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INVOLVING READERS

Practices of Reading, Use, and Interaction in Early Modern Dutch Bibles (1522–1546)

Renske A. Hoff

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By

Renske A. Hoff

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> … a phenomenon that is simultaneously a written text, a material object, and a cultural transaction – the book.
>
> LESLIE HOWSAM, *Old Books and New Histories*[1]

• • •

> A text is made from multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relationships of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused, and that place is the reader.
>
> ROLAND BARTHES, *The Death of the Author*[2]

⁘

1 Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2006), p. vii.

2 Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author' (transl. Stephen Heath), in Stephen Heath (ed.), *Image, music, text* (London: Fontana, 1977), pp. 142–148, p. 148.

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1 'A cord of three strands is not easily broken' (Ecclesiastes 4:12), cited after JvL 1542a CB.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of Printers and Bible Types

JvL	Jacob van Liesvelt
HvL	Hansken van Liesvelt
HPvM	Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch
WV	Willem Vorsterman
NT	New Testament
Ev	*Evangelien* (Gospels)
EE	*Epistelen en Evangelien* (Epistles and Gospels)
EP	Epistles of Paul
EA	Epistles of the Apostles
BW	Book of Wisdom
CB	Complete Bible edition

Abbreviations of Libraries and Collections

AA	Arenberg Auctions Brussels
AB	Abdij Berne Heeswijk-Dinther
ASP	Anton Stoop Private Collection The Hague
BeNY	Beinecke Library New York
BKA	Bubb Kuyper Auction Haarlem
BL	British Library London
BLO	Bodleian Library Oxford
BS	Bisschoppelijk Seminarie (Major Seminary) Ghent
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München
BUE	Bibliothèque de l'Université de l'Etat Mons
BuNY	Burke Library New York
CCM	Centre Ceramique Maastricht
EK	Erfgoedcentrum Kloosterleven Sint Agatha
EP	Ede Private Collections
GBS	Gereformeerde Bijbelstichting Leerdam
GP	Gouda Private Collections
HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel
HB	Huis Bergh 's-Heerenberg
HC	Hendrik Conscience Libray Antwerp

HvhB	Huis van het Boek The Hague
JRM	John Rylands Library Manchester
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) The Hague
KBC	Kongelige Bibliothek Copenhagen
KBG	Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana St. Gallen
KBR	Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royal Brussels
KG	Karmel Ghent
LC	Lincoln College Oxford
LM	Library Mastenbroek
MCC	Museum Catherijneconvent Utrecht
ML	Morgan Library New York
MPM	Museum Platin Moretus Antwerp
MSB	Maurits Sabbe Bibliotheek Leuven
NBG	Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap Haarlem
NHA	Noord-Hollands Archief Haarlem
NYPL	New York Public Library
PA	Park Abdij Leuven
RS	Rolduc Seminary Kerkrade
RUG	Rijksuniversiteit Groningen (University of Groningen)
SB	Staatsbibliothek Berlin
SBM	Statenbijbelmuseum Leerdam
SCC	Selwyn College Cambridge
SUB	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen
TAX	Taxandria Stadsarchief en Bibliotheek Turnhout
TL	Tresoar Libary Leeuwarden
ULB	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf
ULC	University Library Cambridge
ULCT	University Library Cape Town
ULG	University Library Ghent
ULLC	University Library Leicester
ULL	University Library Leiden
ULM	University Library Maastricht
ULMo	University Library Mons (from the collection of Mons Musée Puissant)
ULN	University Library Nijmegen
ULSG	University Library St. Gallen
ULT	University Library Tilburg
ULU	University Library Utrecht
UvA	University of Amsterdam
VU	Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
WLB	Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart

Note on Translations and Quotations

Source material will be cited in English translation. The translations of handwritten annotations (in Dutch, Latin, or another language) are my own, unless stated otherwise. Omissions, additions, and adaptations made for the sake of the translation are indicated with square brackets. Interpunction in the translations is normalised. The same applies to translations of the printed Bible text. However, when I include quotations from the biblical text to clarify a reference to a certain Bible verse, these quotations are taken from the King James Version (KJV).

Jacob van Liesvelt's and Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles do not feature verse numbering. In order to provide precise references, the biblical verse numbering is adopted from the transcription of the Liesvelt Bible 1542 by Nicoline van der Sijs and Hans Beelen (2010), digitally available at *bijbels digitaal.nl/liesveltbijbel-1542/*. Folio numbers are absent in Liesvelt's and (most of) Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, so references are made to the applicable Bible books, chapters, and verses.

In the transcription of written and printed text, the use of u/v/w and i/j has remained original. Abbreviations are written out in full.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

> The book is not a closed entity: it is a relation, an axis of innumerable relationships.
>
> JORGE LUIS BORGES, *Labyrinths*[1]

⁘

On 24 May 1653, Bertheltje Jansdochter visited the Noordermarkt in Amsterdam. At an establishment called 'het hangeijser', located at the corner of the market square and the Lindenstraat, she bought two Bibles. One of these was meant for an acquaintance, Hester Bartels, the other copy was for her personal use.[2] The Bible she decided upon for herself was printed by the Antwerp printer Jacob van Liesvelt more than a century prior, in 1534. The book was folio-sized, bound in a sturdy leather binding with securing metal clasps, and brimming with textual, paratextual, and visual content. Furthermore, whilst leafing through the book, annotations, corrections, names, and smudges would have reminded her of the people who owned and used it before her.[3] Through her purchase and with her inscription describing the acquisition in the back of the book, Bertheltje Jansdochter placed herself in a diverse group of people who throughout the early modern period bought, used, and read sixteenth-century vernacular Bibles.

Bertheltje Jansdochter is one of many who claimed ownership of the object, unclasped its clasps, slid their fingers between the paper pages, searched for

1 Jorge Luis Borges, 'A Note on (Toward) Bernard Shaw', in Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby (eds.), *Labyrinths*, 2nd edition (New York: New Directions, 1964), p. 214.

2 'Anno 1653, on 24 May, Bertheltje Jansd. bought this Bible on the Noordermarkt in the Hangeijser, and a similar one for Hester Bartels' (*Anno 1653 den 24. majes heft Bertheltje Jansd. dese bibel cost op norder mart ijnt hangeijser vor hester bartels eender*). This copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's 1534 complete Bible edition is currently kept in the collection of the Gereformeerde Bijbelstichting, Leerdam. It remains without shelf number.

3 The book contains ownership marks by two other early modern owners: Abraham Ackersdijk, who lived in Amsterdam and, based on the genealogical annotations he left, owned the Bible from ca. 1604 until his death in 1642, and Hendrik Lessiter, who owned the book in 1751.

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specific biblical passages, used (or got distracted by) the many printed glosses in the margins, looked closely at the woodcuts, left unintentional traces, picked up pen and ink to leave some personal notes – or did not. These interactions were fleeting and elusive: they occurred at specific points in time and space, and when time elapsed and contexts changed, readers' practices, emotions, and movements would fade away.[4] Few sources are available for the reconstruction of these ephemeral experiences. Bertheltje Jansdochter did not leave behind any written reflections on her reading practices, no diary of her survives, there any no known inventories of her book collection, nor do we know her date of birth, her profession, or any of her personal interests. However, what we *do* have is her Bible – and a considerable number of similar Bibles that were once owned and used by early modern readers. By placing these surviving Bible copies and the material evidence they bear at the centre of our attention, patterns light up that establish a framework of customs and possibilities within which the reading practices of readers such as Bertheltje Jansdochter would have taken place.

This study results from the NWO-FWO-funded research project 'In Readers' Hands: Early Modern Dutch Bibles from a Users' Perspective'. The project, which hosted two PhD candidates, was carried out at the University of Groningen (the Netherlands) and the KU Leuven (Belgium) from 2017 to 2021, initiated and supervised by Prof. Dr. Sabrina Corbellini and Prof. Dr. Wim François. Concentrating on the surviving copies of Dutch Bibles printed in the first half of the sixteenth century, the main aim of the project has been to create new insights into the readership, transmission, and use of these Bibles in a key period in the history of the Low Countries. The project was concerned with Bibles printed between 1522 and 1546 by three influential Antwerp printers: Willem Vorsterman, Jacob van Liesvelt, and Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch. The study by Bert Tops, former PhD candidate at the KU Leuven, focuses on Vorsterman's Bibles, while my research concerns the Bibles of the latter two printers.[5]

The leading aim of this study is to reconstruct the multitude of interactions between early modern Dutch Bibles and their readers. Defined in the Cambridge Dictionary as 'an occasion when two or more people or things communicate with or react to each other', an interaction always requires a certain

4 See also: Paul Tankard and Patrick Spedding, 'Introduction: Writing between the Lines', in Patrick Spedding and Paul Tankard, *Marginal Notes: Social Reading and the Literal Margins* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), pp. 1–20, p. 9.

5 For Bert Tops' research into Willem Vorsterman's Bibles, see: 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), pp. 185–222.

two-sidedness. It revolves around a reciprocating synergy in which the agents involved are simultaneously object and subject, creator and created.[6] While existing studies on sixteenth-century Dutch Bibles have focused predominantly on either the identity and confessional concerns of the book producer – the printer-publisher, translator, or editor – *or* on the identity and confessionality of the book user, the current study aspires to look closely at the multidirectional dynamics *between* the book and the reader. In doing so, it adheres to a wish already expressed by Roger Chartier in 1989: 'to bring together two perspectives that are often disjoined: on the one hand, the study of the way in which texts and the printed works that convey them organise the prescribed reading; and on the other, the collection of actual readings.'[7] Taken together, these perspectives allow for a reconstruction of what printer-publishers expected to happen, what happened, and what could happen in the interactive encounters between the book and its readers.

This book is structured around the juxtaposition of two mirroring issues: 1) how did the book interact with and shape its potential and intended readers, and 2) how did historic readers interact with and shape their books? The first question will be addressed on the basis of a close analysis of the paratextual elements, such as title pages, prologues, marginal glosses, and reading schedules, in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles. I will explore how these elements created, stimulated, and enabled certain readerships. Secondly, in order to examine the engagement of historic readers with their books, I will turn to handwritten or hand-added elements in surviving Bible copies, such as annotations, marks, added material, and unintentional traces of use. By positioning potential, envisioned reading behaviours alongside the material evidence of historical book use, this study intends to avoid the pitfall so often faced by studies that are founded on the basis of traces of reading: to become

6 On reading as a reciprocal relationship between reader and book, see also: Wolfgang Iser, 'Interaction between Text and Reader', in Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman (eds.), *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 9180), pp. 106–119; Heather Blatt, *Participatory Reading in Late-Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Robert L.A. Clark and Pamela Sheingorn, 'Encountering a Dream-Vision: Visual and Verbal Glosses to Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pelerinage Jhesuchrist*', in Sarah Blick and Laura Gelfand (eds.), *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative, Emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 3–38, p. 3; Evanghelia Stead, 'Introduction', in Evanghelia Stead (ed.), *Reading Books and Prints as Cultural Objects* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 1–30, p. 4; Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 9.

7 Roger Chartier, 'Texts, Printing, Readings', in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 154–175, p. 158.

a study of the annotating practices of exceptional individuals, rather than a study of reading.[8] 'Silent' practices of reading and use were as much a part of the colourful myriad of interactions as were those that resulted in explicit, verbalised traces in surviving copies. The inclusion of the *potentiality* of use through studying reading possibilities as shaped by paratext creates space for these elusive practices that otherwise might not reveal themselves.

In Juliet Fleming's words, 'the book is a thing that differs from itself, at all the moments of its production, and at all the moments of its consumption.'[9] As much as this is the case for the book – as a textual carrier, as a concept, as a material thing – it is the case for the reader and every readerly interaction. The patterns of interaction analysed in this study are therefore not to be considered a comprehensive, definitive list of practices of reading and use. Rather, they draw a dynamic and flexible outline of the potentials, encouragements, requirements, characteristics, and expectations that came into play when an early modern reader opened one of Liesvelt's or Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles.

1 Bible Production in Antwerp, ca. 1500–1550

The Bible copies under scrutiny in this study were printed in Antwerp in the first half of the sixteenth century. Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bible publishing practices were part of a thriving culture of vernacular Bible production in the Low Countries, and within Antwerp in particular.[10] Throughout the late fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century, Antwerp developed to become the leading printing centre of the Low Countries and one of the main hubs of book production in Europe, alongside cities such as Paris, Frankfurt, and Venice.[11] At the end of the sixteenth century,

8 This has also been pointed out by, amongst others: Tankard and Spedding, 'Introduction', p. 7; Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 105; William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. xi.

9 Juliet Fleming, 'Afterword', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73:3 (2010), pp. 543–552, p. 552.

10 See, for instance: August A. den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen: Dutch Translations of the Bible, 1522–1545* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1997), pp. 13–26; Wim François, *Bijbelvertalingen in de Lage Landen (1477–1553): Een kerkhistorische en theologische benadering* (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2004), pp. 248–264.

11 See also: Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2019), p. 29. Important works concerning printing in Antwerp in the early sixteenth century include: Leon Voet, *De gouden eeuw van Antwerpen: Bloei en uitstraling van de*

twenty-five printing businesses were stationed in Antwerp, employing over 450 people, and between 1500 and 1540, printers in Antwerp were responsible for about fifty-five per cent of all books published in the Low Countries.[12] The Antwerp book production in this period primarily consisted of religious works, including prayer books, devotional works, and Bibles.

Antwerp's dominance as a printing centre is especially apparent with regard to the vernacular Bible production in the Low Countries: nineteen of the twenty-eight printer-publishers who published Dutch Bible editions between 1520 and 1545 were located in Antwerp for at least part of their working life, compared to two in Amsterdam, one in Delft, one in Cologne, two in Deventer, and three in Leiden.[13] Throughout this period, these nineteen printers flooded the market with over seventy Bible editions, including complete Bibles, New Testaments, and editions of the Gospels. Eventually, the dominant role of Antwerp in the printing industry decreased, in particular after the sack of Antwerp in 1576. Pettegree and Der Weduwen have established that at least 168 Southern Netherlandish printer-publishers and booksellers settled in the North between 1570 and 1630, for instance in cities such as Amsterdam, Delft, Dordrecht, and Leiden.[14]

The workplaces of the nineteen printers who published Dutch Bibles in Antwerp in the first half of the sixteenth century were all located in

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metropool in de zestiende eeuw (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1973); Leon Voet, 'De typografische bedrijvigheid in Antwerpen in de 16de eeuw', in *Antwerpen in de XVIde Eeuw* (Antwerp: Mercurius, 1975), pp. 233–255; F. de Nave, 'Hervorming en boekdrukkunst. Antwerpen als typografische centrum in de 16de eeuw', in Emile M. Braekman (ed.), *Protestantse drukken en prenten uit de hervormingstijd te Antwerpen* (Antwerp: Vereniging voor de Geschiedenis van het Belgisch Protestantisme, 1985), pp. 5–15; A. G. Johnston and J. F. Gilmont, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme à Anvers', in J. F. Gilmont (ed.), *La Réforme et le Livre. L'Europe de l'imprimé (1517–v.1570)* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1990), pp. 155–190; Dirk Imhof et al. (eds.), *Antwerpen, dissident drukkerscentrum: De rol van de Antwerpse drukkers in de godsdienststrijd in Engeland (16de eeuw)* (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1994); Renaud Adam, 'The Emergence of Antwerp as a Printing Centre: From the Earliest Days of Printing to the Reformation', *Die Gulden Passer*, 92 (2014), pp. 11–29; Renaud Adam, 'Living and Printing in Antwerp in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: A Social Enquiry', in Ethan Matt Kavaler and Anne-Laura van Bruaene (eds.), *Netherlandish Culture of the Sixteenth Century: Urban Perspectives* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 83–98.

12 See: Adam, 'Living and Printing', p. 84; Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de reformatie: Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool, 1550–1577* (Antwerp/Amsterdam: Kritak/Meulenhoff, 1996), p. 66. See also: Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 215.

13 Based on the list of printers provided by Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, supplemented with the Antwerp printer Henrick Eckert van Homberch, who published an Epistles and Gospels edition in 1520.

14 See: Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, p. 32.

the city centre: on the Cammerstraet (currently: Kammenstraat) and the Lombaerdeveste (currently: Lombardenvest), or on streets intersecting those two (fig. 1).[15]

To lower the costs and share the risks of publication, printer-publishers regularly formed collaborations with others, both within and outside the city of Antwerp, as well as with other people working in the book industry, such as booksellers and engravers.[16] Although specific guilds for printers were not yet established, Antwerp printer-publishers collectively joined the Guild of St. Luke, alongside other craftsmen and book artisans.[17] Another social feature of the early modern printing world pertains to the relevance of family networks. Spouses, children, or other family members often took over the printing business of their relatives, and family relations defined a considerable part of collaborations and business agreements.[18]

The centralisation of printing activities within Antwerp created opportunities for the efficient regulation of the production of heterodox texts.[19] In 1522,

15 The two Bible publishing businesses located furthest away from each other – Jan van Ghelen's business on the Baghijnenstraat and, for instance, publisher and bookseller Peter Kaetz on the Corte Cammerstraet – were about 650 metres apart, equalling a mere ten-minute walk.

16 See also: Hubert Meeus, 'Printing Vernacular Translations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek/Netherlandish Yearbook for History of Arts*, 64 (2014), pp. 108–137, p. 110. An example of the close social connectivity between printers in Antwerp is the fact that printers Adriaen van Berghen and Jacob van Liesvelt, together with two bookbinders, were appointed guardianship over Henrick Eckert van Homberch's children after their father's death. See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 44.

17 See: Adam, 'Living and Printing', pp. 89–91. On the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke, see also: Jan van der Stock, 'De Antwerpse Sint-Lucasgilde en de drukkers-uitgevers: 'Middeleeuws' achterhoedegevecht of paradigma van cultureel-politieke machtsverschuivingen?', in Jos M. M. Hermans en Klaas van der Hoek (eds.), *Boeken in de Lage Middeleeuwen. Verslag van de Groningse codicologendagen 1992* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1994), pp. 155–165; Katlijne van der Stighelen and Filip Vermeylen, 'The Antwerp Guild of St Luke and the Marketing of Paitings, 1400–1700', in Neil de Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450–1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 189–208. On the position of female printers and their involvement with the Guild of St. Luke, see: Heleen Wyffels, 'De drukkersvrouwen van Sint Lucas: Gildenlidmaatschap en arbeidspatronen in het vroegmoderne Antwerpse boekwezen', in Anita Boele and Raingard Esser (eds.), *Nieuwe Tijdingen: Genderpatronen in vroegmoderne samenlevingen* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2021), pp. 67–87.

18 On family networks in the Antwerp printing business, see: Adam, 'Living and Printing', pp. 91–96. On the roles of women in the early modern printing world, see: Heleen Wyffels, *Women and Work in Early Modern Printing Houses. Family Firms in Antwerp, Douai and Leuven (1500–1700)* (Leuven: KU Leuven, 2021).

19 See also: Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 122.

FIGURE 1 Map of Antwerp by Virgilius Bononiensis (1565). Printed by Gillis Copens van Diest. Museum Plantin Moretus, Antwerp, Collectie Stad Antwerpen
CREATIVE COMMONS ZERO LICENCE

the magistrate of Antwerp promulgated an adjusted version of the Edict of Worms, issued by Emperor Charles V in May 1521, which stated that Lutheran publications should be removed from the book market and that privileges had to be acquired for any initiated publication concerning the Holy Scriptures. The Antwerp version confirmed these regulations and the consequences of disobedience, and it included the penalty, which was being sent into exile. Furthermore, the document emphasised that illegal printing activities did indeed take place in the city of Antwerp and that any person reporting these activities to the authorities would receive half a *pond*. A new local edict was issued in 1525, which recapitulated the regulations of the earlier version and added new requirements regarding the inclusion of the name of the author, date of printing, printer's mark, and the name and address of the printer in any printed book. Similar edicts were issued repeatedly throughout the following two decades.[20]

Nine Antwerp printer-publishers are known to have been prosecuted because they printed, sold, or disseminated 'heretical' texts in the first half of the sixteenth century. Most of them faced relatively light penalties, such as temporary exiles or pilgrimages. Two Antwerp printer-publishers lost their lives due to their printing or bookselling activities: Adriaen van Berghen in 1542, and Jacob van Liesvelt in 1545. The vast majority of Antwerp's printers, however, could continue to print Bible translations, including Lutheran versions, without much control by the authorities.[21] This relatively tolerant regulation was dictated by economical concerns: Antwerp played a key role in the international book market. Between 1520 and 1545, Antwerp printers were not only responsible for Dutch, French, Latin, and English editions, but even published several Italian, Spanish, and Danish Bible editions.[22] It was not until the

20 See: François, *Bijbelvertalingen in de Lage Landen*, pp. 487–492, pp. 499–500.

21 See: Marnef, *Antwerpen*, p. 68.

22 See also: Voet, 'De typografische bedrijvigheid', pp. 233–255; François, *Bijbelvertalingen in de Lage Landen*, pp. 520–521. For instance, in 1534, Catherine van Ruremund, widow of Christoffel van Ruremund, printed a New Testament edition with the English Tyndale translation as corrected by George Joye. Both William Tyndale and George Joye took refuge in Antwerp and collaborated with local print businesses to publish their Reformation-minded Bibles. Authorities of the Low Countries and England were undoubtedly aware of the publication and dissemination of English Lutheran Bibles printed in Antwerp. A 1527 edict from the magistrate in Antwerp already issued a ban on the possession and dissemination of English Bibles, and Catharine's husband Christoffel was imprisoned in the Westminster Tower in London in 1531, and died there (see: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, pp. 69–70). On this edition and other international printing practices, see: Els Agten, Wim François, and Guido Latré, 'Franse, Spaanse en Engelse bijbelvertalingen in de zestiende-eeuwse Lage Landen', in Paul Gillaerts et al.

second half of the sixteenth century that the printing regulations and changing confessional climate started to hamper the role Antwerp played in the production and dissemination of Bibles, within the Low Countries and abroad.[23]

2 Jacob van Liesvelt and Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch

Jacob van Liesvelt and Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch were pivotal actors in Antwerp's Bible production. Together with fellow printer Willem Vorsterman they were responsible for all folio-sized, complete Dutch Bibles printed in the first half of the sixteenth century.[24] In addition, they published a significant number of New Testament editions and other partial Bible editions, such as editions of the Epistles and Gospels. Vorsterman's, Liesvelt's, and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles – especially their complete Bible editions – have been attracting attention across multiple generations of scholars. Cornelis Cebus de Bruin's *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers* ('The Dutch Standard Version and its Predecessors') from 1937 was the first study that aimed to offer an 'objective', scholarly overview of Dutch Bible translations until 1637.[25] Previous publications on early modern Dutch Bibles, for instance by Le Long (1732), Doedes (1872), and Van Druten (1895), had mainly been concerned with defining the 'Catholic' or 'Protestant' nature of certain translations, arising from an ideological, national-Protestant agenda which assumed that vernacular Bible reading was inherently connected to Protestantism.[26] De Bruin's initiative was

(eds.), *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen: Elf eeuwen van vertalen* (Heerenveen: Royal Jongbloed, 2015), pp. 342–388. On printing in Antwerp for the international market, see also: Meeus, 'Printing Vernacular Translations', pp. 111–115.

23 See also: Agten, François, and Latré, 'Franse, Spaanse en Engelse Bijbelvertalingen', p. 343.

24 On Willem Vorsterman's Bible editions, see: Wim François, 'De Vorstermanbijbel van 1528 en later: Naar een katholieke Bijbel', in Paul Gillaerts et al. (eds.), *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen* (Heerenveen: Royal Jongbloed, 2015), pp. 237–265.

25 However, De Bruin did not feel the need to fully surpress his personal appreciation of certain translations. After quoting Liesvelt's translation of psalm 130, the Bruin writes that 'one should actually read these biblical words aloud. In their well-rounded and stately sound, in simplicity and directness of saying, [these words] greatly excel, thanks to Luther, most translations from previous centuries' (*Men moet deze bijbelwoorden eigenlijk hardop lezen. In volheid en gedragenheid van klank, in eenvoud en directheid van zegging steken zij dank zij Luther ver uit boven de meeste vertalingen uit vroeger eeuwen*). See: Cebus Cornelis de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers: Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen vanaf de Reformatie tot 1637* (Haarlem: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, 1993, 2nd edition), p. 95.

26 See: Isaac Le Long, *Boek-Zaal der Nederduytsche Bybels* (Amsterdam: Hendrik Vieroot, 1732); Jacobus Isaac Doedes, *Geschiedenis van de eerste uitgaven der Schriften des Nieuwen Verbonds in de Nederlandsche taal (1522, 1523)* (Utrecht: Kemink en zoon, 1872); Hendrik

followed by an increasing interest in Dutch Bible translations, especially with regard to their philological backgrounds and connections to processes of confessionalisation, resulting in studies such as those by Kronenberg (1948) and Augustijn (1975).[27] In 1993, Frits G. M. Broeyer revised and updated De Bruin's overview of Bible translations.[28]

Over the past few decades, research concerning sixteenth-century Dutch Bibles has been driven in particular by the scholarship of August den Hollander and Wim François. Den Hollander's dissertation *Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen 1522–1545* (1997) provides a carefully conducted, bibliographical study of the textual tradition of Dutch Bible translations. This research shows that translations were usually based on a wide array of sources, and hence distinctions between 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' translations were not as clear-cut as previously assumed.[29] François' dissertation of 2004, furthermore, places these Bible translations in a broader historical and theological context, displaying the connections between Bible editions, censorship, and religious and historical developments.[30] Later publications by both scholars continue to effectively problematise the traditional view on vernacular Bible reading as a Protestant matter and emphasise the historical, textual, and international contexts in which these Bibles appeared.[31] Moreover, they underscore the

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van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandse Bijbelvertaling* (Leiden: D.A. Daamen, 1895). See also: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 2; Wim François and August A. den Hollander, 'Introduction', in Wim François and August A. den Hollander (eds.), *Vernacular Bible and Religious Reform in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era* (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), pp. 1–11, p. 2.

27 M.E. Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de hervormingstijd* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon N.V., 1948); C. Augustijn, 'De Vorstermanbijbel van 1528', *Nederlands archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History*, 56:1 (1975), pp. 78–94.

28 Cebus Cornelis de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers*.

29 See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*.

30 See: François, *Bijbelvertalingen in de Lage Landen*.

31 See, for instance: August A. den Hollander, 'De Liesveltbijbel van 1526 en later: Naar een Protestantse Bijbel', in Paul Gillaerts et al. (eds.), *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen* (Heerenveen: Royal Jongbloed, 2015), pp. 226–236; Wim François, 'Vernacular Bible Reading and Censorship in Early Sixteenth Century: The Position of the Louvain Theologians', in August A. den Hollander and M. Lamberigts (eds.), *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450–1800* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), pp. 69–96; Wim François, 'Bible Production and Bible Readers in the Age of Confessionalisation: The Case of the Low Countries', in Erminia Ardissino and Élise Boillet (eds.), *Lay Readings of the Bible in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020), pp. 191–216; Wim François, 'Deconstructing the Protestant Liberation of the Bible: The Case of the Low Countries', *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, 7:2 (2020), pp. 247–270; Wim François, 'The Antwerpian Printer Jacob van Liesvelt, his Widow, and their Bibles: Myths and Facts from a Confessional Era',

important role played by the presence and contents of paratextual elements in defining an edition's confessional colour and as a leading factor in the decisions made by censors on whether or not to forbid specific editions.[32]

These studies have provided crucial insight into the textual and paratextual content of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bible editions, the textual traditions in which they ought to be understood, and the confessional developments to which these Bibles testify. It is against this background that the reading practices centred in this study unfold. Furthermore, previous scholarship has provided thorough insight into the particularities of Jacob van Liesvelt's and Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's printing businesses and their Bible editions. The profiles of both printers, as presented in the following two sections, display the current scholarly understanding of these matters.

2.1 *Jacob van Liesvelt and His Bible Editions*

Jacob van Liesvelt was born in 1489 in Antwerp, the son of printer Adriaen van Liesvelt. Jacob van Liesvelt married Marie Anxt, who would continue the printing business after her husband's death. Liesvelt was active as a printer between 1520 and 1544, and from 1523 onwards, his business was housed at the *Schilt van Artoys* (Arms of Artois) on the Cammerpoort bridge. He collaborated with

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Church History, 89 (2020), pp. 779–800. The connection that is regularly made between Protestantism and vernacular Bible reading has been referred to as the 'Protestant paradigm' by Andrew Gow (see: Andrew Gow, 'Challenging the Protestant Paradigm: Bible Reading in Lay and Urban Contexts of the Later Middle Ages', in Thomas Heffernan and Thomas Burman (eds.), *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 161–192). On this assumed connection, see also: Sabrina Corbellini, Mart van Duijn, et al., 'Challenging the Paradigms: Holy Writ and Lay Readers in Late Medieval Europe', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 93 (2013), pp. 171–188; Sabrina Corbellini, 'Afterword: the Bible and the Laity in Long-Term Perspective', in Elise Boillet and Erminia Ardissino (eds.), *Lay Readings of the Bible in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020), pp. 299–306.

32 On the role of paratext, see in particular: August A. den Hollander, *Verboden Bijbels: Bijbelcensuur in de Nederlanden in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Vossiuspers Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2003); August A. den Hollander, 'Forbidden Bibles. Paratext and the Index Librorum Prohibitorum. Why Dutch Bibles Were Placed on the 1526-Louvain Index', in August A. den Hollander et al. (eds.), *Paratext and Megatext as Channels of Jewish and Christian Traditions. The Textual Markers of Contextualization* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), pp. 152–175; Wim François, 'Typology – Back with a Vengeance! Text, Images, and Marginal Glosses in Vorsterman's 1534 Dutch Bible', in Walter Melion et al. (eds.), *Imago Exegetica: Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments, 1400–1700* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 89–136; Wim François and Sabrina Corbellini, 'Shaping Religious Reading Cultures in the Early Modern Netherlands: The "Glossed Bibles" of Jacob van Liesvelt and Willem Vorsterman (1532–1534ff.)', *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, 6:2 (2019), pp. 147–184.

various contemporary printers, including Symon Cock and Claes de Grave.[33] The vast majority of Liesvelt's publications were in Dutch, besides some French editions. He printed both non-religious and religious works, including official edicts, almanacs, devotional texts, and editions of parts of the Bible as well as complete Bible editions.

On multiple occasions, Jacob van Liesvelt came into contact with law enforcement. In 1536, he was accused of having unlawfully printed the words 'cum gratia et privilegio Imperialis Maiestatis' in an edition of a papal bull, whilst he was not granted the privilege to do so. Liesvelt was, in the end, not convicted for this offence. A few years later, in 1542, the *schout* of Antwerp accused him of printing the *Troostinge der goddelycker scryft* ('Consolation of the Holy Scriptures') without having obtained the required privileges. Liesvelt defended himself by claiming that the book was merely a compilation of other texts, for which he did receive the appropriate patents. His arguments were considered sufficiently convincing and the accusation was, again, dismissed. On 15 June 1545, Liesvelt was once more put on trial for disobeying the book censorship measures that were in place, although the archival documents do specify in which publication.[34] Liesvelt's defences were similar to those in 1542, but this time to no avail. On 27 November 1545, Liesvelt was sentenced to death. He was beheaded the following day.[35]

Liesvelt's beheading has led to the creation of an image that profiles the printer as a 'martyr' for the Word of God, and thus a hero of the Protestant faith. As has been closely analysed by Wim François, this image is generally based upon the belief that Liesvelt's conviction centred around the Reformation-sympathetic text and paratext of his 1542 Bible editions. In particular the biblical gloss 'that men's salvation was brought about by Christ alone' would, according to this presumption, have served as the basis of the death sentence.[36] This claim was already brought up in 1569, in the memoirs of J. de Wesenbeke, a former town secretary of Antwerp who converted

33 Jacob van Liesvelt collaborated with Symon Cock in the publication of, amongst others, *Die triumphelijcke incomst en coronatie der Coninclijcker majesteit van Hungarien ende Bemen Ferdinande tot Stoelwittenburch*, printed in 1527 (USTC No. 410528). Liesvelt, Cock, and Claes de Grave were all involved in the publication of several prognostications in 1531 and 1532 (USTC No. 442027, 437596, 410751).

34 See also: François, 'The Antwerpian Printer', p. 781–783.

35 Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, pp. 28–33. On the developments around this case, see also: François, 'The Antwerpian Printer', pp. 782–783.

36 … *dat des Menschen salicheyt alleen doer Christum quam*. See: Wim François, 'Jacob van Liesvelt, Martyr for the Evangelical Belief', in J. Leemans and J. Mettepenningen (eds.), *More than a Memory: The Discourse of Martyrdom and the Construction of Christian Identiy in the History of Christianity* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 341–369, pp. 359–360.

to Protestantism.[37] The argument was widely adopted to sketch an image of Jacob van Liesvelt as an early Protestant man who died for his faith. The popularity of Liesvelt's Bibles in Protestant communities, both within in the Low Countries as well as in Protestant diasporas in British and East Friesian areas, played an important role in establishing and retaining this martyr-like image.[38] However, as has been demonstrated by Den Hollander and François, the archival evidence does not connect Liesvelt's beheading directly to the Reformation-minded glosses in his Bible editions.[39]

Liesvelt published nineteen Bible editions between 1522 and 1544. His Bible printing activities began with an edition of the Gospels (1522), two editions of the Letters of St. Paul (1523), and one edition of the Apostolic Epistles (1523). In 1527, a separate edition of the Book of Wisdom followed. Liesvelt's first complete Bible edition – including both the Old and New Testaments as well as the

37 François, 'Jacob van Liesvelt', p. 360; François, 'The Antwerpian Printer', pp. 784–786.

38 See also: François, 'The Antwerpian Printer', p. 783. The consistent popularity of Liesvelt in the Northern Low Countries is illustrated by the fact that, from the late seventeenth century onwards, three inns on the Warmoesstraat in Amsterdam were named after the printer's Bibles. See: Maarten Hell, *De Amsterdamse herberg (1450–1800): geestrijk centrum van het openbare leven* (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2017), pp. 181–182.

39 See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, pp. 32–33; August A. den Hollander, 'Dat oude ende dat nieuwe testament (1526): Jacob van Liesvelt en de nieuwe markt voor Bijbels in de zestiende eeuw', *Jaarboek voor Boekgeschiedenis*, 6 (1999), pp. 105–122, p. 108; François, 'Jacob van Liesvelt', p. 360; François, 'The Antwerpian Printer', pp. 780–786. In addition to the Reformational glosses in Liesvelt's 1542 Bibles, a woodcut at Matthew 4:3 has also been considered to be a reason for Liesvelt's death sentence. The woodcut depicts the devil as monk, wearing a religious habit and rosary. However, the woodcut was also used in catholicising editions, such as Marie Anxt's 1560 Bible, and should be understood to illustrate how the devil could present itself like a wolf in sheep's clothing. See: De Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers*, p. 102. As has been stated by Rosier, the woodcuts in Bibles of this time period were rarely confessionally coloured and were commonly used by various printers and in Bibles across the confessional spectrum. See: Bart Alexander Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie in de zestiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Centrale Huisdrukkerij Vrije Universiteit, 1992), pp. 125–131. On the fact that Liesvelt was beheaded rather than being burned at the stake, see: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 33; De Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers*, pp. 102–103. Pettegree and Der Weduwen incorrectly state that 'the translator of the first Dutch Bible in the Lutheran tradition, Jan [sic] van Liesvelt, was burned at the stake.' However, not only was Jacob van Liesvelt not the first Dutch translator of Lutheran works, there is also no evidence to support Pettegree and Der Weduwen's claim that Van Liesvelt would have been burned rather than beheaded. See: Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, p. 125.

apocryphal books – was printed in 1526 and is generally considered to be the first complete, Dutch Bible to have been printed (fig. 2).[40]

Liesvelt continued to print adapted editions of his complete Bible in 1532, 1534, and 1535, and two in 1542. In 1538, whilst Jacob van Liesvelt was imprisoned, a complete Bible was published under the name of Hansken van Liesvelt.[41] Jacob van Liesvelt also printed at least seven New Testaments between 1534 and 1544.[42] Liesvelt's New Testaments, which are all octavo or sextodecimo editions, contain the entire New Testament as well as the lessons from the Old Testament as were read in Mass.[43]

Before 1526, Liesvelt's editions were based upon late medieval Bible translations.[44] In his complete Bible edition of 1526, Liesvelt first offered readers a new, Luther-based New Testament translation and an Old Testament that combined Lutheran translations (of those Bible books of which Martin Luther had already published a translation) with translations that were Vulgate-based and relied upon late medieval versions.[45] Liesvelt also followed Luther in his

40 Colin H. Jory has argued that the first printed complete Dutch Bible was not Liesvelt's 1526 Bible but a 1525 edition by Hans (I) van Ruremund (see: Colin H. Jory, 'The First Printed Dutch Bible: Reassigning the Honour', *Quaerendo*, 44 (2014), pp. 137–178). According to Jory, a 1525 sextodecimo Dutch New Testament (USTC No. 437268) was published alongside Van Ruremund's Old Testament edition of 1525. This edition, however, was published in five separate volumes, which were also printed separately from each other and each contained their own colophon. Although, as Jory argues (139–140), the Liesvelt Bible of 1526 could be bound in two volumes, dividing the Old and the New Testament, it was evidently meant to serve as one book, as the title page suggests, and was also printed as one entirety.

41 It is unknown who Hansken van Liesvelt actually was, and whether a historical person with this name existed at all. The name does not refer to Liesvelt's son Hans, as he was still a minor at the time. On Hansken van Liesvelt, see: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, pp. 111–112.

42 See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 36. Two other New Testament editions, of 1542 and 1543, are mentioned on several Indices of forbidden books, but no copies survive. In addition to his Dutch editions, Liesvelt's press also produced two French New Testaments: one in 1539 (under the name of Hansken van Liesvelt) and one in 1544.

43 These old testamentical pericopes are passages from, amongst others, Leviticus, Daniel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and are placed in liturgical order in the back of the book. The appropriate dates for each of the pericopes are mentioned either in the margins or above each new section. In the New Testament of 1540, Liesvelt also included, at the end of the book, Deuteronomy 6, the chapter in which Moses reminds the Israelites of the commandments of the Law.

44 See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, pp. 258–260, pp. 268–273.

45 According to Den Hollander, the New Testament translation published by Liesvelt in 1526 is an original translation that is based upon Martin Luther's second edition of the New Testament, from 1522. The Dutch translations closely follow the German original. See: Den

FIGURE 2 Title page of Jacob van Liesvelt's first complete Bible edition (1526). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam Library, Ned. Inc. 119

choice of biblical canon: he placed the apocryphal books in a separate section between the Old and New Testament, and the books of Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelations at the end of the New Testament.[46] In his subsequent complete Bible editions, Liesvelt adjusted parts of his Old Testament translation on the basis of, amongst other reasons, newly appearing Luther translations and the German Zürich Bible of 1531.[47] The New Testament translation in his complete Bibles and New Testaments from 1532 onwards differed from the 1526 edition, providing a translation that followed a Luther translation that was previously printed by Adriaen van Berghen.[48] Furthermore, in 1538, Hansken van Liesvelt 'vulgatised' some controversial phrases in the New Testament. These adaptations remained present in Jacob van Liesvelt's subsequent editions.[49]

The majority of Liesvelt's Bible editions were placed on lists of forbidden books throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. The 1546 edition of the Louvain Index, the first general Index of forbidden books of the Low Countries, prohibited the use and dissemination of Liesvelt's New Testaments of 1542, 1543, and 1544, as well as both complete editions of 1542.[50] Later

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Hollander, 'De Liesveltbijbel', p. 230; Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 224. Liesvelt based his translation of the Bible books Genesis to Deuteronomy on a Dutch translation that was published in 1525 by Hans I van Ruremund in Antwerp and offered a Dutch translation of Luther's German translation of 1523 (USTC No. 403145). Liesvelt provided his own translation of Luther's 1524 editions for the books Joshua to Song of Songs. However, it is likely that he also used earlier translations, in particular for the Psalms. Liesvelt's translation of the Prophets partially originated from the 1525 Ruremund edition. Liesvelt provided an original translation from Luther's text for the book of Jonah. The book of Isaiah was based upon an Isaiah commentary by Johannes Oecolampadius, published in 1525. The deuterocanonical books provide a new translation of the Latin Vulgate. Liesvelt's translation of the book of Maccabees goes back to an edition by Christoffel van Ruremund in 1525 (USTC No. 437287). See: Den Hollander, 'De Liesveltbijbel', pp. 227–229.

46 See: François, 'Bible Production and Bible Readers', p. 193.

47 See: Den Hollander, 'De Liesveltbijbel', p. 231; Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 167.

48 See: Den Hollander, 'De Liesveltbijbel', p. 231; Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, pp. 229–230.

49 For example, by translating 'do penance' rather than 'mend thy ways' in Matthew 4:17. See: Den Hollander, 'De Liesveltbijbel', pp. 229–230. On the variations in sixteenth-century Dutch translations of controversial phrases such as this, see also: François, 'Bible Production and Bible Readers', p. 198.

50 See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 36. The Louvain Index stipulated the printing, selling, owning, or reading of the listed titles. It included forty-two Dutch Bible editions, of which thirty-seven were printed in the Netherlands (six complete Bibles and thirty-one New Testaments). It is striking that so few complete Bibles have been included in the first edition of the Index. See also: François, *Bijbelvertalingen in de Lage Landen*, p. 580; Wim François, 'Naar een 'confessionalisering' van Bijbelvertalingen

editions of this Index and other lists of forbidden books also include the editions of 1532, 1534, 1535, and 1538. The absence of the 1526 edition confirms that the choice of translation as such did not determine whether an edition would be banned. As has been concluded by Den Hollander, the presence of paratextual elements, and the announcement of these elements on the title page, especially attracted the attention of censoring authorities.[51]

With regard to the regulation of Liesvelt's heterodox editions, one event stands out. According to the Antwerp city accounts of 1535–1536, an executioner received twenty-two sixpences and six deniers for the burning of 'Bibles and other books by Jacoppe van Liesvelt, book printer.'[52] Although this book burning clearly did not eliminate Liesvelt's printing activities or the dissemination of his Bibles, burning heretical books could serve as a way for the authorities to display the gravity of their regulations.[53] The explicit mention of Liesvelt in these archival sources coincides with his first contact with law enforcement in 1536, underscoring that the authorities indeed kept a close eye on his printing activities.

2.2 *Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch and His Bible Editions*

The other printer whose Bibles are central to this study is Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch. His date and place of birth are unknown, although his name points towards the city of Middelburg in Zeeland. Henrick worked as printer-publisher, bookbinder, and bookseller in Antwerp from 1520 onwards.

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in de zestiende eeuw. Inleiding', in Paul Gillaerts et al. (eds.), *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen* (Heerenveen: Royal Jongbloed, 2015), pp. 204–219, p. 213; Den Hollander, *Verboden Bijbels*, pp. 13–14; Jesús Martínez de Bujanda et al., *Index de l'Université de Louvain 1546, 1550, 1558* (Genève: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance (Librarie Droz), 1986), pp. 65–67, pp. 105–130.

51 See: Den Hollander, *Verboden Bijbels*, pp. 19–20. The inclusion of paratextual elements such as prologues, glosses, and summaries in Bibles was already regulated by several edicts from the 1520s onwards, although the modest effectiveness of these regulations can be seen reflected in the vast number of Bibles embellished with paratext that were printed by Liesvelt and other printers up to the 1540s. See also: François, *Bijbelvertalingen in de Lage Landen*, pp. 581–582; François, 'Bible Production and Bible Readers', p. 192.

52 *Item gegeven den scerprechtere vanden bibels ende andere boecken van Jacoppe van Liesvelt, boeckprentere, te verbarndene mitten houte ende stroo daartoe gedaen … xxii s. vi d.* See: Génard 1871, 428. See also: François, 'The Antwerpian Printer', p. 781.

53 Another, and likely much larger, book burning in Antwerp took place in 1521. About 400 heretical books were burned on the Grote Markt. A similar book burning was organised in Ghent in the same year. It is unknown which books were burned on these occasions. See: Marnef, *Antwerpen*, p. 68.

He married Margriete van Molle in 1520 and, after her death, Jacomyne Bars in 1523. Peetersen van Middelburch was elected master printer in the Guild of St. Luke in 1536 and his printing business was housed in the Cammerstraat in Antwerp, in a building called 'In den Mol'. He collaborated with various other printers, amongst others the Antwerp printer Matthias Crom.[54] Henrick died in 1549 or 1550. His wife Jacomyne took over the business and was granted her own admission to the printing profession in 1552. She also regularly collaborated with Marie Anxt, Jacob van Liesvelt's widow.[55]

Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch printed a variety of religious and non-religious works, amongst which are complete Bibles, New Testaments, several almanacs, schoolbooks, and devotional texts. The latter included both more traditional devotional texts, such as *Die grote Evangelische Peerle*, as well as Reformation-oriented works, for instance his two editions of Otto Brunfels' *Gulden ghebedeboec*.[56] Peetersen came into contact with law enforcement once, in 1525. He was sentenced to a pilgrimage to Cologne because 'he sold here [in his bookshop] Lutheran books and other, heretical books, against the emperor's mandates.'[57]

Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch printed at least ten Dutch Bible editions, including two complete Bibles, printed in 1535 (fig. 3) and 1541, and eight New Testaments, between 1538 and 1546.[58]

Among these eight New Testament editions are two that have not previously been included in scholarly research. Both editions are difficult to date with certainty due to the absence of a colophon in the surviving copies. The first of these survives in one copy, currently in private ownership. This copy contains an almanac starting in the year 1542 and will henceforth be referred to as Peetersen van Middelburch's 1542 New Testament. The other edition similarly survives in just one copy, housed in the Rolduc Seminary in Kerkrade. This

54 Matthias Crom published an English New Testament for Hendrick Peetersen van Middelburch in 1536 (USTC No. 437869).

55 Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, pp. 103–105.

56 Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, pp. 104–107.

57 *... overmidts dien dat hij Luytersche boecken ende andere alhier vercocht heeft, smakende ketterye, tegens den mandementen ons heeren sKeysers* ... See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 105; Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken*, pp. 133–134. Despite the fact that the distance between Antwerp and Cologne is roughly 200 kilometres one way, Peetersen van Middelburch stated he had succeeded his pilgrimage only eleven days later and provided the authorities with the necessary documents to prove his claim.

58 Peetersen van Middelburch also published a French New Testament in 1543 (USTC No. 5590).

FIGURE 3 Title page of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's first complete Bible edition (1535). Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam Library, Ned. Inc. 131

edition contains an almanac starting in 1544 and will henceforth be referred to as the 1544 New Testament. However, it cannot be assumed that these books were actually printed in these years, as Peetersen van Middelburch did not necessarily include almanacs that corresponded with the year of printing: his New Testaments from 1540, 1541a, and 1543 include an almanac that starts in 1539, the almanac in his 1541b New Testament begins with the year 1540, and the almanac in his 1546 New Testament with 1543. Hence, the two unknown editions at least would not have *predated* the respective years of 1542 and 1544.

Peetersen van Middelburch did not initiate his own Bible translations: the translation of Peetersen's 1535 complete Bible edition originates from Jacob van Liesvelt's edition of 1534, and the text of the 1541 edition is practically identical to Willem Vorsterman's 1533–1534 edition. Some of the texts of Peetersen's New Testament editions go back to Vorsterman's New Testament of 1528, and others to Van Hoochstraten's New Testament of 1531, the latter providing a Vulgatised version of an Erasmus-based translation.[59] All Peetersen's New Testaments contain both the New Testament and the Old Testament lessons, similarly to those by Liesvelt.[60]

Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible of 1541, his New Testament edition of 1543, and another undated New Testament were included on lists of forbidden books.[61] It is striking that Peetersen's edition of 1535 has not been included in these lists. The models of both Peetersen's complete Bible editions – Liesvelt's 1534 Bible and Vorsterman's 1533–1534 Bible – ended up on the Indices. Peetersen's Bibles also contained glosses and other controversial paratextual elements, and announced the presence of these elements on their title pages. Moreover, the 1535-edition contains a Luther-based translation. According to Wim François, the absence of Peetersen's 1535 Bible on the Indices might simply have to be attributed to the impreciseness of the compilers of the Index.[62]

59 See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, pp. 435–499; François, *Bijbelvertalingen in de Lage Landen*, pp. 258–259.

60 The New Testament of 1541b also contains Deuteronomy 6, placed after the sections of the Old Testament, similar to Liesvelt's New Testament of 1540.

61 Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, pp. 106–107. See also: Bujanda et al., *Index de l'Université de Louvain*, p. 120, pp. 126–127, p. 130.

62 See: Wim François, 'De Leuvense Bijbel (1548) en de katholieke Bijbelvertalingen van de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw', in Paul Gillaerts et al. (eds.), *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen* (Heerenveen: Royal Jongbloed, 2015), pp. 266–303, p. 271.

3 A History of Reading: Developments and Approaches

This study shifts the attention from the printer-publishers of early modern Bibles to their readers, turning towards perspectives developed within the field of the history of reading. The scholarly interest in the historic reader rapidly developed from the last decades of the twentieth century onwards. Driven by the important work of cultural theorists, literary scholars, and book historians such as Michel de Certeau, Roger Chartier, Stanley Fish, Nicolas Barker, Robert Darnton, Roger Stoddard, and Don McKenzie, a field of research has unfolded in which the reader is no longer envisioned merely as a passive recipient of texts, but as an active player in the dynamics of book culture.[63] The history of reading crucially relates to the understanding that 'the history of any particular book does not conclude with its publication': when a book leaves the printshop, it continues to develop, to create meaning, and to be created as a meaningful thing in its interaction with readers.[64]

In correspondence with more general late twentieth-century concerns with the social circulation of material objects, studies about reading and book use regularly refer to the 'social life' of books and texts.[65] In all phases, from

63 Crucial studies include: Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (transl. Steven Rendall) (Oakland: University of California Press, 1984); Chartier, 'Text, Printing, Readings'; Roger Chartier, 'Laborers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader', *Diacritics*, 22:2 (1992), pp. 49–61; Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eigteenth Centuries* (transl. Lydia G. Cochrane) (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 1994); Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980); Nicolas Barker (ed.), *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society: The Clark Lectures 1986–1987* (London: The British Library, 1993); Nicolas Barker, 'The Annotated Book', *The Book Collector*, 47:2 (1998), pp. 161–175; Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111:3 (1982), pp. 65–83; Roger Stoddard, *Marks in Books: Illustrated and Explained* (Harvard: Houghton Library Publications, 1985); Donald Francis McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

64 Stephen Orgel, 'Afterword: Records of Culture', in Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England, Material Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. 282–289, p. 283. See also: Stephen Orgel, *The Reader in the Book: A Study of Spaces and Traces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 2.

65 For the late-twentieth-century concern with the social circulation of material objects, see in particular: Arjun Appadurai (ed), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). The concept of a 'social life' of objects, and books in particular, is used by, amongst others: Jacques Leenhardt, 'Toward a Sociology of Reading', in Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman (eds.), *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 205–224; Orgel, *The Reader in the Book*; John Seely Brown and Paul Duguid, *The Social*

production to consumption, the early modern book is inherently connected to human activities.[66] Authors, printers, publishers, editors, translators, and bookbinders create and shape texts and books with an awareness of the prospective reader, and the reader responds to the book and 'activates' its text by the very practice of reading.[67]

Within the history of reading, multiple subfields have developed, two of which are of particular significance here: the study of paratext and the study of readers' traces. Both fields of research emerged in the 1980s. The concept of paratext was coined by literary theorist Gérard Genette in *Seuils* (1987; published in translation as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* in 1997).[68] Paratext, he claims, 'is a *threshold*, or … a "vestibule" that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back.'[69] Genette's perspective, however, is based on modern books. When applied in the study of early modern printing, it needs some redefinition. As stated by Smith and Wilson, 'if Genette's threshold is a 'vestibule' …, the Renaissance paratext is an ever-expanding labyrinth.'[70]

In accordance with these statements, key publications on early modern paratext have, in their variety, shown that paratext in early modern books – across multiple genres, time periods, and geographical spaces – was prevalent,

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Life of Information (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2000); William H. Sherman, 'The Social Life of Books', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, volume 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 163–170; Abigail Williams, *The Social Life of Books: Reading Together in the Eighteenth-Century Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

66 McKenzie used the term 'sociology of texts' to discuss 'the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission, and consumptions' (McKenzie, *Bibliography*, p. 15).

67 See also: Sherman, 'The Social Life of Books', p. 167; Helen Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 2.

68 Genette distinguishes between *peritext* and *epitext*, which together make up the paratext. In his definition, the peritext consists of the paratextual elements placed within the book, such as prologues, footnotes, and titles. The concept of epitext is used for textual elements that are related to the book, but not within it, such as reviews and interviews with the author. See: Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (transl. Jane E. Lewin), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 4–5. However, in accordance with the majority of studies about paratext, I use the term paratext here exclusively to describe what Genette calls peritext, i.e. the paratextual elements within the book.

69 Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 2.

70 Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, 'Introduction', in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1–14, p. 6.

dynamic, and subject to adaptation and change.[71] Paratextual choices were made with considerable acknowledgement of the preferences, common reading behaviours, and potential movements of future readers. Printer-publishers were aware of the broad functionality of paratexts, not only as devices for interpretation but also as principal instruments in marketing the book and attracting potential readers, and in helping readers navigate through the book and across the page.[72] The analysis of paratext hence provides insight into the reading possibilities and approaches to the book that printer-publishers envisioned, and, thus, into the type of reading practices that were expected and enabled.

Whereas the study of paratext reconstructs an 'ideal', envisioned readership, the study of traces of reading and use centres around the evidence that was left by actual historic book users. In 1985, Roger Stoddard published the catalogue *Marks in Books, Illustrated and Explained*, which opened up a research agenda that focussed on marginalia and other traces of reading and use.[73] Studies into the reading and annotating behaviour of specific individuals have been

71 See in particular: Anthony Grafton, 'Is the History of Reading a Marginal Enterprise? Guillaume Budé and his Books', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 91:2 (1997), pp. 139–157; Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (eds.), *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London: Routledge, 2000); William W.E. Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001); Karl A. E. Enenkel and Wolfgang Neuber (eds.), *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Mdoern Period* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005); Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2006); Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale Univesrsity Press, 2010); Bonnie Mak, *How the Page Matters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

72 A similar distinction in the functions of paratext has been made by Dorothee Birke and Birte Christ, 'Paratext and Digitized Narrative: Mapping the Field', *Narrative*, 21:1 (2013), pp. 65–87, pp. 67–68. On the commercial function of early modern paratext, see in particular: Andie Silva, *The Brand of Print: Marketing Paratexts in the Early English Book Trade* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019). Other studies that discuss this function include: Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Goran Proot, 'Converging Design Paradigms: Long-Term Evolutions in the Layout of Title Pages of Latin and Vernacular Editions Published in the southern Netherlands, 1541–1600', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 108:3 (2014), pp. 269–305; Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther* (New York: Penguin Books, 2015). On the navigational functions of early modern paratexts, see in particular: Peter Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible', in Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 42–79.

73 See: Stoddard, *Marks in Books*.

particularly prevalent within the research field, set into motion by Jardine and Grafton's (1990) ground-breaking work on Gabriel Harvey's reading.[74] Through an in-depth analysis of Harvey's highly annotated copy of Livy, they determined how he read his book simultaneously and in connection with other texts, and how he aimed for active results of this scholarly practice. Other scholars developed studies of marginalia that centred not so much on a single reader but on the annotations in multiple copies of a specific text, or have aimed for 'bigger pictures and broader brush-strokes', discussing a large variety of early modern reading traces.[75] In most cases, however, studies on readers' traces have practically remained studies on marginalia. Only relatively recently has more attention been granted to those traces of reading and use that are not verbal. Investigations of, for instance, traces of objects or reader-initiated adaptations in the compilation of early modern books demonstrate that, indeed, the history of reading could – and should – also include non-written traces and

74 Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, '"Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), pp. 30–78. Other studies that discuss the reading habits of specific readers include: Robert C. Evans, *Habits of Mind: Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson's Reading* (Lewisburg/London: Bucknell University Press/Associated University Presses, 1995); William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); A. S. Q. Visser, 'Irreverent Reading: Martin Luther as Annotator of Erasmus', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 48:1 (2017), pp. 87–109; M. A. Screech, *Montaigne's Annotated Copy of Lucretius: A Transcription and Study of the Manuscript, Notes and Pen-Marks* (Genève: Librarie Droz S.A., 1998). Jardine and Grafton's project has, furthermore, been pursued with the project 'The Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Period', which created a digitised corpus of 36 annotated books that bear annotations by John Dee and Gabriel Harvey. See: https://www.archaeologyofreading.org.

75 Sherman, *Used Books*, p. xi. On the annotations in multiple copies of a specific text, see for example: Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Alison Wiggins, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Printed Copies of Chaucer?', *The Library*, 9:1 (2008), pp. 3–36. Studies discussing a large variety of reader traces include: Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material*; Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory: 1500–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005); Robin Myers et al. (eds.), *Owners, Annotators, and the Signs of Reading* (New Castle/London: Oak Knoll Press/The British Library, 2005); Sherman, *Used Books*; Orgel, *The Reader in the Book*. Furthermore, studies such as those by H. J. Jackson (H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2001)) and Tankard and Spedding (Tankard and Spedding, 'Introduction') do not focus on the early modern period in particular, but discuss the phenomenon of marginal annotations from a wide temporal perspective.

adaptations by readers.[76] Crucially, the absence of annotation does not indicate 'the absence of readers, nor the absence of active reading strategies'.[77]

The study of early modern paratext and readers' traces problematises the common conception of printed books as stable, fixed objects. In this trope, the fixity of print is positioned opposite the flexibility of manuscript culture, which evidently influences how the reader of both media is envisioned.[78] Ong states that

> print is comfortable only with finality. Once a letterpress form is closed … and the sheet printed, the text does not accommodate changes as readily as do written texts … By contrast, manuscripts, with their glosses or marginal comments … were in dialogue with the world outside their own

76 On object traces, see: Adam Smyth, 'Book Marks: Object Traces in Early Modern Books', in Katherine Acheson (ed.), *Early Modern English Marginalia* (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 51–69. On the compilation of early modern books, see: Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). Moreover, various scholars have addressed the issue that the history of reading is often positioned as equal to the history of marginalia. See, for instance: Stephen B. Dobranski, 'Reading Strategies', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 101–113, pp. 109–110; Smyth, 'Book Marks', pp. 64–66; Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 39; Femke Molekamp, 'Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices: The British Library Geneva Bibles and a History of their Early Modern Readers', *EBLJ*, 1 (2006), pp. 1–13, p. 2; Smith, *'Grossly Material Things'*, p. 179.

77 Dobranski, 'Reading Strategies', pp. 109–110. The assumed connection between traces and use is illustrated by an e-mail I was sent by a librarian concerning a Peetersen van Middelburch Bible: 'Our copy doesn't contain any ownership inscriptions. I haven't found any annotations or underscorings. … It seems that our copy was never used!' (personal communication, 09–04–2021).

78 The fluidity of manuscript texts in transmission is centralised, in particular, within the field of New Philology. In the introduction to the *Speculum* special issue 'The New Philology' of 1990, Stephen Nichols explains how this then newly established field of research would aim to situate the diversity and fluidity of manuscript transmission 'squarely within our methodology' (Stephen G. Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Sutdies*, 65:1 (1990), pp. 1–10, p. 9). In new philological studies, there is no aim to reconstruct the 'original' text, but rather to recognise and analyse the material and textual variations and transformations that shape medieval text culture. See also: André Lardinois, 'New Philology and the Classics: Accounting for Variation in the Textual Transmission of Greek Lyric and Elegiac Poetry', in Bruno Currie and Ian Rutherford (eds.), *The Reception of Greek Lyric Poetry in the Ancient World: Transmission, Canonization and Paratext* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020), pp. 39–71, p. 41.

> borders. … The readers of manuscripts are less closed off from the author, less absent, than are the readers of those writing for print.[79]

In other words: because of the presumed stability of the text, considered to be a prominent consequence of 'the print revolution', the reader is seen as a passive consumer rather than an active player in the construction of texts and meaning.[80] However, this assumption proves to be questionable, for early modern books were more fluid than these stereotypes imply, and 'instability, permeability, sociability, and adaptability to particular occasions and readership' were, in the early modern period itself, considered essential features of printed books.[81] Printer-publishers made mistakes, initiated paratextual, textual, or visual changes between multiple print runs of the same text, and published creative and dynamic combinations of texts.[82] This resulted in the fact that the individual copies of an edition were in fact never entirely identical.[83] Moreover, readers were involved as 'completers' as well: they were likely to choose the book's binding, were invited by paratextual elements such as errata lists to continue adapting the book, were prompted by blank spaces on the page to respond to what was absent, and – as studies into traces of reading display – actively engaged with the materiality and contents of the book by illustrating it, assembling and dissembling it, and by leaving personal notes.[84]

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79 Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London/New York: Routledge, 1982) (ed. 2002), pp. 129–130.

80 In accordance with this idea, Dijstelberge claims that whereas medieval readers would include their own paratextual elements in manuscripts, early modern readers would passively consume the ideas of others. Annotating the book, he states, became less common. See: Paul Dijstelberge, *Wat is een boek? Een kleine geschiedenis* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), p. 75. For a critical response to this trope, see: Orgel, *The Reader in the Book*, p. 9.

81 Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer, 'Current Trends in the History of Reading', in Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 1–20, p. 2. See also: Eva Nyström, 'Codicological Crossover: The Merging of Manuscript and Print', *Studia Neophilologica*, 86:1 (2014), pp. 112–133, p. 114.

82 On printing errors and the dynamics of printing, see: David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 97–138; Anthony Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London: British Library, 2011); David Pearson, *Books as History: The Importance of Books beyond their Text* (London/New Castle: British Library/Oak Knoll Press, 2012), pp. 77–92; Smyth, *Material Texts*, pp. 4–7.

83 See also: Zachary Lesser, 'The Material Text between General and Particular, Edition and Copy', *English Literary Renaissance*, 50:1 (2019), pp. 83–92, p. 83.

84 See: McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order*, p. 224; Pearson, *Books as History*, pp. 93–140; Tamara Atkin, *Reading Drama in Tudor England* (London/New

Several studies into the history of reading, paratext, and readers' traces have focussed specifically on Bible reading. Premodern English Bible readership has been particularly well researched, with influential and diverse studies by, amongst others, Femke Molekamp, Kate Narveson, Mary Raschko, Thomas Fulton, William Sherman, and Victoria Brownlee.[85] Their studies show that for

York: Routledge, 2018), p. 178; Smyth, *Material Texts*, p. 15; Blatt, *Participatory Reading*, pp. 2–3; Anna Dlabačová, 'Illustrated Incunabula as Material Objects: The Case of the Devout Hours on the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ', in Rijcklof Hofman et al. (eds.), *Inwardness, Individualization, and Religious Agency in the Late Medieval Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), pp. 181–221; Laurie Maguire, *The Rhetoric of the Page* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2020), p. 31. On readers' involvement through errata lists, see in particular: Ann Blair, 'Errata Lists and the Reader as Corrector', in Sabrina Alcorn Baron et al. (eds.), *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 21–41; Smyth, *Material Texts*, pp. 80–104. On the performative and rhetorical power of blanks, see especially: Maguire, *The Rhetoric of the Page*. Readers' activities in assembling and reassembling medieval and early modern books have been discussed by, amongst others: Knight, *Bound to Read*; Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Kathryn M. Rudy, *Image, Knife, and Gluepot: Early Assemblage in Manuscript and Print* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2019); Smyth, *Material Texts*, pp. 17–54.

85 See: Molekamp, *Women and the Bible*; Kate Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Self-Definition in an Emergent Writing Culture* (Farnhem: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012); Mary Raschko, 'Taking Apart the Wycliffite Bible: Patterns of Selective and Integrative Reading', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 47:3 (2017), pp. 461–486; Thomas Fulton, 'English Bibles and their Readers, 1400–1700', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 47:3 (2017), pp. 415–435; Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. 71–86; Victoria Brownlee, *Biblical Readings and Literary Writings in Early Modern England, 1558–1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Other relevant publications on early modern, English Bible reading and use include: Francis Higman, '"Without Great Effort, and with Pleasure": Sixteenth Century Genevan Bibles and Reading Practices', in Orlaith O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Bible as Book: The Reformation* (London/New Castle: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2000), pp. 115–122; Scott Mandelbrote, 'The Bible and Didactic Literature in Early Modern England', in Sara Pennell and Natasha Glaisyer (eds.), *Didactic Literature in England 1500–1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 19–39; W. R. Owens, 'Modes of Bible Reading in Early Modern England', in Shafquat Towheed and W.R. Owens (eds.), *The History of Reading: international Perspectives, c. 1500–1990* (volume 1) (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 32–45; Kevin Killeen and Helen Smith, '"All Other Bookes … Are but Notes upon This": The Early Modern Bible', in Kevin Killeen et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 1–18; Ian Green, '"Hearing" and "Reading": Disseminating Bible Knowledge and Fostering Bible Understanding in Early Modern England', in Kevin Killeen et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 272–286; Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016). Paratextual elements in premodern (i.e. late medieval and early modern)

both men and women, Bible reading was deeply ingrained within early modern English life. They also underline the importance of paratexts in directing the reader and stress the fact that readers often 'styled their Bibles to conform to their preferences and … fashioned themselves using these sacred objects.'[86] The methods and approaches developed in this English context have found their way into Bible research in other European countries over the past few years. Edited volumes such as those by Poleg and Light (2013), Corbellini et al. (2015), and Ardissino and Boillet (2020) present a broad range of studies on Bible reading across a wide geographical area and from multiple perspectives.[87]

With regard to the Dutch situation, the line of research concerning Bible reading in the premodern period has benefitted hugely from the scholarship and initiatives directed by Sabrina Corbellini at the University of Groningen. Structured around multiple large-scale research projects – 'Holy Writ and Lay Readers' (2009–2013), 'New Communities of Interpretation' (2013–2017), 'Cities of Readers' (2015–2019), and 'In Readers' Hands' (from which the current study results; 2017–2021) – Corbellini and her research teams have developed a rich

English Bibles are also discussed by Slights, *Managing Readers*; Elizabeth Morley Ingram, 'Maps as Readers' Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles', *Imago Mundi*, 45 (1993), pp. 29–44; Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls'; Matti Peikola, 'Tables of Lections in Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible', in Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (eds.), *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 351–378.

86 Molekamp, *Women and the Bible*, p. 42.

87 Chapters in these edited volumes that are of particular relevance to this study are: Sabrina Corbellini, 'Vernacular Bible Manuscripts in Late Medieval Italy: Cultural Appropriation and Texutal Transformation', in Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (eds.), *Form and Funciton in the Late Medieval Bible* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 261–282; Margriet Hoogvliet, 'The Medieval Vernacular Bible in French as Flexible Text: Selective and Discontinuous Reading Practices', in Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (eds.), *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 283–306; Elizabeth Solopova, 'Manuscript Evidence for the Patronage, Ownership and Use of the Wycliffite Bible', in Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (eds.), *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 333–349; Peikola, 'Tables of Lections'; Suzan Folkerts, 'Approaching Lay Readership of Middle Dutch Bibles: on the Uses of Archival Sources and Bible Manuscripts', in Sabrina Corbellini et al. (eds.), *Discovering the Riches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 18–43; Elisabeth Salter, 'Evidence for Religious Reading Practice and Experience in Times of Change: Some Models Provided by Late Medieval Texts of the Ten Commandments', in Sabrina Corbellini et al. (eds.), *Discovering the Riches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 88–110; Margriet Hoogvliet, 'Reading the Gospels in the Life and Passion of Christ in French (ca. 1400–ca.1550)', in Erminia Ardissino and Élise Boillet (eds.), *Lay Reading of the Bible in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020), pp. 139–169; François, 'Bible Production and Bible Readers'; Corbellini, 'Afterword'.

variety of methods and perspectives with regard to Dutch religious and biblical reading culture in the late medieval and early modern period.[88] As their studies demonstrate, vernacular Bible reading was common in the Low Countries from the Middle Ages onwards. Contrary to general assumptions, lay-people's involvement in religious reading culture 'was well under way before the great wave of (Protestant) Bible translations … before the invention of the printing press … [and] before the Protestant and Catholic Reformations.'[89] Religious experience and development was already 'textualised' in the late medieval period, for lay as well as religious people.[90]

Dutch Bibles were wide-spread in the late medieval and early modern period, both in manuscript and in print, and were disseminated as separate Bible books or in larger collections, in Old or New Testaments, and Epistles and Gospels. Lay readers, both men and women, were actively involved in the creation, circulation, and reception of Bibles, in particular within urban networks.[91] Bibles were used for devotion, studious purposes, or to read before

88 Within these projects, the Italian and French contexts are covered as well, see for instance: Sabrina Corbellini, 'Reading, Writing, and Collecting: Cultural Dynamics and Italian Vernacular Bible Translations', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 93:2 (2013), pp. 189–216; Margriet Hoogvliet, 'Encouraging Lay People to Read the Bible in the French Vernaculars: New Groups of Readers and Textual Communities', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 93:2 (2013), pp. 239–274. In addition, Suzan Folkerts, who was a member of the research teams of 'Holy Writ and Lay Readers' and 'New Communities of Interpretation', also received a personal NWO-VENI grant for her project 'From monastery to market place. Towards a new history of New Testament translations and urban religious culture in the Low Countries (c. 1450–1540)' (2013–2018). Folkerts also edited a recent volume on reading and religious connectivity in urban communities. See: Suzan Folkerts (ed.), *Religious Connectivity in Urban Communities (1400–1550): Reading, Worshipping, and Connecting through the Continuum of Sacred and Secular* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021).

89 Sabrina Corbellini and Sita Steckel, 'The Religious Field during the Long Fifteenth Century: Framing Religious Change beyond Traditional Paradigms', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 99:3–4 (2019), pp. 303–329, pp. 306–307.

90 See also: Anna Dlabačová, 'Printed Pages, Perfect Souls? Ideals and Instructions for the Devout Home in the First Books Printed in Dutch', *Religions*, 11:45 (2020), pp. 1–21, pp. 17–18.

91 See, for instance: Suzan Folkerts, 'The Cloiser or the City? The Appropriation of the New Testament by Lay Readers in an Urban Setting', in Sabrina Corbellini (ed.), *Cultures of Religious Reading in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 175–200, pp. 181–184. On the active role of the laity in the circulation of books, see also: Johanneke Uphoff, '"Dit boec heft gegeven": Book donation as an Indicator of a Shared Culture of Devotion in the Late Medieval Low Countries', in Suzan Folkerts (ed.), *Religious Connectivity in Urban Communities (1400–1550): Reading, Worshipping, and Connecting through the Continuum of Sacred and Secular* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), pp. 99–124.

or after Mass.[92] These various reading behaviours cross the divides between the medieval and early modern period, between lay and religious communities, and between confessional groups.[93] It is within these dynamic religious, temporal, cultural, and textual contexts that the Bible reading practices explored in the current study ought to be understood.

4 Research Corpus and Scope

This study discusses the interactions between early modern readers and one specific type of book: the Bible. Although the approach that is developed in this study could be applied to practically any collection of early modern books, it is particularly well suited for studying books that were deeply embedded in every fibre of early modern daily life and experience. From childhood onwards, people would hear Bible readings in Mass and internalise them through sermons, liturgy, and prayer.[94] Biblical stories were visually present in public and private spaces, depicted in churches, in illustrated Bibles, on devotional prints, and in domestic decoration.[95] Moreover, inventories of early modern households in the Low Countries demonstrate that Bibles were the kind of books

92 See, for instance: Mart van Duijn, *De Delftse Bijbel: Een sociale geschiedenis, 1477–circa 1550* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2017), pp. 133–140; Suzan Folkerts, 'The Cloister or the City?', in Sabrina Corbellini (ed.), *Cultures of Religious Reading in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 175–200; Suzan Folkerts and Arend Elias Oostindiër, 'New Bibles and Old Reading Habits around 1522', *Quaerendo*, 47:3–4 (2017), pp. 175–198, pp. 185–186; Hoogvliet, 'The Medieval Vernacular Bible'.

93 See: Suzan Folkerts, 'Middle Dutch Epistles and Gospels: The Transfer of a Medieval Bestseller into Printed Editions during the Early Reformation', in Wim François and August A. Den Hollander (eds.), *Vernacular Bible and Religious Reform in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era* (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), pp. 53–74; Folkerts and Oostindiër, 'New Bibles and Old Reading Habits'. On Bible reading in a monastic context, see, for instance: Sabrina Corbellini, 'Sitting between Two Sisters: Reading Holy Writ in a Community of Tertiaries in Sint-Agnes, Amersfoort', in Viriginia Blanton et al. (eds.), *Nuns' Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Antwerp Dialogue* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 83–98.

94 See also: Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers*, pp. 28–29, p. 53.

95 On depictions of the Bible on furniture and as domestic decoration, see: Andrew Morrall, 'Domestic Decoration and the Bible in the Early Modern Home', in Kevin Killeen et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 577–597; Tara Hamling, 'Living with the Bible in Post-Reformation England: The Materiality of Text, Image and Object in Domestic Life', *Studies in Church History*, 50 (2014), pp. 210–239; T. G. Kootte (ed.), *De Bijbel in huis: Bijbelse verhalen op huisraad in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Zwolle/Utrecht: Waanders Uitgeverij/Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent, 1992).

most commonly owned by people across social-economic and confessional divides.[96] In other words: the early modern Bible was not *just* a book. For many, it would have served as a lifeline and a continuous point of reference. Bibles could provide a sense of community and identity, as well as reflect and inflict religious change. They were read, treasured, and passed on as valuable heirlooms to following generations. Early printed Bibles need to be understood as part of a rich and versatile field of meanings and social and cultural practices.

In addition, the omnipresence of the Bible in the early modern period correlates to a large number of printed editions, with considerable print runs and – especially in the case of complete Bibles – a relatively good survival rate. This enables the composition of a coherent research corpus consisting of a large number of copies from a selected combination of editions. The coherency within the corpus allows for a systematic approach to the material and for effective comparisons between different copies and reading behaviours.

The research corpus of this study consists of 189 surviving copies of Dutch Bibles printed by Jacob van Liesvelt and Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch (see table 1). The temporal framing of the research corpus of this study is defined by two years: 1522 and 1546.[97] In 1522, the first Dutch Bible which was not directly based upon a medieval Vulgate translation appeared.[98] Moreover, in the same year, Jacob van Liesvelt published his first Bible edition. Although this edition still provided a traditional translation, it was the first in an impressive row of increasingly Reformation-minded Bible editions that Liesvelt printed. The year which closes off the printing period under scrutiny here

96 See: Hester Dibbits, *Vertrouwd bezit: Materiële cultuur in Doesburg en Maassluis, 1650–1800* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 1998), p. 217; Johan A. Kamermans, *Materiële cultuur in de Krimpenerwaard in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw: ontwikkeling en diversiteit* (Wageningen: Afdeling Agrarische Geschiedenis Landbouwuniversiteit Wageningen, 1999), pp. 124–129; Hans van Koolbergen, 'De materiële cultuur van Weesp en Weesperkapel in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', *Volkskundig Bulletin,* 9:1 (1983), pp. 3–52, p. 32; Jeroen Blaak, *Geletterde levens: Dagelijks lezen en schrijven in de vroegmoderne tijd in Nederland, 1624–1770* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), p. 28; M. L. Caron, 'Boeken en taferelen in bezit van de molenaarsweduwe: De geestelijke cultuur van Leidse burgers tot in de 16de eeuw', in J. R. ter Molen et al. (eds.), *Huisraad van een molenaarsweduwe: Gebruiksvoorwerpen uit een 16de-eeuwse boedelinventaris* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1987), pp. 68–78.

97 This temporal framework is commonly used in the research on early modern Dutch Bible translations. See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 4; Den Hollander, 'Forbidden Bibles', pp. 154–156.

98 This Bible, printed by the Amsterdam printer Doen Pietersoen and containing the Gospel of Matthew, provided the first Dutch translation which (partially) followed Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum* of 1519. See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 4, pp. 261–263.

TABLE 1 Research corpus of this study: editions and number of copies

Printer	Year and kind of edition	USTC number	Number of studied copies	Abbreviation of the edition
Jacob van Liesvelt	1522, Gospels	400440	1	JvL Ev 1522
Jacob van Liesvelt	1523, Epistles of Paul	437214	1	JvL EP 1523a
Jacob van Liesvelt	1523, Epistles of Paul	437215	1	JvL EP 1523b
Jacob van Liesvelt	1523, Epistles of the Apostles	437213	2	JvL EA 1523
Jacob van Liesvelt	1526, complete Bible	400463	12	JvL CB 1526
Jacob van Liesvelt	1527, Book of Wisdom	407331	2	JvL BW 1527
Jacob van Liesvelt	1532, complete Bible	402970	8	JvL CB 1532
Jacob van Liesvelt	1534, complete Bible	410766	24	JvL CB 1534
Jacob van Liesvelt	1534, New Testament	441763	1	JvL NT 1534
Jacob van Liesvelt	1535, complete Bible	437754	18	JvL CB 1535
Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch	1535, complete Bible	437755	13	HPvM CB 1535
Jacob van Liesvelt	1535, New Testament	437803	1	JvL NT 1535a
Jacob van Liesvelt	1535, New Testament	437792	1	JvL NT 1535b
Hansken van Liesvelt	1538, complete Bible	403973	19	HvL CB 1538
Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch	1538, New Testament	442647	1	HPvM NT 1538
Jacob van Liesvelt	1540, New Testament	438122	1	JvL NT 1540
Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch	1540, New Testament	438026	2	HPvM NT 1540
Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch	1541, complete Bible	408196	37	HPvM CB 1541
Jacob van Liesvelt	1541, New Testament	442648	1	JvL NT 1541
Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch	1541, New Testament	441722	2	HPvM NT 1541a
Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch	1541, New Testament	403008	2	HPvM NT 1541b
Jacob van Liesvelt	1542, complete Bible	404047	25	JvL CB 1542a
Jacob van Liesvelt	1542, complete Bible	408233	9	JvL CB 1542b
Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch	Ca. 1542, New Testament	–	1	HPvM NT (ca.) 1542
Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch	1543, New Testament	416046	1	HPvM NT 1543

TABLE 1 Research corpus of this study: editions and number of copies (*cont.*)

Printer	Year and kind of edition	USTC number	Number of studied copies	Abbreviation of the edition
Jacob van Liesvelt	1544, New Testament	410456	1	JvL NT 1544a
Jacob van Liesvelt	1544, New Testament	442651	1	JvL NT 1544b
Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch	Ca. 1544, New Testament	–	1	HPvM NT (ca.) 1544
Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch	1546, New Testament	404113	1	HPvM NT 1546

is 1546. On 8 April 1546, at the Council of Trent, it was proclaimed that the Vulgate was the only authentic version to be used in the Church. In accordance with this statement, the Louvain Index of the same year strictly prohibited the use and dissemination of an extensive list of books, including forty-two Dutch Bibles.[99]

In spite of the fact that this study is not primarily concerned with the confessionality of Bible translations or the regulation of print by the authorities, the diverging confessional climate and the relative freedom that printer-publishers enjoyed throughout the 1520s to early 1540s created an atmosphere in which they could experiment with textual, paratextual, and visual developments, and thus with the stimulation of new reading techniques.[100] Printers could initiate new types of editions, include elaborate and innovative paratexts, and attract potential readers with the richness and variety of their editions. When restrictions became more strictly imposed after 1546, this had a substantial influence on vernacular Bible production. Printers saw themselves compelled to adapt

99 See: Den Hollander, 'Forbidden Bibles', pp. 160–161; François, 'Bible Production and Bible Readers', p. 196. On the Louvain Index, see also: Bujanda et al., *Index de l'Université de Louvain*. It is important to note that the role of the Catholic Church's authorities in the printing industry was not at all merely repressive. A growing body of research on Catholic printing in the early modern Low Countries displays how the Catholic Church embraced, utilised, and further developed the benefits of print. See, for this matter: Helmer Helmers et al., 'Introduction: The Printing Press as an Agent of Power', in Nina Lamal et al. (eds.), *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2021), pp. 1–17, pp. 8–9.

100 On the religious dynamics in the 1520s to 1540s in the Low Countries, see: Christine Kooi, *Reformation in the Low Countries, 1500–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 46–73.

their translations and decrease the number of paratextual elements and reading aids in the editions. Therefore, the Bible printing activities by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch can not be separated from the broader contexts in which these took place. The decisions both printers made with regard to text and paratext, as well as the reading opportunities which were created and enabled by these choices, are undoubtedly connected to the relatively open and confessionally dynamic sphere within which they acted.

Although the choice of editions is thus defined by a relatively brief time span, this is not the case for the traces, adaptations, and transformative practices of readers under scrutiny in this study. Bibles from the first half of the sixteenth century continued to be used throughout the entire early modern period or even beyond. In order to grasp the broad scope of interactions between these books and their readers, I take readers' traces into account from the entire time frame between the printing date and ca. 1800, with a particular focus on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century traces. This approach allows for the inclusion of traces that are not as easily dated, in particular non-verbal traces such as underscorings or rubrication. Moreover, the broad temporal perspective provides room for the insight that the early modern Bible, as any object, had a 'lifetime'. As the book moved through time and space and from reader to reader, it could accumulate traces and adaptations, offering each subsequent reader an object that could already bear the remnants of previous interactions. In the words of Lesser, the pieces of physical evidence we find in books 'derive from multiple historical moments overlaid onto a single transhistorical object that is never truly "finished."'[101] Hence, rather than treating the traces of reading and use in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles as 'all-composed-at once; … existing in a synchronic instant,' they are understood here as elements that 'have time.'[102] The broad temporal frame facilitates the understanding that interactions between the reader and the book always take place at a certain point in time, in relation not only to the intentions and choices of printers, but also to traces of previous use.

The corpus of 189 copies has been compiled on the basis of the Biblia Sacra database, the WorldCat catalogue, the Universal Short Title Catalogue, digital library catalogues, and auction catalogues, and through contact with private Bible collectors in the Netherlands and Belgium.[103] The aim has been to

101 Lesser, 'The Material Text', p. 85.

102 Smyth, 'Book Marks', p. 66.

103 The listing of surviving copies in Biblia Sacra mostly corresponds to the copies mentioned by Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*. The Biblia Sacra database aims to provide an overview of Bibles printed in the Netherlands and Belgium between 1477 and 1800. It was developed within two research projects, both led by August den Hollander.

bring together a research corpus that, as much as possible, would approach the entirety of surviving copies. It includes copies in university library collections, national libraries, small public libraries, and private collections across the Netherlands, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Germany, the United States of America, and several other countries.[104] Despite its broad scope, the corpus is undeniably limited. Not only will a considerable number of surviving copies have remained undetected, for instance because they are kept in unknown private collections, several copies also proved to be inaccessible for research or were lost.[105]

Besides these practical concerns of access and findability, the corpus is altogether defined by the very survival of certain copies. The survival rate of copies differs between various editions, and most strikingly between the folio-sized, complete Bibles and the small, partial editions, such as New Testaments. In most cases, only one copy per smaller edition survived, contrasting strongly with the fact that the complete Bibles are represented by generally ten to twenty surviving copies per edition.[106] Of Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible of 1541, no fewer than forty copies have been detected. The low survival rate of small printed books is a well-known paradox of early modern print culture. Contrary to the large and heavy folio-sized Bibles, these New Testaments were

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The technical realisation and management of the database are overseen by the Digital Production Centre of the University Library of the University of Amsterdam. The database provides descriptions and reproductions of printed Bible editions, including information on typography, illustrations, and surviving copies. Some copy-specific descriptions contain further information on, amongst other aspects, missing pages, binding characteristics, provenance marks, handwritten annotations, or rubrications. The database is freely available at bibliasacra.nl. I studied two copies after having detected them in a auction catalogue: I studied a 1541 complete Peetersen van Middelburch Bible when it temporarily remained at Bubb Kuyper Auctioneer (Haarlem) in October 2020, and a 1534 complete Liesvelt Bible at Arenberg Auctions (Brussels) in June 2019. The current owners of these copies are unknown.

104 For a complete overview of the copies under scrutiny in this book, see Appendix.

105 The latter is the case for, amongst others, a 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible which originally belonged to the Preußische Staatsbibliothek of Berlin (Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 443). In 1941, the library building was bombed and the decision was made to evacuate the library holdings, including the special collections. The books were brought to 29 locations across Germany. After the war, a large number of valuable (music) manuscripts and early printed books did not return and were scattered across Germany and abroad, amongst which was the 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible. Its current holding place is unknown. On the lost books of the Staatsbibliothek, see also: P. J. P. Whitehead, 'The Lost Berlin Manuscripts', *Notes*, 33:1 (1976), pp. 7–15.

106 Although the corpus includes copies from 9 complete Bible editions versus 17 smaller editions, there are only 23 surviving copies *in total* of New Testaments and other partial editions.

the kind of books 'that readers carried around on their travels, that accompanied them to church on Sunday, and that they consulted every day.'[107] These books were used until they fell apart, were discarded, were replaced by new versions, and did not become 'collectibles' as often as their larger equivalents.

Other factors that could influence the survival rate of copies are, amongst others, the context or place in which they were kept (e.g. private or institutional ownership) and the material characteristics of specific books and their bindings. Furthermore, one might expect that the suppression of certain Bibles by the authorities would also significantly impact the survival rate of specific editions. However, this assumption cannot be convincingly confirmed by the survival of the various editions by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch. Of all Liesvelt's complete Bible editions, for instance, the only Bible not to be included on the Louvain Indexes and other lists of forbidden books is the edition from 1526. Still, the number of surviving copies from this edition (twelve) is not higher than those of the censored editions of 1535 and 1538, and even considerably less than the survival of, for instance, the 1534 complete Bible, of which twenty copies are known to have survived. In the case of Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, the forbidden complete edition of 1541 is represented by about three times as many copies as those that survive from the 1535 edition, which was not included on the Indexes.[108] Hence, although censoring regulations undoubtedly impacted book production and transmission, this has not resulted in a visible influence on the survival rate of the editions.[109]

5 Formative Spaces and Transformative Practices: Structure of the Study

This book consists of five main chapters, structured in two parts. This first part is titled 'Formative spaces: paratext and the construction of meaning and

107 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, pp. 16–17. On this paradox, see also: McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order*, pp. 43–45.

