



4-2011

## Representing Church & State: Paratexts of the 'Queen Elizabeth Bible'

Valeria Tsygankova  
*University of Pennsylvania*

Follow this and additional works at: [http://repository.upenn.edu/uhf\\_2011](http://repository.upenn.edu/uhf_2011)

---

Tsygankova, Valeria, "Representing Church & State: Paratexts of the 'Queen Elizabeth Bible'" (2011). *Undergraduate Humanities Forum 2010-2011: Virtuality*. 13.  
[http://repository.upenn.edu/uhf\\_2011/13](http://repository.upenn.edu/uhf_2011/13)

Suggested Citation:

Tsygankova, V. (2011). "Representing Church & State Paratexts of the 'Queen Elizabeth Bible'". *2010-2011 Penn Humanities Forum on Virtuality*.

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. [http://repository.upenn.edu/uhf\\_2011/13](http://repository.upenn.edu/uhf_2011/13)  
For more information, please contact [libraryrepository@pobox.upenn.edu](mailto:libraryrepository@pobox.upenn.edu).

---

# Representing Church & State: Paratexts of the 'Queen Elizabeth Bible'

## **Comments**

Suggested Citation:

Tsygankova, V. (2011). "Representing Church & State Paratexts of the 'Queen Elizabeth Bible'". *2010-2011 Penn Humanities Forum on Virtuality*.

**Representing Church & State  
Paratexts of the 'Queen Elizabeth Bible'**

**Valeria Tsygankova**

2010–2011 Penn Humanities Forum  
Undergraduate Mellon Research Fellowship

**Representing Church & State: Paratexts of the ‘Queen Elizabeth Bible’**

Valeria Tsygankova  
English Honors Thesis  
April 2011

### **Acknowledgements**

Images of the 1568 first edition Bishops' Bible are included courtesy of the Yarnall Theological Library Collection, and images of the 1572 second folio edition are included courtesy of the Furness Collection, both of the Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Pennsylvania. For the Great Bible and King James Bible, as for so much more, I am also indebted to the stacks, the digital archives and the brilliant staff and great friends at Rare Books. Many thanks also to Professor Chi-ming Yang for her mentorship, encouragement and tireless pursuit of clarity as the director of this year's English Honors Seminar and to Professor Peter Stallybrass for inspiring and advising me on this project. Finally, my fellow English honors students and Undergraduate Humanities Forum fellows, what a wonderful working group you all were, and without further paratextual ado...

### **Representing Church & State: Paratexts of the ‘Queen Elizabeth Bible’**

“[The] quintessential sign [of power] is the ability  
to impose one’s fictions upon the world.”

Stephen Greenblatt

The first edition of Bishop Matthew Parker’s collaborative translation project, the 1568 Holie Bible, known now as the Bishops’ Bible, opens to an ornate engraved frontispiece of a young Queen Elizabeth looking out of an oval frame. With the arms of England, Ireland and of Elizabeth herself above, and the lion of England and dragon of Wales below, the queen’s image dominates and is locked squarely into the center of the page’s architecture. In a space that convention usually reserves for title, publisher, edition and other information, it is the monarch’s image that is the main identifier of this book. Only at the base of the portico framing this remarkable image can the words *The holie Bible* be read. In the visual rhetoric of the page, this is a book of the Queen.

Ironically, it is not the Bishops’ Bible of 1568, but the King James Version first printed in 1611 that would take on the name of the monarch by whose permission it was first undertaken. While the authorized bible of Elizabeth’s reign came to be known for the many bishops and

soon-to-be bishops who revised portions of the Great Bible (1539) for Matthew Parker's enterprise, the self-representation of the Bishops' Bible, staged through its portraits, initials and coats of arms, reflects a much stronger identification with the monarch and the state than does the iconography of the King James Bible. Looking at early folio editions of the Bishops' Bible, especially at visual markers and devices that frame the biblical text, this paper undertakes a reading of the bible's paratexts in order to show the remarkable place that this edition holds in the lineage of authorized English bibles from 1539 to 1611. I will focus especially on the three contemporary portraits in the 1568 edition of the Bishops' Bible – the Queen Elizabeth frontispiece, and the engravings of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, preceding the Book of Joshua (Part 2 of the Bible) and of William Cecil at the start of the Psalter (Part 3).<sup>1</sup>

The costly engravings, phased out because of expense by later folio editions of the Bishops' Bible,<sup>2</sup> notably differentiate this version of the English bible from the Great Bible that precedes it and the subsequent King James Bible. Incorporating three portrait engravings into the early editions of the Bishops' Bible complicated the process of its printing, since engravings had to be printed on a separate rolling press, whereas woodblock illustrations could be printed simultaneously with text on a letterpress. The complexity of printing the 1568 Bishops' Bible led to delays in September, when Matthew Parker, the initiator and main patron of the translation, wrote to William Cecil that some "ornaments" – most likely the portrait engravings in question – were "yet lacking" and asking Cecil for his patience until the printing of the bible was complete (Pollard 291). At 818 leaves (409 sheets) (Herbert 70), the first edition of the Bishops' Bible

---

<sup>1</sup> Respectively cuts 35 and 82 (Luborsky 123).

<sup>2</sup> By the second folio edition of 1572, the engravings were still present, but the size of the book had diminished considerably, down to 732 leaves (Herbert 76). The tendency toward smaller size for the book may indicate that the portrait engravings were abandoned for reasons of affordability. By the middle of the decade, the engravings were no longer included.

surpassed both its authorized predecessor and successor in size – the Great Bible’s first edition containing 530 leaves (25), and the 1611 King James containing 732 (132). Costing 27s. 8d. in 1571, the Bishops’ Bible became and remained the most expensively produced and lavish of the folio English bibles (Herbert 70).

In addition to the portrait engravings, other visual devices and readers’ guides in the Bishops’ Bible include two large ornamental initials with the coats of arms of Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of his predecessor in the office, Thomas Cranmer, initials incorporating the coats of arms of Cecil and Leicester, and a printer’s device that marks the role of Richard Jugge, the bible’s printer and publisher. To examine how the English biblical text itself is represented in relation to the biblical languages from which it was translated, I will also examine the use of Latin, Hebrew and Greek, or reference to these languages, in the book’s paratextual spaces, and in the staging of the translation through marginal notes and typographic demarcations within the text. In a tradition that predates the authorized English bibles, these textual markings and annotations draw attention to the act of translation that precedes the text, indicating the steps of biblical scholarship undertaken by the translators, while emphasizing that such translations have the authority of their “original” languages, in contrast to the Latin translations of the Catholic Church.

