Books and Scrolls
Navigating the Bible
PETER STALLYBRASS

Scrolls and Books

Contemporary pronouncements about the death of the book are puzzling, for in many ways, it is the book form—the combination of the ability to scroll with the capacity for random access, enabling you to leap from place to place—that has provided the model which these other cultural technologies now seek to emulate. Computers, for instance, with their extraordinary powers of random access, are for most people extremely ungainly and unwieldy in their scroll functions. But computers take to a new level a crucial aspect of the ways in which we often use books—our ability, through bookmarks, to have our fingers in many different places at the same time, and to move rapidly from one to another. We are, I believe, reliving in a different key the moment, analyzed by Roberts and Skeat in *The Birth of the Codex*, when reading practices were radically transformed. If cultural pessimists claim that no one reads anymore, perhaps they mean that it’s becoming rarer for people to submit themselves to the scroll function of books. Surfing on TV works against the unwinding of a film scroll and hypertext works against a continuous reading of the *Canterbury Tales*. But that has nothing to do with the death of the book. On the contrary, I would argue that we are living with a new intensity the triumph of the book as a technology. For in a book, as opposed to a scroll, one does not need to read from page 1 to page 2 to page 3 and so on. One can read from page 180 to page 36 to page 297 (as, say, in a collection of poems); or now, with the aid of hypertext, one can thicken a specific moment, reading versions of a single line of verse as it moves from manuscript to manuscript, from manuscript to magazine, from magazine to pamphlet, from pamphlet to “collected works.”

The book/codex, as an emergent technology, enabled a reader to mark up places discontinuously. In this sense, the history of the codex is the history of the bookmark. The codex had nearly displaced the scroll for pagan Greek texts by the fourth century. But the adoption of the codex was by no means automatic among pagans, who continued to regard it as a culturally inferior form. In contrast, the great majority of Christian texts from as early as we have such texts were already in the form of codices, and only 14 of the surviving 172 Christian texts written before the fifth century were written on scrolls. Astonishingly, Christianity immediately adopted the codex as its privileged form. While the codex was more slowly adopted by pagans, it tended to be treated as an inferior, notebook form, even after it became the dominant technology. The most radical contrast, though, is not between Christians and pagans, both of whom converged in the use of the codex by the fifth century. It is between Christians and Jews. Within Jewish culture, while codices may have been used as private notebooks, no Jewish codices have survived from before the tenth century in the Middle East and the eleventh century in Europe. Prior to the tenth or eleventh centuries, Christians and Jews actively differentiated themselves from each other through the adoption of the book or the scroll. The crucial thing for Christians was to make sure that they read their Jewish scriptures in a form that was materially as unlike the Jewish scriptures as possible, so as to proclaim the distinctiveness of the Septuagint. For more than six centuries, the distinction of the book from the scroll materially differentiated Christianity from Judaism.

The ideological opposition of the scroll to the codex is powerfully visualized in an engraving of “The Apocalyptic Type” in Joseph Mede’s *Key of the Revelation* (Fig. 1). At the top of the engraving, there is a scroll with seven seals. Although the scroll is identified as “My Haydock his book sealed,” the “book” represents Haydock’s conception of a Judaic scroll. The emphasis is upon the scroll as a form that, through its seals, denies easy access. But the seventh seal loops around to the right, first to *the ende* of time (the horizontal axis) and then back to a codex at the bottom of the engraving (“My Haydock his book opened”) (Fig. 2). The open book shows the suffering of martyrs on the verso with the header “How long o Lord dost thou not aveng and, on the recto, a quotation from Revelation 5:7: “A booke written within and on the backside seald with 7 seales.” The closed scroll has been transformed into an open codex. But even more striking is what has happened to the seals that keep the scroll closed: they have been transformed into *finding tabs* that will enable the reader to move easily from place to place. The codex is thus marked not only by its openness but by its bookmarks. It is represented as above all *indexical*, a technology that uses bookmarks like prosthetic fingers to take the reader easily from place to place.

As Malcolm Parkes, Mary and Richard Rouse, and Paul Saenger have brilliantly demonstrated, the creation of an easily navigable book was a slow and laborious process, punctuated by moments of rapid development. In the thirteenth century, a moment of such rapid development, all sorts of navigational aids were produced for preachers and university teachers: biblical con-
cordances, subject indexes, library catalogues. Reference tools increasingly followed an alphabetical system (like modern indexes), rather than a hierarchical ordering (Rouse and Rouse 221–55). At first, the alphabetic system that we take for granted was actively resisted, because it led to arbitrary relations between words and even to logical inversions, in which the created preceded the creator (Filia coming before Pater, Angelus before Deus), and inversions of social hierarchy (Filia coming before Filius, Mater before Pater). Manuscripts were given numbered folios or openings, and arabic numerals were increasingly used. The bible and other books were divided into chapters. The fifteenth century was a period of comparable change, and one might want to see the invention of printing less as a displacement of manuscript culture than as the culmination of the invention of the navigable book—the book that allowed you to get your finger into the place you wanted to find in the least possible time. Many of the developments of the thirteenth century were taken up on a much larger and more systematic scale. Tables of contents were added along with lists of chapters, running headlines, more consistent pagination, and a much wider use of indexes (Rouse and Rouse 449–66). Headings and incipits were sometimes written in a formal script which made them stand out from the cursive of
used to mark the beginnings of sentences (Saenger 1996: 247, 250-51). Finding tabs were added to books (as in the codex depicted in The Key of the Revelation). Elaborate bookmarks are recorded in printing after printing of the fifteenth century, particularly in the Low Countries, as, for instance, in the bookmarks that van Eyck’s Virgin uses both in the Ghent altarpiece and in the beautiful Annunciation in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

I have found no images of such book-marking systems before the beginning of the fifteenth century. Do these bookmarks, then, suggest a radical development, not in the art of discontinuous reading as such, but in the conceptualization of reading as a practice of discontinuity (a discontinuity already materialized in the fragmentary texts of the most popular late medieval book, the book of hours)? Such random access for specific ends (to learn all that one can about the common loon, for instance) is now enabled by ever more powerful engines for searching the web. Yet my Macintosh computer still uses a little hand to travel around the screen and a pointing finger. And when I find a new website, I add a “bookmark,” visualized nostalgically at the top of my screen as a blue ribbon. The navigation of computers is still imagined in the visual language that was elaborated in the fifteenth century for the navigation of books: the language of the index finger and of its prosthetic form, the bookmark.