108 In the case of the survival rate of Willem Vorsterman's Bible, there similarly does not seem to be a direct correlation between which Bibles were placed on Indices of forbidden books and which Bibles had a high survival rate. Vorsterman's editions of 1528 and 1533–1534, for instance, were censored but both have survived in over forty copies; the highest numbers among all Vorsterman's editions. My gratitude goes to Bert Tops for this remark.

109 On the impact, and lack of impact, of Indices on book production and transmission, see also: McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order*, pp. 153–165. See also McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order*, pp. 279–280, for extensive bibliographical references to research about early modern censorship and print control.

reading practices.' It explores how the paratextual elements in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles shaped, stimulated, enabled, and required certain reading behaviours, experiences, and practices. By analysing the presence, content, form, and potential influence of the paratexts in these Bibles on reading behaviours, the chapters thus aim to provide insight into the reading possibilities created and demanded by the printed book. Furthermore, this part of the thesis will look at the differences in paratextual material between complete Bibles and partial editions, in order to determine whether these various editions provided different opportunities and incentives for the reader of the book. A distinction is made between 'constructive' paratext and 'directive' paratext. Although this distinction is artificial and diffuse, as all paratexts share the space of the book and might simultaneously adhere to different functions, it structures the exploration of the paratextual programme of the Bibles studied here.

The concept of constructive paratext, as will be discussed in chapter 2, is used to describe those paratextual elements that shape and influence readers and their reading behaviour before or after they entered the main text of the book. Positioned at the beginning or the end of textual sections, this type of paratext functions as 'a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public.'[110] Chapter 2 will discuss the following paratextual elements in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bibles and New Testaments: blank spaces, title pages, prologues, calendars and almanacs, and 'terminal paratext' (i.e. explicits and colophons).[111] Together, these paratexts form the textual, visual, and material framework through which the reader is invited to enter and leave the main Bible text.

Chapter 3 will concern what is referred to here as directive paratext: the paratextual elements that continue to direct, shape, and facilitate the movements of readers when they turn to the reading of the main Bible text. These paratexts – printed marginalia, summaries, woodcuts, maps, tables of contents, liturgical reading aids, and topical registers – enable and structure the reader's navigation between one part of the book and another. The analysis of these various elements will display several ways in which the book could

110 Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 2.

111 The term 'terminal paratext' has been introduced by William Sherman. The last pages would have been the place where early modern readers would expect to find colophons, tables of contents, addresses to the reader and dedications. See: William H. Sherman, 'The Beginning of "The End": Terminal Paratext and the Birth of Print Culture', in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 65–88, p. 66.

facilitate discontinuous, non-linear reading movements, while simultaneously providing aids for readers to maintain a sense of 'where they are' within the book.

After having established how paratextual elements structured potential reading practices, the question remains how actual, historic reader-users of these Bibles responded to the paratextual, textual, and material characteristics of their books. Hence, the second part of this study, titled 'Transformative practices: readers' responses, adjustments, and traces', turns from the impact and agency of the book to that of the reader. By investigating the many and various traces of reading and use, this part will explore how historic readers responded to the encouragements, possibilities, and invitations presented in the paratextual, textual, and visual programme of their Bibles, and how they would appropriate and impact their books. Because of the low survival rate of New Testaments, the corpus under scrutiny in this part of the thesis has been enlarged by including traces of reading and use in the surviving copies of other partial editions: Liesvelt's Gospels (1522), his Epistles of Paul (1523), Epistles of the Evangelists (1523), and his Book of Wisdom (1527).

This part consists of three chapters. The first of these, chapter 4, will provide an overview of the traces, readers, and book owners that can be detected in the Bible copies under scrutiny. It will present the categorisation of traces of reading, use, and ownership as applied in subsequent chapters, and analyse differences in the presence, form, and content of traces between the various Bible editions under scrutiny. In addition, it will portray the Bible reading public in terms of gender, confessional preference, profession, and location.

Chapter 5 will discuss how readers interacted with the textual and paratextual elements of their Bibles. The first section of this chapter will centre around readers' reflections on the textual and paratextual content of the book, usually expressed in markings (e.g. manicules or *notate bene*) or written annotations. The second section will move from readers' responses to the contents of the book to their transformative actions in accommodating reading practices. Presenting examples such as corrections to and additions of texts, images, or paratexts, I will consider how readers could create efficient navigation through the book and across the page, expand the volume by including new texts or images, and personally facilitate liturgical and devotional use of the book.

In the last main chapter, chapter 6, I will shift my attention from the use of the book as a carrier of text and paratext, to the use and appropriation of the book as a physical object. This chapter will discuss, firstly, how book owners could establish their ownership of the book and, simultaneously, how they might appropriate the object as a way to shape their 'self' and solidify

their personal relation to their faith. The second part of this chapter will focus on those interactions between the user and the object that left material, non-verbal, and often unintended traces. Overall, this chapter illustrates the various ways in which users could appropriate the book and its material characteristics beyond reading in the strict sense of the word.

In the conclusions, I will bring the two main strings of this study back together. I will discuss whether the reading practices that are enabled and stimulated by paratext are indeed taken up by the reader, or if they approach the book with contrasting and divergent expectations and actions. Furthermore, it will display how the roles of the printer-publisher and the reader relate to each other in the dynamic, continuing processes that make the book and shape readership. Ultimately, the combination of these various perspectives will lead to the conclusion that the transmission of biblical knowledge from book to reader was not a straightforward, one-way street, but rather shaped by a myriad of ongoing interactions between the textual, conceptual, and material Bible, and its involved and creative readers.

PART 1

Formative Spaces: Paratext and the Construction of Meaning and Reading Practice

Introduction to Part 1

> The book creates the meaning, the meaning creates life.
>
> ROLAND BARTHES, *The Pleasure of the Text*[1]

In the edict that Emperor Charles V issued at the Council of Flanders on 17 July 1526, the publication, dissemination, and use of the following Bible editions was forbidden:

> all Gospels, Epistles, Prophecies and other books of the Holy Scriptures, in German, Flemish, or French, with postils, glosses, or those with prefaces or prologues, [and those that] contain flaws, errors, or doctrines based on the before mentioned Luther and his followers.[2]

Like many edicts, *placcaeten*, and *indexes* that were disseminated in the Low Countries during the 1520s, 1530s, and 1540s, this document demonstrates that the authorities of the Low Countries in the first decades of the sixteenth century did not strive towards a general ban on or even a discouragement of vernacular Bible reading, but were rather aiming to restrict the publication and dissemination of Bibles containing paratextual elements such as prologues, summaries of chapters, and glosses.[3] These elements were considered to be dangerous, as they would provide space and opportunity for printer-publishers to pose heterodox opinions and statements concerning the interpretation of

1 Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text* (transl. Richard Miller) (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), p. 36.

2 *alle Euangelien, Epistelen, Prophetien ende andere boucken vanden Helegher Scriftueren, in Duytsch, Vlaemsch of Walsch, gheapostilleirt, ghegloseirt, of hebbende prefacien off prologue, inhoudende dolinghen, erreuren of doctrine vanden voorseyden Luther ende zijne adherenten.* Cited to: Paul Frédéricq, *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandicae: Verzameling van stukken betreffende de pauselijke en bischoppelijke inquisitie in de Nederlanden / Deel 5, Tijdvak der hervorming in de zestiende eeuw: eerste vervolg* (*24 september 1525–31 december 1528*) (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1902), pp. 142–148.

3 See: Den Hollander, *Verboden Bijbels*, p. 10; François, *Bijbelvertalingen in de Lage Landen*, p. 507; Folkerts and Oostindiër, 'New Bibles and Old Reading Habits', p. 183; François, 'Bible Production and Bible Readers', p. 192.

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Scriptures. Subsequent edicts not only obliged printers to *exclude* certain paratexts, they also insisted upon the *inclusion* of others, such as the printer's name and address, and the year of publication.[4]

The significance of paratextual material in early modern Bibles is not easily overstated. Paratexts functioned as crucial confessional markers and as aids to establish and direct interpretations of Scripture. Despite regulations, printers continued to accompany their publications with ample paratextual elements up to the 1540s.[5] Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch were no exception. They embellished their editions with elaborate and increasing amounts of paratext, from prologues and liturgical reading schedules to running titles and extensive glosses packed in the margins of the page. These elements served as fundamental devices for printers to position themselves in the market, advertise their work, and grasp the attention of potential new buyers and readers – an important task in the rapidly expanding and highly competitive book market.[6] Furthermore, the paratextual material provided a space for the creators of the book to engage with competitors, traditions, existing knowledge structures, and book conventions that surpassed the borders between genres.

Previous studies on the paratextual elements in early modern Dutch Bibles have demonstrated how these elements were coloured by developing confessional attitudes and customs. However, as has been shown convincingly by Wim François, Bible editions in the first half of the sixteenth century reflect, both in their text and paratext, 'the religious climate of the time, a climate that was strongly eclectic and only to a limited degree "confessionalised".'[7] In their choice of paratext, printers joined continues debates between book makers, authorities, religious convictions, theologians, and lay readers.

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4 Den Hollander, *Verboden Bijbels*, p. 9. Responding to this regulation, however, an increasing number of books printed during the sixteenth century appeared under false names and addresses. The Antwerp printer Merten de Keyser (active as printer between 1525 and 1536), for instance, published under pseudonyms and fictional addresses in Cologne, Luneburg, Zürich, and Strasbourg. Recurrent false names include Francis Foxe (Strasbourg) and Jacobus Mazochius (Zürich).

5 William H. Sherman, 'On the Threshold: Architecture, Paratext, and Early Print Culture', in Sabrina Alcorn Baron et al. (eds.), *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 67–81, p. 70.

6 Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington, 'Introduction', in Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington (eds.), *Thresholds of Translation: Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473–1660)* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 1–23, p. 3. See also: Randall Anderson, 'Rhetoric of Paratext in Early Printed Books', in John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: 1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 636–644.

7 François, 'Bible Production and Bible Readers', p. 193. See also: François and Corbellini, 'Shaping Religious Reading Cultures', p. 149.

Printers also adhered to existing expectations and preferences concerning the presence and types of paratext in early modern books. Paratextual forms that were already present in manuscripts were reshaped and amplified in the early modern period.[8] As demonstrated by Ann Blair, early modern printers responded to the demands of readers who struggled with an overabundance of information by developing intricate paratextual devices.[9] As the following two chapters will demonstrate, the paratextual apparatus in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles is no exception to Smith and Wilson's statement that the paratexts in early modern books formed 'an ever-expanding labyrinth … structuring the reader's approach not only to the text in question but to the experience of reading, and of interpreting the world beyond the book.'[10] The paratexts in the Bibles under scrutiny here played a variety of roles in attracting, embracing, constructing, directing, and 'pushing and pulling' the users of the book.[11] The omnipresent paratext – placed before, after, around, and between the main text – was not 'external to the meaning of the text' but part of its signification: it shaped reader profiles, aided readers' navigation

8 These paratextual developments have been analysed extensively by, amongst others: Smith and Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts*; Silva, *The Brand of Print*; Mak, *How the Page Matters*. On the presence and functions of paratextual devices in medieval manuscripts, see also: Anne Rudloff Stanton, 'Turning the Pages: Marginal Narratives and Devotional Practice in Gothic Prayerbooks', in Sarah Blick and Laura Gelfand (eds.), *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative, Emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 75–121; Hoogvliet, 'The Medieval Vernacular Bible'; Peikola, 'Tables of Lections'; Charlotte Cooper, 'What is Medieval Paratext?', *Marginalia: the Journal of the Medieval Reading Group at the University of Cambridge*, 19 (2015), pp. 37–50; Raschko, 'Taking Apart the Wycliffite Bible'; Henrike Manuwald, 'How to Read the "Andachtsbüchlein Aus Der Sammlung Bouhier" (Montpellier, BU Médecine, H 396)? On Cultural Techniques Related to a Fourteenth-Century Devotional Manuscript', in Evanghelia Stead (ed.), *Reading Books and Prints as Cultural Objects* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 57–79.

9 See: Ann Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping With Information Overload, ca. 1550–1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64:1 (2003), pp. 11–28; Blair, *Too Much to Know*; Ann Blair, 'Managing Information', in James Raven (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 164–194.

10 Smith and Wilson, 'Introduction', pp. 6–7. Book historical research has established genre-surpassing terminology for the early modern paratextual apparatus, which I will indeed adhere to in this study.

11 See also: Clark and Sheingorn, 'Encountering a Dream-Vision', p. 11. Birke and Christ ('Paratext and Digitized Narrative', pp. 67–68) distinguish three main functions of paratext: an interpretive function (when paratext suggests certain ways of understanding and interpreting the text), a commercial function (when paratext plays a role in advertising a text and promoting its sale), and a navigational function (when paratext guides the readers' movements through the book). As they state, the first of these three functions has dominated much of the research into paratext, not in the least by Genette himself.

through the book and across the page, arranged expectations and anticipations, created knowledge structures, and presented spaces for debate.[12] Although paratext did not *define* how a book could and would be read, it shaped the framework of possibilities, opportunities, and navigational structures in which a reader would move.

12 David Scott Kasten, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 5. See also: Smith and Wilson, 'Introduction', pp. 4–5; Slights, *Managing Readers*, p. 20.

CHAPTER 2

Constructive Paratext: Shaping an Active Reader and Framing the Text

The influences paratextual elements can exert on reading behaviour are manifold and dynamic, preceding, concluding, and ingrained within the reading experience. The current chapter explores paratext in premodern Bibles as a constructive force that shaped readers' perspectives, behaviour, and practices before and after they immerged themselves in the Scriptures. The types of paratext considered here are varied: blank spaces, title pages, prologues, calendars and almanacs, and 'terminal' paratextual elements, such as the colophon.[1] These elements are generally located in the front or back of the book, or at the beginning or end of a textual section, for instance between the Old and the New Testament. These elements may grab a reader's attention before and after their reading of the main text. However, this assumption does not necessarily hold true for every interaction between the book and its readers. Peter Stallybrass has accurately pointed out that, above all, 'the codex form enables random access. There is no reason why a reader should read the preface to a book first, or even at all.'[2] As Daniel Pennac's list of the 'rights of the reader' emphasises, all readers hold the inalienable right to skip certain elements, to not finish a book, and to 'sample and steal'.[3] Paratextual elements at the beginning and the end of the book could be passed over easily. The linear way in which paratexts are listed, described, and analysed in the subsequent chapters is therefore inevitably artificial. The aim of this chapter is not to reconstruct an all-encompassing blueprint of how readers would have approached the book and its texts, but rather to provide insight in what opportunities, directions, and paths were created and facilitated by paratextual devices.

1 See: Sherman, 'The Beginning', p. 66.

2 Peter Stallybrass, 'Afterword', in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 204–219, p. 219.

3 Daniel Pennac, *Comme un Roman* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), p. 145.

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1 Blank Space: Flyleaves, Margins, and Indentations

Is blank space paratext? If so, it is by default of an unusual kind, as it does not contain any printed text or image. In addition, full blank pages, such as endleaves and flyleaves, were usually inserted during the binding process, and hence related primarily to the agency of the binder rather than that of the printer.[4] Nevertheless, the blanks in a book are deeply significant in the message a book conveys. In medieval manuscripts, the presence of elaborate white space around the text and images raised a book's value, as precious parchment or paper was deliberately left 'unused'. Moving into the early modern period, paper remained a valuable element in the production of the printed book. Book makers continued to use blank space with consideration, in all awareness of its properties as a rhetorical tool, its protective material features, and its costs.

The Bibles by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch contain blank space at various places in the book. The first blank spaces a reader encounters when opening the book are the endpapers, consisting of the pastedowns and one or more loose endleaves, that can be found between the binding and the title page.[5] Whereas endpapers were always included by binders (or, for that matter, by later restorers of the book and its binding), flyleaves could be inserted at various points in the process of creating a book.[6] Endpapers and flyleaves

4 However, previous research has shown that, in some cases, early modern printers already added empty pages in the printing phase. Placing a blank at the beginning of a book in this phase required forethought and planning, as space had to be reserved within the quire. These blank pages were probably inserted as a form of protection of the book for the time passing between the printing and binding phases. As most books were stored by printers unbound, these pages could cover the outside of the text blocks against external forces. Strikingly, however, the presence of this blank page inserted by the printer declined steeply after 1485, around the same time that title pages start to develop. According to Margaret Smith, the title page seems to take up the role of the blank page. This sheds some new light on the assumed protective role of the blank page. See: Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development, 1460–1510* (London/New Castle: The British Library/Oak Knoll Press, 2000), pp. 52–53.

5 Among book historical studies, various terms are used to describe the blank pages and spaces at the beginning and the end of the book. These include endleaves, end sheets, and flyleaves. I follow the terminology as used and explained by Sidney E. Berger, 'Endleaves', in Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (eds.), *Book Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 275–286.

6 A common early modern strategy for providing more space for annotation and reader response was the practice of interleaving the book with blank pages. This was particularly common with almanacs, see: Adam Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *English Literary Renaissance*, 38:2 (2008), pp. 200–244, p. 204. The practice occurred in early modern Bibles as well. An example is a Dutch Bible from 1688 at Utrecht

served important material functions within these Bibles by protecting the book block from water damage or other types of destructive forces, and by reinforcing the connection between the book block and binding.[7] However, these leaves were also often subject to change or adaptation, as they could be removed or replaced when they lost their protective function through heavy damage. Moreover, the removal of endpapers and flyleaves could also serve as a way to intentionally discard traces of previous owners and readers. The blank leaves in various copies of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles indeed prove to have been replaced or included in later stages of the book's life.

In addition to these blank leaves, Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles contain ample blank space in broad margins, between columns, and across the page in order to distinguish various textual parts. In Liesvelt's complete Bible of 1526 in particular, chapters were regularly separated in different sections by white spaces. Genesis 40, for instance, is divided into six parts, distinguished by blank lines. The separation of these sections underlines the structure of the narrative. In later editions, these blank lines were replaced with indentations. Furthermore, the printers experimented with the use of blank space at the endings of Bible books. As will be discussed more extensively in section 2.5 (on terminal paratext), Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch implemented certain types of lay-out, such as chalice-shaped endings, to define where chapters ended, hence playing with the border between text and empty space. In these cases, rather than merely being the absence of text, blank space functions as a device to define and mark textual entities. Laurie Maguire has compared the blank space in early modern printed books with John Cage's famous composition *4′33″*, which consists of a full four minutes and thirty-three seconds of silence. The silence, according to Cage, should make listeners aware of any other sounds in their environment. Similarly, the textual blank 'is never truly empty' but always defined by and defining its textual surroundings.[8]

University (Hs. 19 A 17), known as the 'Nahuys Bible', named after its owner and annotator Gerard Johan Nahuys. The copy was interleaved with blank pages between each two printed pages. The blank pages contain extensive annotations by Nahuys and others, and the copy includes various other letters and documents that are placed loosely between the pages of the book. See: Bart Jaski, 'Netwerken in een doorschoten Bijbel: Gerard Johan Nahuys en zijn kring in de achttiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis*, 20:4 (2017), pp. 131–135. There are no interleaved copies among the Bibles in the research corpus of this study.

7 W. K. Gnirrep et al., *Kneep en binding: E*en *terminologie voor de beschrijving van de constructies van oude boekbanden* (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1992), p. 31.

8 Maguire, *The Rhetoric of the Page*, p. 85.

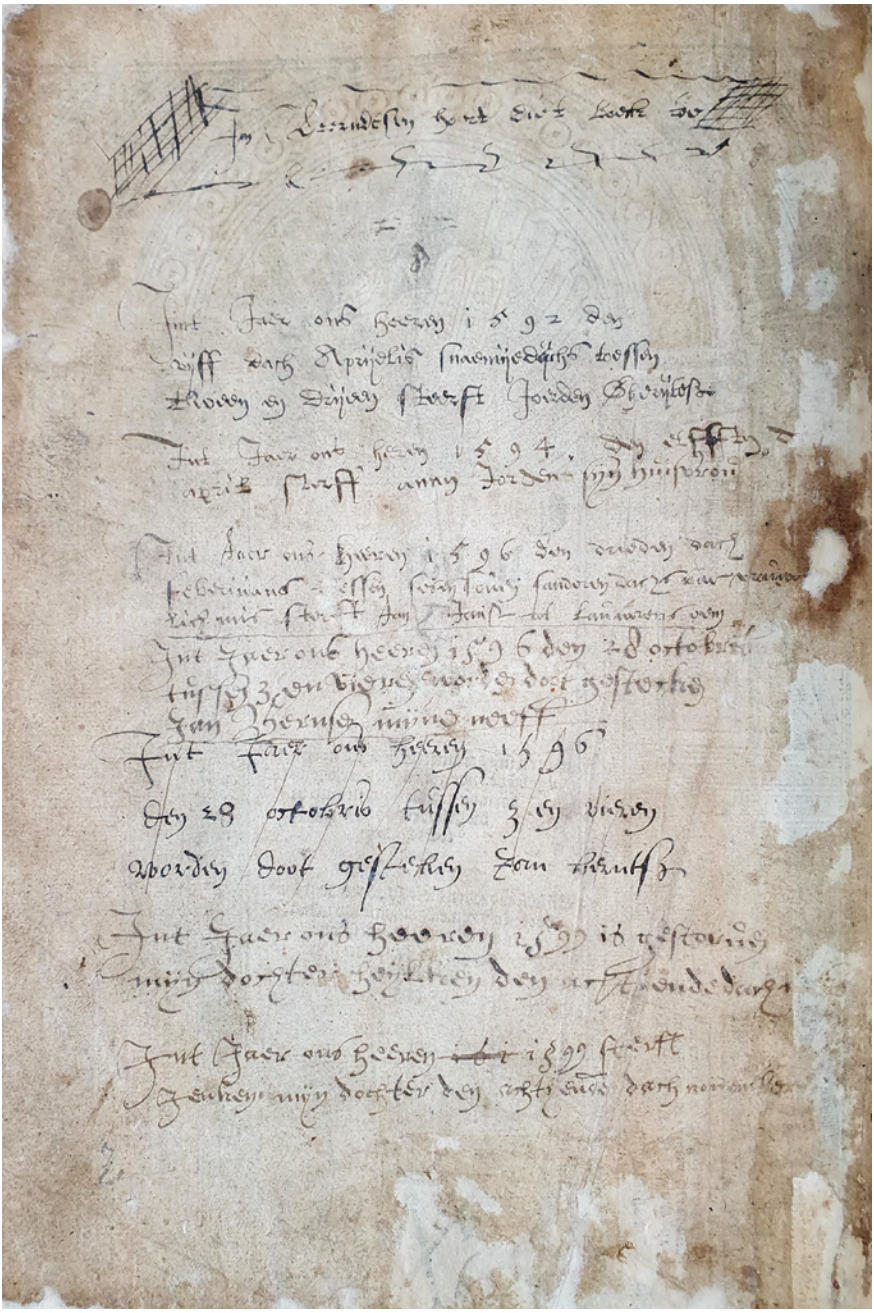

FIGURE 4 Genealogical annotations on an endleaf of a 1526 complete Jacob van Liesvelt Bible. Utrecht University Library, THO RAR 11–31

The empty and white spaces in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles enabled users to fill this open and liminal space with their own thoughts and ideas.[9] In Michel de Certeau's words, the blank page could function as 'a space of its own [which] delimits a place of production for the subject. … An autonomous surface is put before the eye of the subject who thus accords himself the field for an operation of his own.'[10] Using blank spaces to leave annotations and traces was encouraged by early modern writers and theologians as an important element of active reading. 'You will write some brief but pithy sayings such as aphorisms, proverbs, and maxims at the beginning and at the end of your books,' Erasmus prescribed.[11] Indeed, the blankness of the white spaces in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles appears to have prompted readers to leave their marks (fig. 4).

As spaces that ultimately reminded a user of the 'paperness' and openness of the book, places such as flyleaves, endleaves, and margins were commonly occupied by readers' thoughts and considerations.

2 Title Pages

After turning the blank page at the beginning of the Bible, the reader encounters the title page. This paratextual element has sparked ample book historical interest. Some historians of printing have claimed that the title page is the primary, most important feature of the early printed book, as it was introduced with the development of print – the incipit in manuscripts was usually not presented on a separate page – and often provides a typographical indication

9 Sharpe and Zwicker 2009, 7. See also: Katherine Acheson, 'Introduction', in Katherine Acheson (ed.), *Early Modern English Marginalia* (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 1–12, pp. 6–7; Jason Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73:3 (2010), pp. 363–381, p. 378.

10 De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 134.

11 *Item si quaedam breuiter sed insigniter dicta, velut apophthegmata, prouerbia, sententias, in frontibus atque in calcibus singulorum codicum inscribes* (Jean-Claude Margolin (ed.), 'De Ratione Stvdii', in *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterdodami – Ordinis Primi Tomvs Secvndvs* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 79–152, p. 119, verses 1–3). In translation by: Craig R. Thompson (ed.), Brian McGregor (transl.), *Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings*, volume 24 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 671. On the importance of note-taking in early modern humanist (and Jesuit) pedagogy, see also: Ann Blair, 'The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe', *Intellectual History Review*, 20:3 (2010), pp. 303–316.

of a printer's style.[12] Furthermore, as 'the site of a book's self-presentation to its potential audience,' the title page played the role that the front and back covers of modern books have now partially taken: it attracted readers, framed the book (for instance with regard to its genre), and positioned it in the book market through a combination of text, lay-out, images, and material.[13] The title page, in other words, was crucial in selling the book. Choices with regard to the typographical characteristics and lay out of early modern title pages were therefore always connected to economic motives. Innovation would always have been balanced with recognisability and custom in order 'not [to] jeopardize sales'.[14]

The characteristics of the title page, however, did not only impact advertisement and sale. Choices concerning the contents and lay out of the title page would continue to influence readers and users after the initial stage of acquiring the book. As Bonnie Mak has noted, title pages 'visually and verbally fabricate a context [for the book], even if the pages are only leafed through or skimmed.'[15] During the first few decades of the sixteenth century, the amount of information on the title page grew rapidly, hence providing the reader with increasingly detailed knowledge about the books they were about to read.

2.1 *Stability and Adjustment on the Title Page*

The recognisability of a title page was of crucial importance for ensuring the commercial value of a book. As Andie Silva explains, print agents could 'frame new texts as part of their existing, already-thriving markets' by creating recognisable title pages, and hence appeal to returning potential buyers.[16] In addition, a recognisable lay out and the recurrence of specific elements on the title page would play a role in directing and shaping reading practices. Recurring characteristics of title pages could ignite readers' 'horizons of expectation' by reviving their recollections of books that looked similar.[17]

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12 See: Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 11; Whitney Trettien, 'Title Pages', in Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (eds.), *Book Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 39–50, p. 41.

13 Trettien, 'Title Pages', p. 41. See also: Jean-François Gilmont and Alexandre Vanautgaerden (eds.), *La Page de Titre a La Renaissance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); Silva, *The Brand of Print*, pp. 9–10, pp. 67–68, pp. 103–104.

14 Proot, 'Converging Design Paradigms', pp. 301–302.

15 Mak, *How the Page Matters*, p. 34.

16 Silva, *The Brand of Print*, p. 15, pp. 103–104.

17 The concept of a 'horizon of expectations' was developed within Jauss' reception theory. See: Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesoata Press, 1982); Michael Keanns, 'The Material Melville: Shaping Readers' Horizons', in Michele Moylan and Lane Stiles (eds.), *Reading Books: Essays on the Material*

With regard to the title pages of Jacob van Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bible editions, the recognisability of the title page and the recurrence of various elements are evident. The title pages of the complete Bible editions by Jacob van Liesvelt (published in 1526, 1532, 1534, and 1542) are all based upon one format, first established in the 1526 edition (fig. 2).[18] The title pages depict an architectural space with Moses at the top of the page in an alcove-like space, holding the tablets and pointing towards them. On both sides of the space, four figures are placed: two on pillars, two on the ground. These figures are Mark, John, Joshua, and David, and each of them holds onto a plate with a quotation from his Bible book. These four quotations all relate to reading, teaching, or contemplating the Word of God. The quotation from Mark, in particular, creates a Reformation-minded atmosphere, as it implies an aspiration for direct access to the Scriptures for every individual: 'Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creation.'[19] Each of the Bible editions between 1522 and 1545 that carried this inscription was eventually forbidden by the various Indices in the second half of the sixteenth century.[20]

The text box containing the title of the edition is positioned in the centre of the space. Underneath the title of all of Liesvelt's Bible editions from 1532

Text and Literature in America (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), pp. 52–74.

18 Many characteristics of the Bible printed by Hansken van Liesvelt in 1538 are comparable to Jacob van Liesvelt's previous editions. However, the illustration on the title page, and hence the entire impression of this page to a reader, differs. Hansken van Liesvelt's title page depicts the contradiction between Law and Grace, sometimes also understood as an allegory on the Old and New Testament. The woodcut used by Hansken was copied after Erhard Altdorfer's woodcut border, which was developed for a German Luther Bible printed in 1533 by Ludwig Dietz in Lübeck. Similar pictural scenes, moreover, also appeared in Catholic Bibles, such as Hans de Laet's 1560 and 1565 complete Bibles, and Plantin's Bible of 1566. Furthermore, the concept was already developed and explained in illustrations by Lucas Cranach the Elder in 1529, and in a painting by Hans Holbein the Younger from around the same year. See: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, pp. 73–75. The two complete Bible editions from 1542 return to the typical Liesvelt title page lay out.

19 In JvL CB 1542a, the four quotations that the figures on both sides of the title page hold are the following: Mark 16:15: 'Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creation' (*Gaet in alle dye werelt / ende predict dat Evangelium allen creatueren*); 2 John 1:10: 'If anyone comes to you and does not bring this teaching, do not take them into your house or welcome them' (*Ist dat yemant tot u comet / ende dese leeringe niet mee en brenct / dien en neemt in uwen huyse niet / en gevet hem ooc niet*); Joshua 1:8: 'Keep this Book of the Law always on your lips; reflect upon it day and night' (*En laet dit boec van dese wet uut uwen monde niet comen / mer peist daerom dach ende nacht*); Psalm 19:8 'The commands of the Lord are pure, enlightening the eyes' (*Die gheboden die HEEREN sijn suver / ende si verlichten dye oogen*).

20 See: Den Hollander, *Verboden Bijbels*, p. 21.

onwards, a *Cum Gratia et Privilegio* approval is printed, often in larger script and (partially) rubricated, and at the bottom of the page, Jacob van Liesvelt's printer's mark is placed on a shield presented by two putti. A striking recurring element of Liesvelt's title pages from 1532 onwards is the goblet- or chalice-like typographical shaping of the title.[21] The consistency with which Liesvelt arranged his title in the goblet shape enhanced the uniformity and recognisability of his title pages.

Peetersen van Middelburch's two complete Bible editions similarly present uniform title pages. Both depict an illustrated frame which encloses the title space (fig. 3). The woodcut Peetersen used in his complete Bibles is copied after the title page of Willem Vorsterman's complete Bible of 1531.[22] It depicts the four evangelists to the left and right of the title, and Peter and Paul on both sides at the top of the page, with a depiction of the nativity in the centre.[23] The title in the middle of this frame is printed in red and black ink, underneath which Peetersen van Middelburch mentions his printing privilege. At the bottom of the title block, the printer placed a few lines of text, including a colophon in the 1535 edition and a reference to the added topical register in the 1541 edition.[24]

Despite the recognisability and relative stability of the content and construction of the title page, the folio-sized editions of Liesvelt and Peetersen

21 It is unclear whether Liesvelt made new requests for a *Cum Gratia et Privilegio* approval for each of his subsequent editions and thus renewed the privilege, or if he simply copied the privilege which he requested and received for his 1532 edition. The explanatory text of the granted privilege, which was often added to books in order to verify the approval, is not included in any of Liesvelt's Bible editions. Fraud with regard to these privileges was relatively common and Liesvelt was accused by the local government of misuse of the *Cum Gratia et Privilegio* in 1536. See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, pp. 31–32. On typographical spacing on title pages, see: Goran Proot, 'Designing the Word of God: Layout and Typography of Flemish 16th-century Folio Bibles Published in the Vernacular', *De Gulden Passer*, 90:2 (2012), pp. 143–179, p. 156; Proot, 'Converging Design Paradigms', pp. 284–293.

22 See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 437.

23 Vorsterman copied the frame to Martinus de Keyser's *La saincte Bible en Francoys* (1530). However, he substituted the bottom part of the frame, replacing the depiction of Law and Grace with a woodcut of four putti. See: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, p. 72.

24 HPvM CB 1535, colophon on title page: 'Printed in Antwerp in the Mol, within the Camerpoorte. By me, Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch. In the year of our Lord 1535, 24 March' (*Gheprint Tantwerpen inden Mol, binnen die Camerpoorte. By mi Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch. Int Iaer ons Heeren. M.CCCCC. ende .XXXv. xxiiij Meerte.*) HPvM CB 1541, reference to the topical register in the title block: 'In addition [there is] also a beautiful, very useful table, in order to find in the holy Scriptures, what one is looking for, which has never been printed before' (*Item oock een schone seer profitelijcke Tafele, om te vinden in der heyliger schrift, wat men hebben wil, dye welcke noyt ghedruct en is gheweest.*)

van Middelburch show developments and slight changes between each edition, in text and lay-out. One of the elements clearly subject to change is the actual title. With regard to Liesvelt's complete Bible editions, the title is extended with increasingly detailed information on the book's contents. In the 1526 edition, the text box contains the simple title 'The old and the new testament' (*Dat oude ende dat nieuwe testament*) and two Bible quotations from Deuteronomy 4 and Deuteronomy 6. In the editions from 1532 onwards, however, these quotations disappear and the title is adapted to a more extensive one, which includes information on the presence, origin, and function of the marginal glosses added in these editions.[25] From Hansken van Liesvelt's editions in 1538 onwards, another adjustment to the title is made, stating that the glosses were meticulously corrected on the basis of trustworthy sources.[26] Furthermore, it mentions the short summaries that were placed above each chapter in both the Old and New Testament.[27] Liesvelt's editions from 1542, then, also refer to newly added explanatory glosses.[28]

In Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, the title of the 1535 complete edition is almost identical to Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bibles of 1532 and onwards, although Peetersen added a few lines – which were later copied by Hansken van Liesvelt in 1538 – justifying the quality of his glosses.[29] The title of the 1541

25 JvL CB 1532, title page: 'The Bible corrected with great precision, and placed in the margins [are] the age of the world, and how long before the birth of Christ each of the histories and stories of the Bible occurred, and collected with that, from the Fasciculus Temporum, and from the chronicles of the entire world, the important histories of the most powerful, pagan kingdoms, that the Holy Scripture often mentions as well, in order to gain a better understanding of the biblical histories, and of chronology' (*Den Bibel met grooter neersticehty gecorrigeert / ende op die canten gheset den ouderdom der werelt / ende hoe lange die gheschiedenissen ende historien der Bibelen elck int zijn voor Christus gheboorte gheweest zijn / ende daer bi vergadert uut Fasciculus Temporum / ende uut dye cronike inden alder werelt / die principael historien der machtiger heydenscher conincrijcken / daer die heylige scrift oock dickwils af vermaent / tot een claerder verstant der Bibelscher historien / ende oock een onderscheyt der tijden te hebben.*)

26 HvL CB 1538, title page: 'Now also these [glosses] corrected with great precision, based on the oldest and most approved copies, that have been printed' (*Nu ooc laetswerf met groter neersticheit ghecorrigeert / uut die alder oudtste ende gheapprobeertste Copien / die welcke ghedruct sijn.*)

27 HvL CB 1538, title page: 'And the content above each chapter of that same chapter, both in the Old Testament and the New Testament' (*Ende dat inhout boven elcken capittel des selven Capittels / soo wel des ouden Testaments als des nieuwen Testaments.*)

28 JvL CB 1542a, title page: 'With some great explanations in the margins, that have not been there in the others' (*Met noch sommighe schoone verclaringen op dye canten / dye op dander noyt geweest en sijn.*)

29 HPvM CB 1535, title page: 'Now these [glosses] corrected with great precision, based on the oldest and most approved copies that have been printed' (*Nu laetswerf met groter*

edition of Peetersen van Middelburch follows the example of Vorsterman's editions of 1534 onwards, hence corresponding with the textual content of this edition.

Compared to the folio-sized, complete Bibles, the title pages of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's separately printed New Testament editions are not as lavishly decorated and usually provide less information on the content of the book. Not only does the small octavo size simply allow for less extensive titles, the chosen lay-out is also considerably simpler. Many title pages of New Testaments provide only the title and a decorative border. Interestingly, the title pages of the New Testaments seem to be slightly less consistent and recognisable in both layout and content of the title page than the complete editions. The title page of Jacob van Liesvelt's first New Testament, printed in 1534, consists only of red and black text (fig. 5).

Underneath the title, at the top of the page, Liesvelt placed Bible quotations from Mark 16:15–16 and John 18:23, and, in a slightly larger font, colophon-like information about the place of printing.[30] In subsequent New Testament editions by Liesvelt, the Bible quotations disappeared and a *Cum Gratia et Privilegio* was added, echoing the same development in his complete Bibles. These developments display how Liesvelt, at least outwardly, adhered to the regulations concerning book production in the first half of the sixteenth century, which prescribed that title pages should present information on the identity and location of the printer, as well as a printing privilege.[31]

The title pages of Liesvelt's New Testaments from 1535 onwards become slightly more elaborate, featuring a decorative border surrounding the title block. For the 1535a edition, Liesvelt chose an architectonical frame depicting two Old Testament figures (fig. 6).[32]

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naerstícheit gecorrigeert uut die alder Outste ende geapprobeertste Copien, de welcke ghedruct sijn). Den Hollander states that the title of Peetersen van Middelburch's 1535 complete edition is copied to Vorsterman's editions of 1528 and onwards. However, although the start of the title 'Den Bibel. Tgeheele Oude ende Nyeuwe Testament' is indeed identical to the start of Vorsterman's titles, the rest of the title is copied to Liesvelt's bibles of 1535 and later. See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 437.

30 JvL CB 1534, title page, references to Mark 16:15–16 and John 18:23*: Marci. xvi. D. Gaet in alle die werelt / ende predict dat Euangelium allen creatueren / Wie daer ghelooft / ende gedoopt is / die sal salich wesen Maer wie nyet en gelooft / die sal verdoemt wesen. Johannis. xviii. D. Hebbe ick qualic ghesproken / so geeft getuychnis van tquaet / maer heb ick wel ghesproken waer om slaet ghi mi.*

31 See also: Den Hollander, *Verboden Bijbels*, p. 9.

32 Liesvelt printed two editions of the New Testament in 1535. However, in the discussion of the title page as well as in the following discussion of other paratextual materials preceding the text, only the first edition of 1535 will be taken into account, as the only known extant copy of the 1535b edition (VU Amsterdam, signature: XC.05542-) misses its first few folios.

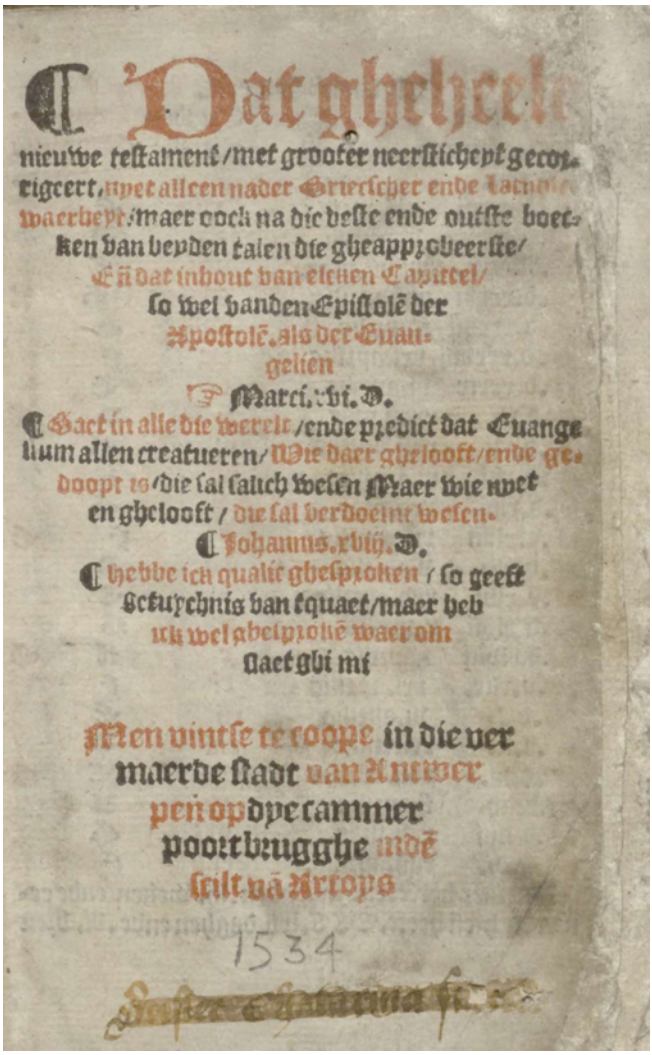

FIGURE 5 Title page of Jacob van Liesvelt's New Testament of 1534. Brussels, Royal Library, LP 586 A

In the editions of 1540 (fig. 7) and 1544a, the decorative frame depicts the four symbols of the evangelists in each corner, as well as four separate illustrations, displaying Christ standing near a tomb after his resurrection on the top, the apostles Peter and Paul on both sides, and the crucifixion on the bottom of the page.

Liesvelt used a different woodcut for the title page frame in his 1541 (fig. 8) and 1544b New Testaments, although the depicted scenes are similar to the 1540 and 1544a editions.

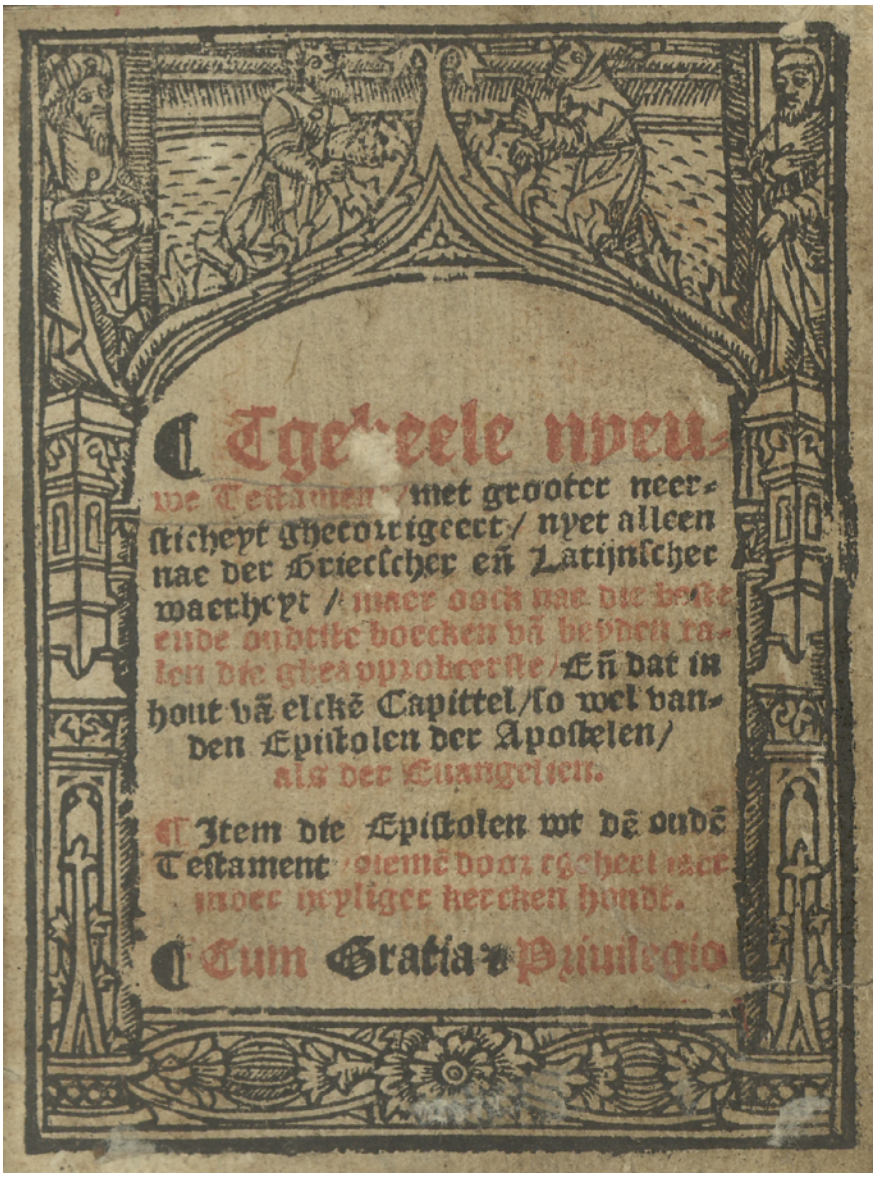

FIGURE 6 Title page of Jacob van Liesvelt's New Testament (a) of 1535. Ghent University Library, BIB.ACC.033490

Although Liesvelt alternated between those various frames and woodcuts, the overall impression of the title pages in his editions from 1540, 1541, and 1544 remains similar and recognisable.

With regard to Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testaments, there also appears to be an aim for coherency, although this is interrupted by two

FIGURE 7
Title page of Jacob van Liesvelt's New Testament of 1540. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bb niederländ 154001

editions. Peetersen's 1540, 1541a (fig. 9), 1543, 1544, and 1546 editions are all relatively similar, depicting a simple floral frame surrounding the title, the quotation of Mark 16:15–16 (the same as on Liesvelt's New Testament of 1534), and a colophon.[33]

For his editions of 1541b (fig. 10) and 1542 (fig. 11), however, Peetersen used a different decorative frame and discarded the Mark quotation as well as, in the 1541b edition, the information on the place and date of printing.[34]

33 Peetersen van Middelburch also printed a New Testament in 1538, but the only extant copy of this edition (VU Amsterdam, signature: XC.06338-) is missing its title page. Therefore, this copy will not be mentioned in this description. For his 1544 edition, the previously unknown edition of which a copy is housed by Rolduc Seminary Kerkrade, Peetersen van Middelburch used partially the same woodcuts as for his 1542 title page, but rearranged their order.

34 The fact that the title page of the 1542 edition is so different from previous and later editions helped in easily reaching the conclusion that the one extant copy of this Peetersen

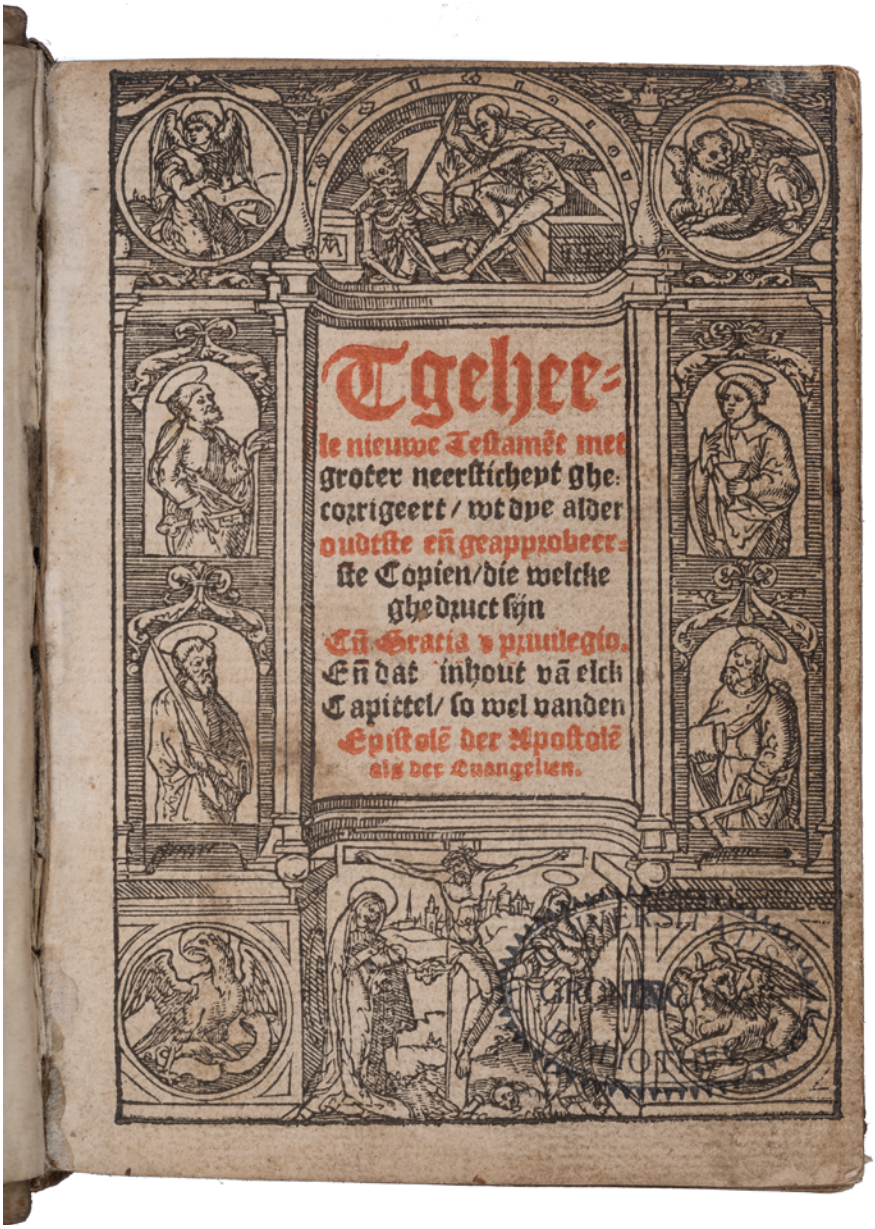

FIGURE 8 Title page of Jacob van Liesvelt's New Testament of 1541. University of Groningen Library, A g 82

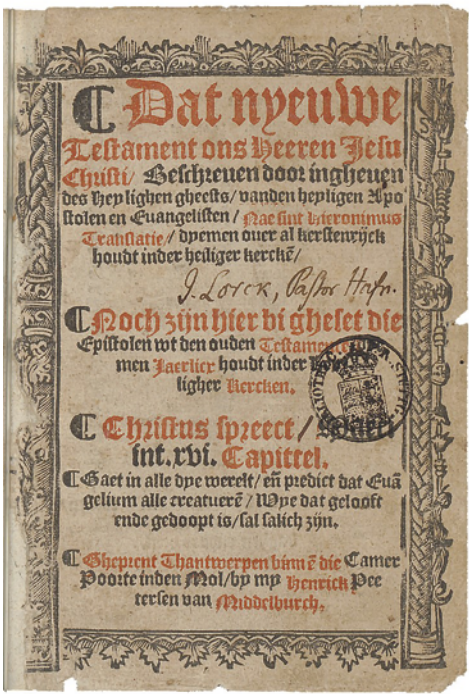
Dat nyeuwe
Testament ons Heeren Jesu
Christi/ Beschreuen door ingheuen
des heylighen gheests/ vanden heyligen Apo
stolen en Euangelisten / Na sint Hieronimus
Translatie / diemen ouer al kerstenrijck
houdt inder heiliger kercke/
J. Lorck, Pastor Hafn.
Noch zijn hier bi ghelet die
Epistolen wt den ouden Testamen
men Jaerlicx houdt inder
ligher Kercken.
Christus spreect /
int. xvi. Capittel.
Gaet in alle dpe werelt/ eñ predict dat Euã
gelium alle creaturẽ / Wye dat geloost
ende gedoopt is/ sal salich zijn.
Ghepnent Thantwerpen bim die Camer
Poorte inden Mol/ bp mp Henrick Pee
tersen van Middelburch.

FIGURE 9
Title page of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testament (a) of 1541. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bb niederländ 154101

The information Peetersen van Middelburch provides in the titles of his New Testaments remains largely the same, although the 1542 edition is the exception. All other editions feature a title very similar to that of Peetersen's New Testament of 1540:

> The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, written down through inspiration by the Holy Spirit, by the Holy Apostles and Evangelists, following the St. Jerome translation that is followed in the Holy Church throughout the entire Christian world, corrected with great precision.[35]

The title in Peetersen van Middelburch's 1542 New Testament is slightly shorter: 'The entire New Testament corrected with great precision, based on the oldest

van Middelburch New Testament, which is currently in private ownership, is indeed a different edition than any of the already known.

35 HPvM NT 1540, title page: *Dat nyeuwe Testament ons Heeren Jesu Christi / Beschreuen door ingheuen des heylighen gheests / vanden heylighen Apostolen ende Euangelisten / Na sint Hieronimus Translatie / diemen ouer al Kerstenrijck houdt inder heiliger kercken / Met groter naersticheyt ghecorrigeert.*

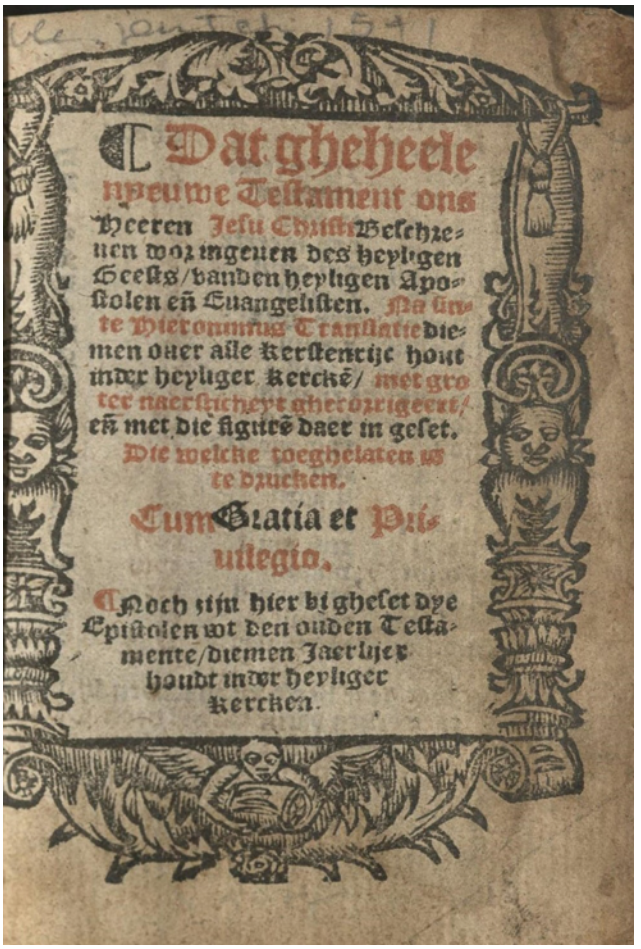

FIGURE 10 Title page of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testament (b) of 1541. *Dat gheheele nyeuwe Testament ons Heeren Jesu Christi. Intiaer ons Heeren, 1541*. The New York Public Library, KB 1541 Bible NT Dutch. Rare Book Division
ASTOR, LENOX, AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

and most approved copies that have been printed.'[36] This title is the same as that of Liesvelt's New Testaments from 1540 onwards, which underlines the close proximity between those two printers and their editions.

36 HPvM NT 1542, title page: *Dat geheele nyeuwe Testament met grooter neersticheyt ghecorrigeert / wt die alder oudste ende geapprobeerste copien die welcke gedruct zijn Cum Gratia et Priuilegio. Ende dat inhoudt van elcken Capittel so wel vanden Epistolen der Apostolen als der Euangelien.*

FIGURE 11 Title page of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testament of (likely) 1542. Gouda, Library Mastenbroek
IMAGE: WILCO MASTENBROEK

2.2 *The Impact of the Title Page*

The developing features of the title pages in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles seem, in general, to rely upon two main principles: recognisability and innovation. Both printers appear to strive for some consistency in 'branding' their Bibles. Yet, when new paratextual elements, such as the summaries above chapters, indexes, or marginalia, were introduced, or when the printer wanted to claim the innovative or trustworthy character of a new edition, slight adjustments to the title page were made.[37] Both strains of stability and adjustment are understandable with regard to the marketing function of the title page.[38]

The combination of various visual and textual elements on Liesvelt's and Peetersen's title pages will have impacted reading behaviour and readers' experiences in several ways. Firstly, the four Bible quotations presented by the figures on both sides of the architectonical background in Liesvelt's complete Bibles stimulate the reader to participate in a way of reading the Bible that is active, continuous, and studious. Readers ought to 'preach the Gospel to all creation' (Mark 16:15) and welcome exclusively those guests open to that teaching (2 John 1:10). Furthermore, they should keep the biblical word 'always on [their] lips' and 'reflect upon it day and night' (Joshua 1:8), so the Lord's commands may 'enlighten [their] eyes' (Psalm 19:8).[39] The reader is assigned a personal responsibility to continuously and actively study the Scriptures, a responsibility which, in general, would become increasingly confessionalised over the course of the sixteenth century.[40]

The quotation from Mark 16:15 is also present on the title pages of the majority of New Testaments by Peetersen van Middelburch and Liesvelt's 1534 New Testament edition.[41] The presence of this quotation on these various title pages not only emphasises the importance of reading the Gospel but also invites the reader to actively join the 'evangelising' activities for which Christ called them. Readers should not passively read the biblical text, but actively respond to it by spreading its knowledge to other people. Moreover, this

37 On the mentioning of paratextual elements on the title page as an advertising strategy, see: Silva, *The Brand of Print*, pp. 70–78.

38 See also: Proot, 'Converging Design Paradigms', pp. 301–302.

39 See note 148.

40 Earlier studies have considered this title page to be an example of one of the central tenets of the Reformation, as it invites the reader to an active and individual study of God's Word. See Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, p. 71.

41 HPvM NT 1540, title page: *Christus spreect / Marci int .xvi. Capittel. Gaet in alle dye werelt / ende predict dat Euangelium alle creatueren / Wye dat ghelooft ende ghedoopt is / sal salich zijn.* Liesvelt's New Testament of 1534 adds to that*: Maer wie nyet en ghelooft / die sal verdoemt wesen.*

invitation to the reader is expressed by the highest authority: Christ himself. This is emphasised by the fact that the words 'Christ says' have been printed in red ink in Peetersen van Middelburch's editions, whereas the quotation itself is in black. Furthermore, the various quotations may not only refer to the biblical text in general, but also to the *actual*, material book that carries these words. The reader is physically holding the book to which these quotations apply, which brings new layers of meaning to these biblical verses. It is *this book*, the very book whose weight readers feel in their hands, with which they should constantly be involved with and actively study.

The emphasis on active study is echoed in the titles, especially in the complete Bibles. The titles of Liesvelt's complete Bibles from 1532 onwards and Peetersen's 1535 Bible encourage the reader to use the marginal glosses added to the book to 'gain a better understanding of the biblical histories and of chronology.'[42] In Peetersen's complete Bible of 1541, the title also introduces the various 'multilingual', historical, and geographical marginal commentaries placed along the text. These references further underline how the book could be viewed as an object of study, entangled with historical, chronological, geographical, and linguistic knowledge.

The fact that the title pages of multiple Liesvelt editions are decorated and constructed as architectural frames supports the idea of the book as a library of knowledge, a learned space. This is a recurrent theme in early modern title pages: the book becomes a building into which the reader is invited to enter through the architectural entryway. Although, as noted by William Sherman, 'architectural frames for pages are not new in the age of printing,' they became particularly popular throughout the sixteenth century.[43] Liesvelt's architectural title pages invite readers to enter the Bible by way of a monumental archway with evident classical characteristics. These visual references present the book as a learned, 'humanist', and temple-like space.

The title pages also commonly emphasise the presence and relevance of paratextual elements to support readers' navigation through the text. The

42 JvL CB 1532, title page: *tot een claerder verstant der Bibelscher historien / ende oock een onderscheyt der tijden te hebben.*

43 Sherman, 'On the Threshold', p. 80. See also: Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbrown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England, 1550–1660* (Boston/London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979); Helen Wilcox, 'Early Modern Sacred Space: Writing the Temple', in Joseph Sterrett and Peter Thomas (eds.), *Sacred Text – Sacred Space: Architectural, Spiritual and Literary Convergences in England and Wales* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 141–162, p. 148. On the trope of the book as building, see also: Katherine Acheson, 'The Occupation of the Margins: Writing, Space, and Early Modern Women', in Katherine Acheson (ed.), *Early Modern English Marginalia* (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 70–89, p. 72.

title page of Peetersen's complete Bible of 1541, for instance, comments on the appearance of a topical register: 'In addition [there is] also a beautiful, very useful table, in order to find in the holy Scriptures, what one is looking for, which has never been printed before.'[44] The title page thus not only denotes the presence of this 'navigational aid' – a term coined by Peter Stallybrass to refer to the paratextual elements in a book that enable a non-linear reading of the text – but also stresses its usage and benefits: one can search and navigate freely to find the preferred biblical section through consultation of this register.[45] Similarly, the title pages of Liesvelt's complete Bibles from 1538 and 1542 (both editions), all of his New Testaments, and Peetersen van Middelburch's 1542 New Testament mention that 'the content of each chapter [is] placed above that same chapter.'[46] These chapter summaries, as will be discussed further in this chapter, not only framed a reader's interpretation of the chapter, but also had a navigational function: they allowed readers to flip through the Bible and more easily locate specific sections.

The title pages, in particular those of the complete Bibles, but also, to a lesser extent, those of the smaller editions, imply and encourage an ideal reader who is engaged, critical, and wishes to actively shape their own reading practice. However, such a critical reader might also question the reliability of the translation and paratextual elements. The title pages of Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch feature elements that in a way anticipate possible criticisms – from authorities, by including the *Cum Gratia et Privilegio*, as well as from readers, for instance by providing information on the reliable and trustworthy sources of their marginal notes and of the precision with which these have been corrected. Furthermore, Peetersen van Middelburch explicitly adds that he has indeed received permission to print his 1541b New Testament edition, and he emphasises in the majority of his New Testaments (except from the 1542 edition) that his translation follows St. Jerome's Vulgate translation, 'which is used throughout the Christian world in the Holy Church'.[47] Peetersen ceases to mention that the translations of his New Testament's are not mere

44 HPvM CB 1541, title page: *Item oock een schone seer profitelijcke Tafele / om te vinden inder heyliger schrift / watmen hebben wil / dye welcke noyt ghedruct en is gheweest.* Although this subject index had indeed 'never been printed before' in a complete Bible by Peetersen van Middelburch, it had been part of Bible editions of other printers, such as Liesvelt's complete Bibles from 1534 onwards.

45 See: Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls', p. 51.

46 JvL CB 1542b, title page: *Ende dat inhout bouen elcken capittel des seluen Capittels.*

47 HPvM NT 1541b: *Die welcke toeghelaten is te drucken. Cum Gratia et Priuilgio.* HPvM NT 1540, title page: *Na sint Hieronimus Translatie / diemen ouer al Kerstenrijck houdt inder heiliger kercken.*

Vulgate translations, but are 'Vulgatised' versions of existing translation that go back to Erasmus- and Luther-based texts. However, by focussing exclusively on the connection between the Dutch translation and the Latin Vulgate, Peetersen emphasises the traditional, and therefore trustworthy, character of his editions.

3 Prologues

Printed on the verso side of the title page, Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bibles present a prologue. Prologues are regularly considered to serve as the textual embodiment of the voice of the author, translator, or printer; a place in which the book producer has a verbal space to convince readers of certain interpretations of the text, often dressed with rhetorical tropes on humility and authority.[48] Early modern prologues were a genre that strongly relied upon the use of topoi and models that were considered appropriate for the specific type of text the book carried. Rather than being an original reflection of the author or printer's concerns, the structure and content of the prologues generally followed a rather predictable scheme. Moreover, prologues and prefaces were often copies, translations, or adjustments of existing prologues.[49] Prologues were intrinsically dialectic and rhetoric devices, rather than texts that described the historical truth of the book-making processes or of the intentions of the author, translator, or printer. These facts, however, do not undermine the function of the prologue in directing the reader and framing their reading experience.

3.1 *The Prologues in Complete Bible Editions*

The fact that many early modern prologues were not composed specifically for the editions they introduce, is demonstrated by the prologues in Lievelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles: all Liesvelt's complete Bibles from 1532 onwards, as well as Peetersen van Middelburch's 1535 complete Bible edition, contain the same prologue (fig. 12).[50]

The text usually covers the main part of the page and, in Liesvelt's Bibles, echoes in its typographical design the goblet-like shape of the title on the recto

48 See, for instance: McKenzie, *Bibliography*, p. 24; Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 197.

49 See: Brian W. Schneider, *The Framing Text in Early Modern English Drama: 'Whining' Prologues and 'Armed' Epilogues* (London/New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 6; Elizabeth Dearnley, *Translators and their Prologues in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2016), p. 3.

50 See: De Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers*, p. 98.

FIGURE 12 Prologue in Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1534. Antwerp, Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library, F 46902

side, underlining the coherence between the title page, the prologue, and the book. The text, with the incipit 'Because of the inlearnedness and simplicity of many people' (*Aenghesien dat die ongheleertheyt ende simpelheyt van veel menschen*), is a Dutch adaptation of the preface first published in Martin Luther's Pentateuch edition of 1523.[51] In his 'Preface to the Old Testament' (*Vorrede auff das Alte Testament*), Luther discusses how the Old and New Testament are connected and how both should be deemed relevant for Christian readers.[52]

The Dutch version of Luther's *Vorrede* is a summarising adaptation. The Dutch prologue is much shorter than its German example, but retains Luther's main point regarding the relevance of the Old Testament.[53] The prologue states that the Old Testament is a preparation for the New Testament, serving as the 'swaddling clothes in which Christ laid.'[54] It also adopts Luther's depiction of Bible readers as unlearned and ignorant people, who have often diminished the relevance of the Old Testament.[55] The presence of this prologue in Liesvelt's complet Bibles and Peetersen van Middelburch's 1535 Bible underscores the Reformation-minded character of these editions.

Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible of 1541 features a different prologue. Titled 'The declaration and ways to read this book' (*Dye verclaringhe ende maniere om dit boeck te lesen*), this prologue previously featured in Vorsterman's complete Bible editions. Similar to Vorsterman, Peetersen printed the prologue in a rectangular shape covering the main part of the page (fig. 13).

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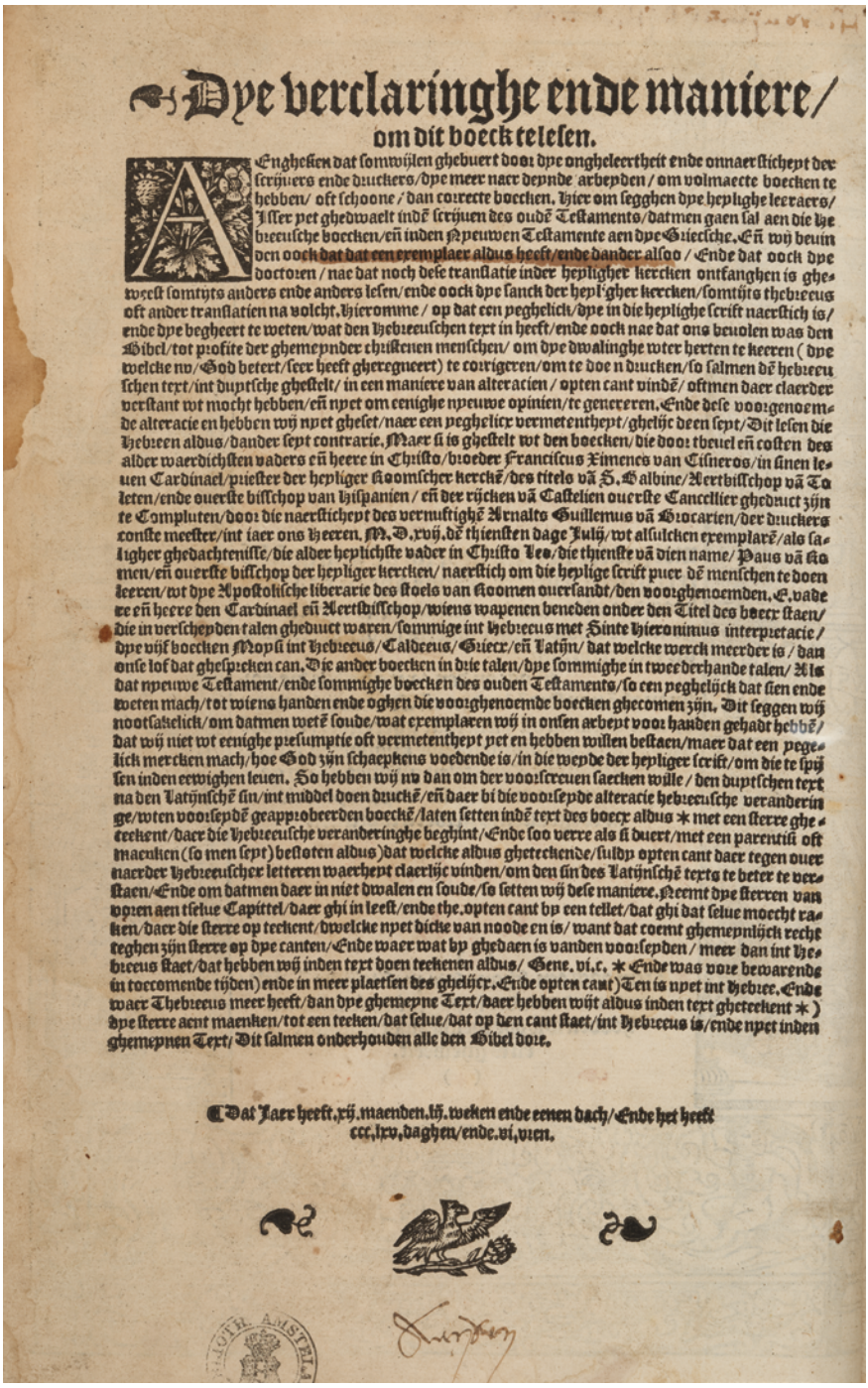
51 E.g. USTC No. 626766. See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 34.

52 WA, *DB* 8:10. See also: William M. Marsh, *Martin Luther on Reading the Bible as Christian Scripture: The Messiah in Luther's Biblical Hermeneutic and Theology* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2017), pp. 53–59. The argument concerning the relevance of the Old Testament had been emphasised by Luther before in the 21 prefaces found in his September Testament of 1522. Recalling this statement it in the preface to his Old Testament allowed Luther to bring his statement into practice by presenting readers with the text he claims the importance of.

53 Morrall has pointed out that the didactic emphasis laid upon reading the Old Testament in Luther's and Liesvelt's prologues departs from traditional manners of understanding the Old Testament solely for typological purposes. See: Morrall, 'Domestic Decoration', p. 579.

54 JvL CB 1542b, prologue: *... dat oude Testament is ons als dye wendeldoecken daer Cristus in ghewonden leyt.* In Luther's *Vorrede*: 'Here you will find the swaddling cloths and the manger in which Christ lies, and to which the angel points the shepherds' (*Hier wirstu die windeln und die krippen finden, da Christus ynnen ligt, dahyn auch der engel die hirtten weysset*) (see: Marsh, *Martin Luther on Reading the Bible*, p. 55).

55 JvL CB 1542b, prologue: *... die ongheleertheyt ende simpleheyt van veel menschen*; *... meynende dat alsulcken scriftuere alleen den Ioden ghegheven si, onde ons nyet aen en ghae.*



Dye verclaringhe ende maniere/ om dit boeck te lesen.

Aenghesien dat sommwijlen ghebuert door dye ongheleertheit ende onnaerstichept der scrijuers ende druckers/dye meer naer deynde arbeyden/om volmaecte boecken te hebben/ oft schoone/dan correcte boecken. Hier om segghen dye heylighe leeraers/ Ilser pet ghedwaelt indē scrijuen des oudē Testaments/datmen gaen sal aen die Hebreusche boecken/eñ inden Nieuwen Testamente aen dye Griecsche. Eñ wij beuinden ooch dat dat een exemplaer aldus heeft/ende dander alsoo/ Ende dat ooch dye doctoren/nae dat noch dese translatie inder heyligher kercken ontfanghen is gheweest somtyts anders ende anders lesen/ende ooch dye sanck der heyligher kercken/somtijts thebreeus oft ander translatien na volcht. Hieromme/ op dat een yeghelick/dye in die heylighe scrift naerstich is/ ende dye begheert te weten/wat den Hebreeusschen text in heeft/ende ooch nae dat ons beuolen was den Bibel/tot profite der ghemeynder christenen menschen/ om dye dwalinghe wter herten te keeren (dye welcke nv/God betert/seer heeft ghegrieuert) te corrigeren/om te doen drucken/so salmen dē hebreeuschen text/int duptsche ghestelt/in een maniere van alteracien/opten cant vindē/oftmen daer claerder verstant wt mocht hebben/eñ npet om eenighe nyeuwe opinien/te generen. Ende dese voorgenoemde alteracie en hebben wij npet ghelet/naer een yeghelicx vermetenthept/ghelijc deen sept/Dit lesen die Hebreen aldus/dander sept contrarie. Maer si is ghestelt wt den boecken/die door tbeuel eñ costen des alder waerdichsten vaders eñ heere in Christo/broeder Franciscus Ximenes van Cisneros/in sinen leuen Cardinael/priester der heyliger Roomscher kerchē/des titels vā S. Balbine/Aertbisschop vā Toleten/ende ouerste bisschop van Hispanien/ eñ der rycken vā Castelien ouerste Cancellier ghedruct zijn te Compluten/door die naerstichept des vermaerdē Arnalto Guillemus vā Brocarien/der druckers conste meester/int iaer ons Heeren. M.D.xvij.dē thiensten dage Julij/wt alsulcken exemplarē/als salicher ghedachteniſſe/die alder heylichste vader in Christo Leo/die thienste vā dien name/ Paus vā Romen/eñ ouerste bisschop der heyliger kercken/ naerstich om die heylige scrift puer dē menschen te doen leeren/wt dye Apostolische liberarie des stoels van Roomen ouersandt/den voorghenoemden. E. vadere eñ heere den Cardinael eñ Aertbisschop/wiens wapenen beneden onder den Titel des boecx staen/ die in verschepden talen ghedruct waren/sommige int Hebreus met Hinte hieronimus interpretacie/ dye vijf boecken Mopsi int Hebreus/Caldeeus/Griecx/eñ Latijn/ dat welcke werck meerder is/ dan onse lof dat ghelpcken can. Die ander boecken in drie talen/dye sommighe in twee derhande talen/ Als dat nyeuwe Testament/ende sommighe boecken des ouden Testaments/so een yeghelijck dat sien ende weten mach/tot wiens handen ende oghen die voorghenoemde boecken ghecomen zijn. Dit seggen wij noodsakelick/om datmen weten soude/wat exemplaren wij in onsen arbeyt voor handen gehadt hebbē/ dat wij niet wt eenighe presumptie oft vermetenthept yet en hebben willen bestaen/maer dat een yegelick mercken mach/hoe God zijn schaepkens voedende is/in die weyde der heyliger scrift/om die te spijsen inden eewighen leuen. So hebben wij nv dan om der voorscreuen saecken wille/ den duptschen text na den Latijnschē sin/int middel doen druckē/eñ daer bi die voorsepde alteracie hebreeusche veranderinge/wten voorsepdē grapp doerden boeckē/laten setten indē text des boecx aldus * met een sterre gheteeckent/daer die Hebreeusche veranderinghe beghint/Ende soo verre als si duert/met een parentiſi oft maenken (so men sept) besloten aldus/dat welcke aldus ghetee kende/suldy opten cant daer tegen ouer naerder Hebreeuscher letteren waerheyt claerlijc vinden/om den sin des Latijnschē texts te beter te verstaen/Ende om datmen daer in niet dwalen en soude/so setten wij dese maniere. Neemt dye sterren van opten aen tselue Capittel/daer ghi in leest/ende the opten cant by een tellet/dat ghi dat selue moecht raden/daer die sterre op teeckent/dwelcke npet dicke van noode en is/ want dat coemt ghemeynlijck recht teghen zijn sterre op dye canten/Ende waer wat by ghedaen is vanden voorsepden/ meer dan int Hebreeus staet/dat hebben wij inden text doen teeckenen aldus/ Gene. vi.c. * Ende was vore bewarende in toecomende tijden) ende in meer plaetsen des ghelijck. Ende opten cant) Ten is npet int Hebree. Ende waer Thebreeus meer heeft/dan dye ghemeyne Text/daer hebben wijt aldus inden text ghetee kent *) dye sterre acht maenken/tot een teeken/dat selue/dat op den cant staet/int Hebreeus is/ende npet inden ghemeynen Text/ Dit salmen onderhouden alle den Bibel door.

¶ Dat Jaer heeft.xij.maenden.lij.weken ende eenen dach/Ende het heeft ccc.lxv.daghen/ende.vi.vren.

FIGURE 13 Prologue in Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible edition of 1541. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam Library, 1150 A 14

Underneath the prologue, Peetersen placed the number of months, weeks, and days in a year, and the length of a day. The empty space at the bottom of the page has been decorated with a woodcut depicting a bird on a thistle branch.

This prologue is mainly concerned with the origins of the presented translation, arguing that the translators used trustworthy sources and created a reliable, new translation that complied with the requirements of the Holy Church. Furthermore, the prologue explains how the reader, by using the typographical signs and marginal commentary placed along the text, may find the Hebrew variant of certain words. This would enable 'anyone who is diligent in [studying] the Holy Scripture' to learn 'what the Hebrew text encompasses.'[56] However, the prologue points out, the language-related marginalia are explicitly *not* meant for 'generating any new opinions'but rather serve as a verification of the reliable sources approved by Roman authorities that laid at the basis of the Bible translation.[57]

In addition, in both Hendrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible editions, four short 'Lives of the Evangelists' (*dat leuen van dye vier Euangelisten*) have been inserted at the beginning of the New Testament (fig. 14). Contrary to the prefaces to the Gospels by Hieronymus that are included in various early modern Vulgate editions (e.g. the *Biblia cum pleno apparatu summariorum*, printed by Jacques Sacon in Lyon), these Lives are not prologues in the strictest sense of the word. However, similarly to Hieronymus' prefaces, they provided a rhetorical framework to lead readers into the New Testament, and the Gospels in particular.[58] The addition of these Lives marks how Peetersen van Middelburch adapted and adjusted the Bible editions of his colleagues Liesvelt and Vorsterman. Although the main text of Peetersen's 1535 edition mostly draws upon Liesvelt's Bibles, the Lives are absent in Liesvelt's versions. Peetersen most likely adopted the text from the Bible editions by Vorsterman, who included the Lives of the Evangelists in his complete Bibles as well as in his New Testament editions.

The Lives as published by Peetersen van Middelburch consist of four introductions on Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: about the texts they wrote, in what parts of the world they worked, how they spread Christ's message, and

56 HPvM CB 1541, prologue: *hieromme / op dat een yeghelick / dye in die heylighe scrift naerstich is / ende dye begheert te weten / wat den hebreeuschen tekst in heeft.*

57 HPvM CB 1541, prologue: *ende nyet om eenighe nyeuwe opinien / te genereren.*

58 USTC No. 143749. As argued by Vermeulen, this Bible by Jacques Sacon was likely used by Willem Vorsterman in the publication of his Bible editions. See: Louis Vermeulen, 'Die alder beste maniere van ouer te setten: Een andere visie op het gebruik van bronnen in het Oude Testament van de Vorstermanbijbel', *Trajecta*, 27:1 (2018), pp. 57–126, p. 65.

FIGURE 14 'Lives of the Evangelists' in Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible edition of 1535. University of Groningen Library, uklu Ag-3

how they eventually died. The lives are all about twohundred words in length. The life of St. Mark, for instance, is described as follows:

> Mark, a disciple and interpreter of St. Peter, has written a short Gospel, as the believers in Rome wished, following what he had heard St. Peter preach. Which the apostle Peter approved when he heard it, and has commanded it to the Holy Church to be read and preached in his name. [After] which Mark took the Gospel he himself wrote [and] travelled to Egypt. And he has firstly preached about Christ in Alexandria, with such teachings and virtues that he made all Christian people his followers. And he was so humble that he cut off his own thumb in order that he would not become a priest. When he had for long governed the Holy Church, had read, written and preached, he was thus once on an Easter Day captured by unbelievers and they threw a cord around his neck and drew him through the city as such, until he gave up his holy spirit.[59]

The Lives of the Evangelists included in Peetersen's Bibles appear to have been loosely based on the lives of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John in the highly popular *Legenda Aurea*.[60] By including these lives, Peetersen van Middelburch positions his Bible editions in a religious tradition that goes back to the Middle Ages.

3.2 *Reading a Prologue and Shaping a Reader*

The prologues in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles each focus on a specific characteristic of the Bible edition they introduce. The

59 HPvM CB 1535, life of Mark: *Marcus een discipel ende beduyder van sinte Peeter / als op hem te Roomen vanden gelouigen menscen begeert werde / soo heet hi haer gescreuen een cort Euangelium / na het gene dat hi van sint Peeter had hooren preken / welck als Peeter apostel hoorde heeft geapprobeert / ende heeft die heilighe kercke ghegeuen in sinen naem te lesen ende te prediken / welc Marcus nemende dat Euangelium dat hi selue hadden gescreuen / is gereist na Egipten / ende heeft aldaer eerst Christum in Alexandrien gepredict / met alsodaniger leeringen ende duechden / dat hi alle die Christem menschen bracht tot zijnder nauolginhe: Ende was also ootmoedich / also dat hij sinen duym seluer afhieu / om dat hi geen priester en soude werden / Als hi lange die heylige kercke hadde geregeert / lesende / scriuende / ende prekende / so wert hi eens op eenen paeschdach / van die ongelouighe gheuanghen / ende wierpen hem een seel om den hals ende togen hem also door die stadt / tot dat hi sinen heylighen gheest gaf.*

60 Compared to the life of Mark in the Legenda Aurea (Jacobus de Voragine (transl. William Granger Ryan), *The Golden Legend: Readings on the* Saints (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 242–260).

Luther-based prologue emphasises the fact that the editions contain both the New and Old Testaments, stating that the Old Testament should be fully appreciated as a preparation to Christ and the New Testament. The prologue in Peetersen van Middelburch's 1541 edition mainly stresses the presence and use of the 'multilingual' glosses that provide Hebrew variants to the biblical text. Moreover, whereas the first of these two prologues clearly conveys a Reformation-minded character, the second affirms that the Bible edition aims 'to turn away the deceptions in the hearts [of the Christian people]' and refers to the authority of the Church and the Vulgate.[61] The difference in the confessional colour of these prologues hence accords with those of the presented Bible translations.

In addition to these differences, however, both prologues sketch an idealised readership, whether explicitly or in a more implicit manner, that echoes the reading behaviour constructed by the title pages. In the Lutheran prologue, the verb 'to study' (*ondersoecken*) is repeatedly used. The prologue recalls: 'as Christ himself proclaims, saying, in John 5: *study* the scriptures, because they testify about me.'[62] In doing so, devotees would follow the example of the people of Thessaloniki: 'and in his seventeenth chapter, the evangelist Luke writes that the people of Thessaloniki *studied* the scripture daily.'[63] Indeed, it continues: 'Paul commands Timothy not to omit it but to *study and to read* the scriptures daily.'[64] The combination of the words 'studying' (*ondersoecken*) and 'reading' (*lesen*) in this reference is particularly interesting, as the use of both concepts alongside each other implies that they would have two different connotations, encompassing different types of use that were not interchangeable and that did not necessarily take place simultaneously. This combination of verbs is also included in the final instruction posed in the last few lines of the prologue: 'And this is also the principal and necessary reason for *reading* this book and for *studying* it with an obedient heart.'[65] This sentence is an original Dutch addition to the German prologue, as is the use of the verb 'study' in the

61 HPvM CB 1541, prologue: *... der ghemeynder christenen menschen / om dye dwalinghe wter herten te keeren.*

62 JvL CB 1542b, prologue: *also ons Cristus ooc selue betuycht, Ioannis int .v. seggende. Ondersoect die scriftuere, want die selue gefet getuygenisse van mi.* The italics are mine.

63 JvL CB 1542b, prologue: *ende int .xvij. des seluen scrijt die Euangelist sinte Lucas, dat dye van Thessalonica daghelicx ondersochten die scriftuere.*

64 JvL CB 1542b, prologue: *Paulus gebiet Timotheum, dat hy niet en soude laten, mer dagelicx die scriftuere ondersoecken ende lesen.*

65 JvL CB 1542b, prologue: *Ende dit is oock die principael ende nootlijcke sake, waerom dit boeck te lesen ende met ootmoedigher herten te ondersoecken is.*

1 Timotheus reference.[66] The repetitive use of 'studying', as well as the distinction from 'reading', frames a reading practice shaped around an intellectual, focussed, and active engagement with the book.