As both images and guides, paratextual markings combine with the biblical text of the Bishops’ Bible to construct the book’s meaning. As a physical object, endowed with the authority of its size and weight, the Bishops’ Bible “exists [...] only and always in its materialization,” which functions as “the condition of its meaning rather than merely the container of it” (Kastan 4). The distribution and content of the paratext plays an important role in the framing of the Bishops’ Bible text; like an Elizabethan pageant, the book stages its own



motivations and ideologies in these “self-dramatizing” spaces (King 184), where the interests of the state in disseminating and regulating the vernacular “word of God” are materialized. In the Bishops’ Bible, the scriptural text is inescapably marked as mediated; it would have no material existence without the legitimizing power of the individuals portrayed in it, nor without the activity of translation and scholarship dramatized within the text and its guiding notes.

*Staging Godly Rule: The Fashioning of Authorship and Authority*

When Matthew Parker’s bishops took up the project of revising the Great Bible, they began to consolidate the power of the Tudor State around a text as essentially radical as William Tyndale’s English translation of the bible, which in the 1530s had been seen as a potential threat to the monarchy. While the moment of the publication of the Bishops’ Bible was far less hostile toward biblical translators than Tyndale’s, when he had composed his translation in exile, prior to being captured and executed in Antwerp, the problem remained in 1568 of how to use the translation’s paratext to bind Tyndale’s revolutionary vernacular into the framework of the state church. Framing Tyndale’s English translation with a paratext that powerfully evoked the presence of the church and state would come to parallel the way in which Tyndale’s radical project could be pressed into the service of the state. What Stephen Greenblatt refers to as the “form of power” (97) invested in the printed English Scriptures, imagined as a symbol of autonomy from the body of the church by Henrician Protestants, became with the publication of

authorized translations of the bible a form of power that belonged once again to the established church.

While Parker's project of revision was a major textual undertaking, it was the iconography and readers' guides framing and structuring the biblical text that were central both to the cost and meaning of the Bishops' Bible. The translation itself – retaining over three-quarters of Tyndale's original work (Nielsen) – was not of foremost importance, and the text of the finished product was riddled with errors in 1568 that would need to be corrected in the 1569 quarto edition. This is one of many factors that led Colin Clair to conclude that this authorized bible “was not a good translation” (288). Parker's project, then, can be seen not so much as an extensive revision or thorough reworking of Tyndale, as a move to replace the Great Bible, and the more radically Calvinist Geneva Bible of 1560, with a book that would represent the fledgling Elizabethan State.

The Bishops' Bible would come to represent the Elizabethan establishment most dramatically by conceptualizing the different roles of the many individuals responsible for its material existence – Queen Elizabeth I, Robert Dudley, William Cecil, Matthew Parker and Richard Jugge – and marking their importance in its paratext. Though not, strictly speaking, the authors of the bible in a textual capacity, these individuals were involved in its production due to their functions of authorizing, promoting, compiling, printing, translating and sanctioning the book's distribution into churches and the homes of church officials throughout the kingdom. Their roles are certainly not the authorial roles of textual authors, who, like Moses, King David, and the four evangelists, are depicted directly in the *Virgil Solis* woodcuts that decorate the bible within their respective texts (Clair, Ashton). They can still, however, be linked to Foucault's notion of authorial control, “the author function” – “the principle of thrift in the proliferation of

meaning” (290) – as they are simultaneously agents of production and of mediation, of dissemination and of control.

The role of the monarch as originator in respect to the bible is strikingly dramatized in Franciscus Hogenberg’s title page portrait of Queen Elizabeth. Whereas Holbein’s woodcut title page for the Great Bible shows an enthroned Henry VIII passing neat volumes of *Verbum Dei* directly from a scroll-emitting godhead to members of the secular and ecclesiastic elite, who in turn pass the books down to their celebrating constituents, Hogenberg’s title page for the Bishops’ Bible focuses on the monarch alone. On Holbein’s title page, the king represents both the mediation and the wide dissemination of God’s Word as performed by the state.

On the frontispiece of the Bishop’ Bible, this process of monarchical authorship is condensed into an iconic portrait of Queen Elizabeth in robes of state, a centralized image of royal “authorship, authority, and authorization” (King 233). Unlike the Great Bible title page, that of the Bishops’ Bible does not stage a narrative; its story does not read down each side of the page, and no convenient speech-scrolls narrate the action. Elizabeth’s title page, though inert and architectural in its design, represents the queen as equally necessary to the bible – and by her positioning, as nearly synonymous with it.<sup>3</sup> The placement of both Elizabeth’s and Henry’s monarchical portraits at the front of their books materializes and evokes the fact that reading an authorized bible in English was impossible without the presence of the monarch. As a type of divine inspiration, the queen visually fulfills the role of the bible’s originator in her portrait, despite the reality of doing none of the work of compiling or scholarship that comprised the textual aspects of the project.

---

<sup>3</sup> The title page of the New Testament in the Bishops’ Bible is nearly identical in layout to the frontispiece with the portrait of Elizabeth; the central frame that on the main title page contains the queen’s portrait, however, is filled instead with the words “The New Testament of our saviour Jesus Christe,” replacing the person of the queen.



From left: 1) Bishops' Bible 1568 title page, engraving of Elizabeth I. 2) Bishops' Bible New Testament title page. 3) Great Bible (edition of 1540) title page.

The elements of Hogenberg's title page include the arms of Elizabeth, Ireland and Wales, flanked by the virtues of Faith and Charity, enlisted as though heraldic bearers like the lion and dragon that support Elizabeth's portrait from below. Elizabeth herself completes the set of virtues, representing Hope for the possibility of a new law of religious settlement (King 233). This staging of support for Elizabeth's rule is grounded in politics as well as religion; the caption surrounding the portrait identifies Elizabeth as ruler of England, France and Ireland, in addition to Defender of the Faith, a title conferred by the Vatican on two of the queen's Tudor predecessors, Henry VII in 1488 and Henry VIII in 1521 (King 21). The queen's role as "fidei defensor," however, has been detached from religious iconography. She herself, rather, has become the religious icon; vested with orb, scepter, ermine and crown, she displays no obvious religious symbols – no bibles or prayer books, as are commonly seen in the visual tradition of the "godly queen" discussed by John King. Roy Strong also notes that while the "use of religious imagery was denounced as popish superstition," and images of saints were suspect, images of the queen that drew from the iconography of the Virgin Mary and other female biblical figures were

acceptable, as “the sacred nature of the royal portrait was to be maintained” (King 199). While evoking the sacred, Elizabeth’s portrait in the Bishops’ Bible does not represent her role as head of church and state in easily-read visual vocabulary, like her father’s portrait, which treats in a very representational way the relationship between the Henrician church and state.

