this text), 'engaging in a form of humanist play, recognizable to those readers familiar with the paratextual delights of works like More's *Utopia*', as James Kearney argues.[35] But *The Faerie Queene* does not demonstrate the same form of

[32] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* (London: Penguin, 2003).
[33] This was Spenser's preferred edition. See Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in the Faerie Queene* (Memphis, TN: Memphis University Press, 1976), p. 35.
[34] Groves, 'Shakespeare's Sonnets and the Genevan Marginalia', p. 14.
[35] Kearney, 'Reformed Ventriloquism', pp. 111–51 (p. 117).

paratextual play as is employed in *The Shepheardes Calendar*; rather, Spenser as writer interweaves scripture and gloss to present a vision of biblical allegory built on the principles of Genevan interpretation. Such practices were taken up by readers of *The Faerie Queene*, as Thomas Fulton demonstrates.[36]

Rather than lifting phrases wholesale, or even dipping into the vocabulary of the glosses, we see Spenser employ a strategy of interpretive writing that demonstrates a clear readership of the glosses. Existing scholarship on *The Faerie Queene* and glosses has thus far outlined some isolated incidences of the glosses' possible influence. When A. C. Hamilton turns to the Geneva gloss to Genesis 1.27, 'man was created after God in righteousnes and true holines', as context for Spenser's having 'no choice but to begin with holiness', we cannot conclude (and neither does Hamilton) that the gloss is an influential factor in this. Potential traces are more suggestive. For David Lee Miller, the Geneva gloss to Matthew 5.32—which glosses the husband and wife as allegories for sin and flesh—is a potential prompt for Spenser's characterisation of Mordtant and Amavia (more on this later). Helen Cooney argues that the gloss to Matthew 7–8, that 'He commandeth, not to be curious or malicious to trye out, and condemne our neighbours faults', is 'suggestive for Spenser's choice, out of all mythological and biblical figures, of Tantalus and Pilate: Tantalus is guilty of "trying out" the classical gods and Pilate of "condemning" Christ'.[37] Hamilton also makes the likely speculation that Florimell's sighting of the beast that 'likest it to an Hyena was, / That feeds on womens flesh', could be drawn from Geneva gloss to Ecclesiasticus 13.19 that glosses the hyena as 'a wilde beast that counter faiteth the voyce of men, and so enticeth the[m] out of their houses & deuoureth them'; this is, Hamilton glosses 'how Florimell rightly regards all men except Marinell'.[38] Patrick Cheney argues the gloss to Revelation 21—the city foundations of jasper—informs Spenser's fountain 'pau'd beneath with Iaspar shining bright', and set around 'With shady Laurell trees', as the gloss 'identifies the jasper stone as an analogue of the poet's laurel tree, which Spenser mentions in the next stanza'.[39] Kenneth Borris also argues that 'Calidore's "*great* long *chaine*" for securing the Beast echoes the Geneva Bible's "great chaine" for binding that monster', and that Spenser's 'comment on the Beast's later escape, "Thenceforth more mischiefe and more scath he wrought / … then he had done before", follows and even quotes the Geneva gloss for the old serpent's escape in Revelation 20:3'.[40] I could add to this the supposition that Florimell's tears, likened to 'two Orient

[36] Thomas Fulton, *The Book of Books: Biblical Interpretation, Literary Culture, and the Political Imagination from Erasmus to Milton* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), pp. 168–72.
[37] Helen Cooney, 'Guyon and His Palmer: Spenser's Emblem of Temperance', *The Review of English Studies*, 51.202 (2000), 169–92 (p. 178).
[38] A. C. Hamilton, ed., *Spenser: The Faerie Queene* (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2014), p. 355.
[39] Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession: Ovid, Spenser, Counter-nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 248.
[40] Kenneth Borris, *Visionary Spenser and the Poetics of Early Modern Platonism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 179.

pearles, [that] did purely shyne / Upon her snowy cheeke' takes a cue from the Tomson gloss to Matthew 7.6, 'A pearle hath his name among the Grecians, for the orient brightnesse that is in it'.

As such scholarship shows, these influences are suggestive of inspirational prompts rather than extended engagements with the Geneva margins. As with Shakespeare, this raises the question of the reliability or utility of such potential parallels. Even Hamilton's convincing 'hyena' parallel must assume that Spenser did not pick up the idea from some other source; given that the hyena 'That feeds on womens flesh' was a commonplace among medieval bestiaries, it is hard to pinpoint the Geneva as Spenser's source. Unlike Shakespeare, however, Spenser engages in a thoroughly allegorical kind of literary writing. He unfolds the romantic landscape of book I of *The Faerie Queene* from the pages of Revelation, a text steeped in representation, symbolism, and allegory.