The prologue to Peetersen van Middelburch's 1541 Bible issues a similar studious approach. The prologue explains that, in order to prevent the reader from wandering around in an uncontrolled manner, the use of the Hebrew marginal glosses is systemised by the inclusion of asterisks and brackets to support the reader's navigation between text and paratext, from the centre of the page to its borders and back.[67] As the prologue states, the user of the book should carefully follow these directions:

> Hence we have, because of the previously described reasons, printed the Dutch text in the Latin way in the middle [of the page], and next to that the afore-mentioned variant in Hebrew from the afore-mentioned trustworthy sources, indicated in the text of the book as follows: *, marked with a star where the Hebrew alternative starts. And where it ends, [marked with] a *parentisi* or small moon (as one says) to close it as follows:). These will be drawn as such [and] placed in the margin next to that. And because one ought not to wander around, hence we have developed this method: start at the star at the beginning of the same chapter in which you are reading, and count the [times] 'the' [i.e. the Hebrew] appears in the margin, in order to get to the right [passage] to which the star refers. [Applying this technique] is not necessary that often, as [the Hebrew alternative] is usually placed just next to the star, in the margin … One should keep this practice throughout the entire Bible.[68]

66 Moreover, the translations of these biblical passages do not correspond exactly to the biblical text in the main text of the Bible. See for a more elaborate explanation: Renske A. Hoff, 'Framing Biblical Reading Practices: The Impact of the Paratext of Jacob van Liesvelt's Bibles (1522–1545)', *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, 6:2 (2019), pp. 223–250, p. 238.

67 On the use of asterisks in early modern books, see: Maguire, *The Rhetoric of the Page*, pp. 171–235. See also: Laurie Maguire's Panizzi Lectures 2018: *The Rhetoric of the Page. Reading Asterisks.* The lecture is integrally available at https://soundcloud.com/the-british-library/the-rhetoric-of-the-page-reading-blank-space-laurie-maguire.

68 Quoted from Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible of 1541, copy University of Amsterdam (signature: 1150 A 14), prologue: *So hebben wij nu dan om der voorscreven saecken wille / den duytschen text na den Latijnschen sin / int middel doen drucken / ende daer bi die voorseyde alteracie hebreeusche veranderinge / uuten voorseyden geapprobeerden boecken / laten setten inden text des boecx aldus * met een sterre gheteekent / daer die hebreeusche veranderinghe beghint / Ende soo verre als si duert / met een parentisi oft maencken* (*so men seyt*) *besloten aldus*) *dat welcke aldus gheteckende / suldy opten cant daer tegen over staen / Ende om datmen daer in niet dwalen en soude / so setten wij dese maniere.*

The elaborate explanation of this system stresses an approach to the Bible that centres around an essentially technical, critical, and 'biblical-humanist' view of the Scriptures and their translation. Furthermore, the prologue describes the intertextual context in which the edition ought to be understood, as it extensively explains what source was used to create the Hebrew paratextual elements. According to the text, the glosses are taken from the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, which was ordered and financed by Cardinal Franciscus Ximenes de Cisneros and printed from 1517 onwards, containing texts in Hebrew, Aramaic ("Chaldean"), Greek, and Latin – as anyone would verify 'in whose hands … the before mentioned books came'.[69] The prologue underlines how the Bible edition does not function as an individual entity, but rather will, in the process of reading and using the navigational tools provided, be part of an intertextual structure of trustworthy books. In the glosses, the authority of its sources becomes part of the readers' experience.

Whereas the prologues at the beginnings of the Bibles stimulate a studious approach to the entire book, the Lives of the Evangelists in Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles confirm the importance of the Gospels in particular. They stress the authority and trustworthiness of the texts by emphasising the laudable and honourable lives and activities of their writers, and simultaneously connect the Bible editions to a long textual tradition of hagiographical writings and their use in religious life and devotion.

Although the Lives of the Evangelists serve, in a way, as a prologue to the New Testaments in these complete Bibles, none of the separately printed New Testament editions by either Liesvelt or Peetersen van Middelburch contain a prologue preceding the main text. Moreover, in Liesvelt's New Testament editions of 1541 and 1544b, the colophon even explicitly states this absence: 'This New Testament … is printed without glosses and prologues.'[70] This addition would have assured possible buyers, readers, and censors that

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Neemt dye sterren van voren aan tselve Capittel / daer ghi in leest / ende the. opten cant by een tellet / dat ghi dat selve moecht raken / daer die sterre op teekent / dwelcke nyet dicke van noode en is / want dat coemt ghemeynlijck recht teghen zijn sterre op dye canten … Dit salmen onderhouden alle den Bibel dore.

69 HPvM CB 1541, prologue: *Als weten mach / tot wiens handen … die voorghenoemde boecken ghecomen zijn.* In 1975, Cornelis Augustijn stated that Willem Vorsterman's Bible translation, which was adopted by Peetersen van Middelburch in his 1541 edition, was based in particular on Liesvelt's Bible and that the Complutensian Polyglot Bible was not used (see: Augustijn, 'De Vorstermanbijbel', p. 80). Recently, however, Louis Vermeulen's extensive philological study of Vorsterman's edition of 1528 has shown that it is likely that the Polyglot Bible was indeed used for the marginal glosses in Vorsterman's Bibles. See: Vermeulen, 'Die alder beste maniere', pp. 103–110.

70 JvL NT 1541, colophon: *Dat Nieuwe Testament … geprent sonder glosen ende Prologen.*

the edition complied toj the prescriptions in the imperial edicts and indices. Furthermore, the absence of a prologue may imply that Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testaments were directed towards a different reading public and in anticipation of different reading practices. As will become clear in the following section of this chapter, the reading behaviours and techniques enabled and prompted by the paratexts at the beginning of the New Testaments focussed more explicitly on the application of the Bible texts in daily, liturgical devotion than on the scholarly approach as presented in the prologues.

4 Calendars and Almanacs

Whilst omitting a prologue, the New Testament editions printed by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch do contain preliminary paratextual material consisting of a calendar or almanac. The presence of this aid connects to a larger tradition: from the Middle Ages onwards, calendars were included in missals, books for private devotion (such as Books of Hours), and non-religious books (such as husbandry books and medical literature). In some cases, the calendars in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles were extended with varied informative material that can also be found in contemporary printed almanacs.[71] Such books were highly popular, as a proper

71 Calendars and almanacs appeared in print from the late fifteenth century onwards, and they remained popular throughout the early modern period, both as separately printed leaflets and as paratextual elements in a variety of books. As most calendars and almanacs only provided information for the coming year, leaflets and pamphlets with almanacs were annually sold in the last months of the year. For printer-publishers, the printing of almanacs was a lucrative investment, one that paid itself back quickly. Not only were they used by individuals of virtually every socio-economic class (especially in urban environments), institutions such as convents, universities, and the government were also reliable purchasers (see: Jeroen Salman, *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw: De almanak als lectuur en handelswaar* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999), p. 291). In the time period between 1476 and 1570, at least thirty-one Antwerp printer-booksellers were actively involved in the production and dissemination of almanacs and various printers published new almanacs year after year. Jacob van Liesvelt and his widow were responsible for the annual printing of almanacs from ca. 1520 until 1564. Books like these created financial backup for the risky investments Liesvelt would have made to publish his large Bible publications. According to Jeroen Salman, the development of the printed almanac comprised three stages. Firstly, the medieval calendar started to gain additional information on time, astronomy and medical topics from the end of the fifteenth century onwards. During the sixteenth century, astrological predictions (*prognostica*) were included. In the seventeenth century, the contents of almanacs expanded even further as they started

understanding of the rhythm of the seasons and of the impact of astronomy was crucial for the management of daily life.[72] In Pettegree's words, calendars were 'fundamental to every working regime: they determined the rhythm of work and worship.'[73] Seasons and their varying hours of lightness during the day would determine the length of a working day, and trustworthy predictions of the lunar phases and the tide could save a fisherman's life. According to Rhodes, early modern almanacs may be understood as 'Renaissance computers'. They not only enabled users to make computations regarding dates and time, but also provided them with an extensive amount of information on various subjects, such as the positions of the moon, announcements of political anniversaries, festivities and local fairs, husbandry advice, the travel distance between various towns, astrological information, and a zodiac man. The almanac, either as a separate publication or included in another book, functioned as 'a portable compendium of universal knowledge for the man in the cobbled lane.'[74]

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to cover extensive practical information as well as light-hearted texts and rhymes (see: Jeroen Salman, '"Van sodanige almanacken, die gevult zijn met ergelijcke bijvoegselen en oncuyse en onstigtelijcke grillen". Populaire leesstof in zeventiende-eeuwse almanakken', *Literatuur*, 10 (1993), pp. 74–80, p. 75; Salman, *Populair drukwerk*, p. 16). Almanacs would also provide space for personal responses and notes by users, not in the least because some almanacs (mainly during the seventeenth century) were interleaved with blank pages (see: Salman, *Populair drukwerk*, p. 168; Rhodes, 'Articulate Networks', p. 182; Smyth, 'Alamancas, Annotators', p. 201; Sarah Lindenbaum, 'Memorializing the Everyday: The Evidence of the Final Decade of Frances Wolfreston's Life', *The Seventeenth Century*, 37:3 (2021), pp. 449–476). Despite the popularity and large print runs of separately printed almanacs and calendars, the survival rate of copies is very low. As with most smaller books and pamphlets of the sixteenth century, if they would not have been used to destruction, the paper would have been recycled. The fact that most annual almanacs would have been considered worthless after the year they dealt with probably catalysed this destruction. Salman notes the strikingly low survival of seventeenth-century almanacs: of about 10,000 copies each year, sometimes only one copy per edition survived (see: Salman, *Pupulair drukwerk*, 29).

72 The fact that the explorers Willem Barentsz and Jacob van Heemskerck brought an almanac on their artic expedition in 1596 – the expediation that resulted in their famous stay on Nova Zembla – is, in that sense, not surprising. Their small Deventer almanac (about 7 to 9 cm) was retrieved in rather good condition on Nova Zembla in 1876. Fifteen of the originally twenty-four folia are in the possession of the Rijksmuseum of Amsterdam. Various pages of the almanac are digitally accessible via the 'Rijksstudio' of the Rijksmuseum: https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?q=almanak&s=chronologic&v=list&p=2&ps=10&st=Objects&ii=0#/NG-NM-7741-2,10. See also: Salman, *Populair drukwerk*, p. 15.

73 Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 335.

74 Neil Rhodes, 'Articulate Networks: The Self, the Book and the World', in Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (eds.), *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 181–194, p. 182.

4.1 *Liturgical Calendars and Extensive Almanacs*

As far as can be determined, every New Testament printed by Jacob van Liesvelt and Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch contained a liturgical calendar, sometimes embedded in a more elaborate almanac.[75] Similarly to how prologues are found solely in complete Bible editions, the presence of calendars proves to be connected in particular to the format of the New Testament. Only Liesvelt's 1532 complete Bible and the Vorsterman-based complete Bible by Peetersen van Middelburch of 1541 contain a calendar (fig. 15). The other complete editions lack this paratextual aid.

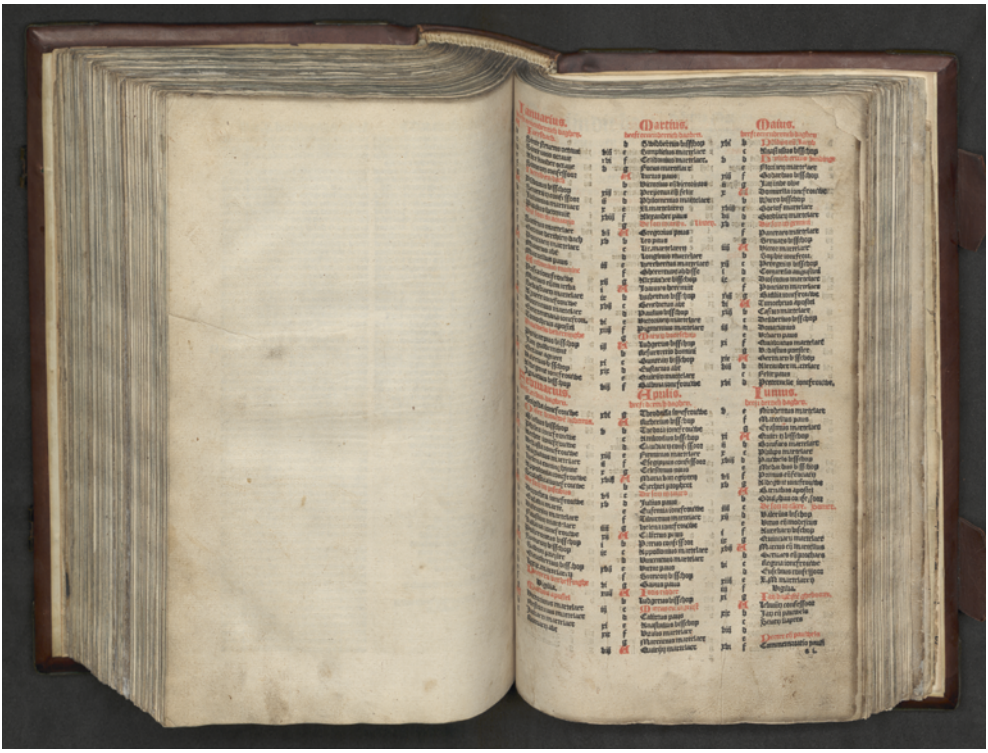

FIGURE 15 Liturgical calendar in Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1532. Antwerp, Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library, F 83534

75 In some cases, the only surviving copy of a New Testament edition does not contain a calendar because the first few folios are absent. Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction to this book, the editions Jacob van Liesvelt published in 1542 and 1543 are only known to us by a reference in the Louvain Index, as no surviving copies are known. It is unknown if these copies contained calendars. However, it is reasonable to assume they did, as any of the editions of which complete copies have survived do contain a calendar or almanac.

Furthermore, whilst the calendars in these two complete editions are relatively simple, the calendars and almanacs in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testaments are more exstensive, including notes on the length of days and nights, at what zodiac signs the sun rises and sets, and the starting dates of the four seasons.

Contrary to the calendars and almanacs that were annually printed, Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testaments offered their readers a calendar that could be used for at least twenty years, and in many cases even perpetually. In the latter case, it allowed readers to use it year after year by applying a calculating system of dominical letters and golden numbers, as will be discussed in more detail further in this paragraph.[76] Because the almanacs in these editions accommodated multiannual use, they only list festivities and days that return on the same date every year (*pars de sanctis* or *proprium sanctorum*), such as saints' days. The changeable dates of feasts that depend on the moon cycle (*pars de tempore* or *proprium de tempore*), such as the feasts depending on Easter, are not included. The user could personally utilise the devices offered in the almanac to determine the dates of these changeable feasts.[77]

In several of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles – more specifically, in Peetersen's complete Bible of 1541, his New Testament of 1541b, and Liesvelt's 1535a New Testament – the overview of feast and saints' days is accompanied by illustrations depicting the labours of each month and, in case of the New Testaments, each month's zodiac sign (fig. 16).

The combination of those twenty-four images was a typical illustrative programme in calendars from the Middle Ages onwards.[78] The cycles of twelve images formed a unity that underscored the deep-rooted connection and relatedness of the dynamics on earth and the dynamics in the sky, of the mundane

76 On the use of perpetual calendars, see: Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 215–220.

77 See also: Salman, *Populair drukwerk*, pp. 136–137.

78 See also: Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year*, pp. 1–2. The earliest surviving examples of the labours and the zodiac signs date from the ninth century and the image cycles were already formulaic from the twelfth century onwards. See: Colum Hourihane, 'Introduction', in Colum Hourihane (ed.), *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Monts and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton/Pennsylvania: Princeton University/Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. xlvii–lxiv, p. lii. Furthermore, the illustrations, and the zodiac signs in particular, were also found in non-manuscript contexts, for instance carved onto church facades. On zodiac motives in twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches, see: Shelly Morwenna Williams, 'The Zodiac on Church Portals: Astrology and the Medieval Cosmos', *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 7:3 (2021), pp. 59–115.

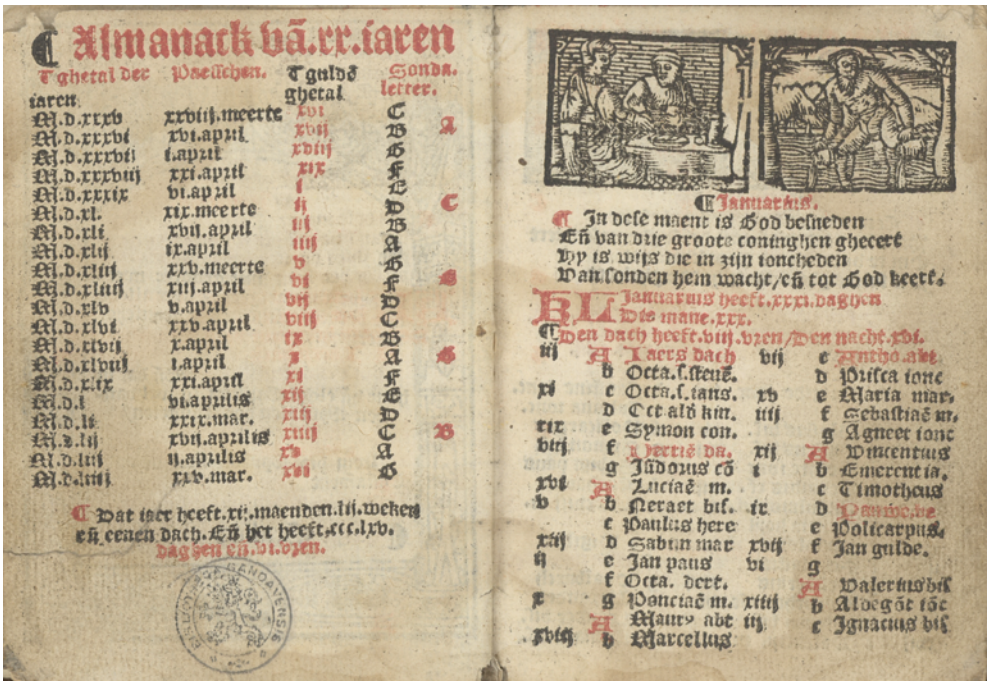

FIGURE 16 Liturgical calendar in Jacob van Liesvelt's New Testament (a) of 1535. Ghent University Library, BIB.ACC.033490

and the heavenly movements. The labours (or occupations) of the month presented earthly, usually agricultural activities, and the zodiac signs marked heavenly motion.

The illustrated New Testament calendars also include a moralising poem, presented in four rhyming verses that are printed underneath the images of the months.[79] Similar verses were included in separately printed Dutch almanacs and were often of a moralistic character.[80] The poem in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testaments consists of twelve stanzas of four verses in an ABAB rhyme scheme, following the months of the year. The verses connected to January, February, and April describe what biblical events took place that month, such as the circumcision of Christ and the Epiphany in

79 This poem can also be found in a Middle Dutch psalter manuscript of the University of Pennsylvania (Ms 739, olim Dutch 1). See: Youri Desplenter, 'Vroegmoderne Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen middeleeuwser dan vermoed: vondst van een vijftiende-eeuwse getuige van het Vorstermanpsalter (1528)', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 123 (2007), pp. 185–205.

80 See: Salman, *Populair drukwerk*, p. 154.

January. The other verses are differently structured, as the first two lines of the stanza focus on the dynamics in nature and the last two provide a moral and religious lesson. In its juxtaposition of earthly and heavenly circumstances, these verses echo the connections between the labours of the month and the zodiac signs.

The calendars in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testaments are followed by suplementary material. In its simplest form, the almanac consists of a table that provides the year, its date of Easter, golden number, and dominical letter. Three of Peetersen's New Testaments (of 1540, 1543, and 1546) also include the date of Shrove Tuesday, the day before Ash Wednesday and hence the last day before Lent. The table's heading announces how many years are covered by the almanac, for instance 'Almanac covering until the year 64' or 'Almanac of twenty years'.[81] Several New Testament do not contain this table, but rather provide a perpetual calculating system that allowed users to personally determine the golden number and dominical letter of a certain year, and calculate the dates of Easter and other feasts. This system consists of two woodcuts and an explanation on their use. The first image depicts the sun surrounded by a double circle in which thirty-five letters are placed (seven in the inner circle, twenty-eight in the outer) (fig. 17).

As the accompanying text clarifies, this circle can be applied in order to determine the dominical letter of a specific year:[82]

81 HPvM NT 1540, heading of the almanac: *Almanach gheduerende tot .lxiiij. Jaren.* The same heading is included in Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testaments of 1541a, 1542, 1543, 1544, and 1546. JvL NT 1535a, heading of the almanac: *Almanack van .xx. iaren.* A similar heading can be found in Liesvelt's New Testament of 1534: 'Almanac of twenty-three years' (*Almanack van .xxiij. Jaren*). The fact that these almanacs cover approximately twenty years provides insight into the expectations of the printer-publisher concerning the period in which the book would be used. Apparently, the practical functionality is estimated upon around two decades. As the surviving copies of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles illustrate, however, these books were regularly used across a considerably longer period of time.

82 The dominical letter is the hebdomadal letter (weekly letter that represents the day of the week) that indicates Sunday. Hence, as Henisch explains, the code works as follows: 'If January 1 happens to fall on a Sunday, then the letter A will represent Sunday in the calendar throughout that particular year. If, on the other hand, the first Sunday comes on January 7, its letter will be G. Every other day of the week is fitted into the same alphabetical scheme, depending on the place of Sunday in the first week of the year. … Whatever letter is assigned to Sunday becomes as well the letter by which the year is identified.' See: Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year*, pp. 218–219.

FIGURE 17 Woodcuts for the calculation of the golden number and dominical letter in Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testament (a) of 1541. Antwerp, Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library, F 215118

If you want to know the dominical letter of any year, count in this figure and start at the cross on letter C, and say: M [thousand], D [five hundred], 1, and count on: 2, 3, 4, 5, etc., and keep counting around and around until you get to the year you aim for. And the letter that you reach with that year of our Lord, that is the dominical letter.[83]

83 JvL NT 1541, almanac: *Wilt ghi eewelijc die sondaechsche letter weten / so telt in dese figuere / ende begint aent cruys op die letter C / ende segt. M. d. een / telt voort ij. iij. iiij. v. Etc / ende telt ront om ende weder ront om / tot dat ghi coemt aent iaer dat ghi begheert / ende die letter daer het iaer ons Heeren op valt / dat is die sondaechsche letter.*

The inner circle, then, is used to determine the second dominical letter of a leap year. Because an extra day is included between St. Peter's Day (22 February) and St. Matthias' Day (24 February), the first dominical letter needs to be used before this leap day and the second in the rest of the year.

The second woodcut then depicts a full moon surrounded by a circle with numbers. Similar to how the dominical letters could be determined, this circle functioned as a device to discover what golden number belongs to a specific year.[84] Again, the user ought to start at the top of the circle and count from the year 1501 to the year they aim to calculate. This golden number, as the text explains, can be found in the calendar, through which one can then easily find the day on the new moon, the first lunar phase.[85] The calendar can also be used in combination with the acquired information of the dominical letters and golden numbers to figure out the dates of important liturgical high days. To find Septuagesima Sunday, for instance, one should 'search for the first golden number from the year you desire in January or February, printed in red, and the first Sunday after this golden number is always Septuagesima.'[86] Even more important, of course, would be to find the correct date of Easter:

> If you want to find easily and without any failure [the date of] Easter, then search for the golden number that is first placed here and printed in red between the 21st day of March until the 18th of April. And the first Sunday after that golden number of the year you desire will always be [the day of] Easter, even if the golden number and the dominical letter happen to be on the same day.[87]

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84 There are 19 golden numbers, as the lunar cycle consists of 19 solar years. Hence, the new moon will be present at the same day and same time every 19 years. The golden number indicates the year within this cycle. See also: Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year*, pp. 219–220.

85 JvL NT 1541, almanac: *ende het beteekent die nieu mane / ende op dien dach / daert tegen staet hebdi altijt die nieu mane / sonder opwaert oft nederwaert te tellen / ende hier bi als ghi tgulden getal hebt / so hebdi ooc eewelic nieu mane.* This and the following explanation are not part of Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testament of 1540.

86 JvL NT 1541, almanac: *Den sondach Septuagesima / diemen ghemeenlic noemt den besloten tijt / die coemt altijt .ix. weken voor Paesschen. Ende om den seluen lichtelijc te vinden / so soect tgulden getal in Januario ende in Februario alder vorst gheset / ende root ghedruct / vanden iaren dat ghi begeert Ende den eerste sondach na dat gulden ghetal ist altijt Septuagesima / oft besloten tijt.* The Septuagesima is the first high day in the year depending on the dating of Easter. It is the ninth Sunday before Easter and marks the beginning of the Pre-Lenten period.

87 JvL NT 1541, almanac: *Wilt ghi lichtelic sonder faelgieren altijt Paesschen vinden so soect tgulden getal hier buten eerst geset ende root gedruct / vanden .xxi. sten dach Meert aen tot den .xviii. van April toe. Ende den eersten sondach na tgulden getal vanden iare dat ghi*

In a similar manner, the golden numbers and dominical letters allowed users to determine the dates of various other changeable feasts. An extensive list is included in Liesvelt's New Testaments of 1540 and 1544a. In addition to Septuagesima Sunday and Easter, the almanac instructs the reader on how to calculate the dates of Ash Wednesday, the procession of St. Mark's Day, the Rogatian Days, the Feast of the Ascension, Pentecost, the Feast of Corpus Christi, the Ember Days, and the first day of the Advent. Using the perpetual calculation system of the almanac, the user could thus personally create a liturgical calendar for whatever year they preferred.

The two editions by Liesvelt in which such a long list of feasts can be found, also provide supplementary information that is included in any of the other editions under scrutiny here. They inform readers about the movements of the tides in several towns in Brabant, Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland, for instance:

> When the moon is waxing or full and in the East or West, it is high tide at the Gouwe, in Dordrecht, Oudenbosch, Antwerpen, [and] Sparendam when the clock has struck 6, in the evening or morning, and [it is] low tide at the same places at 12 O'clock during the day or at night.[88]

The inclusion of this element – commonly found in separately printed almanacs – corresponds with the aforementioned interconnectivity of the heavens and the earth, of which the impact of the lunar phases on the tide might be considered the most obvious.

Several of Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testaments contain a table for the determination of the mutual relationships between zodiac signs, moon phases, and the golden numbers (fig. 18).[89] The table presents a square filled with twenty-seven different signs (the letters of the alphabet and two additional signs), which indicate the days of the moon cycle. At the left side of the square, one finds the zodiac signs; at the upper side of the square the golden numbers are positioned. By combining the golden number with the sign of a specific moment in the moon cycle, the user may reconstruct to which zodiac sign these connect. Contrary to other elements of the almanac, this table is not accompanied by any explanatory text; apparently, Peetersen van Middelburch

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begeert ist altijt Paesschen / al quaem oock tgulden ghetal ende die sondaechsche letter op eenen dach.

88 JvL NT 1544a, almanac: *Als die mane ontfangt oft vol is / ende Oost oft West is / soo ist hooch water ter Gouwe / Dort / Oudenbossche / Antwerpen / Sparendam / als die clock .vi. heeft geslagen tsauonts of smorgens / ende leech water op die selue plaetsen te .xij. uren sdaechs of snachts.*

89 This is the case in Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testaments of 1540, 1541a, and 1541b.

FIGURE 18 Table for the determination of the relationships between zodiac signs, moon phases, and golden numbers, as well as the zodiac man in Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testament (a) of 1541. Antwerp, Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library, F 215118

expected his readers to be acquainted with the features of this informative device.

Underneath the table, the connections between certain zodiac signs and specific body parts are listed, stating, for instance, that Aries (Ram) 'rules in the head' and Pisces (Fishes) '[rule] in the feet.'[90] 'These are the twelve signs by their names' is concluded in larger script at the bottom of the page.[91] The connections between the constellations and the human body are further illustrated by the woodcut printed on the page opposite the table: the zodiac man (fig. 18).

90 HPvM NT 1540, almanac: *Die ram regeert int hooft.* HPvM NT 1540, almanac: *Die vissche* [*regeert*] *in die voeten.*

91 HPvM NT 1540, almanac: *Dit zijn die .xij. teekenen met haren namen.*

A human figure is surrounded by ten circles, depicting ten of the zodiac signs – Fishes and Ram are placed underneath and above the figure – that are connected with indicator lines to the parts of the body they influence. On each side of the woodcut, the connection is verbalised, e.g. 'Aries in the head'.[92] Moreover, the value of the impact is added: whether it is 'bad', 'good', or 'average': 'Leo in the heart. Bad', 'Aquarius in the legs. Good', 'Scorpion in the bladder. Average'.[93] Underneath the zodiac man, its functionality is explained:

> In this figure here, one may notice how the twelve signs rule the human body. And one should not touch a body part with iron nor with steel nor let blood, when the Moon or the Sun is in that [constellation], because that would result in great misery.[94]

As these phrases underline, knowledge of the star constellations was not only relevant to astrologists, but also for any person who would consider receiving medical treatments.

4.2 *Collecting and Creating Knowledge*

The presence of such elaborate almanacs in the New Testaments is a remarkable paratextual feature, one which does not refer directly to the interpretation of the biblical text. However, the inclusion of this paratextual element undoubtedly influenced the reading experience and use of the book. Firstly, its presence relates the Bible edition to a larger textual, visual, and practical tradition, which readers may have associated with the public sphere, daily life, and a broader book culture. The calendars and almanacs in the Bibles are similar to the separately printed almanacs, as well as those printed in other, non-biblical books.[95] These paratextual intersections emphasise the resemblances in use and function between these various books and genres and mark the Bible's daily relevance as a carrier of practical information. The New Testaments of Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch are, by the inclusion of these elements, framed as approachable, practical, and performative objects that are in close proximity with the larger world.

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92 HPvM NT 1540, almanac: *Aries int hooft.*

93 HPvM NT 1540, almanac: *Leo in herte. Quaet; Aquarius inde beenen. Goet; Scorpius in de blase. Middel.*

94 HPvM NT 1540, almanac: *In dese tegenwoordige figuere machmen mercken hoe de xij. teekenen des menschen lichaem regeren. Ende men en behoort gheen lidt te roeren met ysere / noch met stale / noch oock bloet te laten daer dye Mane of dye Sonne in is / Want daer groot perikel af comen mocht.*

95 Cf. the almanacs in Liesvelt's *Fasciculus Myrre* of 1543 (USTC No. 408327) and his *Gulden ghebedeboecxken* of 1532 (USTC No. 437610).

The fact that these calendars and almanacs provide information about astrology, the zodiac, and the tides, emphasises the close and crucial connectivity between divinity and nature. In an early modern worldview, as Jorink noted, 'everything in nature, from biblical to natural wonders, was attributable solely to God's almightiness.'[96] It was for him and with him and in him that celestial bodies moved – or could miraculously remain unmoved, as in Joshua 10:13: 'So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day.'[97] In the preliminary paratext of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, elements from the 'book of Nature' found their textual place within that other major book of God.

The calendars and almanacs in these Bibles not only provide information, but most importantly, enable and invite users to engage in the construction and 'performance' of knowledge. By combining the several elements available, users could create and appropriate information that was not directly offered by the printed material. As announced in the almanac itself, users could, for instance, connect their calculation of the golden number to the included calendar in order to find the dates of specific feasts. Similarly, they could combine the calendar with the overview of the tides to ensure a certain time would be appropriate for setting sail, or use the calculation of golden numbers to find the appropriate zodiac sign and conclude whether or not they should postpone a certain medical treatment. In other words: readers were stimulated and expected to, through their active involvement, gain knowledge that would suit their personal situations, interests, and practices.

Moreover, in the construction of knowledge, users were not necessarily restricted to the calendar and almanac. The informative items of this paratextual element were also applicable to ensure the proper and effective use of other paratextual and textual parts of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's editions. The determination of the dates of certain feasts, for instance, would provide beneficial knowledge for the use of the liturgical reading schedule, which is included in each of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles (see section 3.5). How and to what extent this application of paratextual elements was efficiently performed, however, lay in the hands of the reader. Both printer-publishers seem to have expected their readers to master a range of techniques, not only concerning the use of the text but also with regard to their ability to interpret, apply, and combine multiple images, tables, and texts. These skills would require a certain level of competence in both literacy and

96 Eric Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575–1715* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), p. 8.

97 See also: Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature*, p. 7.

numeracy, and a considerable familiarity with the genre of the almanac and its workings.[98]

5 Terminal Paratext

The paratextual elements discussed thus far would shape a reader's entrance into the main text. In a similar vein, paratexts were used to shape a reader's departure. However, in his highly influential discussion of paratext, Gerard Genette barely takes notice of the paratextual elements at the closings of books. Although his *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* itself contains a conclusion, reference list, and index at the end of the book, he does not discuss these elements in his work.[99] William Sherman has coined the concept of 'terminal paratext' to describe paratextual elements that mark the end of the book or of sections of the book, such as epilogues, afterwords, conclusions, or colophons.[100] Two types of terminal paratext in the Bibles by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch will be discussed here: explicits and colophons. Although the liturgical reading schedule and the topical register are also often positioned at the end of the book, their position is less stable. Moreover, whereas schedules and registers are essentially purposed to aid readers' movements within the text, explicits and colophons are ultimately paratextual forms that note the end of a textual space and that direct readers out of a certain textual section.

The term 'explicit', which originates from the Latin verb 'plico' – to fold or roll, referring to the unrolling of scrolls – was used in Latin medieval manuscripts in order to mark the closure of a book or textual part. In vernacular manuscripts, the word is sometimes translated to 'here ends.'[101] The colophon served as another marker of the termination of a textual unity. The medieval

98 On numeracy in the early modern Low Countries, see: Tine de Moor and Jaco Zuijderduijn, 'The Art of Counting: Reconstructing Numeracy of the Middle and Upper Classes on the Basis of Portraits in the Early Modern Low Countries', *Historical Methods*, 46:1 (2013), pp. 41–56; Tine de Moor and Jan Luiten van Zanden, '"Every Woman Counts": A Gender-Analysis of Numeracy in the Low Countries during the Early Modern Period', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 41:2 (2010), pp. 179–208.

99 See also: Sherman, 'The Beginning', pp. 65–66.

100 See: Sherman, 'The Beginning', p. 66.

101 For instance, the so-called 'Bible of 1360' contains the phrase: *here ends the first part of the Bible …* ('hier eyndet dierste stuck der bibelen …'). See: Jan Paul Albert Deschamps, *Middelnederlandsen handschriften uit Europese en Amerikaanse bibliotheken* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), p. 152. An otherwise common way to mark the end of a book or section was the use of 'amen.' See: Sherman, 'The Beginning', p. 68.

or early modern colophon contained information that modern readers would expect as 'front matter' to their books: the name of an author, translator, or editor, the place of printing, the date, et cetera.[102] Early modern printers adopted these medieval conventions and often closed their books with a colophon – and so did Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch.

5.1 *Explicits and Colophons*

The end of a Bible book in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bible editions is usually marked with a Dutch explicit. For instance, at the end of the Gospel of Mark in Jacob van Liesvelt's first complete Bible of 1526, the explicit states that 'here ends the Gospel of Mark.'[103] At the end of the book 2 Maccabees, the explicit clarifies that the Old Testament closes: 'The end of the Old Testament. Hereafter follows the New Testament.'[104] Moreover, in Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible of 1541, this explicit at the end of the Old Testament is extended with notes on the Bible's content that mirror the information and wording of the title page (fig. 19):

> Here ends the entire Old Testament after the Latin text, and in the margins of the book the Hebrew and Greek text, and variants after the Hebrew truth. And also placed in the margins of the books of Histories, the origins and developments of cities, kingdoms, and to it some judges or kings of the time of Israel, who have ruled some pagan kingdoms, [and] philosophers, and also prophets.[105]

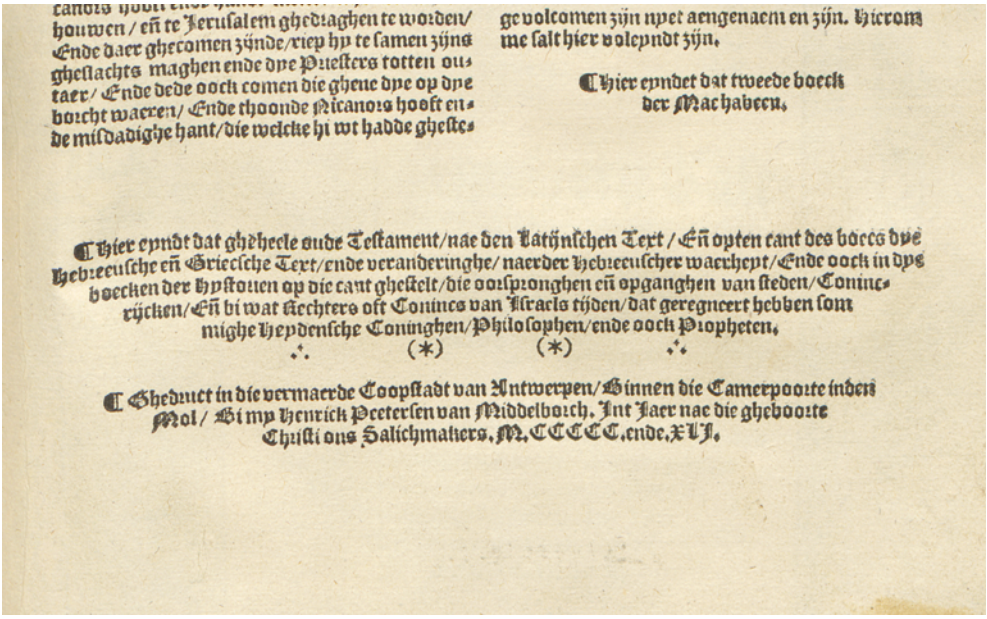
Explicits are also placed at the end of various tables, in particular in the complete Bibles. For example, at the end of the topical register in Peetersen van Middelburch's 1541 edition, which presents an alphabetic list of themes, people, and events from the Scriptures, the explicit announces that 'here ends the

102 See: Sherman, 'The Beginning', p. 66; Smith, *The Title-Page*, p. 30.

103 JvL CB 1526, end of Mark 16: *Hier voleynt dat euangelion Marci.*

104 For example, JvL CB 1534, end of 2 Maccabees 15: *Eynde des ouden testaments / Hier nae volghet dat nieuwe Testaments.* In Jacob van Liesvelt's Bible of 1526, the explicit 'Here ends the Old Testament' is included twice. Next to its proper place at the end of 2 Maccabees, it has, probably by accident, also been printed at the end of 1 Maccabees.

105 HPvM CB 1541, end of 2 Maccabees 15: *Hier eyndet dat gheheele oude Testmanet / nae den Latijnschen Text / ende opten cant des boecs dye Hebreeusche ende Griecsche Text / ende veranderinghe / naerder Hebreeuscher waerheyt / Ende oock in dye boecken der Hystorien op die cant ghestelt / die oorspronghen ende opganghen van steden / conincrijcken / Ende bi wat Rechters ot Conincs van Israels tijden / dat geregneert hebben sommighe heydensche coninghen / philosophen / ende oock Propheten.* Peetersen follows Vorsterman's Bibles in the addition of this lengthened explicit.



houwen / eñ te Jerusalem ghedraghen te worden/ Ende daer ghecomen zynde/ riep hy te samen zyns ghesiachts maghen ende dye Prieſters totten ouetaer/ Ende dede ooch comen die ghene dye op dye borcht waeren/ Ende thoonde Nicanors hooft ende mildadighe hant/ die welcke hi wt hadde gheſte-

ge volcomen zyn nyet aengenaem en zyn. Hierom me salt hier volepndt zyn.

¶ Hier eyndet dat tweede boeck der Machabeen.

¶ Hier eyndt dat ghehecle oude Teſtament/ nae den Latynſchen Text/ Eñ opten cant des boecs dye Hebreeuſche eñ Griecſche Text/ ende veranderinghe/ naerder Hebreeuſcher waerheyt/ Ende ooch in dye boechen der hyſtorien op die cant gheſtelt/ die oorſpronghen eñ opganghen van steden/ Coninckrycken/ Eñ bi wat Rechters oft Conincs van Iſraels tyden/ dat geregneert hebben somighe Heydenſche Coninghen/ Philoſophen/ ende ooch Propheten.

∴ (*) (*) ∴

¶ Ghedruct in die vermaerde Coopſtadt van Antwerpen/ Binnen die Camerpoorte inden Mol/ Bi my Henrick Peetersen van Middelborch. Int Jaer nae die gheboorte Chriſti ons Salichmakers. M.CCCCC. ende. XLI.

FIGURE 19 Explicit at the end of 2 Maccabees 15 in Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible edition of 1541. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam Library, 1150 A 14

table, diligently collected from the entire Holy Scripture, and beneficial for all Christian readers. Look at it and then judge it.'[106]

The explicits in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles are generally accompanied by another element that marks the conclusion of a textual unity: defining lay out. As in many early modern printed books, typography and lay out were used to convey a certain meaning.[107] In the Bibles studied here, the final sentences of a Bible book are usually arranged into a triangle (I), hourglass (II), berkemeyer (III), or rummer-shape (IV), as distinguished by Goran Proot (fig. 20). These visual devices signal the approaching conclusion of a text and anticipate the 'here ends' that follows at the bottom of the shape.[108]

106 HPvM CB 1541, end of topical register: *Hier eyndet die Tafel / op geheel dye heylige scrift seer naerstelijck vergadert / ende profitelick voor allen Christen lesers / besiet / ende dan oordeelt.*

107 See: Proot, 'Designing the Word of God'; Proot, 'Converging Design Paradigms'.

108 See also: Sherman, 'The Beginning', p. 73. The use of this visual device proves to be less consistent in the New Testament editions than in the complete Bibles. This probably relates to the fact that such an arrangement of text takes up more space than square text blocks. In order to keep the New Testaments small and feasible, proper space management was crucial.

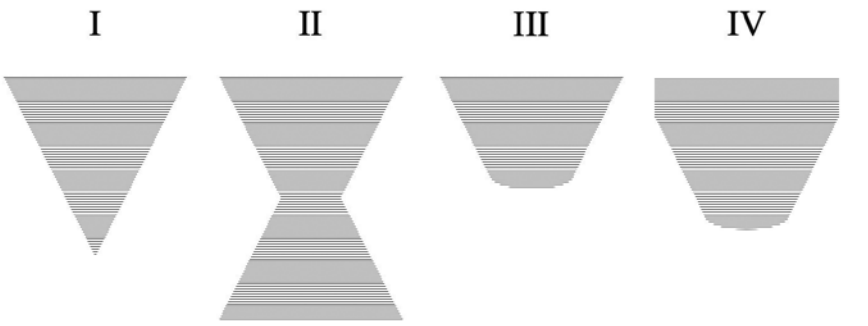


FIGURE 20 Early modern text arrangements (based on Proot, 'Converging Design Paradigms')

The colophon, which concludes the book in its entirety, is printed by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch on the verso side of the last folio or underneath the last (para)textual element of their editions. In its simplest form, the colophon in these Bibles consists of the place of printing, the name of the printer, and the date of printing. The colophon of Liesvelt's 1535 complete Bible, for instance, is: 'Printed in Antwerp on the Camerpoort bridge at the Artois arms. By me, Jacob van Liesvelt. In the year of our LORD 1535, the eighteenth day of April.'[109] In Liesvelt's first complete Bible, the colophon is extended with the words: 'With God on our sides, whoever could harm us? Fortitudo mea Deus.'[110] *Fortitudo mea Deus* (God is my strength) is Jacob van Liesvelt's printing device, which can also be found in his printer's mark, depicted on a banner. Liesvelt placed his printer's mark alongside the colophon in his complete Bibles of 1534 and 1535, as well as his 1544b New Testament (fig. 21).

The printer's mark echoes the lay out of the title page of Liesvelt's complete Bibles: it depicts an architectural space, with an arch, an alcove, and two pillars on both sides. Readers may also recognise the two little angels holding the shield with the printer's initials.

In some editions, the colophon is also used to underscore the admirability and trustworthiness of the book. In Liesvelt's 1541 and 1544b New Testaments, the colophon begins as follows: 'The New Testament, which surpasses all books (as gold surpasses all metals), is printed without glosses and prologues.'[111]

109 JvL CB 1535, colophon: *Gheprent Thantwerpen op die Camerpoort brugghe inden Schilt van Artoys By my Jacob van Liesvelt. Int Jaere ons* HEREN M. CCCCC. *ende xxxv. Den .xviij. dach van April.*

110 JvL NT 1526, colophon: *Is God met ons / wie mach ons letten / Fortitudo mea Deus.*

111 JvL NT 1541, colophon: *Dat Nieuwe Testament / dwelc* (*alst gout alle Metalen te bouen gaet*) *alle boecken te bouen gaet / Is geprent sonder glosen ende Prologen.*

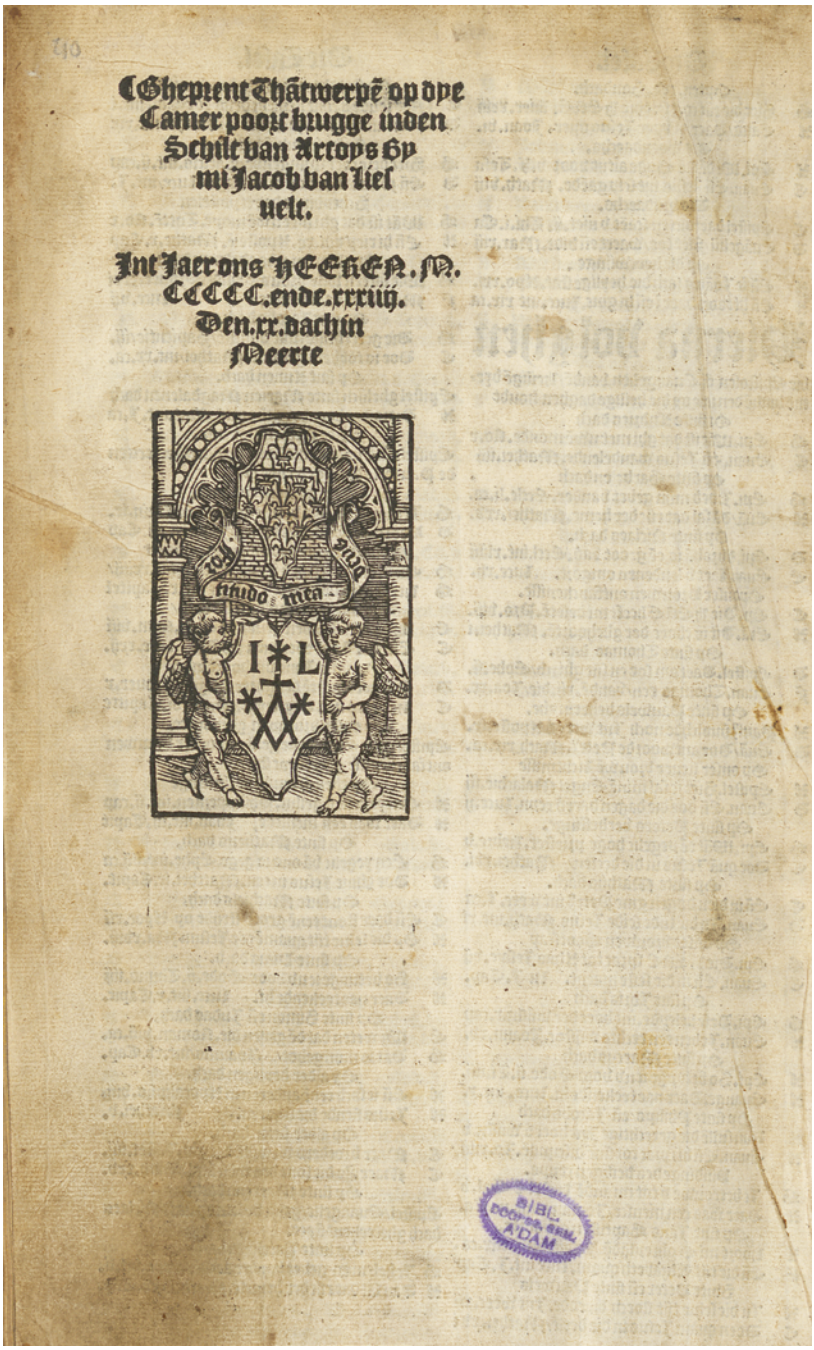


FIGURE 21 Colophon and printer's mark in Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1534. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam Library, OG 65-31

The colophon thus reassures readers or future buyers that the edition is trustworthy and in accordance with contemporary print regulations. Similarly, the colophons of Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testaments guarantee the reader that 'this New Testament is printed after the most appropriate copies, that have been printed with Permission and Privilege.'[112]

5.2 *Defining the End and Creating a Unity*

Markers of terminality, such as explicits and colophons, denote the boundaries of a text by 'telling its readers that it is a discrete and in some sense complete unit.'[113] By defining the end of a section, explicits and colophons announce that the part which it concludes indeed has to be understood as a coherent, meaningful entity. Moreover, the structuralising powers of the terminal paratext allow readers to get a better sense of 'where they are'. Explicits and striking lay outs define transitions from one coherent section to the next, displaying to the reader in both a verbal and a visual way that they are indeed situated upon a threshold, about to depart from one part of the book and dive into another.

As shortly mentioned above, several explicits, colophons, and printer's marks, echo textual or visual characteristics of the beginning of the book, in particular the title page. In particular the inclusion of Liesvelt's printer's mark may remind readers of the title page of their book. The content of the book is, as it were, 'sandwiched' between two clearly defining and similar paratextual elements that mark its beginning and end. Through these mirrored elements, the Bible is even more distinctly presented as a sound and completed unity.

6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to reconstruct what impact the constructive paratextual elements in the Bibles of Jacob van Liesvelt and Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch may have had on their potential readers, before and after these readers engaged with the main, biblical text. The book opens with prefatory paratext (i.e. title pages, prologues, and calendars) and the entire book as well as single sections are brought to a meaningful close with terminal paratext (i.e. the explicits and colophon). Through these elements, the reader is prepared in their understanding of the entity of the book as such. The very beginning and end of the biblical unities are defined and readers are taken

112 HPvM NT 1538, colophon: *Dit nieuwe Testament is Gheprent na dye alder correcxste Exemplaren / die met Gracie ende Privilegie gedruct zijn.*

113 Sherman, 'The Beginning', p. 66.

by the hand, advised, and shaped whilst they step across the thresholds of the book.

When comparing the readership that is constructed by the prefatory and terminal paratext in the complete Bibles to that of the New Testaments, some variation can be detected. Firstly, the complete Bibles stimulate a readership that is particularly engaged with a studious approach to the book. Encouraged by the title pages and prologues and prepared for the application of various printed marginalia, readers are invited and enabled to study the biblical text as part of the all-encompassing history of salvation. In this scholarly approach, as the prologue to Liesvelt's Bibles stresses, readers should understand the Old and New Testament as an ultimate unity, one in which the Old Testament is a divine preparation for the New Testament, and the New Testament fulfils the Old. The togetherness and connectivity are illustrated on Liesvelt's title page: the figures of Mark and John are aligned symmetrically with the Old Testament characters of Joshua and David.

On the other hand, the paratextual elements in the New Testaments enable and construct a readership that incorporates the Bible in the concerns and considerations of everyday life. The addition of the calendar and almanac, as well as the absence of a scholarly prologue, invites readers to use their New Testaments as a space of knowledge creation that holds immense relevance to both metaphysical and practical aspects of daily life and devotion. Overall, however, both types of editions and both printers shape a reader that is inherently active, involved, and performative. The reader is invited to take up an engaged and dynamic stance in their approach to the Bible, which includes the use and integration of various paratextual elements. They are prepared by the title pages, prologues, and almanacs to be more than solely a passive recipient of the content of the book, but rather to be vividly engaged in the preparation of their reading practices.

CHAPTER 3

Directive Paratext: Shaping Understandings and Facilitating Discontinuous Practices

After encounting title pages, prologues, and other prefatory paratexts, readers would, in an 'ideal' reading situation, step across the paratextual threshold and enter the main text of the Bible. Whilst doing so, as this chapter will show, their reading behaviour continued to be directed and shaped by paratext. The paratextual elements discussed here include those that make up 'the architecture of the page' – printed marginalia, intertitles, summaries, woodcuts, and maps – as well as navigational devices that were placed at the beginning or end of the Bible and would facilitate readers in moving through the book in a non-linear manner. The latter concern tables of contents, liturgical reading aids, and topical registers. The main purpose of these various elements is twofold: they direct a reader's understanding of the biblical text, and support, structure, and enable their navigation; between the margin and the main text, between reading schedules and biblical passages, and between the *wish* to read a certain Bible passage and the *practice* of actually doing so. In this chapter, I will explore how the active readership that is implied in the constructive paratext continued to be facilitated in the very practice of reading itself.

1 Printed Marginalia: Letters, Manicules, Cross-references, and Glosses

As discussed in section 2.1, on blank space, Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles contain broad margins. These margins, however, are only partially blank. Both printers filled these spaces with various printed marginalia, from finding letters to contextualising glosses. With regard to the paratextual elements in early modern Bibles, printed marginal notes have been centralised in previous research. As devices of interpretation, glosses have been considered as aids of debate and persuasion from the printer-publisher to its reader. In Slights' words, 'just as there are no politically innocent texts, so too are there no politically neutral marginalia.'[1]

1 William W.E. Slights, '"Marginall Notes that Spoile the Text": Scriptural Annotation in the English Renaissance', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 55:2 (1992), pp. 255–278, p. 258.

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The marginalia in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles direct and invite the reader in various ways. King has made a useful distinction between marginalia that turn the reader's attention inward to specific sections of the main text, and those that rather turn their view outward, to related texts or elements of information that supplement the main text of the book.[2] Despite these differences, both kinds of marginalia create a constant dialogue between the margins, the main text, the reader, and broader worlds of textual and non-textual knowledge. They make the margins of the page into spaces of negotiation and transition, enabling readers to experience a multi-layered construction of meaning.[3]

1.1 *A Broad Range of Printed Marginalia*

In what follows, I will shortly describe the various marginalia that occupy the margins of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, and their functions as interpretative or navigational aids. The first type to explore here are the capital letters ranging from A to G, known as 'finding letters', that are placed in the margins to indicate the various sections of each Bible chapter. The finding letter system was introduced in the thirteenth-century Dominican concordance, in accordance with the chapter and sub-division system of the biblical scholar and Canterbury archbishop Stephen Langton (1203).[4] The reference system remained in use until the middle of the sixteenth century, when verse numbering was introduced. In Dutch Bibles, verse numbering first appeared in the Biestkens Bible of 1560.[5]

Finding letters were a common navigational device in early modern books. They were not only used in Bibles, but also introduced in large reference books, such as Erasmus' *Adages*.[6] The system of finding letters presented early modern readers with a relatively precise system that enabled efficient access and navigation within large codices. The size and placement of the letters in the broad margins of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles would help

2 See: John N. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 64.

3 See also: Helen Smith, 'Matter in the Margins', in Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington (eds.), *Thresholds of Translation: Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473–1660)* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 27–50, p. 28.

4 See also: Blair, *Too Much to Know*, pp. 38–39; Dennis Duncan, *Index, A History of the: A Bookish Adventure* (London: Penguin Random House, 2021), p. 77.

5 On the verse numbering in the Biestkens Bible, see: Anne Jaap van den Berg and Boukje Thijs, 'Biestkensbijbel', *Met Andere Woorden. Kwartaalblad over Bijbelvertalen*, 25:4 (2006), pp. 22–28, pp. 24–25; De Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers*, p. 157. The Biestkens Bible is available as a digital facsimile at https://www.bijbelsdigitaal.nl/biestkensbijbel-1560/.

6 See: Blair, *Too Much to Know*, pp. 153–158.

a reader quickly locate a specific passage. The letters are included in various other reference systems within these editions, such as the liturgical reading schedules, topical registers, and cross-references, This allowed readers to move fluently between the biblical text and these paratextual devices.

A second navigational aid in the margins of several Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles is the printed pointing finger or *manicule*. The use of a pointing finger to draw a reader's attention to certain passages adheres to a long tradition, dating back to at least the twelfth century.[7] As developed within manuscript culture, the manicule or pointing index finger was used to help readers find their way within the textual structure as well as direct their attention to passages or sentences that the publisher considered worth noting. According to Sherman, the function and understanding of the manicule differs substantially from those of other forms of indicative symbols (such as asterisks, lines, or flowers). He argues that the pointing finger had a gestural function that related to the embodied practice of reading common in the Middle Ages and early modern period: 'readers picked up their books with an acute awareness of the symbolic and instrumental power of the hand'.[8] Reading with the help of one's index finger, as young children still do, would have been much more common for adult readers of the early modern period than is the case today, and the omnipresence of the manicule in manuscript and printed books may be related to this embodied reading practice.

Manicules are printed in the margins of Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible of 1541, Liesvelt's New Testaments of 1534 and 1544b, and Peetersen's New Testament of 1538. The manicules direct the reader to verses in the main text that are understood to be of particular importance. In Liesvelt's New Testament 1544b, a manicule points, for instance, to the verse in which Christ shares the wine, his blood, with the disciples (Mark 14:23: 'And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it'). Other verses that are highlighted by the presence of manicules are verses that stress the connections between the Old and the New Testament, such as Genesis 22:12 ('... thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me'), which seems to emphasise a connection between Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac to God's sacrifice of Christ. In some cases, the relations between the Old and New Testament have been emphasised more explicitly by the placement of a manicule and a cross-reference alongside each other. In Liesvelt's 1544b New Testament, for example, a manicule is placed in the margin of Matthew 15:4

7 As Sherman states, little research has been done as to the history and theory of the manicule. The only relatively recent definition he found was in G. A. Glaister's *Encyclopedia of the Book* (1979, reprinted in 2001). See: Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. 32–34.

8 Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 48.

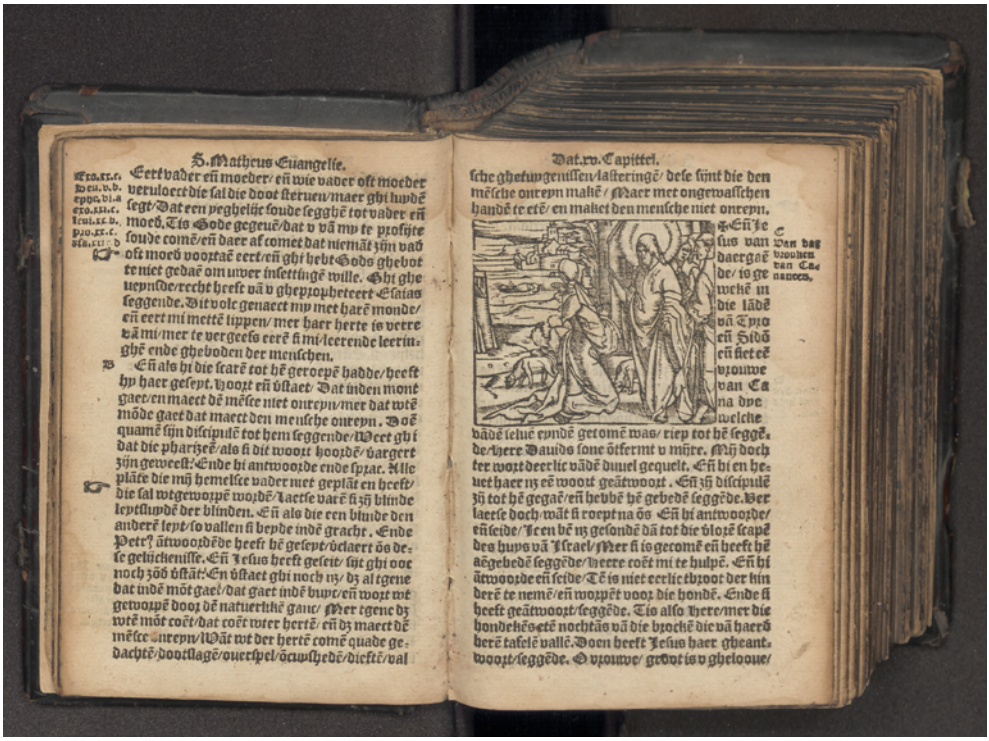

FIGURE 22 Printed manicules and cross-references in Matthew 15 in Jacob van Liesvelt's New Testament (b) of 1544. Leiden University Library, Sem. Rem. 848

('For God commanded, saying, honour thy father and mother …'), just underneath several cross-references to the Old Testament, such as to Exodus 20:12 ('Honour thy father and they mother …') (fig. 22).

Furthermore, the manicules in Peetersen's 1541 Bible direct readers not only to certain elements of the main text, but also to paratexts. In the book of Genesis, eighteen manicules are included, of which four direct readers to a marginal gloss. Chronographical glosses – i.e. glosses that provide insight in chronological and geographical contexts, as will be described later in this chapter – are often marked by marginal manicules.

Most passages that are highlighted with manicules do not have strong confessional implications. However, there are some exceptions. This is certainly the case with the presence of a printed manicule in the margin of Mathew 16:18 ('And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my *congregation*') in Liesvelt's New Testament of 1544b.[9] The emphasis on this

9 JvL NT 1544b, Matthew 16:18: *Ende ic segge u / Ghi sijt Petrus / ende op desen steen sal ic mijn ergaderinge timmeren.*

passage underlines the deliberate Reformation-minded choice to translate 'congregation' rather than 'church' in this phrase.

As briefly mentioned above, the margins of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles also present cross-references to other places in the Bible (fig. 22). These exemplify the common early modern perspective on the Bible as a unity, an overarching and cohesive story of the history of the world, mankind, and salvation. Typological coherency – the idea that Old Testament events and persons functioned as prefigurations of Christ's life and the Gospels – was a self-evident and pivotal aspect of early modern exegetical practices, and cross-references allowed each individual reader to participate in this interconnectivity. Cross-references would 'invite the reader to situate particular events and circumstances within broad historical trends and patterns … among different eras of Christian history.'[10] The cross-references enabled a reader to engage with a multitude of intertextual and intertemporal connections between multiple biblical stories, between various Bible books, and between the Old and the New Testament.

Cross-references are included in the margins of all of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bibles and New Testaments.[11] They consist of an abbreviated reference to a certain Bible book, chapter number, and finding letter, in order to refer the reader to the right passage. In some cases, multiple cross-references are connected to a single verse. Within the Gospels, cross-references are installed not only to emphasise the connections with the Old Testament, but also to clarify the intersections between the Gospels, in particular between the synoptic Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. For instance, in Liesvelt's 1542a Bible, the margin of Matthew 8:2 ('And, behold, there came a leper and worshipped him …') contains two cross-references. The first refers to Mark 1:40 ('A man with leprosy came to him and begged him on his knees'), the second to Luke 5:12 ('And it came to pass, when he was in a certain city, behold a man full of leprosy …'). Both passages describe the same material as presented in Matthew 8:2 and, dipping into the tradition of Gospel harmonies, the cross-references underscore this connectivity.

10 King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*, p. 64.

11 In the complete Bibles in particular, the cross-references create a closed but non-linear system of information and knowledge, in which the reader can find each referred Bible passage within the same book. The New Testament editions of Liesvelt and Peetersen, however, also contain many references to Old Testament passages, hence demanding that a reader would also have an Old Testament edition at hand in order to integrate the referred readings in their interpretation of the text.

The list of printed marginalia continues. In addition to the presence of finding letters, manicules, and cross-references, the margins of some New Testament editions house short descriptions of biblical passages. Whereas most of Liesvelt's and Peetersen Van Middelburch's Bibles contain a short summary above the heading of each chapter, in these New Testaments short content descriptions are located in the margins alongside the text.[12] These descriptions summarise the gist of the textual passage they accompany, which usually is only a section of the Bible chapter. For example, in Peetersen's New Testament of 1540, the margin alongside Matthew 1 contains three content descriptions. First, around Matthew 1:1, the margin summarises that the text discusses 'Jesus' lineage according to his humanity.'[13] Then, at Matthew 1:18, the marginal note explains that the subsequent section concerns 'How Joseph was given his wife Mary.'[14] Lastly, the final section around Matthew 1:25 is summarised as 'Jesus' birth'.[15]

These marginal summaries usually do not convey statements of an outspoken confessional colour. For instance, in the Peetersen New Testament of 1540, the traditional translation of Matthew 3:2 as 'do penance' is not stressed in the accompanying summary, which only states: 'Of John the Baptist'.[16] However, Peetersen's catholicising translation of Matthew 16:18 as 'upon this rock I will build my *church*' resonates slightly in the marginal description placed directly next to Matthew 16:18, which states: 'Peter's power'.[17] When compared to, for instance, the marginal note on a similar theme in 1 Peter 2:5 in Liesvelt's complete Bibles of 1542 ('to be built on the rock, is to put our hope on Christ alone') the marginal summary in Peetersen's New Testament is clearly more traditional or even catholicising in character.[18] Hence, besides the navigational effect such summaries could have in enabling easily detectable entries to the

12 This is the case in Liesvelt's New Testaments of 1534, 1541, and 1544b, and Peetersen's New Testaments of 1538, 1540, 1541, 1544, and 1546.

13 HPvM NT 1540, Matthew 1:1 (margin): *Jesus afcoemst na der menscheyt.*

14 HPvM NT 1540, Matthew 1:18 (margin): *Hoe Joseph Mariam zijn huysurou ontfinck.*

15 HPvM NT 1540, Matthew 1:24 (margin): *Jesus geboorte.* These content descriptions sometimes confirm the interconnectivity of the four Gospels. The phrase 'Jesus' birth' in the margin of Matthew 1:25, for instance, is echoed in the marginal note 'How Jesus was born' (*Hoe Jesus geboren wert*) at Luke 2:1.

16 HPvM NT 1540, Matthew 3:2: *Doet penitencie*. HPvM NT 1540, Matthew 3:2 (margin): *Van Joannes baptista*.

17 HPvM NT 1540, Matthew 16:18: *op desen steen sal ic timmeren mijn kercke*. HPvM NT 1540, Matthew 16:18 (margin): *Petrus macht*.

18 JvL CB 1542b: *Opten steen ghetimmert syn, is alle onse hope setten op cristum alleen*. See also: Den Hollander, 'De Liesveltbijbel', p. 232.

text, their content would undoubtedly also have influenced readers' understandings and interpretations of the biblical text.[19]

The marginal element that has received the most attention in past scholarship, however, is undoubtedly the marginal gloss. From his 1532 complete Bible onwards, Liesvelt started including various types of marginal glosses that shaped readers' interpretations of and approaches to the biblical text. The printer based these upon a concept tentatively introduced by Willem Vorsterman in 1531. Vorsterman included various general-historical annotations and a rare chronological annotation in the margins of his edition, but he did not pursue beyond the first half of Genesis. Liesvelt embraced the project developed by his colleague, and included contextualising glosses throughout the entire Bible. Peetersen van Middelburch, in turn, adopted Liesvelt's marginalia in his 1535 complete Bible edition. In the meantime, Vorsterman responded to Liesvelt's enterprise by publishing a fully glossed Bible in 1533–1534. These glosses are copied by Peetersen van Middelburch in his Bible edition of 1541.[20]

The marginal glosses vary in content and function. Firstly, some glosses provide word definitions or explain specific terminology. For instance, in Liesvelt's 1534 complete Bible edition, in the margin of Exodus 38:8 ('… of the looking glasses of the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation') the word used for 'women' is explained: '[these] female leaders [*heerinnen*] were devout or religiously exceptional women'.[21] Another example can be found in the margin of Matthew 23:5 ('… they make broad heir phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments') in Liesvelt's New Testaments of 1534, 1541, and 1544b, where the word 'phylacteries' is explained: 'Phylacteries are the letters into which Moses' law is written down.'[22]

Secondly, the reader of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles is presented with a considerable number of chronological and historical glosses that situate biblical events within broader world history. These references denote how many years after the creation of the world and before the birth

19 In the words of Slights, 'a simple summary of the contents of an intimidatingly dense paragraph could invite neophyte readers to enter … the 'house' of the text through … appropriate doorways.' See: Slights, *Managing Readers*, p. 41.

20 On the development of the Dutch glossed Bible, see: François and Corbellini, 'Shaping Religious Reading Cultures', pp. 153–154, pp. 165–173.

21 JvL CB 1534, Exodus 38:8 (margin): *Heerinnen waren deuote / oft geestelijcke bisonderde vrouwen.*

22 JvL CB 1534, Matthew 23:5 (margin): *Philacteria sijn brieuen daer Moises wet in geschreuen stont.*

of Christ a certain event took place, and refer to contemporary developments in non-biblical and particularly classical history. On the title pages to his complete Bible editions, Liesvelt states that he used the *Fasciculus Temporum* and 'the chronicles of the entire world' (*dye Cronike van alder werelt*) to create these glosses. François and Corbellini have demonstrated that the *Fasciculus Temporum*, and in particular the Dutch edition printed by the Utrecht printer Johan Veldener in 1480, indeed served as Liesvelt's main source.[23]

The inclusion of these glosses corresponds with the growing interest in biblical antiquarianism during the first half of the sixteenth century. As explained by Shalev, in order to create 'a fully blown image of biblical societies', biblical history was connected to scholars' knowledge of the classical antiquities, geography, and material culture.[24] Relying upon medieval traditions, non-biblical history was understood to be integrally joined with biblical history. Both strands of history were part of a unity of salvation and grace, ultimately divine in character. The chronological glosses in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles provide a broad range of historical information, especially concerning the classical history of Troy. For instance, in Liesvelt's 1542a Bible, the following gloss is positioned in the margin of Judges 7:8–21:

> Hercules and Jason powerfully siege the town of Troy and capture it. Laomedon, the king of Troy, was defeated and his daughter Iriona was captured and brought to Greece. 1273 years before the birth of Christ, in the 3925th year of the world.[25]

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23 See: François and Corbellini, 'Shaping Religious Reading Cultures', pp. 155–156. Despite evident similarities, however, Liesvelt's time calculations differ from the *Fasciculus* and other sources he probably used (such as the *Novissimae hystoriarum omnium repercussiones*, Venice, 1503). According to François and Corbellini, this is simply the result of 'careless borrowing from the sources' (155). A digitised facsimile of Veldener's *Fasciculus Temporum* is available at: https://www.uu.nl/en/utrecht-university-library-special-collections/collections/early-printed-books/history-works/fasciculus-temporum-by-werner-rolevinck. This edition not only contained a translation of the Latin text, but was also supplemented with localised histories of various Dutch towns. See: Wilma Keesman, *De eindeloze stad: Troje en Trojaanse oorsprongsmythen in de (laat)middeleeuwse en vroegmoderne Nederlanden* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2017), pp. 468–469.

24 Zur Shalev, 'Early Modern Geographia Sacra in the Context of Early Modern Scholarship', in Kevin Klleen et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 196–208, p. 198.

25 JvL CB 1542a, Judges 7:8–21 (margin): *Hercules ende Jason belegghen dye stadt van Troien seer strenghelic ende winnense. Laodemon, die coninc van Troyen, wert verslagen ende sijn dochter Iriona werdt gevangen ende in Griecken ghevoert voor Cristus gheboorte* MCC *ende* LXXIII *jaer, tjaer der werelt* III *dusent* IX^{c} *en* XXV *jaer.* On the chronographical glosses in

Here, the siege of Troy is presented as a contemporary event to the war between Gideon and the Midianites as described in Judges 7: whilst Hercules and Jason obtained victory over Troy, Gideon and his troops besieged the camp of the Midianites and made them flee the area. The simultaneity of these events emphasises, in a way, the often chaotic, violent circumstances that are presented in the book of Judges: the entire world is at war – from Israel to Troy – but those who have faith will ultimately secure their victory.

Readers of early sixteenth-century Bibles not only increasingly assigned value to applying biblical geography and chronology to their Scripture reading, but they also developed an interest in 'a literal reading of the holy text' and in aids that helped them gain 'greater knowledge of Oriental languages and texts' that lay at the basis of the biblical translation.[26] A response to these developments is visible in Peetersen van Middelburch's 1541 edition. In accordance with the paratextual apparatus of Willem Vorsterman's Bibles, and announced in the prologue to this edition, Peetersen included marginalia that furnish an alternative translation of a textual section, based on the original source text. This alternative translation usually concerns several words or a short phrase, marked in the main text with an asterisk. For instance, in Genesis 1:20, the phrase 'the crawling animals that have living souls' is accompanied by an alternative translation in the margin: 'th. [in Hebrew] crawling and living souls.'[27] Similarly, a few references to the Greek sources are included in the New Testament, for instance in Matthew 5:22, where the margin provides the variant 'in Greek: without a case' next to 'he should express judgment'.[28]

However, besides a space of study, the Bible was also ultimately a space of devotion. This is emphasised in the printed glosses that note the value of a certain biblical passage for prayer.[29] In Liesvelt's complete Bibles from 1532, 1534, and 1535, for instance, the word 'prayer' (*Ghebet*) is placed alongside Judith 13:4

Liesvelt's Bibles, see also: Hoff and Jongen 2020, 39–44; François and Corbellini, 'Shaping Religious Reading Cultures', pp. 153–156.

26 See: Shalev, 'Early Modern Geographia Sacra', p. 197.

27 HPvM CB 1541, Genesis 1:20: *cruypende dieren die leuende sielen hebben.* HPvM CB 1541, Genesis 1:20 (margin): *th. cruypende ende leuende sielen.*

28 HPvM CB 1541, Matthew 5:22 (margin): *sonder sake.* HPvM CB 1541, Matthew 5:22: *die is des oordeels sculdich.*

29 This practice is also reflected in books such as the *Gulden Ghebedeboexken uut den ouden ende nyeuwe Testamente* (Golden Prayerbook from the Old and New Testament), which was printed by Liesvelt (in 1532, USTC nr. 437610) and Peetersen van Middelburch (in 1538 USTC, nr. 437922, and 1540, USTC nr. 400658), amongst other printers. The book, a translation of Otto Brunfels' *Precationes biblicae*, provides a wide range of biblical excerpts that readers could perform in order to practise 'a good way to pray and praise God continuously' (*een goede manière om te bidden ende God altijt the ghebenedijen*).

('… Then Judith, standing by his bed, said in her heart: O Lord God of all power, look at this present upon the works of mine hands for the exaltation of Jerusalem'). Readers could hence approach the Bible text as a place of prayer, an archive of suitable texts to include in their own devotion. By taking on the role of Judith in this prayer and placing themselves in the first person singular perspective that is in direct dialogue with God, the devotee could become part of the communication between human and God. As an early modern reader appropriated the prayer of a biblical figure for their personal use, they could, as it were, engage in an already established dialogue between God and human.

Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch also embellished their complete Bibles with theological marginalia that mark prophecies of Christ in the Old Testament. For instance, in Liesvelt's 1534 edition, the gloss in the margin of Genesis 22:16 ('… By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son') gives an interpretation of the words spoken by God to Abraham: 'Here Christ is promised.'[30] Similarly, alongside Genesis 49:10 ('The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be'), the marginal gloss states that 'the righteous [one] of whom Jacob prophesises is Christ.'[31] Moreover, not only are certain biblical characters of the Old Testament connected to Christ, certain objects are as well. In Exodus 37:6 ('And he made the mercy seat of pure gold …'), the gloss explains that 'the mercy seat, that was the place from which God spoke to the children of Israel, which place was onto the Ark of the Covenant, which means Christ.' Besides these references, other glosses provide explanations concerning the theological or moral meaning of certain sections. For instance, in Peetersen's 1541 Bible, a gloss in the margin along Matthew 20:2, on the parable of the vineyard workers, explains that 'this parable teaches us [that] our life is a persistent working in the vineyard of the Lord'.[32] Outspokenly typological glosses, in which a certain event in the Old Testament is considered a narratological prefiguration of an aspect of the New Testament (e.g. Jonah and the whale as a foreshadowing of Christ's burial and resurrection), generally seem absent in Liesvelt's Bible editions, but can be found sporadically in Peetersen van Middelburch's 1541 Bible. For instance, the typological gloss at the beginning of Exodus 3 in Peetersen van Middelburch's 1541 Bible recalls that 'this

30 JvL CB 1534, Genesis 22:16 (margin): *Hyer wordt Christus belooft*.

31 JvL CB 1534, Genesis 49:10 (margin): *Die Vrome is Christus daer Jacob af propheteert.*

32 HPvM CB 1541, Genesis 20:2 (margin): *Ons leuen te zijn en ghestadich wercken in den wijngaert des heeren: leert ons dese parabel.* As with any of the marginal glosses in this edition, this gloss was taken from Willem Vorsterman's Bible editions.

bush which burns but is not consumed, is a figure of our immaculate virgin, the mother of God, Mary.'[33] Liesvelt did not include any glosses pointing towards this typological understanding of the burning bush in his Bible editions.

Such differences between Liesvelt's Bibles and Peetersen van Middelburch's Vorsterman-based 1541 edition confirm that the decisions printers made with regard to their glosses were not entirely confessionally neutral. Some marginal notes reflect and frame a certain confessional inclination, such as, for instance, the marginal note next to 1 Timothy 4:8 ('… but godliness is profitable unto all things …') in Liesvelt's 1542 editions: 'Godliness is the honour God is due, which is to trust in him alone'.[34] However, such confessionally coloured marginalia are rare. Generally speaking, the printed marginalia in their Bibles generally 'disclose a nuanced and multifaceted combination of eclectic features' and mirror the fact that processes of confessionalisation were still unfolding.[35]

1.2 *Navigating, Hyperlinking, and Generating Knowledge*

The margins of the early modern page functioned as spaces of negotiation and transition. Navigational aids such as finding letters, cross-references, and manicules would take a reader by the hand in their movements through the book. These devices connect the text to paratext, and one textual section to another, providing suitable and meaningful entries for the reader to dive into the text. Interpretative devices such as marginal glosses could significantly shape readers' understandings of the text as they defined complex terminology, provided chronological and historical contexts to deepen readers' understanding of the biblical narrative, and pointed them towards certain confessional or theological interpretations of Scripture.

Marginalia encourage readers to actively navigate between the main text and the margins, and to engage with various interpretive systems and the intertextualities between them.[36] Adopting the taxonomy developed by King, finding letters, manicules, cross-references, and content descriptions may be understood as inward references.[37] These elements in the margin aid the reader

33 HPvM CB 1541, Exodus 3:1 (margin): *Die bosch bernende ende niet verbernende is een figure van de onbeuleckte maechd ons des moeder Gods Maria.*

34 JvL CB 1542b, *Godsalicheyt is die eere diemen God sculdich is dat si in hem alleen te betrouwen*. See also: Den Hollander, 'De Liesveltbijbel', p. 232.

35 François and Corbellini, 'Shaping Religious Reading Cultures', p. 149. On the subsequent steps in this development of confessionalisation, see: François, 'Bible Production and Bible Readers'.

36 See also: Clark and Sheingorn, 'Encountering a Dream-Vision', p. 37; Slights, 'Marginall Notes', 257; Smith, 'Matter in the Margins', pp. 32–33.

37 King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*, p. 64. See also: Smith, 'Matter in the Margins', p. 36.

in handling the interconnectivity of the Bible as a unity, point to elements that would be of particular importance, and smooth navigation through the book. The explanatory, chronological, theological, and multilingual glosses, then, point outwards from the main text: they supplement the text with contextual information and take the reader through the transformational space of the margin to a buzzing world of knowledge outside of Scripture. Readers are encouraged to include history, chronology, geography, confessional debates, and an awareness of the source text in their reading experience. They are invited to view the Bible as a thing that is crucially entangled with overarching knowledge structures that stretch across genres, times, and spaces.

In addition to supporting navigation across the individual page, marginalia also shape readers' movements throughout the book. Cross-references, in particular, invite readers to actively shift from one place in the book to another and to combine both in their understanding of the text. Cross-references may be understood as *hypertextual* devices. The concept of hypertext is derived from its implementation in modern computer technology, and although the word originally merely described a certain digitally associative and connective application, it has developed into a broader theoretical concept. As McAleese has stressed, hypertext is in essence a system of coherence, logic and connection; hypertextual elements are 'footnotes to distant places … [and] associated ideas.'[38] The concept of hypertext as a way to link files and to enable 'movement between those files in ways that are intended to be illuminating', can also be applied to the study of the early modern book.[39] In Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, the many cross-references create a complex and dynamic system of interlinkage. Rather than reading the biblical text as a continuous narrative, they facilitate an understanding of the book as a network of interrelated themes, events, and persons; as nodes of information and the relationships between them. In an embodied experience of this interconnectivity, a reader may place their fingers between the various pages referred to by the cross-references and open, as it were, several 'tab pages' in order to enable untroubled alternation between the different biblical passages.

38 Ray McAleese, *Hypertext: Theory into Practice* (Exeter: Intellect, 1999), pp. v–vi.

39 Thomas N. Corns, 'The Early Modern Search Engine: Indices, Title Pages, Marginalia and Contents', in Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (eds.), *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London/New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 95–105, p. 95. For a thorough application of the concept of hypertextuality to premodern books, see: Henrike Manuwald, 'Navigating the Biblical Text: The Biblical Summary in Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 110, Read as a Hypertext', in Sabrina Corbellini, Wim François, and Renske A. Hoff, *In Readers' Hands: New Perspectives on Premodern Bibles in Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, to be published).

2 Intertitles and Summaries

As printed marginalia inhabit the sides of the page, the white spaces above the columns and in between various Bible chapters are occupied by other paratexts that serve as instruments of navigation and hermeneutical devices. These paratextual elements include running titles, chapter headings, and short summaries. Genette categorises both running titles and chapter headings as *intertitles*: titles of textual sections that are positioned within the book itself.[40] In contrast to the book's title, intertitles are addressed only to those who actually browse through the book. They announce where a reader finds themselves in the book and eases navigation between various parts. Furthermore, intertitles serve as interpretative entries to the text. They indicate the beginning of a textual unity and provide insight into the contents of the following textual section. Although the chapter headings and running titles in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles simply present the name of the Bible book and the number of the chapter, the short summaries that are included in several of these Bibles function, in a way, as extensive, hermeneutical intertitles. These summaries provide a synopsis of the chapter's content, usually in merely one or two phrases. They mark the most important themes and persons, indicate how a section connects to the chapters preceding or succeeding it, and in some cases provide an interpretative, sometimes confessionally coloured, framework through which the reader ought to enter the biblical passage.

2.1 *Running Titles, Book and Chapter Headings, and Summaries*

All Bible editions by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch contain running titles that continuously indicate to the reader in which Bible book and chapter they find themselves. Running titles allow a reader to 'track their

40 According to Genette, running titles function predominantly as 'reminders, handy when one is reading and consulting the text' (Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 316). Genette's perspective, however, seems indeed to be that of a modern reader, by whom paratextual elements at the top or bottom of the page are seen as subordinate to the main text block. However, the impact of early modern intertitles – running titles in particular – exceeds their mere practical purposes. Early modern authors, publishers, and readers, Matthew Day argues, were well aware of the constructive role running titles may have had (see: Matthew Day, '"Intended to Offenders": The Running Titles of Early Modern Books', in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 34–47, p. 43). The fact that the early modern readers of the Bibles under scrutiny in this study often corrected printing mistakes and typo's in the running titles and chapter headings of their Bible copies, underlines that they were indeed keenly aware of their presence and content, as more than just 'reminders.' On readers' responses to intertitles and their corrections of these, see section 5.2.

progress through or around the volume' and to easily jump from one passage to another.[41] In the New Testaments, the name of the Bible book is placed in the top margin of the left page, and the number of the presented chapter at the right. For instance, the running title at Matthew 2 in Peetersen's New Testament of 1543 is: 'St. Matthew Gospel [left page], the 2nd Chapter [right page].'[42] In the complete Bibles, the book title and chapter are both placed at the top of every page. In Liesvelt's 1526 Bible, they are even mentioned above each column.[43] Running titles are also included in paratextual parts of the Bibles. For instance, in Peetersen's 1541 complete Bible, the running title 'Table on the entire Holy Scripture'is placed above the topical register.[44]

Furthermore, across the page, each new Bible book is announced by a incipit-like heading. Similarly to how explicits close a textual entity, as discussed in section 2.5, these incipits provide a verbal entry to the book, e.g. 'Here begins the first book of Ezra.'[45] Some headings provide supplementary information, for instance on alternative names for the book. An example is the incipit to the book of Exodus in Liesvelt's 1542a Bible edition: 'Here begins the book of departure which is called Exodus in Latin [and] Hellesmoth in Hebrew.'[46] Moreover, within the Bible books, the beginning of each chapter is signalled by a chapter heading in a small font. These are placed above the chapter, in line with the text columns, and marked through indentation and, in some cases, with pilcrows, allowing readers to easily find these intertitles when browsing through the page.[47] Furthermore, the beginning of each chapter is highlighted by an enlarged or decorated initial. These various elements clarify

41 Claire M.L. Bourne, 'Running Titles', in Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (eds.), *Book Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 191–208, pp. 194–195.

42 HPvM NT 1543, Matthew 2 (top margin): *S. Matheus Euangelie / Dat .ii. Capittel.*

43 In general, when subsequent chapters start at the same page, the running title mentions the latest. Hence, on the page on which part of Genesis 14, the entire chapter Genesis 15, and part of Genesis 16 can be found, the running title recalls 'The book Genesis, the 16th Chapter' (JvL CB 1532, Genesis 16 (top margin): *Dat boeck Genesis / Dat .xvi. Capittel.*)

44 HPvM CB 1541, topical register (top margin): *Tafel op die gheheele / Heylighe Schriftuere.*

45 JvL 1542b, at the beginning of 1 Ezra: *Hier beghint dat eerste boeck Esdre.*

46 JvL 1542b, at the beginning of Exodus: *Hier beghint dat boeck der wtgancx datmen int Latijn noemt Exodus int Hebreusche Hellesmoth.*

47 The chapter headings are marked with pilcrows in Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bibles of 1532 and 1534, his New Testaments of 1534 and 1541, and Hendrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bibles of 1535 and 1541 as well as his New Testaments of 1538, 1540, 1541b, 1543, and 1546. On paragraph marks, see also: Goran Proot, 'The Use of Paragraph Marks in Early 16th-Century Flemish Editions', *The Collation: Research and Exploration at the Folger*, 17 January 2014, https://www.folger.edu/blogs/collation/the-use-of-paragraph-marks-in-early-16th-century-dutch-editions/.

the structure of the text, enable easy access and navigation for the reader, and pull the gaze of any reader to these distinctive points within the text.