While acknowledging the absence of overt religious symbolism in the queen’s portrait, it is important to note the far-from-secular nature of the image of Elizabeth at the start of the Bishops’ Bible. Her portrait on its title page enters into the tradition of representing “godly rule” best exemplified in John Foxe’s encyclopedic *Actes and Monuments* (1563), better known as the *Book of Martyrs*, which, along with the Bible, was to be seen after 1570 “in cathedral churches, and in the houses of archbishops, bishops, deacons, and archdeacons,” building up the godly monarchy of Elizabeth (Yates 42). Frances A. Yates writes that the display of Foxe’s book was generally practiced, though the decree was not strongly enforced, and thus its royal imagery would have been familiar to a Tudor audience (42). In her analysis of the initial *C* that begins the dedication to the *Book of Martyrs*, Yates notices a certain correspondence among Elizabeth, the Emperor Constantine and Christ, enacted by the relationship between image and text. The initial stands for “Constantine the greate and mightie Emperour” in early editions of the book, enclosing an image not of Constantine, but of an enthroned Elizabeth.

The lower section of the letter, beneath the queen’s feet, “is formed by the body of the Pope, wearing the papal tiara and holding broken keys” (41), vanquished by the theory of godly rule that English Reformers like Foxe enlisted on behalf of a monarchical governance of church and state. Elizabeth, embodying in the image the dually political and ecclesiastical, “imperial,” power that Foxe attributed to Constantine (41), poses a viable alternative to Papal dominion. In a later edition of Foxe’s book, the *C* initial comes to stand for “Christ, the Prince of all princes,

who hath placed you [Elizabeth] in your throne of majesty” (42). The initial image of Elizabeth, however, remains the same, suggesting in its variation a correspondence between Christ and the queen. As a ruler and prince, Elizabeth stands in for Christ, as it were, “to govern the church and realm of England,” in the words of Foxe (42). Drawing on the language of deliverance appropriate to Christ, Foxe expressed his belief in a “salvation” that “would come through the Christian Emperor,” a paradigm of rule inspired by the example of Constantine (Lamont 24).



1) Image of Queen Elizabeth from *Actes and Monuments* (1563) digitized by the American Theological Library Association Cooperative Digital Resources Initiative from the Ohio State University Libraries.

Elizabeth’s godly rule, meanwhile, entered the calendar of church holidays in the prefatory material of the bible, as a “red letter” festival to be celebrated like one of the few surviving major “saints’ days.” While each day in the 1568 calendar is technically a “saint’s day,” affixed as it is with the name of a saint in black Gothic letters, a note at the bottom of the January table indicates significantly that though “in this kalendar be appointed almost to all the dayes of euery moneth names of saintes (as they call them),” the purpose of their inclusion is not meant to imply that the compilers “iudge any deuine worship or honour to be referred to them.” Rather, as the note goes on to specify, the names of saints “(howe holy soeuer they be)” have been retained solely by virtue of their mnemonic utility and their ubiquity in common divisions

of time, their names serving “as notes and markes of some certayne matters,” to be ignorant of which “may do to men much hurt.” Despite the disclaimer, however, a certain respect for major saints’ festivals is visibly retained in the compiling of the calendars; while most of the saints’ names are given in black gothic typeface, a total of twenty have been printed in the same blackletter typeface but in red ink, including, for example, the celebrations of the four evangelists, John the Baptist, the Apostles, the Annunciation and Christmas. Appearing likewise in red are astronomical events, the sun’s course through the signs of the zodiac and the summer solstice, but these markers appear in a roman typeface; to this second group belongs Elizabeth’s November date of ascension. Though the start of her reign is not marked exactly like the “red letter” saints’ festivals in the calendar, which are printed in the Gothic typeface seen in the rest of the bible, her ascension’s presence among these days equates it as an important marker of time and an occasion of celebration; the dignifying “red letter” distinction, after all, has been preserved for the major church holidays in the Bishops’ Bible, and Elizabeth’s holiday is joined with them. In the 1572 edition, the printers have done away with the disclaimer regarding saints’ days in favor of using far fewer names. While the major “red letter” festivals are retained, along with Elizabeth’s ascension day, few saints’ holidays are retained in the black typeface, leaving an average of twenty in each month blank.<sup>4</sup>

Like Henry VIII in the Great Bible title page, the Elizabeth represented on the 1568 Bishops’ Bible title page is certainly a “nexus” for church-state power (King 233) and a “downward symbol of control” (King16); the key difference between the two images, however, is the resistance posed by Elizabeth’s portrait to a neat separation of church and state, with the monarch as mediator between God and his subjects. Her image does, however, all the same

---

<sup>4</sup> Images of 1568 and 1572 calendar pages may be found in the appended images.

suggest an authorial relationship between the monarch and the book, the precedent for such authorial portraits having been set by the early part of the century for the works of authors like Chaucer. Though not delineated as explicitly as her father's, Elizabeth's role is dramatized by the positioning of her portrait; the vertical hierarchy of the Great Bible title page has been replaced by the precedence of the center of the page, and the absence of a representation of God (seen at the top of the Great Bible title page) means that whatever the origin or inspiration staged here, it is all Elizabeth's. It is the queen's portrait that comes first in the paratext, and one cannot have the rest of the book without her. The engraving declares categorically that this edition of the bible is *her* book.

Though it was not until the fifth folio edition of 1574 that the words "Set foorth by auchthoritee" appeared on the title page of the Bishops' Bible (Pope 245), the authority of the state is fully present on the frontispiece of the first edition of 1568. In fact, the authorizing phrase "Cum priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis" does appear, if only under the printer's device on the very last page of the 1568 edition, but the visual rhetoric of the frontispiece alone is able to evoke all the force of "auchthoritee," as, indeed, not only *auctoritas* but also *auctor*. While the queen's portrait may evoke the authority of a textual author like Chaucer, Cicero or Aristotle, the role she played in actuality was that of authorizer for the *book*, and the portrait serves in part as a royal dedication, similar to one addressed to the queen by the publishers of the Geneva Bible in 1560. In the Bishops' Bible, invoking the queen "implicat[es]" her "as a kind of ideal inspirer" (Gennette 136) for the book, and, in the tradition of a medieval patron portrait, her depiction also evokes the type of *auctor* that Genette refers to when he discusses a book's dedicatee as its



“guarantor” (136),<sup>5</sup> or bearer of ultimate responsibility. It is above all as licenser of Parker’s collaborative project that the queen can be said to initiate the 1568 bible; it is in this capacity that Parker refers to Elizabeth when he asks Cecil “yf your honor wold obtaine of the Queens highnes, that the edicion might be Licensed” upon Richard Jugge’s completing the printing of the first edition (Pollard 293). In a project that Parker tends to call the “recognising,” (*correcting, revising*, OED), more often than the “translating” or “setting out,” of the English bible in his letters (Pollard 291, 292), it is the queen’s role in legitimizing, or recognizing in her own right, the new edition that is here visually established. One notes the ambiguity in Parker’s language to Cecil when he writes, “I was in purpose to have offred to the Quenes highnes the first fruits of *our* Labors in the recognising the Bible” (Pollard 292, emphasis added). Accepting the fruits of the collaborative textual labor, the queen is in fact imagined as the author of the completed, bound, authorized book without having been involved directly in the “Labors.”<sup>6</sup>