With this in mind, further allegorical uses of the glosses can be teased out. From the first footnotes of Revelation 1, which declare the whore of Babylon as that 'which represent[s] the Church Catholic', Spenser is encouraged into an allegorical reading. This is pertinently seen in Duessa, who is regularly described with imagery and language that hails not from scripture but the marginal glosses. As the Geneva gloss to Revelation 17.4 has it, 'This woma[n] is the Antichrist, that is, the Pope with the whole bodie of his filthie creatures, as is expounded. vers. 18. whose beautie onely sta[n]deth in outward pompe and impudencie & craft like a strumpet'. Duessa is described as bearing a 'filthy feature' with a 'craftie head was altogether bald' (49.440, 8.46.415) The Geneva glosses' 'This woman […] is the Pope' suggests a hermaphroditic or monstrously intersex component to the whore of Babylon, captured in Duessa's 'neather partes misshapen, monstruous', that 'did seeme more foule and hideous, / Then womans shape man would beleeue to bee' (2.41.361–4). The glosses' understanding of the whore of Babylon as one whose beauty exists only in 'outward pomp' and 'craft' is a key characteristic of Duessa, whose allure is a 'forged beauty', and she appears only 'Like a faire Lady, but did fowle Duessa hyde' (2.41.315–16). Just as the Geneva glosses describe the whore, Duessa too 'seduceth the world with vain words, doctrines of lies, and outward appearance' (Revelation 17.1). Though Duessa herself is inspired by the canonical whore, the glosses' elaborations of the whore of Babylon inform Spenser's own elaborations of this allegory, with both sharing in a literary exegetical practice.

The Geneva paratexts—both glosses and summary—also encourage reading various Revelation imagery as allegories for hypocrisy. From the initial synoptic framing of the Argument to Revelation that explains 'how that the hypocrites which sting like scorpions the members of Christ' to those who refuse to seek Christ (3.17), the scorpion of the earth (9.3), Abaddon (supposedly the Pope and Antichrist; 9.11), and the horsemen of war (9.16–19), all are identified as hypocrites. Spenser's own allegory for hypocrisy is Archimago, whom the opening

synopsis to Book 1, canto 1, frames as 'Hypocrisie him [Redcrosse] to entrappe'. Archimago is never identified as such textually; we must refer to the paratextual epigram to unlock the meaning of the canto. Likewise, the allegorical construction of Errour's body and doctrinal vomit is informed by the Genevan paratextual reading strategy. Derived from the chimeric locusts of Revelation 9.7–10, who 'had tailes like vnto scorpio[n]s, and there were stings in their tailes', Errour has 'Her huge long taile […] Pointed with mortall sting'. The gloss prompts the allegorical reading of these stinging tails, that they will 'infect and kill with their venomous doctrine', and this is figured in Errour spewing forth the 'vomit full of bookes and papers'. The 'loathly frogs and toades' in her vomit are borrowed from Revelation 16.13–14's 'unclean spirits like frogs' that 'come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet'. The gloss elaborates these as 'the Pope's ambassadors which are ever crying and croaking like frogs'. The gloss adds little to Spenser's 'Deformed monsters, fowle, and blacke as inke, / Which swarming all about his legs did crall', but their comparison to 'Ten thousand kindes of creatures, partly male / And partly female of his fruitfull seed' in 'monstrous shapes' again pick up on the repugnant hermaphroditism with which Antichrist is portrayed. More closely, the 'cloud of combrous gnattes' to which these frogs are compared picks up the gloss on Revelation 9.3's 'locusts', which figures them as 'false teachers, heretics, and worldly subtle Prelates', etc. Additionally, the glosses to Revelation 2.24 describe 'the deepness of Satan' as 'the deep dungeon of hell: by such terms now the Anabaptists, Libertines, Papists, Arrians, &c use to beautify their monstrous errors and blasphemies'. With Duessa as the whore of Babylon providing the central allegorical prompt, we can see how such reading practices could extend to create Orgoglio's 'dungeon' (himself drawn from Goliath, although the glosses to 1 Samuel 17 offer in the little of allegorical or literary prompts).

Spenser's reading of glosses is not purposeful mining for exegetical inspiration but rather part of absorbing an allegorical strategy of writing that informs the whole structure of *The Faerie Queene*.