In addition, in almost all complete Bibles by Liesvelt and Peetersen, as well as in some of their New Testaments, short chapter summaries are positioned just above the chapter headings.[48] These descriptions are usually merely a few lines long and briefly discuss the events, persons, or themes that play a central role in the following chapter. For instance, the description of Genesis 5 in Liesvelt's 1532 Bible summarises that 'here, Adam's lineage is being narrated, as well as the ages of the men of his lineage until Noah'.[49] In most cases, the summaries do not convey an evident confessional colour. There are, however, some exceptions. For instance, above Matthew 16 in Liesvelt's 1532 Bible, the provided summary implies a Reformation-minded understanding of the chapter: 'How Jesus said that he would build his church on the confession of faith.'[50] Despite the use of 'church' rather than 'congregation', this phrase crucially notes that the church is built upon faith instead of upon Peter, let alone the pope.[51]

2.2 *Enabling Navigation and Shaping Interpretation*

The impact running titles, chapter headings, and summaries could have on early modern Bible readers relates to their function as navigational aids. These devices would assist readers that were flipping through the book, looking for a certain passage in the Scriptures. Printers' choices regarding font, letter size, and white space ensure that the various intertitles can be effortlessly distinguished on the page and that the eye of the reader is rapidly drawn towards these devices. Moreover, whereas running titles, book headings, and chapter

48 Liesvelt's first complete Bible of 1526 does not contain chapter summaries. Liesvelt's New Testaments 1535a, 1535b, 1540, and 1544a, and Peetersen's New Testament 1541b do contain summaries above each chapter. As discussed before, other New Testaments contain short summaries in the margins.

49 JvL CB 1532, Genesis 5 (above chapter): *Hier wort Adams geslachte verhaelt / ende dat ouderdom der mannen van sinen geslachte tot Noe toe.* In the Bible books of the Song of Songs, Proverbs, and Psalms, not every chapter is individually summarised. One summary, for example, covers all chapters from Proverbs 10 to 31: 'From this chapter until the 31st, countless many beautiful, lovely and wise proverbs are described, in which wisdom is taught very profitably, and which proves to shun all harmful foolishness' (JvL CB 1542a, Proverbs 10 (above chapter): *Van dit Capittel aen tot .xxxi. toe, worden bescreuen ontallijcke veel, schoone, lieflijcke ende wijse sproken, Inden welcken die wijsheyt met grooten profijte gheleert, Ende die dwaesheyt met hare schaden te schouwen bewesen wort.*)

50 JvL CB 1532, Matthew 16 (above chapter): *Hoe Jesus sprac dat hy sijn kercke timmeren soude op die belijdinghe des gheloofs.*

51 See also: François and Corbellini, 'Shaping Religious Reading Cultures', p. 153.

headings would allow readers to easily locate a certain text when they were already aware which chapter they were looking for, the short and descriptive summaries placed above the chapters could potentially support readers who gained an interest in specific biblical themes, persons, or events. For instance, a reader looking for the story of Noah's ark might, through the summary, understand it to be found in Genesis 6: 'How God destroyed the entire world with water because of humanity's sins, despite Noah and the eight and one pair of all animals, and how he made the ark.'[52] By browsing through the summaries, readers could find specific biblical stories or themes, regardless of their liturgical reading order.[53]

The summaries also create interpretative entries to the text, shaping readers' perspectives on the contents of the text they would be about to enter. By defining the crucial themes, narratives, and conclusions of the chapter, these few lines could allow readers to quickly grasp the 'hierarchies' within the information and stories provided in a chapter. Whilst reading the text, they would recognise certain themes or events and possible linger on these passages, enhancing the chance that these elements would be remembered. Furthermore, the summaries assist in creating a sense of the overarching relevance of the chapter and of the connections between each of its various sections. This is evident in the summary Liesvelt provides for Leviticus 11, a chapter which specifies which animals and animal products are clean and unclean within Jewish law. The chapter is introduced by the summary 'About the distinction between the clean and unclean animals', which incites readers to immediately recognise the main aim of the chapter and to grasp the connections between the various animals it lists.[54]

Lastly, the inclusion of incipits, chapter headings, and summaries draws clear boundaries between two parts of text. Each chapter is distinctly presented as its own unity, an identifiable entity which does not merge with the entities around it. This not only influences where readers might *start* reading but also where they would *stop*, in particular when they would simultaneously encounter a concluding explicit at the end of a Bible book. The creation of this reading unity implies thematical or chronological homogeneousness, even if

52 JvL CB 1542a, Genesis 6 (above chapter): *Hoe dat God om der menschen sonden wille die gheheele werelt liet vergaen metter watere / uutghenomen Noe met hem achte ende van allen dieren een paer / ende hoe hi dye arcke maken soude.*

53 As Folkerts has argued, similar summaries were part of late medieval New Testament or Gospel manuscripts of the Devotio Moderna. See: Folkerts, 'The Cloister or the City?', pp. 184–188.

54 JvL CB 1534, Leviticus 11 (above chapter): *Van dat ondersceyt der reynen ende onreinen dieren.*

a single chapter actually portrays various events. These subtle elements in the arrangement of the book and the page may crucially and continuously remind the reader of how the various parts make the whole as well as of the wholeness of the parts.

3 Woodcuts and Maps

In addition to the textual elements on the page, readers of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles would be influenced and directed by 'visual paratexts'. These could guide readers' experiences by providing visual interpretations and commentaries on the Bible text, as well as by simply pulling and pushing the eye of the reader across the page.[55] Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bibles and New contain woodcuts of various sizes and types, placed throughout the biblical text. Both printers also included a large map in their complete Bible editions, placed at the beginning of Exodus and depicting the journey of the Israelites from Egypt to the Holy Land. Illustrations are not always taken into account in studies to paratext, but they do play an important role in visually and spatially mediating the interactions between the reader and the book.[56] As the aim of the current part of this study is to analyse how the book may shape reader profiles, aid with navigation, and create structures of knowledge and interaction, woodcuts and maps should not be ignored.

The illustrative programme of sixteenth-century Dutch Bibles has closely been studied by, in particular, Bart Rosier, James Clifton, and Walter Melion.[57] Their studies show that images were included not only to raise the value of the edition, but also to actively shape and impact practices of reading and interpretation. The presence of woodcuts or maps could invite readers to more closely read the text, enable them to participate emotionally, devotionally, or mentally in the biblical events depicted, help them memorise certain biblical stories, or

55 See also: Clark and Sheingorn, 'Encountering a Dream-Vision', pp. 3–4; Stephen Orgel, 'Textual Icons: Reading Early Modern Illustrations', in Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (eds.), *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 59–94.

56 On images as paratexts, see also: Hester Lees-Jeffries, 'Pictures, Places, and Spaces: Sidney, Wroth, Wilton House, and The Songe de Poliphile', in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 185–203, pp. 186–187; Clark and Sheingorn, 'Encountering a Dream-Vision'.

57 See: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*; James Clifton and Walter S. Melion, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Museum of Biblical Art, 2009).

simply remind them of the authoritative character of the Scriptures.[58] These functions crossed confessional divides. The vast majority of Bible illustrations in the sixteenth-century Low Countries were used and shared among printers of different confessional orientations and do not display any features that point to a certain Protestant or Catholic interpretation of the biblical text.[59]

3.1 *Illustrating Narratives, Persons, Spaces, and Objects*

Liesvelt's first complete Bible of 1526 already contained almost fifty woodcuts, the majority of which were used to illustrate the Old Testament. He copied these images from, amongst others, various editions of Martin Luther's Old Testament of 1523 and 1524. Liesvelt's complete editions of 1532, 1534, and 1535 contain even more illustrations, which are identical between these three editions. Some of the illustrations are made from the same woodblocks as those in his 1526 edition, but many are newly introduced. The most striking addition concerns the series of twenty-one Holbein-based woodcuts in Revelations.[60] In 1538, Hansken van Liesvelt used partially the same illustrative programme, whilst also including various other woodcuts, both in the Old and the New Testament. The additional Old Testament illustrations are copies to the woodcuts in Hans Sebald Beham's *Biblische Historien* (printed in 1533). The woodcuts

58 The American printer-publisher Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831) called the illustrative plates in his Bible from 1791 'momentary appeals to the heart, through the medium of the eye' (as quoted from his 'Proposal … for Continuing the Publication of the Massachusetts Magazine' (*Massachusetts Magazine*, February 1793, 4) (as quoted by: Sandro Jung, 'Isaiah Thomas's Illustrated Imprints in the 1790s: The Provenance, Uses, and Production of their Illustrations', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 115:2 (2021), pp. 137–166, p. 137). As phrased by Sandro Jung, he 'understood illustrations as affective paratextual media that helped readers to comprehend the typographic text' (Jung, 'Isaiah Thomas's Illustrated Imprints', p. 138). Although Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch do not reflect as explicitly on the supposed function of their illustrations, the perspective on images as 'affective paratextual media' might also be useful to understand how the illustrative programme of their Bibles impacted and shaped an intended reader.

59 See: Wim François, 'The Early Modern Bible between Material Book and Immaterial Word', in Grazyna Jurkowlaniec et al. (eds.), *The Agency of Things in Medieval and Early Modern Art: Materials, Power and Manipulation* (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 129–143, pp. 133–136; Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, pp. 126–130.

60 On the Holbein-based woodcuts in Revelations, see: N. de Hommel-Steenbakkers, 'Censorship or Self-Protection? Modifications in Apocalypse Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Bibles Printed in the Low Countries', in August A. den Hollander and Wim François (eds.), *Infant Milk and Hardy Nourishment: The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), pp. 191–221; Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, pp. 48–55. On Hans Holbein the Younger's illustrations, see also: David H. Price, 'Hans Holbein the Younger and Reformation Bible Production', *Church History*, 86:4 (2017), pp. 998–1040.

in the New Testament were created by Lieven de Witte and developed originally for a Gospel harmony of Willem van Branteghem, printed by Matthias Crom in Antwerp in 1537 in both a Dutch and a Latin edition.[61] Crom not only reused the woodblocks of these illustrations in several of his own Bible editions, but also temporarily lent them to Hansken van Liesvelt in 1538, who included them in his complete Bible. Jacob van Liesvelt's editions of 1542, then, predominantly adopt the woodcuts from Hansken van Liesvelt's edition.[62]

Despite the fact that Peetersen van Middelburch in the text and paratext of his complete Bibles closely follows Liesvelt's and Vorsterman's publications, the illustrative programmes differ from both examples. The woodcuts in the Old Testament of his 1535 complete Bible were copied after woodcuts in French Bibles printed by Merten de Keyser (in 1530 and 1534) and Vorsterman's Bibles (of 1532 and 1533–1534). For his 1541 edition, Peetersen van Middelburch used the same woodblocks, whilst also including rough copies of the woodcuts in the *Biblische Historien*, similar to those included by Hansken van Liesvelt in 1538. For the New Testament in this edition, Peetersen van Middelburch created copies of the Lieven de Witte-illustrations.[63]

The New Testament editions by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch are illustrated as well. Liesvelt's New Testaments of 1534 and 1535 contain four woodcuts depicting the evangelists, an illustration of St. Paul, a woodcut placed at the beginning of the Bible book of Acts which depicts the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the woodcut series in Revelations which was also included in the complete Bibles. The number of woodcuts is considerably higher in Liesvelt's New Testaments of 1540, 1541, and 1544, which also include narrative-based illustrations in the Gospels.[64] Peetersen van Middelburch's

61 On the illustrations in this Gospel harmony, see also: Ilja Veldman and Karin van Schaik, *Verbeelde Boodschap. De illustraties van Lieven de Witte bij 'Dat leven ons Heeren' (1537)* (Haarlem/Brussels: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap/Belgisch Bijbelgenootschap, 1989); Ilja Veldman, 'Protestantism and the Arts: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Netherlands', in Paul Corby Finney (ed.), *Seeing beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), pp. 397–425, pp. 398–399.

62 See: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, pp. 6–7, pp. 14–15, pp. 18–20, pp. 22–23.

63 See: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, pp. 19–22. The repetition and reappearance of woodcuts between multiple and diverse editions not only creates a visual connection between these publications, but it might also remind readers, in the words of Franklin, 'that each edition existed not only as an organic whole leaping fully formed from the press but also, from another point of view, as the temporary alignment of constituent parts, each lending its weight and associations.' See: Alexandra Franklin, 'Woodcuts', in Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (eds.), *Book Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 209–222, p. 222.

64 See: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, p. 15, p. 23.

New Testaments of 1538 and 1540 contain the same number and types of woodcuts as Liesvelt's earlier editions. From 1541 onwards, the number of woodcuts grew, as Peetersen used the woodcuts from the New Testament in his complete Bible of 1541 for his separately printed New Testaments as well.[65]

The woodcuts in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles can generally be divided into three types: woodcuts that display a biblical event, woodcuts that portray biblical figures, and woodcuts that schematically depict spaces or objects. Each of these performs a different function in directing and informing the reader: narrative-based woodcuts could function as hermeneutic devices, portraits of biblical authors could convey a certain scholarly authority, and schematical depictions could create a better understanding of the spatiality and materiality of the described spaces and objects.

The first of these three types is most common. These woodcuts depict events described in the biblical text they accompany, hence providing the reader with a hermeneutical aid for grasping the meaning and implications of the text.[66] Furthermore, their presence underlines the relevance of the depicted event and pulls the eyes of the reader to the textual section. Some of the narrative-based woodcuts depict a series of events within one illustration, and others provide a visual representation of a single, particularly important event.[67] The latter is the case, for instance, in the woodcut placed at the beginning of the book of Job in Liesvelt's 1526 edition. The illustration depicts Job, seated with little more than a cloth around his waist, who is being visited by three richly-dressed friends (fig. 23).[68]

In this edition, it is the only illustration in the book of Job. Hence, in addition to marking the beginning of the chapter, it frames the story that follows and centralises the scene it depicts. The illustrated event begins in Job 2:11, as Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophor collectively come to visit Job to comfort him and hear his story. The conversation between the four – Job laments on his sorrows and shares his doubts and beliefs, upon which the friends respond – dominates the Bible book of Job. The woodcut at the beginning of the book

65 See: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, pp. 17–18, p. 22.

66 See also: Clifton and Melion, *Scripture for the Eyes*, pp. 50–51.

67 On woodcuts that depict a series of events, see: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, pp. 88–90.

68 This woodcut displays visual similarities to two other woodcuts in this edition, namely the woodcut at the beginning of the book of Esther and the one at the beginning of the Psalms. Each of the woodcuts display a scene in which the main object (i.e. Job, Esther, and David) is sitting or kneeled down before other figures. Furthermore, each scene is placed in a decorative, gate-like architectural space. See also: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, p. 7.

FIGURE 23 Illustration at the opening of the book of Job in Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1526. Leiden University Library, 1497 A 11

hence provides a visualisation of the space and situation from which the main part of the Bible book emerges. Moreover, the depiction of Job clearly echoes the imagery of the suffering Christ, hence visually stressing a possible (and common) typological interpretation of the Bible book.[69]

69 On various early modern typological interpretations of the book of Job, see: Brownlee, *Biblical Readings*, pp. 79–112.

Although the woodcut at the beginning of Job depicts the main figure of the book, it differs substantially from the second type of woodcut that regularly occurs in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles: portraits of prophets, evangelists, and apostles. These portraits are not narrative based, but fully centre around the likeness of the biblical figure or author of the Bible book. Some of these portraits are supposed to be recognisable: the woodcuts of the four evangelists, for instance, depict each of them with their usual attributes. However, this does not apply to all portraits. In Liesvelt's Bibles from 1532 onwards, three general portraits are used to visualise the likenesses of no fewer than ten different prophets.[70] The men on the woodcuts each hold onto a book and raise their hand with a pointed finger, emphasising their learned character. Their 'oriental' clothing further affirms that they indeed are supposed to be seen as prophets, even though none of them exclusively depicts a specific person (fig. 24).[71]

In the words of Van Leerdam, such portraits 'are stock images, not tailored to fit a specific text nor intended to represent a specific individual.'[72] Rather than serving as interpretational devices, these portraits in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles find their purpose in conveying a sense of learned authority and of historical trustworthiness.

A third category to be distinguished here is the woodcut which schematically or technically depicts spaces or objects. These woodcuts, which are already included in Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1526 and remain part of each of his and Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bibles, are based on the illustrations in a 1481 edition of Nicholas of Lyra's (ca. 1270–1349) well-known *Postilla super totam Bibliam*. This edition, printed by the Neurenberg printer Anton Koberger, contains approximately forty images and diagrams in order to illustrate and clarify complex descriptions in the text.[73] The illustrations that are copied by Dutch Bible printers include depictions of the contents and structure of the Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple as explained in Exodus and 1 Kings, of Aaron in his high priest garments as described in Exodus 28, and of

70 The choice to include a certain woodcut more than once probably relates in particular to financial motives. Creating or buying three woodblocks was simply cheaper and more convenient than making ten. See also: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, p. 108, p. 111.

71 See also: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, p. 115.

72 Andrea van Leerdam, 'Talking Heads – the Visual Rhetoric of Recurring Scholar Woodcuts in a Sixteenth-Century Handbook on Chiromancy', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 26 (2019), pp. 11–29, p. 21. Van Leerdam's study focusses on similar portraits in early modern, scientific works. These share a function comparable to that of the portraits in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles.

73 USTC no. 747451.

FIGURE 24
Illustration at the opening of the book of Hosea in Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1534. Antwerp, Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library, F 46902

the build-up of the camp of the Israelites as mentioned in Numbers 2.[74] The depictions are technical and schematic, functioning as visual explanations of textual descriptions of liturgical objects and spaces, rather than

74 See: Rosier, *De Nederlandse Bijbelillustratie*, pp. 66–67.

FIGURE 25 Woodcut depicting the Tabernacle in Exodus 40, in Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1534. Antwerp, Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library, F 47902

representations of the textual narrative.[75] For instance, the woodcut of the Tabernacle, included in Exodus 40, does not display any elements that point to actions of Moses or God in this chapter (fig. 25).

Rather, it shows in great detail each of the objects and their locations as described in the text, from the veil that covers the Ark (Exodus 40:3: 'And thou shalt put therein the ark of the testimony, and cover the ark with the veil') to the altar for offerings placed just before the entrance to the Tabernacle (Exodus 40:6: 'And thou shalt set the altar of the burnt offering before the door of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation'). The popularity of these architectural, schematic, and technical images connects to a broader growing

75 See also: François, 'Typology – Back with a Vengeance!', pp. 106–107. The pictural tradition of the *Postilla* illustrations goes back to manuscripts with De Lyra's text. See: Bernice M. Kaczynski, 'Illustrations of the Tabernacle and Temple Implements in the "Postilla in Testamentum Vetus" of Nicolaus de Lyra', *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 48:1 (1973), pp. 1–11.

interest in 'scholarly' images in books which developed from the later Middle Ages onwards.[76]

3.2 *The Map of Exodus*

A striking element in the visual programme of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible editions is, moreover, the geographical map placed at the beginning of the book of Exodus (fig. 26).

The map already appeared in Liesvelt's first complete Bible in 1526 and remained part of the subsequent editions.[77] The Exodus map was copied from the map in the German Old Testament printed by Christopher Froschauer in Zürich in 1525.[78] Froschauer's map, which was developed on the basis of Lucas Cranach's woodcut wall map, was the earliest printed map to be included in a Bible.[79] Liesvelt's response to this initiative was fast. Within a year, he corrected the orientation of the map (which had been mirrored in Froschauer's copy of Cranach's original), added a title: 'The location and the borders of the Land of

76 See also: Peter van der Coelen, 'Illustratie en decoratie', in Marieke van Delft and Clemens de Wolf (eds.), *Bibliopolis: Geschiedenis van het gedrukte boek in Nederland* (Zwolle/The Hague: Waanders Uitgevers/Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2003), pp. 20–23.

77 There has been some debate about whether the map was originally part of this edition, as it disappeared from the majority of surviving copies. However, as argued by Den Hollander, the presence of the map is announced in the register of the gatherings at the end of the Bible. The register indicates that the map indeed ought to be included at the beginning of Exodus. See: August A. den Hollander, 'Kaarten in zestiende-eeuwse Bijbels', in Paul Gillaerts et al. (eds.), *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen* (Heerenveen: Royal Jongbloed, 2015), pp. 214–215; August A. den Hollander, 'Biblical Geography: Maps in Sixteenth-Century Printed Bibles from the Low Countries', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 99:2 (2019), pp. 137–150, p. 142.

78 A copy of this edition, including the Exodus map, is digitised by the Zentralbibliothek Zürich. See: https://www.e-rara.ch/zuz/content/zoom/10260362.

79 See: Smith and Ingram 1991, 25–26. The wall map by Cranach, which was published in the second half of 1523 at the earliest, was printed from six woodcuts and measured 60 × 60 cm. Cranach strongly relied upon already existing maps for the geographical build-up of his depiction, but he also included new elements. The most striking one is the inclusion of the route of the Israelites to the Promised Land. See: Den Hollander 2019, 137–141. Only several, incomplete copies of the map survive. A partial map, consisting of only the bottom two woodcuts, is owned by the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. See: Lida Ruitinga, 'Die Heiligland-Karte von Lucas Cranach Dem Älteren: Das Älteste Kartenfragment Aus Der Kartensammlung Der Bibliothek Der Freien Universität in Amsterdam', *Cartographica Helvetica: Fachzeitschrift für Kartengeschichte*, 9–10 (1994), pp. 40–41. For a more extensive discussion of the contents and history of Cranach's wall map, see also: Armin Kunz, 'Cranach as Cartographer: The Rediscoverd "Map of the Holy Land"', *Print Quarterly*, 12:2 (1995), pp. 123–144.

FIGURE 26 Map of the Exodus, titled *Die ghelegentheit ende die palen des lants van Beloften*, in Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1535. Utrecht University Library, THO RAR 2–32

Promise' (*Die ghelegentheit ende die palen des lants van Beloften*), and included the map in his enterprise to print the first complete Dutch Bible edition.

The map of the Holy Land displays the Mediterranean coastline, from Egypt and the Nile on the bottom left, to Sidon and Damascus in the right upper corner. Mountain ranges, rivers, territories, and cities are indicated, and ships sail the Mediterranean Sea in the west and the Red Sea in the south. The journey of the Israelites is traced through the mountains of the Sinai Desert and ends near the Dead Sea. Some narrative-based elements of the route are depicted, such as the crossing of the Red Sea in the bottom left corner: the people of Israel cross the water between high walls of waves while being pursued by the Egyptian army. By retracing the route displayed, reader-viewers could immerse themselves in the chain of events in this journey of the Israelites. As a contextualising, visualising aid the map invites readers to not only chart the route, but also to mentally participate in the experiences of the people of Israel. Rather than necessarily providing a precise geographic representation of the Holy Land, the map functions as a reading aid to allow readers to thoroughly

engage with the biblical text.[80] Reading the map becomes an interpretative act, connected inherently to the narrative of the Exodus.[81] The functionality of the map lies in the hands of the reader, both with regard to their ability to interpret and use the geographical depictions but also, not least, in a quite literal sense: the size of the map results in it being folded and needing a reader to physically open it.[82]

The inclusion of the map in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles relates to the growing interest in sacred geography throughout the sixteenth century. Biblical maps were provided to facilitate – and satisfy the wish for – a scholarly, literal reading of the Bible, one in which readers could gain insight in the geographic and historic backgrounds of the text.[83] Furthermore, the reading behaviour that the Exodus map enables connects to the practices and insights displayed in other paratextual elements, in particular the chronographical and 'multilingual' marginalia and the schematic, technical *Postilla* woodcuts. These paratexts together create a book which becomes, in a way, an encyclopaedia of biblical, historical, and geographical knowledge through which the reader may navigate.

4 Table of Contents

Whereas paratextual elements such as marginalia, chapter headings, and illustrations impact readers' movements across the page, other elements are primarily concerned with directing and facilitating readers' navigation through the book in its entirety. This is the case for the various tables and registers

80 On this map and its functions, see also: Den Hollander 2019, 147; Clifton and Melion, *Scripture for the Eyes*, p. 42; Morley Ingram, 'Maps as Readers' Aids', p. 30; Smith and Ingram 1991, 25–26.

81 See also: Shalev, 'Early Modern Geographia Sacra', p. 197. On maps as exegetical tools, see: Pauline Moffitt Watts, 'The European Religious Worldview and its Influence on Mapping', in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography, volume three: Cartopgraphy in the European Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 382–400, p. 387.

82 With regard to the involvement of readers in unfolding book parts, see: Suzanne Karr Schmidt, *Interactive and Sculptural Printmaking in the Renaissance* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), pp. 56–81.

83 See also: Den Hollander 2019, 147. On the emerging interests in biblical geography and 'biblical antiquarianism', see: Peter N. Miller, 'The "Antiquarianization" of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–57)', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 62:3 (2001), pp. 463–482; Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011); Shalev, 'Early Modern Geographia Sacra'; Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, pp. 285–290.

that Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch included in their Bibles. Firstly, in several of their editions, tables of contents are provided, usually placed between the Old and New Testaments or at the end of the work.[84] These tables direct and enable readers in their browsing through the library of the Bible by allowing them to grasp the sequential order of the various elements.[85] Furthermore, as discussed by Ann Blair, such devices might have supported readers in lightening their feelings of information overload.[86] Tables of contents became popular around the thirteenth century, when an increasing number of major works opened or closed with a *tituli* list, listing all important headings in the work in order of appearance. In the words of the twelfth-century chronicler Godfrey of Viterbo, a list of contents could '[guide] to the desired port readers rowing through the seas' of a work.[87] As with many paratextual developments, the practice of listing the contents of the book was adopted by, and extended in, printed book culture.

4.1 *The Sequence of Bible Books*

Most complete Bible editions by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch, as well as several New Testaments by Liesvelt, contain lists of the Bible books of the New Testament.[88] In the complete Bibles, this overview is positioned at the beginning of the New Testament, alongside Matthew 1. In some cases, the overview merely lists the names of the books, from Matthew to Revelation, in other Bibles the overview is enhanced with information on the number of chapters per book.[89] For instance, in the 1532 Bible, the table of contents is titled: 'These

84 With regard to the positioning of tables of contents at the beginning or end of the book, temporal expectations and differences, as well as genre and language conventions, come into play. In modern books, tables of contents are usually part of the book's front matter. See: Sherman, 'The Beginning', p. 66; Joseph A. Howley, 'Tables of Contents', in Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (eds.), *Book Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 65–80, p. 68.

85 See: Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 135; Howley, 'Tables of Contents', p. 76.

86 See: Blair, 'Reading Strategies'; Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 117.

87 As quoted in Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 135. Contrary to modern tables of contents, these lists (and printed lists of contents from the early modern period) did not necessarily provide page or folio numbers. Their functionality hence depended largely on the fact that their structure reflected the sequential order of the text.

88 From the complete Bible editions, only Liesvelt's two editions of 1542 lack a table of contents. Lists of contents are more rare in New Testaments. They are included only in Liesvelt's New Testaments of 1534, 1541, and 1544b.

89 Liesvelt's complete Bible of 1526 and both Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bibles only list the names of the books. In the complete Bibles of Jacob van Liesvelt of 1532, 1534, 1535, and 1538, the list of Bible books is supplemented with the number of chapters per book.

are the books of the New Testament and for each how many chapter that it has.'[90] Following this caption, the list mentions the title of the Bible book and its number of chapters: 'St. Matthew Gospel has 28 chapters / St. Mark Gospel has 16 chapters …', et cetera.[91]

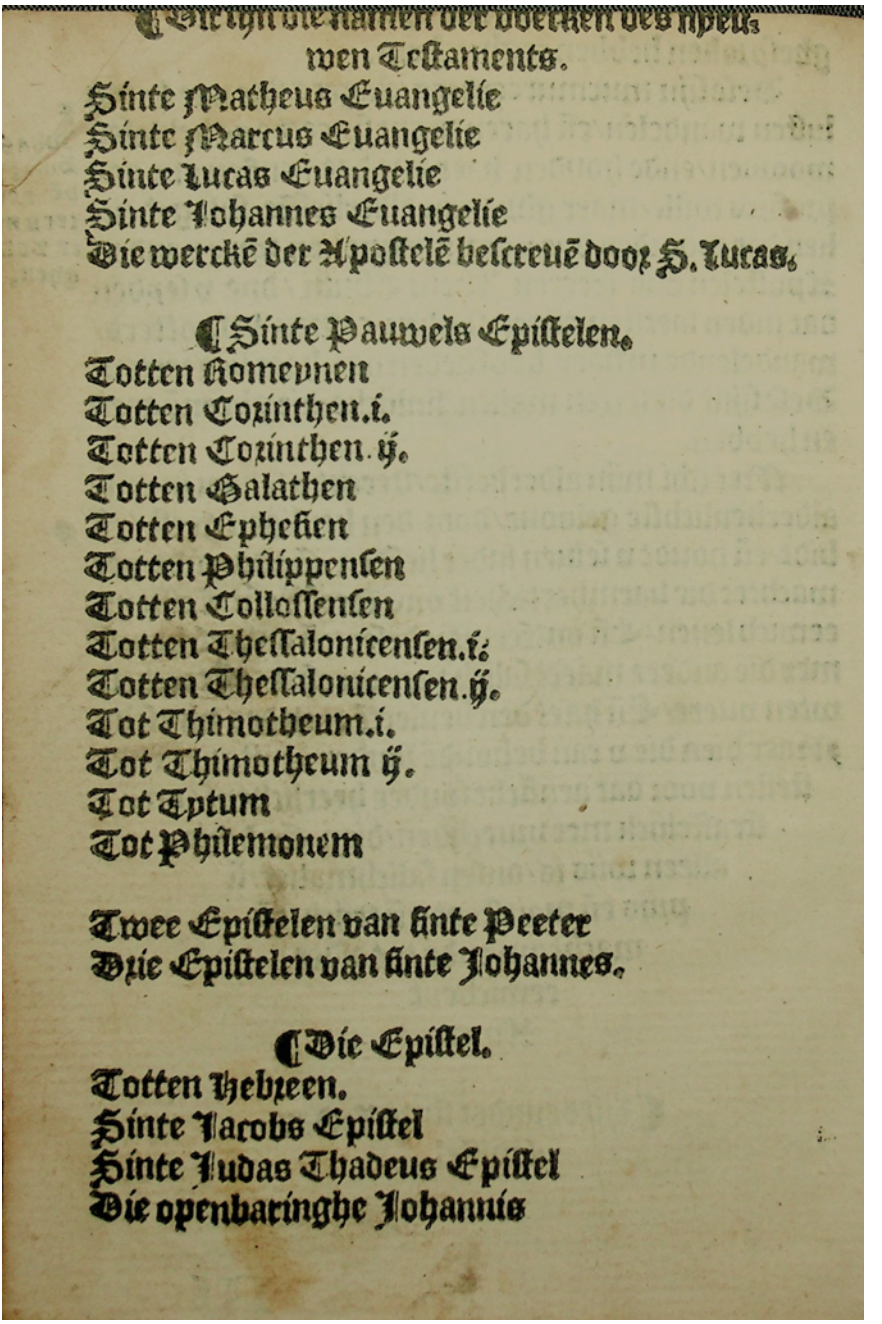
The order in which the Bible books appear, and thus how they are usually arranged in the tables of contents, is not confessionally neutral. In his 1522 New Testament, Martin Luther placed the Bible books of Hebrews, the Epistle of James, the Epistle of Jude, and Revelations at the end of his edition, in order to emphasise their disputed character. Jacob van Liesvelt followed the order presented by Luther in his complete Bibles of 1526 and 1542, as well as in his New Testaments. This fact is stressed particularly in the tables of contents in Liesvelt's New Testaments of 1541 and 1544b, where, similarly to the way the contents are presented in Luther's New Testament edition of 1522, the four disputed Bible books are placed underneath a blank line that separates them from the Epistles mentioned above (fig. 27).

In Liesvelt's complete Bibles of 1532, 1534, 1535, and 1538, the book of Hebrews is located earlier in the book, between the Epistle to Philemon and the two Epistles of Peter. Nevertheless, contrary to the Vulgate order, the book of James remains at the end of the Bible. The traditional sequence is, however, followed by Peetersen van Middelburch in his New Testament editions. In these editions, the letters of St. Paul are concluded with the Epistles to the Hebrews, upon which the apostolic letters of John, James, and Jude follow. The New Testament closes with the book of Revelations.

Intriguingly, in the case of Peetersen van Middelburch's 1535 and 1541 complete Bibles, the table of contents is not entirely in agreement with the order in which the Bible books are actually placed. In both tables of contents, it is stated that the last four books are the Epistles of John, the Epistle of James, the Epistle of Jude, and Revelations. In the Bible of 1535, however, the last books in the edition are Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelations, thus following the Lutheran order that was also used by Liesvelt. The 1541 Bible follows the Vulgate order, in which both Hebrews and the Epistle of James are placed in their canonical order. The inconsistency between the table of contents and the actual order of the Bible books illustrates the eclectic, sometimes irregular, confessional colour of these Bibles. Furthermore, it displays how paratextual

90 JvL CB 1532, table of contents: *Dit zijn die boecken des nieuwen Testmanets ende elck hoe vele Capittelen dattet heeft.*

91 JvL CB 1532, table of contents: *Sinte Mattheus Euangelium heeft .xxviii. capittelen / Sinte Marcus Euangelium heeft .xvi. capittelen.*


Hier nae volgen die namen der boecken des nyeu-
wen Testaments.
Sinte Matheus Euangelie
Sinte Marcus Euangelie
Sinte Lucas Euangelie
Sinte Johannes Euangelie
Die werckē der Apostelē beschreuē door H. Lucas.

Sinte Pauwels Epistelen.
Totten Romeynen
Totten Corinthen.i.
Totten Corinthen.ij.
Totten Galathen
Totten Ephesien
Totten Philippensen
Totten Collossensen
Totten Thessalonicensen.i.
Totten Thessalonicensen.ij.
Tot Thimotheum.i.
Tot Thimotheum ij.
Tot Tytum
Tot Philemonem

Twee Epistelen van sinte Peeter
Drie Epistelen van sinte Johannes.

Die Epistel.
Totten Hebreen.
Sinte Jacobs Epistel
Sinte Judas Thadeus Epistel
Die openbaringhe Johannis

FIGURE 27 List of contents in Jacob van Liesvelt's New Testament of 1541. University of Groningen Library, A g 82

elements were sometimes simply copied from one edition to another, without paying careful attention to the implementability of these elements.

In Liesvelt's New Testaments of 1534, 1541, and 1544b, the table of contents is positioned just before the beginning of the Book of Revelation. Hence, contrary to the complete Bible editions, the table of contents is placed here *after* the majority of the books it describes. Through its placement, the table of contents creates a clear distinction between the Gospels and Epistles on one side, and the Book of Revelations on the other. This distinction likely relates to the disputed character of Revelations, about which Luther wrote in his prologue to the Bible book in his New Testament of 1522: 'I say what I feel: to me, there are several things missing from this book, which I therefore do not consider apostolic nor prophetic.'[92]

4.2 *Enabling Movement and Creating Structural Understanding*

Similarly to paratextual elements such as the running titles and summaries, content lists shape reading possibilities that can be non-linear and 'creative', i.e. they allow readers to start and stop reading at any place in the book, in accordance with their preferences. Rather than following a prescribed reading schedule, the content list could aid readers in developing their own, perhaps even spontaneous, course of action whilst browsing through the book. Interestingly, although the table of contents describes, in a way, the fixed sequential order of texts, it simultaneously and inherently facilitates the freedom of a reader to create their *own* path through the book, by doing so 'undermining' the fixity of the text.[93]

As mentioned, some of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles include the number of chapters in each Bible book in their tables of contents. This addition demonstrates that the table of contents connects to other paratextual elements, in particular the running titles and chapter headings. The combination of these elements would help readers to be aware of *where* they were within the book and if they, for instance, were approaching the conclusion of a Bible book when they flipped through the pages.[94]

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92 *Ich sage was ich fule: myr mangellt an disem buch nit eynerley, das ichs wider Apostolisch noch prophetisch hallte. Septembertestament* Martin Luther, 1522 (https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/luther_septembertestament_1522?p=395, consulted on 13-04-2021). WA, *DB* 8:10. Translation: mine.

93 On this paradox, see also: Howley, 'Tables of Contents', pp. 76–79.

94 The relevance of this information is stressed by the hand-added addition of the number of chapters by a reader in Liesvelt's New Testament of 1544b (Leiden, ULL, Sem.Rem.848). Apparently, the mere list of book titles was not sufficient for this reader.

Strikingly, Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles do not contain any table of contents for the Old Testament. Although other navigational aids, such as intertitles and lay out related devices, are presented consistently throughout the book, it seems that listing the contents of the Old Testament was not considered profitable. This might relate to the fact that the Old and New Testaments were valued and understood considerably differently within early modern Christianity. The Old Testament's importance lay for a large part in its prophesising and typological connection to the New Testament, whereas the New Testament actually testified to, and textually represented, Christ Himself.

5 Liturgical Reading Aids

Whereas many paratextual elements occur only in part of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, a certain navigational device proves to be omnipresent across all editions: the liturgical reading schedule. This schedule features references to the biblical readings (lessons, pericopes) for Sundays and feast days, as well as important saints' days. Contrary to lectionaries, which provide readers with the full text of the readings in liturgical order, these schedules were used in inherent conjunction with the biblical text itself.

From the sixth century onwards, every Mass was supposed to include at least two lectures: an Epistle reading, usually derived from the Epistles but sometimes also from Acts, Revelations, or the Old Testament, and a Gospel reading, taken from one of the four Gospels.[95] Previous studies on the inclusion of liturgical reading schedules in biblical manuscripts and early printed books have shown that it was common for both Latin and vernacular Bibles to present their readers with a liturgical reading schedule.[96] These schedules

95 See: Peikola, 'Tables of Lections', p. 325; Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 85. On certain important liturgical days, one or more readings from the Old Testament could be added to these two.

96 Furthermore, editions of the Epistles and Gospels were as a rule constructed in such way that they could function as a lectionary, hence facilitating readers to follow the prescribed pericopes in the correct order. As has been noted by Folkerts, the popularity of the Epistles and Gospels surpassed the line between the Middle Ages and the early modern period. She argues that the liturgical or 'paraliturgical' reading of the Bible was more continuous than is often assumed in studies focussing primarily on complete Bible-reading. Folkert's study of the popular Epistles and Gospels editions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century proves that the interest in liturgically functional Bible editions remained pressing into the sixteenth-century, even within Protestant circles. According to Folkerts and

remained relatively constant over several centuries in content and form from the thirteenth century onwards.[97]

The addition of a liturgical reading schedule would allow for the appropriation of the book in liturgical and paraliturgical contexts. Although it has been argued that vernacular Bibles might have been used for reading along in Mass, in addition to the liturgical recitation in Latin, most scholars stress the use of these Bibles and their liturgical reading schedules for private study or devotion, or as a form of 're-enacting' the collective ritual of Bible reading.[98]

5.1 *'Table to Find the Epistles and Gospels' and Liturgical References*

The liturgical reading schedule in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, usually located at the end of the book, consists of two parts. The first provides the Epistle and Gospel readings for all liturgical days throughout the year, from the first Sunday of Advent until the Friday following the 25th Sunday after Trinity (fig. 28).

As the heading of the schedule announces: 'Here starts the table to find the Epistles and Gospels as these are kept within the church throughout the entire year.'[99] The schedules generally list the pericopes for the Sundays, feast days, Wednesdays, Fridays, and some Saturdays. In the period of Lent, the readings for every day of the week are included. After this first part, a second presents 'the Epistles and Gospels of the saints that are kept throughout the year on saints days,' starting with St. Andrew's day (30 November, at the beginning of Advent) and concluding with St. Catherine's day (25 November).[100] François already noted that this liturgical schedule, including its readings for saints' days, is practically identical in the various Bibles across the confessional spectrum.[101] All Bible editions issued by Liesvelt and Peetersen van

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Oostindiër, it is precisely the continuity of liturgical reading devices that created the lack of attention for this element in many studies on early modern Bibles. The focus has primarily been on new elements in the Bibles, such as Lutheran text interpretations and new forms of paratext. See: Folkerts, 'The Cloister or the City?', p. 184; Folkerts, 'Middle Dutch Epistles and Gospels', p. 53; Folkerts and Oostindiër, 'New Bibles and Old Reading Habits', pp. 176–177.

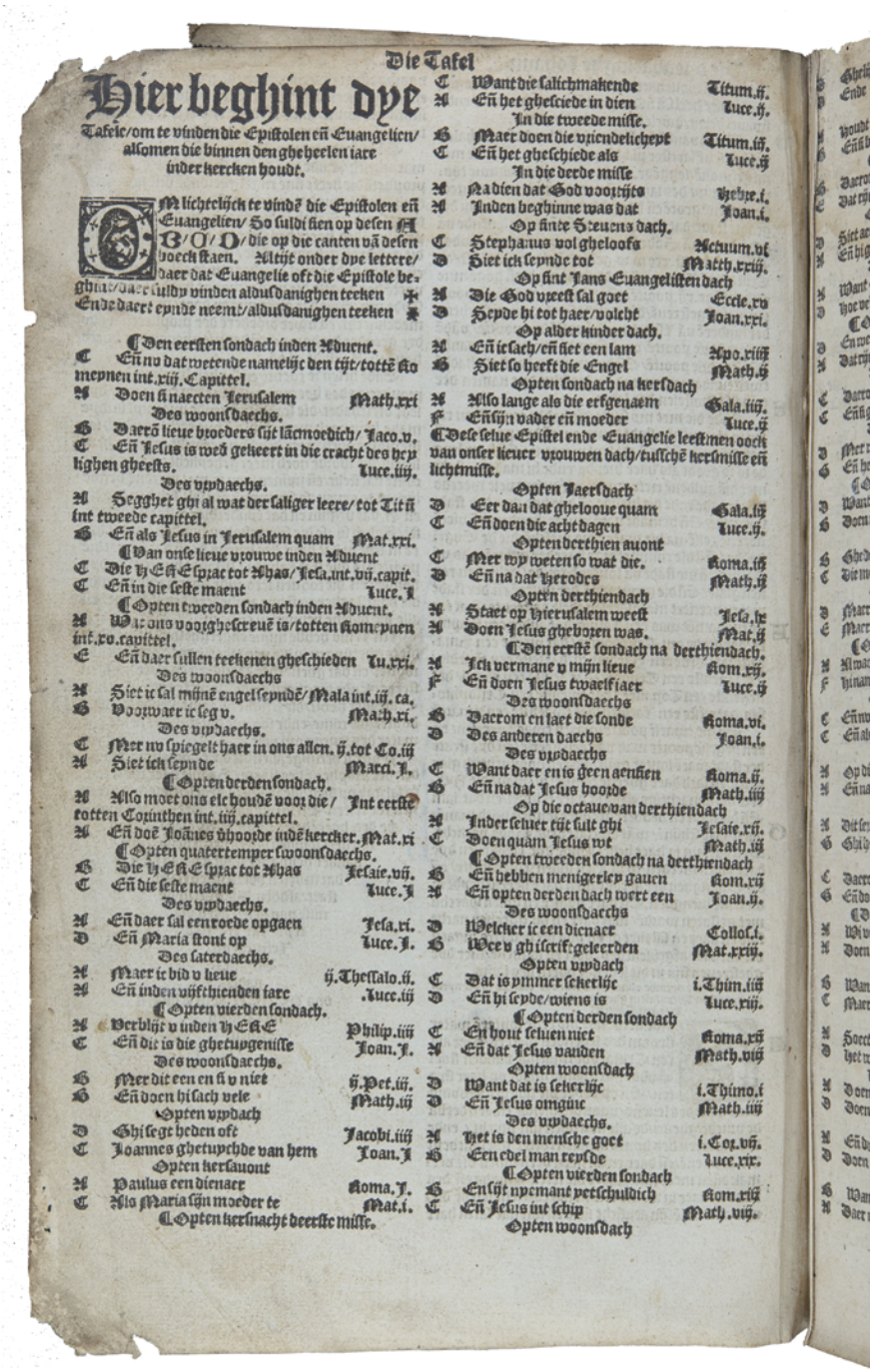
97 See: Peikola, 'Tables of Lections', p. 361; Folkerts, 'The Cloister or the City?', pp. 184–186; Manuwald, 'How to Read', p. 69.

98 See: Peikola, 'Tables of Lections', pp. 368–369.

99 JvL CB 1542a, liturgical reading schedule (heading): *Hier beghint dye Tafele / om te vinden die Epistolen ende Euangelien / alsomen die binnen den gheheelen iare inder kercken houdt.*

100 JvL CB 1542a, liturgical reading schedule on saints' days (heading): *die Epistelen ende Euangelien vanden heylighen die men binnen den iare op die heylighe daghen houdt.*

101 François, *Bijbelvertalingen in de Lage Landen*, pp. 263–264. See also: François and Corbellini, 'Shaping Religious Reading Cultures', p. 148. In Peetersen van Middelburch's



Die Tafel

Hier beghint dye

Tafele/om te vinden die Epistolen eñ Euangelien/ allomen die binnen den ghe heelen iare onder hercken houdt.

OMlichtelijck te vindē die Epistolen eñ Euangelien/ So suldi sien op delen A B C D/ die op die canten nā desen woerden staen. Altijt onder dye lettere/ daer dat Euangelie ofte die Epistole beghint/ daer suldy vinden alduse danighen teeken ✝ Ende daer eynde neemt/ alduse danighen teeken ✝

Den eersten sondach inden Aduent.
Eñ nu dat wetende namelijc den tijt/ totte sto meynen int.xiij. Capittel.
Doen ñ naecten Ierusalem Math.xxi
Des woonsdaechs.
Daerō lieue broeders sijt lācmoedich/ Jaco.v.
Eñ Jesus is weē geheert in die cracht des hey lighen gheests. Luce.iiij.
Des vrydaechs.
Hegghet ghi al wat der caliger leere/ tot Tit ñ int tweede capittel.
Eñ als Jesus in Ierusalem quam Mat.xxi.
Van onse lieue vrouwe inden Aduent
Die hy Eñ Espiac tot Achas/ Iesa.int.vij.capit.
Eñ in die seste maent Luce.I
Opten tweeden sondach inden Aduent.
Wat ons voorgheschreuē is/ totten Romeynen int.xv.capittel.
Eñ daer sullen teekenen gheschieden Lu.xxi.
Des woonsdaechs
Siet ic sal mijnē engel sepndē/ Mala int.iij. ca.
Voorwaer ic leg v. Math.xi.
Des vrydaechs.
Mer nu spiegelt haer in ons allen. ij. tot Co.iij
Siet ich sepnde Marci.I.
Opten derden sondach.
Also moet ons elc houdē voor die/ Int eerste totten Corinthen int.iiij.capittel.
Eñ doe Joānes vhoorde indē hercker. Mat.xi
Opten quatertemper swoonsdaechs.
Die hy Eñ Espiac tot Achas Iesaie.vij.
Eñ die seste maent Luce.I
Des vrydaechs.
Eñ daer sal een roede opgaen Iesa.xi.
Eñ Maria stont op Luce.I.
Des saterdaechs.
Maer ic bid v lieue ij.Thessalo.ij.
Eñ inden vijfthienden iare .Luce.iij
Opten vierden sondach.
Verblijt v inden hy Eñ E Philip.iiij
Eñ dit is die ghetuygenisse Joan.I.
Des woonsdaechs.
Mer dit een en ſ v niet ij.Pet.iij.
Eñ doen hi lach vele Math.iij
Opten vrydach
Ghi segt heden oft Jacobi.iiij
Joannes ghetuychde van hem Joan.I
Opten terlauont
Paulus een dienaer Roma.I.
Alo Maria sijn moeder te Mat.i.
Opten terlnacht deerste misse.
Want die salichmakende Titum.ij.
Eñ het ghesciede in dien Luce.ij.
In die tweede misse.
Maer doen die vriendelicheyt Titum.iij.
Eñ het ghe schiede als Luce.ij
In die derde misse
Na dien dat God voortijts Hebre.i.
Inden beghinne was dat Joan.i.
Op sinte Steuens dach.
Stephanus vol gheloofs Actuum.vi
Siet ich sepnde tot Matth.xxiij.
Op sint Jans Euangelisten dach
Die God vreest sal goet Eccle.xv
Hepde hi tot haer/ voleht Joan.xxi.
Op alder kinder dach.
Eñ ic sach/ eñ siet een lam Apo.xiiij
Siet so vreest die Engel Math.ij
Opten sondach na kerstdach
Also lange als die erfgenaem Gala.iiij.
Eñ sijn vader eñ moeder Luce.ij
Dese selue Epistel ende Euangelie leestmen ooch van onser lieuer vrouwen dach/ tusschē kerstmisse eñ lichtmisse.
Opten Jaerdach
Eer dan dat gheloone quam Gala.iij
Eñ doen die acht dagen Luce.ij.
Opten derthien auont
Mer wy weten so wat die. Roma.iij
Eñ na dat Herodes Math.ij
Opten derthiendach
Staet op Hierusalem weest Iesa.lx
Doen Jesus ghebozen was. Mat.ij
Den eerste sondach na derthiendach.
Ich vermane v mijn lieue Rom.xij.
Eñ doen Jesus twaelf iaer Luce.ij
Des woonsdaechs
Daerom en laet die sonde Roma.vi.
Des anderen daechs Joan.i.
Des vrydaechs
Want daer en is geen aensien Roma.ij.
Eñ na dat Jesus hoorde Math.iiij
Op die octauc van derthiendach
Inder selver tijt sult ghi Iesaie.xij.
Doen quam Jesus we Math.iij
Opten tweeden sondach na derthiendach
Eñ hebben menigerley gauen Rom.xij
Eñ opten derden dach wert een Joan.ij.
Des woonsdaechs
Welcher ic een dienaer Collos.i.
Wee v ghi clerike geleerden Mat.xxiij.
Opten vrydach
Dat is ymmer scherlijc i.Thim.iiij
Eñ hi seyde/ wiens is Luce.xiij.
Opten derden sondach
Eñ hout selven niet Roma.xij
Eñ dat Jesus vanden Math.viij
Opten woonsdach
Want dat is scherlijc i.Thimo.i
Eñ Jesus omgīc Math.iiij
Des vrydaechs.
Het is den menschē goet i.Cor.vij.
Een edel man reysde Luce.xix.
Opten vierden sondach
En lijt nyemant verschuldich Rom.xiij
Eñ Jesus int schip Math.viij.
Opten woonsdach

FIGURE 28 Opening of the liturgical reading schedule in Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition (a) of 1542. Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1542 A

Middelburch provide a reading schedule that follows the missal of Cambrai, the diocese to which Antwerp belonged.

The entries in the liturgical reading schedule mention the specific day and at least two references: the first to the Epistle reading, the second to the Gospel reading. The references consist of the incipit of the reading and the Bible book and chapter from which the lesson is taken on the right, and the accompanying finding letter of the pericope at the left. A short introduction to the schedule explains how the system is supposed to be used:

> In order to easily find the Epistles and Gospels, look at the A, B, C, D that are placed in the margins of this book. You will always find, underneath that letter where the Gospel or Epistle starts, this sign +, and where it ends, this sign *.[102]

Although the way in which this table was designed goes back to manuscript traditions, the printer-publisher apparently assumed it to be appropriate to include this explanation at the beginning of the reading schedule.[103]

The New Testament editions of Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch contain identical liturgical reading schedules. In order to enable readers to effectively use the navigational device, the New Testament editions also provide the full texts of the lessons taken from the Old Testament. References to these Old Testament readings are included in the liturgical reading schedule at the end of the book and short notes, placed in the margins at the beginning of each Old Testamentic reading, announce the day for which the pericope was destined. For instance, the first Old Testament text included in the New Testament editions is taken from Isaiah 7 and serves as 'the Epistle on

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complete Bible of 1541, the entry 'Of Our Sweet Lady in the Advent' (*Van onse lieue vrouwe inden Advent*) is missing. However, this seems to be a mistake, rather than a confessional or otherwise intentional change of the reading schedule.

102 JvL CB 1542a, liturgical reading schedule (introduction): *Om lichtelijck te vinden die Epistolen ende Euangelien / So suldi sien op desen A B / C/ D/ die op die canten van desen boeck staen. Altijt onder dye lettere / daer dat Euangelie oft die Epistolen beghint / daer suldy vinden aldusdanighen teeken + Ende daert eynde neemt / aldusdanighen teeken **.

103 Peikola describes the structure of the liturgical table in late medieval Wycliffite Bibles as follows: 'The reader of the manuscript, intent on finding the lection for a particular liturgical occasion, would first consult the table to learn the book, chapter, referential letter, and incipit for a given lection. Upon turning to the book and chapter specified in the table, the reader would look for the same letter in the manuscript margin to see where the lection begins. The incipit given in the table guides him or her to the exact opening words' (Peikola, 'Tables of Lections', p. 358). This structure is very similar to those of the liturgical schedules in the Bibles here under scrutiny.

[the feast of] Mary's Conception' (8 December). Although Peikola has argued that this system, in which notes 'spell out the liturgical occasion … either as part of the scriptural text or in the margin at the beginning of each pericope' was becoming outdated by the end of the Middle Ages, both liturgical aids remained to be used in all Liesvelt's and Peetersen's New Testaments.[104]

5.2 *Facilitating Paraliturgical Use*

The liturgical reading schedule is a powerful tool that could direct and support readers' navigational enterprise. When a reader combined the liturgical reading schedule with other paratextual and textual elements of the book, the Bible could become a fully self-contained lectionary, providing both the searching tools as well as the actual content of the readings. By appropriating the book in the facilitated liturgical manner, an individual reader would have been able to read in the vernacular what was read or sung in Latin at Mass. They could choose to read the biblical passages before, while, or after the service they attended. Furthermore, readers could use the liturgical texts in private devotional or meditational reading practices. Presented as coherent textual entities, the readings could serve as useful entries for contemplation and rumination of Christ's life and the mysteries of the faith.

The reading practice that is facilitated by the liturgical reading schedule is an outspokenly discontinuous one. The continuity of liturgical and paraliturgical reading relies upon the structure of the religious year, rather than on reading the Bible as a linear narrative. In other words, contrary to resulting from the order of the book, the liturgical reading schedule reacts to the wish to accommodate a certain discontinuous reading practice. Moreover, the presence of reading schedules in *all* Bibles studied here underlines Stallybrass' argument that neither discontinuous nor continuous Bible reading was strictly confessionally coloured.[105] Both Liesvelt's Luther-based Bibles as well as Peetersen van Middelburch's Vorsterman-based, catholicising Bible of 1541 contain the same liturgical reading schedules.

Nevertheless, it is crucial to note that although the presence of reading schedules and related liturgical paratextual elements would have enabled and likely also stimulated discontinuous reading, it did not *rule out* continuous reading. Contrary to, for instance, editions that presented the Epistles and

104 Peikola, 'Tables of Lections', pp. 360–361. The fact that such notes, that refer to the liturgical occasion for which a Bible section was prescribed, were also included in handwriting by book users, gives testimony to the continuous character of this practice. See section 5.2.

105 Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls', pp. 48–50.

Gospels in liturgical order, which were in high demand at the end of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century, the complete Bibles and New Testament editions could still be read in a non-liturgical, linear manner.[106] Hence, rather than understanding the presence of liturgical reading schedules as a determining feature for (para)liturgical use, it can be considered one of the possible navigational reading systems the book allowed and enabled. In the end, it was up to the reader to decide whether or not to use the reading schedule and trace the liturgical route it facilitated.

6 Topical Register

In addition to the table of contents and the liturgical reading schedule, several complete Bible editions by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch contain a third 'table' to aid readers' movements through the book.[107] Whereas the liturgical reading schedule provided readers with a predetermined and relatively solidified prescription of navigational routes through the book, the index-like topical register would allow readers to personally create their own directions through various thematical entries within the register. The reader-oriented register consists of a list of alphabetically ordered topics that might spark a reader's interest.

The topical register was first introduced in a Dutch complete Bible published by Willem Vorsterman in his 1533–1534. A similar list of alphabetically ordered topics, persons, and events had been printed before in the German Zurich Bible of 1531, which possibly inspired Vorsterman's inclusion of the register, although the selection of topics, persona, and events differs substantially from that in the Zurich Bible.[108] The introduction of the topical register in these Bibles corresponds with the larger picture of an increasing interest and use of indexes in early modern books.[109] Furthermore, the topical registers in early

106 The Universal Short Title Catalogue lists 67 editions of Dutch Epistles and Gospels (*Epistelen ende Euangelien*) between 1474 and 1650, of which about half were printed in Antwerp. Epistle and Gospel editions were the most common type of printed Bibles between 1477 and 1522. See also: Folkerts and Oostindiër, 'New Bibles and Old Reading Habits', p. 185.

107 Contrary to the liturgical reading schedule, this navigational tool is reserved exclusively for the complete Bible editions and does not appear in the New Testament editions. This likely relates to the studious character of this device.

108 See also: François and Corbellini, 'Shaping Religious Reading Cultures', p. 178.

109 See: Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 141. See also: Dennis Duncan, 'Indexes', in Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (eds.), *Book Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 266–270. On the history and functionality of indexes, see in particular: Duncan, *Index*.

modern Dutch Bibles relate to the genre of biblical concordances. Developed around the thirteenth century and later printed in both Latin and the vernacular, these concordances provided extensive, alphabetically organised lists of words or phrases found in the Bible and their location within the book, which allowed theologians or clerics to meticulously study the Scriptures.[110] The 'table to easily find the pivotal parts' in Dutch Bibles from the first half of the sixteenth century opens up this approach to the biblical text for any of their readers.

6.1 *A 'Table to Easily Find the Pivotal Parts'*

After Vorsterman's inclusion of a topical register in his Bible of 1533–1534, the example was eagerly followed by Liesvelt in his complete Bible of 1534 and subsequent editions (fig. 29).

Liesvelt adopted various entries from Vorsterman's register, as well as adding his own. Peetersen van Middelburch, then, responded to these developments by copying Liesvelt's and Vorsterman's registers in his complete Bible editions. The topical registers consist of a list of biblical persons, events, facts, and concepts. Each entry is accompanied by one or more references to the corresponding place in the Bible. The reference system corresponds with the one used in the liturgical reading schedule: an abbreviated name of the Bible book, chapter number, and finding letter guide readers to the exact place of the item they are looking for.

Liesvelt not only adjusted the selection of persons, events, facts, and concepts, but also adapted the structure of the list. Whereas Vorsterman's register consists of one alphabetical list containing references to both the Old and the New Testament, Liesvelt divided his register into two sections. The first part could be used to find 'the pivotal parts of the Old Testament', and 'after that, one finds a table on the New Testament.'[111] Each part is structured alphabetically, but underneath each letter in the register for the Old Testament the list of persons and concepts follows the chronology of their appearance in the Bible books. Hence, in Liesvelt's version, references to Adam appear before those about Abraham, because Adam is mentioned earlier in Genesis. In the New

110 Latin concordances were printed from the first decades of the printing press onwards. During the second half of the sixteenth century, Dutch concordances were published, particularly in the Northern Low Countries. Examples are, amongst others, *Een concordantie oft register der ganscher Bibel* by Willem Gailliart (Emden, 1559, USTC No. 415349) and *Den gantschen schat der heyliger Schriftueren, of bijbelsche concordantie* by Willem Silvius (Leiden, 1579, USTC No. 421845).

111 JvL CB 1535, topical register (heading): *In dese Tafel / Machmen lichtelic vinden die principael stucken des ouden Testaments. Daer na vintmen noch een Tafel des nieuwen Testaments.*

Tafele machmen lichtelic vinden die principael stucke des ouden Testaments. Daer na Tsintmē noch een Tafel des nieuwen Testaments.

Adam wort bi God gheschapē. Geñ. j. b.
Adā wort int paradijs gestelt. Geñ. ij. c.
Adā geeft elcke ghedierte sinē naē. Geñ. ij. d.
Adā eet vander verbodē vrucht. Geñ. iij. b
Adā scaet hem nader sonden. Geñ. iij b.
Adās cozrerie eñ last booz die sonde. Geñ. iij. d
Adam wert vten paradise gestoten. Geñ. iij. d
Abel wert bi Kaim sinē broeder gedoot. Geñ. iij. a b c
Abrā wert geboren/Abrā trout Sarai Geñ. ri. d
Abram gaet wt sijn lant booz Gods beuel Geñ. rij. a
Abram wert dat lant van Canaan beloost Genesis. rij. b. rij. d. rb. d. rbj. a.
Abrā seit wt dat Sarai sijn suster is Geñ. rij. c
Abrā verlost Loth van Cozdolahomoz. Geñ. rijj. c
Abrā geeft den priester Melchisedech tiēde. Geñ rijj. d
Abram wert Isaac beloost Geñ. rb. a
Abrā met cōsent brā sijñ wijf slaept bi sijñ maerte. geñ. rbi a
Agar bespot haer brouwe. Geñ. rbi. b
Agar vlieēde wert vtroost bādē Engel. Geñ rbi. a b c d
Abrā wert bā God gemoēt Abraham Geñ. rbij. a
Abrahā ontfanct drie Engelē eñ dieēte Geñ. rbiij. a. b
Abrahā gebiet al sijñ huisgesin God te dienē. geñ. rbiij. c
Abrahā bidt booz Sodoma eñ Gomoz.a. geñ. rbiij. c. d
Abrahā offert booz gehoozsaēhy sinē soō Isaac. ge. rcij. a
Abrahā beschermt Sarai sijn huysvrouwe. Geñ. rciij. a.
Abraham sterft. Geñ. rcb. b
Abstinentie van Moses Exo. riij. d
Aarōs eñ zijder sonē Ciragie. Exo. rcbiij. a. eñ. rcrir. a
Aarō maect dat guldē Calf Exo. rcrij. a
Aarons eñ sijnder sonen consecratie Leuiti. biij. a
Aarons sonen Nadab eñ Abihu werden van God ghedoot. Leuitici. biij
Aaron met sijn suster Mirjam murmureert teghen Mosen. Nu. rij. a. b
Amalech slaet Israel Nu. riij. d
Aarons roede wert bloeyende ende vrucht dzaghende. Nume. rbij. b
Abarim opten berch daer ghebiet God Mose te sterue Deutro. rcrij. g
Ai die stadt wert bespiet Josue. bij. a
Ai slaet. rcrbi. mannē van Israel Josu. bij. b
Achan wert gesteenicht Josue. bij. d
Ai wert vbrant eñ haer coninc gehangē. Josue. bij. d e f
Alor stadt wert bevochten Josue. ri. b
Accaron ende Ascalon worden van Judas ingheno-men. Judi. j. d
Adonibesech werden handen ende voeten afgheslagen Judi. j. a. b.
Astaroth ende Baalim werden van Israel gheeert. Judi. ij. b. c.
Moab verlost Israel wt den hāden Moab. Judi. iij. b
Abimelech wert van een vrouwe gedoot. Judi. ix g
Agag die coninc der Amalekiten i. Kegū. rb. b
Agag wert gedoot dan Samuel i. Kegū. rb. g
Achimelech priester geeft David heilich broot. i. Ke. rri a
Achimelech wert van Saul gedoot i. Kegū. rrij. c
Abigail wie dat si was i. Kegū. rrb. a
Abigail wert van David tot een huysvrouwe genomē i. Kegum. rrb. f
Abner delt hooftmā van Sauls heyt i. Kegū. rbi. c
Abner maert Isboleth coninc ij. Kegū. ij. b. c. d
Abner slaept bi den boel van Saul ij. Kegū. iij. b
Abner wert van Joab gedoot ij. Kegū. iij. e.
Abner wert van David begrepen ij. Kegū. iij. f
Absalon doot sinē broeder Ammon ij. Kegū. rij. c
Absalons schoonheyt ij. Kegū. rij. f
Absalon creet dat volck tot hem om conincrijck te worden ij. Kegum. rb. a
Absalon bellaept die boelen sijns baders ij. Ke. rbi. d
Achitophel was tegē David ij. Kegū. rb. b
Achitophel verhanct hē selven ij. Kegū. rbi. f.
Absalon hangēde aen den eycken boom/ wert bā Joab doorsteken. ij. Kegum. rbij. b. c
Absalōs doot wert beschreyt van David ij. Ke. rir. a
Abia regneert ouer Juda iij. Kegū. rb. d
Abia hopēde in God heeft victorie ij. Paral. biij. d
Abstinentie van Elias iij. Kegū. rir. d
Achab neēt Jesebel tot eenē wiue iij. Kegū. rbi. c. f. g
Achab hertūmert Jericho iij. Kegū. rbi. g
Achab wert gestraft van Elias iij. Kegū. rri. e. f
Achab doet penitentie iij. Kegum. rri. g
Achabs boosheyt iij. Kegū. rri. g
Achab haet den prophoet Micheas om dat hy hem dye waerheyt voorsept iij. Ke. rrij. b. ij. Parali. rbij. d
Achab nae dat woozt van Micheas wozt verslaghen iij. Kegum. rrij. c
Achabs bloet lecten die hondē iij. Kegū. rrij. f
Achabs sonē werden gedoot iiij. Kegū. r. c
Achab coninc ouer Juda offert sinen sone den afgoden. iij. Kegum. rbi. a
Achas wert gheboden een teecken van God te begheeren Jesaie. bij. a. b
Achas sterft iiij. Keg. rbi. d
Achioz wert van Holoferne dienaers aen eenen boom ghebonden Judith. bi. d
Adad wert van God verwect tegē Salomō. iij. Ke. ri. c
Adad Elar wert geslagen van David ij. Kegū. r. d.
Amon vercracht sijn suster Thamar ij. Kegū. riij. d
Amri sijn grote boosheyt iij. Kegū. rbi. f.
Amon wert van Absalōs dienaers gedoot. iij. re. rri. d
Athalia regneert ouer Juda iij. Keg. ri. s. b. c. ende. ij. Parali. rrij. c. rrij. c
Athias voorsept die doot bā Jeroboās sone. ij. re. riij. b
Amasias verslaet die Idumiten iij. Kegū. rriij. b. eñ. ij. Parali. rrb. d
Amasias wordt om sijnder afgoderien wille ghestraft ij. Parali. rrb. e
Assuerus hout maeltijt Ester. j. a
Assuerus verstoot Vasthi die coninginne Esther. i. c
Assuerus neemt Esther tot een coninginne. Esther. ij. a
Anthiochus macht eñ opwallen. Dane. bij. f. eñ. biij. f
Anthiochus wert gefigureert bi dē conine van Syrien
Anthiochus. Dane. ri. c. f
Andronicus doot Oniam dē priester ij. Macha. iij. e
Anna twijf van Helkana begeert van Gode eenen sone j. Kegum. i. b. c
Anthiochus Eupators gestē ook feyten ij. Macha. r. b
Anthiochus ontfanct na die doot van Alexander dat rijc

FIGURE 29 Topical register in Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1534. Antwerp, Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library, F 46902

Testament part of his register, Liesvelt does not continue with this system, and includes his references underneath each letter in a rather random, sometimes alphabetical order. Peetersen van Middelburch adopted Liesvelt's register in his Bible from 1535. In his 1541 Bible, however, which largely follows the text and paratext of Vorsterman's editions, the list is fully alphabetically ordered (so topics on Abraham appear before those on Adam) and references to the Old as well as to the New Testament are included within one register. The consistent alphabetical order of this version is emphasised in the heading of the register: 'A table to easily find and have within reach all parts, histories, facts, and materials that are described to us in the entire scripture, according to an A-B-C-arrangement.'[112]

The entries in the lists are diverse. Many simply present a certain biblical story or event, allowing readers to quickly find certain well-known passages. Examples include 'Goliath was defeated by David – 1 Kings 17, f-g' (in Peetersen's 1541 Bible) and 'Thomas doubts Christ's resurrection – John 20, f-g' (in Liesvelt's 1538 Bible).[113] In addition, the list enables readers to search for specific persons and find out where in the Bible they are mentioned. Examples are the two Elizabeths mentioned in the register in Peetersen's 1541 Bible: 'Elizabeth, wife of Aaron – Exodus 7, d; Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist – Luke 1, c–d–f.'[114] Other entries focus specifically on exceptional qualities of a certain person. For example, in Peetersen's Bible of 1541: 'Adam was 930 years old – Genesis 5, a.'[115] Some some entries are of a more theological character. Several items disclose typological or prophesising understandings of the connections between the Old and the New Testament. This is the case with entries such as 'Adam was a prefiguration of Christ – Romans 5, c' (in Peetersen's 1541 Bible) and 'Christ's birth was predicted, Isaiah 8, a' (in Liesvelt's 1535 Bible).[116] Other items concern a theological interpretation of the Scriptures, e.g. 'Life, truth, and the way is Christ – John 14, a' (in Peetersen's 1535 Bible).[117]

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112 HPvM CB 1541, topical register (heading): *Een Tafel om ghereedt te vindene ende by der handt te hebbene alle stucken / hystorien / feyten ende materien / die in gheheel die heylighe scriftuere ons beschreuen worden / nae die ordinancie van ABC.*

113 HPvM CB 1541, topical register: *Goliath wert verslaghen van David – i. Reg. xvij. f. g.* HvL CB 1538, topical register: *Thomas twijfelt Christum verresen – Joan. xx /f/ g.*

114 HPvM CB 1541, topical register: *Elizabeth huysurou van Aaron. Exo. vi. d. // Elizabeth / moeder van Johannes baptist. Luc. i. c/d/f.*

115 HPvM CB 1541, topical register: *Adam was oudt neghen hondert ende dertich iaer. Genesis .v. a.*

116 HPvM CB 1541, topical register: *Adam was een figuer van Christo Roma .v. c.* JvL CB 1535, topical register: *Christus geboorte wert voorseyt. Jesaie. viii. a.*

117 HPvM CB 1535, topical register: *Leuen waerheyt ende den wech is Christus. Joan. xiiii. a.*

It is in such entries that a certain confessional colour sometimes shines through. This is particularly the case with regard to various entries that concern 'grace' (*gratie*) or 'faith' (*ghelove*). For instance, in Peetersen's Bible of 1541: 'It is by the grace of Christ Jesus that we will be saved, and not by works – Ephesians 2, a-b – John 1, b – If not, grace would not be grace – Romans 9, a'.[118] This statement has a clear Reformation-minded character. However, slightly earlier, on the same page, another entry seems to contradict this statement: 'If faith has no works, it will be of no avail, but it is idle and dead – James 2, a.'[119] As François and Corbellini have emphasised, the theological principles presented in the topical registers are eclectic and broad-ranging within the confessional spectrum.[120] Whereas one might expect fewer Reformation-minded references in the topical register of the Vorsterman-based Peetersen van Middelburch Bible of 1541 than in his Liesvelt-based Bible of 1535, this does not appear to be the case. For instance, the reference that argues that one can only be saved by the grace of Christ and not by works, as mentioned before, does not appear in his Bible of 1535. Inversely, the catholicising reference 'faith without works is dead – James 2, a' is included only in Liesvelt's Bibles and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bible of 1535.[121]

In Liesvelt's complete Bibles and in Peetersen van Middelburch's Bible of 1535, the topical register is followed by another overview, listing the abbreviations used to refer to certain Bible books. The list is, according to the introductory phrases that accompany the list, intended 'for the simple reader who does not understand Latin, and who is not well-educated in the Holy Scripture.'[122] The list contains one or two abbreviations of the name of a Bible book, as well as its full name, for instance *Gen* and *Ge* for 'Genesis, or the book of the creation.'[123] The overview closes with an explanation of the more complex references to Bible books that consist of two or more parts, such as 1 and 2 Maccabees. The explanation clarifies that:

118 HPvM CB 1541, topical register: *Uut der gracien Christi Jesu werden wij salich / ende niet uut den wercken / Ephe. ij. a /b / Joan. i. b / Anders en waer gracie geen gracie / Roma. xi.a.*

119 HPvM CB 1541, topical register: *Gheloue heuet gheen wercken ten baet ons niet / maer is ydel ende doot / Jacob. ii. a.*

120 François and Corbellini, 'Shaping Religious Reading Cultures', p. 178.

121 HPvM CB 1535, topical register: *Geloue sonder wercken is doot. Jaco.ij.a.*

122 JvL CB 1542a, list of abbreviations (heading): *... voor den simpelen leser die gheen latijn en verstaet, noch oock inder heyligher scriften niet wel gheoffent en is.*

123 JvL CB 1542a, list of abbreviations: *Genesis, oft dat boeck der scheppinghen.*

> If there are two numbers placed with a name, one before and one after, then the first number before the name always refers to the book of that name, in the Old Testament, but the Epistle [of that name] in the New Testament. And the following number always [refers to] the chapters, both in the Old Testament and the New Testament. As you indeed find in the beforementioned Old Testament: 3 Kings 8, that is the third book of Kings, the 8th chapter. And in the New Testament as follows: 1 Corinthians 15, that is the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter.[124]

The list of abbreviations follows the order of the Bible books as they appear within the editions. However, the overview refers to the story of Bel and the dragon and that of Susanna and the elders as separate Bible books *after* 2 Maccabees. Within the Bible editions, however, these narratives are presented as the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Daniel, and placed between Solomon's Prayer and 1 Maccabees. Furthermore, both the list of abbreviations and the topical register use the title 'Paralipomenon' to refer to the Book of Chronicles, contrary to what is used in the intertitles within the Bible itself.

6.2 *Creative and Discontinuous Bible Reading*

The topical registers create opportunities for a distinctive form of discontinuous reading. In contrast to a non-linear reading practice that follows a prescribed order, the topical registers allow and *need* readers to creatively shape their own path through the book.[125] The alphabetical order in which the entries are listed is essentially arbitrary, creating an overview in which items that are not conceptually connected to each other are positioned side by side. This results in a system that depends on the searching manners and selection techniques of its readers for its functionality and efficiency. Their demands and interests inherently shape the routes they take, both within the topical register and once they enter the main Bible text. In Duncan's words, an index such as this 'is reader-oriented, rather than text-oriented: if you know what you're

124 JvL CB 1542a, list of abbreviations: *Als aen eenen naem twee ghetalen staen, deen voor ende dander achter, So beteekent deerste ghetal voor den name, altijt tboeck van dien name, int oude Testament, mer int nyeuwe Testament den Epistel, Ende het nauolgende getal altijt dye Capittelen, beyde int oude testament ende int nyeuwe, Ghelijck als ghi yewers wt dat oude Testament voortgehaelt aldus vint iij.Regum. viij. dat is int derde boeck der coningen int .viij. capittel, ende int nyeuwe Testament aldus. i.Corint. xv. Dat is inden eersten Epistel totten Corinthen int .xv. Capittel.*

125 See also: François and Corbellini, 'Shaping Religious Reading Cultures', pp. 179–180.

looking for, the letters of the alphabet provide a universal, text-independent system in which to look it up.'[126]

The variety of entries in the register serves diverse interests. Readers who would wish to read a certain well-known biblical story could easily find the part of their interest, whereas theologically interested readers could similarly search for references on specific prophecies or items that suited a certain confessional position. Moreover, through the diversity of entries, readers with various amounts of reading experience and levels of mastery of navigational techniques, might profit from the book's paratextual elements. This is also confirmed through the inclusion of the list of abbreviations, which even comes with some instructions for use, implying that at least certain readers might not be familiar with it. The overview of abbreviations and the navigational aid of the topical register would allow theologically learned as well as inexperienced readers to discontinuously move through the book.

A final note to be made regarding these topical registers is that, although alphabetical sequences are thematically random, the ordering of the register does result in combinations that are meaningful, simply because references around the same names or words are found in close proximity to each other. In other words, although in Peetersen's 1541 Bible, the side-by-side position of Dan, the son of Jacob, and the prophet Daniel may not be conceptually justified, the alphabetical order does *also* result in the fact that all nine references to Daniel are found together. Furthermore, the positioning of various references alongside creates an intertextual structure for readers to engage with and discover. When browsing through the many entries concerning David, for instance, they may start to recognise how both the Books of Kings and the Books of Chronicles are concerned with his life and deeds. In addition, the connections between several parts of the Bible are emphasised when multiple references are added to a single entry. The relation between the Gospels, for instance, is stressed in the entry 'Christ was born – Matthew 1, d – Luke 2, a – John 1, b' in the register in Peetersen van Middelburch's 1541 Bible.[127]

Moreover, the possibility of *unintentional* interpretative results should not be ruled out. Although two consecutively positioned entries may not relate to each other thematically, the fact that a reader could approach them simultaneously creates a virtual connectiveness. The proximity of content-wise unrelated topics creates a certain 'material intertextuality': 'an intertextuality based on physical rather than purely discursive proximity.'[128]

126 Duncan, 'Indexes', p. 265.

127 HPvM CB 1541, topical register: *Christus wert geboren / Math i d / Luc. ij a / Joan i. b.*

128 Knight, *Bound to Read*, p. 16.

Readers may get distracted, change their mind, follow another lead, or – perhaps unconsciously – be affected in some way by the many references they skipped by.[129]

7 Conclusion

In the words of Roger Chartier, paratexts in early modern books 'state and articulate a complex set of relations with power.'[130] They shape, influence, enable, stimulate, and serve potential readers in multiple ways and on interpretational, structural, navigational, and practical levels. As this chapter aimed to demonstrate, the paratexts in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles did not merely serve as thresholds to the contents of the text, but also as constructive, facilitating forces that enabled and structuralised reading practices. Although the arrangement of the complete Bibles by both printers inherently created the possibility for linear, continuous readings of the biblical text (starting with Genesis and concluding with Revelation), the paratextual elements that are situated alongside the text of the Bible prove to generate reading practices that are discontinuous and reader-oriented.[131]

The non-linear reading strategies that these paratexts imply and enable are variant. Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's editions – both their complete Bibles and New Testaments – provide readers with multiple devices to direct and structure liturgy-based reading practices. By integrating paratextual elements such as the liturgical reading schedule, the intertitles, and the finding letters, readers could approach the Bible edition as a (para)liturgical entity; as a flexible lectionary, available for daily use. In addition, navigational aids such as intertitles and finding letters could be connected to the references in the topical register, allowing readers to construct their own route through the book. The addition of this register to vernacular printed Bibles from 1533–1534 onwards is the greatest paratextual development within the corpus studied

129 To a certain extent, this possibility of this arbitrary connectiveness has been regulated by Liesvelt's choice to structure all entries in the Old Testament part of his register within a certain letter to the order of Bible books.

130 Roger Chartier, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), p. 138.

131 As has been stressed by Folkerts and Oostindiër, the concept of complete Bibles and complete New Testaments as such was not a new invention. These books had already been available in manuscript. The shift to liturgically ordered, printed and handwritten Bible editions such as Epistles and Gospels evolved around 1477. See: Folkerts and Oostindiër, 'New Bibles and Old Reading Habits', pp. 185–186.

here. However, it was indeed an *addition*: it opened up new reading possibilities without dismantling any reading practices that earlier editions facilitated. Furthermore, proper use of the topical register required techniques similar to those already used for liturgical reading schedules regarding picking a reference and locating a biblical passage accordingly. The inclusion of the topical register could hence effectively serve as a navigational aid because it relied on techniques and approaches with which early modern readers were already familiar.

The paratexts could thus allow an early modern user of the book to 'break up' the Scriptures; to approach them not as a static and linear entity, but as a dynamic space in which they could navigate according to the liturgical order or their personal preferences. Simultaneously, however, these very paratexts functioned as agents in creating and shaping intertextuality and connectiveness throughout the book. Cross-references and the topical register, for instance, would remind readers of the many and meaningful connections between various parts of the Bible. This interconnectivity not only shapes the outline of the movements readers could make, but also assigns meaning to these movements. Searching for interpretational, structural, thematical, and personal connections between different sections of the Bible in a discontinuous approach to the book was beneficial because it would ultimately allow readers to grasp the divine complexity and intricacy of God's Word.

The paratextual elements described in this chapter demand, structure, and enable a reader who is actively involved, one who fervently takes part in the dialogue between the book and the individual. Moreover, in order for reading schedules, intertitles, and marginalia to have an influential and operative voice themselves, these aids *depend* on readers who bring them into action. It is the reader through whom paratext is animated – even before the paratext could animate and influence the behaviour of the reader. For instance, the ability of the topical register to direct readers to a certain section of the biblical text would inevitably begin with a reader opening the register and, based on their personal preferences or previous reading experiences, determining which reference they wish to follow. Moreover, these references would be futile if not for the reader who would then actively need to combine the information provided in register with paratextual elements such as running titles, chapter headings, and finding letters. It is only because of and through these instances of active involvement of the reader that the register could possibly do that for which it was included by the printer-publishers: to direct those very readers and to help them navigate through the book. In other words: although the printer-publishers assigned meaning to their books, it would only be in the reader's involvement that this meaning could come to life.

The interconnected system of various paratextual aids in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles facilitated the reader to use the Bible as a self-contained, independent tool for studious, devotional, and liturgical reading. As readers returned time and time again to the Scriptures, the paratexts in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles created a system which allowed, in Howley's words, 'each route through the forking paths of reading [to be] unique not just to every reader, but to every act of reading.'[132] However, the question remains to what extent early modern readers indeed incorporated these paratextual structures into their practices and behaviour when they entered the book. Did they actively embrace the navigational and interpretational potentials fostered for them by the printer-publishers, or did they rather decide to ignore them? In the following sections, I will explore how the formative forces of these Bibles negotiated with the *transformative* forces of their self-willed readers.

132 Howley, 'Tables of Contents', p. 79.

PART 2

Transformative Practices: Readers' Responses, Adjustments, and Traces

∴

Introduction to Part 2

> All readers have power.
>
> CLAUDIA GUADALUPE MARTINEZ, *A Velocity of Being*[1]

Studying old books may sometimes feel like, in William Sherman's words, 'strolling through a deserted village or ghost town.'[2] In the margins and across brittle pages, the modern scholar encounters the dusty footprints of long-gone people. Their annotations, markings, and greasy fingerprints draw vague outlines of what was once a vibrant space of learning and enjoyment, of criticism and heated debate. Although they do not always present a coherent reflection of feelings and ideas, traces in old books show glimpses of the circumstances in which they moved. In this capacity, traces of use are not only a deserted village but a world of their own, providing a valuable way to come close to historic readers and the concerns, thoughts, associations, or perhaps flashes of boredom they encountered while reading the book.

Contrary to autobiographical works such as diaries or letters, readers' traces are not self-standing entities but are inherently intertwined with and dependent upon various elements of the book for their existence and meaning, including text, paratext, image, the space of the page, and material aspects of the book. Traces could spontaneously be left on the go, emerging from the reading practice or left by readers who, through annotations or adaptations, actively embraced their 'lectoral agency' – a concept coined by Slights to describe readers' ability to, similarly to publishers or editors, impact and transform the book's textual, paratextual, visual, and material contents.[3] Either way, the early modern book was an object which could be appropriated and transformed in the hands of its readers.

1 Claudia Guadalupe Martinez, 'Dear Reader', in Maria Popova and Claudia Bedrick (eds.), *A Velocity of Being: Letters to a Young Reader* (New York: Enchanted Lion Books, 2018), pp. 42–43, p. 42.

2 Sherman, 'The Social Life of Books', p. 164.

3 See: Slights, *Managing Readers*, pp. 89–93.

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The study of readers' traces allows for an insight into the considerations and movements of actual historic readers, and thus for a comparison between their behaviours and those stimulated by the formative paratextual programme in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles. The following three chapters will therefore explore reader-book interactions through the lens of the additions, adaptations, and traces that early modern Bible users left in their books. From a modern perspective, one might presume that the sacrality of a Bible would ensure that it remained predominantly untouched and unchanged, and that any readers' traces found would mainly concern theological, devotional, or meditational reflections.[4] However, this proves not to be the case. The readers of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles left a wide scope of traces and adjustments in their books, ranging from pressed flowers, rusty stains of objects, and children's drawings, to extensive genealogical annotations, prayers, struck-through words, and quick calculations. The extent of traces of reading and use in the surviving Bible copies points towards a use of the Bible that went beyond its function as a textual carrier, and also related to its physical qualities as a heavy object, provider of paper, and presenter of usable space. The wide margins, pastedowns, and flyleaves provided ample blank space for readers to leave their thoughts, concerns, and associations alongside the text, or to simply use the available paper for an unrelated note.[5] As 'waymarks' in processes of personalisation, the various traces that occupy the open space of the book make each Bible copy into a unique and distinctive object, one that reflects what happened when that very copy reached the hands of its users.

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4 See: Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. 72–73.

5 In addition, as was typical for early modern printed books, the paper used by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch for their Bibles was prepared by gelatine sizing – i.e. the impregnation of paper with a gelatine-like substance to prevent the paper from absorbing water-based ink – in order to create a writable surface. The paper that was used in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles was, in all probability, imported from abroad, as almost no paper was produced in the Low Countries before 1585. Paper was usually imported from North-Eastern France, and sometimes from Germany and Italy. Unfortunately, little is known about the purchases of paper by Dutch printers in the early sixteenth century. See: Gerard van Thienen, 'Papier (incl. productie, watermerken, papierhandel)', in Marieke van Delft en Clemens de Wolf (eds.), *Bibliopolis: Geschiedenis van het gedrukte boek in Nederland* (Zwolle/The Hague: Waanders Uitgeverij/Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2003), pp. 17–19, p. 18. As Joshua Calhoun argues, the fact that the paper was sized, and hence 'annotatable', should not be taken for granted: the paper had to be actively prepared for it, demanding an extra step in the creation of the book. See: Joshua Calhoun, *The Nature of the Page: Poetry, Papermaking, and the Ecology of Texts in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), pp. 100–126.