The manuscript book or codex emerged, I am suggesting, as an alternative to, and sometimes in an antagonistic relation to, the scroll. The scroll as a technology depends upon a literal unwinding, in which the physical proximity of one moment in the narrative to another is both materially and symbolically significant. One cannot move easily back and forth between distant points on a scroll. But it is precisely such movement back and forth that the book permits. It not only allows for discontinuous reading; it encourages it. Indeed, it may even enforce it, as in the case of William Byrd’s second book of Gradualeus, at Cantiones Sacrae. A chorister using that book will be thrown into panic as he comes to the end of the nineteenth canto, for instance, if he hasn’t already made use of the indexical system that the book provides and marked up his copy (with finger or bookmark) ahead of time. Where he would expect to find the “Alleluia,” he comes instead to a reference to another canto, Beat it visicr, and the comment ut supra (“as above”). The index at the back of the Graduale refers the chorister to canto eleven and its “Alleluia.” In other words, movement back and forth within the codex is necessary simply to sing the piece. In 1592, Hendrik Goltzius depicted Calliope, the muse of epic poetry and eloquence, marking up her oblong music book discontinuously with her fingers, so as to flick back from her present place to two earlier passages. And da capo markings in the seventeenth century would make such flipping back and forth a regular part of music.

Only certain productively perverse uses of the book have taken this form back into a scroll, most notoriously “gripping” novels or “page-turners,” where the teleological drive from page to page mitigates against dipping about or turning back (although not, in the case of the unbearable suspense of a mystery, from skipping forward to find out “whodunit”). When cultural critics nostalgically recall an imagined past in which readers unscrolled their books continuously from beginning to end, they are reversing the long history of the codex and the printed book as indexical forms. The novel has only been a brilliantly perverse interlude in the long history of discontinuous reading.

Discontinuous Reading

The use of book-marking systems to index discontinuous passages was, and is, central to the Catholic liturgy. A modern missal that I bought secondhand comes with five color-coded ribbons for bookmarks, and to get through a single service in the sixteenth century, one would need to make full use of them. I am far from proficient, but following the High Mass in this missal even today involves something like this sequence (with extra complications for fast days): pages 654, 655, 654-60, 867, 37, 660-62, 867, 37, 688, 37-38, 868, 39, 869, 39-40, 664, 869, 39-40, 666, 866, 869, 40, 666-68, 870, 40, 668-74, 870, 40, 674, 692, 40, 733-35, 698. That’s just the bare structure, without the gospel readings and so on. Not surprisingly, it was usually easier, if more expensive, to organize the service via different books, separating out the necessary texts for different functions. Catholic services, particularly in the cathedrals, depended not on the bible as such but on a large number of different books. In the eleventh century, John of Garland listed twelve separate volumes as necessary for a service, including missals, gradualls, lectionaries, psalters, and sacramentaries. Separating out the service into separate texts made it less necessary to collate passages from different places—that is, to use your fingers and prosthetic fingers (ribbons, etc.) to mark passages to be read in a single volume from, say, the Pentateuch, the Prophets, the Psalms, the Gospels, the Epistles, a saint’s life, and so on. The discontinuous reading that the codex enabled thus became central to Christianity and led to the cutting up of the bible into specific, usable parts, bound separately.

This is not to say there was no continuity, but the continuity was provided above all by the liturgical year, during the course of which much of the bible would be read (and the Psalms, for instance, would be read repeatedly). How and why, then, did continuous reading become the norm (or at least begin to be perceived as a norm to which one could contrast, say, phone books and technical manuals)?

On the Origin of the Catholic, Counter-Reformation, Scripturist, and Modern Reading Habits.
continuous reading. A subtle and complex version of this argument is rehearsed by Patrick Collinson in his groundbreaking article, “The Coherence of the Text.” If it is true that Protestants began to read the bible continuously and, of course, some Catholics had done so previously, these readers arguably initiated the practice which novel readers would later naturalize: the perverse habit of reading forward continuously. To imagine continuous reading as the norm in reading a book is radically reactionary: it is to read a codex as if it was a scroll, from beginning to end.

But did Protestants, and specifically English Protestants, read the bible continuously? As Alison Chapman has pointed out, the 1549 Book of Common Prayer specifically addresses problems of discontinuous reading in “The Preface” (reprinted with minor changes until the revised preface of 1662). According to the preface, the “Godly and decent ordre of the ancient fathers, hath been [in the Catholic service] so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in vcertain stories, Legende, Respondes, Verses, vaine repeticions, Commemoracions and Synodales, that commonly when any boke of the Bible was read out, all the rest were vnreade. And in this sorte, the boke of Esaie was begun in Advent, and the booke of Genesis in Septuagesima: but they were onely begun, and never read thorow.” Moreover, the preface claims, the indexical system (or “Pie”) for reading the scriptures, has such “numbre and hardnesse of the rules” that “to tourne the boke onely, was so hard and intricate a matter, that manye tymes there was more busynesse to fynde out what should be read, then to reade it when it was found out.” This readerly objection is combined with an economic justification for the transformation of the service. In the new Protestant dispensation, “the curates shall not leave other books for their publique service, but this book [the Book of Common Prayer] & the Bible: by the meanes whereof, the people shall not be at so great charge for bookes, as in tyme past they have been.”

There are additional changes which also emphasize continuous reading. The simplified calendar is, the preface claims, “plaine and easy to be understanded, wherein (so much as maie be) the readynge of holy scripture is to be set furthe, that all thynges shall bee doen in ordre, without breaking one thing thro’ from another. For this cause be cut out Anthemes, Respondes, Inuitatories, and suche like thynges, as did break the continual course of the reading of the scripture.” Moreover, the abolition of most of the Catholic saints’ days meant that it was far easier to follow a linear progression through the church year, even if Sundays and feast days continued to complicate this progression. Ideally, one would start reading Genesis chapter 1, verse 1, Matthew chapter 1, verse 1, and Romans chapter 1, verse 1 on 1 January and then scroll through the “significant” parts of the Bible. In fact, that wasn’t possible. Large chunks of the

Isaiah, because of his supposedly central role in the prophecy of Christ; he was thus the appropriate reading for Advent. And the end of the year was disrupted by a series of feast days which had been preserved and which each had its own special readings: Christmas on 25 December (Isaiah 9 and Matthew 1 for “Matins” in the 1549 prayer book; Isaiah 9 and Luke 2 for the renamed “Morning Prayer” in the 1539 prayer book); Saint Stephen on 26 December (Isaiah 56 and Acts 6 and 7 in both prayer books, although Isaiah is replaced with Proverbs 28 in, for instance, the King James Bible of 1611); Saint John the Evangelist on 27 December (Isaiah 58 and Revelation 1 in both prayer books, although Isaiah is replaced by Ecclesiastes 5 in 1611); Innocents’ Day on 28 December (Jeremiah 31 and Acts 25 in both prayer books).