John Milton

In *Paradise Lost*, it is Satan who spreads 'glozing lies' (3.93) while 'the common gloss / Of Theologians' (5.435–6) is rejected for arrogance.[41] Milton himself complains of those who 'have spent more time and pains turning over glossaries and pompously publishing laborious trifles than in the careful and diligent reading of sound

[41] John Milton, *Paradise Lost: Authoritative Text, Sources and Backgrounds, Criticism*, ed. Gordon Teskey (Manhattan: W. W. Norton, 2020).

authors'.[42] But these attitudes do not necessarily reflect Milton's own reading practices of biblical glosses. Milton's primary use of the KJV, whose margins are comparatively bare of glossing, offers an obvious reason as to why so few glosses make it into his work. Some evidence has been found for the influence of glosses on Milton. Andrea Walkden argues for a Genevan gloss ('Christ only is the man') to Matthew 3.17 ('This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased') informing a line of *Paradise Regained*, 'in whom alone / He was well pleased'.[43] Meanwhile, Harris Francis Fletcher argues that Milton used marginal variants from the KJV, though he was 'highly selective' in doing so.[44] But despite—or perhaps because of—the overt antipathy of *Paradise Lost* to 'glozing', other paratextual content shows an influence on the text.

In Fulton's excellent study of Milton's use of the KJV, he argues, '[i]n the long shift from the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles to the KJV, the annotations—extensive, helpful, but arguably obtrusive—were stripped away, leaving in the margins only cross-references, philological notes about the original, and another feature less dominant in Geneva Bibles, the alternate reading'.[45] Most importantly, Fulton observes how the opening lines of *Paradise Lost* are informed by a prefatory page in the KJV. But there is another paratextual element that was not stripped away, this being the summaries, and these too have visible imprints on *Paradise Lost*. For example, whereas scriptural Eve says, 'The serpent beguiled me' (3.13), the summary states, 'The serpent deceiveth Eve'; in Milton, it is 'Th' infernal Serpent […] deceived / The mother of mankind' (1.35–6). Likewise, to be 'Driven headlong from the pitch of Heaven' may be taken from Adam and Eve being 'driuen out of Paradise' ('driven' is not present in the scripture for Genesis 1–3). In Milton, Satan is he 'Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?' As discussed elsewhere, the erotic 'seduced' is not present in either the scripture or paratext of the KJV but was popularised by the paratexts of the Geneva. Such references demonstrate a tendency to refer to and incorporate the summary, but without the degree that suggests a need or desire to engage extensively with glossing practices.

The summaries that accompany the main chapters of Genesis that present the subject of *Paradise Lost* are not lengthy, but I argue that Milton responds to the KJV summaries as a creative response to the scripture that he himself can mimic, deploying his own form of creative synoptic response. For Fulton, Milton's repeated use of 'or' is evidence of a 'persistent doubleness' that reflects the KJV's literally ambiguous approach to marginal alternatives.[46] We can see a

[42] For a discussion of Milton's opposition to glossing, see Michael Lieb, 'John Milton', in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and Theology*, eds. Andrew Hass, David Jasper, and Elisabeth Jay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 413–30 (pp. 414–16).
[43] Andrea Walkden, 'Sacred Biography and Sacred Autobiography', in *John Milton: Reasoning Words*, eds. Charles W. Durham and Kristin A. Pruitt (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2008), pp. 165–81 (p. 170).
[44] Fletcher, *The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose*, pp. 25–6.
[45] Fulton, *Book of Books*, p. 200.
[46] Ibid., p. 202.

syntactic and conceptual influence in Milton's use of 'of' when examined against the paratexts. The KJV summaries are peppered with 'ofs' to begin sentences or clauses to indicate the main subjects of the following passage. For example, the summary to 2 Kings 7 reads, 'Of the house of Lebanon. Of the porch of pillars. Of the porch of judgment. Of the house for pharaoh's daughter. Hiram's work of the two pillars. Of the molten sea. Of the ten bases. Of the ten lavers, and all the vessels.' Milton's positioning of the preposition at the beginning of sentences reflects a similar construction: 'Of evil then so small as easy think / The remedy' (6.437–8), 'Of good and evil much they argued then / Of happiness and final misery' (2.562–3). Indeed, in Fulton's reading, Milton adapts the passage from Romans 5.19 that appears as the KJV frontispiece for his opening to *Paradise Lost*, where 'As by one mans disobedience' is adapted as 'Of mans disobedience'.[47] But this prepositional opening comes not from the syntax of the frontispiece but the construction of summaries, for as Milton continues: 'Of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit / Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste / Brought death into the World' (1.1–3). Milton himself occupies a synoptic role: in calling 'Sing, Heavenly Muse', delayed to line 6, Milton himself becomes the summariser of the divine muse.