CHAPTER 4

The Life of the Book: an Overview of Traces, Readers, and Owners

As early modern Bible readers sometimes read with pen in hand, with greasy fingers, or with scissors and glue within reach, their interactions with the book could leave traces that can be detected in the surviving copies of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles. These traces, adjustments, eliminations, and additions, left purposely or by accident, preserve, in Acheson's words, the results of 'complex material, intellectual, emotional, and psychological interactions with the book.'[1] However, before diving into the traces that the surviving Bible copies bear, it is important to remember that 'actively' reading a book would not necessarily leave any (clearly identifiable) traces at all. In addition, not every trace of use is necessarily related to active reading; a dried flower between the pages points to a very different, rather material way of using the book. In consequence, an 'untraced' page is not necessarily unread, and a 'traced' page might not be read at all.[2]

1 A Categorisation of Traces of Reading, Use, and Ownership

Categoristions are always simplified and inherently insufficient depictions of reality. Nevertheless, by creating distinct categories of traces of reading, use, and ownership, we may be able to recognise patterns in the varied and extensive entirety of material evidence in surviving copies of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles. In this study, five categories have served as the organisational framework for the registration of the miscellaneous textual, visual, and material traces that readers and users left. These traces have been registered in a database built in Access. The categorisation of traces is developed along the lines of previous studies, in particular those by Sherman, Van Duijn, and Folkerts.[3] The distinction between the various types of traces has

1 Acheson, 'Introduction', p. 2.

2 See also: Dobranski, 'Reading Strategies', pp. 109–110; Smyth, 'Book Marks', p. 66.

3 Sherman distinguishes the following categories of traces: ownership notes; penmanship exercises; cross-references; liturgical instructions; numberings (e.g. of pages or chapters); corrections; polemical notes ('noting the bible's support for or against a given view'); and dating of various kinds. See: Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 83. Sherman's categorisation of readers'

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been further specified on the basis of the material evidence in the Bible copies under scrutiny. The following traces of reading, use, and ownership have been distinguished:

I. *Ownership marks:*
   - ownership inscription
   - ex libris
   - library stamp
   - genealogical note

II. *Marking:*
   - underlining
   - marks
   - rubrication
   - colouring

III. *Annotations:*
   - theological annotation
   - historical annotation
   - liturgical annotation
   - repetition/summary
   - correction of printed text
   - geographical annotation
   - numbering
   - cross-reference
   - word explanation
   - other

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marks only comprises written and verbal marks, and does not take into account non-verbal markings of textual passages or any other traces that are left 'without the pen'. Van Duijn, in his study of the surviving copies of the Delft Bible (1477), distinguishes ownership marks from traces of use. He further divides traces of use into those that are connected to the text and those that are not. Traces that belong in the first category are underlining, symbols in the margin, copied words and sentences, subject and person denotation, summaries, translations, references, corrections and adaptations, comments, numbering of chapters, verses and lessons, illumination and illustration, titles and foliation, liturgical instruction, added texts, construction annotations, and added manuscript leaves. The second category consists of drawings and random illustrations, penmanship exercises, dating and documentation. See: Van Duijn, *De Delftse Bijbel*, p. 140. Folkerts discerns five types of notes in medieval and early modern Epistles and Gospels: ownership marks, corrections to the text, summarising comments such as 'nota bene' and manicules, notes that help navigation (including additions and corrections of the printed tables and rubrics), and historical notes (including genealogical annotations). See: Folkerts, 'Middle Dutch Epistles and Gospels', pp. 60–61.

IV. *Unintended traces*
  – tarnishing/damage
  – object traces (e.g. stains)
  – other
V. *Other types of traces:*
  – traces of restauration
  – added material
  – penmanship exercise (*probatio pennae*)

I.) The four types of ownership marks all share the same function within the book: they register to whom the book belonged and, in some cases, when. The category 'ownership inscription' is used for (written) marks of ownership such as names or signatures. Bookplates that are pasted or stamped into the book are grouped under the category of the ex libris. Contrary to individual readers, libraries or otherwise larger book collections often use stamps to state ownership. The fourth category concerns genealogical notes: single entries or lists of dates and events that together form an overview of the most important events in a family's history, such as births, marriages, and deaths. All four types occur in more or less elaborate forms. Although many ownership marks just provide the name of the book owner, some also include a place name, date, the profession of the owner, or acquisition information (e.g. the price of the book).

II.) The practice of marking or 'highlighting' a certain section is categorised in four different types. Firstly, users could underline parts of the text, from single words to multiple full sentences. Markings such as manicules (pointing hands), brackets, crosses, or the writing of 'nota bene' in the margin have been grouped together as 'marks'. Then, thirdly, various surviving Bible copies have (partially) been rubricated. In these Bibles, individuals – either readers or professional rubricators – have underlined chapter headings and printed summaries in red, often in combination with the rubrication of initials and printed glosses. The fourth category concerns colouring. Although one could argue whether the colouring of images can be considered marking, its effect is similar: adding colour to an image or part of an image, whether done professionally or by an individual reader, highlights that aspect of the page and directs a reader's view to it.[4]

4 The category of colouring demonstrates the elusiveness of the distinctions between each of the categories. As much as marking, colouring might also be seen as a way of adding material features to the book, and in some cases, it is even unclear whether the addition of colour was intended at all.

III.) Ten distinguishable types of annotations have been inventoried in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles. Annotations are understood here as hand-written, verbal responses to the book or the text, predominantly left on blank spaces in the book, such as on the flyleaves or in the margins of the pages. Theological annotations, to begin with, include responses to theological themes, reflections on confessional debates, or exegetical explanations of a certain biblical section. Annotations that focus on historical contexts of the biblical narrative have been categorised as historical annotations. The next category is the liturgical annotation, i.e. the addition of notes concerning the liturgical relevance of certain biblical sections or the inclusion of elements from the liturgical reading schedule along the Bible text. The repetition or summary, then, is one of the most common types of annotations. This type encompasses readers' repetitions, rephrasing, or summaries of the printed text, usually noted down in the margin next to the relevant section. The category 'correction' is applied to register readers' corrections of printed text, for instance by crossing out the printed variant and adding their preferred word or phrase in the margin of the page. Geographical annotations, then, concern spatial surroundings and the geographical context of a biblical section. The category of numbering is used to register the addition of verse or chapter numbering by readers. The next category to be distinguished is the cross-reference: the addition of (usually abbreviated) references to other sections of the Bible.[5] The category of word explanation is used for these instances in which a reader includes the definition of a word or phrase in the margin. Then, lastly, the general category 'other' is used as an umbrella category to cover annotations that do not fit any of the above mentioned types, for example annotations such as calculations or grocery lists.

IV.) Unintended traces are the results of book use and reading that have not been left purposefully. These concern traces such as tarnishing or damage to the page, including undefined smudges or ripped page edges, as well as traces that have been left as a result of the placement of an object within the book. Examples are dried plant material, flies, bugs, and spiders accidently caught between the pages, or stains from objects that were once kept in the book, such as book marks or glasses. Unintended traces that do not fall within one of these categories are registered as 'other'.[6]

5 These handwritten cross-references are an addition to, and expansion of, the printed cross-references in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, as discussed in section 3.1.

6 For a discussion on the relevance of studying unintended traces and the material specificities of used books, see: Smyth, 'Book Marks'. The view upon unintentional traces developed in this thesis has been inspired by Ann-Marie Hansen's lecture 'Documenting evidence of book-use: intentional, unintentional and absent readers' marks', at the Expert Colloquium 'In Readers' Hands: Early Modern Books from a User's Perspective', Leuven, 11–13 March 2020.

v.) Three other categories of reading traces remain. Firstly, there is the category of added material. This encompasses the traces *or* presence of 'non-original' – i.e. not foreseen by the printer-publisher – material, textual, or visual elements in the book. These elements have been placed between the book's pages, included in the binding, or glued onto the page. A recurring example is the inclusion of late sixteenth-century biblical maps and charts. A following category is the penmanship exercise, used here to register marks and annotations that seem to be the result of a reader testing their pen or practising their handwriting. The last category concerns traces of restauration, such as edges that have been repaired with (Japanese) paper. Although these are not *readers'* traces as such, their presence does provide information about the 'life of the book', particularly within institutional contexts.

2 The Omnipresence of Traces

The interactions between Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles and their readers resulted in a plethora of traces, scattered over the 189 copies studied here. This does not mean, however, that every surviving copy contains evident traces of early modern reading and/or annotation. At least fourteen copies do not contain any detectable, datable early modern traces: no ownership notes, no markings, no annotations, no clearly identifiable unintended traces, and no additions of material. This does not mean that they contain none of these aspects in general, as some of these feature, for instance, library stamps or pencil inscriptions made by modern librarians. At the other end of the spectrum are nine heavily annotated copies, i.e. copies that contain hundreds of annotations, underscorings, or markings. Within those two extremes lay all other copies. Close to being 'untraced' is, for instance, a 1542a Liesvelt Bible (Leiden, ULL, 504 A 3). This copy contains only one evident early modern trace: a small annotation consisting of the word 'crown' (*kruin*) is made in the margin next to Leviticus 19:27: 'Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard.' This single word, a repetition of the printed text, is the only trace left by this late sixteenth-century or early seventeenth-century hand, and indeed, the only detectable early modern trace of reading and use in the entire copy.

As discussed in section 2.1, blank space could function as 'an invitation … [and] a site of curiosity.'[7] The blank spaces in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles indeed served regularly as spaces for response, consideration, and writing. Ownership marks are found predominantly, but not

7 Maguire 2018. See also: Berger, 'Endleaves', p. 282.

exclusively, on title pages and flyleaves, and annotations are generally made in the margins across the book, although more extensive notes have been written on flyleaves as well. White spaces between paragraphs and underneath the endings of Bible books are also occasionally used for annotations and references. The placement of handwritten notes on flyleaves has led to the loss of a potentially large number of annotations; the position of flyleaves on the outsides of the book, usually not as part of the main quires of the book, made them easily replaceable, either by early modern users or by nineteenth-century librarians. Furthermore, marginal annotations have been partially lost because the edges of a considerable number of copies were cropped.

Certain Bible books are annotated and marked more often than others. Regularly annotated Bible books are Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the four Gospels, and St. Paul's letters – particularly those to the Romans and Corinthians. Out of the Gospels, the Gospel of Mark is annotated the least. This likely relates to the fact that this Gospel was not commonly read in Mass.[8]

With regard to the written annotations in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, the most common subtype is the repetition or summary. Readers have repeated keywords or phrases from the printed text in the margin as a way to mark a specific textual section or structuralise their reading practices. Other types of annotations that occur relatively often are cross-references, liturgical annotations, and corrections of the printed text. Theological, historical, or geographical annotations – the kind of annotations that closely relate to intellectual, studious interpretation and use of the Bible text as stimulated by paratextual elements such as chronological glosses – are found predominantly in highly annotated copies. When copies bear fewer traces, these annotations are generally absent.

This study looks primarily at in-folio complete Bibles and New Testament editions. However, in the analysis of readers' traces, a few examples are taken from surviving copies of other Bible editions by Liesvelt, namely his Epistles and Gospels, Epistles of St. Paul and the Apostles, and his separately printed Book of Wisdom. Only several copies of these editions survive, often incomplete, but these few instances provide further insight into the 'life' of smaller Bible editions. In general, these editions, as well as Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testaments, contain less elaborate markings and

8 In the liturgical reading schedule included in Liesvelt's Bibles, the book of Mark is referred to only fifteen times, whereas sections from the books of Matthew, Luke, and John are proposed for reading eighty-five, seventy-two, and sixty-five times. The gospel of Mark might hence be less known to many of the early modern Bible readers.

annotations than the complete Bibles. Marginal annotations are rare. Verbal traces in most of these copies are limited to ownership marks, occasional cross-references, liturgical references, a few small prayers, and, in some cases, additions and corrections of the liturgical reading schedule. There are no highly annotated copies among these smaller editions, and theological, historical, or geographical annotations are practically absent.

However, not all types of traces of reading, use, and personalisation are underrepresented in the smaller editions: the addition of colour to woodcuts and rubrications of, for instance, chapter headings and capital letters, is relatively common. These occur in one third (8 out of 24) of all New Testaments, Epistles and Gospels, and other smaller Bible editions considered in this study. An example is a copy of the Epistles of St. Paul and the Apostles, printed by Jacob van Liesvelt in 1532 (The Hague, KB, KW 230 G 30). It is lavishly decorated with rubrication, penwork, coloured woodcuts and initials, and gold leaf across the first initial of each Bible book. As Folkerts and Oostindiër have argued, this book was likely illuminated in the 1520s, possibly in the convent of the Tertiaries of Galilea in The Hague.[9] The addition of colour served decorative as well as structuralising functions. Colour increased the aesthetic value of the book, whilst also supporting readers' navigation by accentuating the structure of the text. Although rubrication and colouring are not restricted to Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's smaller editions, they do occur more often in these editions than in the complete Bibles. This confirms a difference already recognised in the analysis of paratext: that complete Bibles may have been used in a context of study, whereas the smaller editions seem tailored to liturgical and devotional use.

The paratextual analysis has, furthermore, shown that Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch sometimes made different choices regarding the content and presentation of their paratextual programme. These differences are barely reflected in readers' traces. Regardless of the confessional colour of the textual cluster, the most common traces are ownership marks (including library stamps and genealogical annotations), underlining, markings (e.g. manicules or *notate bene*), and annotations that provide repetitions or summaries of the printed text. However, a subcategory in which Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles are relatively overrepresented is the Latin annotation. Although in both textual clusters the vast majority of annotations, including ownership marks, are in Dutch, about fifty percent of all copies that contain Latin annotations

9 Folkerts and Oostindiër, 'New Bibles and Old Reading Habits', pp. 188–189. On this copy, see also: Anna de Bruyn and Renske Hoff, 'Decoratie in druk', *Madoc*, 34:4 (2021), pp. 268–269.

belong to the Vulgate-based Bible cluster, even though this cluster only makes up for but one fifth of all copies under scrutiny in this study.[10]

In order to illustrate the variety of traces of reading and use within and between surviving Bible copies, I will turn now from this general overview to a closer description of three individual copies. Although these copies do not serve as exemplary representations of the entire corpus, they display the great diversity of traces and the contexts in which these occur. The first copy to be described here is a heavily annotated 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Oxford, BLO, Bib.Dutch.C3). This is one of the copies with the highest number of reading traces. In addition to multiple ownership marks, the book contains numerous underlinings, scribbles by a child, manicules, brackets, and annotations by two different early modern hands. The Old Testament in particular is heavily annotated, featuring markings and handwritten notes in both red and black ink on practically every page.

The front and back flyleaves of the book contain the inscriptions of various historical owners. In the early seventeenth century, the book most likely belonged to a family member of Giertje Huygensdochter and Annetje Cornelisdochter, two women whose deaths, in 1601 and 1616 respectively, have been noted down. The flyleaves also contain the names of four individual owners from the Wedding family that can all be dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A certain B. Wedding owned the book in 1794–1797, as his inscriptions attest, after which the book moved through the hands of Phillipps Wedding, Johannes Bernardus Wedding, and Trijn Wedding. A child called Barent W. (likely Wedding) also left his name in the book, written in large, childish letters. The stamp of the late eighteenth-century Van Tetroode book sellers in Amsterdam, placed on a flyleaf in the front of the book, suggests that B. Wedding might have bought the book from this bookshop. Later, in May 1826, a certain Joannes Janssen bought the book for 2.10 guilders.

The annotations throughout the book are made by two distinguishable early modern hands, both of which cannot be connected directly to any of the aforementioned book owners. The first hand, who writes in both black and red ink, can be dated to the second half of the sixteenth century. The second hand is from a later date, likely the second half of the seventeenth century. Both reader-annotators left underscorings, brackets, *notate bene*, cross-references, and more extensive annotations. In general, most annotations by the first hand

10 Among the 21 copies that do contain Latin notes are eight 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles and two Peetersen van Middelburch New Testaments. Most of the Latin annotations in Peetersen van Middelburch's 1541 complete Bibles are ownership marks, both by institutional and personal owners.

consist of repetitions or small summaries of the printed text. These handwritten glosses would have helped the reader to remember and easily return to the main points the texts present, as well as functioning as entries for the reader-annotator to readily grasp the main structure of the text. This is the case, for instance, in Deuteronomy 14, which describes which creatures should and should not be eaten. The reader-annotator of hand 1 has written 'clean animals' (*reyne dieren*) and 'unclean animals' (*onreyne dieren*) in the margins of the text, pointing out where which animals are listed. In addition, the annotations are sometimes purposed to clarify part of the printed text. In the margin of 2 Samuel 11:4, the note 'Batseba' explicates to whom the 'her' in 'and he lay with her' (*doe sliep hi bi haer*) refers. However, the most striking reading trace left by hand 1 is located at the end of the Song of Songs. Here, an extensive annotation and a full-page drawing have been made. The text and image concern a meditation on the 'bride of Christ', copied from the second edition of *T'Wonder-boeck* by the anabaptist David Joris (fig. 30).[11]

The annotator of the second hand was also interested in external Reformation-oriented sources. In the book of Isaiah, they repeatedly referred to the differences between Liesvelt's Bible chapter division and that of the *deodati Bybel*, likely a reference to the French Bible printed in Geneva in 1644 and translated by the Geneva-born Bible translator Giovanni Diodati. Furthermore, the annotator reveals an interest in the Hebrew origins of the Bible text. They have made reference to the Hebrew word *Adon* (Lord) at the beginning of Psalm 110 and left a Hebrew annotation on the flyleaf in the back of the book. The annotation is a short Hebrew blessing: אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה בָּרוּךְ, i.e. *Baruch Adonai Elohai*: 'Blessed [be] the Lord, [our] God'.[12] In addition, this seventeenth-century hand was responsible for the addition of tabs at the beginning of each Bible book, and included various markings and cross-references.

This copy corresponds with the type of books that has received the most attention in previous scholarship on reading traces: it is a copy with extensive handwritten marginalia, a number of ownership marks, and multiple annotations that serve as entries to issues concerning intertextuality and broader reading cultures. Although copies like these can, indeed, provide valuable information on the interactions between reader-annotators and their books, the vast majority of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles feature predominantly plain, white margins, and only a few traces of reading and use. Nevertheless, as I will argue in the current and following chapters, these copies

11 USTC No. 1527751. On this annotation and drawing, see also section 5.2.

12 My gratitude goes out to Dr. Tjaard Barnard for the transcription and translation of this annotation.

FIGURE 30 Engraving depicting the 'bride of Christ' in David Joris' *T'Wonder-boeck* (1583–1584). Leiden University Library, 557 A 8

should be considered of equal value in grasping the multitude of interactions between readers and their Bibles.

An example of such a copy is a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (London, BL, 3061.i.12). Although this copy does not contain any marginal annotations on the biblical text, it bears some highly interesting traces that provide insight into practices and contexts of reading, use, and ownership. Firstly, it contains several marks of ownership that allow for a partial reconstruction of the book's provenance history. In the back of the book, just below the colophon, a genealogical annotation describes the birth and baptism of a certain Thijsken (Mathijs) Mengels in the Limburg town of Echt, in 1629. Although the name of the annotating book owner is not revealed, this book apparently functioned within the context of the Mengels family in Echt in the first half of the seventeenth century. Pasted on one of the flyleaves in the front of the book, then, an annotated piece of paper reveals that the book was in the possession of Joannes Jacobus Stiels, former priest of Neer, also in Limburg, after 1806.[13] Stiels' annotations reflect on the rarity of this edition, which, he states, is not mentioned in Isaac Le Long's well-known *Boek-zaal der Nederduitsche Bybels*. About seventy-five years later, in 1882, the copy can be located in London, in the ownership of the bibliographer Henry Stevens of Vermont (1819–1886). He was an American-born, London-based bibliographer and rare book dealer who was particularly involved in the buying and selling of English Bibles.[14] Besides serving as the main supplier for book collectors such as John Carter Brown and James Lenox, Stevens was also involved in the book acquisition of the British Museum. This book, as well, was included in the library of the British Museum in 1883. This collection eventually became part of the British Library in 1973. The current shelf mark of the copy is written in pencil on one of the flyleaves in the front.

Apart from these ownership marks and the note by Joannes Jacobus Stiels, the book contains no annotations or handwritten marginalia. However, the copy does bear visual and material traces of use. Throughout the book, woodcuts and initials have been coloured by hand in red and green shades. Chapter headings, capitals, and references to God have been rubricated and some printed marginalia are marked with decorative, red brackets. In addition, the

13 Joannes Jacobus Stiels retired in 1806. In his ownership mark he refers to himself as *ancient curé de Neer*, so he must have acquired the book after 1806. On Stiels, see: Paul Mols, 'Neerse pastoors en priesters (1400–1888)', *Oos Naer*, 7:25 (2005).

14 On Henry Stevens, see: Wyman W. Parker, *Henry Stevens of Vermont, American Rare Book Dealer in London, 1845–1886* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963).

user of the red and green pens also left a cross-symbol and clover-like flower drawings in Exodus 26 and in several other places in the book. Clovers and flowers like these, sometimes referred to as 'florilegia', were a relatively common way of marking or decorating part of a text in the early modern period, used by, among others, Francis Bacon.[15] The most surprising trace of use in this copy, however, is the presence of ten small, downy bird feathers between the pages of Leviticus 19–21. These testify to practices of use that had little to do with the reading of the biblical text as such, but rather with the use of the book as a place of safekeeping and for the conservation of material objects.[16]

As mentioned before, smaller Bible editions, including New Testaments, are in general less extensively 'traced'. However, as the Liesvelt New Testament of 1540 (Stuttgart, WLB, Bb niederländ 154001) demonstrates, even a minimal number of reader and user traces in such copies can reveal elements of the interactions between the copy and its readers. This copy contains, to begin with, an ownership mark in a late sixteenth-century hand on the title page. Unfortunately, this does not result in the identification of this historic owner, because they wrote: 'This book belongs to C' (*desen bouck behoort toe C*), with an arrow pointing through the 'C' (fig. 7). Although this ownership mark would have made sense to the owner, it remains elusive to us. The only other mark of ownership in this copy is the black library stamp of the Württembergischen Landesbibliothek. Other pen-made traces of use and reading are verse-dividing brackets in Matthew 2 and 3, and a small, six-line prayer at the end of the book, placed onto the blank space underneath Liesvelt's printing device. The prayer has been written by the same hand and in the same ink as the ownership mark on the title page. In addition, the copy contains unintended traces of use: many pages are discoloured and stained, in particular across the margins and in the liturgical reading schedule in the back of the book, testifying to heavy use. Despite this low number of traces, the combination of these elements implies that the book was probably used for devotional and paraliturgical reading practices, in which the reading of the biblical pericope of the corresponding day could have been combined with, or concluded by, reading the small prayer at the end of the book.

15 Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. 169–170. On the definition of these symbols as 'florilegia', see: Jaap Geraerts, *AOR2 Transcriber's Manual: fourth version* (2019), p. 36.

16 See chapter 6.2.

3 A Sociography of Book Owners

Before continuing on the issue of *how* book users interacted with their Bibles, a question that needs to be addressed is *who* these users were. The reconstruction of sociographical characteristics of this historic reading public provides, in a way, the very backdrop against which the analysis of the following chapters unfolds. Books were social things, determined in both their production and consumption by the social contexts in which they moved, the people by whom they were read, and the communities in which they were shared.[17] Aspects such as a book owner's level of literacy, confessional and religious background, social community, geographical location (e.g. the proximity to towns or universities), and period in time, were defining factors in reading experiences. In order to grasp the underlying incentives and motivations for the interactions between readers and their books, it is crucial to devote some attention to these characteristics of the reading public.

Marks of book ownership can allow for the identification of the private or institutional owners of a copy to a certain place and moment in time. Furthermore, when the historic owners across all surviving Bible copies are brought together, these illustrate the diverse character of the broader Bible-reading public in the early modern period. Practically all surviving Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch copies contain material evidence related to the provenance of the object, if only the stamps of the library which currently houses the book. Many copies also bear elements that allow for the reconstruction of the owners to whom the book belonged before it entered its current holding place. These can be divided into two main categories: institutional owners and private owners.[18] Before attending to both of these categories, however, it should be noted that ownership does not necessarily equal readership. Books could be owned without being read or read without being owned. Furthermore, many owners would not leave their names and it is possible that not all ownership marks were made by actual owners of the book: when a book was lent out or otherwise temporarily obtained, a reader could leave their name. Nevertheless, although ownership and readership are not synonyms, they are undoubtedly connected. Institutional as well as private

17 The perspective of books as inherently social things that connect to communities in various ways is explored in: Rosamund Oates and Jessica Purdy (eds.), *Communities of Print: Books and their Readers in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2021).

18 Book owners who live within religious institutions such as monasteries or beguines but who can be individually identified on the basis of their ownership marks, are considered here as private book owners.

possessors were important agents in dictating and constructing the accessibility of a book: they would define who had access to the book and, just as crucial, who did not.

3.1 *Institutional Ownership*

The vast majority of the Bibles under consideration in this study are currently kept in large institutional libraries around the world, such as university libraries and national libraries. With the acquisition of the book, many institutions marked their ownership by stamping the name of the library on the title page or flyleaves of the book. The presence of similar stamps from earlier institutional owners allows for the reconstruction of the provenance history of the book. In general, these ownership marks show that a considerable number of Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles arrived in university libraries after the dismantling of numerous Dutch monasteries and seminaries in the late twentieth century. These include Bibles that were previously kept in the libraries of, for instance, the seminary in Driebergen-Rijsenburg (closed in 1967, collection is currently kept in the University Library Utrecht), the seminary in Haaren (closed in 1967, currently kept in the University Library Tilburg), and the Franciscan monastery in Weert (closed in 1996, currently kept in the University Library Utrecht) (fig. 12). Other Bibles are housed in university libraries but officially remain in the ownership of other institutions. This is the case with, for instance, the collection of the Mennonite congregation in Amsterdam (*Verenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente Amsterdam*), which is kept in the special collections of the University of Amsterdam.

Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles also contain ownership marks that point to premodern, institutional ownership. This is especially the case with Peetersen van Middelburch's 1541 complete Bible. At least six surviving 1541 Peetersen Bibles belonged to libraries of early modern monasteries.[19] An example is a Bible copy (Manchester, JRM, R 60334) which, according to the ownership mark on the title page, belonged to the Franciscan convent in Eeklo: *Conventus Eecloniam Fr. Min. Recollectorum, 1677*. This monastery of the Friars Minor Recollects was established only a few years prior, in 1664. The convent was dismantled in 1797, but friars returned to Eeklo in 1866. The last

19 In the early modern period, the movement of books between individuals and institutions was common. An annotation in a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Nijmegen, ULN, OD 100 b 10) confirms this: the Bible was donated to a library in Venlo, Limburg, by a certain Joanna de Putterke in 1713. On book donations in the premodern Low Countries, see also: Uphoff, 'Dit boec heft gegeven'.

Franciscan members of the convent left in 1986.[20] Furthermore, at least one surviving copy of Peetersen's 1541 complete Bible (currently kept in a private collection) may have functioned as part of a chained library, as the metal ring on the book binding suggests.[21]

However, not only Bibles that present Vulgate-based translations were kept within monastery collections. For instance, a 1542b Liesvelt Bible (Ede, private ownership) – an edition particularly known for its various outspokenly Reformation-oriented paratextual elements – once belonged to the Sint-Salvator monastery in Antwerp. The title page carries an ownership mark in a sixteenth-century or early seventeenth-century hand: *Monasterij S. Salvatoris Antverpia.* The Cistercian St. Salvator monastery, also called the Pieter Pot monastery, was established in 1447. In 1581, the chapel and cloister were taken over by the Calvinists, but they were re-established by the Cistercians in 1591. The monastery was permanently dismantled in 1796.[22]

Furthermore, the Bibles under scrutiny in this study were also housed in Protestant institutions. This is evidently the case with the Bibles owned by institutes such as the Remonstrant seminary Leiden (1544b Liesvelt New Testament; Leiden, ULL, Sem. Rem. 848) and the above-mentioned Mennonite congregation in Amsterdam (e.g. 1526 Liesvelt Bible; Amsterdam, UvA, OG 65-30). In a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Antwerp, HC, F215118), the annotation 'For the congregation' (*Voor de gemeijnte*) on the book's flyleaf points towards communal use in a Protestant context. Due to the lack of any other ownership marks, it remains unknown to which congregation this book belonged.

Lastly, some copies had already entered the institution where they are currently housed by the early modern period. This is the case with a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (St. Gallen, KBG, Vadslg EA 50), which is kept in the Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana in the Swiss town of St. Gallen. It was donated to this library in 1615, before which it was kept within the extensive private book collection of Jakob Studer (1574–1622).[23] Similarly, the 1535 Peetersen

20 A twentieth-century library catalogue of the Franciscan monastery of Eeklo survives in the Archief van de Vlaamse Minderbroeders Sint-Truiden, Eeklo, nr. 91.

21 Private collection Antwerp. It is possible that more Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch copies were part of chained libraries. We know that vernacular Bibles from this period were kept in these libraries, such as the 1528 Vorsterman Bible and the De Laet Bible of 1560, which were part of the Librije, the chained library in the Walburgis Church in Zutphen. See: Anne Dirk Renting and Joke Renting-Kuijpers, *Catalogus van de Librije in de St. Walburgiskerk te Zutphen* (Groningen: Uitgeverij Philip Elchers, 2008), nr. 118 and nr. 119.

22 See: https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/4068.

23 On Studer's book collection and his donations to the St. Gallen Kantonsbibliothek, see: Rudolf Gamper, *Sum Jacobi Studeri Sangallensis: Die Sammlung des Bibliophilen*

van Middelburch Bible that is currently kept in the Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Bibel-S. 40 101) arrived at that library in 1764, through donation by Bible collector Countess Elisabeth Sophie Marie (1683–1767).

3.2 *Private Ownership*

On the basis of ownership marks, ex libri, stamps, and genealogical annotations, 172 private owners of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles have been detected. Whereas some copies do not contain any traces that help identify early book owners, others allow for the identification of various owners throughout the centuries. Owners can be dated either because their ownership marks or ex libri contain a date, or on basis of their handwriting. Taking into account the insecurities that come with the dating of handwriting, among the private owners are roughly thirty book owners from the sixteenth century, forty-two from the seventeenth century, forty from the eighteenth, thirty-eight from the nineteenth, and eighteen from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The wide temporal range of these identified owners demonstrates not only that marking ownership is a timeless practice, but also that the Bibles printed by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch in the first half of the sixteenth century remained to be used, read, and privately owned far beyond that moment of production. As in the following chapters, I will focus primarily on owners and traces that can be dated to the premodern period, i.e. the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

Among the premodern Bible owners are fourteen women and eighty-one men. In eighteen cases, the gender of the owner can not be determined. These instances occur when, for instance, genealogical annotations do not specify whether the mother of father is the person who writes down the births and deaths of their children, or when an ownership mark does not provide a full name but only initials or a surname. Moreover, it is important to notice that the significant minority of female ownership marks did not mean that women could not have access to these Bibles. The presence of genealogical annotations in a considerable number of surviving copies testifies to the fact that the early modern Bible was regularly used within the context of a household and would have been collectively owned and used.[24] Religious books, and Bibles in particular, were the type of books most likely to be owned by households in

Kaufmanns Jacob Studer (1574–1622) in der Vadiana (St. Gallen: Sabon-Verlag St. Gallen, 2001).

24 See also: Dibbits, *Vertrouwd bezit*, pp. 244–245. For an analysis of the genealogical annotations in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, see chapter 6.1.

the early modern Low Countries.[25] Women – as well as children, who also very rarely appear in ownership marks – would have had access to these books and their texts.[26]

The premodern owners of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles were predominantly located across the Northern and Southern Low Countries. In thirty-eight cases, it could be determined with more or less certainty where a historical owner lived. In some cases, the ownership mark itself provides information on the location, for instance: 'This Bible belongs to Petrus Lera in the Katlijnestraat in the Maeght van Mechelen, 1730.'[27] This specificity allows for the determination of not only the city but even the very building in which Petrus Lera lived – the 'Maagd van Mechelen' is a building located on what is currently Sint-Katelijnestraat 27–29, Mechelen.[28] In most cases, however, ownership marks are not as specific and book owners are located on the basis of archival sources. This is the case, for example, with the sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century Bible ownership of Dirck Fredricksz and Aechte Willemsd. On the basis of their names and genealogical annotations, archival sources could be retrieved that prove that they lived in Amsterdam and baptised their children in the Nieuwe Kerk.[29]

The vast majority of Bible owners were located in the area between Amsterdam to the north, Brussels to the south, and Emmerik to the east, the only exceptions being three book collectors: Elisabeth Sophia Marie von Schleswig-Holstein-Norburg in Wittmoldt, Jacob Studer in St. Gallen, and Josias Lorck in Copenhagen. No fewer than eleven early modern Bible owners were located in Amsterdam. Amongst these, three Bibles were acquired in the sixteenth century, six in the seventeenth century, and two in the eighteenth

25 See: Dibbits, *Vertrouwd bezit*, p. 217; Kamermans, *Materiële cultuur*, p. 124; Blaak, *Geletterde Levens*, p. 28.

26 An exception is the before-mentioned 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Oxford, BLO, Bib.Dutch.C3), in which a boy called Barent left his name in large, childish handwriting across the back flyleaf. He also wrote several letters and the word 'mother' (*moeder*) across the flyleaf in the front of the book. His age is unknown. Another example is a 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (Cambridge, ULC, 3.53.4), in which Leonardus Snelle, a fifteen year old student, left his name.

27 *Desen bijbel hoort toe aen Petrus Lera inde katlijnestraat inde maeght van mechelen 1730*.

28 See: Inventaris Agentschap Onroerend Erfgoed, *Stadswoning Maagd van Mechelen*: https://inventaris.onroerenderfgoed.be/erfgoedobjecten/59236.

29 On the marriage between Dirck Frericksz and Aechte Willemsd. in 1593, see: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *DTB* 406, archive number 5001, f. 456. On the baptism of their first child, Jan, in 1594, see: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *DTB* 38, archive number 5001, f. 382. On the death and burial of Aechte Willemsd. in 1638, see: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *DTB* 1045, archive number 5001, f. 109v and f. 110.

century. With regard to seventeenth-century ownership, other major cities in the Northern Low Countries are also accounted for: Haarlem (three owners), Leiden (one owner), and Schiedam (one owner). In addition, Bibles were owned in places in the southern part of the Low Countries, such as Antwerp, Herentals, and Leuven. Furthermore, among the places of ownership are smaller villages as well, including places such as Dworp, Heelweg, Haastrecht, and Heer.

As the presence of owners in the Northern and the Southern Low Countries already suggests, Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles were read in both 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' contexts. It is crucial to continue to acknowledge the diffuse character of these concepts, especially in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Confessional borders were not strictly established, and the sympathies and theological notions of both individuals and religious communities remained fluid. Furthermore, most ownership marks do not evidently display the confessional stance or preferences of the book owner. In many cases, the main way to determine an owner's religious position is thus through the information provided by their annotations, either in their responses to the printed text or by looking at genealogical annotations. Archival sources on religious sacraments, such as baptisms and marriages, and in which churches these took place, can also provide insight.[30] An example is the case of Henricus van Wanraij. In his 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Nijmegen, ULN, P.Inc.216) – an edition with a Lutheran translation – he wrote down the births, baptisms, confirmations, and deaths of his children.[31] He included the date, place, and performing pastor of various Catholic sacraments, for instance: '1718, on 14 February … has been born our little daughter named Jacoba Maria … baptised in Culemborg by Father Borfeus,'[32] and '1726, on 13 June, our daughter – Elisabeth – has been confirmed in Münster, by the Most Reverend Oisterhof.'[33] The baptisms of Van Wanraij's children can indeed be found in the baptism records of the Catholic St. Barbara parish in

30 However, as marriages in the Dutch republic were only considered lawfully valid when solemnised 'either in the presence of a Reformed minister or a municipal officer', we can assume that among the names found in the marriage registers of Reformed churches there could have been individuals who identified as Catholic (Jaap Geraerts, 'Caught between Canon and Secular Law: Catholic Marriage Practices in the Dutch Golden Age', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (*Archive for Reformation History*), 111:1 (2020), pp. 246–288, p. 246).

31 On the genealogical annotations of Henricus van Wanraij, see also section 6.1.

32 *1718 den 14 febr. … is geboren ons dochtertje gedoopt Jacoba Maria … gedoopt tot kuilenborgh bij Pater Borfeus.*

33 *1726. den 13 Junij, is onse dochter te munster geformt – Elisabet – door den Hoogweerden heer Oisterhof.*

Culemborg.[34] The Oisterhof referred to by Van Wanraij is probably Ferdinand Oisterhof, auxiliary bishop in Münster.[35]

On the basis of the ownership marks, genealogical annotations, and archival sources, it could be determined that at least fourteen premodern Bible owners were involved in Reformation-minded or Protestant congregations, and twenty-one owners were Catholic. The high number of Catholic owners is at least in part related to the fact that religious owners are easily recognisable, as they refer to themselves as *suster* or *frater*. Furthermore, Bibles that were kept by people who lived within religious communities would have a higher chance of ending up in an institutional library, which increased their chances of survival. Nevertheless, these numbers confirm that Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles were read across confessional divides.

The ownership marks in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles also demonstrate that these Bibles circulated among various levels of society. On the basis of the ownership marks and archival sources, the social status or profession of twenty premodern owners could, to a certain extent, be determined. These display great social variety, including religious men and women, two countesses, two tailors, a magistrate, a prosecutor (*burmeester*), a pants-maker (*boksenmaker*), a button-maker (*knoopemaker*), and a merchant.[36] Among them are people who actively collected books and Bibles – such as the Copenhagen-based Lutheran collector Josias Lorck (1723–1785) and princess-countess Elisabeth Sophie Marie von Schleswig-Holstein-Norburg (1683–1767) – as well as people of lower social status for whom their Bible might have been one of the few books in their possession. I will focus now on the profiles of three private owners to illustrate this diversity: Countess Walburch van Manderschijt, merchant Jaspar Vinckel, and prior Arnoldus Truijens.

Walburch van Manderschijt's handwritten name can be found on the title page of a 1526 Liesvelt Bible (Amsterdam, VU, XC.05039-).[37] She was born in 1468 to Konrad (or Kuno) van Manderschijt, lord of Schleiden, Neuenstein, and Kasselburg, and Walburga van Horne, lady of Altena. In 1485, Countess

34 See: St. Barbara paroche, Inv. nr. 239 (*Baptismate seu Registrum Nominum Corum Qui Baptizati Sunt in Statione Culenborgensie Ab Anno 1712*).

35 See: Wilhelm Dorow, *Denkmäler alter Sprache und Kunst* (Berlin: Paulische Buchhandlung, 1827), p. 222.

36 For all known professions and social statuses of Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles, see Appendix.

37 The so-called *Manderscheid Hours* (Collection of Renate König) belonged to a different line of the Manderscheid family. On this manuscript and its owners, see: Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400–1550)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 349–350.

Walburch van Manderschijt married Count Wilhelm I. von Neuenahr (ca. 1447–1497).[38] They had three children: Wilhelm (II), Anna, and Hermann von Neuenahr. After the death of her first husband, Van Manderschijt married Frederik van Egmont, lord of IJsselstein and count of Buren and Leerdam, in 1502.[39] As an influential noble woman, Walburch van Manderschijt actively managed her estates, finances, and the future of her children, both together with her subsequent husbands and individually.[40] Although little is known about Van Manderschijt's book collection, personal beliefs, or involvement in religious debates, her third child, Hermann von Neuenahr, born in 1492, came to be a relatively well-known humanist and advocate for an Erasmian type of religious reform. Installed as canon of Cologne cathedral when he was only three years old and enrolled in the University of Cologne at the age of twelve, his parents' influence and aristocratic privileges evidently paved his way.[41] The fact that Van Manderschijt must have acquired her Liesvelt Bible close to its publication date in 1526, because she passed away around 1530/1531, illustrates that she, in her aristocratic, humanist circle, was likely aware of the contemporary developments in vernacular Bible publication.[42]

In addition to the circles of nobility, the ownership marks in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles demonstrate that they also had a wide circulation among people involved in manufacture and trade. One of them is Jaspar Vinckel, who owned a 1542a Liesvelt Bible (Stuttgart, WLB, Bb.niederländ.154201). The genealogical annotations in the Bible, made by Jaspar himself and his son Jan Vinckel, disclose that Jaspar Vinckel was born in 1581, married his wife Trijn (or Catharina) Jansdochter in 1610, and died at the

38 See also: Gunter Aders, *Urkunden und Akten der Neuenahrer Heirschaften und Besitzungen Alpen, Bedburg, Harkenbroich, Helpenstein, Linnep, Wevelinghoven und Wülfrath sowie der Erbvogtei Köln* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag GMBH Bonn, 1977), p. 217.

39 Aders, *Urkunden und Akten*, p. 234.

40 For the summaries of several of her transactions, see: Aders, *Urkunden und Akten*, p. 231; p. 233; p. 234; p. 324.

41 See: Charles G. Nauert, 'Graf Hermann von Neuenahr and the Limits of Humanism in Cologne', *Historical Reflections*, 15:1 (1988), pp. 65–79.

42 Walburch van Manderschijt's date of death is unknown. However, the absence of her name in any charters after 1530 and the transfer of her 's-Hertogenbosch house – the *Huis van Ysselstein* which her husband Frederik van Egmond bequeathed to her – in 1530 to her stepson Floris van Egmond, suggest that she passed away not long after that year. See also: A. F. O. van Sasse van Ysselt, *De voorname huizen en gebouwen van 's-Hertogenbosch, alsmede hunne eigenaars of bewoners in vroegere eeuwen: Aanteekeningen uit de Bossche schepenprotocollen, loopende van 1500–1810* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noordbrabant, 1911), p. 127.

age of 57 in 1638. He and his wife, who passed away in 1652, were both buried in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam.[43] Jaspar Vinckel's name is regularly found in Amsterdam's notarial archives, in particular between ca. 1615 and 1630. In these sources, he is generally referred to as 'merchant within this city' (*coopman binnen deser stede*) and he was involved with the trade of several products, such as fish and rapeseed.[44] Vinckel also established trading contracts with merchants in Bergen in Norway.[45] Although the extent of Vinckel's personal library is unknown, studies based on inventories of personal goods in the first half of the seventeenth century reveal that people of the higher middle class generally owned a couple of books, mainly religious books and Bibles.[46] Extensive libraries or defined study spaces in private homes were uncommon.[47] Vinckel's extensive genealogical annotations display that this Liesvelt Bible, potentially one of the few books he owned, played a central role in the merchant's family life.

43 On the burial of Catharina Jansdochter, see: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *DTB* 1046, archive number 5001, f. 125v and f. 126. According to the genealogical annotations by Jan Vickel, his brother Jasper Vinckel (born in 1614) was buried in the same grave in the Oude Kerk in 1659. See also: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, DTB 1047, archive number 5001, f. 29v and f. 30.

44 See: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *Notariële archieven*, archive number 5075, registration number 513, document number 186629; Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *Notariële archieven*, archive number 5057, registration number 516, document number 239113.

45 For a contract involving Jaspar Vinckel and Bergen-based merchant Jan vanden Velt in 1627, see: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *Notariële archieven*, archive number 5075, registration number 516, document number 207892. One of Vinckel's most important contacts in Bergen was Jan Gerritsz Welling, who was the godson of Vinckel's wife Trijn Jansdochter. See: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *Notariële archieven*, archive number 5075, registration number 515, document number 207803. In 1627, Jan Gerritsz Welling made his godmother responsible for his affairs in Bergen and other places during his absence, as he was traveling to the East-Indies. See: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *Notariële archieven*, archive number 5075, registration number 516, document number 197007. Similarly, in 1627, Jaspar Vinckel himself authorizes his brother Matthijs Vinckel to take care of his affairs in his absence, implying that Jaspar Vinckel also travelled himself, although the source does not specify where to. See: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *Notariële archieven*, archive number 5075, registration number 516, document number 178641.

46 A study of personal inventories in Weesp and Weesperkapel, for instance, showed that until 1670, the maximum number of books to be owned by a wealthy, city-based individual was 13 books. See: Koolbergen, 'De materiële cultuur', p. 19.

47 See: J. van der Veen, 'Eenvoudig en stil: Studeerkamers in 17de-eeuwse woningen, voornamelijk te Amsterdam, Deventer en Leiden', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 51 (2000), pp. 137–171, p. 145. On domestic study spaces, see also: Julie de Groot, *At Home in Renaissance Bruges: Connecting Objects, People and Domestic Spaces in a Sixteenth-Century City* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2022), pp. 79–98.

In addition to a wide range of lay people, Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles were owned by religious men and women.[48] One of them is prior Arnoldus Truijens, who wrote *Fr. Arn. Truijens Prior. 1645* on the title page of his 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Leuven, MSB, P22.055.1/ Fo BIJB 1541). Frater Arnoldus Truyens took his religious vows in Mechelen in 1624, and was prior of the Augustinian hermits in Herentals and Dendermonde. He died in Diest in 1662.[49] Truyens also wrote *Bibliotheca Augustinianus Herendalij* at the top of the title page. The Augustinian convent in Herentals was established in 1613, when twelve Augustinian hermits were brought to Herentals from the convent in Brussels. They were primarily responsible for the Latin School of Herentals.[50] As Truijens' two annotations demonstrate, the distinction between institutional and private ownership was permeable within religious contexts.[51]

Although this study is primarily concerned with premodern Bible owners, it is worth pointing out that the relatively large number of modern owners testifies to the continuing interest and use of these Bibles. Many of these modern owners were public figures, scholars, or librarians, who purchased these Bibles for purposes of book collection or study. They include figures such as Gustave van Havre (1817–1892), mayor of Wijnegem (near Antwerp), councillor, senator, and bibliophile, whose 1542a Liesvelt Bible (R 7.10) is currently part of the collection of Museum Plantin-Moretus.[52] Another example is the Dutch-American

48 The corpus does not contain any ownership marks by semi-religious people, such as beguines.

49 See: Daniël Verkerken and Werner Grootaers, *Repertorium Ordinis Fratrum Sancti Augustini, Provincia Coloniae-Proincia Belgica, 1252–1995* (Leuven: Augustijns Historisch Instituut, 1996), p. 462.

50 See: Leo Braeken, *De Dekenij Herentals (1603–1669): Bijdrage tot de studie van het godsdienstig leven in het bisdom Antwerpen* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1982), p. 162, p. 195. On the history of the Herentals Augustinian College, see also: Jan Cools, *Geschiedenis van het college te Herentals* (Herentals: Oud-Leerlingenbond Sint-Jozefscollege Herentals, 1984).

51 On personal book ownership within religious communities, and the hybridity of personal and communal ownership, see also: Flavia Bruni, 'Friars and Friends: Books as Private or Shared Belongings in Early Modern Religious Communities', in Rosamund Oates and Jessica Purdy (eds.), *Communities of Print: Books and their Readers in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2021), pp. 99–115; Julia King, 'Inscriptions and Ways of Owning Books among the Sisters of Syon Abbey', *The Review of English Studies*, (2021), pp. 1–25, pp. 3–4.

52 Gustave van Havre's large collection of manuscript, incunabula, and printed books, many of which are connected to the history of Antwerp, was auctioned by the Amsterdam auction company Frederik Muller in 1905. Curators of the Antwerp city library, renamed Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, and Museum Plantin-Moretus collaborated with other financers to bring a large number of the books under auction back to Antwerp.

historian, writer, and illustrator Hendrik Willem van Loon (1882–1944), who purchased his 1542a Liesvelt Bible (New York, BuNY, PML 17768) during a short stay in Amsterdam in October 1922. Just about three months prior, Van Loon had announced in his column in *The Baltimore Sun* that he was working on a new book, *The Story of the Bible*, hoping to regain the glory of his successful *The Story of Mankind* of 1921. Van Loon's purchase of the Liesvelt Bible could well have been connected to his research for this work, which was eventually published in 1923. Only five years later, Van Loon donated his Liesvelt Bible – now brimming with his annotations – to the Library of the Union Theological Seminary, currently the Burke Library, in New York City.[53]

Van Havre and Van Loon are two examples of the various nineteenth-, twentieth-, and twenty-first-century owners of Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles to whom owning the Bible was connected primarily to scholarly, bibliophile, and historical interests.[54] Simultaneously, however, sixteenth-century Bibles remained to be kept and used within families. The value that family Bibles had as heirlooms and material connections to the past ensured their continuing relevance into modern days.[55] A 1534 Liesvelt Bible (Utrecht, MCC, p.i.120–73), for instance, contains genealogical annotations by the Amersfoort button-maker Jan Kamper on the births and deaths of his children between 1783 and 1792.[56] One of his children continued this practice into the nineteenth century, noting that their mother, Johanna Geskes, Jan Kamper's wife, died in 1811. Another example of the sustaining value of a family

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On the library of Van Havre and the acquisition of his books by Antwerp libraries, see: Pierre Delsaerdt, 'Bibliophily and Public-Private Partnership: The Library of Gustave van Havre (1817–92) and its Afterlife in Antwerp Libraries', in Robin Myers et al. (eds.), *Books on the Move: Tracking Copies through Collections and the Book Trade* (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2006), pp. 133–151.

53 On Hendrik Willem van Loon's life and work in the 1920s, see: Cornelis A. van Minnen, *Van Loon: Popular Historian, Journalist, and FDR Confidant* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 72–135.

54 Similar modern Bible owners include landowner Edward Wheatley-Balme (1819–1896), who gifted a large number of books to Cambridge Selwyn College in 1896, including his 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Cambridge, SC, R.23), Bible scholar Christian D. Ginsburg (1831–1914), whose 1526 Liesvelt Bible is currently kept in the Bible Society collection in Cambridge (Cambridge, ULC, 223 B 26a), and physician and philanthropist Herbert Watney (1843–1932), who bought his 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (Brussels, KBR, LP 174 C) in 1892.

55 On the relevance of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles as heirlooms and safekeepers for family history, see section 6.1.

56 Jan Kamper's profession is mentioned when his son Johannes (born in 1791) registers for the military in 1813. See: Militieregister, inventarisnummer 675, nr. 223, Archief Eemland Amersfoort.

Bible can be found in a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (The Hague, private ownership). The annotations on the flyleaf describe how the book was handed down through generations from the late sixteenth-century owners Cornelis van Beveren (1524–1586; mayor of Dordrecht) and Maria van de Valck, via the Pompe van Needervoort family in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to the Stoop family. The last notes on the flyleaf of the book date from 1982, and the book is still kept and cherished within the Stoop family.[57]

4 Conclusion

Traces of reading, use, and ownership are present in the vast majority of surviving Bible copies. Ranging from ownership marks to colourings and from underscorings to the presence of downy feathers, the interactions between these Bibles and their readers have been consolidated in the multitude of pieces of material evidence in surviving Bibles. Only a small percentage of the surviving copies do not contain any traces of early modern reader-book interactions at all. Enabled by the presence of blank spaces and the proximity of books and pens, early modern Bible readers left ownership marks, markings of textual, paratextual, or visual sections of the book, and annotations on the flyleaves and in the margins. They also slipped objects, additional texts, or images between the pages or bound them in with the book, while also leaving unintended traces.

The material features of a copy as well as culturally constructed reading expectations with regard to certain editions, play a role in the number and types of traces left by readers. The fact that New Testaments are generally less annotated but more often coloured might simply relate to the availability of white space – which is considerably less than in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bibles – but could also be the result of diverging reading practices between complete Bibles and partial editions.

57 This 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible has received media coverage in 2017 as the *schoorsteenbijbel*: the 'chimney Bible'. Jan Willem Boezeman of the Augustijnenhof Documentatie- en Kenniscentrum in Dordrecht initiated a search for the current location of the Bible that was, as the handwritten genealogies of the Stoop family describe, once owned by Cornelis van Beveren. According to the genealogies and Matthijs Balen's *Beschryving der Stad Dordrecht* (1676), Van Beveren allegedly kept the Bible 'in a small black chest, which was put in the chimney' (*een zwart Kasje …, dat in de Schoorsteen wierde gezet*). The story was covered by various local and national news sources, including RTV *Dordrecht*, *Algemeen Dagblad*, and *Reformatorisch Dagblad*. The book was also part of the exhibition 'Werk, bid en bewonder' at the Dordrechts Museum (November 2018 until May 2019).

The ownership marks in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles display a wide variety of institutional and private readers, across temporal, gender-related, geographical, confessional, professional, and social-economic divides. Among this diversity of individuals and contexts, readers and book owners would have had various relationships towards the book. The Bibles under consideration in this study functioned as family Bibles, collection items, and – in correspondence with the approaches most evidently stimulated and enabled through the paratexts in these books – as liturgical reading aids and objects of study. Hence, as they moved through time and space, these Bibles could shift not only between owners and readers, but also between expectations, intentions, and practices. Against this horizon of diversity and mobility, the following two chapters will dive even deeper into the shapes, impacts, and aims of the interactions between Bibles and their readers in the early modern Low Countries.

CHAPTER 5

Dynamic Interactions with Text and Paratext

Many reading practices did not physically impact the book. Readers could develop the most intricate interpretations of the biblical text, fully emerge themselves in devout experiences by using biblical passages as objects for thorough meditation, and eagerly engage with the paratextual liturgical reading aids to include the book in their preparations for Mass – whilst leaving no visible, physical traces whatsoever. Thus, although not all dynamic reading practices are detectable through the study of material evidence, the types of interactions that *did* leave traces share a specific characteristic: they allowed readers and their activities to become, in a way, part of the production process of the book; part of the paratextual, textual, visual, and material entity of the Bible. Through the use of pens, scissors, or glue, readers were provided with tools to respond to the book, to shape its contents, and to serve as important agents in the redesign, formation, and later reception of a copy.

This chapter explores various ways in which readers responded to, reflected upon, and interacted with their Bibles. Firstly, I will discuss the ways in which readers reflected upon the textual and paratextual contents of their Bibles. In a sense, this is the most traditional way of understanding the practice of reading a book: grasping the words on the page, interpreting their meaning, and placing them within a broader context of knowledge in order to embrace and remember their content. The second part of this chapter focuses on traces that relate to the accommodation of certain reading practices. Rather than taking the textual and paratextual content of their Bibles at face value, readers regularly shaped and transformed their copies in order to suit their practical or confessional preferences and to enable or ease specific reading practices. Users could add structuralising elements (such as page numbering or tables of contents) or modify the contents of the book by including or removing certain textual or visual elements (for instance maps). These traces and transformations are as much traces *for* reading as they are traces *of* reading. Not only do they show how readers engaged with the book and its text, they also illustrate how certain reading practices were actively accommodated, optimised, and framed by readers themselves.

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1 Reflecting on Textual and Paratextual Content

As Saenger and Heinlen have stated, early modern readers generally did not share the modern perspective on book use which 'views the printed page as sacrosanct and consequently all handwritten additions to the printed page as … detrimental.'[1] On the contrary: reading with the pen in hand was not only widespread, but also regularly instructed and taught as a suitable and useful way of thoroughly reading a text and properly ordering one's thoughts.[2] In his *De ratione studii* ('On the method of study'), Desiderius Erasmus states that text passages that are especially important, skilfully written, or otherwise exceptional 'should be indicated by some appropriate mark' in order to stimulate the memorisation of these passages.[3]

Moreover, when they responded to the textual and paratextual contents of their Bibles, Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's readers not only made an impact on their own memorisations and interpretations, but also influenced the experiences of later readers – similarly to the way printed paratextual elements could. As psychological studies have indeed confirmed, the presence of notes or underlining left by previous readers directs processes of navigation, interpretation, and memorisation in later instances of reading.[4]

1 Paul Saenger and Michael Heinlen, 'Incunable Description and its Implication for the Analysis of Fifteenth-Century Reading Habits', in Sandra L. Hindman (ed.), *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450–1520* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 225–258, p. 254. See also: William H. Sherman, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Books?', in Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 119–137, pp. 121–122.

2 See: Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 303; Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 3.

3 *His itaque rebus instructus, inter legundum auctores non oscitanter obseruabis, si quod incidat insigne verbum, si quid antique aut noue dictum, si quod argumentum aut inuentum acute aut tortum apte, si quod egregium orationis decus, si quod adagium, si quod exemplum, si qua sententia digna quae memoriae commendetur. Isque locus erit apta notula quapiam insigniendus* (Margolin, 'De Ratione Stvdii', p. 117, verses 9–13). In translation by McGregor, *Collected Works*, p. 670: 'Informed then by all this you will carefully observe when reading writers whether any striking word occurs, if diction is archaic or novel, if some argument shows brilliant invention or has been skilfully adapted from elsewhere, if there is any brilliance in the style, if there is any adage, historical parallel, or maxim worth committing to memory. Such a passage should be indicated by some appropriate mark.'

4 For example: Donald A. McAndrew, 'Underlining and Notetaking: Some Suggestions from Research', *Journal of Reading*, 27:2 (1983), pp. 103–108; S. L. Nist and M. C. Hogrebe, 'The Role of Underlining and Annotating in Remembering Textual Information', *Reading Research and Instruction*, 27:1 (1987), pp. 12–25; Ed H.Chi, Michelle Gumbrecht, and Lichan Hong,

In psychology and education sciences, this has been connected to the *Von Restorff effect*: the insight that the isolated position of a certain item against a more homogeneous background makes it more likely that the item is remembered.[5] Furthermore, eye-tracking research by Chi, Gumbrecht, and Hong has confirmed that 'readers' attention is directed to highlighted areas, regardless of their appropriateness to the task.'[6] In other words: even if later readers would not understand why previous readers marked or annotated certain textual sections, they would still be influenced by the very presence of these traces.

1.1 *Applying and Creating Knowledge Structures*

As discussed in previous chapters, various paratextual elements, in particular in the folio-sized editions, emphasised and facilitated the function of early modern Dutch Bibles as spaces of knowledge creation. The entire 'library' of Bible books was collected within one volume, and the presence of paratexts such as cross-references and topical registers framed the coherence and connectivity of all the different parts. In addition, studious reading practices were stimulated through marginal glosses and prologues, which placed biblical information within a broader world of knowledge, including classical history and astrology. In readers' annotations, the functioning of these knowledge structures can be seen reflected. Similar to printed marginalia, handwritten annotations can be divided into responses that point *outside* the book and those that point *inside*; those that supplement the text or provide contextualising information versus those that encourage the reader to attend to the very textual site itself.[7]

A copy in which outward pointing annotations were made, is a Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (Leerdam, SBM), which was once owned, used, and 'traced' by the sixteenth-century Bible owner Johan Crieckelman.[8] Crieckelman worked as a notary and magistrate in the town of Heer (currently part of Maastricht) in the province of Limburg.[9] His recognisable chancery cursive writing is found

'Visual Foraging of Highlighted Text: An Eye-Tracking Study', in Masaaki Kurasu (ed.), *Human-Computer Interaction, part III* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 2007), pp. 589–598.

5 See: McAndrew, 'Underlining and Notetaking', p. 103.

6 Chi, Gumbrecht, and Hong, 'Visual Foraging of Highlighted Text', p. 591, pp. 596–597.

7 See: King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*, p. 64.

8 Crieckelman wrote his name and the year 1576 on the title page. The annotation is only just readable, as a later user crossed through his name. Further in the book, at the end of the St. Luke Gospel, Crieckelman wrote down his name a second time, along with the date 8 January 1577 and his motto: *Nae dit een beter* (after this [it will be] better).

9 See: Regionaal Historisch Centrum Limburg, *20.241 Notarissen ter standplaats Maastricht, 1544–1842*, Johan Crieckelmans.

alongside annotations in a contemporary secretary script. The traces found in this copy range from underlining to extensive annotations in Dutch, German, and Latin, and are mainly found in the first five books, in Proverbs, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, the four Gospels (with the exception of Mark), Acts, and the Letters to the Romans, Corinthians, and Hebrews. In various Latin annotations, Crieckelman provided supplementary information. For instance, above the start of each Gospel, he noted in which year the text was supposedly written, for instance: *S. Matheus Scripsit Euangelium. Anno. 39*. Furthermore, at the end of the Gospel of Luke, he listed the original addressees of the Gospels: *Marcus Romanis. Sed Joannes Asianis. Lucas Achaijs. Matheus scripsit Hebreis*.

Similar interests in the historical background and origin of certain Bible books can be recognised in other surviving copies. In a 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Haarlem, NBG, 32"1535"-Lies. 14839), Daniel Tijcke, a priest of Dworp and Alsenberg, who left his ownership mark in the book in 1587, commented as follows on the book of Wisdom:[10]

> The book of Wisdom cannot be found anywhere in the Hebrew [tradition]. But it is addressed to Philo the Jew because it follows the Greek style. And it is called the Book of Wisdom because it prophesies about the future and also about the suffering of Christ Jesus. This is the wisdom of God the Almighty Father. In eternity, Amen.[11]

By including this contextualising information, which is embedded in theological tradition, the priest enabled himself and any future readers to return to it anytime.

Other copies contain annotations that provide specific supplementary information about a single verse or word. Some of these annotations reflect the interest in translation and languages that can also be encountered in the printed glosses of Peetersen van Middelburch's 1541 Bible. In a 1526 Liesvelt Bible (Amsterdam, UvA, OG 65-30), for instance, an alternative translation of the verse Genesis 2:17 ('But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely

10 On Daniel Tijcke, see: Constant Theys, *Geschiedenis van Dworp* (Brussels: Drukkerij A. Hessens, 1948), p. 131.

11 *Dat boeck der Wijsheyt en wort bij den Hebreen nerghens ghevonden. Maer wort vanden Joden Philonen toegheeijghent om dat het luijt naer den grixken stiel. Ende wert daerom geheeten het boeck der Wijsheyt om dat dar wort geeprophiteert de toecomste ende oock het lijden Christi Jesum di*[*t*] *is de wijsheijt Godts vaders Almachtig Inder eeuwighijt Amen.*

die') has been written down in the margin: 'In Hebrew it says: dyingly die.'[12] Furthermore, this annotator not only provided additional translations but also clarified certain words. For instance, next to Daniel 13:9 (i.e. Susanna 1:9; 'And they perverted their own mind, and turned away their eyes that they might not look unto heaven, nor remember just judgments') the annotator added an explanation of the word 'perverted': 'Perverted. That is: [to the] wrong [side].'[13]

Readers could also add to the intertextual entirety of the book through the inclusion of references to other, non-biblical texts. The empty space of the flyleaf proves to have been particularly suitable for the addition of new texts, although some readers also left references to non-biblical texts in the margins. On a flyleaf in the back of the only surviving copy of Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testament of 1546, a sixteenth-century annotator quoted several Latin phrases from Virgil's *Georgics* (book II). In translation:

> Such days as these, I can imagine well, shone at the dawn of the infant world and took no different course: springtime it was, the whole wide world was keeping spring, and the east winds spared their icy blasts: then the first cattle drank in the light, the earthborn race of men reared its head from the stony plains.[14]

More common, however, are references to religious scholarly authorities. On the back flyleaf of a Peetersen van Middelburch 1541 Bible (Brussels, KBR, 14.885.C), for instance, an anonymous reader has referred to works by St. Jerome, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Gregory the Great. The texts that are quoted all concern critical responses of these three writers on the topic of heresy. For instance, the annotation quotes a fragment from Bernard of Clairvaux's 65th sermon on the Song of Songs. In this sermon, Bernard supposedly responded to a letter about troubling 'heretic' communities near Cologne, written by

12 *Int heebreeuws staedt. stervende sterven.* The interest in the original language of the text can be recognised in the adjustments and additions of readers in other copies as well. For example, in JvL CB 1534 (Cambridge, ULC, BSS.223.B34), in the margin of Leviticus 20:20: 'lies with his mother / says the Hebrew' (*bij sijne moeye slaept / state In hebreesc*[*h*]). This annotator also crossed out the original, printed lines.

13 Susanna 1:9: translation after Douay-Rheims 1899 American Edition. *Averechts. dat is. verkeert.*

14 *Non alios primos crescents origene mundo / Illuxisse dies ue habuissent tenorem / crediderim ver illud erat ver magnuus agebat / orbis et hibernis parcebant flatibus euri / cum primae pecudes vires ausere virumque / terrea progenies durum caput extulit arvis.* Translation: Virgil, *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1–6* (transl. H. Rushton Fairclough) (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 160–161.

Erewin, a prior of the abbey of Steinfeld.[15] In the cited verse, Bernard criticised the ways in which heretics aim to be glorified for their knowledge: 'The one aim of all heretics has always been to gain renown for the particular extent of their knowledge'.[16] In other writings too, Bernard of Clairvaux considered great curiosity an intellectual vice. For him and other influential theologians, highly curious people aimed at gaining knowledge that would surpass their human capacities and were motivated to do so by pride and vanity.[17]

In accordance with the quote of Bernard's sermon, the reader's annotation on Gregory the Great's work also concerns the ways heretics deal with knowledge.[18] The annotator quoted – in Latin – part of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, book 5:23, paragraph 45:

> Now they are loath to have a common sort of knowledge, lest they should be placed on a par with the rest of their fellow creatures, and they are ever making out new things, which whilst others know nothing of, they plume their own selves on the pre-eminence of their knowledge before inexperienced minds.[19]

With these references to the works of important theologians and Church Fathers, the annotator took part in, and extended, the knowledge aggregating system of the book. Furthermore, the annotations not only show an interest

15 See: Karen Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 215.

16 *Omnibus una intentio haereticis, semper fuit captare gloriam de singularitate scientiae*. Translation: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons on the Song of Songs: Volume* 3 (transl. Kilian Walsh and Irene M. Edmonds) (Kalamazoo, Michigan/Coalville, Leicestershire: Cistercian Publications, 1979), p. 180. For this fragment in Bernardus' *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, see: Jean Leclercq et al. (eds.), *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum* (2 volumes) (Rome, Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–1958), vol II, p. 173.

17 See: Peter Harrison, 'Curiosity, Forbidden Knowledge, and the Reformation of Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England', *Isis*, 92:2 (2001), pp. 265–290, pp. 267–268.

18 The interest in the connections between knowledge, heresy, and religion can also be recognised in the annotations of an early seventeenth-century reader left in a 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Utrecht, ULU, THO RAR 2–31). Around the prologue, they copied two fragments from the humanist theologian Cornelius Agrippa's *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum*. The first fragment states that at the Council of Nicaea it was ordered that no Christian believer should be without the Bible, and the second quotation explains why science opposes the Christian faith (*nulla res christiane religioni atque fidei, tam repugnant quam scientia, miniusque so invicem compatiuntur*).

19 *Communem scientiam habere refugiunt ne caeteris equales estimentur occulta et nova semper exquirunt, quae dum alii nesciunt apud imperitorum mentes ipsi de singularitate scientie gloriantur*. Translation: Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job – 4 volumes* (2013; previously printed in 1844) (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2013), p. 275.

in and knowledge of the work of influential figures in Christianity (and particularly Catholicism), but also mark an awareness of contemporary religious developments in which the question 'what defines a heretic?' was highly relevant. The annotations in this copy demonstrate a certain disregard for or criticism of Reformation-minded ideas. By including these references, the reader brought contemporary debates into the space of the book.

References to Church Fathers can also be found in the already mentioned Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (Leerdam, SBM). Notary Crieckelman added two references to texts by Saint Augustine, the second actually being pseudo-Augustinian. Next to an underlined verse of Matthew 11:12, he quoted from Augustine's eighth confession: *Augustinus* [*s*]*implices et indocti* [*re*]*gnum caelorum rapiunt nos cum literis* [*nost*]*ris ad infernum* [*de*]*scendimus*: 'Augustine. The simple and unlearned take up the kingdom of heaven, while we with our knowledge descend into hell'.[20] On the flyleaf in the back of the book, then, Crieckelman mentioned Augustine again, citing the pseudo-Augustinian text *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*. The text *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*, 'of the twelve abuses of the world', discusses twelve types of unwanted and unlawful behaviour.[21] It was written by an anonymous Irish author in the seventh century, but has been ascribed to various authors, amongst whom were Gregory the Great, St. Bernard, and Augustine.[22] The text has remained popular throughout the Middle Ages, up to the early modern period.[23] Crieckelman has written the author's name and the text's incipit in his chancery cursive script, and the rest of the twelve-part text is added in secretary script. Furthermore, about a century later, a seventeenth-century reader apparently acknowledged the benefits of including this text in the Bible and added a German translation of the *De duodecim abusivis saeculi* underneath the Latin annotation. Examples

20 Cf. Augustine, Confessions 8; 8 (19): 'People with no education are rising up and seizing heaven, and we, with all our learning, look on! We are entangled in flesh and blood!' (*Surgunt indocti et caelum rapiunt, et nos cum doctronis nostris sine corde, ecce ubi volutamur in carne et sanguine*). Translation: Augustine, *Confessions. Volume 1: Books 1–8* (ed. and transl. Carolyn J.B. Hammond) (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 390–391.

21 For a detailed description of *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*, see: Rob Meens, 'Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-Being of the Realm', *Early Medieval Europe*, 7:3 (1998), pp. 345–357.

22 See: B. Weiler, 'Kingship, Usurpation and the Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Europe. The Case of Stephen', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 23 (2001), pp. 299–326, p. 322.

23 The *De duodecim abusivis saeculi* was included, for instance, in Gerard Geldenhouwer of Nijmegen's *Epistola de officio christiani principis*, a 'mirror of prince' (*speculum regale*) addressed to William, duke of Guelders, which was printed in 1538. See: Meens, 'Politics, Mirrors of Princes', p. 357.

like these illustrate how readers took part in the knowledge aggregating functions of the book and included new intertextual connections. Moreover, as the German addition reveals, later readers would interact with the book as an entirety, a unity of both printed and hand-added material.

1.2 *Pointing 'Inwards'*

Readers' traces illustrate not only how readers responded to and created knowledge structures that reached beyond the text, but also how they reflected on specific details, stressed the content of a specific textual passage, or strengthened the internal connections between various parts of the book. The inward-pointing references and markings in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles take various forms. In some cases, readers added annotations that bear their direct response to a certain textual fragment. For instance, in a 1534 Liesvelt Bible (Amsterdam, UvA, OG 65-36), a reader responded to Luke 12:53 ('The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother …') by writing down in the margin: 'This is incomprehensible to me'.[24] It remains unclear whether the annotator has issues with the theological underpinning of this phrase, or whether they simply struggled with the semantic structure. More common than such direct responses, however, are traces such as markings, cross-references, and intertextual comparisons. These types of reading traces demonstrate how readers established textual hierarchies and interrelated the various contents within the entirety of the Bible.

Markings appear in great variety, ranging from the underlining of a single word to elaborately drawn manicules in the margin. Individual readers often display a preference for a certain way of marking, but also regularly alternate between various marking styles or combine them. In some cases, the diversity of marks in a single copy can help in identifying which reader left which marks, particularly when some of the marks contain handwriting that can be connected to an ownership mark. Nevertheless, the majority of marks are difficult to attribute to an individual reader or to a certain moment in time. Contrary to specific forms of script, many types of non-verbal marks were employed by readers across a wide time frame. The manicule, for instance, remained one of the most common marking symbols between at least the twelfth and the eighteenth centuries. The continuity in the design of manicules makes it difficult to date them. However, dating a practice such as underlining is an even greater challenge. Underlining practices can be found from medieval manuscripts up to modern study books and usually do not follow specific 'styles'.

24 *Dit is bij mijn onbegrijpelijck.*

In some instances, the ink can be recognised and connected to verbal annotations made with the same pen. However, when these are absent, dating such traces is often virtually impossible.

Although most studies into reading traces mention the presence of markings such as manicules and underlining, difficulties regarding identification, characterisation, and dating have left these types of traces underrepresented. This is particularly striking because of their sweeping presence in early modern books. The most frequent type of readers' traces in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles is marking. Not only is the marking of textual sections by symbols or underlining regularly the only type of reading trace to be found, when a surviving copy contains any written glosses, it almost always also contains markings.

In the surviving copies under consideration in this study, several common ways of marking a textual passage can be distinguished. Regardless of their form, these all assert that the marked text is important and needs to be distinguished from all other words and phrases surrounding it. Firstly, the type of marking that occurs most often is the underlining of textual entities, either single words, phrases, sentences, or full paragraphs. As has been discussed before, underscored parts of the text would be remembered more easily and allowed readers to quickly return to important elements in later encounters with the page. Underlining a passage made it stand out from the background, highlighting its place on the page and its content.[25] The practice, furthermore, is quick and versatile, enabling readers to mark single words as easily as multiple lines.

A second way in which early modern Bible readers highlighted textual sections, was by drawing symbols such as manicules, crosses, small horizontal lines, dots, or circles in the margins of the page. Rarer are symbols such as florilegia: depictions of small flowers or clovers. This type of marking symbol can be found in, for instance, a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (London, BL, 3061.i.12.) where, underneath the woodcut at the end of the Book of Job, a reader drew a green flower. Slightly smaller but relatively similar florilegia have been included in a 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (Cambridge, ULC,

25 The underscoring practices in the Bibles here under scrutiny appear to have been motivated by various aims. Not only could underscoring a section be a tool in studying the textual content, readers also appear to have underscored specific words or phrases to highlight the structure of the page. The latter is the case, for instance, in copies where, usually in red ink, chapter headings have been underlined. This type of underlining will be discussed in more detail in section 5.2., as it relates more strongly to readers' manipulations of the navigational structure of the page than to their responses upon the textual content.

BSS.223.B38). In this copy, clover-like symbols have been placed, for instance, in the margins next to Exodus 22:16 ('And if a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely endow her to be his wife') and Numbers 16:26 ('And he spoke unto the congregation, saying: Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of their's, lest ye be consumed in all their sins'). Rather than using pen or pencil to draw them, this reader appears to have used a small stamp to create identical clovers. The manicules in this copy (included only in the Bible books from Genesis up to Numbers) were also stamped rather than individually drawn, using the same ink as in the stamped clovers. Apparently, the user (or users) of this Bible had access to at least two types of stamps that allowed him or her to conveniently mark certain textual passages.[26] The fact that such objects existed emphasises the frequency and commonality with which marks such as manicules and florilegia were added to early modern, printed texts.

Whereas these marking symbols are mainly of use to point out small textual fragments, e.g. a single line or verse, marks such as vertical lines and brackets were used to highlight larger sections of text. Brackets are found in their round, curly, square, or angle variant. In many cases, a word or a marking symbol is placed at the closed side of the bracket. Brackets and vertical lines are often combined with crosses, manicules, or notate bene. For example, in the 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Utrecht, MCC, BMH Warm od1259F12), verses 7–14 in Isaiah 44, which concern idolatry, have been marked with a long-stretched bracket and, on its closed side and in the intertextual margin, the (abbreviated) word 'nota' (fig. 31).

Verbal ways of marking a certain passage also occur. Most common is the writing of 'nota bene' (often abbreviated to 'NB') in the margin. These could take creative forms, as is the case in a 1534 Liesvelt Bible (London, BL, 3041.h.7), where a reader wrote 'nooooootabene' in the margin of Jeremiah 30:15 ('Why criest thou for thine affliction? Thy sorrow is incurable for the multitude of thine iniquity: because thy sins were increased, I have done these things unto thee').

26 Stamps were also developed by individuals to leave their ownership mark in books. In contrast with, for instance, an ex-libris, the signature stamp could be used over and over again. Furthermore, stamping would take less time than carefully writing down ones name and would lead to uniform ownership marks. An example can be found in a JvL CB 1542a (Antwerp, MPM, A.3162). Here, a reader by the name of H. J. Matthijnzoon stamped his name a total of seven times across the book, in various colours. On the use of signature stamps, see also: Christel H. Force, 'Intellectual Property and Ownership History', in Jane Milosch and Nick Pearce (eds.), *Collecting and Provenance: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield, 2019), pp. 17–36, p. 25.

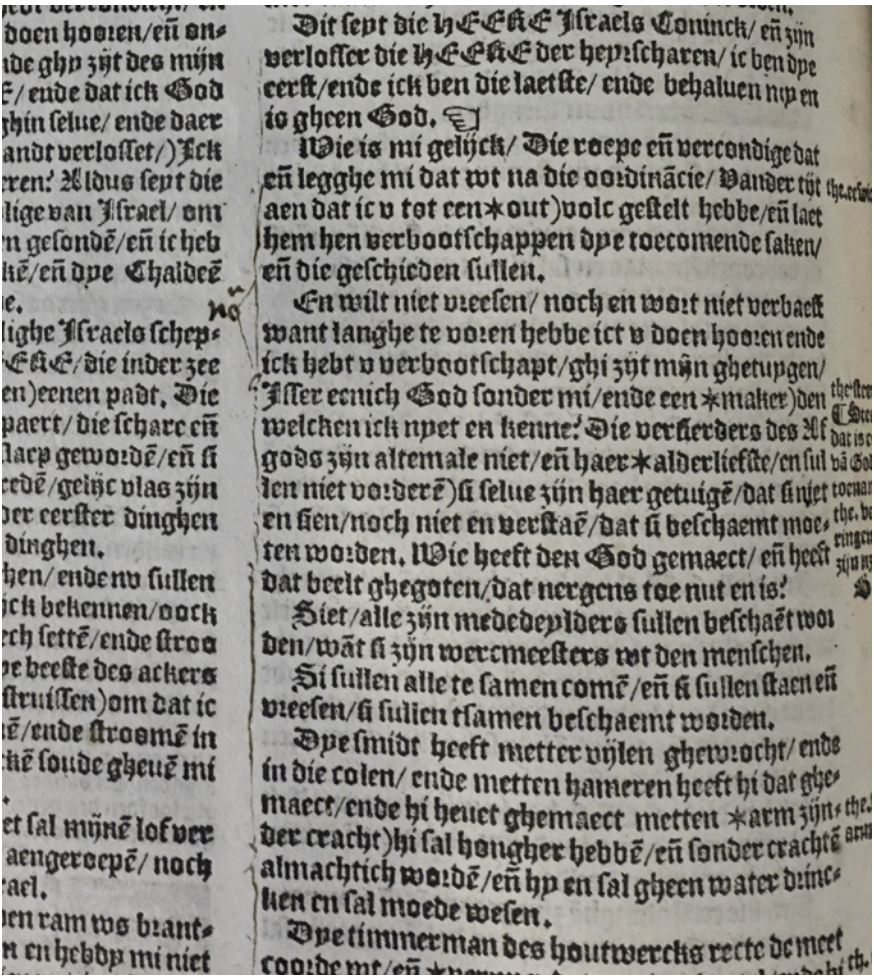

FIGURE 31 Marking of Isaiah 44:7–14 in a copy of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible edition of 1541. Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, BMH Warm od1259F12

Another way of verbally marking a textual passage was by copying words, sentences, or verses from the main text in the margin, reminding in their form and content of the short summaries printed in the margins of various New Testaments by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch. Various examples of this type of marking can be found in a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (London, BL, C.64.g.5). In the Bible book of Genesis alone, the reader has repeated or summarised printed text in the blank spaces around it no fewer than 102 times. When the outer margins were already filled with printed glosses, the reader-annotator used any other open space in close proximity to

the textual section they wanted to mark, such as the space between the two columns and half empty lines. Whereas some annotations are exact repetitions of the printed text, others rephrase or summarise the text they accompany. An example of the latter is the annotation next to Genesis 3:12. The printed text 'The woman whom you gave to me as wife, gave me of the tree' (*Dat wijf die ghi mi gegeuen hebt tot eender gesellini gaf mi vanden boom*) is summarised in the margin as 'The woman made me do that' (*Dat wijf heeft mij daer toe gebracht*). Note the use of the first-person singular: the annotator did not comment on this biblical passage from their own perspective, but verbalised and summarised how Adam vocalised these events.

The reader-annotator of this copy shaped an infrastructure of knowledge that points inwards to the printed text and simultaneously creates new dynamics in the margins of the page. The reader as well as any future readers would be invited to find their entrance to the text through the repetitions and summaries in the margin. This way of marking and remembering text is, in a way, related to the early modern practice of creating commonplace books. Here, the margins serve as open spaces for collecting elements of the printed text, either as full quotations or through rephrasing and summary. As has been established in previous studies, particularly regarding early modern England, taking notes and extracting information from books played an important role in early modern devotional practices.[27] Practices of commonplacing, either in separate notebooks or by collecting annotations in the margins or on blank flyleaves, show that early modern readers viewed their Bibles as intertextual entities, with which they actively engaged.

It is often difficult to reconstruct why specific readers marked certain textual sections. In some cases, however, a reader's frequent marking of specific textual passages implies their preference for certain topics. This is the case, for instance, in a 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Utrecht, ULU, THO RAR 6–41) where a reader marked with the word 'that' (*dat*) the verses Matthew 9:16, Mark 2:21, and Luke 5:36. Each of these places concerns the same parable about the use of new cloth on an old garment, e.g. Luke 5:36: 'No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old; if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old.' This marking 'sequence' may be inspired by the printed cross-reference to the comparable passages in Matthew and Luke that Liesvelt included next to Mark 2:21.

Regardless of the motivations that sparked readers' markings, by highlighting sections of the text readers created new hierarchical structures on the page. Together with the lay-out of the page and printed paratextual elements,

27 See, for instance: Molekamp, *Women and the Bible*, pp. 55–59; Smith, *'Grossly Material Things'*, pp. 187–188; Brownlee, *Biblical Readings*, p. 3.

readers' hand-added marks provided a navigational and interpretive framework of the connections and hierarchies within the biblical text. Whereas the printed paratext displays the printer-publisher's considerations, these reader-annotators created a personal system of entries to the text that relied upon their understanding of what was relevant and what was not, what needed to be remembered especially well, or what ought to light up from the page at first glance. Moreover, their markings would remain influential after the book moved hands. As will be familiar to any modern person who once borrowed a book from the library that suddenly proved to contain the highlighting frenzies of a previous user, the marks of long-gone readers would continue to thoroughly impact, direct, or simply frustrate later users and their interpretations of the text.

As the abovementioned marking of three similar parables in different Bible books demonstrates, readers were often well aware of, and interested in, the interconnectivity between various parts of the Bible. Aids to help harmonise the contents of the four Gospels were widespread. The Eusebian canon tables, in particular, were highly popular and regularly included in Bible editions, for instance in Willem Vorsterman's Bible of 1533–1534. Although these canons were not incorporated in any of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bible editions, the presence of paratextual elements such as printed cross-references and topical registers nevertheless enabled readers to gain insight into the intertextual structures between the many books of the Bible and ultimately utilise this knowledge in their understanding of God's Word. Many surviving copies of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles bear readers' traces such as typological annotations and hand-added cross-references that reflect how readers actively engaged with the intertextualities within the biblical library. Readers were actively concerned with the relationship between the Old and the New Testament, the connections between various Bible sections, and the coherency of the Bible as a whole. Moreover, readers' responses to certain parts of the Bible demonstrate that they were often very well aware of typological traditions that concerned the interdependence between the Old and New Testaments. An example is a reader's comment on Genesis 37:1 ('And Jacob dwelt in the land wherein his father was a stranger, in the land of Canaan') in a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (London, BL, C.64.g.5). According to the annotator, Joseph can be seen as a prefiguration of Christ because he was 'hated [and] persecuted by his brothers', as was Christ.[28] Readers also paid attention to prophecies in the Old Testament. Next to

28 *Joseph wert* [*v*]*an sijn broe*[*de*]*rs gehaet* [*ende*] *vervolcht. Item een figure van christo die is van* [*sij*]*n broederen gehaet ende ghedoot.*

Deuteronomy 18:15 ('The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken'), the reader of the heavily annotated 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Oxford, BLO, Bib.Dutch.C3.) wrote 'of Christ'.[29]

Readers most commonly expressed their awareness of the interconnectivity between various parts of the Bible by adding handwritten cross-references to the already abundant number of printed cross-references in the margins of their Bibles. In the bottom margin of Isaiah 5, the reader-annotator of a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Antwerp, MPM, R 53.12) listed no fewer than fifty-five cross-references to chapters of, amongst others, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Luke, Matthew, and Psalms. According to the note at the end of the list, 'all these chapters address the fifth chapter of Isaiah and provide [their] opinion and knowledge, and a few speak about both.'[30] The surviving copies of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles confirm Molekamp's conclusion that the growing popularity of printed cross-references in the sixteenth century did not end the practice of handwritten additions.[31] The presence of printed cross-references rather seems to have shaped and stimulated an intertextual structure for interpreting the Bible that was actively embraced by many of the readers of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles.

1.3 *Responding to Confessional Markers*

In their responses to the Bible's content, some readers display particular concern with, and interest in, confessional characteristics of the translation. As mentioned before, the translations of Liesvelt's Bibles as well as of Peetersen van Middelburch's 1535 edition contain various Reformation-oriented features. These include the use of words such as 'congregation' (rather than 'church') and 'elders' (rather than 'priests'), e.g. in James 5:14: 'Is anyone sick among you, let him call for the *elders* of the *congregation*, and let them pray over him and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord.'[32] Furthermore, verses that support the observance of the seven sacraments were sometimes translated in a non-traditional manner, e.g. 'repent' instead of 'do penance' in Matthew 4:17,

29 *Van christo*.

30 *Alle dese capittelen roeren van dat v capittel esaia ende spreken een meningh oft sin ende paer spreken beider*. The page has been trimmed at the bottom, cutting of part of the annotation, so there would originally have been even more cross-references connected to this Bible section.

31 See, for instance: Molekamp, *Women and the Bible*, p. 35.

32 Quoted from JvL 1542a CB, James 5:14: *Isser yemant cranc onder v, die hale die oudtste vander vergaderingen, ende laten ouer hem bidden ende saluen met olie inden naem des* HEREN.

a verse that was commonly used to support the penitential traditions of the Church: 'From that time Jesus began to preach and to say, *repent*, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.'[33] Verbal traces left by readers can prove their awareness of the significanse of these expressions. For instance, in the copy of a 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (Leerdam, SBM) previously mentioned above, the translation of James 5:14 has been adjusted to a more traditional translation. The printed 'eldest of the congregation' has been crossed out and replaced by the handwritten, catholicised version 'priests of the church', written in the margin.[34]

In a Liesvelt Bible of 1535 (Tilburg, ULT, TF PRE 10), the Reformation-minded translation has been adjusted by a user who pasted slips of paper with a new translation onto the printed text in at least ten instances.[35] In Ephesians 5:32, for instance, the word 'sacrament' is glued onto the printed 'mystery', and the word 'church' onto 'congregation', thus adapting the verse from 'this is a great mystery, but I speak concerning Christ and the congregation' to 'this is a great sacrament, but I speak concerning Christ and the church' (fig. 32).[36]

The word 'priest' can also be found on several paper slips, for example in the adjustment of James 5:14 into 'priests of the church', a correction identical to the one in the Leerdam 1538 Bible.[37] This addition of paper slips that are glued over a section of the printed text seem to, in Smyth's words, 'draw attention to points of pressure, discord, or conflict.'[38] These early modern Bible readers did

33 Quoted from JvL 1542a CB, Matthew 4:17: *Van dier tijt aen begonst Iesus te prediken ende te seggen, doet penitencie, dat rijck der hemelen sal ghenaken.*

34 In margin of James 5:14: *priesters der kercken*. Crossed out: *die oudste vander vergaderingen*. The word *priesters* has also been written between the lines.