Perhaps the most strikingly disruptive feast is the one which pushes Genesis chapter 1, verse 1, Matthew chapter 1, verse 1, and Romans chapter 1, verse 1 back to January the second, when one would expect them to be read on 1 January. But 1 January was already reserved for remembering that Christ was a Jewish boy. It was the Feast of the Circumcision, with readings from, in the morning, Genesis 17 (“every man-child among you shall be circumcised”) and Romans 2 (Paul trying to finesse Christ’s Judaism by emphasizing the circumcision of the heart and the spirit as opposed to the circumcision of the flesh and the letter), and, in the evening, Deuteronomy 10 and Colossians 2. In fact, the church year did not officially begin on 1 January anyway. It was traditionally dated from Advent Sunday (a movable feast, usually four, but sometimes five, Sundays before Christmas). But Advent itself was never used, as far as I know, for the actual dating of the year, which normally began on 25 March (Lady’s Day). Thus George Herbert begins his poem “The British Church”:

I joy, deare Mother, when I view
Thy perfect lineaments, and hue
Both sweet and bright.

Beautie in thee takes up her place,
And dates her letters from thy face,
When she doth write.  

Herbert conflates the church with the Virgin/Mother, who “dates” the beginning of the year from the feast of the Annunciation, just as Herbert himself in his correspondece dated the year from 25 March. But this latter official calendar was clearly contradicted by the order of readings from the Bible. One would begin at the beginning of Genesis and the beginning of Matthew on 1 January, were it not for the inconvenient fact (for gentle Christians) that Christ was
In examining the Church of England's attempt to produce an "orderly" (i.e., sequential) reading of the Bible, the crucial point remains that there were innumerable exceptions (including Sundays and feast days, the very days when the congregations were largest). And, of course, the service still depended on flicking back and forth between the Jewish scriptures, the Gospels, and the Epistles (i.e., on the technology that Christianity had used and refined from the second century C.E.).

But doesn't the Christian Bible, whether read by Catholics or Protestants, seem to be organized for a continuous method of reading? After all, it begins with the beginning and ends with, or even after, the end: Genesis to Revelation, with George Herbert claiming, everything in between. The story of the Jews, he wrote, "pennis and sets us down." It is, like God's works, "wide" and "let[s] in future times." It is such a scroll reading of the Bible that Lady Grace Mildmay seems to advocate at the opening of her autobiography: "I have found by experience [and] I commend unto my children as approved, this to be the best course to set ourselves in from the beginning to the end of all our lives. That is to say: first to begin with the scriptures to read them with all diligence and humility, as a disciple, continually every day in some measure until we have gone through the whole book of God from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelation and then begin again and so over and over without weariness" (Pollock 21). This would appear at first sight to be a recommendation to read the Bible as we would read a novel. Only here, Mildmay ends the book only to begin reading it all over again. She appears at first sight to be reading the Bible as a single continuous loop. Novel readers may well envy Mildmay her ability to read the same book "over and over without weariness." But what I want to emphasize here is that if she read the Bible like a novel (an "if" to which I'll return), there were material obstacles in her way.

One of the obstacles to scroll reading is made clear by John Locke, in a book that Don McKenzie has drawn attention to. In A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul, John Locke attacks "the dividing of [the Epistles] into Chapters and Verses, as we have done; whereby they are so choppy'd and minc'd, and as they are now printed, stand so broken and divided, that not only the common People take the Verses usually for distinct Aphorisms; but even Men of more advanced Knowledge, in reading them, lose very much of the Strength and Force of the Coherence." Locke goes on to attack sectarians who depend on "the Benefit of loose Sentences, and Scripture crumbled into Verses, which quickly turn into independent Aphorisms" (vii).

The Bible has become for Locke a bad kind of food: it has been chopped and minced, broken into scraps. And while Locke thinks of this kind of piecemeal reading as a boon for sectarians, the mincing of the Bible, as he is clearly aware, is right at the heart of institutionalized Christianity in England. The division of reading, day by day, breaking off in the middle of a chapter is, as we've just noted, the way lessons were and still are read in the church service. And Locke is surely right in refusing to distinguish too easily between the different reading practices of different denominations. Technologically, what most denominations share in common is an emphasis upon techniques of discontinuous reading. Patrick Collinson is particularly acute on this point, and he notes the following passage from Herbert's "The H. Scriptures. II."

This verse marks that, and both do make a motion
Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie:
Then as dispersed herbs do watch a potion,
These three make up some Christians destinie. 20

If, as John Donne writes, "The world is a great Volume, and man the Index of that Booke," men and women are crucially the indexers of actual volumes. Different techniques of indexing could certainly have different theological functions, but it's still important to emphasize the centrality of indexical reading to nearly all Christians in early modern England.

The Newby Bible

As I've been looking at Renaissance bibles off and on over the past few years, I've become increasingly aware of how often actual copies are compilations. That is, if we talk about the Geneva Bible, the Bishop's Bible, the Authorized Bible as separate translations, there are in fact elements that migrate from one translation to another or that are in some editions of a specific translation but not in another. Moreover, readers could add, and less often subtract, all kinds of materials beside what we might like to think of as "the bible proper" when they had their composite bibles bound and rebound. Bibles were, indeed, usually composites. That is, they incorporated a wide range of navigational aids— aids that showed one how to read the bible other than as continuous narrative.

I want to turn now to a specific bible to see what it can tell us about Protestant reading habits over a period of two centuries. The Newby Bible is a quarto in the Folger Library, STC 2129 Copy 1. The scriptures themselves are the 1580 edition of the Geneva Bible, with its elaborated Protestant marginalia. But that tells us little or nothing about the owners' beliefs, since the Geneva Bible was relatively cheap and it was the most popular bible at least for the first
half of the seventeenth century. Even Archbishop Laud, antipathetic as he was to its radical Protestant interpretations, probably grew up on it, since he quotes it, as well as the King James Bible, even in his sermons.