How Shakespeare didn't read the Bible

Scholarship on Shakespeare's use of the glosses stretches back almost 140 years. Especially in the earlier studies, they suggest a romantic image of Shakespeare alone at his desk, poring over the Geneva Bible margins in solitary study as he composes his plays, incorporating glosses here and there with a discerning eye. This is not a faithful representation of playwriting practice, nor is it based on an accurate record of the role of glosses in Shakespeare's plays. By way of a coda, I present a re-evaluation of scholarship on Shakespeare's supposed use of the Geneva glosses. Fifteen claims are examined, with only five proving plausible, and only three of those five properly convincing. Here, I show how Shakespeare did *not* read the Bible and urge for a less fanciful and more accurate understanding of how glosses informed their readers.

As in other attempts to establish the influence of a gloss in this project, there are four criteria to consider:

1 exclusion from scripture;
2 argument for priority;
3 lexical similarity; and
4 semantic similarity.

[47] Ibid., pp. 251–3.

If the suspected quotation only comprises material present in both the gloss and the scripture, there is no need to consider it a quotation from a gloss. Scholars are generally not silly enough to overlook the central scripture entirely and attribute to the gloss what is in front of their noses, but oftentimes a gloss will quote scripture from somewhere other than the passage it immediately glosses, and the scholar may confuse the gloss as an original source of the quotation. Sometimes a gloss contains a phrase already in common parlance, and a scholar may mistake this for an original comment; such mistakes are more common in older scholarship, before the advent of digital phrase searching to easily check such usage. Lexical similarity is the easiest to locate and establish provenance; in its purest form, a word that is rarely or never used before its inclusion in a gloss is then used by a writer. In isolation, this is not a very convincing argument that the word was taken from the gloss, as glosses will reflect popular vocabulary and can rarely be said to be the source of such words. Only when lexical and semantic similarity co-occur can an argument be realistically advanced: when the same word or phrase is used in the same manner as its occurrence in the gloss. A claim need not fulfil all four criteria, but the more that they meet (and the more fully they meet them), the more weight it should hold. With these four criteria in mind, I assess the 15 claims of Shakespeare's use of biblical glosses.

The earliest instance of this phenomenon is found in an oft-cited 1883 piece by Christian Ginsburg. Ginsburg's assertion concerns Antonio's riposte to Shylock, 'This was a venture, sir, that Jacob served for; / A thing not in his power to bring to pass / But swayed and fashioned by the hand of heaven' (I.iii.88–90).[48] Ginsburg claims here that Antonio's words are drawn from the Bishops' Bible note to Genesis 30.37, 'It is not lawefull by fraude to seke recompence of iniurie: therfore Moyses sheweth afterwarde that God thus instructed Iacob'. This is barely an argument: the passages have little to do with one another, they contain no sentiment not present in the scripture, and Shakespeare would have had little contact with the margins of the Bishops' Bible. Another early instance lies in Thomas Carter's *Shakespeare and Holy Scripture*, which—in the words of Roger Stritmatter—founded this 'impressive scholarly tradition'.[49] Carter discusses the Genevan notes extensively but mostly to offer context for the reader rather than argue for strains of influence. In one exception, he ventures the imaginative attempt to attribute Queen Margaret's exclamation, 'The worm of conscience still begnaw thy soul!', in *Richard III* (I.iii.219) to the Genevan gloss to Isaiah 66.24, 'Meaning, a continual torment of conscience, which shall ever gnaw them, and never suffer them to be at rest'.[50] The 'worm [that] will not die' of Isaiah had

[48] Christian D. Ginsburg, 'Shakespeare's Use of the Bible', *Aetheneum*, 28 April 1883, pp. 542–3.
[49] Roger Stritmatter, 'By Providence Divine: Shakespeare's Awareness of Some Geneva Marginal Notes of I Samuel', *Notes and Queries*, 47.1 (2000), 97–100 (p. 97).
[50] Thomas Carter, *Shakespeare and Holy Scripture* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1905), p. 15.

long been conceptualised as a worm of conscience, most famously in Chaucer's *Physician's Tale*, and the joining of the image of a gnawing worm with the 'worm of conscience' is neither new nor uncommon; Tyndale used the same image 32 years before the Geneva's publication.[51] Carter's argument apparently stems from his unfamiliarity with the phrase 'worm of conscience' and mistaken attribution of the concept to Shakespeare.[52]