35 Glued-on paper fragments or the remains of glue in JvL CB 1535 (Tilburg, ULT, TF PRE 10) can be found in Genesis 48:16, Matthew 16:18, Matthew 18:17 (twice), Acts 15:41, 1 Corinthians 11:23, Ephesians 5:32, 1 Timothy 4:14, 2 Peter 1:11, and James 5:14.

36 *dat misterium is groote, mer ic segge van Christo, ende van der ghemeynten*. The user glued the word s*acrament* onto *misterium* and *Kercke* onto *ghemeynten*.

37 The same adjustment of this verse can also be found in JvL CB 1534 (Cambridge, ULC, BS 223.B.34). As in the Tilburg copy, a paper slip with the text 'Priest of the Church' (*priesters der kercken*) has been glued onto the printed text. Two other phrases have also been adjusted in this manner, namely Matthew 16:18 and Matthew 18:17. These manipulations are both in accordance with the Tilburg copy as well. In JvL CB 1526 (Brussels, KBR, III 6057 C), the printed translation in James 5:14 has been crossed out and the translation 'Priest of the Church' (idem) has been written above it.

38 Smyth, *Material Texts*, p. 118. On the addition of paper slips, see also: Smyth, *Material Texts*, pp. 41–44; William H. Sherman and Heather Wolfe, 'The Department of Hybrid Books: Thomas Miles between Manuscript and Print', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45:3 (2015), pp. 457–485; John Considine, 'Cutting and Pasting Slips:

FIGURE 32 Adaptation of the text of Ephesians 5:32 by slips of paper glued onto the printed text, in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1535. Tilburg University Library, TF PRE 10

not cover *any* use of the words 'congregation' or 'elders'. Rather, they adjusted the verses that were particular subject of confessional debates and turned these in a more 'catholicising' direction.

The texts printed on the paper slips in this copy confirm that they were taken from a copy of the Louvain Bible, a Catholic Bible translated by the Augustinian canon regular Nicolaas van Winghe and first published in Leuven in 1548.[39] The publication of this Bible was requested by the theologian faculty of the university with the aim to provide a trustworthy, Dutch translation of the Latin Vulgate, and the development of the text was supervised by the Louvain theologians.[40] Not only parts of the text of the Louvain Bible were cut out and glued into the 1534 Liesvelt Bible in Tilburg, also the translator's prologue to the edition was bound in. In this prologue, Van Winghe elaborates

Early Modern Compilation and Information Management', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45:3 (2015), pp. 487–504.

39 USTC No. 400782.

40 On the origins of the Louvain Bible, see: Wim François, '*Solomon Writing and Resting*: Tradition, Words and Images in the 1548 Dutch "Louvain Bible"', in Celeste Brusati et al. (eds.), *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 181–261, pp. 181–189; François, 'De Leuvense Bijbel', pp. 276–294.

upon his translation techniques, his aim to stay as true to the Latin text as possible, and the difficulties he faced in doing so. He stresses that his 'good, genuine Dutch Bible' needed to be published in order 'to get the other, incorrect, and false Bibles more easily out of the hands of the bad people.'[41] Van Winghe might not have foreseen that his Bible would eventually have been cut up to include in one of these 'other, incorrect, and false' Bible editions.

The creation of this customised Liesvelt Bible raises various questions. For a start, was an entire Louvain Bible available to the reader? And if so, why was it necessary to take out fragments of the Louvain Bible and insert those into the Liesvelt Bible? Could the reader not simply have used the Louvain Bible, if they preferred that specific translation? And what has happened with the copy from which the fragments were taken? Although most of these questions remain unanswered, the evidence of this and other copies suggests that the manipulation and transformation of a Bible's translation was relatively common. As will be stressed in more detail later in this chapter, readers embraced a broad array of possibilities to change the book's form and content. The translation of specific textual parts was subject to change, not only in processes of printing and publishing but also as part of reading practices. Moreover, expecting a historic reader to have chosen one specific Bible edition might be a limited perspective on reading and book ownership. The Liesvelt Bible may have contained elements that the reader preferred, even though they included parts of the Louvain Bible to 'optimise' and in this case 'catholicise' the book. Compared to the Louvain Bible, the 1534 Liesvelt edition, for instance, contains a broader variety of paratextual elements, including the topical register and printed marginalia.

In addition to the verses mentioned above, another disputed phrase in the Bible editions under consideration proves to be Romans 3:28. In accordance with Luther's German Bible translation, the translation of the verse as it is presented in various Liesvelt editions is: '… that a man is justified without the works of the law, by faith *alone*.'[42] The addition of the word 'alone' originates from Luther's Bible translation. Luther's inclusion of the word *allein*, which is absent in the Greek source text, was in accordance with his *sola fide* theology. However, the translation was contentious, and various readers prove to have been aware of that. In a 1535 complete Liesvelt Bible in the Maurits Sabbe

41 In Van Winghe's prologue: *datmen een goede onghevalsche duytsche Bybel soude uutgheven om die andere incorrecte ende vervalschte bybelen beter uuten handen der slechter menschen te crijghen.*

42 Liesvelt 1535, Romans 3:28: *… dat die mensche gerechtuaerdicht wort sonder toe doen die wercken des wets / alleene door tgeloue.* The word 'alone' is included in the translation of Romans 3:28 in Liesvelt's complete Bibles of 1526, 1532, 1534, and 1535.

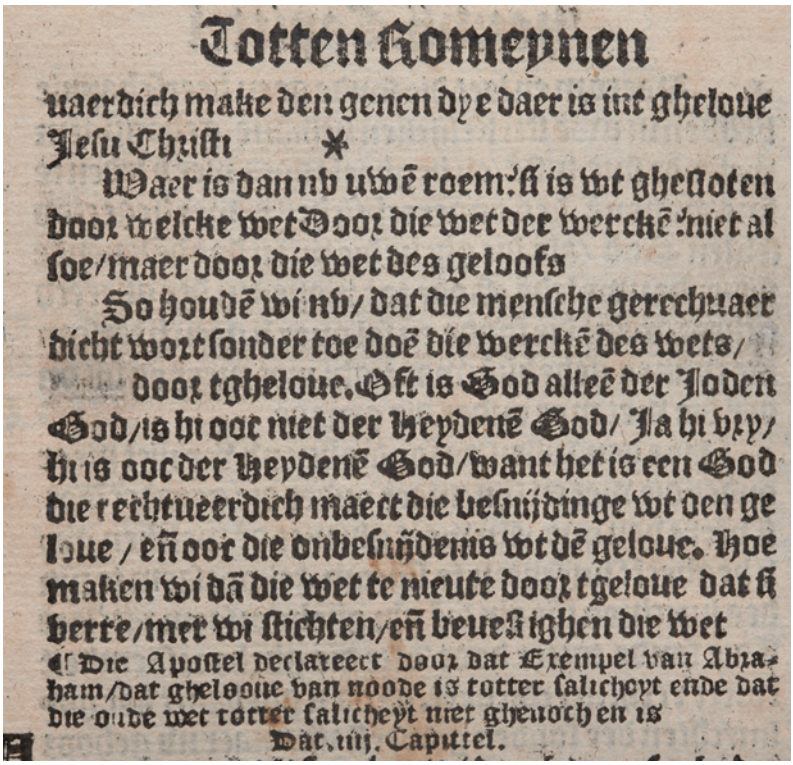
Totten Gomeynen
naerdich make den genen dye daer is int gheloue
Jesu Christi *
Waer is dan nu uwē roem: Is wt ghesloten
door welcke wet Door die wet der werckē: niet al
soe/maer door die wet des gelooss
So houdē wi nu/ dat die mensche gerechtuaer
dicht wort sonder toe doē die werckē des wets/
door tgheloue. Oft is God alleē der Joden
God/is hi oock niet der heydenē God/ Ja hi bi/
hi is ock der heydenē God/want het is een God
die rechtueerdich maect die besnijdinge wt den ge
loue / eñ oock die onbesnijdenis wt dē geloue. Hoe
maken wi dā die wet te nieute door tgheloue dat si
berre/mer wi stichten/eñ beuestighen die wet
Die Apostel declareert door dat Exempel van Abra-
ham/dat gheloone van noode is totter salicheyt ende dat
die oude wet totter salicheyt niet ghenoch en is
Dat. iij. Capittel.

FIGURE 33 The word *alleen* (in Romans 3:28) has been carefully scratched out in this copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1535. Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.005.1/Fo BIJB 1535

Library in Leuven (P22.005.1/Fo BIJB 1535), a user has meticulously scratched out the word 'alone' (*alleen*) in Romans 3:28 (fig. 33).

This manipulation has left an open space, that may be easily overlooked when leafing through the book, as the white space at first glance seems to be nothing more than a slightly strangely placed indentation.

A similar correction has been made in a 1534 Liesvelt Bible (Amsterdam, UvA, OG 65-36). Here as well, the word 'alone' has been scratched out, albeit less carefully than in the Leuven copy. However, in the margin, then, someone noted: 'NB alone'.[43] It is possible the scratching and noting have been performed by two different readers. In that case, the second reader appears not to have agreed with their predecessor. However, it cannot be ruled out that both traces were left by the same reader, possibly separated in time. The Lutheran

43 NB [a]lleene.

addition may have been considered relevant to mention in the margin of the text, but not suitable for the main translation.

A comparable 'discussion' is found, for instance, in the above mentioned Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (Leerdam, SBM). In Matthew 6:13, someone crossed out the last few lines of the Lord's Prayer, known as the doxology: 'for yours is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory in eternity, Amen'.[44] Exactly the same words, however, were written down in the margin. As the crossing out is not identifiable on the basis of handwriting, it is impossible to state whether both traces have been left by one or more readers. The inclusion of these final phrases of the Lord's Prayer in Bible translations was, and still is, debated, as the words occur only in part of the manuscript sources of the Gospel of Matthew and are altogether absent in Luke's version of the prayer.[45] The Latin Vulgate does not contain the words, leading to the absence of the phrase in catholicising editions such as Vorsterman's 1531 Bible and the Louvain Bible of 1548. In the words of the late sixteenth-century, anti-Calvinist annotator of the 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Leuven, MSB, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1535) – the same Bible in which the word 'alone' in Romans 3:28 had been so carefully scratched out – 'these notes have been added by the *geuzen* [i.e. Calvinist opponents of the Spanish rule].'[46]

Not only the content of text and paratext, but also the structure of the book was determined by confessional guidelines and expectations and therefore open to debate. In a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Cambridge, SCC, R.23), a reader regularly adjusted the chapter divisions of multiple Bible books. Adaptations have been made, for instance, to the beginning of Job 39. Rather than having the chapter begin with the verse 'Wilt thou hunt the prey for the lion …' (Job 38:39 in the Catholic Louvain Bible, Job 39:1 in the Liesvelt Bible), the reader let the chapter start at 'Knowest thou the time when the wild goats …' (Job 39:1 in the Catholic Louvain Bible, Job 39:4 in the Liesvelt Bible). This was achieved by crossing out the printed chapter heading and writing 'capit xxix' in the margin three verses further down (fig. 34).[47]

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44 *Want u is dat rijc, ende die cracht, ende die heerlicheydt inder eewicheydt, Amen.*

45 On the presence and absence of the doxology in the manuscript sources of Matthew, see: Dennis D. Duling, 'The Gospel of Matthew', in David E. Aune (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to the New Testament* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 296–318, pp. 299–300.

46 *Dese noteringe is van de geusen bygevoegt.* The same annotator left several other anti-Calvinist notes in the books of Genesis and Exodus. Furthermore, it might be this reader who decided to scrape the word 'alone' off the page in Romans 3:28.

47 Another comparable example is the adjustment in the beginning of Job 41, which also resonates with contemporary debates on chapter division: rather than starting with 'Canst thou draw out leviathan with a hook …' (Job 40:20 in the Louvain Bible and Job 41:1 in the

FIGURE 34 Adjustment of the beginning of Job 39 in a copy of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible edition of 1535. Cambridge, Selwyn College, R.23 REPRODUCED BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE MASTER AND FELLOWS OF SELWYN COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

These corrections are in accordance with the Vulgate-based chapter division of various Catholic early modern Bible editions that follow Stephen Langton's medieval chapter division, such as the Louvain Bible of 1548.

Another example of a reader-annotator who shows awareness of the debates in biblical chapter division is the seventeenth-century reader of the heavily-annotated 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Oxford, BLO, Bib.Dutch.C3). In this copy, several annotations in the book of Isaiah relate to the fact that the chapter division in the Liesvelt Bible differs from the chapter division in a Bible the annotator refers to as the *deodati Bybel*, as shortly mentioned in chapter 4.2. The Geneva-born Bible translator Giovanni Diodati was responsible for several seventeenth-century Protestant Italian Bible translations, as well as a French Bible printed in Geneva in 1644. It is likely that the annotator refers here to the French Bible, which, indeed, follows the chapter division mentioned in the annotations. An example is the beginning of Isaiah 8. In the margin of Isaiah 7:27 ('Moreover the Lord said unto me, take thee a great roll …'), the annotation recalls that 'Here starts the 8th chapter in [the] Deodati Bible' (*Hyer begint het 8. capittel in deodati Bybel*). Isaiah 8:1 in Diodati's *La sainte Bible* (1644) indeed begins with 'Puis l'Eternel me dit, Pren-toi un grand

Liesvelt Bible), the reader transfers the beginning of the chapter to 'None is so fierce that dare stir him up …' (Job 41:1 in the Louvain Bible and Job 41:10 in the Liesvelt Bible).

rouleau …'.[48] Similar references to the chapter division in Diodati's Bible are made concerning the starts of chapters Isaiah 14, Isaiah 15, Isaiah 16, and Isaiah 64. By their adjustments, reader-users thus display their preference for certain chapter divisions. With pen in hand, they could take part in the completion of text production and could appropriate agency in the creation of a 'proper' structuralising of the text, going beyond the control of the printer-publisher.

Readers' interventions in the confessionally-coloured characteristics of their Bibles did not only concern the textual and paratextual elements of the book. In a 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Leuven, MSB, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1535), a user has displayed their outspoken criticism of certain elements in the woodcut at the beginning of Genesis. Apparently aware of the important role images and depictions played in the contemporary confessional debates, they deliberately placed an ink blob on the figure of God in the woodcut depicting the creation of Eve from Adam's rib (fig. 35).

Similarly, in a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Haarlem, BKA, previous collection of G. J. Jaspers), depictions of God have been obliterated with ink stains, testifying to an increasing sensitivity of Protestants with regard to the depiction of God.[49] Although the woodcuts used by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch were often shared among printers with different confessional preferences, imagery that was not confessionally coloured at the moment of printing could gain that meaning over time.

Early modern readers of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles would also leave annotations commenting on contemporary theological and confessional discussions, or the confessional implications of certain biblical passages. In a Hansken van Liesvelt Bible 1538 (Brussels, KBR, L.P.174C RP), an anonymous sixteenth-century reader displayed their Reformation-minded orientation in extensive annotations across the flyleaf in the back of the book. The annotations consist of references to certain biblical passages, as well as notes

48 USTC No. 6701164.

49 In his *Insitutio* (lib. I, cap. xi, paragraph 12), John Calvin states that: *Restat igitur ut ea sola pingantur ac sculpantur quorum sint capaces oculi: Dei maiestas, quae oculorum sensu longe superior est, ne indecoris spectris corrampatur* (Petrus Barth and Guilelmus Niesel (eds.), *Joannis Calvini: Opera Selecta; volume III* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2011), p, 101); 'only those things are to be sculptured or painted which the eyes are capable of seeing: let not God's majesty, which is far above the perception of the eyes, be debased through unseemly representations' (translation: William A. Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 74).

FIGURE 35
Censorship of the depiction of God and the genitalia of Adam and Eve in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1535. Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.005.1/Fo BIJB 1535

that point out the differences between Catholic and Reformation-minded beliefs. The reader-annotator begins with the following lines:

> There are three things through which one may distinguish the Christian religion from the false and heretic religion, namely first the word of God about the use of the sacraments and about the Christian punishment, which the heretic and devilish religion does not have.[50]

50 *Daer zijn 3 zaecken daer an dat men de kristeleken Relygen bekennen mach vuut der valsen ende ketterschen relyge te weten teerste het woordt godes vuut het ghebruick der sacramenten ende vuut de kristeleke strafe ut welcke de valsche ofte de kettersche en duvelsche Relyge niet en heeft.*

The annotator continues by providing a list of biblical references, which they apply to defend Reformation-minded perspectives on themes such as imagery and God's grace. These include references to the Bible books of Deuteronomy 12, concerning the veneration of images, and to Philippians 3:18–19, about people who live as 'enemies of Christ's cross'.[51] Further along, the annotator also refers to and rephrases Romans 3:28, the disputed verse concerning the justification by grace mentioned above: '… because nobody can be justified for God by the works of the law'.[52]

In a 1534 Liesvelt Bible (Amsterdam, UvA, OG 65-36), a reader-annotator left multiple marginal notes that display their Catholic conviction. In the margin of Matthew 16:18, which states that Peter is the rock upon which the congregation will be build, the annotator inscribed: 'NB this is the greatest commandment in the church.'[53] The confessional stance of the annotator is displayed by marking this passage, which forms one of the main justifications of the papacy, as well as by their use of the word 'church' (*kerck*) in the annotation, instead of 'congregation' (*gemeynte*), although the latter is used in the main text. Another confessionally coloured marginal response can be found next to Luke 19:10 ('For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost'): 'NB this argues against the predestination.'[54] Furthermore, the annotator refers to several of the seven sacraments, for instance by writing 'NB [Holy] supper' in the margin next to Mark 14:22 ('And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave to them, and said: Take, eat: this is my body'), and 'Baptism and confirmation' alongside John 3:5 ('Jesus answered: Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God').[55] In the margin next to Luke 7:47 ('Wherefore I say unto thee: Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much, but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little'), the annotation states that 'one should repeatedly do penance and good works because of many sins.'[56] In these and various other annotations, the reader used elements of the biblical text to confirm and develop their ideas of what the Christian, Catholic faith should comprehend.

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51 *vyands vands cruise christi.*

52 *… om dat gheen vleesch dor die wercken des wets voor godt rechuerdich zijn en mach.*

53 *NB dit ist grootste gebodt inde kerck.*

54 *NB: dit strijt tegen de predestinatie.*

55 *NB avontmaal; Doopsel en vormsel.* The annotator also refers to the confirmation (*vormsel* or *formsel*) in the margins of Luke 18:16, Acts 8:15, and Acts 19:2. In each of these references, to receive the Holy Ghost is understood as the sacrament of confirmation.

56 *Men moet veel pententie en goede wercken doen om veel sonden.*

2 Accommodating Reading Practices

In their annotations, markings, and additions, readers could not only respond to text, paratext, or image, but they could also apply such modifications to ease, shape, or structure future reading behaviour. The current section will dive deeper into the transformative techniques that readers embraced in their accommodation of specific reading practices.[57]

2.1 *Creating Efficient Navigation*

In the words of Sawyer, '[almost] all … kinds of reading entail at least a minimum amount of navigation: when reading a text from beginning to end in more than one session we must "find our place" on each return to the book; when reading a text out of order – discontinuously – we must navigate within and between different pages.'[58] It has been assumed that as printer-publishers started to develop typographical and paratextual elements to facilitate navigation – such as the running titles, summaries, and registers described previously – handwritten navigational and paratextual additions would become superfluous and start to diminish.[59] However, surviving Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bible copies demonstrate that readers remained actively involved in shaping their own navigational processes.

Evidence of readers' involvement with the printed navigational aids can be found in several types of responses and adjustments. Readers have, for instance, recurrently corrected printing errors in the paratexts, particularly in the running titles and chapter numberings.[60] In the annotated Liesvelt Bible of 1535 (Oxford, BLO, Bib.Dutch.C3), for example, the running title at the top of the page of Exodus 6 – incorrectly printed as 'The book Genesis / The 6th Chapter' (*Het boec Genesis / Het .vi. Capittel*) – was corrected by a reader by

57 The term 'transformative techniques' is also used by Sherman, *Used Books*, 3.

58 Daniel Sawyer, 'Navigation by Tab and Thread: Place-Markers and Readers' Movement in Books', in Mary C. Flannery and Carrie Griffin (eds.), *Spaces for Reading in Later Medieval England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 99–114, p. 100.

59 For example, Dijstelberge, *Wat is een boek?*, who stated that the reader who would have personally managed the paratext of his books during the fifteenth century became a passive consumer of the printer's ideas of hierarchy in the sixteenth century (74–75). Furthermore, the presence of navigational and decorative elements such as colouring and rubrication in printed books at the beginning of the sixteenth century has been understood almost exclusively as a reminder of a manuscript lay-out (e.g. Elly Cockx-Indestege and Willem Heijting, 'De doorbraak van de drukkunst in roerige tijden: Het Nederlandse boek in de zestiende eeuw', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 17 (2010), pp. 93–140, p. 116), rather than an early modern characteristic as such.

60 On the practice of correcting running titles, see also: Bourne, 'Running Titles', pp. 197–199.

crossing out the word 'Genesis' and changing it to 'Exodus'.[61] In a similar manner, readers of various copies have corrected erroneous chapter numberings, either in running titles or above chapters. This could easily be done by adding or removing a character from the number, e.g. from 4 Kings (2 Kings) *XVII* to 4 Kings *XVIII* in a 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (New York, BeNY, MLN30 + 538).[62] Examples like these show that readers valued trustworthy navigational guidance and were critical towards printing errors and inconsistencies in the printed paratext.[63]

In various cases, readers of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles went beyond correcting or improving printed navigational aids. They also included their own paratextual instruments to ease and accommodate certain discontinuous reading practices.[64] In two surviving copies, readers have

61 The same correction has been made in another JvL CB 1535 (Oxford, LC, k.9.27). Similar corrections of running titles can also be found in HvL CB 1538 (Leerdam, SBM), HvL CB 1538 (Utrecht, ULU, Rariora qu.175), JvL CB 1534 (Brussels, KBR, LP VH 30 C), and HPvM CB 1535 (Cambridge, SCC, R.23).

62 Similar corrections of chapter numberings can also be found in JvL CB 1526 (Antwerp, MPM, R 58.2), JvL B 1526 (Leiden, ULL, 1497 A 11) JvL CB 1534 (Brussels, KBR, LP 586 A), JvL CB 1534 ('s-Heerenberg, HB, Inv. no. 327), JvL CB 1542a (Tilburg, ULT, TFH-D 303), HvL CB 1538 (Leerdam, SBM), and HPvM CB 1535 (Cambridge, SCC, R.23).

63 Readers adjusted and corrected not only printing errors in paratext, but also mistakes and inconsistencies in the main text of the book. An example can be found in Exodus 32:10 ('Now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may burn hot against them and I may consume them, in order that I may make a great nation of you.' (ESV)) in JvL CB 1535 (Oxford, BLO, Bib.Dutch.C3), where two letters that are missing in the printed text have been added in red ink ('ende ic sa*l u* maken in een groot volc'). On readers' involvement in correcting the book, see also: Blair, 'Errata Lists'; Blatt, *Participatory Reading*, pp. 27–61. Blair crucially notes that 'even when, as in most cases, readers' corrections did not affect later editions, the changes made by readers nonetheless constituted the final stage of production of a printed text … Those who read with pen in hand to correct their copy of a printed book … shaped the transmission of that text, at least through their individual copy' (40). By the corrections they made, readers could act beyond the control of printer-publishers and influence the 'correct' mediation of the biblical text and paratext in their own copy.

64 Although the vast majority of readers' traces, adjustments, and annotations point towards a discontinuous reading behaviour, some readers might have also aimed for a continuous reading of the book from Genesis to Revelations. Underneath the colophon of a 1542b Liesvelt Bible (Ghent, BS, A 872), a reader marked that they 'began [reading] on 18 June 1643' (*Den xviije Junij 1643 begonst*). This annotation connects to a linear mode of reading that appears to be popular particularly among seventeenth-century, Protestant readers. Such annotations are not unique. In a Dutch 1683 *Statenbijbel* (in private ownership), a reader called Pieter Pietersz. Cuus describes his and his wife's reading behaviour at the end of the New Testament. Between 1688 and 1721 they read the entire Bible eleven times. In 1688, they even finished reading the entire book twice: 'Anno 1688, on 1 January, have I, Pieter Pietersz Cuus, and my wife Jannetie Bareus, started reading this Bible and have succeeded on 30 June. On 1 July in the same year, we have started again and my wife

included handwritten tables of contents. This is the case in a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Antwerp, MPM, R 53.12), where a list of all Bible books in the Old and New Testaments has been written in a late-sixteenth-century hand on the blank space underneath the colophon at the back of the book. Similarly, in a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Ghent, ULG, Theol. 4084), a seventeenth-century handwritten table of contents of the Old Testament can be found on a front flyleaf of the book.

Another way in which readers could impact the navigational structures of their book, was through the addition of folio numbering and verse numbering. Both elements are absent in the printed material of most Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles but were regularly included by readers themselves.[65] Foliation has been added, for instance, in a 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (Utrecht, ULU, Rariora qu.175).[66] The upper right corner of each folio has been numbered in an early modern hand, throughout both the Old and New Testaments.[67] In addition, the same reader added these folio numbers to the list of Bible book abbreviations at the beginning of the book, allowing it to function as a table of contents.[68] The reader-annotator also included the corresponding folio-numbers to every reference in the liturgical reading

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has succeeded on the 20 December and I on the 28th of the same [month]. So we have twice in one year read across the Old and New Testament with joy, through God's blessing' (*Anno 1688 Op den 1 Januuarij Ben Ick Pieter Pietersz Cuus Ende mijn huysvrou Jannetie Bareus Desen bijbel begonnen om te lesen en hebben op den 30 Junij gedaen gekregen / Den 1 Julij des selwen jaers sijn wij beijde weder begonnen en heeft mijn vrouw den 20 desember ende ick den 28 dijto gedaen gekregen soo dat wij 2 mael in een jaer soo Oud als Nuw Testament door godes zegen met vrught hebben om gelezen*). On continuous Bible reading practices in the early modern period, see also: Patrick Collinson, 'The Coherence of the Text: How it Hangeth Together: The Bible in Reformation England', in W. P. Stephens (ed.), *The Bible, the Reformation and the Church: Essays in Honour of James Atkinson* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp. 84–108, pp. 91–99; Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls', pp. 47–50.

65 Printed foliation is present in PvM 1541 CB, not in any of the other complete Bible editions.

66 This foliation has been added by a late sixteenth century reader, as can be detected based on the handwriting. Foliation from a (much) later date, however, also occurs in various surviving Bible copies. This is the case, for instance, in a JvL NT 1535 (Ghent, ULG, BIB.ACC.033490), which features modern pencil foliation.

67 Complete foliation, of all 411 folio's in this case, is rare. In most cases foliation was only added to certain parts of the book. This is the case, for instance, in a copy of the 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (New York, BeNY, Mln30 + 538). The 92 folio's of the New Testament have been numbered in the right upper corner. Similar to the HvL CB 1538 (Utrecht, ULU, Rariora qu.175), the annotator included these folio numbers to the list of contents of the New Testament.

68 The reader rendered the list of abbreviations incomplete, as the Epistle of James was missing. They added it at the end of the list, together with the corresponding folio number.

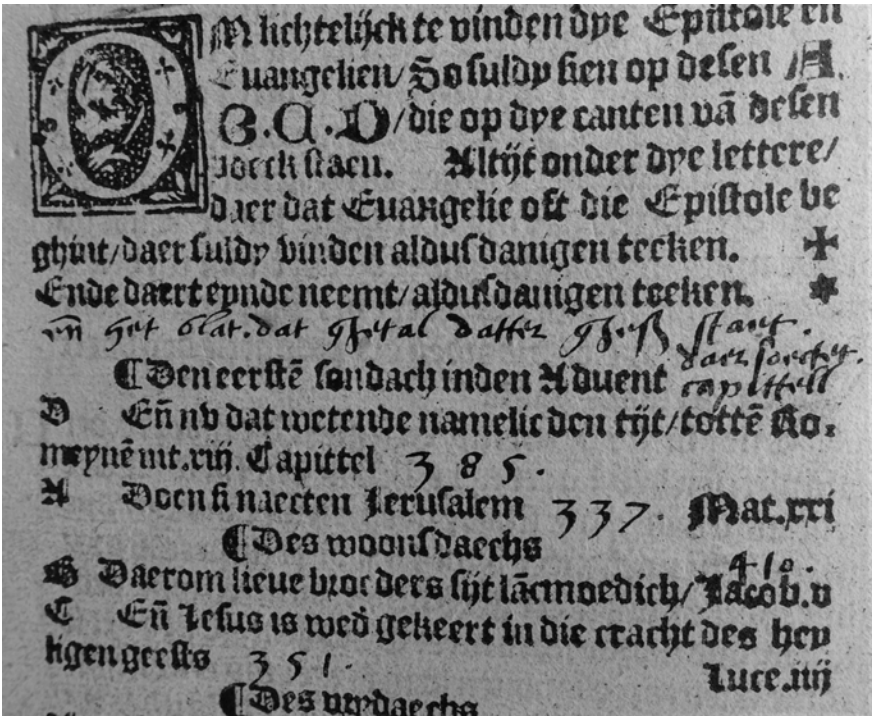

FIGURE 36 Annotation and added folio numbers in the liturgical reading schedule in a copy of Hansken van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1538. Utrecht University Library, Rariora qu.175

schedule and extended the printed introduction to the schedule with the line: 'and [for] the page: the number which is written there, there you shall seek the chapter' (fig. 36).[69]

The presence of this explanation implies that the reader was aware that future readers might engage with the book and use its reading schedule for their reading, and that they could hence benefit from the handwritten addition of folio numbers. By adding the folio numbers to the pages and including them in the printed paratextual material, the reader thus provided new navigational possibilities for themselves as well as for future readers.

A similar practice can be recognised in hand-added verse numbering. As mentioned earlier, verse numbering was not introduced in Dutch Bible editions until the Biestkens Bible of 1560.[70] However, late sixteenth-century

69 *ende het blat. dat ghetal datter ghescreven state. daer soectet capittell.*

70 See: Wim François, 'De doopsgezinde Biestkensbijbel (1560) en de gereformeerde Deux-Aesbijbel (1562): Bijbelvertalingen voor de protestanten', in Paul Gillaerts et al.

readers would often have been acquainted with the benefits of verse numbering for biblical navigation, and might have felt inclined to add such numbering to their Bibles.[71] In a 1526 Liesvelt Bible (Antwerp, MPM, R 58.2), an anonymous user of the book developed an intricate reference system by adding verse numbering to a considerable number of single verses across both the Old and New Testaments (and in a few cases multiple verses in a row), and connecting these to hand-written cross-references.[72] By doing so, the reader could navigate to the precise verses to which their cross-references pointed. In other surviving copies, verse numbering is added 'in isolation', i.e. not connected to another paratextual element. In a 1542a Liesvelt Bible (Amsterdam, VU, XC.05046-), a reader has numbered various verses throughout the Old and New Testaments, such as all fifty-eight verses of Matthew 13, all thirty-six of Matthew 14, and verses 9 and 27–39 of Matthew 15 (fig. 37).

It is unclear why this user numbered these specific verses and left the margins next to others blank, and how these numberings might have been used in reading practices. The reader possibly used other liturgical schedules or reference works that specified verse numbers, and thus allowed for the application of these aids to the Bible.[73]

It is relevant to note that the verse distinction in each of the copies mentioned here was not added randomly, but in accordance with the established verse numbering in later early modern Bibles. Readers evidently had access to a source upon which they could base their numbering of Bible verses, such as another partial or complete Bible edition, and considered it relevant to bring

(eds.), *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen* (Heerenveen: Royal Jongbloed, 2015), pp. 304–341, pp. 319–320.

71 Verse numbering was first introduced in print by Robert Estienne in 1551. About Robert Estienne's verse numbering and the reception of this system in other Bible editions, see: William P. Weaver, 'The Verse Divisions of the New Testament and the Literary Culture of the Reformation', *Reformation*, 16 (2011), pp. 161–177, pp. 161–164.

72 The handwritten cross-references in this copy (Antwerp, MPM, R 58.2) also sometimes refer to each other. For example, next to Job 31:1, the reader annotated *Mat. 5. 26*, and next to Matthew 5:26, they referred back to *Job. 31. 1*. It should be noted, furthermore, that not every verse to which a cross-reference points has been numbered. In various cases, a cross-reference refers to an unnumbered Bible verse. This is also the case in this example; neither Job 31:1 nor Matthew 5:26 has been numbered.

73 The inclusion of numbering was not the only way in which users could clarify verse distinctions. In the only known surviving copy of Liesvelt's 1540 New Testament (Stuttgart, WLB, Bb niederländ 154001), the verses of Matthew 2 have been distinguished by placing brackets at the end of every verse. This practice of verse division does not appear anywhere else in the book, and it is unknown why the individual chose to do so in Matthew 2. However, similarly to the examples already described, the distinctions between verses may have played a role in the reader's understanding of the structure of the chapter.

FIGURE 37 Hand-added verse numbering in Matthew 13 to 15 in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition (a) of 1542. Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, XC.05046-

that structuralising aspect into their Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles.

Beyond the structuring of chapters, readers also interacted with larger navigational structures of the book. For instance, one of the ways in which book users could embrace and reinforce the navigability *between* Bible books was through the addition of tabs: small bookmarks glued to the edges of a page.[74]

74 As Sawyer has noted, physical markers such as tabs have survived in large numbers in late medieval and early modern books. However, there has been little detailed or systematic treatment of the practice of creating and utilising these markers. See: Sawyer, 'Navigation by Tab and Thread', pp. 99–101. Tabs, furthermore, are not the only static markers that were used in late medieval and early modern books. Other examples are knotted pieces of thread (see: Sawyer, 'Navigation by Tab and Thread', p. 102; Heather Blatt, 'Book Accessories, Gender, and the Staging of Reading', in Martin Chase and Maryanne Kowaleski (eds.), *Reading and Writing in Medieval England: Essays in Honor of Mary C. Erler* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019), pp. 150–177, pp. 157–161) or objects such as religious badges and pilgrims' souvenirs attached to the edge of the page (see: Hanneke van Asperen, 'The Book as Shrine, the Badge as Bookmark: Religious Badges and Pilgrims' Souvenirs in Devotional Manuscripts', in Marco Faini and Alessia Meneghin (eds.), *Domestic Devotions in the Early Modern World* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019), pp. 288–312).

FIGURE 38 Knotted, textile tabs to mark the beginning of each Bible book in a copy of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible edition of 1541. St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana, Sammlung der Ortsbürgergemeinde, Vadslg EA 50

Tabs in Bibles were – and are – commonly used to signal the beginnings of Bible books. Tabs could be made from various materials. In a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (St. Gallen, KBG, Vadslg EA 50), small, greenish-coloured textile knots identify the start of each Bible book (fig. 38).

On a short description of static bookmarks in manuscripts, see: Erik Kwakkel, *Books Before Print* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 135–136.

More common, however, are tabs made from parchment. In a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Haarlem, NBG, 31"1541"-Vors(Midd)), for instance, strips of parchment have been folded over and glued to both sides of the right edge of the page in two diagonal lines (i.e. starting at the top of the page again at the beginning of the New Testament).[75] The name of each Bible book has been written on the tabs in an anonymous, late sixteenth-century hand. Recurrent use has darkened the parchment and the tabs are missing in some places, leaving ripped edges of the paper or glue stains. As in this example, the parchment or paper from which tabs were made was usually blank. However, tabs could also be made from recycled material. A 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Leerdam, GBS) contains two tabs that have been made from parchment scraps from a medieval manuscript, featuring red and blue penwork (fig. 39).[76]

Besides tabs, early modern readers of Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles used moveable bookmarks to remember where they left off or to mark certain biblical passages in order to easily return to them later. However, the very moveability and temporality of these marks has resulted in a low survival rate and few evident traces.[77] Nevertheless, several extent Bible copies contain loose slips of paper that we can assume were probably used as dynamic bookmarks. In a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Leuven, MSB, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1541), for instance, a separate leaf from a sextodecimo-sized book survives between the pages of the folio Bible. The leaf, which is taken from Lambrecht Myseras' manual for Reformed participants to the sacrament

75 Similar tabs marking the beginnings of Bible books are featured in JvL CB 1526 (Amsterdam, UvA, OG 65-33), JvL CB 1526 (Cambridge, ULC, Young 32–33), JvL CB 1535 (Oxford, BLO, Bib.Dutch.C2), HvL CB 1538 (Haarlem, NHA, NK 409), JvL CB 1534 (Leerdam, GBS), HPvM CB 1535 (Cambridge, SCC, R.23), HPvM CB 1541 (Leerdam, GBS), and HPvM CB 1541 (Cambridge, ULC, Syn.3.54.3). Another JvL CB 1542b (Amsterdam, VU, XC.05045-) only contains one tab, marking the beginning of Proverbs.

76 The reuse of manuscript material to create tabs is not unique to this copy. The tabs in a 1481 breviary (Groningen, RUG, uklu INC 55) were made from a colourful, illuminated manuscript (e.g. at fol. K6), and in a manuscript compilation containing, amongst others, several texts by Jan van Boendale (Oxford, BLO, MS. Marschall 29), the beginnings of various texts are similarly marked by tabs made from manuscript material. Special thanks to Anna de Bruyn and Daniël Ermens for informing me about these examples.

77 Bookmarks could leave traces, but this is rarely found in the analysed Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles. Bookmarks made from acidic paper can leave discolouration. This is mainly the case with the use of modern, wood pulp-based paper, which has a significantly higher acid level than the rag-based paper of the premodern period. In addition, although not strictly a bookmark (and definitely not early modern), a rusty stain of a paperclip at the beginning of the Book of Exodus in a JvL CB 1526 (London, BL, C.110.g.4) clearly illustrates its past presence.

FIGURE 39 Parchment tabs featuring fragments of red and blue medieval penwork in a copy of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible edition of 1541. Leerdam, Gereformeerde Bijbelstichting

of the Lord's Supper, printed in 1738 by the Rotterdam printer Hendrik van Pelt, was probably used as a book mark.[78] Another example is a 1542 Liesvelt Bible (Utrecht, ULU, THO RIJS 001–067) in which five paper slips have survived. Three are torn from blank paper, one from the Book of Joshua in a *Statenbijbel* (Dutch Standard Bible), and one originates from a vita of St. Lambertus of Maastricht.[79] The last of these paper slips contains the ownership inscription 'Lijsbetie Blanckevort', who owned the vitae book and/or the Liesvelt Bible.

78 Lambrecht Myseras, *Onderrigt voor ware Vroome, Om een betamelyk gebruik van het H. Avondmaal te maken*, printed by Hendrik van Pelt in Rotterdam, 1738; fol. 123. Digitally available at: https://books.google.nl/books?id=d7uowhuaoPoC&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

79 The text on the paper slip is in accordance with the digitised edition of the *Statenbijbel* of 1728 (https://books.google.be/books?id=IAv5KpXJp70C&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl#v=onepage&q&f=true, fol. 101), but the mise-en-page is slightly different. It is, however, likely that the paper fragment is taken from another eighteenth-century edition of the *Statenbijbel*. The precise edition of the fragment of the vita has so far remained undetectable, but the fragment was most likely taken from a seventeenth-century book of vitae.

The presence of fragments of other texts within the book creates a dynamic of what Knight has called 'material intertextuality'.[80] Regardless of the content of the various texts, their togetherness within the material book creates discursive interactions between them. From the material togetherness of texts from Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century fragments from a Reformed manual, the *Statenbijbel*, or a vitae book, new narratives and interpretations may emerge, either consciously or unconsciously. It is particularly interesting that these three paper slips are taken from religious works that are outspokenly Catholic or Reformed, which creates a rather eclectic and dynamic combination of confessional colours within the material book. Not only does their presence in the Bibles testify to (likely) overlapping reading circles between these various texts, they also provide any later reader of the book with a dynamic combination of texts.

Not all bookmarks, however, contain text, either printed or written. On the contrary: most are empty paper slips, torn from paper that was simply available at the moment of reading. Many of these appear to be, as Kwakkel calls them, 'spur-of-the-moment bookmarks.'[81] Some bookmarks, however, were deliberately created for their purpose. Both a 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Tilburg, ULT, TF.PRE.10) and a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Düsseldorf, ULB, 20 Biblth.1A.75(2), 2. Ex) contain little heart-shaped bookmarks, cut out of parchment and with a V-shaped opening in the middle (fig. 40).

A kite-shaped bookmark, made from inscribed paper, that has survived in a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (London, BL, C.64.g.5) also has the V-shaped opening and similar pointing end. These characteristics would allow the reader to place the bookmark at the edge of the page. With the pointing end of the heart or kite, the reader could rindicate precisely the verse where

80 Knight, *Bound to Read*, p. 16. Another Bible copy in which the material closeness between various texts provides insight in the use of the book is a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Leuven, MSB, P.22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1541(a)). In this copy, the pastedown at the back of the book has started to disintegrate, and it now displays the various layers underneath the top paper layer. Closest to the wooden binding is a late medieval parchment manuscript fragment. Then, the binding is strengthened with a paper fragment which is cut from an early modern pamphlet. The pamphlet, *Tractaet van t'Bestand, ghemaeckt ende besloten binnen de Stadt en*de *Cité van Antwerpen*, was printed by Hillebrant Iacobsz in 1609 in The Hague (not enough of the fragment has survived to determine from which of the 1609 editions (USTC No's: 1516112; 1032209; 1032208; 1516102; 1019393) it was taken). On top of these two fragments, the remains of what once functioned as a paper pastedown display vague and only partially readable genealogical annotations from around 1690.

81 Kwakkel, *Books Before Print*, p. 138.

FIGURE 40 Heart-shaped bookmark in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1535. University Library Tilburg, TF.PRE.10

they wish to continue reading.[82] These small, practical bookmarks could help readers quickly return to a marked page or verse. Furthermore, it is plausible that readers would have had multiple bookmarks at hand, allowing them to navigate easily between various places in the book and hence enable the concurrent reading of several biblical passages. Although so often lost, bookmarks functioned as important navigational aids.

2.2 *Expanding the Volume*

Influencing and creating navigational aids was only one of the means for readers to accommodate certain reading practices. Their agency and involvement in shaping and transforming the book could also manifest in the addition of textual and visual material to the book, either by including elements within the book binding or by positioning them alongside the printed material on the page. Ranging from the addition of a single prayer to creating what Sherman has called 'radically customized copies', readers could actively challenge the content and shape of the book and the page.[83]

The flexibility of early modern books relied for a considerable part upon the fact that binding processes were creative and open-ended. Like most

82 Similar heart-shaped bookmarks were already created and used in the late medieval period. See: Kwakkel, *Books Before Print*, p. 136.

83 Sherman 2012, 127–130.

early printed books, Bibles by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch were probably sold from the publishing house or bookshop to readers as unbound sheets.[84] Book buyers would decide about the type of binding and would take the sheets to a book binder. They could also decide to incorporate other texts, creating *sammelbände* or textual compilations, or to not even bind the book at all.[85] Because unbound books – or books kept in temporary structures such as paper wrappers – would usually be bound in a more solid way at a later moment *or* discarded as waste paper, examples of unbound books rarely survive.[86] However, a copy of Liesvelt's 1527 edition of the Wisdom of Solomon (Amsterdam, UvA, Ned. Inc. 511; fig. 41) indeed seems to have never been sewn into a solid binding.

The copy currently consists of separate gatherings that are not connected to each other. Three widely placed double perforations at the top of the page suggest that the book has been fastened to something before, but the absence of any perforation and needle marks in the folding of the quires rules out that the book has ever been bound in a more definite way.

Furthermore, a large number of surviving Bible copies prove to have been rebound at least once.[87] It is likely that in various instances, intensive use of the book could have worn out the original binding. In addition, readers could choose to rebind the book in order to personalise the copy or to reshape its contents. The relevance of binding and rebinding the book is reflected in the

84 There is no clear-cut evidence of the selling and buying practice of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles. However, based on data from contemporary printers such as Cornelis Claesz and Plantin, it is plausible that the majority of Bibles would have been sold from the publisher's bookshop to the buyer in separate sheets (*in albis*). See: August A. den Hollander, 'Assortiment (genre/taal) van het verhandelde boek', in Marieke van Delft en Clemens de Wolf (eds.), *Bibliopolis: Geschiedenis van het gedrukte boek in Nederland* (Zwolle/The Hague: Waanders Uitgevers/Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2003), pp. 42–43.

85 For an extensive study of practices of textual compilation within bindings in the early modern period, see Knight, *Bound to Read*. See also: Jason Scott-Warren, 'Ligatures of the Early Modern Book', *Book 2.0*, 7:1 (2017), pp. 33–44, pp. 35–36.

86 See also: David Pearson, *Book Ownership in Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), p. 104.

87 Rebinding practices have been an important cause for the loss of many readers' traces. Rebinding would often include replacing pastedowns and flyleaves as well, elements regularly used for annotation and ownership notes. Therefore, rebinding would allow later book users to discard traces of previous readers. Furthermore, a crucial agent in these processes have been modern librarians, in particular those of the nineteenth century, whose destructive perspective on annotations and reading traces led to the washing and bleaching of annotated pages and the extreme cropping of edges in processes of rebinding. See also: Monique Hulvey, 'Not So Marginal: Manuscript Annotations in the Folger Incunabula', *PBSA*, 92:2 (1998), pp. 159–176, p. 161; Saenger and Heilen 1991, 254.

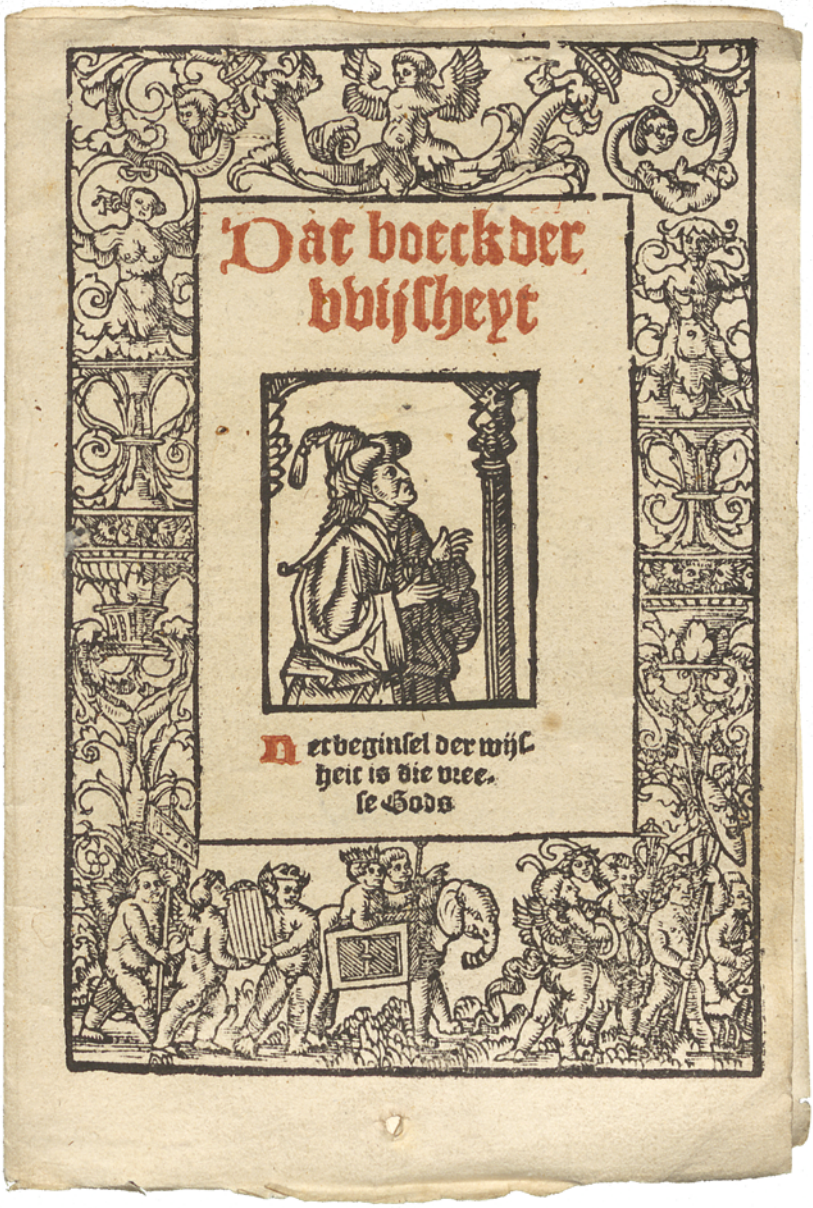

FIGURE 41 Title page of Jacob van Liesvelt's edition of the Wisdom of Solomon of 1527. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam Library, Ned. Inc. 511

words of Ghijsbrecht Fransz who wrote on the first flyleaf of his 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Utrecht, MCC, BMH Sp pi5): 'Anno 1561 on 17 August this book was bound this way.'[88] The binding has received considerably care: multiple folio-sized medieval manuscript leaves were used to strengthen the heavy wooden plats and stamped leather binding. To Ghijsbrecht Fransz, this (re)binding of the book was clearly a moment worth to mark and remember.

Processes of binding and rebinding could define the contents and build-up of the book, as readers could decide to remove parts of the text or paratext, split the book into multiple volumes, or include new texts, paratexts, or images in the binding.[89] In Scott-Warren's words, 'acts of binding and rebinding could be embodied interpretation.'[90] By adjusting the book's content and structure, readers could influence the formation of meaning within the book, for themselves as well as for future readers. Readers could have various reasons to include non-original material into the binding of the book. Firstly, textual, paratextual, or visual elements could be added in order to solve possible lacunae and losses in the book.[91] As Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles moved through time, pages could get lost as a result of damage or active removal. In a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Amsterdam, VU, XC.05044-), for instance, the first twenty-five chapters of Genesis were lost. However, a large part of the missing text is substituted by an early modern, likely late seventeenth-century manuscript, bound in before the printed pages.[92] The

88 *Anno 1561 den 17 augustus is dit buick aldus gebonden*. Ghijsbrecht Fransz wrote down his ownership mark at the end of the book, underneath the colophon: 'Item: this book belongs to Ghijsbrecht Fransz, living in Amsterdam on the Oude Sijdt, on the *leech eerf* in the Halsteeghe. If it were the case that it gets lost, I beg the person who finds it that he will bring it back; he will be justly awarded. Do good, you will not be disappointed' (*Item dit boock hort toe ghijsbrecht fransz wonende tamsterdamme ande oude sijdt opt leech eerf in die halsteeghe oft saeck waer dattet verloren wort soe bid ick die gheen diet vijndt dat hijdt weder brenct men salt hem eerlijck loonen. Doet goedt hedt sal u niet rouwen*).

89 A JvL CB 1526 (Cambridge, ULC, Young 32 & 33) has been divided in two volumes. The first contains the Bible books Genesis to Song of Songs, the second contains Isaiah to Revelations. The current binding is from later date, probably late eighteenth- or early nineteenth century. However, the early modern annotations at the ends of both volumes, which describe which books are part of which volume, suggest that the splitting of the book dates back to at least the seventeenth century.

90 See: Scott-Warren, 'Ligatures', p. 35. See also: McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order*, pp. 48–52.

91 On mutilated books and how readers made sense of loss and incompletion, both practically and metaphorically, see: Leah Whittington, 'The Mutilated Text', in Alexandra Gillespie and Deidre Lynch (eds.), *The Unfinished Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 429–443.

92 In a similar way, a missing corner of the liturgical reading schedule in a 1526 Liesvelt Bible (Bremen, SUB, 99.C.0417) has been completed by pasting a square of paper onto the page,

manuscript consists of a simple title page with the words *Biblia Sacra*, an opening page to the Bible book of Genesis, and the first fifteen chapters of Genesis, including the reproduction of several marginal glosses and illustrations. Genesis 16 to Genesis 24 remain lacking, but the blank sheets of paper that follow the handwritten part suggest that the reader might have intended to follow up their activity.[93] The handwritten text follows the aforementioned Louvain Bible translation of Nicolaas van Winge. Although the reader-annotator clearly adhered to a printed exemplar in text, paratext, and layout (even including the placement of several images), the manuscript format also provided space to personalise: they drew the coat of arms of Amsterdam on a blank verso next to their handwritten reconstruction of Genesis 13 (fig. 42).

The inclusion of this manuscript supplement displays the user's desire to repair the printed Bible as well as their employment of the possibilities to transform and personalise the book.

In many other cases, the addition of textual, paratextual, or visual elements was not motivated by a need to fill in any evident lacunae, but rather by a wish to transform, optimise, and expand the contents of the book. Although in theory, every type of text or image could be inserted within, or removed from, the early modern book, elements that were most regularly added to Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles are informative charts and geographic maps.[94] One of the copies in which these elements have been included is a

containing in handwriting the missing passages from the reading schedule. Furthermore, lacunae in the printed content of the Bible copies were not only reconstructed by the early modern additions of manuscript material, but also, much more recently, by placing photocopies of the missing parts between the pages. This is the case in JvL CB 1526 (Leiden, ULL, 1497 A 11; according to an annotation on the first flyleaf of the book, the copies were included in 1968) and HvL CB 1538 (Leerdam, GBS; according to an annotation on the back pastedown, the copies were included during rebinding and restoring practices in 1993).

93 The first two sheets after the handwritten Genesis addition contain ownership annotations and a short prayer in nineteenth- and twentieth-century hands.

94 Late sixteenth-century or early seventeenth-century charts and/or maps have been bound in with the following copies: JvL CB 1534 (Cambridge, ULC, BSS.223.B34); JvL CB 1542a (Leeuwarden, TL, Gg 80); JvL CB 1542a (Tilburg, ULT, TFH-D 303); JvL CB 1542a (Amsterdam, UvA, OG 65-33); HPvM CB 1541 (Leuven, MSB, B22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1541); HPvM CB 1541 (Groningen, RUG, A g-3); HPvM CB 1541 (Haarlem, NBG, 1 A 2). On the inclusion of maps in early modern Dutch Bibles, see also: Renske Hoff, '"Door geographische beschrijvinghe verlicht": Ingebonden kaarten in Bijbels uit de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw', *Jaarboek van het Nederlands Genootschap van Bibliofielen*, 30 (2022), pp. 29–40. Readers and book users not only implemented new material into their Bibles, they also sometimes eliminated parts of the book. In many cases, for instance, the Exodus map, which was supposed to be placed in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles between the books of Genesis and Exodus, was taken out. One of the main reasons to do so might have

FIGURE 42 A hand-drawn coat of arms of Amsterdam in a copy of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible edition of 1541. Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, XC.05044-

1534 Liesvelt Bible (Cambridge, ULC, BSS.223.B34). The book contains four meticulously coloured woodcut maps and four informative charts, which have been bound in between the pages of the Bible. The maps depict the Israelites' wanderings from Egypt to Canaan (inserted before Numbers 23; fig. 43), the division of Israel (before Joshua 15), the Holy Land at the time of the Gospels (before Matthew 1), and the geographic places mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (before Acts 1).

The four informative charts contain overviews of the history of the Greek and Jewish states (inserted before 1 Maccabees 1), the history of the Roman state (before Matthew 1; the map of the Holy Land can be found on the verso

been related to the fact that separate historic maps were – and still are – easily sold as independent objects. Besides maps, woodcuts could also be taken out of one book and placed in another. In a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (New York, NYPL, KB + 1541 BibleDutch), a woodcut above Daniel 3, depicting the scene described in Daniel 3:23–25, in which three men fell into a fire but were not hurt, has been carefully cut out of the Bible.

FIGURE 43 Coloured map of the wanderings of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan, bound in before Numbers 23 in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1534. University Library Cambridge, BSS.223.B34

side of this leaf), the genealogy of Christ (also before Matthew 1), and the events and days related to the Passion (after John 18).

Although these maps and charts were not originally part of the Liesvelt Bible, they were meant to be included in Bibles. This is demonstrated in the various explanatory texts at the top of the inserted leaves that define where the chart or map should be placed within a Bible. The description of placement of the map of the Israelites' wanderings, for instance, begins as follows:

> This map (which is supposed to be inserted before the 23rd Chapter of the Book of Numbers) shows us the path that the people wandered [along] for forty forbearing years, departing from the Land of Egypt, along the deserts of the Arabs, until they [arrived] in the land of Canaan, which can also be read in the books Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.[95]

95 *Dese Caerte* (*de welcke behoort ingeuoecht te worden voor het xxiij. Capittel des Boecx Numeri*) *teeckent ons den wech, die het volck xl. gheduerige Jaren ghewandelt heft, van het Landt Egypti aen, lancks henen de Woestijnen van Arabien, tot dat sy inden lande van Chanaan, alsoo tselue in de Boecken Exodi, Numeri, ende Deuteronomy te lesen is.*

Maps and charts like the ones bound in with the Cambridge copy circulated in various forms during the early modern period, both as cut-outs from other Bible editions as well as in separately printed sheets or in manuscript.[96] The maps included in this copy were first printed as part of the French Geneva Bible by Nicolas Barbier and Thomas Courteau in 1559.[97] This edition also included various 'cartes': registers and charts of important biblical dates, rulers, and events. The maps and charts remained part of vernacular Genevan Bibles during the second half of the sixteenth century. From 1560 onwards, the four maps were usually published alongside a fifth map, depicting the location of Paradise. The combination of maps was adopted by various printer-publishers in England, Scotland, and the Low Countries.[98] The Dordrecht printer Jan Canin included the five maps, together with various informative charts, in his Deux-Aes Bible of 1580.[99] The maps and charts that were included in the Cambridge Liesvelt Bible are identical to those from Jan Canin's edition, although Canin's map of Paradise and the charts before Genesis and before Ezra are not added to the Liesvelt copy.

The inclusion of maps and charts provided new possibilities for readers to engage with the book and its contents. The geographic maps would have served as exegetical tools that not only contextualised biblical narratives but also provided readers with devices to personally experience and visualise certain places and events.[100] In general, the maps are less concerned with a precise geographic representation than with emphasising the religious and devotional significance of certain routes and locations in the biblical history. For instance, in the map of the Israelites' forty-year wanderings that is bound in with the Cambridge copy, it is not the small place names but rather the detailed depictions of principal events, such as Moses receiving the Commandments,

96 See also: Den Hollander 2019, 137. For overviews of biblical maps in the sixteenth century, see: Wilco C. Poortman and Joost Augustijn, *Kaarten in Bijbels (16e–18e eeuw)* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1995); Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles 1500–1600: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 1991).

97 USTC No. 5696.

98 See also: Morley Ingram, 'Maps as Readers' Aids', pp. 30–31.

99 Various surviving copies of this Bible edition lack some of the maps. For instance, only four out of five maps have survived in the Deux Aes copies of the Groningen University Library (uklu AG-27) and the Royal Library The Hague (1702 B 8). For an overview of the history and circulation of the Dutch Deux Aes Bible, see: August A. den Hollander, 'The Edition History of the Deux Aes Bible', in M. van Veen et al. (eds.), *Religious Minorities and Cultural Diversity in the Dutch Republic. Sutides Presented to Piet Visser on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 41–72.

100 On the use of maps as exegetical tools, see: Shalev, 'Early Modern Geographia Sacra', p. 197; Moffitt Watts, 'The European Religious Worldview', p. 387.

that may grab a reader-viewer's attention.[101] When observing the numbered encampments on the route of the Exodus and following them one by one, the reader could become as an eyewitness to the situation, and visually, mentally, and religiously participate in the experiences of the travelling Israelites.

The inclusion of maps and charts in Bibles, furthermore, attests to the growing interest in an intellectual understanding of geography, chronology, history, and biblical politics in relation to Scripture. By expanding the contents of their early sixteenth-century Bibles with a map or chart, readers transferred developments in the field of biblical antiquarianism and sacred geography into their decade- or even century-old Bibles, thus modernising their copy and ensuring its enduring relevance and attraction. Examples like these underline how early modern readers, in Durrant's words, 'were comfortable with a sense of the book as an accumulative form, whose endurance through time was predicated upon its openness to material change.'[102]

2.3 *Creating a Book of Liturgical and Devotional Practice*

As has been discussed, the paratexts of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles encouraged readers to take a scholarly approach to the book, while simultaneously enabling paraliturgical and devotional reading practices. Likewise, readers' adjustments and adaptations to the book account for scholarly, paraliturgical, and devotional reading. Whereas the inclusion of charts and maps connects to readers' approaches to the Bible as an object of intellectual study, readers also actively shaped the book in relation to paraliturgical or devotional uses of Scripture.

The liturgical reading schedules in surviving copies often appear more tarnished than other pages, suggesting that they were indeed regularly handled. The paratextual elements offered in the book were also sometimes extended or adapted in order to further accommodate, or personalise, manners of liturgical reading. In other cases, readers included handwritten additions to this purpose. In a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Utrecht, ULU, THO RIJS 001–007), an eighteenth-century reader named Ysak (his surname is unknown) noted the dates of Lent, Easter, and Pentecost for the years 1729 to 1745 on the front flyleaf of his Bible, similar to the way such dates are found in the printed almanacs in New Testaments (fig. 44).[103]

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101 See: Morley Ingram, 'Maps as Readers' Aids', p. 30.

102 Michael Durrant, 'Old Books, New Beginnings: Recovering Lost Pages', *Inscription: The Journal of Material Text – Theory, Practice, History*, 1 (2020).

103 On one of the flyleaves, the book owner wrote the following incomplete sentence: 'On 18 August 1737, have I, Ysek …' (*Den 18 augustus 1737 heb ick Ysek*).

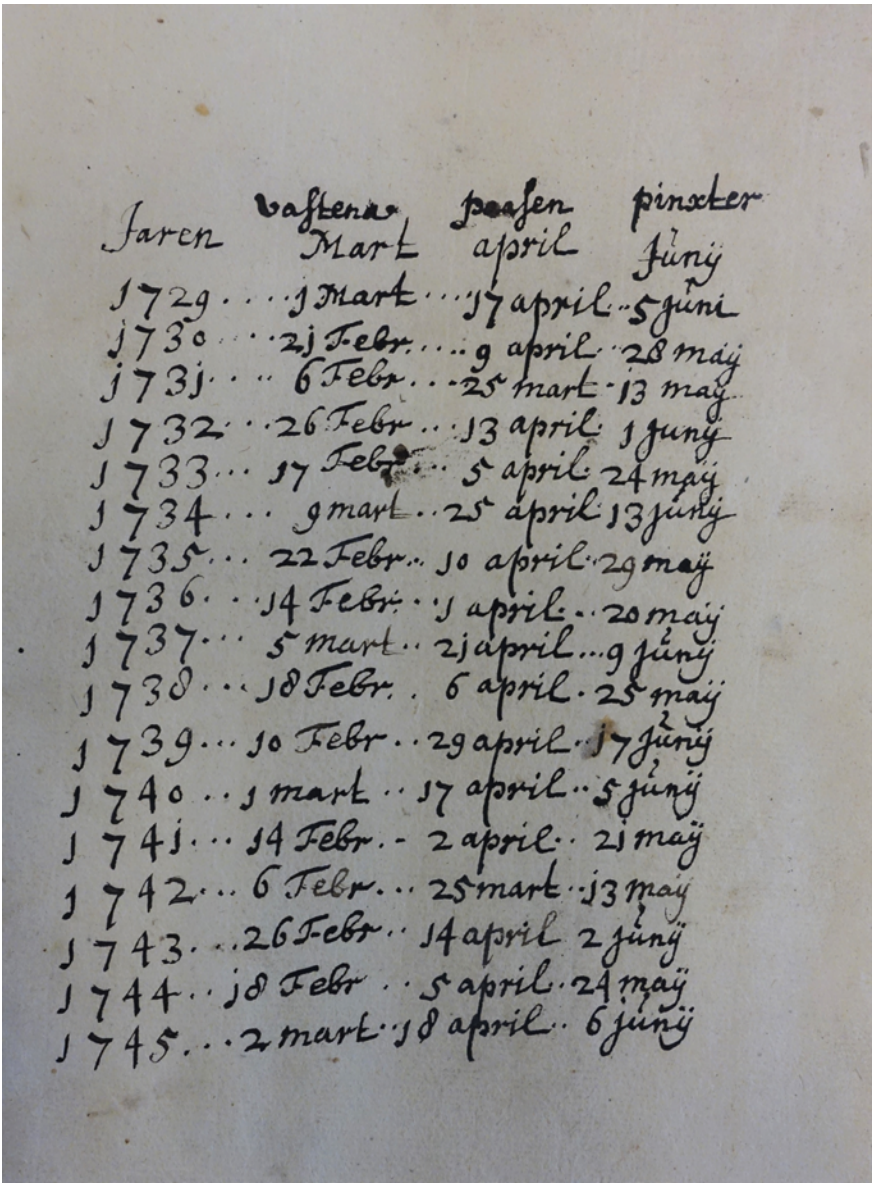

FIGURE 44 Handwritten overview of the dates of Lent, Easter, and Pentecost between 1729 and 1745 in a copy of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible edition of 1541. University Library Utrecht, THO RIJS 001–007

Ysak's overview of the liturgical year not only displays the need he apparently felt to have these dates at hand whilst reading his Bible, they also show that this Peetersen van Middelburch Bible remained to be used in religious reading up to at least two centuries after its printing date.

Readers also regularly added their own liturgical markers around the text. This is the case, for example, in a Liesvelt Epistles of the Apostles (The Hague, KB, KW 230 G 31). The copy contains hand-added foliation, rubrication, and colouring of the woodcuts, as well as liturgical references in the margins and between the lines of the biblical text. The latter announce on what day the corresponding passage ought to be read. For instance, the beginning of Romans 1 should be read 'on Christmas eve' and part of Romans 10 'on St. Andrew's day'.[104] The red-coloured liturgical marks would allow the reader who included them, or ordered their inclusion, to more easily locate the pericopes that were to be read throughout the liturgical year.

Similarly, in a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (London, BL, C66.k.8), an anonymous sixteenth-century reader included liturgical references throughout the Old and New Testaments, although omitting the Gospels.[105] The references dictate on which day the passage ought to be read. Acts 2, for example, should be read 'on the day of Pentecost' and Acts 3 'on St. Peter and Paul's evening'.[106] The end of each lection is marked by the word 'ending' or 'end', written in the margin or between the lines.[107] Whereas the reference for Pentecost corresponds with the printed reading schedule in the Bible – which follows the Missal of Cambrai – the reference to Peter and Paul's evening is an addition to the printed schedule. Consistently, the annotating reader also included this additional reference to the liturgical reading schedule, alongside the pericopes prescribed for St. Peter and Paul's day: 'in the evening: in the Acts of the Apostles the 3rd [chapter].'[108] In several other cases, this reader not only added lections, but also adapted the printed references. The adaptations concern, for instance, the Epistle reading of Trinity Sunday, the first Sunday after Pentecost, which was adapted from Revelations 4 to Romans 11. The reader consequently noted 'on the [day of the] Holy Trinity'[109] in the margin

104 *Opten kersauent*; *Opten sint andris dach*.
105 It is likely that the reader used a separate publication of the Gospels for their reading of these Bible books.
106 *Opten pinxter dach*; *Op S. Petrus ende Paulus auont*.
107 *Wtganc* or *wt*.
108 *Opten auont int werck der apostolen int iij*.
109 *Van Heiligher drievuldicheit*.

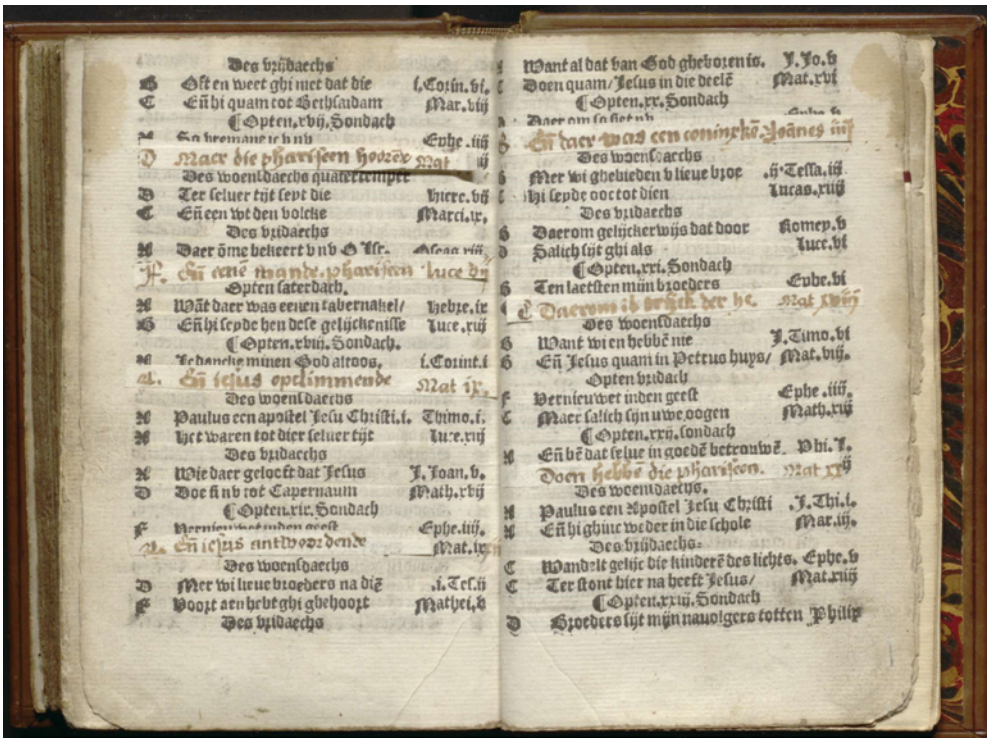

FIGURE 45 Handwritten alterations to the liturgical reading schedule in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's New Testament of 1534. Brussels, Royal Library, L.P.586.A

of Romans 11. Similarly, on the third Sunday after Epiphany, the reader suggests reading John 2 rather than Matthew 8. In addition, they included an extensive, handwritten list of thirty-six feastdays and saints' days with their accompanying lections, written on a blank space at the end of the printed schedule.

Such adjustments of the liturgical reading schedule are not unique. As churches or congregations adapted their liturgical calendar, individual readers could feel prompted to adjust the reading schedule of their Bible accordingly. In a copy of Liesvelt's New Testament of 1534 (Royal Library Brussels, L.P.586.A), a reader called 'Sister Chatarina [Catharina]', as her partially readable ownership mark on the title page ensures, meticulously changed the liturgical reading schedule in the back of her book by pasting in forty little slips of paper with handwritten references to specific Bible parts (fig. 45).

The paper slips are glued onto the page to cover the printed text and thus change the prescribed pericopes. Sister Chatarina's handwritten alterations, for instance, call for the reading of Matthew 11 on the second Sunday of the Advent, whereas the printed schedule originally proposed the lecture of

Luke 21. The adjustments Chatarina made are in accordance with the *Missale Romanum* and its liturgical reading schedule. The *Missale Romanum* was promulgated by Pius V's papal bull *Quo primum* of 1570 and developed in the wake of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), with the aim of replacing local missals and offering *unum missae celebrandae ritum*: a single rite for celebrating mass.[110] As Antwerp belonged to the diocese of Cambrai, the reading schedules in Liesvelt's Bible editions still follow the lectionary of Cambrai. This schedule differs from the Roman Missal in exactly those places marked by Chatarina's adjustments. These alterations to the reading schedule were hence not coincidental marks left in a mindless reading practice. Rather, by modifying the references in the reading schedule in the ways she did, the sister consciously transformed and updated the liturgical reading schedule in her New Testament.

By adjusting or expanding the liturgical reading schedule and by adding liturgical references in the margins, readers created reading structures that departed from the printed navigational aids. Although most early-modern readers do not explicitly describe their use of the Bible, their commitment to correct and complete reading schedules affirms that they connected their personal reading practices to those of communal worship.[111]

In addition to using the vernacular Bible alongside the liturgy, readers interacted with the early modern Bible as a source for prayers, available for inclusion in daily devotional practices. Similarly to the way some printed marginal glosses denote the presence of a prayer in the biblical text, readers took up this practice to mark in the margin those textual passages that they personally considered to be prayer-like. In a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Cambridge, SCC, R.23), for instance, a user added the words 'to pray always' to the printed gloss next to Jeremiah's lamenting response to God's call to leave Jerusalem (Jeremiah 10:23: 'O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps').[112]

The use of the Bible as an 'archive of prayers' is also apparent in a copy of Liesvelt's 1542a Bible (Amsterdam, VU, XC.05046-).[113] The copy contains

110 On the Council of Trent and the development of the Roman Missal, see: Nathan D. Mitchell, 'Reforms, Protestant and Catholic', in Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield (eds.), *The Oxford History of Christian Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 583–668, pp. 637–641.

111 See also: Kathleen Ashley, 'Psalm-Singing at Home; The Case of Etienne Mathie, a Burgundian Protestant', in Marco Faini and Alessia Meneghin (eds.), *Domestic Devotions in the Early Modern World* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019), pp. 71–81, p. 74.

112 *Om altijt te biden*.

113 The term 'archive of prayer' has been coined by Reinburg to describe how Books of Hours had a bridging function between the liturgy and the home and both shaped and were shaped by religious practices. See: Reinburg, *French Books of Hours*.

extensive underscorings, verse numbering, markings, marginal repetitions of printed text, and explanatory notes, left by an anonymous sixteenth-century hand.[114] In addition, the annotating reader made various remarks on the use of several biblical passages as prayers. They noted 'prayer' (*gebet*) in the margins of several verses, such as Baruch 3:1 ('O Lord Almighty, God of Israel, the soul in anguish the troubled spirit, crieth unto thee'), Habakkuk 4:2 (i.e. Habakkuk 3:2 in modern translations: 'O Lord, I have heard thy speech, and was afraid: O Lord, revive thy work in the midst of the years, in the midst of the years make known; in wrath remember mercy'), and Judith 6:19 ('O Lord God of heaven, behold their pride, and pity the low estate of our nation, and look upon the face of those that are sanctified unto thee this day'). The reader marked these places, furthermore, by including a cross sign and three horizontal lines in the margin. In some cases, the symbols occur individually to mark the prayer-like features of a certain textual passage, such as Nehemiah's prayer in 2 Maccabees 1:24 ('O Lord, Lord God, Creator of all things, who art fearful and strong, and righteous, and merciful, and the only and gracious King').

The annotating reader of this copy not only indicated the presence of some prayers, but also stressed the purpose, relevance, or appropriation of some biblical passages to the devotee.[115] The hymn in Judith 16:13 ('I will sing unto the Lord a new song: O Lord, thou art great and glorious, wonderful in strength, and invincible') could serve as a 'prayer or thanksgiving', and Job's devout words in Job 27, where he debates with his accusing friend Bildad, may be 'comforting to all pious people in distress.'[116] In the margin of Psalm 149, furthermore, the user noted that 'after this psalm, I will always read psalm 103: Praise the Lord, my soul,' and at psalm 103 they stressed that: 'this psalm will always be read lastly, as I have intended and noted down after the psalms of praise.'[117] Both psalms call to praise God and the reader-annotator who included the annotations apparently preferred to combine both in their reading practices. The

114 This copy is incomplete. The title page, the first three chapters of Genesis, and all paratextual elements at the end of the book are missing. If the annotating reader left any ownership marks, it is likely that these were lost when the outer leaves of the book were discarded.

115 The function of certain prayers is also confirmed in a HvL CB 1538 (Leerdam, SBM), where the reader noted whether certain biblical prayers were suitable as *oratio* or *confessio*.

116 *Gebet ofte danckseggінghe*; *Dese bedene Hiobs is troostelijck allen vromen benauden*.

117 *Nae des*[*e*] *psalm s*[*al*] *ick alti*[*jt*] *lesen di*[*e*] *103 psal*[*m*] *Looft di*[*e*] *heere mij*[*n*] *siele*; *Dese psalm sal ick altijdt lest lessen so ick voorgenomen ende aengeteeckent heb achter bij die loffpsalmen*.

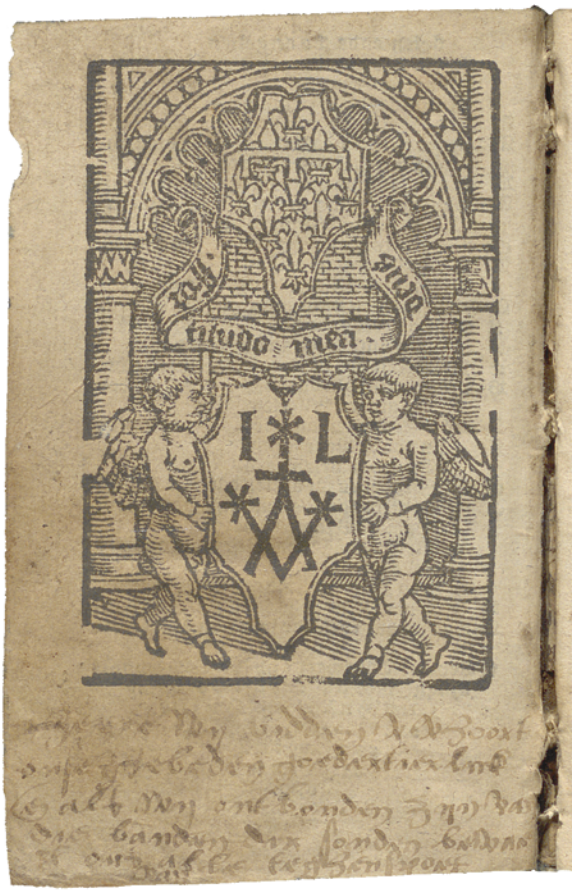

FIGURE 46
Prayer written underneath the printer's mark on the last page of a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's New Testament of 1540. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bb niederländ 154001

examples in this copy not only show that biblical passages were used in personal devotion, they also demonstrate how the reader-annotator created a system of navigation in which the required prayers could be found easily through annotations and markings in the margins of the text.

Moreover, as readers' additions of navigational tools or non-biblical material have already demonstrated, early modern readers did not 'have to do' with the printed material offered in their Bibles. Users would add their own prayers to the book, writing on title pages, flyleaves, or alongside the printed text. An example can be found in the only known surviving copy of Liesvelt's New Testament of 1540 (Stuttgart, WLB, Bb niederländ 154001). A small, six-line prayer has been written in an anonymous sixteenth-century hand underneath Liesvelt's printer's mark on the last page of the book (fig. 46): 'Lord, we pray

you, hear our prayers with mercy. And when we are unchained from the chains of sin, protect us from all misery.'[118]

The short prayer follows the 'colloquy' style: it is an invocation, followed by a request for assistance.[119] A devotee asks God to be heard and protected. The prayer may have served as a way to begin or conclude devotional or Bible-reading practices. Furthermore, the sentences also physically conclude the book. Even when they were not read aloud, the placement of this prayer may have had a devotional effect in closing off Scripture. Similar mechanisms appear to be in place in other surviving copies. In a 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Oxford, LC, k.9.27), the words 'Praise God above all'are written underneath the colophon on the last page of the book.[120] In a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Nijmegen, ULN, OD b 477), eighteenth-century user Lukas Laurense rephrased Sirach 7:38 as a prayer at the end of the book: 'Man, for ever remember your Four Last Things and you will not sin; namely death, hell, judgement, and the glory of heaven.'[121]

In other copies, devotional statements are placed at the very beginning of the book, as if to frame any subsequent readings of the biblical text. For instance, on the title page of a 1534 Liesvelt Bible (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Bibel-S. 40.99) the phrases 'Love God, love God again' and 'Fear God and keep his commandments' were noted in a sixteenth-century hand.[122] The phrases stimulate a reader towards an appropriate devout attitude befor entering the text.[123]

But reader-users could add more than just a few lines of prayer. A more elaborate devotional text is included in a 1534 Liesvelt Bible (Mons, ULMo,

118 *Heere Wij bidden u verhoort onse ghebeden goedertierlijk ende als wij ontbonden zijn van die banden der sonden bewaere ons van alle teghenspoet*.

119 See: Reinburg, *French Books of Horus*, pp. 149–154.

120 *Lof god van al*. This phrase is written in other books as well, such as on the title page of a devout book titled *Dit is een deuoet meditacie op die passie ons heren*, printed by Jan Seversz in Leiden, ca. 1516 (Amsterdam, UvA, Ned. Inc. 76).

121 *Mensch gedinckt uwe vier uijtstere in der eeuwigheijd en zult gij niet sondige / te wete de dood de hel het oordel en de hemel glorie*.

122 *Min god min god weder*; *Vrese god ende hadt sijn gebodt*.

123 In Peetersen van Middelburch's 1541 Bible, a similar effect occurs in print as well, as the phrase 'Holy is God in all his works' (*Heylich is God in alle sine wercken*) is printed alongside the large woodcut depicting the creation, which opposes the beginning of the book of Genesis. Placed at the opening of the Bible, the words seem to refer to the gift of Holy Scripture itself and frame a sense of gratitude, praise, and devotion with which a reader is expected to approach the text. In one copy (Nijmegen, ULN, 100 b 10), the well-known Latin version of the phrase is written underneath the printed words: *Benedictus Deus in donis suis, et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis* ('Blessed be God in his gifts, and holy in all his works').

1002/25). In 1655, a page-long, sermon-like reflection was written on the blank page opposite the beginning of the New Testament. The text states that all Christ's 'miracles and wonders' (*miraculen en wonder daden*), as are described in the New Testament, continue to be of influence today, because Christ still aims to heal and help all people who truly believe in him. Similarly to the ways in which he healed 'all toxic lepers, blind, crippled, lame, deaf, dead, and dying people', he would also heal the 'mental illness' (*geestelijcke kranckheijt*) of all inherently sinful people.[124] In the margins of the text, the annotator also included references to relevant Bible verses. The text provides a way for the Bible reader to apply the stories of miraculous healings to their own life. Furthermore, it underlines the relevance of devotion and prayer: only those 'who come to him with solid faith' and 'earnest prayers' will be saved by Jesus Christ.[125]

Another exceptional example of the addition of devotional or meditational texts can be found in the Bodleian Library's heavily annotated 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Oxford, BLO, Bib.Dutch.C3). The white space underneath the end of the Song of Songs and the blank verso side of the page were used for an extensive, hand-added, textual and visual meditation on the 'bride of Christ'. As has briefly been mentioned in section 4.2, the text and image were, most likely, copied from the second edition of David Joris' *T'Wonder-boeck, waer in dat van der werldt aen versloten gheopenbaert is*, first printed in 1551 (fig. 30).[126] David Joris (ca. 1501–1556) was one of the most prominent Dutch religious dissenters in the 1530s. Joris claimed to have undergone a series of ecstatic episodes or visions from 1536 onwards, in which he closely encountered the Holy Spirit and received supernatural insights. Joris believed that he was a divine agent of God who could connect with the Spirit in a direct manner. In 1542, David Joris published the first edition of his magnum opus *T'Wonder-boeck*.[127] The book provides a complex reflection on spiritual growth, the internalisation of the Holy Spirit, and the return of Christ. Whereas the first edition devoted considerable attention to Joris' process from an unknowing infant to becoming 'the third David', the second edition of 1551 turned away from these messianic claims and suggested that the third David would be the internalised Holy Spirit

124 *... alle gieftige melaetsen, blinde, kreupele, lamme, doove, dooden en verstervene menschen.*

125 *... bewijst sulx noch aen alle die gene die alsoo met een vast betrouwen tot hem komen, ende door ernstige gebeden ... dan komet der heere den mensch te hulpe.*

126 USTC No. 1527751.

127 USTC No. 425770. On *T'Wonder-boeck*, see: Gary K. Waite, 'Knowing the Spirit(s) in the Dutch Radical Reformation: From Physical Perception to Rational Doubt, 1536–1690', in Michelle D. Brock et al. (eds.), *Knowing Demons, Knowing Spirits in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 23–54, pp. 26–29.

within each individual.[128] Joris' writings were controversial but highly popular, especially among the Dutch nobility and social elite. An estimate over 70,000 copies of the writings of David Joris circulated in the sixteenth-century Low Countries.[129]

The reader-annotator apparently had access to a copy of the 1551 edition, or a later reprint of that edition. They copied the engraving depicting 'the image of the bride of Christ', together with the explanatory text placed on the next folio in the printed version (fig. 47).[130]

According to an explanation on the verso side of the engraving in *T'Wonder-boeck*, the reader-viewer should look at the image and understand it as an 'example, image, or literal likeness of the Bride of Christ … [that serves] as a mirror and warning for all believers, in order to prepare themselves for the celebration, to arrange the wedding in holy jewellery, in honour and grace of the almighty heavenly Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.'[131] Although this passage has not been copied by the annotator of the Liesvelt Bible, a similar phrase was added to the drawing: 'Perceive this likeness or image of the Bride of Christ; see and notice what you are still lacking.'[132] In addition, the list of instructions on the meaning of all elements within the image, which is present in *T'Wonder-boeck*, has not been copied by the reader-annotator. However, they summarised the explanations of the sword in the printed list and wrote onto the blade of the sword: 'the large, firm sword of the anger and the word of God.'[133]

The accompanying explanatory text that was copied by the reader-annotator provides an elaborate meditation on the meanings of this imagery of the Bride of Christ (fig. 48).