The Newby Bible has stamped on its covers in Roman capitals: “FRANCIS NEWBY HIS BOOKE GIVEN HIM BY / HIS FATHER SAMUEL NEWBY 1643” (Figs. 3 and 4). On a blank page at the back, there’s the following inscription: “My: father Samuell Newby: gauie: mee this: booke ye: 7th of october 1644 with a charp to keep it as: long as I live: F:N:” (Fig. 5). The Newby Bible, then, was rebound over sixty years after it was printed. But the book was previously in the Newby family, as appears from an inscription on the opposite page: “francis: Sonne of: Samuell Newby & Elizabeth his wife: was babbised the 2d of April: 1624 at St. Dunstans: Church: In fleet streete. Londone—John: Benson is Clarke etc” (Fig. 6). An ancient press violet, preserved at Psalm 107 when I last looked at the Folger volume, has stained the pages brown, and there are two thin green ribbon bookmarks of indeterminate date.

I have not yet discovered who the Newbys were. But Francis Newby was baptized in St. Dunstan’s only two weeks after John Donne had been installed as vicar there (18 March 1623/4).23 The parish was a highly fashionable one, just within Temple Bar and so within the City, but surrounded by the law courts. Judges and lawyers frequented the church, as did members of the book trade, including, at one time or another, William and John Jaggard, John Smethwick, John and Richard Marriot, Matthew Lownes, Thomas Dewe, Anne Helme, Richard More, William Washington, and George Winder.

The Newby Bible is a compilation that gathers together an extraordinary range of navigational aids into a single book. It includes, for instance, the Book of Common Prayer, together with its calendar and tables of lessons and psalms. These tables encourage a liturgical reading—that is, a reading that follows the order of the church service through the year. “The summe of the whole Scripture” and “Certaine questions & answers touching the doctrine of predestina- tion,” in contrast, suggest reading the Bible in an explicitly Calvinist way (a theological reading that has no relation to the liturgical year). Among the navigational aids are Robert Hervey’s Two Right Profitable and Fruitfull Concordances, or Large and Ample Tables Alphabetical” (Fig. 7). Geneva Bibles printed in quarto between 1580 and 1615 often have the concordances (with the exception of those with Laurence Tomson’s revision of the New Testament). The titles of such bibles (including the Newby Bible) draw attention to the presence of Hervey’s work, advertising both the scriptures “And also a most profitable Concordance, for the ready finding out of any thing in the same conteyned” (Fig. 8). Patrick Collinson made use of Hervey’s concordance, bound with his Geneva Bible, until 1991, when his wife gave him Cruden’s

The first of Hervey’s concordances, “The first Alphabet of directions to Common places, containing all the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, Latine, or other strange names,” draws attention to a peculiar aspect of translation.24 Why have the Hebrew proper names not been translated, when they are shown to have meaning? Of course, we do not generally translate proper names (my own means “Rock Barley-Field Steel-Arm” [Peter Bigland Stallybras]). But the effect in reading the Bible, if one does not know Hebrew, is to give an experience of “lumpy” reading, where unfamiliar words like Lāmech, Adāb, Hābel (the accents are those of the Geneva Bible) are combined with tongue twisters like the Egyptian word Zaphnāth-paaneah. The latter is the name that Joseph is given, along with an Egyptian wife, after Pharaoh “toke off[f] his ring from his hand, and put it vpon Josephs hand, and araiied him in garments of fine linen and put a golden chaine about his necke” (Genesis 40.45, 42). The marginal gloss tells us that Joseph’s new name means “the expounder of secrets.”

Hervey’s “First Alphabet” is a wonderful key to reading the bible as a form of deep play with proper names. The first entry is: “AARON or Aharon: A teacher, or teaching, or conceiving, or a hill or mountain, or a man of the mountain, or the mountain of fortitude, or a strong hill. The sonne of Amram. Exo. 6.20.” A dazzling array of possible meanings is opened up by this concordance. Imagine a reading of the Bible that used the concordance to follow the progress of Zion, when it means, according to the “First Alphabet,” “a heape, a tombe, looking glasses or drought.” “Looking glasses” or “a tombe?” “A heape” or “a drought?” I am equally enchanted with Zoph meaning “a watch, or courser, or a hony combe, or a swimming, or looking for.” Even the most imaginative of Derrideans would be hard put to come up with such a wild proliferation of meanings from a single word.

The “Second Alphabet,” on the other hand, attempts to control against such proliferating meanings, guiding the reader “to common places containing all the Englishes wordes conducing vnto most of the necessarie and profiablest doctrines, sentences and instructions.” In fact, the “necessarie and profiablest doctrines” have a heavily anti-Catholic slant. This concordance begins:

The punishment of the Abominable. Reue. 21.8, 27.
What things are Abominable to the Lord. Deut. 7.25 and 27.15. Isa. 41.24.

The concordance moves on to entries like the following:
Figure 3. Front cover of the Newby Bible. The Geneva translation (London, 1580); Folger STC 2129. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Figure 4. Back cover of the Newby Bible. The Geneva translation (London, 1580); Folger STC 2129. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
Figure 5. Frances Newby's record of the bible as his father's gift in 1644 at the back of the Newby Bible. The Geneva translation (London, 1580); Folger STC 2129. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Figure 6. Record of the birth of Frances Newby in 1624 at the back of the Newby Bible. The Geneva translation (London, 1580); Folger STC 2129. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
Two Right profitable
and frutfull Concordances, or
large and ample Tables
Alphabetically,
The first containing the interpretation
of the Hebrew, Caldean, Greeke, and
Latomorum and other Tounge,
being the most perfect in any language
for the use of the learned and illiterate.
Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker.
Printers to Queen Elizabeth.

Figure 7. Title page, Robert Herrey's *Two Right Profitable and Fruitful Concordances, or Large and Ample Tables Alphabetical* in the Newby Bible. The Geneva translation (London, 1580); Folger STC 2129. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Figure 8. Title page of the Newby Bible. The Geneva translation (London, 1580); Folger STC 2129, drawing attention in the middle of the page to the presence of Herrey's concordances: "And also a most profitable Concordance, for the readie finding out of any thing in the same conteyned." By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
If the reader follows this reference, he or she finds the following at 17.3–6 in the Geneva translation:

3 So he caried me away into the wilderness in the Spirit, and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of abomination, which had seven heads, & ten horns.