In addition to that of Elizabeth, the Bishops’ Bible contains two other contemporary portraits that were a “startling departure” from the already-established precedent of monarchical portraits in English bibles (Luborsky 123). When Parker wrote to William Cecil in 1566, he asked whether Cecil, too, would like to take up the “perusing” of a short section of text, so as to be counted among “the buylders” of the new translation (Pollard 288) – a clear suggestion that the revisers of the text were imagined as agents in the book’s fabrication. Though Cecil did not

---

<sup>5</sup> In his study of paratexts, Gennette links the two terms through the Latin etymology of *guarantor* – “‘For So-and-So’ always involves some element of ‘By So-and-So.’ The dedicatee is always in some way responsible for the work that is dedicated to him and to which he brings, willy-nilly, a little of his support and therefore participation. This little is not nothing: is it necessary to bring to mind again that the Latin for “guarantor” is *auctor*?” (136)

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note, as well, how the staging of the queen’s relationship to the bible differs not only from the Great Bible, but also from the subsequent King James Bible. While images of the king are entirely absent from the KJV (1611), decorative printers’ ornaments do stage the political unification of England, Ireland, Scotland and France under James. See appendix for images.

take up Parker's offer to contribute to the revision, his portrait with the initial *B*, inserted as it is into the beginning of the first psalm in the 1568 edition, does cast him in an authorial role, suggesting a typological relationship to King David, the understood author of the psalms. In fact, Cecil strikingly displaces David, who does indeed appear in a woodcut, holding a lyre, not in the Psalter, but on the title page of the third part of the bible, which is composed of the Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon and the Books of the Prophets. When one turns this title page, one is confronted by Cecil's portrait at the very beginning of Psalms – a portrait in the more expensive form of an engraving that, like the portrait of Elizabeth, had to be printed on a separate press. Where in the 1568 folio the portrait of Cecil is part of the initial *B* incorporated directly into the text of the first psalm, the 1572 second folio edition moves Cecil's portrait out to the title page that marks the beginning of the third part of the bible, replacing the woodcut of David, which no longer appears at the start of Psalms.



1) Portrait of Cecil holding the initial B, Bishops' Bible 1568. 2) Cecil from the Part III title page with handwritten caption, "David the Son of Jesse." Bishops' Bible, 1572.

Cecil's patronage, staged as authorship, is also suggested by the presence of his coat of arms inside the initial *D* of "David" at the start of Saint Basil's prologue to the Psalter, included in both the 1568 and 1572 editions on the verso of the Part Three title page. Inside the 1572

version of the initial *B* standing for “Blessed is the man...,” Cecil’s coat of arms and motto – “Cor unum, via una” – matches that inside the *D* at the start of the prologue on the verso page opposite it, in the phrase, “David that notable king and prophete, a man singularly chosen of almightie God after his owne heart.” As in the Great Bible, where Henry is staged as the man singularly chosen by God, Cecil is here cast in the role of the “new David,” (Luborsky 123), a new model of godly authorship, even holding in his hand a small open book of Hebrew.<sup>7</sup> As with the initial *C* from Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*, where Elizabeth’s symbolic representation inside the name of Constantine creates a correspondence between her rule and that of the emperor, Cecil’s symbolic presence within the name of David in this prologue supports the correspondence between Elizabeth’s councilor and the author of the Psalms. Interestingly, the heraldic *B* for “blessed” in the 1572 edition appears only at the head of one of the texts of the psalms given in this edition’s variorum Psalter, which reproduces the Book of Common Prayer text – the same as that of the Great Bible (Clair 289) – on the left hand side, and the text of the 1568 Bishops’ Bible Psalter on the right. The presence of the *B* representing Cecil only in the text that he helped to plan and to promote reinforces the staging of his role as a patron of Parker’s bible. Still, Cecil’s contemporariness lent a shocking quality to his use as an illustration in the Bishops’ Bible. While the queen could be accepted as an abstraction of royal permission

---

<sup>7</sup> The open page of the book Cecil holds does display a grid of Hebrew letters, but these stylized and irregular forms are not immediately recognizable as Scripture, nor as any readable Hebrew text. The engraving’s way of merely suggesting Hebrew illustrates a very different approach to the representation of the biblical language than that found on the verso page facing Cecil’s portrait. Here, in Saint Basil’s prologue to the Psalter, part of the text reads “the Hebrewes name it *Te-hillim*,” immediately giving the corresponding name in a Hebrew typeface, then “that is to say, a boke of laudes and hymnes.” The text goes on to give variations of the name in Greek type as well as in Latin. Where the prologue text stresses accuracy and locates a certain authority in its ability to reproduce the Psalter’s name in Hebrew, the image merely evokes the original language of the Psalter by drawing marks suggestive of Hebrew. Many thanks to Rachel Cohen, fellow member of the English Honors Seminar, for helping me [not] read Cecil’s Hebrew book. See appendix for images of Hebrew type used in the Psalter prologue.

and authorization, the suggestive incorporation of a living statesman into the text of the Psalms was a departure from convention.<sup>8</sup>



1) The initial *D* with Cecil's coat of arms, from the prologue to the Psalter from 1568. 2) Parallel Psalms in the 1572 Bishops' Bible, Cecil's arms in the *B* on the right.

The 1572 folio Bishops' Bible held by the University of Pennsylvania bears witness to an uncannily readerly conflation of Cecil and David that goes beyond the iconographic correspondences discussed above. As aforementioned, where the 1568 folio edition places the Virgil Solis woodcut of David, the 1572 edition places Cecil's, now Lord Burghley's, portrait. As a consequence of its new placement, the portrait is divorced from the initial *B* that Cecil holds in his first-edition portrait. On the heavily marked-up title page of the Penn 1572 folio, a handwritten annotation immediately under Cecil's image reads "David the son of Jesse," as though captioning the image of the patron with the author's name. The hand here is most likely not the same as the one responsible for dense lists of verse fragments at the end of Genesis and elsewhere in the book, and although it is difficult to speculate about the motivation of either

<sup>8</sup> In his *Cambridge History of the Bible*, S. L. Greenslade finds reason to exclaim about the Bishops' Bible – "the illustrations included portraits of Elizabeth, Leicester and Burghley!" (161). It was the portraits of Leicester and Burghley that were truly departures from the norm, while the portrait of Elizabeth followed a precedent set by the Great Bible and even the unauthorized Coverdale Bibles of the 1530s. The bottom frame of the (appended) title page of the Coverdale Bible printed by James Nycolson in 1537, shows the king handing the bible to bishops.

writer – one perhaps a child practicing cursive on this title page sometime in the later history of the book’s ownership – the caption does open a way to understanding the imagined relationships between the depicted patrons of the Bishops’ Bible and the typological roles they were enlisted to fulfill. One of the pitfalls of staging such overt typological correspondence, aside from the shock of illustrating a “timeless” religious text intended to last with a portrait of a contemporary statesman, was the fact that the typology could be misread, as it seems to have been here. Cecil, with his long robes and beard, lacks only a crown to adequately resemble the King David depicted on the corresponding Part III title page of 1568. With no David to make the comparison to in 1572, the reader who confused Cecil for the author of the Psalms was only failing to read the typology because it was no longer explicitly staged.