Stritmatter makes a series of arguments on this theme. One concerns two of Helena's speeches in *All's Well that Ends Well*, the first containing the lines 'Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie, / Which we ascribe to heaven' (I.i.218–19) and the second, 'But most it is presumption in us when / The help of heaven we count the act of men' (II.i.149–50). The idea expressed here, that mankind falsely presumes their actions are their own when they in fact lie in the power of God, is something Stritmatter attributes to the Genevan notes at 1 Samuel 14.24, 'Suche was his hypocricie and arrogansie, that he thought to attribute to his policie that whiche God had giuen by the hand of Ionatha[n]', and 14.41, 'Cause the lot to fall on him that hathe broken the othe: but he doeth not consider his presumption in commanding the same othe'. Helena's speeches toy with two perspectives on the relationship between divine providence and human arrogance: that humans attribute their own actions to divine providence or attribute divine providence to their own actions. These are not uncommon ideas, rendered culturally commonplace by Calvinist thinking on providence.[53] Indeed, these passages and their romantic context could be interpreted as a gentle snipe at Puritan self-aggrandisement. As with the worm of conscience, there is no reason to source a common theological idea in a Genevan note. Stritmatter cites the shared use of 'presumption' in these notes as his basis for the claim, but the word has entirely different meanings in Helena's use and that of the Genevan note. For Helena, man's presumption is to attribute to man what should be attributed to heaven. Saul's presumption in 1 Samuel 14.41 is that one has the right to command an answer of God. The note does not, as Stritmatter falsely claims, 'designat[e] human wilfulness in attributing success to human rather than divine intervention'.[54]

Stritmatter advances another argument wherein he cites the Genevan note to 1 Samuel 6.9—'The wicked attribute almost all things to fortune and chance, wheras in dede there is nothing done without God's providence and decree'—as the source of a number of sections in *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Richard II*, and *Romeo and Juliet* that deal with chance, fortune, providence, or divine will. This is, again, an

[51] 'Thou shalt never have rest in thy soule nether shall the worme of conscience ever cease to gnaw thyne herte tyll thou come at Christ'; William Tyndale, *The obedience of a Christen man* (Antwerp: 1528), fol. 150r.

[52] Shaheen also comments on the 'accepted image' Shakespeare uses; Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1999), p. 213.

[53] For arrogance and divine providence, see Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 19–20.

[54] Stritmatter, 'By Providence Divine', p. 99.

extremely common sentiment in Calvinist thinking.[55] While it is conceivable that Shakespeare's formative encounters with these theologies came from the Geneva notes, this idea seems more a product of the impulse to picture Shakespeare as a private, literary man who gained his biblical understanding through thorough isolated reading, when it is far more likely these ideas came to him through sermons, social discussion, or other cultural influences. There is no basis to take the Genevan note as a source.

A similar argument is put forth by R. A. L. Burnet, who claims that a Genevan gloss is the source of Laertes' lines, 'A double blessing is a double grace; / Occasion smiles upon a second leave' (I.iii.53–4).[56] Burnet identifies the source to this comment as a note to Isaiah 40.2, which discusses the pardoning of Jerusalem's iniquity due to it having 'received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins' and is glossed as 'Meaning, sufficient, as chap. 1. 7 & ful correction, or double grace, where as she deserued double punishement'. The only correlation between the quotation and gloss is the phrase 'double grace', which have entirely different meanings in *Hamlet* and the gloss: the reappearance of Polonius has nothing to do with Jerusalem's pardon. Furthermore, the phrase 'double grace' appears twice in scripture itself (2 Corinthians 1.15 and Ecclesiasticus 26.15) and was already in common use prior to the Geneva translation. Laertes' comment and the gloss are totally disconnected.

Burnet makes a more reasonable argument as to the possible influence of the Genevan note to Psalm 77.4, which glosses 'Thou kepest mine eyes waking' with 'meaning that his sorowes were as watch men that kept his eyes from sleping'. This might be identified as an influence on the following lines from Sonnet 61, 'It is my love that keeps mine eye awake; / Mine own true love that doth my rest defeat, / To play the watchman ever for thy sake'; although we should note, as Burnet does not, that 'watchman' is used differently in each context.[57] In the psalm gloss, the sorrows are personified as the watchmen. Shakespeare uses the concept more conventionally, where the speaker's inability to sleep renders him a 'watchman'. This difference is important as we must remember that, even in these more convincing instances of lexical influence, it does not follow that there is necessarily a corresponding semantic influence.

Burnet's later arguments concern Hamlet's 'Why should the poor be flattered?' (III.ii.54), which is certainly, as Burnet argues, picked up from Job 10.10, 'His

[55] See for example the contemporary sermon by Henry Smith faulting 'worldlings' for calling 'chaunce' what 'come[s] to passe by the providence of God'. Henry Smith, *Sixe sermons preached by Maister Henry Smith* (London: 1592), fol. B2v.

[56] R. A. L. Burnet, 'Two Further Echoes of the Genevan Margin in Shakespeare and Milton', *Notes and Queries*, 28.2 (1981), 129–9.