4 And the woman was arrayed in purple & scarlet, & guilded with gold, & precious stones, and pearls, and had a cup of gold in her hand, full of abominations, and filthiness of her fornication.

5 And in her forehead was a name written, A Mysterie, great Babylon, the mother of whoredomes, and abominations of the earth.

6 And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of Saintes, & with the blood of the Martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great marvaille.

The marginal notes read:

d The beast signifieth the ancient Rome: woman that sitteth thereon, the new Rome which is the Papistic, whose cruelty and blood shedding is declared by scarlet.

e Ful of idolatrie, superstition and contempt of the true God.

f This woman is the Antichrist, that is, the Pope with whole bodie of his filthy creatures, as it was expounded, vers. 18, whose beautie only standeth in outward pompe & impudence and craft like a trumpeter.

In other words, while the first concordance emphasizes readerly possibilities, the second attempts to secure an interpretation of the Bible in which the main threat is Catholic idolatry. There are, indeed, no less than forty-seven entries under “idole,” “idolatry” etc. The only thing that the two concordances have in common is that, as is the way with concordances, they suggest nonlinear readings of the text, in which one can detach a word from its narrative context and/or reattach a word to other seemingly disconnected passages in which the same word occurs.

The Newby Bible thus suggests a wide range of ways to read the scriptures, none of them continuous. And to the reading strategies I have mentioned could be added, on the one hand, the random opening of the bible to find out one’s fate, and, on the other, mathematical calculations to discover scriptural secrets. My favorite example of the latter strategy can be found in a 1631 “Wicked” Bible (the King James Bible in which it is commanded that thou shalt commit adultery) at Indiana University. At the front of the bible are manuscript notes made by Edmund Burn, dated 10 August 1798. Burn notes that there are 39 books in the OT and 27 books in the NT; 926 chapters in the OT and 260 chapters in the NT; 23,424 verses in the OT and 7,959 verses in the NT; 593,493 words in the OT and 181,233 words in the NT; 2,728,100 letters in the OT and 838,180 letters in the NT. The table “shows” that the “evil” Bible

bible is the eight verse of Psalm 118—“It is better to trust in the Lord, than have confidence in man.” But what appears at first to be the personal idiosyncrasy of Burn’s was in fact a cultural practice.

One finds the same figures written at the front of a 16th Geneva bible at the University of Pennsylvania (Forrest BS 170), including the fact that “Jehova” occurs 6,856 times and the word “And” occurs 35,543 times in the Old Testament. Such tables work against consecutive reading. The most interesting evidence about actual reading practices in the Newby Bible comes considerably later than the Renaissance. In the 1790s, a family of dissenters owned the Newby Bible and systematically recorded by date, preacher, and place the texts of the sermons they heard (Fig. 9). For instance, in Genesis one finds the following marginalia: “3rd August 1794 Mr Groves text at tabernacle 74th chapter latter part of the 16th verse—And the Lord shut him in. On account of the sufferers at the fire at Hadcliffe Cross a collection.” Or in Proverbs, we get this: “27 Feb 1793 my dear Joey went to hear Mr Thomas his text the 14 Chap 26 verse”; in Luke: “9 December 1792 Emly heard Mr Thomas his text 7 chap. 50 verse.” The following annotations are on a single page of St. John’s gospel: “27 Sep 1793 Mr Parsons at Tabernacal Ch 5 vers 3” (top of page); “3rd February 1793 at Tabernacle Mr Wilks 5 Chapter 35 verse A funeral sermon for the Rev Mr Berridge who died on the 22 of January at 1/2 past 3 in the afternoon his soul is gone to glory who Laboured in the cause of Christ 36 years” (bottom of page). In a different hand, four pages back, we find the following confusing annotation: “3 Feb 1793 Mr Joss text at Totenham Court happle Chap 1 verse 47 for that Man of God Mr Beridge who Died 31 of (Feb) 1793 Jan” (bottom of page). When did Mr. Beridge/Beridge die? On 31 January or 22 January? And who were the two people who, on 3 February, attended two different funeral sermons for him and marked up the bible accordingly?

John Beridge (1716–93) was an evangelical clergyman, born in Nottinghamshire on 1 March 1716. He became “head of a sect called Beridges in the neighbourhood of Cambridge.” Although his sermons at St. Mary’s gave offense to the orthodox, he developed a large following in the countryside. In 1758, he became friends with Wesley and Whitefield, and preached in their chapels in London, while they preached in the church of Everton, Bedforshire, where he had been inducted in 1755. He gave his first sermon out of doors on 14 May 1759, after which he went on several preaching tours. Wesley called him “one of the most simple as well as sensible of men.” He died in Everton on 22 January 1793 and was buried on the twenty-seventh. So the later entry in the Newby Bible gets the date of his death right.

The dissenting family has noted sermons that they heard throughout the bible. Not surprisingly, given radical Protestant emphases, they heard more comment on the Pauline Epistles than on the Gospels. A single page of Colos-
sions, for instance, has four different hands from the family noting sermons. But in noting the passage that the preacher took as his text, the dissenters of the 1590s are conforming to a practice explicitly advocated in the Geneva Bible of 1580 that they owned. Their bible, as we have seen, included the Ramist diagram, "Howe to take profite in reading of the holy Scriptures" (Fig. 10). The final point on the diagram is that one should "Take opportunitie" to "Heare preaching and to proue by the Scriptures that which is taught. Acts 17.11" (Fig. 11). The scriptural text referred to is: "These were also more noble men then they which were at Thessalonica, which receuied the worde with all readines, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so." The Geneva Bible mentions the verse in the chapter heading: "It To search the Scriptures." In the longer chapter heading of the King James translation, though, this instruction goes missing. And it is probable that by 1611 the practice of taking bibles to church to check what the preacher was saying against the scriptures seemed contentious to the translators. But such use of the bible was central to the reformed faith as it was articulated by the Geneva Bible, which adds two marginal glosses to the one verse. The second gloss reads, "This was not onely to trie if these things which thei had heard were true, but also to confirme them selues in the same, and to increase their faith."