1) Virgil Solis woodcut of King David from the title page of Part III, Bishops’ Bible 1568. 2) Marked-up image of William Cecil positioned in place of David on the title page of Part III in the Bishops’ Bible of 1572. The inscription below the image reads “David the Son of Jesse.”

At the start of Part Two of the bible, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester appears like Cecil’s David as Joshua, suggesting the analogy between Leicester and Joshua as godly warriors as the engraving of Cecil suggests David and Cecil as godly authors. Leicester’s involvement in assisting the Protestant cause in the Low Countries in the conflict that broke out in 1568 renders



appropriate his imaging as a warrior (depicted as he is in armor). Where in the third part of the bible, the woodcut of Cecil's biblical prototype precedes the engraved contemporary, in the second part of the bible, it is the contemporary that comes first. In this sequence, it is as if the engraved Leicester on the section's title page were the model for the woodcut Joshua, who appears on the next page in the first chapter of his book. Leicester's role as the modern Joshua is further established in the visual vocabulary of the 1572 folio, where Leicester's crest and motto – "Droyt et Loyal" – appear in the initial *A* that begins the first book of Joshua – "After [the] death of Moses [the] servant of the Lord, it came to passe also, that [the] Lord spake to Joshua." Like the warrior Joshua, who on the next page inherits Moses' position under God as the Lord's loyal "servant" and "lieutenant," Leicester is represented here as the loyal servant and warrior of Elizabeth. Or, reading sequentially, the visual priority of Leicester over Joshua reverses biblical history – Leicester is the model and Joshua the scriptural Leicester.



1) Colored engraving of Leicester on the title page of Part II, Bishops' Bible of 1568. 2) Virgil Solis woodcut of Joshua on the first page of Part II, 1568. 3) *A* initial from beginning of the Book of Joshua with Leicester's coat of arms and motto – Droit et Loyal. Bishops' Bible 1572.

*Editing, Compiling, Publishing*

While the presence of Elizabeth, Robert Dudley and William Cecil in the Bishops' Bible paratext casts these patrons in ordinary roles – Elizabeth as guarantor and muse, Cecil as imagined author and Leicester as the prototype of Joshua – a different model of authorship is also at work in the paratext; primarily through initials and other emblems, the roles of the bible's editor, translators and publisher are also represented, emphasizing a type of authorship not symbolic but scholarly and textual in nature, and positioning the Bishops' Bible in a lineage of biblical scholarship and Protestant thought. The initials of Archbishop Matthew Parker, his predecessor Thomas Cranmer and the bible's translators contribute to the bible's staging of not only “the queen's religion” as linked to “national traditions and historic institutions” (MacKenzie 161), but also of the project of biblical translation as part of a tradition of godly scholarship.

Suggestions of authorship as editing and compiling first appear in the initial *O* that begins Matthew Parker's preface to the Bishops' Bible. Encircled by the *O* are Parker's paternal arms (Clair 288), and within the circular band that forms the *O* runs Parker's motto – “Eius mundus transit et concupiscentia.” Likewise, the initial *T* – “This table setteth out” – found at the head of the genealogical chart of Adam that is the first readers' guide in the Bishops' Bible also contains Parker's arms, now “impaled with those of Christ Church, Canterbury” (Clair 288) while still encircled by a band bearing Parker's motto. Around the *T* that begins the table, on either side of the band that circles the initial, the letters *M* and *P* occupy their own decorative sections that loop around the sides of the band. At the base of the *T* is a monogram of Parker's initials. The *T* cut is repeated, with Parker's initials, at the start of Parker's preface to the New Testament, which follows the New Testament title page. Here, the *T* fits into the first line of the text – “The newe

Testament so called.” Another large initial cut with a corresponding crest is the *C* – “Concernyng two sundry sortes of people” – that begins Thomas Cranmer’s preface to the Great Bible, which Parker included in the prefatory material of the Bishops’ Bible and placed immediately following his own preface. The *C* functions even more metonymically than Parker’s *T* and *O*, standing as it does for Cranmer’s name and enclosing Cranmer’s arms. This initial *C*, like Parker’s *T*, also contains the arms of the see of Canterbury (Clair 288), evoking the continuity of lineage between Cranmer and Parker as archbishops, as well as between the Elizabethan church and its Edwardian predecessor and between the Great Bible and the Bishops’ Bible.



1) *O* initial from Parker’s preface for the Bishops’ Bible, 1568. 2) *T* initial from Parker’s preface for the New Testament, Bishops’ Bible 1568. 3) *C* initial of Cranmer from beginning of Cranmer’s preface, 1568.

Parker’s interest in establishing such lineages extends to the text of his preface, in which he stresses the continuity between the Reformation Church and the early Christian Church of Anglo Saxon times, when the gospels were “sorted out to the common ministers of the Church in their common prayers to be read to their people.” Parker writes of “these latter holy fathers of the englishe Church,” inspired divinely

to set out these sacred bookes in their vulgar language, to the edification of the people, by the helpe whereof they might the better folowe the example of the godly Christians, in the beginning of the Church.



In his preface, Parker cites also “*annales of auncient recorde*” on the subject of King Lucius, “*sen[ding] unto Eleutherius then byshop of Rome, requiring of hym the Christian religion,*” who thereafter established laws for “*his realme of Britanie*” drawn out of scripture. He historicizes the Reformation itself by referring to a time “*the Pope was not so acknowledged in his auctoritie which he now claymeth*” and to “*the fathers of the vniuersall counsaile at Carthage in Affrike[, who,] as they wryte them selfe[,] did professe in their epistle written to Pope Celestine, laying before his face, the foule corruption of him selfe,*” quoting also a longer extract of the epistle in its original Latin as well as in an English translation. As with Foxe, for whom “*the Church was pure when persecuted under the pagan emperors and when early Christian emperors guided its councils,*” before “*the bishops of Rome took the lead*” (Yates 42), with Parker the Reformation Church is imagined as a conduit to pre-Papal times, a possibility of a purified faith that locates its head in a godly monarch.

Parker’s authority in conceptualizing the Bishops’ Bible as one project in a long line of vernacular translations that explicitly reject Catholic tradition rests on his status as both Archbishop of Canterbury and a scholar of English history and the Old English language. The authority vested in the text by his paratextual presence is unlike that of Queen Elizabeth, in that it is grounded in his learning and his ability to justify the project of the Bishops’ Bible in the context of the Reformation. Elizabeth’s authority and the authorial capacity suggested by her presence in the Bishops’ Bible paratext is largely that of originator in the sense of an inspirer, a muse, with the patrons Cecil and Dudley contributing to the symbolic support for Elizabeth’s godly rule.