[57] R. A. L. Burnet, 'Shakespeare and the Marginalia of the Geneva Bible', *Notes and Queries*, 26.2 (1979), 113–14.

children shall flatter the poore'.[58] Hamlet's next line, 'No, let the candied tongue lick absurd pomp' (55), has a faint echo of Job 20.12, 'When wickedness was sweet in his mouth, and he hid it under his tongue'. But there is no reason to find a source, as Burnet does, in the gloss to Job 20.12: 'As poyson that is sweete in the mouth bringeth destruction, so all vice at the first is pleasant'. No element is present in the gloss that is absent in the scripture. Burnet also reads a section from *Coriolanus* as being influenced by this same gloss: 'at once pluck out / The multitudinous tongue; let them not lick / The sweet which is their poison' (III.i.157–9). The image of sweet poison is a cliché and, again, has no reason to be sourced to the Genevan note.

Burnet presents a final argument that is repeated independently by John Harris, one that is his most convincing.[59] Here, *Cymbeline*'s 'slander, / Whose edge is sharper than the sword' (III.iv.34–5) and *A Winter's Tale*'s 'slander, / Whose sting is sharper than the sword's' (II.iii.86–7) are attributed to the Genevan marginal note to Job 5.15 ('But he saveth the poor from the sword, from their mouth, and from the hand of the violent man'): 'He compareth the slander of the wicked to sharpe swords'. The coincidence of slander, sharpness, and swords, combined with the same semantic use, makes this a convincing argument.

Barbara Mowat makes another argument concerning the motif in Shakespeare of blood crying out for vengeance, found in *Richard III*, *1 Henry VI*, and *Henry VIII*. These are, she argues, prompted by the gloss to Genesis 4.1–16, the murder of Abel, wherein 'the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me, from the earth' is glossed as 'the iniquity itself crieth for vengeance'. The incorporation of 'vengeance' into the image of blood crying out is far more likely to have been prompted by the much older concept of *peccati clamantia*, those sins that cry out to heaven for vengeance, the slaying of Abel being considered among the foremost. Though a more popular idea in Catholicism, the concept was frequently invoked by Protestant theologians; for example, Bullinger defines *peccati clamantia* as including 'murther, vsurie, oppression of the fatherlesse & widowes, Sodomie, and the withheld hire of the néedie labourer'.[60] Furthermore, the image of blood crying out for vengeance long predates the Geneva translation and was commonly appended to readings of Genesis 4.1–16. Mowat's other supposition, that the gloss to Genesis 4.7—'if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door' glossed as 'Sin shall still torment thy conscience'—as the origin of Shakespeare's preoccupation with guilt and hauntings, is entirely groundless.

Two ambiguous claims come from Joan Ozark Holmer and Shaheen. Holmer argues that Shylock's reference to the lambing of Jacob's sheep occurring 'In the end of autumn' (1.3.74) is prompted by the Geneva gloss to 30.41, 'As they which

[58] Ibid., p. 114.
[59] Harris, *The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose*.
[60] Heinrich Bullinger, *Fiftie godlie and learned sermons* (London: 1577), p. 509.

toke the ram about Septembre & broght forthe about marche: so the feblere in marche, and lambde in Septembre'.[61] The time of the year is not specified in the scripture, so the shared temporal specificity in Shylock and the gloss may suggest a causal relationship; however, September is definitely not the end of the autumn. If Shakespeare (or Shylock) is prompted by this gloss, he is misremembering and certainly not consulting a text at hand. Shaheen, whose scholarship on Shakespeare's use of the Bible is among the best, speculates that Othello's description of Judas as 'the base Iudean' (5.2.345) may be prompted by the Tomson gloss on 'Iscariot' at Matthew 10.4, 'A man of Kerioth. Nowe Kerioth was in the tribe of Iudah, Iosh. 15:25'. But as Shaheen admits, 'this evidence is hardly conclusive'.[62]

The more productive readings in this vein concern the sonnets. Sonnets demand different reading practices to drama, and Beatrice Groves—who argues for the influence of Genevan glosses on the sonnets—hypothesises that these influences relate to the fact that 'the careful reading demanded by Shakespeare's sonnets resonates with the fact that these allusions themselves originated in attentive reading'.[63] Stritmatter's third contribution to this theme concerns Sonnet 151 and is his most convincing: here he argues that the gloss to Romans 7.19, 'The flesh stayeth even y moste perfect to rune forwarde as y spirit wisheth', is a discernible influence on two lines from Sonnet 151, 'My soule doth tell my body that he may, / Triumph in love, flesh staies no farther reason'.[64] The influence of glosses upon the sonnets is productively expanded by Groves, who contextualises her readings with references to both the attentive reading practices required by the reading of the sonnets as well as references to the less ambiguous use of Genevan glosses by Spenser in *Amoretti*. As Groves points out, the reading of the sonnets and the reading of the Geneva Bible both involved private, attentive reading—something obviously absent in the theatrical performances of the plays mentioned earlier. Groves' readings are less concerned with establishing a definitive strain of influence between certain Geneva phrases and Shakespeare than they are with accessing a greater understanding of Shakespeare's sonnets by contextualising their biblical allusions among the Geneva glosses; for one such example, Groves comments on how '[t]he second quarto's reference to glancing across to a marginal gloss may, like the barbed and witty allusions to biblical annotations in the sonnets, have been a joke for a reading public alone'.[65] Thomas Fulton makes a similar argument