That the King James Bible reduces the significance of searching the scriptures is the more striking in that the title page of the first edition of its official predecessor, the Bishops' Bible, has a woodcut of Elizabeth I, her throne supported by Fortitude and Prudence, while she is crowned by Justice and Mercy (Fig. 12). Beneath Elizabeth, in a strapwork cartouche, is the scriptural quotation: "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye thynke ye haue eternall lyfe, and they are they which testifie of me. John v." (Fig. 13). Beneath the cartouche, a minister in a pulpit (his head bare, an hourglass beside him) preaches. Women and men sit or stand below him, and one of the women holds open her bible, while others hold theirs closed (Fig. 14). In other words, the congregation is encouraged to bring their bibles to church and to check the preacher's interpretation against their own reading of the text.

The polemical intention of this "searching the scriptures" is clarified by the title page of Foxe's Acts and Monuments. As Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram note, the format is that of a medieval doom, but it is here appropriated for distinctly polemical purposes. In the 1570 edition, the left hand images (i.e., the column to God's right) are labeled at the bottom of the page "The Image of the Persecuted Church." The right hand images are labeled "The Image of the Persecuting Church." The Catholic scene at the bottom right shows a "shaveling" priest, wearing the four-cornered hat that was anathema to reforming Protestants, preaching to men and women, four of whom have prayer beads (Fig. 15). These "inappropriate" materializations of prayer will be denounced.

Figure 9. Marginalia by the dissenting family who owned the Newby Bible (London, 1580), Folger STC 2129, and recorded the sermons they attended in the 1590s. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
Figure 10. The Ramist diagram, "Howe to take profite in reading of the holy Scriptures," in the Newby Bible, *The Geneva translation* (London, 1560); Folger STC 2119. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
by Foxe and many other reformers as “trinkets” if not “idols” (see Kearney 2002). To the right of the image, a Corpus Christi procession carries the host under a canopy, with tonsured monks singing before it. Led by a man carrying a cross and a boy with a candle, they process toward a statue on a wooden pedestal. On the left, a simply capped preacher, wearing a beard that proclaims him marriageable and no “eunuch before God” (in antithesis to the “shavelings”), exhorts his congregation (Fig. 16). To the left, two men are following the text of his sermon in a bible. Just below him, a woman sits with an open bible and points to a passage. Above her, a youth also follows the sermon in his bible (Collinson 1995: 106–7). Godly Protestants, in other words, read the word of God while godless Catholics use rosaries for rote learning and worship false idols. On the right of the “godly” scene, even those who look up to heaven are reading. Where God might be in Catholic iconography, they read the Hebrew tetragrammaton.

The title page of Foxe’s Actes and Monuments, like the title page of the Bishops’ Bible and the Ramist diagram that the Newby Bible contains, encourages those who possess bibles to bring them to church and to follow the text of the sermon. Patrick Collinson directs our attention to John Earle’s depiction of “A She Precise Hypocrize”: “Her devotion at the Church is much in the turning of her ey, and turning downe the leaf in her book, when she heares named, Chapter and Verse.” But while Collinson finely notes the bias of this passage to the Foxe title page, he perhaps misses its novelty. The
passage is in fact quoted by the OED as the first example of the phrase “chapter and verse.” The OED is not, of course, infallible in its dating of first occurrences. But the lateness of the emergence of this phrase (the OED gives the date as 1628) is still striking. How are we to explain it?

One of the most powerful of Foxe’s stories of Protestant martyrs is that of Anne Askew. Askew appears constantly to be citing “chapter and verse” to her tormentors. Indeed, they claim that she “was much to blame for uttering the scriptures. For S. Paule... forbode women to speake, or to talle of the word of God.” 29 Christopher Dare, one of her inquisitors, tells her that

there was a woman, which did testifie that I should reade, how God was not in Temples made with hands. Then I shewed him the 7. and 17. chapters of the Actes of the Apostles, what Stephen and Paule had said therein. Whereupon he asked me how I tooke those sentences: I answered, I would not throwe pearls among Swine, for Acornes were good enough.

[He] asked me wherfore I said that I had rather to reade five lines in the Bible, then to heare five Masses in the Temple. I confessed that I said no lesse; neither for the dispraise of the Epistle or the Gospell, but because the one did greatly edifice me, and
Dare is concerned with Askew's ability to detach "sentences" from the interpretative place that they have been given within Catholic tradition. Against that tradition, Askew arranges her "sentences" in a countertradition, here weaving together the seventh and the seventeenth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles with the fourteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians.

Like Dare, Bishop Bonner attacks Askew's use of the bible, claiming that "I had alluded a certaine text of ye scripture, I answered that I alluded none other but S. Paules owne saying to the Athenians, in the xviii. chap, in the Acts of the Apostles, that God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands. Then asked he me what my faith and beliefe was in that matter? I answered him, I beleue as the Scripture doth teach me. Then he asked me why I had so few words: And I answered, God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance. And Salomon saith: That a woman of few words is a gift of God. Prou. xiv" (Foque 1124).

Askew legitimates both her speech and her silence by an appeal to the "chapter and verse" of the scriptures. Her dependence upon her own reading of the bible against the authority of the Church is made explicit in her final confession of faith: "I beleue all those scriptures to be true, which [Christ] hath confirmed with his most preuisious bloud. Yea, and as S. Paule saith, those scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with vs: so that I beleue we need no vnwritten verities to rule his church with. [Marginal note: Scripture sufficient to our salvation. Psal. 28.] Therefore looke what he hath saide vnto me with his owne mouth in his holic gospell, that have I with Gods grace closed vp in my heart, and my full trust is (as David saith) that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps, Psal. 38" (Foque 1129). But in fact, at the most literal of levels, Askew does not cite "chapter and verse." Nor could she if she wanted to, for the simple reason that the bible she used had no verse numbers. None of the early English bibles (Coverdale's, the "Matthew," the Great Bible, etc.) had verse numbers, although they did have chapter numbers and letters ("A," "B," "C," etc.) as navigational aids for the reader. The first English bible with verse numbers was the Geneva translation, printed in 1560, fourteen years after Anne Askew had been burned at the stake.