The text directly addresses the reader-viewer, explaining what they should consider when looking at the image, which metaphors would apply to the Bride of Christ, and how one should conduct oneself in order to receive divine appreciation. The text invites the reader to visualise beyond what is visible in the image itself. The first paragraph translates as follows:

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128 See: Waite, 'Knowing the Spirit(s)', p. 28; Gary K. Waite, 'Writing in the Heavenly Language: A Guide to the Works of David Joris', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, 14:4 (1990), pp. 297–319, pp. 302–304.

129 Waite, 'Writing in the Heavenly Language', p. 305.

130 *Figuer des Bruyts Christi.*

131 *Voorbeeldt / Beeldt ofte Letterlijcke Figuere des Bruydts Christi … tot een Spieghel ende waerninge allen Gheloouighen / dat sy hen op maecker ter Feesten / ter Bruyloft bereyden in Heyligher Cieragie / tot prijs ende lof van den Almachtighen Hemelschen Vader / ende onsen Heere Jesu Christo.*

132 *Neemt waer een figure oft beelt des bruijts Cristij; siet ende merct wat v noch ontbreeckt.*

133 *Dat grote harde swaert der gramscappen ende woort gods.*

FIGURE 47 Hand-drawn copy of 'the image of the bride of Christ', after the engraving in David Joris' *T'Wonder-boeck* (see fig. 30), on a blank leaf at the end of the Song of Songs in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1535. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bib.Dutch.C3

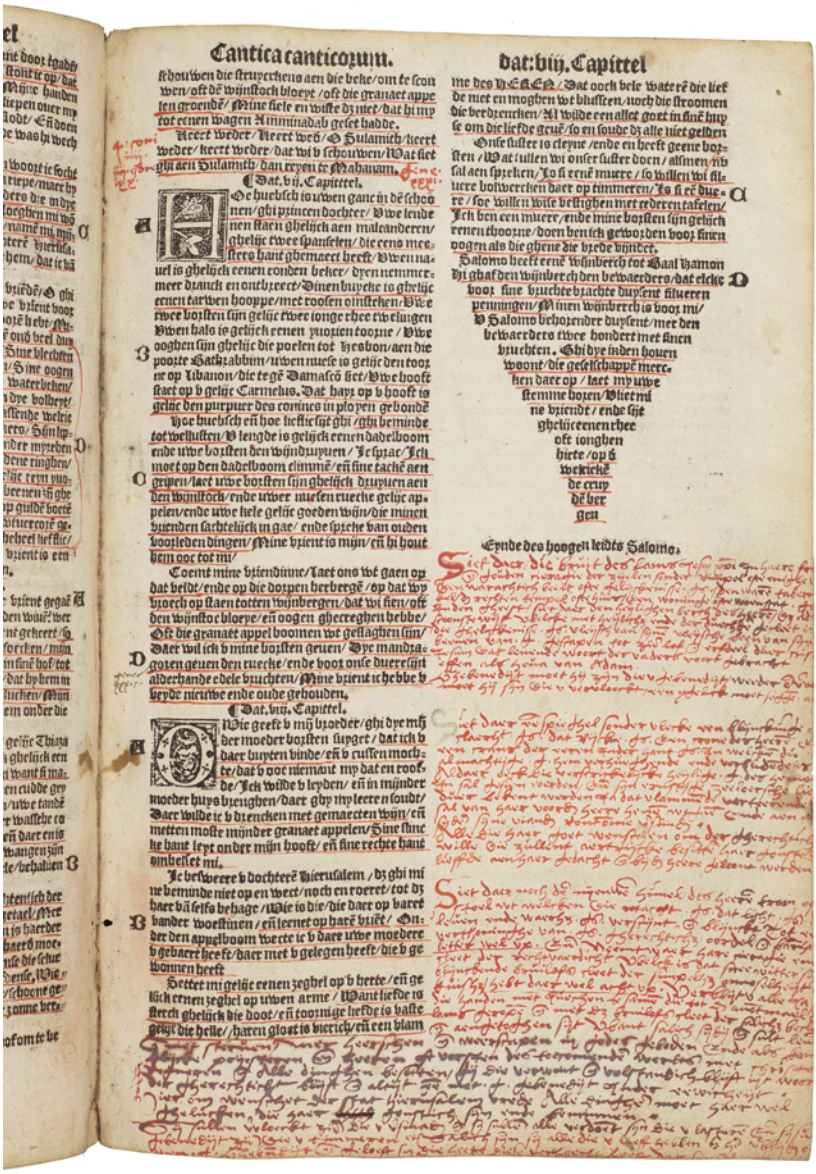

FIGURE 48 Extensive annotations at the end of the Song of Songs in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1535. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bib.Dutch.C3

> Behold, the bride of the lamb Jesus Christ, in her beauty and golden jewellery of the souls, without wrinkle or any stain. A trustworthy image or likeness of God, or the true tabernacle, genuine temple or house, a dwelling or hometown of God within the Spirit. Behold, the holy mountain of the Lord, and the most beautiful woman who is clothed with holiness and virtues in the likeness of God; flesh from his flesh, bone from his bone, created by God for his praise and legacy; the living word of the father brought forth by Christ Jesus, alike Eve from Adam. Be blessed him who blesses you, be condemned him who condemns you. All should say: Amen.[134]

The metaphors lean heavily on biblical themes. The comparisons between the Bride of Christ and the tabernacle, a mountain, and a town, for instance, originate from Revelation 21:9, in which John describes how God showed him Jerusalem as 'the bride, the Lamb's wife'. The concept of the Bride of Christ is strongly embedded in the Song of Songs. It is no coincidence that the user chose to copy David Joris' words and image at the end of this Bible book. The connection between the meditative drawing and the Song of Songs is further articulated by the phrase, taken from Song of Songs 6:10, which the reader-annotater wrote underneath the image: 'Who is this who appears like the dawn? Fair as the moon, pure as the sun, formidable as an army.'[135]

By including this image and text, the user has created new intertextual dynamics between the Bible books of Song of Songs and Revelations, as well as between the Liesvelt Bible and Anabaptist spiritual texts and imagery. At the same time, the combination of text and image provides a model for meditation and devotional reflection upon a biblical figure and theme, which could be practised alongside reading the Bible text. Future users of the book would be invited to not only read the text but to also meditate on the image and

134 *Siet daer / die bruit des lams Jesu christi In haere fr*[*aeyheyt*] *ende gouden cieragie der zijelen sonder rimpel ofte enighe* [*vlecken*] *Een warachtich beelt ofte gelijckenisse godes of den waren taber*[*na*]*kel / de rechten tempel ofte huis / Een woninge ofte woenstat go*[*des*] *In den gheest / siet daer den heijlighen berch des heeren / Ende alder scoonste wijf welcke met heijlicheit ende der duechden gecleet is* [*na*] *die ghelijckenisse gods vleijsch van sijnen vleijsche been van sijn*[*en*] *beenen van god gescapen tot zijns lof ende erfdeel doer cris*[*tum*] *Jesum Dat leuende woort der vaders voort gebracht effen als heua van Adam. Ghebenedijt moet hij zijn die u gebenedijt / werderom verv*[*loect*] *moet hij sijn vie u vervloeckt / een ygelick moet seggen: a*[*men*].

135 *Wie is die daer voertcomt gelijck die dacheraet? Scone ghelijck die mane uutvercoren gelijck die zonne Vervaerlick ghelijck die heerscerpte.*

its meaning, and to compare themselves with the bride. On the basis of that comparison, they might further map out their own spiritual development.[136] This hand-added meditative tool creates a new space and form of worship and devotion that was not readily included in the printed book, but that was considered beneficial by the annotating reader.

3 Conclusion

Contrary to the idea of the printed book as a fixed object, readers' active involvement in the creation and 'modelling' of the book evidently did not stop with the transition from manuscript to print. The surviving copies of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles continued to be, in the words of Manguel, 'as singular as the phoenix'.[137] As readers interacted with the text and paratext of their Bibles, they left their commentaries, included new references, created knowledge structures, and responded to or adapted confessional characteristics of their books. Furthermore, readers' lectoral agency stretched beyond that, as they consciously adjusted their Bibles in order to accommodate certain reading experiences. Acting beyond the ideas and control of the printer-publishers, they played a crucial role in shaping the book by including navigational aids, maps, charts, liturgical markers, and prayers, either written or pasted onto the pages, or bound in with the biblical text.

Moreover, whereas the paratextual devices in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles display only the concerns with reading behaviour and textual interpretation at a certain point in time – namely the very moment of printing – readers' transformations demonstrate how these Bibles continued to be actively read, used, and developed for multiple decades after their printing date. By including new material and manipulating aspects of the printed book, readers tailored their copies according to contemporary developments in Bible-reading practices and confessional concerns. The ability of the material book to change, and the involvement of readers in creating these changes,

136 Meditative considerations of the Bride of Christ are most commonly associated with late medieval mysticism and 'Catholic' religious experience. See, for instance: Lieke Andrea Smits, *Performing Desire: Bridal Mysticism and Medieval Imagery in the Low Countries (c. 1100–1500)* (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2019); Renana Bartal, 'Bridal Mysticism and Eucharistic Devotion: The Marriage of the Lamb in an Illustrated Apocalypse from Fourteenth-Century England', *Viator*, 42:1 (2011), pp. 277–246. However, the vocabulary and images associated with the Bride of Christ in the Song of Songs and Revelations prove to have remained influential across time, space, and confessionality.

137 Alberto Manguel, *A History of Reading* (New York: Penguin Books, 1996), p. 16.

ensured the Bibles' endurance through time and space. Future readers of these books, including us when we sit down with them in the reading room of a library's special collections department, encounter copies that have been adapted, extended, and transformed by the people who came before. As spaces of dialogue and accumulation, Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles could acquire, in the words of Clark and Sheingorn, 'intertextual layering[s] of voices' in which the paratextual voice of the printer-publisher harmonised, and sometimes *dis*harmonised, with the voices of mindful, critical, autonomous, scholarly, and devout readers through time and space.[138]

138 Clark and Sheingorn, 'Encountering a Dream-Vision', p. 19. On the relevance of the concepts of time and space in the study of premodern Bibles, see: Sabrina Corbellini, Renske A. Hoff, and Wim François, 'Introduction: Premodern Bibles through Space and Time', in Sabrina Corbellini, Wim François, and Renske A. Hoff, *In Readers' Hands: New Perspectives on Premodern Bibles in Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, to be published).

CHAPTER 6

Interacting with the Book as Object

The reading practices, approaches, and expectations discussed in the previous chapters have primarily been related to the Bible as a textual carrier, as the conveyer of God's word. Readers indeed employed a plethora of devices, printed and handwritten, to engage with the text of the Scriptures, its meaning, and its role in liturgical practice. However, when closely investigating traces of reading and use, one cannot, and should not, ignore that the Bibles printed by Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch were also inherently *material* objects.[1] Its materiality – its surfaces, weight, the absorbency of its pages, its sturdy binding – lend the book to various purposes beyond *reading* as such. This chapter explores two ways in which the users of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's editions interacted with their Bibles as tangible, physical, multifunctional objects to have and to hold.

1 Assessing Identity

We have thus far encountered a multitude of ways that readers could employ to create their own unique, personalised Bible copy. In processes of personalisation, the book could become a tool, a creative instrument, to shape and assess ideas, preferences, and identity. The most common way to establish such meaningful relationship between the physical book and the individual is arguably also the most powerful: to claim a book – its contents and its material form – as one's own. Although traces such as names, bookplates, or geneneal-ogical annotations are studied primarily for their potential to aid a reconstruction of a book's provenance, they can also be understood as phenomena that provide insight into the complex identity-shaping dynamics between a reader

1 See also: Roger Stoddard, 'Morphology and the Book from an American Perspective', *Printing History*, 9:1 (1987), pp. 2–14, p. 4; Chartier, 'Laborers and Voyagers', p. 53; Cormack and Mazzio 2005, 5–9; Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers*, p. 74. On the 'objectness' of books and objects that look like books, see: Lynn Festa, 'The Things Books Make', in Alexandra Gillespie and Deidre Lynch (eds.), *The Unfinished Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 33–47.

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and a book.[2] Ownership marks can demonstrate what it meant to own a book. When writing one's name on a title page or when listing transformative events such as births, marriages, and deaths – important 'rites of passage' – on a flyleaf, book owners and readers place themselves, their families, and their personal experiences into their books. They create the outlines of what one might call an egodocument: a material and textual entity that testifies to an individual's personal concerns, their beliefs, and simply their being in a specific time and space. In Scott-Warren's words, 'an act as seemingly straightforward as writing one's name and the date on a flyleaf makes the book part of a skeletal autobiography.'[3] In the hands of their readers, early modern books could come to serve as 'containers for identity and experimentation with the same'.[4] Bibles can function as sites for shaping the self, safely storing family history, manifesting collective memory, or solidifying a reader's relation to their faith.

1.1 *Establishing and Framing the Book as Property*

Annotations that mark ownership are omnipresent in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles. Users have generally placed them on the title page, the pastedowns, or flyleaves in the front or back of the book, as well as on random white spaces throughout the volume. Ownership marks often take a rather self-explanatory form, simply stating that 'this book belongs to *x*' or '*x* owns this book'.[5] There were various reasons as to why a book owner would leave their name in the book. Firstly, establishing ownership within the book served significant practical functions. As Wakelin phrased it, placing a name or signature in a book did not necessarily reflect 'the triumph of private property but [rather] the insecurity of it.'[6] Were a book to get lost, an ownership mark at an easily recognisable place in the book, usually on the pastedowns or flyleaves, would increase the possibility of the book's return to its rightful owners

2 See also: Daniel Wakelin, '"Thys ys my boke": Imagining the Owner in the Book', in Mary C. Flannery and Carrie Griffin (eds.), *Spaces for Reading in Later Medieval England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 13–33, p. 13.

3 Jason Scott-Warren, *Shakespeare's First Reader: The Paper Trails of Richard Stonley* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), p. 3.

4 Acheson, 'The Occupation of the Margins', p. 73.

5 King has distinguished four types of ownership inscriptions, of which the type described here is considered an 'explicit ownership inscription', as it verbalises the relation of ownership between an individual book and an individual person. In addition, she recognises 'dedicatory inscriptions', 'prayer request inscriptions', and 'nominal inscriptions' (that only contain a name). See: King, 'Inscriptions', pp. 11–12.

6 Wakelin, '"Thys ys my boke"', p. 16.

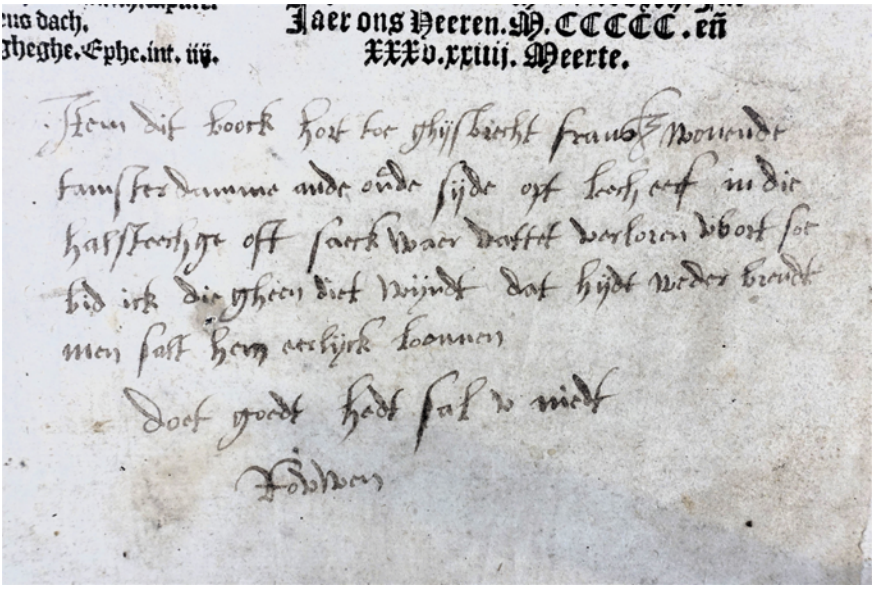

FIGURE 49 Ownership inscription by Ghijsbrecht Fransz in a copy of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible edition of 1535. Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, BMH Sp pi5

in case it was lost or went missing. This is made explicit in Ghijsbrecht Fransz's late sixteenth-century ownership mark in his 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Utrecht, MCC, BMH Sp pi5; fig. 49):

> Item, this book belongs to Ghijsbrecht Fransz, who lives in Amsterdam on the Oude Zijds [Voorburgwal] on the Leech Erf in the Halssteechge; if it were the case that it [the book] would be lost, I pray to the person who finds it that he will return it; he will be rewarded properly; do good, it will not disappoint you.[7]

7 *Item dit boock hort toe ghijsbrecht fransz wonende tamsterdamme ande oude sijde opt leech eerf in die halsteechge oft saeck waer dattet verloren wort soe bid ick die gheen diet wijndt dat hijdt weder brendt men salt hem eerlijck loonnen doet goedt hedt sal u niedt Rouwen.* Whereas Ghijsbrecht Fransz emphasises the benefits of returning the book, book owners could also underline the consequences of not doing so. The early-nineteenth-century ownership mark in a PvM 1541 CB (Nijmegen, ULN, OD 100 b 10), for instance, is as follows: 'This book belongs to Johan Arnoldes; Who finds it should return it; who does not do so should pray a Hail Mary for each letter [in the book]; Mierlo, 26 November, anno 1806' (*Johan Arnoldes behoort dat boeck toe Die het vind gevet hem wederom die het niet en doet die bed voor jeder letter een west gegroet Mierlo Den 26 November anno 1806*).

The description of the address would obviously improve the likelihood of the book being returned to its owner. Including the address with the name was therefore relatively common, in sixteenth-century as well as in later ownership marks.[8] This information was particularly useful because early modern books moved through the hands of various people, as they were shared or lent out. A note underneath the prologue of a 1542 Liesvelt Bible (Amsterdam, VU, XC.05045-) states the following: 'I, Govert Phlypss, have lent this Bible to Orselten Adriaens, anno 1598.'[9] The owner stressed that the book ultimately belonged to him by repeating his name and initials: 'By me, Govert Phlypss; GP'.[10]

In addition to creating a practical advantage in case of loss or deprivation, early modern owners who left their names in their Bibles also performed an action that essentially established their relation with the book by denouncing it as their property. Writing down one's name solidifies in writing the connection between the individual and the object. The formula 'this is mine' is simple but powerful, already understood by children as young as two years old and inherently connected to an awareness and characterisation of the 'self'.[11] As linguists Goddard and Wierzbicka have argued, claiming and expressing ownership in this manner connects the individual (or sometimes group) with an orientation on the object in a relatively standardised phrase that can be found across languages.[12] The speech act which forms the connection between a person and an object is mirrored in the written 'this book belongs to …' The act of writing these words is a performative practice: the aspiring owner not only expresses their will to possess the book but also creates a sealed connection between their own person and the object, stating that 'this is me and this is mine'.[13]

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8 Another example is the ownership mark in a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Amsterdam, UvA, 1150 A 14): 'This Bible belongs to Petrus Lera in the Katlijnestraat in the Maeght van Mechelen, 1730' (*Desen Bijbel hoort toe aen Petrus Lera inde katlijnestraat inde maeght van mechelen 1730*).

9 *Desen bible hebbe ick govert phlypss geleent aen orselten adriaens anno 1598.*

10 *Bi mi govert phlypss; GP.*

11 See, for instance: C.A. Brownell et al., 'Mine or Yours? Development of Sharing in Toddlers in Relation to Ownership Understanding', *Child Development*, 84:3 (2013), pp. 906–920.

12 See: Cliff Goddard and Anna Wierzbicka, '"It's Mine!". Re-thinking the Conceptual Semantics of "Possession" through NSM', *Language Sciences*, 56 (2016), pp. 93–104, p. 98.

13 On writing as performance, see: Sabrina Corbellini and Margriet Hoogvliet, 'Introduction: Lieux de Savoir and Archéologie du Savoir', *Le Foucaldien*, 7:1 (2021), pp. 1–10, pp. 4–5. On the connection between book ownership and the establishment of a 'self', see also: Edith Snook, 'Elizabeth Isham's "Own Bookes": Property, Propriety, and the Self as Library', in

When a person owned multiple books, noting ownership in one book would connect that object to other books in their library. The network of ownership marks, personal stamps, or bookplates creates an intermaterial attachment between the book. These attachments can remain even when the collection itself is physically taken apart. A 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, S.40 101), for instance, was part of the book collection of princess-countess Elisabeth Sophie Marie von Schleswig-Holstein-Norburg (1683–1767).[14] She started collecting books in 1740 and continued until 1764, when she transferred her books to Brunswick Palace (Braunschweiger Schloss), located near the German town of Wolfenbüttel.[15] Elisabeth Sophie Marie's collection included Bibles in various languages and across a diverse confessional range, as she brought together, amongst others, forty-seven polyglot Bibles, nine medieval Latin manuscripts, nineteen Hebrew Bibles, nine Arabic Bibles, and two Turkish Bibles.[16] In 1752, a preliminary catalogue of the book collection was printed.[17] The frontispiece of the catalogue consists of an imaginary, architectonical depiction of Elisabeth Sophie Marie's library, surrounded by putti (fig. 50).

Above the arch, a portrait of Elisabeth Sophie Marie is placed, underneath which her initials 'ESM' form a monogram and above which a crown, similar to the one in her ex libris, is placed. Although Elisabeth Sophie Marie's books are currently scattered throughout the collection of the Herzog August Bibliothek, a certain physical proximity is created through the ex libri that can be found in her books. This connectivity mirrors the image of Elisabeth Sophie Marie

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Leah Knight et al. (eds.), *Women's Bookscapes in Early Modern Britain: Reading, Owernship, Circulation* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2018), pp. 77–93.

14 For a short biography of Elisabeth Sophie Marie von Schleswig-Holstein-Norburg, see: C. Hillmann-Apmann, 'Elisabeth Sophie Marie', in Horst-Rüdiger Jarck and Elke Niewöhner (eds.), *Braunschweigisches Biographisches Lexikon: 8. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Braunschweig: Appelhans Verlag, 2006), p. 199.

15 When Elisabeth Sophie Marie moved her books to Brunswick Palace, she gave clear instructions on the ways in which the books ought to be displayed, including the placement of portraits of herself within the library space. This particularity has been discussed by Joëlle Weis in her lecture 'Collecting Bibles: Self-fashioning, Piousness, and Scholarship' at the USTC Conference *Gender and the Book Trades* (17–19 June 2021).

16 See: Ulrike Gleixner, 'Die Lesende Fürstin: Büchersammlungen als lebenslange Bildungspraxis', in Juliana Jacobi et al. (eds.), *Vormoderne Bildungsgänge. Selbst- und Fremdbeschreibung in der frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2010), pp. 207–224, p. 220.

17 The catalogue is digitally available at: http://www.luthermania.de/buch/show/1184#page/6/mode/2up.

FIGURE 50 Frontispiece of the catalogue of Elisabeth Sophie Marie von Schleswig-Holstein-Norburg's Bible collection, printed in 1752. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Tb 182

overlooking the spatial visualisation of her collection, as depicted on the catalogue's frontispiece.[18]

18 Over time, the book collection of Elisabeth Sophie Marie has been split up and distributed across the collection of Wolfenbüttel's library. Within the research project 'Weltwissen: Das kosmopolitische Sammlungsinteresse des frühneuzeithlichen Adels', Joëlle Weis,

That the inclusion of ownership marks did not relate solely to practical advantages is furthermore reflected in the various ownership marks that are not positioned in expected places (e.g. flyleaves or title pages) but in other, less easily detectable, places throughout the book. Trijn Claesdochter denoted her ownership of a 1534 Liesvelt Bible ('s-Heerenberg, HB, Inv. no. 327) by placing her name in the upper margin of Wisdom 8, and Herbertus Verdoncq wrote his name in a rough hand in the bottom margin of Psalm 58 in his 1532 Liesvelt Bible (Ghent, ULG, BIB.ACC.001861).[19] Moreover, in a 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Haarlem, NBG, 31"1535"Lies14839), the name 'Jan Francis van Bambergen' has been written in the empty spaces underneath the three identical occurrences of a woodcut depicting a bearded figure with a book, which was used by Liesvelt to illustrate the prophets Hosea, Nahum, and Haggai (fig. 51).

An explanation for this practice is lacking. Did Jan Francis uncannily resemble the bearded figure, or did he, or someone else for that matter, simply seize the opportunity to fill with his name what would otherwise remain blank space? In a similar manner, a 15-year-old schoolboy named Leonardus, from Amsterdam, wrote his name in 1746 across the empty space of Liesvelt's printer's mark on the New Testament title page in a 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (Cambridge, ULC, Adams 3.53.4).[20] Another book owner, called H. J. Mattijnz. did not even feel the need to look for white space. He made full use of his personalised name stamp by marking his name in his 1542a Liesvelt Bible (Antwerp, MPM, A 3162) no fewer than eight times: three times on the title page, three times across the printed text on the opening page of Genesis (fig. 52), once on a woodcut in Leviticus 8, and once on the New Testament title page.

These examples suggest that leaving an ownership mark was not necessarily always a well-thought-out act, and not every inscription of ownership was placed in the spaces of the book usually considered suitable for it. Scott-Warren

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Stephan Bialas-Pophanken, and Maximilian Görmar reconstruct the development of the Wolfenbüttel and Braunschweig collections in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, paying particular attention to the collections of early modern noblemen and noblewomen. One of the main aims of the project is the reconstruction of the libraries of Elisabeth Sophie Marie and other collectors. See: https://www.mww-forschung.de/weltwissen.

19 Trijn Claesdochter's husband Jan Cornelis also left an annotation in the book, denoting that the book indeed belonged to his wife. Trijn and Jan married on 4 July 1592 in Amsterdam, when Trijn was 17 years old. See: *Doop, trouw- en begraafboeken* (DTB) *Amsterdam* 406, p. 201.

20 The whiteness of the empty printer's mark on the New Testament title page in Hansken van Liesvelt's Bible edition has also evoked a response in another HvL CB 1538 (Leuven, MSB, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1538): an annotator has tried to draw Liesvelt's monograph across the printer's mark.

FIGURE 51 Name written in the empty space underneath the woodcut depicting the prophet Hosea in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1535. Haarlem, Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, 31"1535"Lies14839

FIGURE 52 Name stamps across Genesis 1 in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition (a) of 1542. Antwerp, Museum Plantin Moretus, collection *Prentenkabinet*, UNESCO World Heritage, A 3162

has used the concept of 'graffiti' as an analytical concept to understand these types of ownership marks and signatures in early modern books. He argued that similarly to placing a 'tag' (the graffiti artist's name) on public surfaces, these ownership marks consist of two crucial elements: self and place.[21] It is not merely the name itself which holds meaning in an ownership mark, but it is the performance of connecting the name – and the person it representents – to the space of the book which is inherently meaningful.

Even when a book was donated, sold, inherited, or lost, the physical expressions of its previous connections could remain present within the material book and essentially become part of a semi-public domain, accessible to whoever the next owner would be.[22] One object may accumulate multiple layers of ownership marks, left by various people and throughout various periods. In the back of the only known surviving copy of Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testament of 1538 (Amsterdam, VU, XC.06338-), several flyleaves bear ownership marks from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century (fig. 53).

Some marks have become unreadable through time, but the names of Anna Vouwer (sixteenth-century hand), Jan Franscis (1762), and Josephus Jacobus van Hoeck tot Boom and his wife Elizabeth Coets (1818) can be distinguished, placed alongside and even on top of each other across the blank pages. With each new book owner, a new layer unfolded, building on the remains of previous interactions and becoming part of the narrative of using and owning this very book. The flyleaf has become a space in which the life of the object crystallised, plotting a connectiveness between the many relations that were once established between the book and a person.

In various surviving Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles, however, flyleaves have been replaced and names have been crossed out or otherwise removed in order to discard the remnants of an earlier owner and to emphasise that the book did now indeed solely belong to its new owner. On the back flyleaf of a 1526 Liesvelt Bible (Amsterdam, UvA, OG 65-30), for instance, only the words 'This book belongs to' remain after someone scraped off the name that originally concluded the phrase.[23] As much as writing one's name into a book was a way to actively establish a relationship of property and connection, taking away someone else's name could also be a performative action. The connection of ownership that was once established within the book is disintegrated, and the relation between the book and its new owner is confirmed and prioritised. In other words, such performance not only states

21 Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti', p. 365.

22 See also: Wakelin, '"Thys ys my boke"', p. 17; King, 'Inscriptions', p. 14.

23 *Dit boeck hoort toe*.

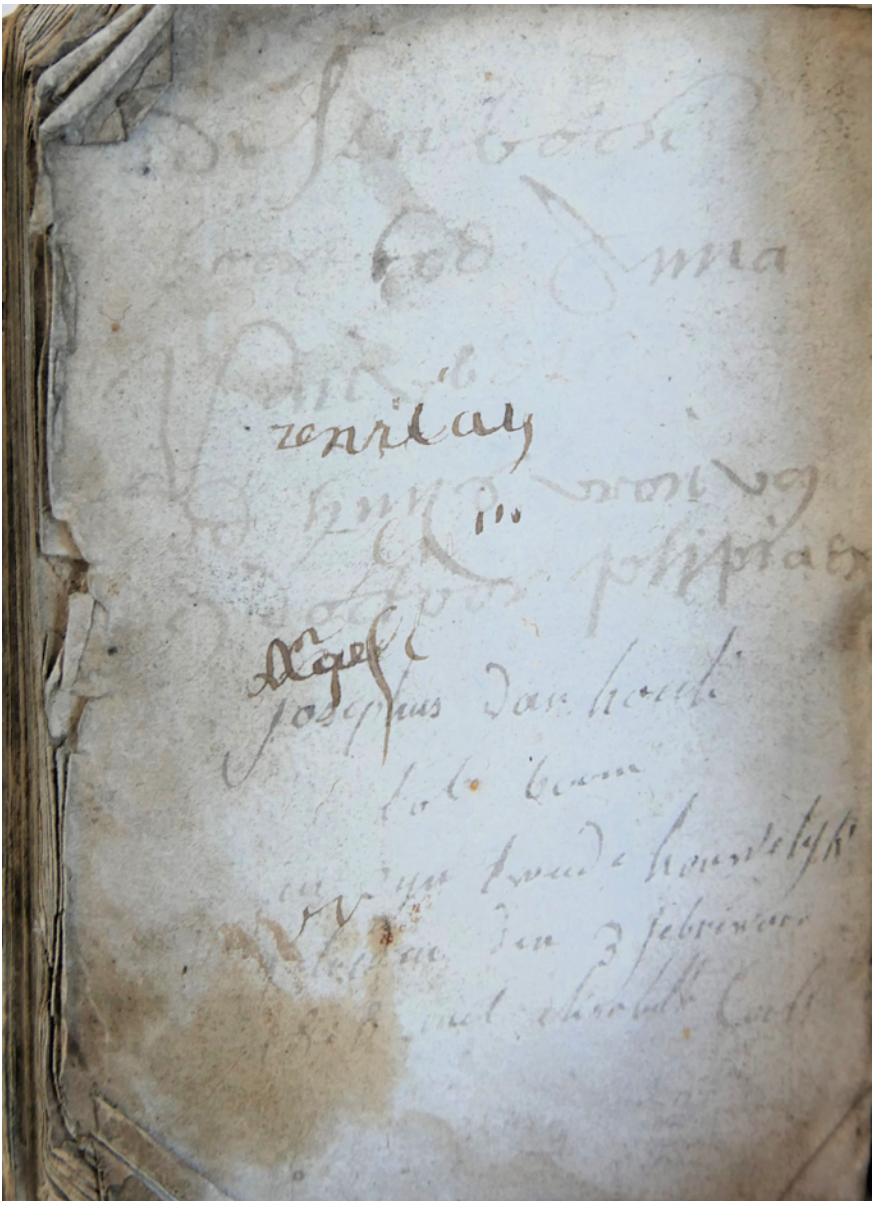

FIGURE 53 Ownership inscriptions on a flyleaf of a copy of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's New Testament of 1538. Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, XC.06338-

that 'this book is mine' but also that 'this book is *definitely* no longer yours'. The removal of an ownership mark establishes a hierarchy: the person whose name is slashed through can no longer claim a connection to the object and the new book owner is the person who has the power to break off that previous relationship.[24]

Another element that plays a role in the performative action of 'claiming' a book is the description of events leading up to the acquisition of property. In their ownership inscriptions, early modern users sometimes incorporated supplementary information on how, when, or where they acquired the book. An example is the ownership mark with which I have started the introduction to this study: 'Anno 1653, on 24 May, Bertheltje Jansd. bought this Bible on the Noordermarkt in the Hangeijser, and a similar one for Hester Bartels' (JvL CB 1534, Leerdam, GBS).[25] Two other examples of this practice can be found in a copy of Peetersen van Middelburch's Bible of 1541 (London, BL, C.64.g.5). On the front flyleaf, Aagje Bukker wrote in 1763 that she 'inherited [the book] from Trijntje Jans Doelen, 31 March 1740.'[26] The flyleaf in the back of the same book carries an inscription by Rijck Jacobszoon, who states that he 'bought this book for one *kijssers gulden* [i.e. Carolus guilder] from Ewet Classoen, my uncle, in the year of our Lord 1574.'[27]

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24 The performativity of removing someone's name can be seen reflected when returning to Scott-Warren's use of the concept of graffiti (Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti'). In graffiti culture, one of the most generally accepted rules is that one should never 'line someone', i.e. slash through or write on top of someone else's writing or name (see also: Lindsey Othen-Price, 'Making their Mark: A Psychodynamic View of Adolescent Graffiti Writing', *Psychodynamic Practice: Individuals, Groups and Organisations*, 12:1 (2007), pp. 5–17, pp. 13–14). Because of the inherent connection between a person's graffiti tag and their identity, crossing out someone's graffiti work would imply obliterating someone's personal values. Doing so is commonly considered an indisputable mark of disrespect, sometimes even to the extent that it could trigger violent retaliation (see Emma Brockes' article 'The phoney graffiti war and the killing that shocked an estate', in *The Guardian*, 5 September 2001: https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2001/sep/05/emmabrockes). Despite the crucial differences between graffiti writing and ownership marks in Bibles, the performative process that is in place when someone's name is removed from a Bible seems, in an intensified way, recognisable in graffiti culture.

25 *Anno 1653 den 24. majes heft Bertheltje Jansd. dese bibel cos top norder mart ijnt hangijser vor hester bartels eender*.

26 *Ge erft van Trijntje Jans Doelen, 31 Meert 1740.*

27 *… dit bock gecost te hebben om een kijssers gulden van ewet classoen mijnen oem int Jaer ons Heren 1574*. The *kijssers gulden* mentioned is the Carolus guilder, a currency introduced by Charles V in 1521.

Wakelin has stated that providing information on the past acquisition of the book 'might have legal utility in a world of movable books.'[28] By recording the transaction and verifying it with details of date, place, and price, an owner would have a stronger case if anyone doubted their rightful ownership. In addition, however, the inclusion of these details may have played a significant role in creating, affirming, and validating the connection between the book and its owner in the annotator's personal experience. By recording the context of acquisition, book owners stabilised their memories of the event that brought about the connection between themselves and the object. The book would, in a way, become witness to the event or process that generated the construction of ownership. Furthermore, a striking feature of the three examples mentioned above is that these book owners mention not only their own name, but also that of another person, for whom or from whom they acquired the book.[29] Similarly to facts regarding time, space, and price, the individuals mentioned by name are part of the acquisition memory, and writing down their names would hence validate these contexts. It is through previous owners that Aagje Bukker and Rijck Jacobszoon gained access to and ownership of the book. Mentioning the names of previous owners or donators within the Bible thus not only testified to proper acquisition of the book, but also framed the social dynamics that enabled a change of ownership.

1.2 *Shaping Family Identity*

The importance of social dynamics is especially evident in the inclusion of genealogical annotations and notes on family affairs. As argued by Pollmann, personal identity in premodern times was shaped by social, cultural, and religious 'scripts', as well as by family relations and personal experiences.[30]

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28 Wakelin, '"Thys ys my boke"', p. 28.

29 The practice of including from whom the book was bought or inherited was not unique to the early modern period. This becomes clear in a PvM 1541 CB (Amsterdam, VU, XC.05044-), in which an annotation from 1801 mentions the name of both the owner and the person from whom he inherited the book as part of a broader collection of theological and religious works.

30 See: Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 22. As Pollmann describes, the social and cultural scripts were connected to the performance of the identities for which one was born or trained, relating to elements such as social status, gender, profession, or confessionality. However, shaped by their own life trajectory and their own insights in the world around them, individuals would shape their identity as distinguished from others. On the relevance of establishing family connections through writing, see also: Giovanni Ciapelli, 'Family Memory: Functions, Evolution, Recurrences', in Giovanni Ciapelli and Patricia Lee Rubin (eds.), *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge

Through genealogical annotations, the space of the book, in particular that of the early modern Bible but also, for instance, Books of Hours and almanacs, could be appropriated for defining these factors.[31] Ashley has described the practice of leaving such annotations as a second stage in the appropriation of the book: whereas marking one's ownership primarily concerned only the annotating individual themselves, genealogical annotations had an impact on the formation of a collective identity.[32]

When a family Bible moved from one generation to another, family histories that were noted down on the flyleaves would serve as an heirloom of previous generations, transmitting values and establishing meaningful intergenerational relationships. As noted by Lindenbaum, 'all life-writing is a process of decoding what is important enough to put on the page and what must be left out.'[33] The annotator in a Bible selected the events, experiences, and transitions that most defined their personal and family identity. The book could become a tangible carrier of the family lineage and of crucial memorised moments in an ancestor's life, a space which could hold memories, secure identities, and provide support and protection throughout the instability of human life.[34] Rather than just serving as records of history, the memories that were transmitted in genealogical annotations would come to serve as a means to shape the family's

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University Press, 2000); Giovanni Ciapelli, *Memory, Family, and Self: Tuscan Family Books and Other European Egodocuments (14th–18th Century)* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014); Karin Wulf, 'Bible, King and Common Law: Genealogical Literacies and Family History Practices in British America', *Early American Studies*, 10:3 (2012), pp. 467–502; Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*.

31 On family histories in Books of Hours, see: Kathleen Ashley, 'Creating Family Identity in Books of Hours', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32:1 (2002), pp. 145–165. On annotations in almanacs, see: Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators'; Imogen Peck, '"A Chronology of Some Memorable Accidents": The Representation of the Recent Past in English Almanacs, 1648–1660', *Historical Research*, 92:525 (2019), pp. 97–117; Lindenbaum, 'Memorializing the Everyday'. See also Kristof Selleslach's blog at https://medium.com/@museumplantinmoretus/the-diaries-of-theresa-mathilda-schilders-6ab0a2abe1a.

32 See: Ashley, 'Creating Family Identity', p. 148. The construction of a sense of collectiveness is not only reflected in genealogical inscriptions but also, in a sense, in the ownership marks of religious communities and convents. Similarly to family Bibles, the individual members of the community would have access to the communally owned book.

33 Lindenbaum, 'Memorializing the Everyday', p. 5.

34 As phrased by Scott-Warren, *Shakespeare's First Reader,* 2: family books create 'anchors amid the flux of experience.' See also: Eric Ketelaar, 'The Genealogical Gaze: Family Identities and Family Archives in the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries', *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 44:1 (2009), pp. 9–28, p. 17; Ashley, 'Creating Family Identity', p. 150. About the connection between physical objects and a family's 'lifecycle', see: Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 68, p. 73.

perspective on the 'self', as if to say: 'these are the key events that shaped our history, our now, and our future'.[35]

The many family histories that were noted down on the pastedowns, flyleaves, or other blank spaces in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles correspond with a contemporary international interest in recording family histories. Ketelaar speaks of a 'genealogical gaze': a culture of memorisation that developed internationally from the fourteenth century onwards and that 'transfigured family archives into a cultural patrimony to be preserved, expanded, and transferred to future generations.'[36] Genealogical notes as well as more extensive examples of family history writing – such as *livres de raison*, *Hausbücher*, or *ricordanze* – were all concerned with the recording and commemoration of important moments in the family's lineage and, by doing so, with creating intergenerational memories that could define the identities of family members.[37] In general, keeping a record of important historical moments in the family's lineage was not a practice that was merely concerned with the past. Rather, in Hodgkin's words, 'it holds the dead in the minds of the living, and transmits the responsibility for remembrance forward to children and grandchildren.'[38]

The transference of memories is assured when readers and book owners transform their Bibles from mere carriers of the biblical text to monuments and spaces of memorial.[39] Among the Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles under consideration in this study, twenty-six copies contain genealogical

35 On the connections between memory, family, and (personal) identity, see: Katie Barclay and Nina Javette Koefoed, 'Family, Memory, and Identity: An Introduction', *Journal of Family History*, 45:4 (2020), pp. 1–10. Although the vast majority of genealogical annotations can be found on blank spaces such as flyleaves, readers could also include notes concerning their family in other places within the Bible. In a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Utrecht, ULU, 111 F 13), a reader has noted down the birthdays of his two daughters in the printed liturgical calendar in the front of the book: 'Ipse die nata est filia S[…]' (the name is unreadable) next to the feast of Quirinus the Martyr on 11 October, and 'Ipse nata est Filia Maria' next to the feast of Bishop Severinus (of Bordeaux) on 21 October.

36 Ketelaar, 'The Genealogical Gaze', p. 10. On archives as cultural patrimonies, see also: Eric Ketelaar, 'Muniments and Monuments: The Dawn of Archives as Cultural Patrimony', *Archival Science*, 7 (2007), pp. 343–357.

37 See also: Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 8–9.

38 Katharine Hodgkin, 'Women, Memory and Family History in Seventeenth-Century England', in Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 297–313, p. 312.

39 See also: Alexandra Walsham, 'Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe', *Past & Present*, 11 (2016), pp. 9–48, p. 15; Ashley, 'Creating Family Identity', p. 145; Ketelaar, 'Muniments and Monuments'.

annotations, of which some by more than one family.[40] The notes cover family histories from 1551 to 1855, although the vast majority date from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Despite this broad chronological range, the formats and content of these annotations remain relatively stable. The events that are most often mentioned concern important transitional moments in the family history, in particular births, marriages, illnesses, and deaths. In the simplest form, the notes consist of a short description of the events and the dates on which they occurred. These relatively brief descriptions appear, for instance, in a 1542a Liesvelt Bible (Leeuwarden, TL, PBF 80 Gdg; fig. 54):

> Anno 1594, a few days after New Year, I, Dirck Fredrickszoon, married Aechte Willemsdochter to be my wife.
>
> 1621, on 10 February, my husband Dirck Frederiqszoon came to rest in the Lord.
>
> 1638, on 16 October, my mother came to rest in the Lord, at eight o'clock in the evening.[41]

40 The following copies contain genealogical annotations: JvL 1526 CB (Utrecht, ULU, THO RAR 11–31); JvL 1534 CB (Antwerp, HC, F 46902); JvL 1542a CB (Leeuwarden, TL, PBF 80 Gdg); JvL 1542a CB (Leeuwarden, TL, PBF 81 Gdg); PvM 1541 CB (Utrecht, ULU, THO ALV 9–158); PvM 1541 CB (Leuven, MSB, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1541(a)); JvL 1535 CB (Utrecht, ULU,THO RAR 2–32); PvM 1535 CB (Nijmegen, ULN, P. Inc. 216); JvL 1534 CB (Utrecht, MCC, p.i. 120–73); HvL 1538 CB (Antwerp, MPM, A 3469 3); JvL 1526 CB (Amsterdam, UvA, Ned. Inc. 119); PvM 1535 CB (London, BL, 3061.i.12 II); JvL 1535 CB (Oxford, BLO, Bib. Dutch. C3), PvM 1541 CB (Utrecht, ULU, 111 F 13); JvL 1534 CB (Brussels, AA); JvL 1542a CB (Antwerp, HC, RAR-F 20766); JvL 1542a CB (St. Agatha, EK, A-0675); JvL 1534 CB (Leerdam, GBS); JvL 1535 CB (Brussels, KBR, VI 32.677 C (RP)); JvL 1532 CB (Stuttgart, WLB, Bb.niederländ.153202); PvM 1535 CB (Stuttgart, WLB, Bb.niederländ.153501); HvL 1538 CB (Stuttgart, WLB, Bb.niederländ.153801); JvL 1542a CB (Stuttgart, WLB, Bb.niederländ.154201); PvM 1541 CB (Gouda, LM); JvL 1534 CB (Mons, MSP, 1002/25). The PvM 1541 CB (Kerkrade, RS, 22.05 = 393) contains a small, loose slip of paper which contains several genealogical notes. The PvM 1535 CB (The Hague, ASP) contains family annotations that function not so much as a recording of the births and deaths of family members, but rather as records of the ways in which the Bible was handed over from one generation to another (thereby also mentioning when a previous owner died). The annotations on the flyleaf of this copy continue up to 1982. One JvL 1534 CB (Utrecht, MCC, p.i. 120–73) contains genealogical annotations from three time periods: the first covers genealogical events between 1551 and 1560, the second from 1783 to 1792, and the third from 1811. The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century annotations both concern the Campen family.

41 *Anno 1594 / Dachs naer neeuw Jaer heb ick dirck fredricksz. Aechte willems dochter getrout tot eenen hueijs Vrouwe / 1621 den 10 februerij is mijns man dirck freriqsz in den heer gerest / 1638 den 16 october is mijn moeder in den heer gerest savens te acht turen.*

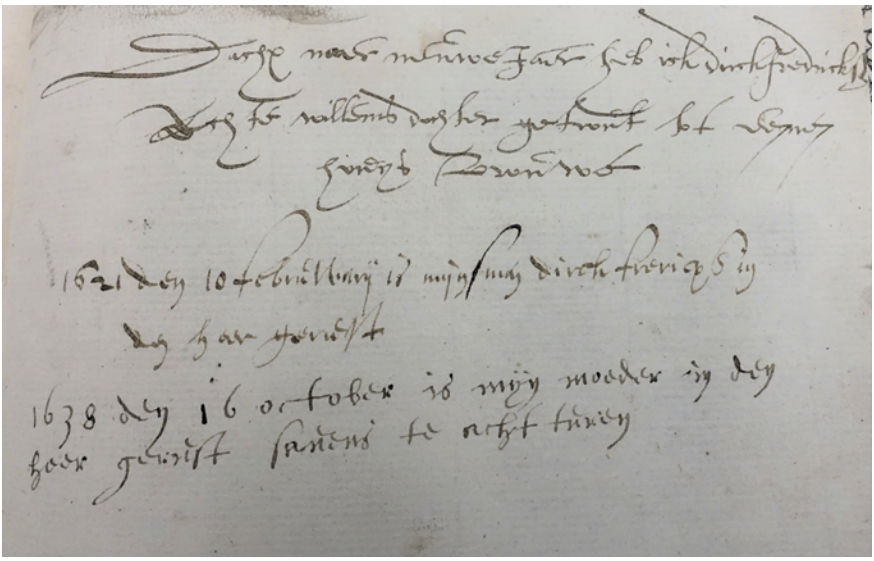

FIGURE 54 Genealogical annotations on a flyleaf in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition (a) of 1542. Leeuwarden, Tresoar Bibliotheek, PBF 80 Gdg

The first entry concerns Dirck and Aechte's marriage. This event served as the main premise of the family to be formed: with this *rite of passage*, a new community was created that established the basis of any other genealogical annotations to follow.[42] However, Dirck Fredrickszoon himself did not continue with any annotations. Aechte recorded the death of her husband twenty-six years later, as later did their child with regard to their mother's death in 1638. These brief annotations exemplify a crucial characteristic of genealogical annotations: the potential to be carried forward by the next generation.

Whereas this copy only concisely addresses three events, other Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles bear the results of annotating owners who archived a wide temporal range of transitional moments in their family life. This is the case, for instance, in the 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Nijmegen, ULN, P.Inc.216) that belonged to the family Van Wanraij-Pieck in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Henricus van Wanraij's annotations begin with a memorialisation of his own birth and baptism in Nijmegen in 1686, as well as that of his wife Clara Maria Pieck in Beesd in 1688.

42 It is relatively common for annotators to start their genealogy off with marriage. See also: Ashley, 'Creating Family Identity', p. 151. However, in the Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch copies under scrutiny here, the vast majority (18 out of 21) of genealogies begin with the birth of the first child.

He then continues with the births of his nine children. For each child, Van Wanraij recalls the date and time of their birth, their baptism and whom they were named after, and who their godparents (*peter* and *meter*) were. He also includes the places of baptism – Tiel, Culemborg, and Arnhem – and, in all but the first two descriptions, the names of the priests who performed the rituals. For instance:

> 1715, on 12 October, Thursday evening around 4 o'clock, was born our daughter, baptised Hendrina Catharina after her late uncle and late aunt, the beguine. *Peter* brother Jacobus, and *meter* Mum, baptised in Tiel by Father Schuerman.[43]

Van Wanraij and Pieck's first two children died within two months and Van Wanraij included the date and time of their deaths in their entries. Hendrickus Wilhelmus, their seventh child, died at the age of four. Van Wanraij has later recorded his death in the margin next to the original entry: 'and came to rest in the Lord on Tuesday morning around the time of half past two, on 2 October 1727.'[44] He also added information about the date, place, and performing cleric of the confirmations of his daughters Maria Anna Cornelia and Hendrina Catharina. These additions demonstrate how Van Wanraij continued to return to the book at important moments in his family life, over several decades. Rather than commemorating multiple happenings at once, Van Wanraij appears to have kept record of the events his family encountered at the moments, or around the time, that they occurred.

Van Wanraij's mentions of persons that are related to his household – i.e. brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, and the clerics who performed the sacraments of baptism and confirmation – represent the broader social and religious communities to which the Van Wanraij-Pieck family related. By including these references in his genealogical annotations, Van Wanraij confirmed the importance of these social ties to the family identity.[45] In addition, these social

43 *1715 den 12 october donderdag savonts ontrent 4 uiren is gebooren ons dochtertje gedoopt Hendrina Catharina naer haer oom saliger en matante het begientje saliger. petere broer jacobus en metere Mama, gedoopt te Thiel door pater Schuerman.*

44 *en is inden Heere gerust op diensdag smorgens omtrent de cloche half drie uiere den 2 october 1727.*

45 As Neuber has explained in his analysis of German family books, creating a family memorial in a book is about 'defining one's social standing and in so doing creating a self – a self, it has to be stressed, that depends on its social ties and is in no position to establish itself autonomously.' See: Wolfang Neuber, 'Exscribo Ergo Sum. Self-Reflexion and Mediation in Early Modern German Fakkily Books', in Karl A. E. Enenkel and Walter Melion (eds.), *Meditatio – Refashioning the Self* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 109–124, p. 122.

connections provided an outline for future generations of the cultural and religious 'scripts' that the Van Wanraij-Pieck family adhered to, in particular with regard to Catholic traditions concerning godparents and the sacraments of baptism and confirmation.[46] The persons that are mentioned in relation to these traditions function as witnesses to the meaning and integrity of these situations. In the annotations in a 1534 Liesvelt Bible (Leerdam, GBS), this function is made explicit. Abraham Ackersdijk includes in his annotations on the births of each of his three children the names of the people 'who serve as witnesses to that'.[47] When Van Wanraij's or Ackersdijk's children would return to the book after their parents' death, they would be reminded of the social, cultural, and religious ties that testified to their birth and upbringing, and that shaped the identity of their family.[48]

Genealogical lists also regularly centre around the deaths of family members or other acquaintances. In most cases, the passing of family members was commemorated in the Bible by mentioning date and time of death, as well as, in some cases, details about the place of death and burial.[49] Abraham Ackersdijck, whom I mentioned above, noted that 'Anno 1624, our sweet wife [and] mother has died on 21 July, and was buried in the New Church on the 31st ditto, at the main choir next to my dear mother Magtelt Pieters.'[50] Annotators also occasionally provided information on the process or cause of dying. In a 1538 Liesvelt Bible (Antwerp, MPM, A 3469 3), Anthonie van Eeden wrote about his tragically short marriage: he married his wife Evertge Pieters on 10 June 1647, but she fell ill less than a month later, and she 'remained bedridden until Wednesday morning … [and] was dead on 10 July, anno 1647, in the same year.'[51] The fact that Van Eeden describes her illness is relatively rare, but not unique within the studied corpus. One-year-old Eeliesabet Campen 'died of smallpox' in 1790 (JvL 1534 CB: Utrecht, MCC, p.i. 120–73), and in a 1534 Liesvelt Bible (Brussels, AA) Siwerdt Janss commemorates the death of his wife who 'came to die in childbirth … on the ninth day after the birth of Jan, her

46 On the role of cultural scripts in early modern memory culture, see: Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, p. 4.

47 *… daerouer getuijgen als voelgt …*

48 See also: Neuber, 'Exscribo Ergo Sum', p. 122 (footnote).

49 On the relevance of the remembrance of the dead in early modern contexts, see: Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 22–23; Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, 'Introduction', in Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1–16.

50 *Anno 1624, Onse lieue vrouwe Moeder is gestoruen den 21. Julij. ende begrauen inde nieuwe kerck den 31. ditto opt hoochcoor naasten mijns saliig moeders Magtelt Pieters.*

51 *… blijvende soo plat te bet leggen tot woensdach voormiddach … doet was de 10 Julij anno 1647 int wesende Jaer.*

son, at a quarter past twelve [at night], between the twenty-second and the twenty-third of October, anno 1559.'[52]

As these examples show, annotators often include the date, time, and place in their recording of births, deaths, and other rites of passage. The registration of the moment of births could be relevant as it connected to the astrological circumstances under which a child was born. This is evident in a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Utrecht, UU, 111 F 13), in which the birth date of a child is marked as 'on 20 October … on a Friday … under the planets Saturn and Mars.'[53] Including information on the place where transitions took place, furthermore, could serve as a way to emphasise the family's connectivity to a local area and community, and to create links between the described events and 'places and spaces of memory' that might have been relevant to the annotating individual and their family.[54]

The connection between memorialisation and physical space becomes apparent, furthermore, in several genealogical annotations that commemorate not only family events but also a broader spectrum of local, political, or natural happenings and concerns. In a 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Stuttgart, WLB, Bb.niederländ.153501), for instance, a Bible owner by the name of Franciscus Hendericks recorded an extensive list of impactful events between 1686 and 1718. These include not only births, marriages, and deaths, but also events that relate to his profession ('In December 1702, I became a member of the tailor guild') or to historical events.[55] The latter concern, amongst others, the coronation of King Frederick I of Prussia in 1701 and the death of Emperor Leopold I in 1705.[56] Franciscus Hendericks also memorialised an exceptional hailstorm: 'Anno 1704, on 26 July, very large hailstones fell here in Emmerich,

52 *…. geraeckte te owerliden in den craem van den geboerte … net om 't negende etmel nae die geboerte van Jan hoer zoen oeck quartier nae twalven tuysscen den twee ende twinttichten october ende den drye ende twinttichten october anno xvc neghen ende vijftich*. Similarly, in the early eighteenth century genealogical annotations in a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Stuttgart, WLB, Bb.niederländ.153501), Franciscus Hendericks noted that 'anno 1718 on 4 March my dearest wife gave birth to a little son in the morning at four o'clock and also, at half past four, my dearest wife passed away in the Lord and the child has been baptised on the same [day] in March at four o'clock in the afternoon, [named] Johannes Hendricks' (*Anno 1718 den 4 mert is mijn alderliefste vrouw in de craem geboren van een ijonghen soon smorgens om 4 ure en tevens van 1/2 vief is mijn allerliefs vrouw in den here gestorven ende het kijnd is gedoopt den selfs des mer de mijesdaegs om 4 ure v. Johannes Hendricks*).

53 *Den 20. octobris … opt eende vrijdachs … onder die planeten Saturnus eende maars*.

54 See also: Hodgkin, 'Women, Memory and Family History', p. 310.

55 *1702 in 10br ben ick verdrager geworde vant kleermakergilt*.

56 'Anno 1701, on 18 January, our elector was crowned king' (*Anno 1701 den 18 januari is onse cuervorst coninck gecroont*); 'Anno 1705, on 5 May, King Leopoldus died' (*Anno 1705 den 5 meij is den keiser Leopoldus gestorven*).

which caused much damage to the windows and roofs.'[57] In a similar manner, a sixteenth-century annotator in a 1526 Liesvelt Bible (Leiden, ULL, I.N.L. Vide B 22 F 38) kept track of various historical events between 1421 and 1552. The chronicle-like overview points towards, amongst others, the St. Elizabeth's flood of 1421, the St. Felix's flood of 1530, an outbreak of the contagious English sweating sickness in Amsterdam in 1529, and the occupations of Utrecht and The Hague by the Guelder army commander Maarten van Rossum in 1528. These examples display that the Bible could become a place of safekeeping not only for issues relating directly to the family, but also for commemorating political, natural, communal, and local events and experiences.[58]

Although comparable forms of 'life-writing' and commemorative annotations can be found in other (religious) books, the Bible was a particularly fitting place for the safekeeping and 'sacralisation' of family memories or chronicles. Biblical narratives as well as the very object of the Bible itself were inherently 'part of the cadences of daily life.'[59] Bibles such as Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's would have been omnipresent in early modern Dutch households and therefore readily available as a space for registration.[60] Furthermore, the fact that genealogical annotations are, within this corpus, exclusively found in folio-sized, complete Bible copies, is very likely connected to the fact that these properties, that were so valuable in financial, emotional, and spiritual respect, would often be handed over from one generation to the next, allowing the book to function as a convenient physical transporter of memories between generations.[61]

Besides these practical advantages, including one's own family history and genealogy in the Bible meant placing one's personal history alongside the ultimate history of salvation, and one's own lineage alongside the genealogy

57 *Anno 1704 den 26 july syn alhier binnen emmerick seer grote hagelsteen gevalle waardoor viel schad geschiet is aen de glaes ende daeke.*

58 On annotations in Dutch Bibles that concern local and weather-related events, see: Renske A. Hoff, 'Safekeeping Memories of Transition and Trauma in Sixteenth-Century Dutch Bibles', *TXT Yearbook,* (2021), pp. 20–24. With regard to the personal annotations in almanacs, Smyth identified seven central themes: births and deaths; health and body; weather; travel; financial accounting; legal and employment contracts; and animal husbandry. See: Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators', p. 205.

59 Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers*, p. 53.

60 See: Kamermans, *Materiële cultuur*, pp. 124–129; Dibbits, *Vertrouwd bezit*, pp. 209–227; Koolbergen, 'De materiële cultuur', p. 32. See also: Hamling, 'Living with the Bible', pp. 211–212.

61 The physical size of these copies may have played a role in this as well: folio-sized flyleaves simply provide more space for annotations than those in the octavo-sized New Testaments and Epistles and Gospels.

of Christ. By situating vulnerable and inherently human affairs within the trustworthy context of the biblical narrative, the space of the book may have provided a sense of safety and protection.[62] In addition, the Bible may have served as a 'witness' to the rites of passage inscribed in it, framing personal experiences in God's behold.[63] This is particularly noticeable in the genealogical annotations in 1542a Liesvelt Bible (Stuttgart, WLB, Bb.niederländ.154201). Between 1607 and 1622, Jaspar Vinckel kept records of the death of his father, his marriage with Trijn Jansdochter, and the births and deaths of their children.[64] In his annotations on the births of his six children, he included short benedictions. He wrote, for instance, at the birth of his fifth child: 'Item on 21 July 1620, being between Tuesday and Wednesday at night, at half past two, my wife gave birth to my son Abraham Vinckel. May the almighty God let him grow in virtuousness and [grant him] a blessed death and life. Amen.'[65] The Bible appears here to have served not only as a testimony to the birth of the child, but also as space that allowed for the direct transference of these pleas to God.

Genealogical annotations illustrate how the Bible simultaneously served as a *physical* object and as a *conceptual* object that, in its materiality, testified to notions of authority and veracity.[66] Comparable to the talismanic function of

62 See also: Kate Gibson, 'Family Bibles', *Faith in the Town: Lay Religion, Urbanisation and Industrialisation in England, 1740–1830: An AHRC Funded Project at the University of Manchester*, 11 November 2020, https://faithinthetown.wordpress.com/2020/11/11/family-bibles/.

63 See also: Scott-Warren, *Shakespeare's First Reader*, 3.

64 This copy contains extensive genealogical annotations by various hands and across several centuries. Between 1576 and 1601, Gerret Jansoon wrote down the births and deaths of his children. The annotations by Jaspar Vinckel, between 1607 and 1622, are followed by notes by his son Jan Vinckel who wrote about the deaths of his parents and his brother Jaspar Vinckel between 1638 and 1659.

65 *Item opten 21 Julij 1620 wessends tussen dinsdach en woensdach snachts, te halff 3 ueren, is mijn huijsvrou, van mijn soen Abraham vinckel verloest. Die Almachtigen Godt wil hem in doechden lateen op wassen en een salich steruen ende leuen Amen.* On the opposite flyleaf, the annotations reveal that Abraham Vinckel unfortunately died on 1 March 1621, at less than a year old. A year later, Jaspar Vinckel and Trijn Jansdochter had another son whom they also called Abraham. He died within a month. From the six children they had, only two survived to adulthood.

66 See: Andrea Reyes Elizondo, 'Paper Weight', *TXT: The Book Issue: Social Symbolism*, 4 (2018), pp. 144–152, p. 146. As Reyes Elizondo notes, it is precisely this connection between the material and the conceptual that makes it controversial to destroy or throw away books (147). This, furthermore, also ascribes meaning to the wilful destruction of books as a means to criticise or destroy concepts and ideas. However, the rich culture of book recycling and material reuse in the early modern period testifies to the fact that modern ideas of the sacrality of books should not be casually imposed onto historical book culture.

the Bible when an oath is taken on it, the Bible could function as a witness to a situation and a space for ritual transformation and sacralisation of an event.[67] The Bible became, in other words, a place of intersection between the book, the history of salvation, an individual's identity, a personal story, and potential future generations.[68]

2 Leaving Material Traces

In order to understand the 'workings' of the book, materiality may be taken one step further. In February 2020, the reading room staff of the Cambridge University Library found a flattened, dried, half-eaten biscuit in a 1529 edition of Augustine's works.[69] The greasy stain it left evidently bears witness of the physical circumstances in which the book was once used, as well as of the characteristics of the paper that made it susceptible for absorbing the grease. Furthermore, it shows that the munching reader actually stopped reading and shut the book before finishing the biscuit, and that that specific passage was, most likely, not read between that moment and February 2020. This 'reading' trace not only points to certain circumstances of reading, but simultaneously to 'the moment when reading stops, … when the book is shut.'[70]

Although no baked goods survived between the pages of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, the various physical interactions between the Bibles and their readers left a broad range of material, non-textual traces. In general, these can be divided in two categories. First, the books bear material traces that are the result of the physicality and spatiality of reading, such as the traces of dirty fingers or ink stains. Some of these are the products of single interactions between a book and a reader, whereas others testify to recurrent use of a certain part of the book, for instance when pages prove tarnished by frequent handling. The second category consists of objects and object traces found between the pages of the book. These attest as much to a practice of reading as to non-reading; of deliberately or by accident placing an object in a book and then closing it for a considerable amount of time. As Smyth has

67 On talismanic uses of books and texts and traditions with regard to oath-taking upon books, see: David Cressy, 'Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New England', *The Journal of Library History*, 21:1 (1986), pp. 92–106; Rowan Watson, 'Some Non-Textual Uses of Books', in Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book, 2nd Edition* (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, 2020), pp. 645–660, pp. 649–650, pp. 651–652.

68 See also: Poleg, *Approaching the Bible*, pp. 59–107.

69 See: https://x.com/theULSpecColl/status/1230822965853466625.

70 Smyth, 'Book Marks', p. 59.

addressed, these object traces thus point to 'what might be considered the obverse of the history of reading, or at least its shadow; … of nonreading as a mode of responding to books.'[71]

2.1 *Reading with Fingers, Ink, and Light*

Reading was and is an inherently physical activity. Books need to be opened, pages turned over, lines can be followed with fingertips. A reader not only sees letters but may also smell the book, hear the crackling its pages, and feel the texture of the paper and the letters printed on it.[72] Furthermore, in order to enable proper reading, early modern readers and their books would have been surrounded by an array of material tools, such as bookmarks, spectacles, pens, knives, inkpots, looking glasses, paper, and candles.[73] These tangible features of reading practices could potentially leave their traces in the book. Within the corpus of surviving Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles, several patterns stand out.

Firstly, readers' recurrent handling of the paper would leave traces such as discolouration, torn edges, and a softer paper structure. Although a quantification of these traces falls beyond the scope of this study, they do show which parts of the book and the page were touched more often than others.[74] To begin with, several books clearly display the impact of readers' touch in patterns of discolouring and damage across the page. In particular the bottom corners, where a reader would typically grasp the leaf in order to turn it, are regularly impacted. This is the case in a 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Haarlem, NBG, 32"1535"-Lies-14839), in which the upper corners of the pages are light in colour and the paper is largely intact, but the bottom corners of the pages are stained and damaged. Similar patterns can be recognised across the studied corpus. However, traces of use and touch can be hard to distinguish from general discolouration through other factors. Not only handling but also the environment

71 Smyth, 'Book Marks', p. 59.

72 The existence and growing popularity of e-books and other forms of digital reading create interesting developments in the material aspects of books and reading. See, for instance: Leah Price, *What We Talk About When We Talk About Books: The History and Future of Reading* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), pp. 29–50.

73 See also: Sharpe and Zwicker 2009, 15.

74 Kathryn Rudy illustrated a method of quantifying physical traces of use by using a 'densitometer' with which she measured the darkness of paper in a non-invasive way. The darker patches of the book and page would indicate which parts of the book were frequently handled and which parts were largely ignored. In addition, the dark patches may also provide insight in the ways in which a book was held by its reader, either on the sides of the book or near the gutter. See: Kathryn M. Rudy, 'Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, 2:1–2 (2010), p. 8.

in which books were kept could possibly cause discolouring and damage to the book. Many Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles show signs of wear around the edges of pages, in the front and the back of the book, and at the point of attachment between the binding and the book. These elements were evidently most vulnerable to factors such as humidity, temperature, mould, or pressure (for instance when books were stored too close together on a shelf).[75]

The disproportionate discolouration of certain sections of the book can point towards repeated use of especially those parts. The discontinuous ways in which Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles were often read is particularly recognisable in the discolouration of the pages of the liturgical reading schedule, which, in some copies, contrasts clearly with the pages around it. The effects of recurrent use of this navigational tool are clearly visible in a 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (Leuven, MSB, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1538; fig. 55).

In this copy, the practice of consecutive owners frequently wielding the liturgical reading schedule has left traces of wear that are considerably heavier than in other parts of the book. This is the case in other copies as well, such as in a 1526 Liesvelt Bible (Leiden, ULL, 1497 A 11), in which the pages of the liturgical reading schedule are clearly discoloured, particularly in the bottom corners, and the edges of the page have been damaged quite severely.

Another regularly occurring material trace is related to the fact that reading and writing were often intertwined activities. This is not only reflected in written annotations and markings, but also in the many traces of ink that were accidentally left in the book.[76] In a 1532 Liesvelt Bible (Ghent, ULG, BIB.ACC.001861), the close proximity of book and pen resulted in a drop of ink that fell on the calendar in the middle of the book, as well as an inky fingerprint underneath Herbertus Verdoncq's ownership mark in the bottom margin of Psalms 56–57. Another copy which contains a clear unintended trace of ink, is a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Leuven, MSB, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1541). A sizable ink stain across Genesis 20–22 appears to be the result of a spilled ink pot, covering the upper part of the pages with extensive ink stains and splashes (fig. 56).

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75 Patterns of damage and their causes are best documented in the field of book conservation. For a clear overview of factors in damage and their effects, see: Bendix 2010, 4–6.

76 Deliberately included annotations could, furthermore, also result in unintended material changes of the page. In a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch (London, BL, C.64.g.5), for instance, multiple pages have been heavily damaged by ink corrosion from the writing ink used for the annotations. The corrosion has led to strong discolouration, an intense blurring of the notes, and has, in some cases, even made the paper so brittle that it disintegrated entirely.

FIGURE 55 Tarnished liturgical reading schedule in a copy of Hansken van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1538. Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1538

FIGURE 56 Large ink stain across Genesis 20–22 in a copy of Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's complete Bible edition of 1541. Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1541

The shape of the stain suggests that the ink pot was placed rather close to the left-upper side of the book.

Furthermore, the mere availability of paper, ink, and pens allowed readers to use the paper space of the Bible for unforeseen notes or scribbles that do not relate to the book as provider of the Scriptures, but rather to the book as supplier of blank paper. Readers tried their pens (*probatio pennae*) – for instance with some swirly letters on the flyleaf of a 1532 Liesvelt Bible (Ghent, ULG, BIB.ACC.001861) – and left doodles in the margins. Furthermore, in a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Amsterdam, UvA, 1150 A 14), a reader used the empty space of the upper margin at the beginning of Job for a few quick calculations, amongst others adding up 21, 21, and 10 to make 52. These calculations do not relate to the biblical text and were most likely left in the book simply because it served as an accessible source of paper.[77] In a 1532 Liesvelt

77 Another calculation can be found in a 1544 Liesvelt New Testament (Leiden, ULL, Sem. Rem. 844). On the back flyleaf, someone subtracted 1544 from 1682, leaving 138. As the book itself was published in 1544 and the calculation is made on the page opposing the

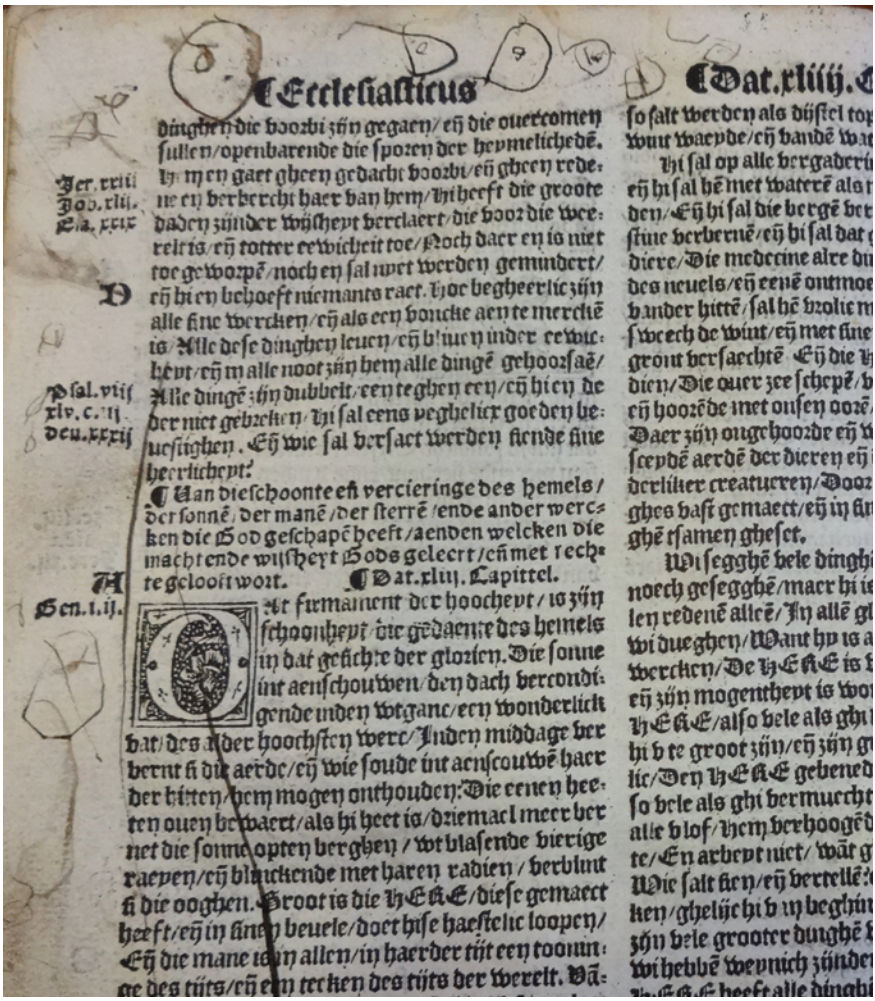

FIGURE 57 Scribbles, potentially by a child, in the margins of a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1532. University Library Ghent, BIB.ACC.001861

Bible (Ghent, ULG, BIB.ACC.001861), it appears to have been a young child who got hold of a pen and the book in an unsupervised moment and used the pages of Jesus Sirach 44–45 as the canvas for some unbridled scribbling (fig. 57).

colophon in which the publication date is mentioned, it is likely that this annotation points to a reader aiming to calculate the age of the book in 1682. Similarly, in a 1542a Liesvelt Bible (Amsterdam, UvA, OG 65-33), a user tried to calculate the age of their book in 1659. However, they incorrectly assumed the book was printed in 1442, hence writing down that it would have been 217 years in age, rather than 117.

Another use of the availability of paper is reflected in the remains of a red seal in a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Düsseldorf, ULB, 20 Biblth. 1A.75(2), 1. ex). Sealing wax was stamped onto the blank space of the margin, perhaps to test the stamp or to get rid of any surplus wax left on the stamp after closing a letter.

A third material aspect of the reading practice that could irreversibly impact the book was the presence of candles. In a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Utrecht, MCC, BMH Sp pi5), a flame touched the upper part of the page in the liturgical table in the back of the book, leaving frayed burned holes across several pages. The shape of the burn implies that it developed whilst the book was open and thus differentiates this example from burn damage that would be caused by fire outside the book. In a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Brussels, KBR, 14 885 C), a gap in the title page seems to have been caused by a small burning particle that fell onto the page.

2.2 *Enclosed Objects: Traces of Non-reading*

As has become clear by now, books did not function in a vacuum. Not only could a reader, through their pen and thoughts, bring entire new worlds of information and understanding into the book, the tangible world outside could also become physically entangled with the pages. Furthermore, the materials that make up the structure of the book – paper, leather, parchment, cardboard, perhaps metalwork – are characterised by qualities that allow the book to be a susceptible and suitable space for the enclosing and safekeeping of objects. In the build-up of most early modern Bibles, separate gatherings of pliable paper are firmly sewn together, strengthened with parchment or paper spine linings, and connected to leather-covered wooden boards. Some bindings are further strengthened with metal corner and centre pieces with bosses, metal knobs that keep the book binding slightly elevated from the surface on which it is used in order to protect the more vulnerable leather. A considerable number of the surviving Bibles, in particular the folio-sized Bibles, have metal clasps that hold (or would have held, as they are often damaged) the book together when it was not used, thus easing the strain on the joints and pressing the pages firmly together to prevent dust or other damaging particles from falling between the pages. Hence, despite the fact that paper would be vulnerable to damaging fire, insects, or fluids, 'the codex is, in fact, a wonderful archival medium.'[78]

78 Amaranth Borsuk, *The Book* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2018), p. 181.

It is paradoxical that these features, which are meant to protect the book from the physicalities of the space in which it is located, simultaneously allow it to close in, hide, press, and preserve objects between its pages. Beyond the book's purpose to convey text and paratext, the three-dimensionality and physicality of the book made it possible for readers to, for instance, employ the book as press, in particular for botanical material. The flat surface of pages, the heaviness of the paper and binding, and the possibility to easily open and close it made it a perfect tool for pressing flowers or leaves. For many book owners, furthermore, a folio-sized, complete Bible might well have been the largest and heaviest book they possessed, making it appropriate to use for plant-pressing activities. Although most pressed botanical materials would, of course, be taken out of the book as soon as the person who made them was satisfied with the result, some remain. Between the pages of Jesus Sirach in a 1542a Liesvelt Bible (Utrecht, ULU, THO RIJS 001–067), a small, detailed plant leaf was left in the book (fig. 58). Similarly, in a 1541 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Groningen, RUG, uklu Ag-3), two large, slightly translucent petals have survived between the pages of Deuteronomy 5.[79]

Plant remains are not the only natural materials to be hidden between the pages of early modern Bibles. As already shortly mentioned in section 4.2, a user left ten small feathers between the pages of Leviticus in a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (London, BL, 3061.i.12).[80] The feathers are aesthetically pleasing, with downy barbs that turn from satiny green, purple, and orange to a deep black. Although it is not feasible to determine for certain why the book user decided to keep these feathers in the book, it is possible that they considered the book a reliable space for safekeeping.[81] The book may have functioned, in Smyth's words, as 'collecting space, … as cabinet of natural history.'[82] The heavy pages that press down on the feathers have prevented

79 The University of Groningen has digitised this copy and made it available via GoogleBooks (https://books.google.nl/books?id=XCx2qE_vsxIC&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false). However, the value of studying physical books becomes apparent with this example: the petals appear to have been taken out of the book during the digitisation and are not visible in the digital reproduction.

80 A 1535 Liesvelt Bible (Tilburg, ULT, TF PRE 10) also contains a single feather. This small, light down feather, found close to the book's gutter between Exodus 24 and 25, might have floated into the book. It potentially originates from, for instance, a pillow upon which the book was once laid. In the same copy, between the pages of 1 Samuel 31–33, another small, natural object remains: the dry husk of a single grain.

81 On religious books as safekeepers for objects, see also: Van Asperen, 'The Book as Shrine'; Festa, 'The Things Books Make', pp. 38–39.

82 Smyth, 'Book Marks', p. 52.

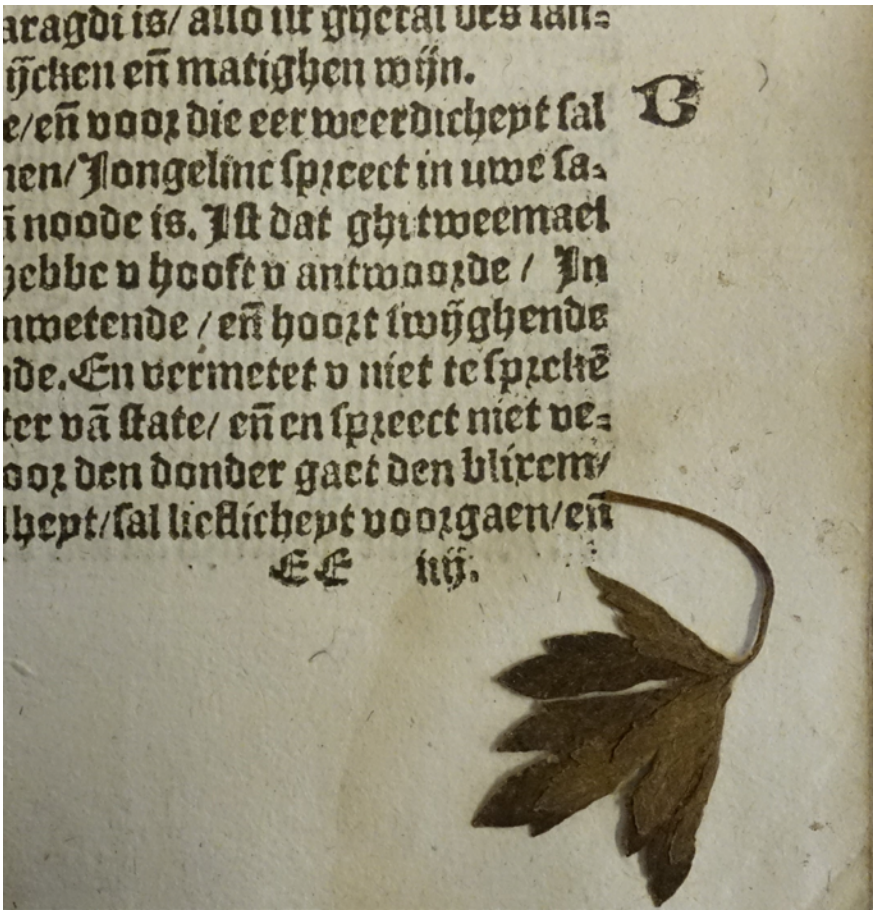

FIGURE 58 Small plant leaf kept between the pages of a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition (a) of 1542. Utrecht University Library, THO RIJS 001–067

them from floating away and kept them in immaculate condition. The usefulness of the Bible was, for this user as well as for those who left plant material in their books, not limited to its textual or religious value, but extended to crucially material functions.[83]

Besides the remaining presence of physical objects, however, the surviving Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch Bibles also carry the traces of objects

83 Not all natural material that can be found between the pages of Bibles has been left deliberately by a book user. Between the pages of a 1534 Liesvelt Bible (Utrecht, ULU, THO RAR 1–26), for instance, a fly perished after being caught between in the closing Bible.

that are no longer there. These traces can help in gaining insight into 'a social history of reading props': in the physical objects that were used in, or alongside, the reading or book-using practice and were left in the book afterwards.[84] As already mentioned, these object traces point to another side of reading practices: they suggest that an object was deliberately or accidentally placed in the book, the reading practice ended, the book closed, and the object forgotten or ignored for a while.[85] Metal objects in particular could leave long-lasting, rusty contours on the page.[86] Several Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles carry the remains of metal objects. In a 1526 Liesvelt Bible (London, BL, C.110.g.4), a paperclip left an imprint of rust, bearing witness of the marking behaviour of an evidently modern book user. Early modern objects, however, left traces as well. The outlines of a premodern pair of spectacles, taken off when the owner stopped their reading, remain visible across Genesis 32–33 in a 1538 Hansken van Liesvelt Bible (Antwerp, MPM, A 3469_3; fig. 59).[87]

In a 1535 Peetersen van Middelburch Bible (Amsterdam, UvA, Ned. Inc. 131), furthermore, the single rusty circle across Luke 3 may be the trace of a monocle or magnifying glass. The fact that traces of spectacles can be found with relative frequency in early modern books may simply be related to the omnipresence of glasses in the reading practice and the flat structure of the object, making it easier to remain in the closed book without the reader noting.[88] However, it is also likely that some readers may have left their spectacles in their books intentionally, using them as a type of bookmark and allowing them to easily pick them up again when they resumed their reading.[89]

In a 1542a Liesvelt Bible (The Hague, KB, KW 1708 A 11), a different, perhaps less expected, rusty trace survives. Once placed between the final pages of the

84 Smyth, 'Book Marks', p. 58.

85 See: Smyth, 'Book Marks', pp. 59–60.

86 Rust stains are notably difficult to remove from paper, because iron rust does not dissolve in water or organic solvents. See: Huiping Xing et al., 'Study on Removal of Iron Rust from Paper Objects with Thiourea Dioxide', *IOP Conference Series: Material Science and Engineering*, 346 (2018), p. 2.

87 On the rusty outlines of spectacles in early modern books, see also: Smyth, 'Book Marks', pp. 55–60.

88 See also: Smyth, 'Book Marks', p. 52. Festa, 'The Things Books Make', also presents an example of an early sixteenth-century *Imitatio Christi* in which a special repository is carved in the binding to safely keep spectacles in the book. See: Festa, 'The Things Books Make', pp. 36–37.

89 Smyth, 'Book Marks', p. 58. See also Peter Kidd's discussion of the traces of spectacles in an illuminated manuscript (MS 19.74) at the Brooklyn Museum: https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2015/10/evidence-of-another-pair-of-medieval.html.

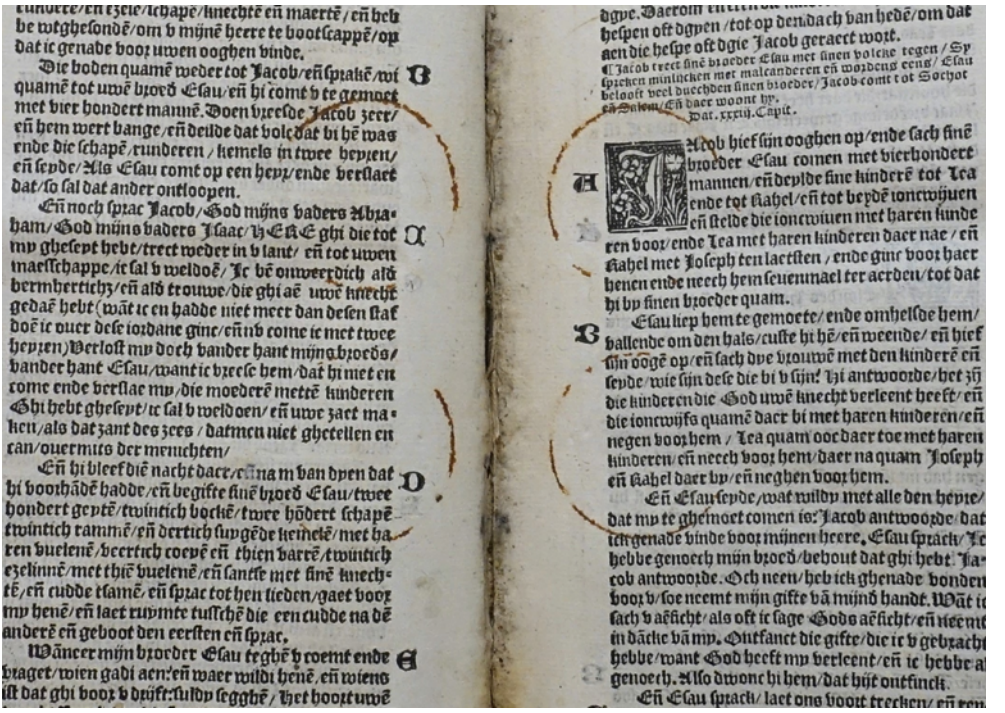

FIGURE 59 Outline of spectacles in a copy of Hansken van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition of 1538. Antwerp, Museum Plantin Moretus, A 3469_3

book, the outlines of a large metal key were pressed onto the pages of the liturgical reading schedule (fig. 60).[90]

Whereas spectacles were evidently part of the reading practice and could hence be left accidently in the book after a person finished their reading, this key was most likely unrelated to the practice of reading. The placement of the key in the reading schedule in the back of the book also does not indicate a use of the key as bookmark. Perhaps the book user confined the key to their Bible as a space for safekeeping or hiding; appropriating the Bible as a box in which the key to a chest or room could be carefully stored. Razzall has explored the idea of a book as a box-like object: the *volume* as a 'container' of content, both in textual as well as in material ways.[91] The book user who employed their

90 As described by Peter Kidd, a similar rusty key stain can be found in a Greek manuscript in Corpus Christi College (MS 76, fol. 1 r): https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2015/11/a-greek-manuscript-used-as-hiding-place.html.