[61] Joan Ozark Holmer, *The Merchant of Venice: Choice, Hazard and Consequence* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1995), p. 315 n. 3.
[62] Naseeb Shaheen, 'Shakespeare and the Tomson New Testament', *Notes and Queries*, 42.3 (1995), 290–1. This claim was first made by T. R. Henn, 'The Bible in Relation to the Study of English Literature Today', *Hermathena*, 100 (1965), 29–43 (p. 39).
[63] Groves, 'Shakespeare's Sonnets and the Genevan Marginalia', p. 115.
[64] Roger Stritmatter, 'The Influence of a Genevan Note from Romans 7:19 on Shakespeare's Sonnet 151', *Notes and Queries*, 44.4 (1997), 514–16.
[65] Groves, 'Shakespeare's Sonnets and the Genevan Marginalia', p. 125.

along these lines concerning the glosses and *Measure for Measure*, speculating that 'the play responds to James's famous indictment of the Geneva Bible' and reads the play as concerned with the 'rise of literalism and legalism as a problem connected to a strict reading of Paul's words about the magistrate as God's minister in Romans 13'.[66] This attention to Shakespeare's practical use of the Bible in his writing is a more productive approach to Genevan influences.

Arguments for individual glosses having influenced a writer must present lexical and semantic correlation between source and quotation, or at least semantic influences so specific that they cannot be reasonably attributed to another source. Of these 13 glosses that have been claimed as sources for Shakespeare, only three meet those requirements: Job 5.15 (repeated in Harris), Psalm 77.4 in Burnet (1979), and Romans 7.19 in Stritmatter (1997). Yet in addition to those three, I may add two more.

The first possible influence—and not one I find convincing, but which I note for the sake of completionism—occurs in *1 Henry IV* and Ezekiel 16.3. At the culmination of King Henry IV's speech to Hal, at III.ii.128, the king concludes with the cutting remark on 'how much thou art degenerate'. This same phrase, 'thou art degenerate', is also found in the gloss to Ezekiel 16.3 in both the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles. In the Geneva, it reads thus: 'Thou boastest to be of the sede of Abrahám, but thou art degenerate & followest the abominacions of the wicked Canaanites, as children do the maners of their fathers.' Importantly, the kind of degeneracy with which Hal is being accused is this sense of de-generation, of straying from one's forebears, and into the abominable behaviour of another paternal figure. This comparison between King Henry's remark and the gloss is sharpened by Hal's accusation to Falstaff, that he is 'That villanous abominable misleader of youth, […] that old white-bearded Satan' (II.iv.445). To be degenerate is to stray from one's generation, from the values of one's forebears, as Hal has done, taking Falstaff as a riotous rival father figure to King Henry. This is the same theme of Ezekiel 16.3, which concerns the Israelites behaving with the immorality of Canaanites and abandoning God. As such, both the sense and the vocabulary of this quotation are carried over.

The second gloss is that of the Genevan gloss to Matthew 15.24, which may be a source for one of Isabella's speeches in *Measure for Measure* (V.i.49–60). The Geneva gloss explains how 'Christ hangeth naked upon the cross, and as the *wickedest caitiff* that ever was, most vilely reproved: that we be clothed with his righteousness, and blessed with his curses, sanctified by his only oblation, may be taken up into heaven' (emphasis added). This passage expresses horror at the crucifixion of Christ as if he had been mistaken for a common criminal, the wickedest caitiff,

[66] Fulton, *Book of Books*, pp. 177, 22.

and the shamefulness of such an error. In *Measure for Measure*, Isabella uses the same phrase—wickedest caitiff—with this logic inverted:

> Make not impossible
> That which but seems unlike. 'Tis not impossible
> But one the wickedest caitiff on the ground
> May seem as shy, as grave, as just, as absolute,
> As Angelo. (52–6)

In Isabella's speech, the grave error is the mistaking of the angelic Angelo for a sainted figure when he is, in actuality, more alike to the 'wickedest caitiff'. Rather than mistaking Christ for a caitiff, a caitiff has been mistaken for a Christlike figure.[67] The inclusion of the mundane 'on the ground' emphases this celestial comparison.