This makes all the more remarkable Askew's fear of remembrance in finding and putting together the passages she needs.30 Such an interlacing of quotations is radically emphasized in Foce's Acts and Monuments, where Askew's citation of book and chapter (but not verse) of the bible are doubled by the marginal notes that re-cite her scriptural quotations in the second and later editions. The most readily available modern copy of Foce, W. Grinton Berry's cheap paperback Foce's Book of Martyrs, not only abridges the Acts and Monuments (God knows, a necessary feat given its encyclopedic prolixity), but also deletes the marginal notes and some of the citations within the body of the text. In Acts and Monuments, Askew tells Bishop Fisher "that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every matter should stand, after Christes & Paules doctrine, Matthew xviii. ii. Cor. xiii." (Marginal notes; "Matth. 18; "2 Cor.13;") In Berry's edition, this becomes Askew saying (as if in her own words) "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand."31 Berry thus partially constructs Askew's "own" voice by erasing the extent to which her voice is haunted by the scriptures that she collates, even as she is interrogated. It is Askew's acts of collation, as much as of courage, that are materialized on the pages of Acts and Monuments.

Nowhere is Askew's feat of collation more apparent than in "The con-
fession of me Anne Askew, for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my belief:

I finde in the Scriptures (said she) that Christ took the bread and gave it to his disciples, saying: *Take, eat, this is my body which shall be broken for you*, meaning in substance, his owne very body, the bread being thereof an only sign or sacrament. For after like manner of speaking, he said, he would break downe the temple, and in three days build it vp againe, signifying his own body by the temple, as S. John declareth it, John 2. and not the stony temple it selfe. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a sacrament of thanks giving for it, whereby we are knit unto him by a communion of christian love. Although there be many that cannot perceive the true meaning thereof, for the veile that Moises put ouer his face before the children of Israel, that they should not see the glories thereof, Exod.24. and 2.Cor.3. [Marginal notes: "Exod.24.", "2 Cor.3."]. I perceive the same veile remaineth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then shall these blinde men see. For it is plainly expressed in the history of Bell in the Bible, that God dwelth in no thing materiall. O King (saith Daniel) be not deceived, for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men, Daniel 14. [Marginal notes: "Dan.14.", "Acts.7."]. And what stubborn people are these, that will alwaies resit the Holy Ghost? But as their fathers have done, so do they, because they have stonic harts.

Written by me Anne Askew, that neither wisseth death, nor yet feareth his might, and as merie as one that is bound towards heaven.

Truth is layd in prison, Luke.21. The law is turned to Wormwood, Amos.6. And there can be no right judgement go forth, Easy. 59. [Marginal notes: "Luke.21.", "Amos.6.", "Easy.59." (Foxe 1128)]

In a single paragraph, Askew collates John 2, Exodus 34, II Corinthians 3, the history of Bell, Daniel 14, Acts 7, Luke 21, Amos 9, Isaiah 59 (one reference to the Pentateuch, three references to the Prophets, one reference to the Apocrypha ["The idole Bel and the dragon", as the Geneva Bible calls it, one of the apocryphal books dear to many radicals in the sixteenth century], two references to the Gospels, and two references to the Epistles).

Such collation would become considerably simpler with the Geneva Bible of 1560 which, following the lead of Pagnini's Latin translation of 1528 and Estienne's French translation of 1553, systematically divided the chapters into verses for the first time in English.33 With such a tool (and subsequent verse-numbered translations like the Bishops' and the King James), Earle's "She Precize Hypocrites" (i.e., later radical Protestants, following in the footsteps of Anne Askew) could indeed cite chapter and verse. It became simpler, as a result, to move between "sentences" in different places in the bible, and the navigational aids added to the Geneva Bible (including the concordances) made full use of this new reference system. In other words, the desire of the Book of Common Prayer that "the reading of holy scripture" should be "done

in ordre, without breekyng one piece therof from another" must be set against the navigational aids that made it increasingly easy to do what Locke so feared: to "crumble" the scriptures into "loose sentences" and "independent spherisms." But in attacking these new techniques of disassembling and reassembling "sentences" (witness Anne Askew), Locke turned his back upon the codex and the printed book as machines that enable discontinuous reading.

In conclusion, let me return to Lady Grace Mildmay. She began her autobiography, we may recall, by apparently extolling a reading of the bible as continuous narrative: "I have found by experience [and] I commend unto my children as approved, this to be the best course to set ourselves in from the beginning unto the end of all our lives. That is to say: first to begin with the scriptures to read them with all diligence and humility, as a disciple, continually every day in some measure until we have gone through the whole book of God from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelation and then again and so over and over without weariness" (Pollock 23). In fact, it's only the projection backward of our own reading habits (developed through reading Jane Austen or Ian Fleming) that makes us imagine Lady Grace "unscrolling" her book as a single continuous narrative. That is not how she read the bible, as she makes clear later in her autobiography: "First, in divinity every day as my leisure would give me leave and the grace of God permit and draw me, I did read a chapter in the books of Moses, another in one of the Prophets, one chapter in the Gospels and another in the Epistles to the end of the Revelation and the whole Psalms appointed for the day, ending and beginning again and so proceeded in that course. Wherein I found that as the water pirceth the hard stone by often dropping thereupon, so the continual exercise in the word of God made a deep impression in my stony heart..." (Pollock 3433). In other words, Lady Grace Mildmay read through the bible *liturgically*, following the readings of the church service, which would cover much of the bible every year, but only through discontinuous daily readings. It was the collation of widely separated passages in a single book that worked the magic of making "a deep impression" (like the work of a seal on wax or a printing press on paper) upon Lady Grace's "stony heart"; it was such widely collated passages that Anne Askew "closed vp in [her] heart" (Foxe 1149). But such collation depended upon the long history of Christianity in the creation of systematic methods of discontinuous reading. The codex as a technology of discontinuity made at first possible and finally easy the collation of the Pentateuch, the Prophets, the Gospels, the Epistles, and the Psalms on a daily basis.

Lady Grace's liturgical reading was, of course, a very different practice of discontinuous reading from Anne Askew's. Askew's method, at least at her examinations, was forensic not liturgical. And the dissenters who owned the Newhe Bible in the 1590s used yet a different discontinuous technique when
they followed whatever text the preacher had chosen. We need to explore in greater detail the extraordinary diversity of such uses that the codex made possible and encouraged. But we should equally remember that all these strategies depended upon the bible as a book as opposed to a scroll. The codex and the printed book were the indexical computers that Christianity adopted as its privileged technologies.