The initials of Parker, in addition to the elaborate heraldic cuts at the tops of prefaces and the genealogical table, also find their way into the very body of the biblical narrative. On the first

page of Genesis, for example, the initial *I* of “In the beginning” contains at its base the *M* and *C* of “Matthaeus Cantuariensis,” replaced in the fifth folio edition of 1574 by a miniature version of the large *T* from Parker’s preface. For this 1574 version, this smaller copy of the *T* has been modified slightly to look like an *I* for “In the beginning.” An oddly pagan, reappearing woodcut of a *T* features a scene of Poseidon and the initials *M* and *C* in its bottom corners at the beginning of Exodus in the 1568 Bishops’ Bible, standing for the beginning of “These are the names.” This *T* reappears in a more prominent position at the start of the New Testament in the Gospel of Matthew – “This is the book.” In the first edition, this New Testament *T* on the recto faces the *T* of Parker’s arms heading the preface to the New Testament on the verso of the opening. In the 1572 folio, Parker’s initials are present in the first Ovidian *T* in Exodus, but missing from the *T* used at the start of the Gospel, indicating more than one copy, some with initials and some without, some with the initials possibly effaced. By marking the initials used directly in the text of the bible, Parker’s initials pepper the text in a way that continuously evokes his control of the editorial process, as it draws attention to the large sections of bible that he chose to take on during the revision.



1) *I* initial of “In the beginning” with *M* and *C* at base. Bishops’ Bible 1568. 2) *T* initial with *M C* and with scene from Ovid’s *Metamorphosis* from beginning of Exodus in Bishops’ Bible, 1568. 3) *T* initial without *M* and *C* from the start of Matthew in the 1572 Bishops’ Bible.

Initials of other individuals who revised assigned sections of text occasionally appear at the ends of their assigned books, though one woodcut *A* at the head of Chapter XXII of Revelation (“And he shewed me a pure ryver [...]”) is underscored by an *H* and an *L* as well. The initials do not match Nicholas Bullingham, Bishop of Lincoln, to whom Parker had assigned The Book of Revelation (Pollard 297), which may point to Hugh Jones, Bishop of Llandaff’s substitution as the reviser (Price and Ryrie 104). Parker’s initials when they appear almost always dominate the beginnings of sections which he was responsible for revising, which range from the genealogical table to the epistle to the Hebrews (Pollard 297), while the initials of other revisers tend to follow at the end of their sections, “partlie affixed in the ende of their bookes,” as Parker writes, in order to “make them more diligent, as Answerable for their doinges” (Pollard 293). As markings of scholarship, the initials of the translators perform a legitimizing function similar to Matthew Parker’s and quite different from Elizabeth’s; the evoked presence of the translators locates the legitimacy of the text in the act of scholarly “perusing” (Pollard 288), while the queen’s presence gives symbolic authority to the bible as a document representing godly rule.



1) Initial *A* from Revelation XXII with initials *H* and *L* from the beginning of the chapter, in the Bishops’ Bible of 1572. 2) Colophon and Richard Jugge’s printer’s device from the 1572 Bishops’ Bible.

While the queen's image on the title page of the Bishops' Bible represents the permission without which the edition would have been impossible, and the initials of editors and translators suggest the textual labor that provided the content for the bible, the last page of the book introduces a quite different claim to responsibility for the bible's material existence; the "finis" that concludes the last chapter of the New Testament is followed by a colophon and Richard Jugge's printer's device. Parker supported Jugge's monopoly on the printing of the Bishops' Bible until the archbishop's death in 1575, and in his letters to Cecil in regards to the first edition, he is frequently solicitous on behalf of the printer/publisher, urging Cecil to obtain the queen's authorization for the first edition, as well as a proclamation for the exclusive use of the new bible in church services, largely in order to guarantee Jugge his earnings (Clair 290, 287). When Parker refers to the great "pain" Jugge has had to "devour" and "sustain" during the production of the Bishops' Bible (Bruce 337), he is emphasizing Jugge's integral role as the bearer of the financial and physical burden of the edition. Parker places Jugge's labor on a par with the efforts of his team of translators, writing to the queen, "[...] I trust by comparisone of divers translacions put forth in your realme will apeare as well the workemanshippe of the printer, as the Circumspeccion of all such as have traveled in the recognicion" (Pollard 294). Given the hierarchy of "authors" presented in the ordering of the pages of the Bishops' Bible – an ordering that places the queen first and Jugge last – Parker's emphasis on Jugge's role may seem surprising. His words are justified, however, by the responsibility and financial risk involved in fulfilling the order for the new authorized bible – a responsibility revealed by the fact that it was Jugge's exclusive right to give Parker's project material existence.

What comes into view in the iconographic paratext of the Bishops' Bible is the complexity of "authorship" in the bible's production. Though a representation of God does not

appear in this version's paratext, as it does in its Henrician predecessor, the divine continues to figure as the imagined prime mover of biblical writing. Likewise, the accepted authors of the biblical texts – such as David for the Psalter and the four Evangelists for the gospels – are visually represented alongside the texts of their making. But it is the authors of the bound and disseminated object that is the Bishops' Bible who figure in the images framing the biblical text. While the monarch acts as both muse and authorizer of an official publication, the archbishop serves as shaper and editor, and the individual translators, charged explicitly against "set[ting] downe any determinacion in places of controversie" (Pollard 298), represent the lowest degree of involvement. The paratexts are so visually powerful, however, that Elizabeth I, the Earl of Liecester, William Cecil, Matthew Parker and Richard Jugge ultimately threaten to displace the divine legitimacy traditionally secured by ascribing biblical authorship to Moses, David, the Evangelists, St. Paul and others who had been divinely inspired.

### *Staging Scholarship, Marking Translation*

For an English bible, the Bishops' Bible makes little of its status as a translation on its title page. Indeed, the verse epigraph below the queen's portrait presents an interesting case of the book's self-representation, as it is given not in English, but in Latin. The quotation – "Non me pudet Evangelii Christi. Virtus enim Dei est ad salutem Omni credenti,"<sup>9</sup> – taken from Paul's Epistle to the Romans, serves here both as an epigraph to the text and as a royal motto, helping to articulate the relationship of the monarch to the book. The verse fragment is rendered by the

---

<sup>9</sup> In the Vulgate: "non enim erubescio evangelium virtus enim Dei est in salutem omni credenti." (Rom. 1:16).

Bishops' Bible itself as "For I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, because it is the power of God vnto salvation to all that beleue [...]" (Rom. 1:16).<sup>10</sup> While the distinction between the "authorial" and the "allographic" (Genette 29)<sup>11</sup> cannot explicitly be made for such a nuanced use of an epigraph, it is interesting to consider the verse in respect to both categories. In one sense, the epigraph can be taken as "authorial" because it is taken from Saint Paul, one of the text's understood authors, and can thus be seen in relation to the work as a part that can stand in for the whole. On the other hand, it might also be considered "allographic"; since the verse cannot actually be credited to the originator most emphasized by the frontispiece – the monarch. Allographically, the verse epigraph functions as an outside source or a secondary commentary on the monarchical "author" or originator of the book – as distinct from that of the text – and the verse's positioning below the portrait implies a modification of the queen's image rather than a modification of the text. It is Elizabeth then, as much as the actual book, who is commented upon here as a Reformation monarch, "unashamed" in her making available "the Gospell of Christ" to "all that beleue."<sup>12</sup> In this sense, the verse epigraph becomes a synecdoche for both bible and monarchy.