91 The wide variety of book-like objects and the use of imagery that depicts the book as a chest demonstrate that early modern people 'responded to the imaginative potential of the book as a three-dimensional, fundamentally box-like object' (Lucy Razzall, 'Small

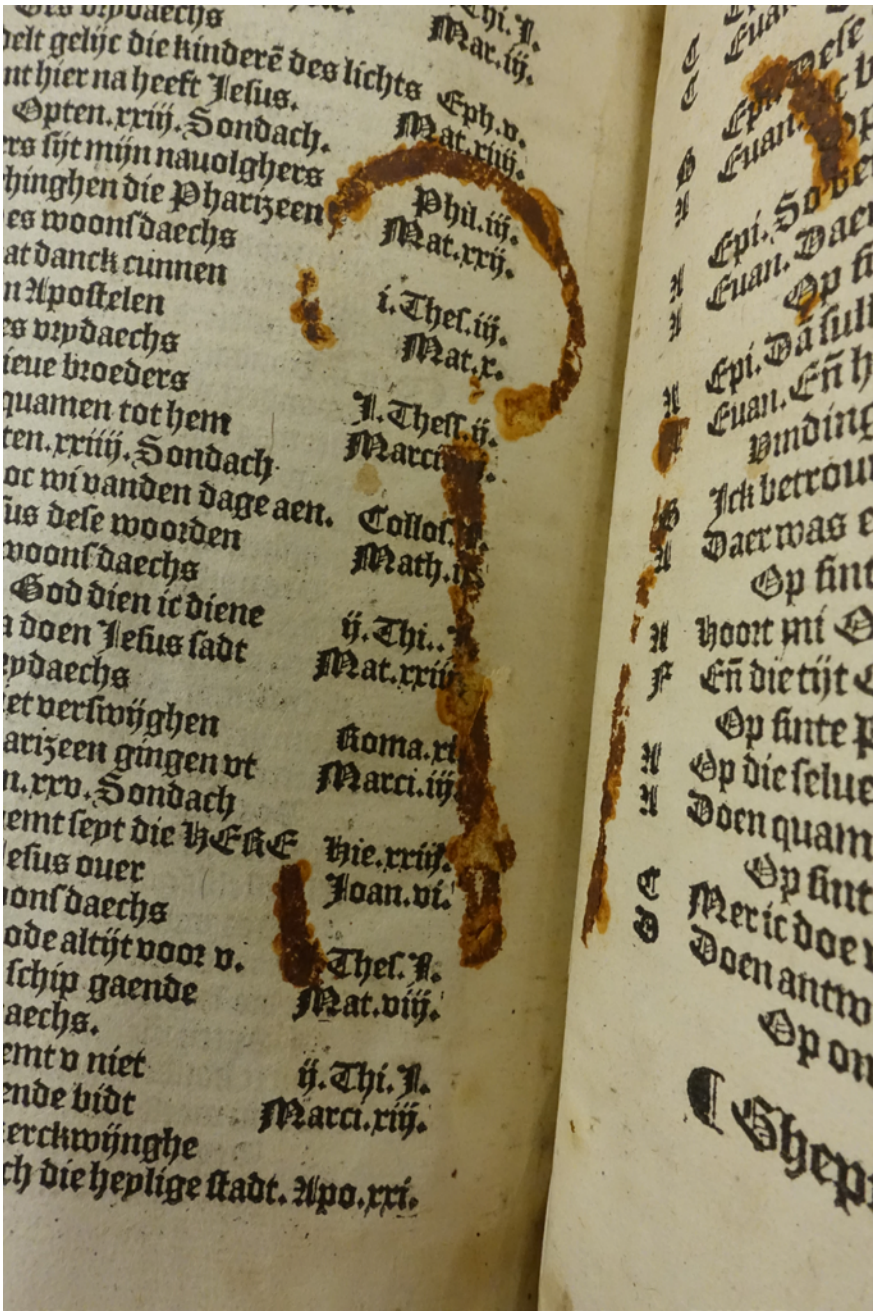

FIGURE 60 Outline of a key in a copy of Jacob van Liesvelt's complete Bible edition (a) of 1542. The Hague, Royal Library, KW 1708 A 11

Liesvelt Bible as a storage place for a key indeed seems to have embraced the book in this manner.

As a final remark to this chapter, the study of surviving copies has the major pitfall of doing just that: it studies what survives and is essentially blind to what did not. In the cases of physical interactions explored through traces of use, only material appropriations and interactions that were non-destructive – or not entirely destructive – remain visible. The various instances in which printed paper was used throughout the early modern period for practicalities such as 'stuffing cracks in chimneys and windows or [lighting] a fire or a pipe', remain elusive.[92] Although the survival rate of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, and the complete Bibles in particular, is relatively high, the vast majority of copies that once existed did not survive. Some of these may have suffered this fate. Their material afterlives ultimately and unfortunately remain out of sight.

3 Conclusion

Cressy wrote in 1986 that 'books, of course, have always had a cultural significance that extends beyond their mere textual content.'[93] In addition to providing a space for the transfer and aggregation of knowledge through text and paratext, initiated and applied by both printers and readers, the early modern Bible carried meaning and enabled practices through and because of its materiality.[94] The examples presented in this chapter demonstrate that early modern Bibles were not only used for religious, text-based, and content-orientated purposes. As ownership marks and genealogical annotations make clear, the Bible could also serve as a site for manifesting the self and shaping social ties through collective memories. Although these practices were not limited to the biblical genre, the divine value prescribed to the Bible – not only to its immaterial text but also to its 'thingness' – made it a particularly suitable place for safekeeping, cherishing, and establishing family identity. Moreover,

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Chests and Jointed Boxes: Material Texts and the Play of Resemblance in Early Modern Print', *Book 2.0*, 7:1 (2017), pp. 21–32, p. 22). See also: Lucy Razzall, *Boxes and Books in Early Modern England: Materiality, Methapor, Containment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021); Festa, 'The Things Books Make'.

92 Cressy, 'Books as Totems', p. 93.

93 Cressy, 'Books as Totems', p. 92.

94 In Lynn Festa's words, the book is 'a perdurable object that consolidates communities through its presence as a thing – not despite but because of its obdurate materiality' (Festa, 'The Things Books Make', p. 34).

as the Bible as valuable heirloom moved from generation to generation, the scripted memories embedded in its pages would also piously persevere.

We have seen how book users appropriated the empty spaces around the printed text to try their pens, leave doodles, or make quick calculations. These traces illustrate the close proximity between the book and the pen. The presence of various other material objects around the book similarly led to a wide array of user traces, such as burn holes, pressed flowers, or the rusty imprint of a pair of spectacles. These traces simultaneously attest to the materiality of the objects that caused them and of the materiality of the very book itself: their long-lasting presence intrinsically depends on the material qualities of the paper, structure, and binding of the book.

In readers' hands, Jacob van Liesvelt's and Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles became much more than carriers of Scripture: they became interactive spaces for establishing and shaping identity, reaching out across generations, constructing social relations, scratching, doodling, pressing natural artefacts, and safekeeping a range of objects.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions

> For though reading seems so simple – a mere matter of knowing the alphabet – it is indeed so difficult that it is doubtful whether anybody knows anything about it.
>
> VIRGINIA WOOLF, *How Should One Read a Book*[1]

∴

Recent years have seen an increasing popularity of the practice of 'Bible journaling'.[2] Bible journaling is the act of embellishing a Bible with illustrations, decorations, quotations, and objects, such as beads or dried flowers. 'Journaling Bibles' or 'writing Bibles', such as the *Schrijfbijbel* published by the Dutch-Flemish Bible Society (*Nederlands-Vlaams Bijbelgenootschap*), facilitate the practice materially and paratextually: they are printed on heavier paper, contain additional lined pages, and have wide margins that invite the reader to make extensive notes or illustrations. In Bible journaling handbooks and on social media, the practice is encouraged as a way to creatively internalise Scripture.[3] As readers engage with the textual, material, and paratextual possibilities of the book by crowding lined pages with extensive notes, summarising particular verses in the wide margins, adding tabs to highlight the beginnings of Bible books, or connecting the biblical text to contemporary themes in their illustrations, they are appropriating and personalising the Word of God. The modern practice of Bible journaling echoes the main conclusion of this study: in early modern Bible reading, the textual, conceptual, material, and personal became woven together in a colourful, dynamic fabric of interactivity and involvement.

1 Virigina Woolf, 'How Should One Read a Book?', *The Yale Review*, 89:1 (1926) (edition: 2001), pp. 41–52, p. 43.

2 On the practice of Bible journaling, its purposes, and its effects, see: Amanda Dillon, 'Be Your Own Scribe: Bible Journalling and the New Illuminators of the Densely-Printed Page', in Bradford A. Anderson (ed.), *From Scrolls to Scrolling: Sacred Texts, Materiality, and Dynamic Media Cultures* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), pp. 153–178.

3 See: Dillon, 'Be Your Own Scribe', p. 153.

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The aim of this volume has been to reconstruct the multitude of interactions between early modern Dutch Bibles printed and published by Jacob van Liesvelt and Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch, and their readers. In order to grasp the reciprocity and dynamicity between both actors, two perspectives have been placed alongside each other: the impact of the book and its paratextual programme on the envisioned reader and the impact of the historic reader on the book. By centralising the paratext and material evidence in early modern Bibles, this study has explored these books as more than mere transmitters of the translated Bible text. Rather, these early modern Bibles functioned as spaces of debate and mutual impact, as knowledge aggregators, as personalised objects of faith and identity, and as inherently material things. In these dynamic spaces, readers were simultaneously directed by, demanding of, and independent from the paratextual framework offered to them.

The paratexts in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles connect to various needs of the printer-publishers as well as of the reading public: a need for effective marketing strategies for the book, a need for Bibles that suited certain confessional convictions, a need for interpretational devices that satisfied growing interests in humanistic and scholarly approaches to the biblical text, and a need for navigational, paratextual aids that allowed diverse non-linear uses of the book. Through the inclusion of paratext, Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch created a 'horizon of expectations' for the reader entering the book. This horizon would have shaped their sense of genre and reading approaches, and positioned the Bible in a broader textual, scholarly, and religious context. Moreover, the paratextual programmes in the Bible editions ensured that these books were not simply storage places of Scripture, but spaces of knowledge and interpretation, inherently connected to worlds beyond the biblical text – from scholarly fields of geology and history to the movements of celestial bodies and the tides. Simultaneously, these paratexts allowed readers to gain a certain level of independence in composing their discontinuous movements through the book, whilst being guided and facilitated by paratexts.

The printer-publishers generated paratextual programmes that ensured extensive, detailed, and highly structured groundworks for reading. They provided the users of the book with restrictions and possibilities, spaces of guidance and negotiation, incentives to either linger on a certain element or to efficiently move to another. Many paratextual elements interconnect and mobilise each other like rotating gearwheels. Paratexts such as calendars, liturgical reading schedules, running titles, and finding letters cling to each other to create a streamlined system of reading and navigation. The functionality of these complex paratextual systems, however, ultimately relied upon the reader.

Only in their hands and through their activities could the paratextual system be enabled and enable them in their reading. Readers' capabilities to navigate through the book, to combine various elements, to select and to understand the references given, to deploy the necessary techniques, and – most essentially – their *willingness* to interact with the paratextual apparatus, are the incentives that create motion in the fabric of possibilities.

In general, readers prove to have cherished trustworthy and effective paratexts to structure their reading, which motivated them to correct or adapt the printed navigational aids when they did not meet their expectations or preferences. Moreover, the historic reader-users of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles approached their books in ways that coincide with the incentives and reading profiles presented in the paratextual programmes. Their responses and adaptations confirm their interest in using the book as a space of scholarly and theological knowledge, as well as an object for liturgical preparation and reflection. Printed paratextual elements such as cross-references, summaries, glosses, and manicules were also regularly supplemented with handwritten equivalents. Furthermore, the differences between the paratextual programmes of the New Testaments and those of the complete Bible editions are reflected in the material evidence: whereas the surviving copies of the first type host many colourings, rubrications, and liturgical annotations, traces such as theological annotations and inclusions of geographical elements are found almost exclusively in the folio-sized complete Bible editions. The parallels between paratexts and reader traces confirm that the paratextual programme was made with great awareness of the preferences and reading habits of contemporary readers. Moreover, it suggests that readers might have felt stimulated to actively embrace the practices of marking and interpretation as presented to them in the printed paratext.

Nevertheless, despite the wide range of reading possibilities facilitated by the paratextual programme in Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles, the printed material ultimately provided the reader with a fixed combination of opportunities, a static entity of text and paratext that was implied to function independently from the flux of time and space. When these Bibles entered the realm of readers, however, this fixity diffused. Early modern readers and users approached their books as malleable spaces that allowed room for them to wander and create. They used their books not only as carriers of text, but also as inherently material things that lent themselves to various ways of book use beyond reading. This also means that a narrow view upon Bible reading as a predominantly silent, scholarly practice is not only ahistorical but might also categorically underestimate the possible involvement of women, children, and less literate people in the interaction with early modern Bibles.

Furthermore, these readers appropriated a level of lectoral agency that greatly surpassed the activity of the reader as invited and facilitated by the paratextual elements in their books. In their interaction and involvement with the book, readers became part of bookmaking processes, transforming the contents and transmission of the book and making every book in every moment and every space different from its previous and future forms and meanings; different from itself.

Whereas the almanacs that Liesvelt and Peetersen van Middelburch included in their (New Testament) editions usually cover a mere twenty years from the printing date onwards, the ownership inscriptions, annotations, and other traces of reading and use in the surviving copies confirm that these books were regularly used for decades and even centuries beyond this foreseen period, as already illustrated by the book ownership of Bertheltje Jansdochter presented in the opening sentences of the introduction to this study. Through readers' additions and adaptations, contemporary debates and transitions were brought into the book. The inclusion of verse numbering in Dutch Bibles from 1560 onwards, for instance, prompted the handwritten addition of this tool of navigation and reference in older Bibles. The growing popularity and production of biblical geography resulted in late sixteenth-century maps being bound in. Newly developing confessional sensitivities concerning the translations of certain Bible were transported to the text of Liesvelt's and Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles through pen, paper, scissors, and ink. Layers of traces, constructions, and deconstructions thus accumulated within the physical book, shaping an object that was in constant flux.

Paradoxically, however, the fact that these Bibles survived through centuries of use also marks how these books, as material objects, could serve as paper anchor points through the elusiveness of time. These non-mutually exclusive characteristics of changeability and stability form the very premise of the numerous genealogical annotations found in the Bibles under scrutiny in this study: the additions issued by one reader in the safekeeping surroundings of the material book allowed them to connect with and impact future generations.

Although the analysis of paratext could provide insight into certain aspects of book use and reading – the possibilities of liturgical and studious reading, the availability of contextualising tools, the Bible as knowledge aggregator, the possibility of discontinuous movements through the book – it could not disclose the fundamental malleability and temporality of the book as object. At the same time, the focus on readers' traces only accounts for the types of interactions between the reader and the book that left detectable traces, interactions in which adaptations were made, a pen was used, or dirty fingertips

stained the page. The possibility of 'traceless' reading practices – of carefully leafing through the book, navigating its pages, interpreting the meaning of biblical verses – remains largely elusive in the study of material evidence. Hence, bringing together both perspectives in an attempt to illustrate the extensive and dynamic range of interactions, uses, and reading practices has proven particularly useful.

This study contributes in the first place to the field of research that investigates the transmission of Scripture in the early modern Low Countries. In the historiography on early modern Dutch Bibles, the issue of readership has generally remained underexposed. Early modern Bibles have primarily been studied as the makings of printer-publishers with specific confessional and commercial concerns, rather than as cultural-historical objects that were continuously constructed and reconstructed by their social, religious, personal, and material surroundings. With this book, I hope to have shown that understanding the early printed Bible as a static, purely textual thing bears little relation to reality. As these books left the print shops and entered the tumultuous world outside, they became fluid spaces in which the universal and the personal, fixity and changeability, guidance and creativity intertwined. Situated in the very centre of these dynamics was a diverse group of readers, who used, shaped, owned, collected, bought, borrowed, cherished, or tarnished their Bibles throughout the centuries.

Secondly, I have attempted to enhance book- and cultural-historical insights into lectoral agency, the connections between paratext and actual reading behaviour, and the adaptability of the printed book in the early modern period. The approach developed here may not solely serve as an analytic device for the study of early modern Bibles and their readers, but could similarly be applied to books (or even other material objects) in different languages, different time periods, and different genres. A pressing issue, one that unfortunately remained beyond the scope of the current study, is to what extent and in which ways early modern Bible reading – and Bible readers' responses to paratextual devices – differ from readers' interactions with other religious books. For instance, Van der Laan's recent study of Middle Dutch devotional texts around the turn of the fifteenth century reveals that these generally contain very few annotations and ownership inscriptions, but were often 'traced' through the addition of red to woodcuts.[4] Early printed Dutch psalm books contain fewer annotations and markings than the Bibles studied here, but

4 See the appendix in Van der Laan's dissertation: Joanka van der Laan, *Enacting Devotion: Performative Religious Reading in the Low Countries (ca. 1470–1550)* (Groningen: University of Groningen, 2020), pp. 283–331.

are more often combined with supplementary manuscript or print materials, surviving in (hybrid) *Sammelbände*.[5] A comprehensive study of paratext and user traces throughout multiple religious genres – such as early printed prayer books, books of hours, psalm books, song books, devotional texts, religious treatises, and, of course, Bibles – would provide further insight into the functionality and use of various religious texts in the early modern home, convent, or congregation.

In his speech 'The American Scholar', delivered on 31 August 1837, essayist and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson stated that 'one must be an inventor to read well. … There is then creative reading as well as creative writing.'[6] Jacob van Liesvelt's and Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch's Bibles indeed functioned as facilitators and subjects of a certain *creative reading*. Creativity should not be understood in this sense as being synonymous with originality or genius, but rather as the act of *creating*; of making space, object, and meaning; of appropriating agency in a dialogue between reader and book; of engaging with the possibility to make each instance of reading different from the previous and the next. Readers of these Bibles were actors that would put paratextual structures in motion. They engaged with complex systems of reference and knowledge, responded to confessional developments in the early modern Low Countries, and embraced the malleability and temporality of the book. As the paratextual analysis and the investigation of material evidence have shown, the interactions between reader and book covered multiple levels: textual, paratextual, visual, material, and conceptual. On each of these, the relationship between reader and book was a reciprocal one, shaped as much by the directions that were established by the printer-publisher, as they were by the transformability that opened up when the book entered into the world of readers.

5 See: Renske A. Hoff, 'To shape one's own reading practice: Lectoral agency in printed Devotio moderna psalters (1480–1500)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 30 (2023), pp. 4–30; p. 15.

6 Ronald A. Bosco and Joel Myerson (eds.), *Ralph Waldo Emerson: The Major Prose* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015), p. 97.

APPENDIX

Overview of Owners and Traces

Complete Bible Editions

1 Jacob van Liesvelt, Complete Bible Edition of 1526 (USTC No. 400463)

1.1 *Amsterdam, VU – XC.05039-*

Previous owners: Walburch van Manderschijt (*1468–†*c.*1530, 's-Hertogenbosch).

Modern notes on restoration and rebinding.

1.2 *Amsterdam, UvA – OG 65-30*

Previous owners: Bibliotheek van de Verenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente, Amsterdam (mennonite congregation Amsterdam).

Several sixteenth-century marginalia, including word explanations and cross-references. Incomplete early modern ownership inscription: *Dit boeck hoort toe …* (This book belongs to …), name made unreadable.

1.3 *Amsterdam, UvA – Ned. Inc. 119*

Previous owners: [First name unknown] Steppe (1612).

Genealogical annotations from 1612.

1.4 *Antwerp, MPM – R 58.2*

Previous owners: Patris D. Mellunen [handwriting is hard to read] (nineteenth century).

Cross-references, including verse numbering, mainly in the New Testament. Several sixteenth-century marginalia, mainly repetitions. Some handwritten reconstructions of parts of the liturgical reading schedule that got lost during restoration practices.

1.5 *Brussels, KBR – III 6057 C*

Previous owners: -

Markings (e.g. underlining in black and red, manicules) and a few corrections, amongst which 'catholicising' adjustments of 1 Corinthians 11:23 and James 5:14.

1.6 *Cambridge, ULC – Young 32–33*

Previous owners: Arthur William Young (*1852–†1936).

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Coloured woodcuts throughout both volumes. Two seventeenth-century annotations on the contents of both volumes. Few tabs in Young 33.

Bound in two volumes. Young 32 contains Genesis to Song of Songs, Young 33 contains Isaiah to Revelations.

1.7 *Cambridge, ULC (Collection British and Foreign Bible Society) – 223 B26a*

Previous owners: Lodewyck Rom (eighteenth century); Christian D. Ginsburg (*1831–†1914).

Few sixteenth-century annotations. Annotations by Ginsburg in Dutch and Hebrew, mostly alternative translations.

1.8 *Leiden, ULL – 1497 A 11*

Previous owners: -

Sixteenth-century annotations in Dutch and Latin (often offering Vulgate-based translations), markings (e.g. underlining), and several corrections of chapter numbering. Missing folios were replaced by photocopies in 1967.

1.9 *Leiden, ULL (Collection Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde) – I.N.L. Vide B 22 F 38*

Previous owners: Willem Gerritsoon Hake (*1592–†?, Haarlem).

Sixteenth-century chronicle-like annotations (including mentions of the St. Elisabeth flood in 1421 and the occupation of Utrecht by Maarten van Rossum in 1528).

See also: Hoff, 'Safekeeping Memories', p. 23.

1.10 *London, BL – C.110.g.4*

Previous owners: -

Sixteenth-century penmanship exercises and a correction in John 10:11. Rusty stain of a paperclip at the beginning of Exodus.

1.11 *Utrecht, ULU – THO RAR 11–31*

Previous owners: Jan Beerndtsen (ca. 1590); Bibliotheca Seminarii Rijsenburgensis.

1.12 *Bremen, SUB – 99.C.0416*

Previous owners: Herme Ghertsen (sixteenth century); Gilbert van Diemen (seventeenth century).

Manuscript reconstruction of missing text in the liturgical reading schedule by Gilbert van Diemen.

Fifteenth-century German manuscript used to repair the pastedown.

2 Jacob van Liesvelt, Complete Bible Edition of 1532 (USTC No. 402970)

2.1 *Amsterdam, UvA – Ned. Inc. 589*

Previous owners: -

Underlining and marking, some sixteenth-century annotations (mainly repetitions). Ink stains across Proverbs 26 and Isaiah 28. Manuscript reconstruction (seventeenth-century hand) of missing text in the liturgical reading schedule.

2.2 *Antwerp, HC – F 83534*

Previous owners: Herman Dehoe(?) [handwriting is hard to read] (seventeenth century).

Few annotations by previous owner Herman Dehoe(?). Annotation by a second hand at Sirach 5:2–5 (repetition).

2.3 *Ghent, ULG – BIB.ACC.001861*

Previous owners: Herbertus Verdoncq (seventeenth century).

Early modern ownership inscription in Latin on flyleaf (made unreadable). Various scribbles (potentially by a child) around Genesis 44–46 and Ecclesiasticus 44. Few sixteenth-century annotations.

2.4 *London, BL – 3041.g.13*

Previous owners: E. Reylof (nineteenth century).

On flyleaves: French notes by E. Reylof and a drawing of a crown.

Bound in two volumes.

2.5 *The Hague, KB – 228 A 8*

Previous owners: -

Rubrication of initials and capitals at several places in 2 Samuel and Jeremiah.

2.6 *Stuttgart, WLB – Bb niederländ 153202*

Previous owners: Peter Jansz van Grootleef (1678, Leuven); Josias Lorck (*1732–†1785, Copenhagen).

Genealogical annotation from 1676. Eighteenth-century German annotations on the flyleaf.

2.7 *Utrecht, MCC – BMH p.i. Warm od1259F11*

Previous owners: Bibliotheca Seminarii Warmondani.

Woodcuts coloured, particularly in the first five Bible books. Some markings (manicules, underscoring, marking symbols). Few sixteenth-century annotations, mainly repetitions.

2.8 *Utrecht, ULU – ODV 2731*

Previous owners: -

Seventeenth-century annotations on flyleaf (reference to Deuteronomy 4:5). Various Latin and Dutch annotations in the same hand in Deuteronomy.

Medieval manuscript fragments (parchment) used to strengthen the binding.

3 Jacob van Liesvelt, Complete Bible Edition of 1534 (USTC No. 410766)

3.1 *Amsterdam, VU – XC.05043-*

Previous owners: -

Modern annotation on flyleaf. Seventeenth-century note at the top of Genesis 1 (but only partially readable, as the page has been cut). Note in the same hand on the flyleaf in the back of the book.

Rebound in 1968.

3.2 *Amsterdam, UvA – Ned. Inc. 579*

Previous owners: P. v.d. Klaauw (1904, Loosduinen).

Few sixteenth-century annotations and cross-references. The book originally contained more annotations by the same hand, but these have been scraped off. Markings (underlining, manicules, and marking symbols). Modern annotations about Liesvelt's Bible editions next to the colophon.

3.3 *Amsterdam, UvA – OG 65-36*

Previous owners: -

Annotated in a seventeenth-century hand, displaying a particular interest in sizes and numbers, confessional traditions regarding the Bible translation, and theology. E.g. at Proverbs 9:22: *Dit cap. bewijst deenigheijt en gelijckheijt van Christus inde die vader* ('this proves the unity and similarity of Christ and the Father'). Annotations throughout the entire copy, as well as various markings (*notate bene*, underlining, and marking symbols).

3.4 *Amsterdam, UvA – OG 65-31*

Previous owners: Bibliotheek van de Verenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente, Amsterdam (Mennonite congregation Amsterdam).

Annotations in a sixteenth-century hand at Proverbs 11:14 (providing the Latin and an alternative Dutch translation) and at 1 Corinthians 3:15 (cross-reference). Underlinings.

3.5 *Antwerp, HC – F 46902*

Previous owners: [First name unknown] Schuyerynck, husband of Grijet Dyrycksd. (ca. 1600, Amsterdam); Josias Lorck (*1732–†1785, Copenhagen); Edw. Ipers (1879).

Price of the copy (early modern hand) written on title page. Genealogical annotations (dated between 1582 and 1620) underneath the colophon. Few cross-references in the same hand.

3.6 *Brussels, KBR – LP VH 30 C*

Previous owerns: Wim David(?) [handwriting is hard to read] (likely seventeenth century).

Coloured woodcuts. Considerable number of markings (manicules, underlining, and marking symbols). Few sixteenth-century annotations, amongst which are cross-references and repetitions. Correction of a printing error in the running title of Judges 3. Imprint of an annotation on a lost flyleaf next to the colophon (unreadable).

3.7 *Cambridge, ULC (Collection British and Foreign Bible Society) – 223 B34*

Previous owners: -

Annotations about the edition on a slip of paper glued onto the pastedown, dated 1901. Image of two angels holding a burning heart was once pasted onto the top of the title page, and Willem Vorsterman's printer's mark was pasted onto Liesvelt's mark. Both images have been taken from the title page and saved on slips of paper within the book. Rubrication of initials and capitals (also in the Exodus map). Few cross-references. Inky fingerprint at Genesis 40:1. Corrections of the translation, by crossing out and annotating as well as by pasting printed slips with different translations across the text (e.g. in Matthew 16:18). Meticulously coloured Geneva maps and charts have been bound in with this copy. The printers' name and address in the copy's colophon were pasted over with 'Basele. Thomas Murner.' Liesvelt's printers mark was covered by a cut-out of a shield with the initials IHS. The fragments have been saved on separate paper slips in the book.

3.8 *Ghent, KG*

Lost copy.

3.9 *London, BL – 3041.h.7*

Previous owners: -

Heavily annotated (mainly repetitions and cross-references) throughout the copy in a sixteenth-century hand. Also heavily marked (especially with underlining). Annotation referring to John Calvin on the flyleaf in the back.

Medieval manuscript fragment (parchment) used to strengthen the binding.

3.10 *Maastricht, CCM – Rolduc Sem 6041 D 6*

Previous owners: Grootseminarie Rolduc, Kerkrade (seminary Rolduc, Kerkrade).

Few early modern markings and cross-references.

3.11 *Maastricht, ULM – MU KPA 001*

Previous owners: Bibliotheca Colegii Maximi S.J. Traiectensis (Canisianum, Jesuit convent in Maastricht).

Coloured initials.

3.12 *Mons, ULMo (Collection Mons Musée Puissant) – 1002/25*

Previous owners: [First name unknown] Rodenburg, child of Elisabeth Lauwerens and Harman Rodenburch. (ca. 1610, Antwerp); Gustave van Havre (*1817–†1892).

Handwritten devotional text (dated 1655) on a flyleaf. Removed ownership mark underneath the colophon. Genealogical annotations (dated 1610 and 1620). Modern notes on this edition on a flyleaf.

3.13 *The Hague, KB – 1084 A 5*

Previous owners: -

Modern notes on the codicological structure in the front and back of the book.

3.14 *'s-Heerenberg, HB – Inv. no. 327*

Previous owners: Trijn Claesdochter (ca. 1600, Amsterdam); J.H. van Heer (1926, 's Heerenberg; donated by H.W.A. Zeydner).

Few markings. Annotation by J. Cornelisz (husband of Trijn Claesdochter) concerning the acquisition of the book, at the end of the Old Testament.

3.15 *Stuttgart, WLB – Bb niederländ 153401*

Previous owners: -

Without evident early modern traces.

3.16 *Utrecht, MCC – BMH Warm. p.i. 1259 F 8-84 D 3*

Previous owners: Bibliotheca Seminarii Warmondani.

Without evident early modern traces.

3.17 *Utrecht, MCC – AMB p.i. 120-73 F 9*

Previous owners: Jan Camper and/or Johanna Geskes (ca. 1783–1811, Amersfoort); [First name unknown] Camper (child of Jan Camper and Johanna Geskes, ca. 1811); Bibliotheca Seminari Culemborgensis.

Few early modern annotations. Separate paper fragment with the printed word 'Toma[s]' onto it, used as book mark. Genealogical annotations (dated 1551–1560,

name of the annotator is unknown) next to the colophon. Genealogical annotations (dated 1783–1792) on flyleaf. Genealogical annotation (dated 1811) on pastedown.

In military registers of 1813, both Johannes Camper (born in 1791), sixth child of Jan Camper and Johanna Geskes, and his father are registered as button makers. See: Archief Eemland, *Militieregister* (*Amersfoort*), inv. nr. 675, no. 223.

3.18 *Utrecht, ULU – 111 F 14*

Previous owners: Gerret Koets (eighteenth/nineteenth century).

Without evident early modern traces.

3.19 *Utrecht, ULU – THO RAR 1–26*

Previous owners: Cornelis Claesz (1608); Maerten [no surname] (seventeenth century); Conventus Werth/Bibliotheek Minderbroeders Weert.

Annotations on the acquisition of the book, including its prize (dated 24 March 1657). Two annotations in mirror writing by a sixteenth-century hand, in the bottom margin of the topical reading register: 'Where is my head?' (*Waer state mijn hooft*) and 'I am a rascal' (*Ick ben een boef*). First few folio's numbered in an early modern hand.

Medieval manuscript fragment (parchment) used to strengthen the binding. Also parchment and paper fragments pasted onto the wooden boards. The paper fragment contains printed text from Matthew 27:22 and Matthew 27:28–29, taken from a Biestkens New Testament (see: De Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers*, pp. 153–156).

3.20 *Wolfenbüttel, HAB – Bibel S-4° 99*

Previous owners: Ludwig Rudolf (*1671–†1735, Braunschweig/ Lüneburg).

Few sixteenth-century annotations. Several markings (e.g. underlining, manicules, marking symbols, and *notate bene*). Coloured initials.

On Ludwig Rudolf, see: Jill Bepler, 'Ludwig Rudolf, Herzog Zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg', in Jarck Horst-Rüdiger and Dieter Lent (eds.), *Braunschweigisches Biographisches Lexikon. 8 bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Braunschweig: Appelhans Verlag, 2006), pp. 144–145.

3.21 *Leerdam, GBS*

Previous owners: Abraham Ackersdijk (ca. 1604–1642); Bertheltje Jansd. (1653); Hendrik Lessiter (1751); L. W. van Gent.

Parchment tabs at the beginnings of Bible books. Few seventeenth-century annotations and corrections. Genealogical annotations by Abraham Ackersdijk (dated 1604–1642) on flyleaves. Annotation by Berheltje Jansd. on her acquisition of the book underneath the colophon.

3.22 *Leicester, ULLC – SCM 09753*

Previous owners: -

Without evident early modern traces.

3.23 *Brussels, AA*

Previous owners: Siwerdt Janss (ca. 1559); Collectie Buijnsters-Smets.

Few sixteenth-century annotations. Genealogical annotations by Siwerdt Janss (dated 1559) underneath the colophon.

Sold at auction; current owner unknown.

3.24 *Oxford, LC – K.9.27*

Previous owners: -

Sixteenth-century corrections (e.g. of running title in Exodus 5) and annotations (e.g. reference to Ezekiel 37 underneath the prologue). The same hand included Latin (Vulgate) incipits at every psalm (a practice which also occurs regularly in vernacular psalm books, e.g. in a copy of Peter van Os van Breda's Dutch psalter *Dit is die duytsce psalter* of 1491, Ghent ULG, Res. 534), as well as foliation. Markings (manicules and marking symbols). Cryptographical annotations before the beginning of Isaiah.

3.25 *New York, NYPL – KB + 1534 BibleDutch*

Previous owners: Lenox Library (1870).

D.P. (initials?) on titlepage. Many cross references, underlinings, and few markings (crosses). Several stamped manicules, few drawn manicules. Annotation in the margin of Isaiah 59:14–15: *Heden is dese scriftuer in uwen ooren vervult* (this scripture has been fulfilled in your ears today).

4 Jacob van Liesvelt, Complete Bible Edition of 1535 (USTC No. 437754)

4.1 *Amsterdam, UvA – Ned. Inc. 580*

Previous owners: -

Modern annotation on the various Liesvelt editions.

4.2 *Antwerp, MPM – A 3469 2*

Previous owners: -

Genitals of Adam and Eve and of the putti in Liesvelt's printers mark have been censored with black ink.

4.3 *Antwerp, HC – F 9530-2520c*

Previous owners: -

Annotation on flyleaf: Geschenk Bruyninckx (4 April 1850). Marking symbols. Page numbering (modern hand).

4.4 *Brussels, KBR – LP VI 32677 C*

Previous owners: Wouter Cuichiensis (sixteenth century); Laurens van Lecwick anders Janszoon (1607, Leiden).

Sixteenth-century annotations, mainly cross-references and summaries. Markings (underlining, marking symbols). Genealogical annotations by Laurens van Lecwick (dated 1599–1607) and family member (dated 1635, noting Laurens van Lecwick's death).

Marriage register of the Hooglandsche Kerk Leiden mentions Laurens Jansz' and Lijsbet Willems' marriage in 1599. See: Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Trouwen Hooglandsche Kerk, 29 April 1597–30 April 1604, archive number 1004, inv. nr. 87.

4.5 *Ghent, KG*

Lost copy.

4.6 *Leuven, MSB – GBIB-P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1535*

Previous owners: Frater Benedictus Haaijen (late seventeenth/early eighteenth century); R. M. Nypels Relig. ejusdem Monasterij (1739); Seminarii Archiep. Mechliniensis.

Several annotations by a Catholic, sixteenth-century hand, particularly reflecting upon the confessional colours of certain verses (e.g. noting 'These notes have been added by the *geuzen*' [i.e. Calvinist opponents of the Spanish rule] (*Dese noteringe is van de geusen bygevoegt*), at Matthew 6:13). In Romans 3:28, the word 'alone' in '… that a man is justified without the works of the law, by faith alone' has been scratched out.

4.7 *München, BSB*

Lost copy.

4.8 *Leuven, MSB – 6000 A 33*

Previous owners: Aloysius college 's-Gravenhage (Jesuit school); Bibliotheek Canisianum Maastricht (Canisianum, Jesuit convent in Maastricht); Collegium Berchmanianum Nijmegen.

Reference to Malachi 2:15–16 by sixteenth-century hand, underneath prologue. Several other annotations by the same hand, including corrections, repetitions, and marginal notes providing the Vulgate variant of a verse (in Latin, e.g. in Isaiah 44:12). Markings (marking symbols, *notate bene*, and underlining). Depictions of God and

genitals of Adam and Eve in the woodcuts in Genesis have been censored by ink blots. The same censorship was applied to the genitals of the putti in Liesvelt's printers mark.

4.9 *Oxford, BLO – Bib. Dutch. C3*

Previous owners: Van Tetroode (late eighteenth-century bookseller, Amsterdam); Bernardus Wedding (1794–1797); Philipp Wedding (nineteenth century); Johannes Bernardus Wedding (nineteenth century); Trijn W[edding] (nineteenth century); Joannes Janssen (1826).

Heavily annotated by two early modern hands. Hand A (sixteenth century) left annotations (mainly repetitions, summaries, and cross-references) and markings (especially many underlinings). Also by hand A: extensive annotation and drawing of the 'bride of Christ' at the end of the Song of Songs, copied from *T'wonderboeck* by David Joris. Hand B (seventeenth century) left annotations in Dutch, Latin, and Hebrew (summaries, references to other Bible translations, Hebrew alternatives, and cross-references), as well as markings (e.g. marking symbols and manicules). Hand B also included tabs at the beginning of each Bible book. Genealogical annotations (dated 1601 and 1616) from a family in or near Amsterdam on flyleaf in the back of the book. Notes in children's writing on flyleaves.

4.10 *The Hague, KB – 228 A 6*

Previous owners: -

Eighteenth-/nineteenth-century note on the title page: *T'Hantwerpen, bij Jacob van Liesvelt, 1535.* Two paper fragments (one from an early twentieth-century, filled-in printed form, one with sixteenth-century handwriting).

4.11 *The Hague, KB – 228 A 7*

Previous owners: -

Modern notes on slips of paper pasted on the flyleaf, quoting passages from Le Long (1732). (Partially) coloured woodcuts. Few seventeenth-century cross-references, repetitions, and markings.

4.12 *Tilburg, ULT – TF PRE 10*

Previous owners: Hendrik Ad[riaen] Pijnenborg and Paulus Arnoldus Pijnenborg (1791, Haaren); Bibliotheek Seminarie Haaren.

Prologue from the Louvain Bible (translation of Nicolaas van Winghe) bound in. Modern hand noted 'odd page' (*vreemde bladzijde*) onto this included prologue. Catholicising corrections as fragments taken from the Louvain Bible were pasted onto the printed text, amongst other places in Genesis 48:16, Matthew 16:18, and Acts 15:41. Markings (underlining, *notate bene*, marking symbols). Heart-shaped parchment bookmark. First few folios (Genesis 1 and 2) are lacking.

Hendrik Adriaen Pijnenborg was a sacristan in Haaren. He died and was buried in Haaren in 1801. See: Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, *Koster begraafboek 1769–1805*, archive number 1438, inv. nr. 8.

4.13 *Utrecht, ULU – THO RAR 2–32*

Previous owners: Jannes (Jan) de Lathouwer (1549–1552); Bibliotheca Conventus Woerdenis; Conventus Werth.

Notes by Jannes de Lathouwer on flyleaf. Few markings (marking symbols, underlining, notate bene, manicules) and verse numberings. Loose paper fragment (used as book mark). Annotation on flyleaf in sixteenth-century hand; partially removed. Genealogical annotations (dated 1557–1562) on flyleaf.

Medieval manuscript leaves (parchment, Latin, taken from Sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux) used to strengthen the binding, as pastedowns (imprints of the leaves are visible in the wooden boards), and as flyleaves.

4.14 *Utrecht, ULU – THO RAR 2–31*

Previous owners: Peter Reesen (1702); Bibliotheca Conventus Megensis; Conventus Werth.

Various annotations (including cross-references, summaries, and corrections) by a sixteenth-century hand, including an unreadable note on the title page and annotations underneath the prologue quoting Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's *De Vanitate Scientiarum*.

4.15 *Utrecht, ULU – THO RAR 6–41*

Previous owners: Conventus Werth.

Coloured woodcuts and initials. Some rubrication of capital letters (e.g. at Joel 1). Various annotations in a sixteenth-century hand, especially liturgical annotations. Also note on the title page: 'Who fears God will gain knowledge' (*Die God vreest die sal tot kennis comen*). Markings (e.g. marking symbols, underlining, marked with the word *dat*). Genitals of putti in Liesvelt's printers mark have been censored with black ink blots.

4.16 *Haarlem, NBG – 32'1535'Lies 14839*

Previous owners: Daniel Tijcke (1587, Dworp); Jan Francis van Bambergen (sixteenth/early seventeenth century).

Heavy moisture damage to the title page and first few folios. Markings (marking symbols). Annotation in seventeenth-century hand at the end of Song of Songs, about the origins of the Book of Wisdom. Name 'Jan Francis van Bambergen' written in the empty spaces in the woodcuts used to depict Hosea, Nahum, and Haggai.

Daniel Tijcke was priest of Dworp and Alsenberg. See: Theys, *Geschiedenis van Dworp*, p. 131.

4.17 *Capetown, ULCT – B220 54949 BIB*

Previous owners: Cornelius Paine (*1809–†1890, Oak Hill, England).

Three fragments from auction catalogues on this edition, pasted onto the front flyleaf, alongside ex libri of Cornelius Paine. Annotations and penmanship exercises in seventeenth-century hand on back flyleaf.

4.18 *Gouda, Private Ownership*

Previous owners: Charles de Neve tot Oordigem (1816).

Few sixteenth-century annotations, mainly cross-references.

5 Hansken van Liesvelt, Complete Bible Edition of 1538 (USTC No. 403973)

5.1 *Amsterdam, UvA – Ned. Inc. 133*

Previous owners: -

Coloured woodcuts and initials. Markings (marking symbols, underlining). Penmanship exercises at Isaiah 6–14, Joel 2–3, Amos 2–6, Matthew 19–21, and Matthew 26.

5.2 *Antwerp, MPM – A 3469 3*

Previous owners: Anthonie van Eeden (1627–1647, Haarlem); P[…] Paulo Ribeni (1688).

Rusty imprint of glasses at Genesis 33. Penmanship exercises at the end of Job. Few sixteenth-century annotations (e.g. cross-references and repetitions). Markings (underlining, marking symbols). Eighteenth-century annotations (references to several Bible books) and seventeenth-century genealogical annotations (dated 1627–1647).

5.3 *Berlin, SB*

Lost copy (since World War II).

5.4 *Brussels, KBR – LP 174 C*

Previous owners: Herbert Watney of Buckhold (*1843–†1932).

Various liturgical annotations in a sixteenth-century hand (e.g. at Joel 2:1: 'On Ash Wednesday' (*opden asschs wonsdag*)). Extensive theological annotations by the same hand on the flyleaf.

5.5 *Cambridge, ULC (Collection British and Foreign Bible Society) – 223 B38*

Previous owners: Christian D. Ginsburg (*1831–†1914).

(Partially) coloured woodcuts. Markings of manicules and clover-like symbols are stamped instead of drawn. Cross-references in a sixteenth-century hand, almost exclusively in the New Testament.

5.6 *Cambridge, ULC – 3.53.4*

Previous owners: F. Hub[…] (1564); Leonardus Snellezoon (1746, Amsterdam); Johannis [John] Couch Adams (*1819–†1892).

Modern annotations on the pastedown in the front of the book. Rubrication and (partially) coloured woodcuts and initials. Markings (manicules, underlining). Name of prophet Baruch written in the empty space within the woodcut used to depict him. Ownership mark by 15-year-old Leonardus Snellezoon in empty printer's mark on the New Testament title page. Annotation underneath the colophon has been covered by a white slip of paper.

5.7 *Ghent, ULG – Theol. 4089*

Previous owners: -

Date of printing written on the title page in a modern hand. Few sixteenth-century notes (e.g. repetitions). Marking (underlining, also in red, and manicules).

5.8 *Haarlem, NHA (Collection Museum Enschedé) – NK 409*

Previous owners: Gustave van Havre (*1817–†1892).

Modern, French auction description pasted onto a flyleaf. Annotation in modern hand on a flyleaf, repeating the text of the colophon. Contains remains of tabs at the beginning of each Bible book. Folio around Revelations 12 has been restored with a slip of paper containing notes in sixteenth-century handwriting.

5.9 *London, BL – 3041.g.6*

Previous owners: -

Few adjustments in the liturgical reading schedule in sixteenth-century handwriting. Paper with early modern handwriting used as pastedown.

5.10 *New York, BeNY – MLN30 + 538*

Previous owners: -

Sixteenth-century note on a folio that was bound incorrectly. In the same hand: few annotations (corrections and cross-references), foliation of the New Testament, and the addition of folio numbers to the list of contents of the New Testament. Rough

'decoration' of the empty printer's mark on the New Testament title page. Few markings (manicules, underlining, *notate bene*) in the New Testament.

5.11 *Leuven, MSB – GBIB-P22.055.1/FoBIJB 1538*

Previous owners: Collegium Berchmanianum Nijmegen.

Only part of the title page survived. Monogram (ownership mark?) placed in empty printer's mark on the title page of the New Testament. Few sixteenth-century corrections in the New Testament. Tarnished liturgical reading schedule.

Printed paper used to strengthen the binding, taken from a modern (probably early nineteenth-century) edition of the *Onderwyzinge voor de eerste communie, verdeeld in tien lessen.*

5.12 *The Hague, KB – 225 F 16*

Previous owners: -

Bookplate with coat of arms and motto *Pro aris et focis*. Loose slip of paper with various Dutch notes, penmanship exercises, and calculations (dated 1659).

5.13 *Stuttgart, WLB – Bb niederländ 153801*

Previous owners: Josias Lorck (*1732–†1785, Copenhagen).
Anonymous genealogical annotation (dated 1661) on flyleaf.

5.14 *Utrecht, ULU – Rariora qu.175*

Previous owners: -

Early modern foliation and the inclusion of folio numbers in the overview of abbreviations, the list of contents of the New Testaments, and the liturgical reading schedule. Note on the inclusion of the folio numbers at the beginning of the liturgical reading schedule. Small drawing of a face and penmanship exercise in the margins of Judges 4. Few markings (*notate bene*, underlining) and few seventeenth-century annotations (repetitions).

5.15 *Utrecht, ULU – THO RAR 6–33*

Previous owners: WAKLP(?) [monogram] Bosch (1666); Conventus Werth/Bibliotheek Minderbroeders Weert.

Many manicules, some of which are carefully drawn, including a sleeve and fingernails. In 4 Ezra 1, the manicule even holds a pen. Other markings (underlining, brackets, *notate bene*). Few sixteenth-century annotations (mainly cross-references and repetitions).

5.16 *Leerdam, SBM*

Previous owners: Johan Crieckelman (1576, Heer).

Ownership mark on the title page has been made (mostly) unreadable but was probably by Johan Crieckelman. Few modern notes on the title page. Foliated. Markings (underlining, brackets, manicules). Annotations by Johan Crieckelman throughout the Bible (e.g. information on the original addressees of the Gospels, and a reference to Augustine's eighth confession next to Matthew 11:12) and on the flyleaf (referencing to the pseudo-Augustinian *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*). Also a few annotations by a contemporary sixteenth-century hand. Late seventeenth-/early-eighteenth-century hand on flyleaf.

Johan Crieckelman was a notary and magistrate in Heer (currently part of Maastricht). See: Regionaal Historisch Centrum Limburg, *20.241 Notarissen ter standplaats Maastricht, 1544–1842*.

5.17 *Leerdam, GBS*

Previous owners: Rn. Willem J[…] (1895, Krimpen aan de IJssel); L. W. van Gent.

Notes by a late nineteenth-century hand on a flyleaf in the front of the book. Few markings (underlining, manicules, marking symbols). Numbering (early modern) included in liturgical reading schedule. Note on the restoration of the copy on pastedown (dated 1993).

Medieval manuscript fragment (parchment) originally used to strengthen the binding; taken out and pasted onto a modern flyleaf.

5.18 *Ede, Private Ownership*

Previous owners: -

Few modern notes. Original flyleaves and pastedowns have been removed.

5.19 *Gouda, private Ownership*

Previous owners: -

Modern annotation at Psalm 75.

6 Jacob van Liesvelt, Complete Bible Edition of 1542 (a) (USTC No. 404047)

6.1 *Amsterdam, VU – XC.05046-*

Previous owners: -

Title page and first three chapters of Genesis are lacking. Verse numbering and markings (underlining, marking symbols, brackets). Several seventeenth-century annotations (mainly repetitions and summaries). In the same hand: annotations that reflect on the reading of the psalms. Few annotations have been crossed out.

6.2 *Amsterdam, UvA – 2007 A 23*

Previous owners: -

Small drawing on the title page.

6.3 *Amsterdam, UvA – OG 65-33*

Previous owners: Pieter Visscher (seventeenth/eighteenth century); Bibliotheek van de Verenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Amsterdam (Mennonite congregation).

Parchment tabs at the beginning of each Bible book. Partially coloured woodcuts. Bound in with the copy at Joshua 15: a late sixteenth-century map of the Holy Land, entitled 'Peregrination of Jesus Christ' (*Peregrinatie Iesu Christi*), made by Joannes van Doetecum (junior) in ca. 1591. Note in Pieter Visscher's handwriting on the back of the map: 'Description of the promised Land' (*Beschrivinge des beloofden Landts*). Some place names on the map have been crossed out.

On the map of the peregrination of Jesus Christ, see: Delano-Smith and Morely Ingram, *Maps in Bibles*, pp. 87–88.

6.4 *Antwerp, MPM – R 7.10*

Previous owners: Hans Bunne[...] (seventeenth century); Gustave van Havre (*1817–†1892).

Modern annotations on the flyleaf. Small round woodcut kept between the pages in a plastic folder.

6.5 *Antwerp, MPM – A 3162*

Previous owners: H. J. Mattijnz. (seventeenth/eighteenth century).

H. J. Mattijnz. used a personalised stamp to mark his name eight times in this copy, in various colours.

6.6 *Antwerp, HC – RAR-F 20766*

Previous owners: -

Modern annotation on the history of the edition on flyleaf in the front of the book. Genealogical annotations on flyleaf in the back of the book (dated 1606–1635).

6.7 *Brussels, KBR – LP 8 262 C*

Previous owners: -

Fragment from modern auction catalogue glued onto the pastedown.

6.8 *Haarlem, NBG – Bn 0542.064.8b*

Previous owners: -

Modern annotation on the history of the edition on flyleaf in the front of the book. (Partial) modern foliation. Sixteenth-century annotation next to a woodcut of the

crucifixion in Luke 23. Few seventeenth-century notes, e.g. the name 'Jacob' written across the woodcut at the beginning of the Epistle of James.

6.9 *Haarlem, NBG – 31"1542"-Lies 06343*

Previous owners: -

Few scribbles on title page.

6.10 *Leeuwarden, TL – PBF 80 Gdg*

Previous owners: Dirck Fredricksz and Achte Willemsdochter (1594–1638); Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland (until 2002).

Genealogical annotations on a flyleaf in the front of the book (dated 1594–1638). Bound in the back of the book: a late sixteenth-century map of the Holy Land, entitled 'Peregrination of Jesus Christ' (*Peregrinatie Iesu Christi*), made by Joannes van Doetecum (junior), ca. 1591. On the map of the peregrination of Jesus Christ, see: Delano-Smith and Morely Ingram, *Maps in Bibles*, pp. 87–88.

Medieval manuscript fragments (parchment) used to strengthen the binding. One fragment has been taken out and kept on a slip of paper in the book.

6.11 *Leeuwarden, TL – PBF 81 Gdg*

Previous owners: Gerrit van Orden (*1774–†1854, Zaandam); Joost Hiddes Halbertsma (*1789–†1869, Deventer).

Partially readable, anonymous genealogical note underneath the prologue (dated 1601). Originally contained tabs at the beginning of each Bible book, but these have been removed.

Medieval manuscript fragments (parchment) used to strengthen the binding. On Joost Hiddes Halbertsma, see: Alpita de Jong, *Triomfen en tragedies van een uitmiddelpuntig man: Joost Halbertsma 1789–1868, een biografie* (Grou: Uitgeverij Louise, 2018).

6.12 *Leiden, ULL – 504 A 3*

Previous owners: -

One early modern annotation in Leviticus 19:27. *ACAD LVGD* (Academia Lugdenensis; Leiden University) stamped onto the title page and the book block.

6.13 *Leuven, MSB – PN00347/Fo*

Previous owners: Franciscan convent Turnhout; Instituut voor Franciscaanse Geschiedenis (Institute for Franciscan history).

Medieval manuscript fragments (parchment) that were once used to strengthen the binding have been taken out and kept on a slip of paper in the book.

6.14 *London, BL – 3041.f.2*

Previous owners: -

Two 'M'-shaped scribbles on the printer's mark on the title page.

6.15 *New York, BuNY – PML 17768*

Previous owners: Cap. Michiels.; Hendrik Willem van Loon (*1882–†1944).

Annotations by Hendrik Willem van Loon. Stamp alongside the prologue: Hendrik Willem van Loon donated the book to the Union Theological Seminary New York in 1928. Seventeenth-century verse numberings. Loose paper fragment with a printed 'A'. On Hendrik Willem van Loon, see: Van Minnen, *Van Loon*.

6.16 *The Hague, KB – 1708 A 11*

Previous owners: -

Modern annotations on the origins of the edition on the pastedown. *Tonis* written in the printer's mark on the title page. Rusty imprint of a key in the liturgical reading schedule. Few underlinings.

6.17 *Stuttgart, WLB – Bb niederländ 154201*

Previous owners: Gerret Jansoon (1594); Jan Janszoon (1599); Jaspar Vinckel (*1581–†1638, Amsterdam); Jan Vinckel (1638–1659); Josias Lorck (*1732–†1785, Copenhagen).

Genealogical annotations (in various hands of the Vinckel family) on flyleaves (dated 1576–1659).

6.18 *Tilburg, ULT – TFH-D 303*

Previous owners: -

Three late sixteenth-century maps bound in with this copy, from Petrus Plancius and Baptista van Doetecum, ca. 1590. Few sixteenth-century annotations (repetitions). Marking (manicules, underlining, marking symbols). Some verse numbering, especially in the book of Psalms. Small slip of paper with the word *blijft* printed onto it kept loose between the pages of 2 Maccabees 6. Unreadable imprint of an annotation on the back endleaf.

6.19 *Utrecht, ULU – 106 F 3*

Previous owners: Bibliotheek Rijsenburg.

Without evident early modern traces.

6.20 *Utrecht, ULU – THO RIJS 001–067*

Previous owners: Lijsbetie Blanckeuort (seventeenth century); Bibliotheek Rijsenburg.

Five loose paper slips, one of which originates from the book of Joshua in a *Statenbijbel* (likely eighteenth century) and the other from a vita of St. Lambertus of

Maastricht. Name of Lijsbetie Blanckeuort on the latter. Brown plant leaf kept between the pages of Jesus Sirach 32.

6.21 *Wolfenbüttel, HAB – H.A. 17020 Helmst*

Previous owners: Jacob Rem Kan (seventeenth century); Bibliotheca Academiae Iuliae Carolinae Helmstadt (until 1810).

Annotation by Jacob Rem Kan next to the colophon: *Is 1542*.

6.22 *Berlin, SB – 4"BW 6750*

Lost copy (since World War II).

6.23 *New York, ML*

Previous owners: -

Early modern foliation. Few large ink stains, e.g. in the bottom margin of Esther 14. Restoration note on slip of paper in the back of the book (dated August 1983).

6.24 *Sint Agatha, EK – A-0675*

Previous owners: Family Cornelis de Jongh (1645–1768, Haarlem); [First name unknown] Janse Daniëls (1791–1793, Hillegom); Eerwaarde Kruisheren aan de Maas (Sint Agatha).

Genealogical annotations on flyleaves, by the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century family Cornelis de Jongh and the eighteenth-century family Janse Daniëls. Note in the hand of the Janse Daniëls annotator on the back flyleaf: *Den Bijbel*.

The pages are heavily damaged, potentially because of the use of sticky tape for earlier restorations. The book block is no longer connected to the binding.

6.25 *Leerdam, GBS*

Previous owners: W. van Koeverden; L.W. van Gent.

Few sixteenth-century annotations (summaries, cross-references). Vague drawing of a standing human figure on flyleaf.

7 Jacob van Liesvelt, Complete Bible Edition of 1542 (b) (USTC No. 408233)

7.1 *Amsterdam, VU – XC.05045-*

Previous owners: Govert Phlypss (1598); Frederik Willem Grosheide (*1881–†1972).

Qd (?) on title page. Note by Govert Phlypss on his loan of the book to Orselten Adriaens (dated 1598). Markings (marking symbols, *notate bene*). Few sixteenth-century annotations (cross-references, summaries).

7.2 *Amsterdam, UvA – OG 65-32*

Previous owners: Bibliotheek van de Verenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Amsterdam (mennonite congregation Amsterdam).

Modern annotations on the flyleaf about the origins of this edition.

7.3 *Brussels, KBR – III 98.072.C R.P.*

Previous owners: Johannis Miller (1686).

Modern note the flyleaf. Latin annotation on the title page (hard to read; partially cut off).

7.4 *Ghent, BS – A 872*

Previous owners: -

Seventeenth-century annotation underneath colophon: *den xviije Junij 1643 begonst* ('started 18 June 1643'), probably about their reading practice.

7.5 *Leuven, MSB – P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1542 B*

Previous owners: J. J. Lucas (1789, Antwerp); Seminarii Mechliensis.

Note by J. J. Lucas on the origins and his acquisition of the book (dated 1789), pasted onto flyleaf. Originally contained tabs at the beginning of each Bible book, but these have been removed.

7.6 *Leuven, MSB – P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1542 A*

Previous owners: Peter Gielen (1807, Neeroeteren).

Annotations in the hand of Peter Gielen on the blank leaf opposite the title page of the New Testament and on the pastedown. A late sixteenth-/early seventeenth-century book list has been bound in as flyleaf at the back of the book (containing titles beginning with the letter B alongside their author, size, and price).

7.7 *The Hague, HvhB – 5 B 4*

Previous owners: -

Without evident early modern traces.

7.8 *Alblasserdam, Private Ownership*

Previous owners: -

Few sixteenth-century annotations.

7.9 *Ede, Private Ownership*

Previous owners: Monasterij S. Salvatoris Antwerpis.

Heavily annotated in a seventeenth-century hand (mainly repetitions, summaries, and Latin versions of verses), including more extensive notes on the Epistle to

the Romans and on the value of the Bible for all humanity on the pastedown. Also included the letters *c* and *e* in the Song of Songs to indicate when Christ and when the bride/the Church is speaking. Modern annotations on this copy on flyleaf. Markings (underlining, marking symbols, brackets). Little drawing of a face in a bracket in 4 Ezra 9.

8 Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch, Complete Bible Edition of 1535 (USTC No. 437755)

8.1 *Amsterdam, UvA – Ned. Inc. 131*

Previous owners: -

Note on restauration and rebinding (dated 1960) on pastedown. (Partial) modern foliation. Few markings (*notate bene*, underlining) in the New Testament. Imprint of a glass or glasses (or otherwise round object) at Luke 3.

8.2 *Antwerp, MPM – R 53.12*

Previous owners: Collection Cogels (1912).

Small geometric drawings on title page. sixteenth-century annotations (corrections, cross-references, summaries, few theological explanations) and markings (*notate bene*, marking symbols). In the same hand: handwritten list of contents (i.e. numbered overview of all Bible books) of the Old Testament, underneath the colophon in the back of the book, and a similar list of contents of the New Testament on the verso of this folio.

8.3 *Cambridge, SCC – R 23*

Previous owners: Edward Balme Wheatley (*1819–†1896).

Sixteenth-century annotations (corrections, repetitions, many cross-references), including the note *na crijstus 1564* ('after Christ 1564') underneath a chronological gloss in 4 Kings 2, adaptations of where certain chapters in various Bible books (e.g. Job) begin, and annotations on when to use certain verses for prayer (e.g. in Jeremiah 10). Small tuft of hair kept between the pages of 2 Samuel 8. Markings (manicules, brackets, *notate bene*) Parchment tabs at the beginning of each Bible book. Small geometric drawings underneath the colophon.

8.4 *Leuven, PA – GPAR A VI/4*

Temporarily unavailable for research due to library restorations.

8.5 *London, BL – 3061.i.12*

Previous owners: [First name unknown] Mengels (1629, Echt); Joannes Jacobus Stiels (after 1806, Neer); Henry Stevens of Vermont (*1819–†1886).

Notes by Joannes Jacobus Stiels on the origins of this edition, on a separate piece of paper pasted onto a flyleaf. Rubrication and (partially) coloured woodcuts, initials, and Exodus map in green and red shades. Cross-symbol and clover-like flower drawings. Ten small, dark feathers kept between the pages of Leviticus 19–21.

Genealogical annotations on the birth of a certain Thijsken Mengels (dated 1629) underneath the colophon.

On Joannes Jacobus Stiels, see: Mols, 'Neerse pastoors en priesters'. On Henry Stevens, see: Parker, *Henry Stevens of Vermont*. Medieval manuscript fragments (parchment) used to strengthen the binding.

8.6 *London, BL – C.66.k.8*

Previous owners: -

Considerable number of liturgical annotations and adjustments and addition to the liturgical reading schedule in sixteenth-century hand (red ink). Rubrication and (partially) coloured woodcuts and initials in green, yellow, and red shades. Markings (underlining in red ink).

8.7 *Maastricht, ULM – KPA 033*

Previous owners: Bibliotheca Collegii Maximi S. J. Traiectensis (Canisianum, Jesuit convent in Maastricht).

8.8 *Nijmegen, ULN – P.Inc.216*

Previous owners: Henricus van Wanraij (ca. 1710–1728, Culemborg).

Genealogical annotations by Henricus van Wanraij on flyleaf (dated 1686–1728). Previously contained tabs to signal the beginning of each Bible book, but these have been removed. Few marking symbols. One correction in a seventeenth-century hand in Matthew 6:10–11 (missing text has been added in handwriting).

The baptisms of Henricus van Wanraij's children can be found in: C. Onclin and D. G. A. Temminck, *RK Doopboek Culemborg 1712–1735; Bron: St. Barbara Parochie Inv. Nr. 239* (Culemborg: St Barbaraparochie, 1994).

8.9 *Utrecht, MCC – BMH Sp pi5*

Previous owners: Ghijsbrecht Fransz (ca. 1561, Amsterdam).

A considerable part of the title page is missing. Few annotations by Ghijsbrecht Fransz, including note on the (re)binding of the book on the flyleaf. Burned spot (through multiple folios) in the back of the book. Note on the acquisition of the book in 1656 on the flyleaf.

Medieval manuscript fragments (parchment) used to strengthen the binding.

8.10 *Utrecht, ULU – 113 D 12*

Previous owners: -

Modern annotation on the pastedown and on separate slip of paper, kept between the pages of Isaiah 40. Few early modern notes (e.g. repetitions). Several marking symbols in top left margins.

8.11 *Wolfenbüttel, HAB – Bibel-S.40 101*

Previous owners: Wilhem van Swol Cruijtcremer (late sixteenth/early seventeenth century); Johann Lorenz Schmidt (*1702–†1749); Elisabeth Sophie Maria (*1683–†1767).
Notes by Johann Lorenz Schmidt on flyleaf.

On Elisabeth Sophie Marie, see: Hillmann-Apmann, 'Elisabeth Sophie Marie'; Gleixner, 'Die Lesende Fürstin'.

8.12 *Stuttgart, WLB – Bb niederländ 153501–01*

Previous owners: Franciscus Hendericks (1688–1718, Emmerik).

Genealogical annotations (also including some political events and a noteworthy hailstorm) on flyleaves by Franciscus Hendericks (dated 1688–1718).

8.13 *The Hague, ASP*

Previous owners: Cornelis de Beveren (*1591–†1663, Dordrecht); C. E. Pompe van Needervoort (1785, Dordrecht) and various other family members (until 1846); Family Stoop (1846–today).

Extensive annotations on the ownership of the book on the flyleaf (last note dating from 1978).

9 Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch, Complete Bible Edition of 1541 (USTC No. 408196)

9.1 *Amsterdam, VU – XC.05122-*

Previous owners: Gerrit Cornelisz (1590); Henderikus Bos Kierzoon (*1881–†1970).

Yellow colouring of the title page and (some) woodcuts.

9.2 *Amsterdam, VU – XC.05044-*

Previous owners: Heer Domeij (before 1801, Sweikhuizen); M [or: N] Kerckhoff (after 1801); Augustus Hamert [or: Hamont] (1916); Frederik Willem Grosheide (*1881–†1972).

Manuscript addition of the missing first 15 chapters of Genesis (Genesis 16 to 24 lack in handwriting as well), in a late seventeenth-century hand. Handwritten text follows Nicolaas van Winge's Louvain Bible translation. Drawing of the coat of arms of

Amsterdam on a blank page next to Genesis 13. Modern foliation. Penmanship exercises in the margin of Wisdom 6. Few seventeenth-century notes (e.g. repetitions). Last page is Revelations 20; final pages and liturgical reading schedule are lacking.

9.3 *Amsterdam, UvA – 1150 A 14*

Previous owners: Fr[ater] Hieronijmus Rijsheuuden (seventeenth century); Petrus Lera (1730, Mechelen).

Early modern ownership inscription on title page crossed out. Few seventeenth-century annotations. Two early modern calculations in the top margin of Esther 16.

9.4 *Antwerp, MPM – R 7.1*

Previous owners: -

Without evident early modern traces.

9.5 *Brussels, KBR – III 14.885 C*

Previous owners: -

Latin quotation from Quintus Ennius' 'Annales' on the title page, in sixteenth-century hand. Few other annotations in the same hand, some in German (e.g. in the margin of Jeremiah 31). Latin quotations (and rephrasings) from St. Bernard's Cantica Sermons 64, St. Gregory Moralia in Job, and St. Jerome's commentary on Obadiah. Markings (marking symbols).

9.6 *Cambridge, ULC (Collection British and Foreign Bible Society) – 223 B41*

Previous owners: H. J. Lutsen (eighteenth century); Carolus Ludovicus van Houtte (1840).

Markings (marking symbols, brackets). Few annotations, particularly in the New Testament and mainly cross-references.

One of the original clasps has been kept in a small envelope within the book.

9.7 *Cambridge, ULC – Syn. 3. 54. 3*

Previous owners: -

Coloured woodcuts. Small paper tabs at the beginning of each Bible book.

9.8 *Ghent, BS – A 868*

Previous owners: Bibliotheca Augustiniana Gandavensis [Augustine convent Ghent].

Rubrication.

9.9 *Ghent, ULG – 145 A 5*

Previous owners: -

Is registered in Biblia Sacra as HPvM CB 1543 (unknown edition). Medieval manuscript fragments (parchment) and early modern paper fragments used to strengthen the binding.

9.10 *Ghent, ULG – Theol. 4084*

Previous owners: J[…] Goom (1670; 1683).

Table of contents in a seventeenth-century hand.

9.11 *Groningen, RUB – A g-3*

Previous owners: Jan Dominicus (sixteenth century, Heelweg).

Coloured woodcuts and rubrication. Marking (underlining). Modern annotation on the flyleaf. Liturgical annotation (sixteenth-century hand) in the liturgical reading schedule. Plant leaves kept between the pages of Deuteronomy 5. Late sixteenth-century schedule of the genealogies of Jude and Levi bound in.

9.12 *Haarlem, NBG – I A 2*

Previous owners: Bibl. Tongeren.

Parchment tabs at the beginnings of Bible books. Map of the Holy Land (ca. 1600) bound in at Numbers 23. Markings (underlining, marking symbols).

9.13 *Heeswijk-Dinther, AB – 220.5 bijb 1541*

Previous owners: -

Imprints of early modern annotations on a previous pastedown or flyleaf (unreadable). Sixteenth-/seventeenth-century annotation on the title page.

9.14 *Leuven, MSB – P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1541–1*

Previous owners: Bibliothecae Augustinianae Herendalij; Frater Arnoldus Truyens (1645).

Large ink stain (possibly the result of an ink pot knocked over) at Genesis 21. Few markings (underlining).

On Arnoldus Truyens, see: Verkerken and Grootaers, *Repertorium*, p. 462.

9.15 *Leuven, MSB – P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1541–2*

Previous owners: Bibliotheca Dom. Neomag.; Bibliotheek Berchmanianum Nijmegen.

Six late sixteenth-/early-seventeenth-century biblical maps bound in. One loose leaf (page 123) from the *Onderrigt voor ware Vroome … opgestelt door Lambrecht Myseras* (1738). Few early modern markings (*notate bene*, marking symbols) and early modern foliation. Partial price list of wood and copper in eighteenth-century handwriting, kept between the pages.

Paper and parchment fragments used to strengthen the binding. Paper fragment taken from the title page of the *Tractaet van het Bestant / gemaeckt ende besloten binnen de Stadt ende Cité van Antwerpen*, printed by Hillebrant Jacobsz, The Hague, in 1609.

9.16 *London, BL – C.64.g.5*

Previous owners: Ewut Classoen (< 1574); Rijck Jacobsz (1574); Peter Jansz (sixteenth century); Trijntje Jans Doelen (< 1740); Aagje Bukker (1740/1763).

Annotations in a sixteenth-century hand (repetitions, summaries, theological annotations, cross-references). Markings (*notate bene*). Small, kite-shaped, paper book mark. Ink corrosion from the ink of the annotations in the book of Judges and the book of Daniel. Annotation by Aagje Bukker on her acquisition of the book by inheritance of Trijntje Jans Doelen in 1740, on a flyleaf in the front of the book. Annotation by Rijck Jacobsz on the acquisition of the book by buying it from his uncle Ewut Classoen in 1574, on a flyleaf in the back of the book.

9.17 *Nijmegen, ULN – OD B 477*

Previous owners: Luikas Laurense (1760, Hees); Nijmegen Albertinum.

Early modern note on the place and year of printing. Loose fragment of an early modern German print kept between the pages of 3 Kings 17.

9.18 *Nijmegen, ULN – 100 b 10*

Previous owners: Joanna de Putterke (1713); H. M. Ja[…] (1794; hardly readable); Johan Arnoldes (1806); D. van Gils (twentieth century, Roermond).

Latin prayer in an eighteenth-century hand, underneath the woodcut facing Genesis 1.

9.19 *Kerkrade, RS – Script.I h 5*

Previous owners: F. W. van Roij (1852).

Note on the origins of the book by F. W. van Roij, on the flyleaf. Loose paper slip with few annotations (dated 1748).

9.20 *The Hague, KB – 1708 A 6*

Previous owners: Tobias Rutgers (1667).

Note by Tobias Rutgers on flyleaf. Also modern notes on flyleaf (e.g. reference Le Long, *Boek-Zaal*). (Partial) modern foliation.

9.21 *Turnhout, TAX – ODC 59*

Previous owners: Jan Verhoeuen (sixteenth century); Bibliotheca Augustinianis Thenis (seventeenth century); Henricus Noppen and Anna Catharina Meijnaerts (1806).

Missing parts have been supplemented in handwriting. Early modern foliation. Partially unreadable annotation on the title page: *Ex Dono liber*[...].

9.22 *Utrecht, MCC – BMH p.i. Warm. od1259F12*

Previous owners: -

Early modern markings (manicules, marking symbols, underlining, *notate bene*). Few sixteenth-century annotations (particularly cross-references).

9.23 *Utrecht, ULU – 111 F 13*

Previous owners: Aernt Poelman (1588).

Notes in the sixteenth-century hand of Aernt Poelman on the birthdays of his daughters in the liturgical calendar: *Ipse die nata est filia s*[...] / *ipse nata est filia Maria*. Annotations in the same hand (repetitions, cross-references), as well as genealogical annotations (dated 1588) at the end of the Old Testament, describing the death of his wife. Some verse numbering. Markings (underlining, marking symbols, brackets, manicules).

9.24 *Utrecht, ULU – THO ALV 9–158C*

Previous owners: Walter Jorijs van Heijden (late seventeenth-century).

Genealogical annotations (dated 1641–1645) on flyleaves at the back of the book.

9.25 *Utrecht, ULU – THO RIJS 001/107*

Previous owners: Ysek [surname unknown] (1737); Otgerus A. Scholten (1854, Nes (Ameland)); Dr. J. de Jong (1914, Coevorden); Bibliotheca Seminarii Rijsenburgensis.

Handwritten calendar listing the dates of Lent, Easter, and Pentecost in the years from 1729 to 1745 in Ysek's hand. Annotation on flyleaf in same hand. Few sixteenth-century annotations (e.g. *doet* [death] at Psalm 23).

On Otgerus A. Scholten, see: Hedwig de Jong-Amkreutz, *Herder op Ameland: Het leven en werken van Pastoor Scholten* (Nes: Parochie Sint Clemens, 2011).

9.26 *Utrecht, ULU – THO MEG 15–76*

Previous owners: Fratri Francisco van den Dael Minorita (eighteenth century); Bibliotheca Fr. Min. Megensium (Megen).

Markings (underlining, marking symbols). Slip of paper with modern annotations kept between the pages of 1 Corinthians 16.

9.27 *Leerdam, GBS*

Previous owners: S. D. S. Hamont; L. W. van Gent.

Notes by L.W. van Gent (dated 1990) on flyleaf. Sixteenth-century note on the acquisition of the book on the title page: *xxxiiij stp* [*?*] *emptus sum*. Seventeenth-century

note on the title page: *1541 gedrukt te Antwerpen* ('printed in Antwerp in 1541'). Contains parchment tabs to mark the beginnings of Bible books. On two tabs, medieval penwork on the parchment fragments remains visible. Marking symbols. Few pink spots (ink or paint) across 3 Ezra 9; same colour as the coloured initial in 4 Ezra 3. Latin sixteenth-century annotation at the end of 1 Maccabees.

The stamp of S.D.S. Hamont contains a quotation from Malachi 2:7: *Labia* [*enim*] *sacerdotis custodient scientiam*.

9.28 *Haarlem, BKA*

Previous owners: Dr. G. J. Jaspers (*1932–†2020).

Depictions of God in various woodcuts have been obliterated with dark brown ink stains.

Sold at auction. Current owner unknown.

9.29 *Düsseldorf, ULB – 20 Biblth-1A-75(2), 1 Ex.*

Previous owners: -

Early modern note on title page: *Antverpia 1541 Vide in Fine*. Remains of red seal wax.

9.30 *Düsseldorf, ULB – 20 Biblth-1A-75(2), 2 Ex.*

Previous owners: -

Contains heart-shaped parchment bookmark. Sixteenth-century marks on saint days in the liturgical calendar. Loose white leaf (probably used as bookmark) kept between the pages.

9.31 *Ede, Private Ownership*

Previous owners: Hans van Druijven (sixteenth century).

Seventeenth-century annotations in Song of Songs: *verboden te lesen* ('prohibited to read') at the beginning of each chapter and at the end of the Bible book: *tijnde vant verbodt van lesen* ('the end of the prohibition to read'). In the same hand *Romi 1:15* (reference to Romans 1:15) on the title page. Ownership inscription by Hans van Druijven has been crossed through.

9.32 *Antwerp, Private Ownership*

Previous owners: M. Vanuy[?] (1730); L. Y. H. Platel (1827).

Binding has a metal loop attached to it. A ribbon is attached to the loop. Might suggest use in a chained library.

9.33 *St Gallen, KBG (Sammlung der Ortsbürgergemeinde) – Vadslg EA 50*

Previous owners: -

Coloured woodcuts, initials, and Exodus map. Contains knotted textile tabs to mark the beginning of each Bible book.

9.34 *Gouda, Private Ownership*

Previous ownership: -

Few stains, but without evident early modern traces.

9.35 *Gouda, LM*

Previous owners: Widow of Sijmon Wallaert (sixteenth century; mentioned by Maelen Clausz.); Maelen Clausz. Agaeciels (?) (sixteenth century); A. de Zwijghere (seventeenth century).

Genealogical annotations (dated 1651–1655).

9.36 *Gouda, LM*

Previous owners: H. E. Jaeger; Dr. F. M. Jaeger (1919); B. Jaeger (1967).

Note by B. Jaeger on flyleaf: *B. Jaeger, gekregen 5/12/1967 van vader* ('B. Jaeger, received from father [on] 5/12/1967).

9.37 *Manchester, JRM – R 60334*

Previous owners: Conventus Eecloniam Fr. Min. Recollecterum (1677, Eeklo).

Vague (and mostly unreadable) pencil annotations on the bottom of the title page.

9.38 *New York, NYPL – KB + 1541 Bible Dutch*

Previous owners: Frederik Muller (book seller, Amsterdam, nineteenth century); Lenox Library (1870).

Modern notes on this edition in pen and pencil on the front flyleaf and on the titlepage. Leaf at psalm 30 bound in the wrong way around; noted in pencil in a modern hand at the bottom of the page. Woodcut before Daniel 3 has been cut out.

9.39 *Brussels, KBR – CAP 29.22 C*

Previous owners: Bibliotheca Capucinorum Alosti.

Partial Bible Editions and New Testaments

10 Jacob van Liesvelt, Gospels of 1522 (USTC No. 400440)

10.1 *Utrecht, ULU – D.oct.1672[2] Rariora*

Previous owners: Jacobus Isaac Doedes (*1817–†1897).

Coloured woodcuts (of the evangelists, at the beginning of each Gospel).

Incomplete copy: first part (the gospel of Matthew) is lacking. Originally bound together with Doen Pietersoen's Gospel of St. Matthew (1522).

11 Jacob van Liesvelt, Epistles of Paul of 1523 (a) (USTC No. 437214)

11.1 *The Hague, KB – 230 G 29*

Previous owners: -

Modern annotations on the pastedown, referring to Doedes 1872. Rubrication.

12 Jacob van Liesvelt, Epistles of Paul of 1523 (b) (USTC No. 437215)

12.1 *The Hague, KB – 230 G 30*

Previous owners: -

Modern annotations on the pastedown, referring to Doedes 1872. Coloured woodcuts and initials, rubrication, and extensive penwork.

Bound together with 13.1.

On this copy, see also: Folkerts and Oostindiër, 'New Bibles and Old Reading Habits', pp. 188–189; De Bruyn and Hoff, 'Decoratie in druk'.

13 Jacob van Liesvelt, Epistles of the Apostles of 1523 (USTC No. 437213)

13.1 *The Hague, KB – 230 G 30*

See copy 12.1.

13.2 *The Hague, KB – 230 G 31*

Previous owners: -

Sixteenth-century, liturgical annotations, e.g. *opten kersauent* ('on Christmas eve') at Romans 1. Coloured initials and woodcuts, and rubrication.

14 Jacob van Liesvelt, Book of Wisdom of 1527 (USTC No. 407331)

14.1 *Amsterdam, UvA – Ned. Inc. 511*

Previous owners: -

Without evident early modern traces.

In loose quires.

14.2 *Brussels, KBR – LP 77 A*

Previous owners: -

Without evident early modern traces.

15 Jacob van Liesvelt, New Testament of 1534 (USTC No. 441763)

15.1 *Brussels, KBR – LP 586 A*

Previous owners: Suster Chatarina F[…] (sixteenth century); D.A.J. Minne (twentieth century); P. Cogels (1912, Antwerp).

Rubricated. Adaptations of the liturgical reading schedule by Suster Chatarina: slips of paper with handwritten alternative references have been pasted onto the printed text. Ownership mark of Suster Chatarina has been crossed out.

16 Jacob van Liesvelt, New Testament of 1535 (a) (USTC No. 437803)

16.1 *Ghent, ULG – BIB.ACC.033490*

Previous owners: Peeter Valck (1704); C. Vyt (1897).

Modern foliation.

17 Jacob van Liesvelt, New Testament of 1535 (b) (USTC No. 437792)

17.1 *Amsterdam, VU – XC.05542-*

Previous owners: Frederik Willem Grosheide (*1881–†1972).

Slip of paper with modern annotations about this copy and Liesvelt's beheading, pasted onto the flyleaf.

Bound in current binding in 1972.

18 Jacob van Liesvelt, New Testament of 1540 (USTC No. 438122)

18.1 *Stuttgart, WLB – Bb niederländ 154001*

Previous ownership: -

Unidentifiable ownership mark on the title page: *Desen bouck behoort toe C* ('this book belongs to C'). Small prayer on the last page: *Heere Wij bidden u verhoort / onse ghebeden goedertierliik / ende als wij ontbonden zijn van / die banden der sonden bewae/re ons van alle teghenspoet* ('Lord, we pray you, hear our prayers with mercy. And when

we are unchained from the chains of sin, protect us from all misery'). Verse-dividing brackets in Matthew 2 and 3.

19 Jacob van Liesvelt, New Testament of 1541 (USTC No. 442648)

19.1 *Groningen, RUG – A g 82*

Previous owners: -

Modern annotations on flyleaf, including a reference to Le Long 1732.

20 Jacob van Liesvelt, New Testament of 1544 (a)

20.1 *London, BL – 3061.a.17 (USTC No. 410456)*

Previous owners: Jan E. Nelisen and Hermanus Valckenborgh (1760).

Note by Jan E. Nelisen and Hermanus Valckenborgh on flyleaf: *Jan E. Nelisen en Hermanus Valckenborgh hebben dit bouk geleest, met plasier 1760* ('Jan E. Nelisen and Hermanus Valckenborgh have read this book with delight, 1760').

21 Jacob van Liesvelt, New Testament of 1544 (b) (USTC No. 442651)

21.1 *Leiden, ULL – Sem. Rem. 848*

Previous owners: Maertge Pieters (seventeenth century).

Seventeenth-century calculation of the age of the book on flyleaf: 1682 minus 1544 equals 138.

22 Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch, New Testament of 1538 (USTC No. 442647)

22.1 *Amsterdam, VU – XC.06338-*

Previous owners: Anna Vouwer, den huysvrou van den doctor Plipias [Anna Vouwer, housewife of the doctor Plipias] (sixteenth century); Jan Fransis Verschateren (1762); Josephus Jacobus van Hoeck tot Boom (1818).

Annotation referring to the book of Kings by Jan Fransis Verschateren, on flyleaf. Drawing of a person (woman) on flyleaf.

Medieval manuscript fragment (parchment, with some musical notation) used to strengthen the binding.

23 Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch, New Testament of 1540 (USTC No. 438026)

23.1 *Copenhagen, KBC – 82,316,8^0 S-1977*

Previous owners: -

Early modern ownership inscription on title page has been scraped off. Rubricated.

23.2 *Utrecht, ULU – D.oct.1672 3 (2) Rariora*

Previous owners: -

Only one folio survived. See: Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 451.

24 Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch, New Testament of 1541 (a) (USTC No. 403008)

24.1 *Antwerp, HC – F 215118–25561e*

Previous owners: -

On the flyleaf: *voor de gemijnte* ('for the congregation'). Rubricated.

Medieval manuscript leaves (parchment) used to strengthen the binding and serving as endleaves.

24.2 *Stuttgart, WLB – Bb niederländ 154101*

Previous owners: Josias Lorck (*1732–†1785, Copenhagen).

25 Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch, New Testament of 1541 (b) (USTC No. 441722)

25.1 *Ghent, ULG – 157 P 56*

Previous owners: Joannes vander Smessen (1717).

Modern annotations on flyleaf, including a reference to Le Long 1732.

25.2 *New York, NYPL – KB 1541 Bible NT Dutch*

Previous owners: Vandevilde [first name unknown] (seventeenth century); Lenox Library New York (1870).

Fragment from modern auction catalogue pasted onto pastedown. Early modern foliation. Latin annotation in sixteenth-century hand on flyleaf.

26 Henrick Peetsersen van Middelburch, New Testament of (ca.) 1542

26.1 *Gouda, LM*

Previous owners: -

Four coloured woodcuts (in John 6, John 8, John 9, and John 13). Loose paper fragment, taken from Hebrews 11 in a late sixteenth-century, folio-sized Bible, kept between the pages of Hebrews 11.

27 Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch, New Testament of 1543 (USTC No. 416046)

27.1 *Ghent, ULG – BIB.TH.002966*

Previous owners: H. Buseun [?] (seventeenth century); J. V. [...]iene [?] (eighteenth/nineteenth century).

Seventeenth-century annotation in liturgical calendar: *heere der heere* ('Lord the Lord'). Few corrections in liturgical reading schedule. Modern foliation. Ownership inscription on title page remains only partly visible, because a library stamp has been placed across it.

28 Henrick Peetsersen van Middelburch, New Testament of (ca.) 1544

28.1 *Kerkrade, RS – Semi 22.05 = 393 nieuwe s.a.*

Previous owners: -

Unreadable library stamp on flyleaf. Coloured woodcuts. Sixteenth-century handwritten addition to the calendar. Partially unreadable annotation in the same hand, starting with *hijr begint* ('here starts'), in the upper margin of the liturgical reading schedule.

Last pages missing (including the colophon).

29 Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch, New Testament of 1546 (USTC No. 404113)

29.1 *London, BL – 1016.e.5*

Previous owners: Edmond Grenes (seventeenth century); Willam Grenes (seventeenth century); Chr. Deawe (eighteenth/nineteenth century).

Early modern verse numbering. Markings (marking symbols). Latin annotation (in a sixteenth-century hand) on the flyleaf, quoted from Virgil's *Georgics* (book II) (see: Virgil, *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1–6*). Both Edmond Grenes and Willam Grenes ownership inscriptions are in English. Penmanship exercises of large letters on the flyleaves in the front and the back, in Latin and Greek.

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