Notes

I have incurred an unusual range of intellectual debts in the long gestation of this piece: to Juliet Fleming, Margret de Grazia, David Kastan, and Matthew Rowlinson, with whom I’ve discussed concepts of materiality over many years; to Deborah Linderman and Dan Warren, who started me on this project; to Lisa Jardine, Ann Matter, Bill Sherman, William Slight, Evelyn Tribble, and Steve Zwickler, who first got me thinking about marginalia and the reading practices embedded in books; to Joe Farrell, Don Fowler, Bridget Murnaghan, and Ralph Rosen, who have generously shared their knowledge of codices and codices in classical antiquity; to Malachi Beit-Arié, Ora Limor, David Stern, David Ruderman, and the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, University of Pennsylvania, who have taught me all I know about Judaic texts; to Roger Chartier and Stephen Orgel for suggestions and criticisms; to John Pollack, Michael Ryan, and Dan Traister, and the Rare Book Room staff, University of Pennsylvania; to Mandi Pratt and Rita Copeland for pointing out at least some of my errors; to Leticia Yeandle and the Folger Library; to Jim Green and the Library Company of Philadelphia; to Elizabeth Fuller and the Rosenbach Museum and Library; to Martin Antonetti and the Smith College Library; to Peter Lindenbaum and Indiana University; to Mark Diminution, Cornell University Library, and the Library of Congress; and above all, to Patrick Collinson, Jim Kenney, and Jessie Ann Owens, whose influence is everywhere in this paper, if never fully acknowledged.


2. In fact, it would have been materially impossible to read the Canterbury Tales in the late Middle Ages as the continuous narrative that the modern Riverside edition, for instance, constructs.

3. So, for that matter, did Christians trained in the classical tradition. “Such was the force of convention that even when the codex was in common use for books Augustine felt obliged to apologize for writing a letter in codex form, and Jerome, who remembers that he is a gentleman as well as a scholar, writes his letters correctly on rolls, even though he keeps his books in codices” (Roberts and Skeat, The Birth of the Codex, 24).


9. William Byrd, Gradualia, ou Cantiones Sacrae (London: Richard Redmer,
10. Such elaborate bookmarks are depicted in Jan and Hubert van Eyck’s Ghent altarpiece. Lotte Brand Philip, The Ghent Altarpiece and the Art of Jan van Eyck (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), Otto Pächt, Van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting, trans. David Brit (London: Harvey Miller, 1994), and Elizabet Dhamans, Kubert and Jan van Eyck (New York: Alpine Fine Arts, n.d.). Both John the Baptist and the Virgin, sitting on either side of the enthroned Christ, use pippes with decorated pearl heads. A pippes is a metal rod inserted into a book to which multiple ribbons were attached as bookmarks. The only reference that I have to the naming of these bookmarks as “pippes” is from John Harthan’s Book of Hours and Their Owners (London: Book Club Associates, 1982). Harthan writes: “inside the metal rod known as a pippes [could be] inserted to which the signaux or book-marks were attached. When completed the book was either provided with a box for safe keeping or sewn into a covering known as a chemise (or chemise), usually made of a fine kid-leather called chevronit or of cendal, a silk fabric. When picked up by the corners the chemise made a form in which the book could be conveniently carried. When laid open on a prie-dieu or held in the hands for reading, the chemise was unwrapped up to serve like a napkin to keep the pages clean” (37).

Other examples of pippes can be seen in Jan van Eyck, Virgin and Child with the Chancelor Rolin (the Louvre) and Annunciation (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.); Hugo van der Goes, Maria Portinari with Daughter and Saints (Uffizi); the Edinburgh altarpiece (National Gallery of Scotland); Bruges Master of 1499, Depict of Virgin and Child and Christian de Hende (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp); Geertgen tot Sint Jans, Holy Kinship (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam); Master of the Retable of the Reyes Catolicos, Christ Among the Doctors (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.); Master of Frankfurt, St. Anne with the Virgin and Child (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).


19. John Locke, A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul (London: A. Betterworth and C Hitch, 1733 [1709]), vii–vii. Like the first two editions, the third edition, which I follow here, is in complex tension with Locke’s declared approach, since it looks remarkably like a glossed bible. The inner columns of the page have the biblical text with verse number in small type. The outer columns, in larger type, give Locke’s paraphrase, linked by verse number to the text, and there are often lengthy footnotes at the bottom of the page, also keyed to the traditional verse numbers. On the other hand, Locke’s prominent section headings work against the conventional divisions of chapter and verse. Thus, Locke’s first section of Galatians is Galatians 1:1–5, his second section 1:6 to 1:21, his third section 3:1–5, his fourth section 3:6–17, and so on.


23. All the information for this paragraph is drawn from R. C. Bald, John Donne: A Life (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 457–64.


25. *The bole Bible (Bishops')* (London: R. Jugge, 1568), STC 2108. The title page was reused for the 1572 edition (STC 2107).

26. In the Folger copy of the 1573 edition of the Bishops' Bible (STC 2108), the reference to St. John 5 ("Search the Scriptures") is framed by the initials "A" and "R," referring to the owner of the book, who, a year after the bible was printed, wrote her name at the top of the page: "An. Mushart. Russell: / her book. 1574."

27. The Image reproduced here is taken from the 1596 edition, but the title page was a constant in the early editions. I have deliberately chosen to use a later edition of Foxe to conform to a widespread Renaissance view that later editions were normally preferable to earlier editions, since they usually contained "more" of everything. This is particularly the case with Foxe, where the later editions, as the title pages claim, have been "newly recognized and enlarged by the Author JOHN FOXE." Not only were there additional texts and corrections (as well as additional misprints), but the 53 cuts of the first edition were increased to 105 in the second edition. The second edition also adds a wide range of navigational aids: an extraordinary increase in typefaces to distinguish, e.g., letters from the narrative, in paragraph divisions, and in marginal notes. And the running headers of 1563 have been replaced with the relevant monarch's name and headers related to the specific contents of each page. The 1597 edition also adds line numbers (90, 250, 30, etc.) between the two columns of text.


30. Remarkable to us, that is, Askew's feats of remembrance are frequently replicated by Catholics and Protestants alike in early modern England, although their techniques of interlacing quotations are significantly different.


32. As Mandi Pratt has kindly pointed out to me, the Exodus 24 reference is a mistake. It should be Exodus 34. The mistake originates in the first edition and is simply repeated.