But while the verse is biblical, it is simultaneously foreign to the undertaking of the authorized English bibles as translations that attempted to marginalize the authority of the Latin Vulgate. Like the majority of the scrolling verses that unfold the narrative on the Great Bible's

---

<sup>10</sup> In the King James Version: "For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth [...]" (Rom. 1:16).

<sup>11</sup> In *Paratexts*, Genette categorizes epigraphs, prefaces and cover blurbs derived from the work in which they appear as *authorial* and those derived from the works of other authors as *allographic*.

<sup>12</sup> The verse had also become a trope in expressions of Protestant belief by mid-century. Catherine Parr used the phrase "non me pudet evangelii" in a formulation of her hopes for a stronger commitment to Protestant moral education at Cambridge University in a letter written in 1546. (Charles H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, I (Cambridge, Eng, 1842) 430b-c.)

title page,<sup>13</sup> this epigraph is given in Latin.<sup>14</sup> For the Great and Bishops' Bibles, Latin scriptural text in the space of the title page puts the book into a relationship with the traditions of the abandoned Catholic Church, where Latin represents the language of authority. By contrast, the Geneva Bible (1560) stages its relationship to the biblical languages of Hebrew and Greek on its own title page, by emphasizing not an affiliation with a dominant tradition, but rather the scholarship and the alleged authenticity of its translation, which will purposefully displace the Latin Vulgate. Where the Great and Bishops' Bible "emphasized the connection between true religion and the English state" (Mackenzie 6), promising on their title pages the authority of a legitimized text, authoritative because accepted into the canon, the Geneva Bible constructed its authority instead around the scholarly accuracy of its text.

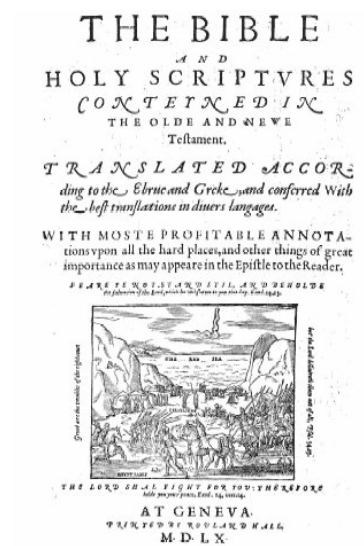
The latter's more antagonistic stance toward authority is best represented in the woodcut on the title page of the 1560 edition, which shows the Exodus from Egypt as an allegory for the escape of Protestant exiles like William Whittingham and Myles Coverdale to continental Europe under the reign of Mary – described in Whittingham's preface as a "most dangerous" time of "sharp and furious" persecution. The bible as conceived by Whittingham and the other Geneva translators could not before 1558 be authorized by an English monarch who was Catholic and hostile to biblical translation into the vernacular. Responding the conditions under

---

<sup>13</sup> For example, the scrolling text of the exchange between God and Henry at the top of the Great Bible page modifies "I have found David the *son* of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfill all my will" (KJV Acts 13.22) to "I have found a man close to mine own heart, which shall fulfill all my will," (in Latin) and Henry replies, "my commandment is, in my dominion and kingdom, that men fear and stand in awe of the living God" modifying Darius' decree from Daniel 6.26 – "I make a decree, That in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for he *is* the living God..," (in Latin) (String 319). From the top of the page, the captions direct the eye down its sides, following the downward progress of the volumes of *Verbum Dei*.

<sup>14</sup> The text of the epigraph is given in English on the corresponding title page of the New Testament, in the English of the Bishops' Bible translation, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christe, because it is the power of God vnto saluation to all that beleue."

which it was composed, the translators imagine their bible in the preface as a book that does not need to be invested with its authority from the outside, but rather escapes into a new zone where it can be an authoritative text on its own virtue. The Geneva Bible's authority comes from the translators themselves, who have rendered accessible what Whittingham's preface calls the "true meaning" of the scriptural verses.



1) Geneva Bible title page of 1560.

At the heart of the Geneva Bible's claim to textual authority is the assertion that it captures in English the original Hebrew of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New Testament. A work undertaken "by reason of so many godly and learned men; and such diversities of translation in diuers tongues," Whittingham's bible stresses that this translation renders the text most "faithfully," "set[ting] forth the purity of the word" and "restor[ing] it to all integrity" by "in many places reserv[ing] the Hebrew phrases." Whittingham's preface places the Geneva translators in a lineage that descends from the authors of the New Testament, who "constrained" themselves "to the lively phrase of the Hebrew," even when writing in Greek, so as not to "mollify" their message by making their language more acceptable to the Gentiles. The



preface positions the community of scholars involved in the Geneva translation as part of a “ripe age” of progress in the understanding of biblical languages. Maurice Betteridge writes of a busy “hive of vigorous and critical biblical scholarship” in Geneva between 1550 and 1560, when the English refugee community was “undoubtedly [...] infected with this enthusiasm for accurate biblical translation and commentary” (41). Likewise, William Whittingham writes of the contemporary emergence of philological knowledge from its “infancy,” which allowed biblical translation in Whittingham’s time to reach unprecedented accuracy and thereby closer access to God’s word. Even as God had revealed a “clear light,” ending the ignorance of philology complained of by both Whittingham and Parker in his Bishops’ Bible preface, the bible’s translators shed light onto the text, seeking to restore it to greater clarity as “the glass wherein we behold God’s face” (Whittingham).

While I have emphasized the radically different, state-focused methods that were used to authorize the Bishops’ Bible, Matthew Parker’s 1568 preface does in fact justify the vernacular biblical text in its own way. Like Whittingham’s preface, which finds in “earnest study” of the word of God the source of one’s ability to “practice it,” Parker’s preface exhorts its reader in bolded black-letter typeface – “Search ye the Scriptures” – to “finde eternall life” through the “witnes” of the Bible. For Parker, as for Whittingham, it is ultimately scripture that “instruct[s] to euery good worke,” though instead of good works, for the more Calvinist Whittingham, the function of scripture lies rather in “edifying of the brethren in faith and charity.” Major difference between the two translations comes into play almost immediately, however, particularly when Parker lays out conditions for scriptural reading:

not so lyeth it in charge to the worldly artificer to searche, or to any other priuate man so exquisitely to studie, as it lyeth to the charge of the publike teacher to searche in the scriptures, to be the more able to walke in the house of God (which is the Church of the lyuyng God, the pyller and ground of

trueth) to the establishing of the true doctrine of the same, and to the impugning of the false.