E. P. Dickie argues that 'words found in the margin will not have circulated very readily nor become proverbial sayings. Shakespeare cannot have heard these words either in church or in conversation; he could only have read them'.[68] This reflects a romantic yet false image of Shakespeare as a private, literary theologian, alone in his study with his Geneva Bible to one side, a half-finished playscript in the other. It is a false image. As this chapter demonstrates, preachers regularly included marginal glosses and other paratexts in their work; indeed, Shakespeare's many descriptions of the youth of Luke 15.11–32 as a 'prodigal' can be traced to other writers integrating paratexts into their writing.[69] The Geneva glosses were certainly a source for Shakespeare, but the extent of their influence has been severely exaggerated.

Perhaps just as important as understanding the far more modest influence of the Geneva glosses in Shakespeare's work is asking what can be inferred from this. Those glosses to Psalm 77.4, Job 5.15, Romans 7.19, and Matthew 15.24 are the only glosses that can be considered truly convincing influences on Shakespeare. This offers little insight into reading habits beyond the obvious: that if Shakespeare incorporated glosses into his vocabulary, consciously or not, then he did so mostly at the most commonly read parts of the Bible. To infer more from these traces is to legitimise an inaccurate and outdated desire to see Shakespeare as a private literary man, an exceptional genius unaffected by religious culture, and not, as has been thoroughly demonstrated, a collaborator and participator in social networks.

Such romantic misrepresentations demonstrate the need to examine these paratexts properly: not abstractly or divorced from use but read alongside the scripture with which they appeared and in the contexts of those writings that

[67] John Calvin, *Sermons of Master John Caluin, upon the booke of Job*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: 1574), p. 197.
[68] Quoted in Burnet, 'Shakespeare and the Marginalia', p. 113.
[69] See Ezra Horbury, 'Aristotelian Ethics and Luke 15.11–32 in Early Modern England', *Journal of Religious History*, 41 (2017), 181–96.

incorporated them. The margins of the early modern Bible were constantly evolving, far more than the scripture it surrounded, and evince a map of borrowings, modifications, and evolutions. These grant us more clearly than ever an understanding of the early modern Bible not as one book, or even a short series of editions, but of a wide web of mutually influential works that were read and quoted in a range of idiosyncratic ways. In the early modern period, reading the Bible meant reading a work comprising text and paratext, scripture and notes, and building an engagement with the Word mediated through many sources in flux. To understand how this audience read the early modern Bible, we must understand the reading of its margins too, and the material impact they had on early modern exegeses.

Coda

There are few works about which more has been written in English scholarship than the King James Bible and its forebears. And yet swathes of both these texts and their readers remain neglected, in part because the history of studying canonical texts and canonical authors is one of grand narratives: the evolution of western Christianity and the great authors who wrote about it. The margins of the Bible and subjects marginalised in scholarship do not always perfectly overlap—scholarship on Shakespeare's supposed reading of these margins providing an obvious counterexample—but there is nonetheless a certain dovetailing in looking to the margins and the marginalised that reflects a desire to look beyond the dominant narratives that shape early modern literary history.

The paratexts of the Bible are now at the forefront of biblical history, with several key works written in the past few years (and this book itself was written concurrently with Shuger's significant monograph), and more doctoral students and early-career scholars are turning to these subjects as well. My hope is that we do not simply use this new turn in scholarship to shore up more material on the most canonical writers—and I acknowledge that I have done exactly this in some places—but to also consider how studying alternative parts of texts can lead us to think in new ways about other writers' ways of reading, and writers who might not always be at the forefront of scholarship. New ways of looking at women writers, continental influences, and texts that were once widely read and now forgotten present fruitful avenues to develop a richer understanding of early modern biblical history.

There is much left to cover in the margins of early modern bibles that this volume has not been able to address, and I end my work with the hope that some of this can be taken up by other scholars in the future. Catholic bibles remain the misfit texts in a field that remains under the heavy influence of English Protestantism. The materiality of the Bible's margins presents a rich pasture whose methodologies are beyond the scope of the present work. A study of handwritten marginalia, 'marginalia in the margins', is desperately due, but study of other physical evidence

(e.g. stains) in the margins is also timely. A full study of women's engagement with biblical paratexts is a much-needed contribution.

This project began many years ago at with the simple observation that the word 'prodigal', so commonly used to refer to Luke 15.11—32, did not appear in scripture, only in the margin, at the head of the page, and it persists in common English use to this day. The margins of early modern bibles and all their many paratexts have had innumerable influences on English literature, much of which I have sought to chart in this volume, though doubtless a good deal of work remains. A turn to the paratexts can redefine our understanding of early modern reading practices and help us to reconsider what has been traditionally confined to the margins of scholarship.

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