Like the staged authorization in the paratextual images of the Bishops' Bible, the text of its preface emphasizes the necessity of controls in the reading and interpretation of scripture, where the authority of ecclesiastical hierarchies supercedes the ability of lay readers to understand – even the lay reader as conceived of by Whittingham, who will study the text “exquisitely,” that is carefully, minutely and with delicate accuracy (OED). The folio Bishops' Bible, in fact, was in a quite different price range to the quarto Geneva Bible, aimed as it was not at the individual purchaser but at every cathedral, all churches that could afford to have a new bible, and for the houses of bishops and “other “ecclesiastical dignitaries” to display to their visitors and servants (Herbert 70). In this way, access to the Bishops' Bible in public spaces – dominated as they were by already-established hierarchies – rather than in private spaces of study and reflection, meant that its interpretation could be supervised. In these public locations, it was clearly “the charge of the *publike teacher* to searche in the scriptures” (Parker, emphasis added).

Parker's quoting of St. Paul – “Search ye the scriptures” – like Holbein's Great Bible portrait of Henry VIII, embodies the contradictions in trying to provide greater access to scripture through vernacular translation while simultaneously trying to control how scripture was to be read. God's command to “describe before [one's] eyes the volume of Gods lawe,” according to Parker, “concerneth *all* men [but] all men may take it to be spoken to them selfe *in their degree*” (emphasis added). The clearest justification for vernacular translation in Parker is that God desires “all men shoulde be saued [and] all men shoulde come to the way of trueth.” The Bishops' Bible is represented in his preface as the means by which this truth is to be attained, in a language understood by the laity – but it still must be mediated by the Church. Parker's goal was standardization, “a uniform text for public use” (Westcott 100) to replace the

Great Bible, many editions of which were by then “so wasted... it was thought good to some well disposed men, to recognise the same Byble againe into this fourme as it is nowe come out, with some further diligence in the printing, and with some more light added,” and to prevent the Geneva Bible’s “infring[ing] on ecclesiastical discipline” (Westcott 100) by being used for public reading.

The Bishops’ Bible was meant both for public reading and for public display, as according to Parker, a “private” reading of scripture was more likely to go wrong than a reading under the guidance of a “public teacher” in a public space. Throughout his preface, Parker thematizes a good reader as one looking for guidance, whether from God or from an authorized translator (a bishop, for example) – “as the reader might perceau the minde of the translatur, and so consequently to come to the knowledge of God his wyll and pleasure.” In Parker’s conception, it is only the descending hierarchy from God to learned priest to lay reader that can carry the true message of the text, while the Geneva Bible casts its readers as themselves either scholars, or scholars in the making, emphasizing a lay erudition that mirrors the work that had brought the Geneva translation into existence in the first place. Parker’s preface acknowledges a certain difficulty in the text and a certain necessity for making an effort on the part of the reader, but it does not stage the reader as a translator in the manner of the Geneva Bible. Instead of emphasizing their potential for attaining to true meaning by reading an English text informed by the “lively phrase” of the original Hebrew, Parker conceives of a good reader as one who seeks answers “with a humble spirit”: “to every such asker it wyll be geuen, such teachers must nedes finde, to them it wylbe opened.”

The Geneva Bible’s strident marginal notes guiding interpretation received much attention from the ecclesiastical community. Parker, for example, famously wrote in his

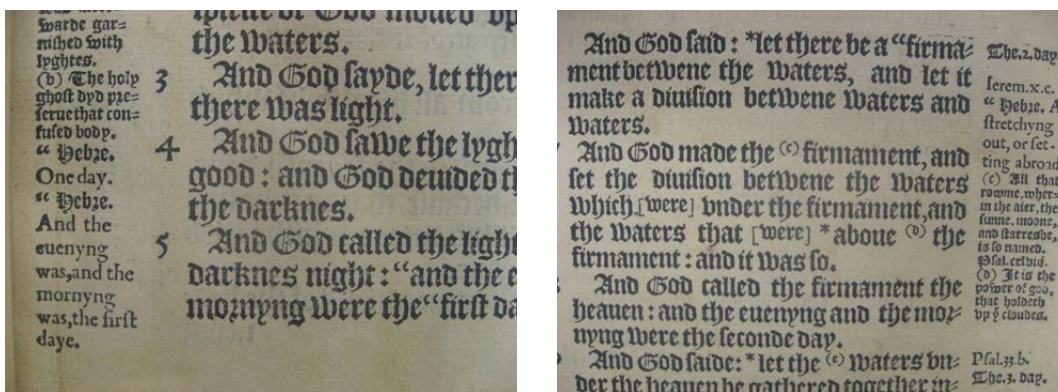
instructions to his team of revisers that they should “make no bitter notis upon the text.” The Bishops’ Bible did, however, model its notes on translation on those of the Geneva Bible. As mentioned above, the translators of the Geneva Bible, intending to emphasize the original “sense” of scripture, modeled their English after the “Hebrew phrase.” In order to provide a comfortable alternative to “the Hebrew speech [which] seemed hardly to agree with ours,” the translators also indicated sections of the text using quotation marks (“), which point to corresponding marks in the margin, where the marginal notes provide more idiomatic English renderings, “using that which [is] more intelligible” to clarify the “Hebrew phrase,” retained as far as possible in the translation. With the mark of an “x,” the translators also noted those places in the text in which they chose to stray from their objective of literal rendering and to use a “diversity of speech or reading which may also seem agreeable to the mind of the Holy Ghost and proper for our language.”

With this system of markings and marginal notes, the Geneva Bible provided a model for the Bishops’ Bible, which used brackets and a smaller typeface to distinguish words added to the literal Hebrew in order to communicate the sense in English. But in the Bishops’ Bible, quotation marks around a text mark off the more idiomatic English reading that constitutes the scriptural text; the quotation marks are likewise keyed to the margins, but there, a more literal translation of the “Hebrew phrase” is given. This practice inverted the Geneva Bible’s way of marking the “Hebrew phrase,” where the more difficult but accurate rendering appears in the body of the text, while the more comfortable version is given in the margins. It would follow that the Genevan objective is to provide the lay reader with an experience of scripture like that of a biblical scholar; in having closer access to the Hebrew original, the reader comes closer to understanding the “true and simple” sense, however strange that sense may sound to an English ear. It is in fact

the difference in the two bibles' conceptions of the reader that is materialized in their respective staging of translation. The issue at question was whether the translator should share with the reader the struggle to make sense of the scriptural text, or whether he should be the learned mediator between the text and an ignorant reader. In the Bishops' Bible, the reader's "comfort" came from the official authorization of the text that he or she read. In the Geneva Bible, what Whittingham called "comfortable" readings were precisely what the reader was encouraged to avoid. As such, the Geneva Bible's notes enact a rigorous private scrutiny of scripture, pointing away from easy phrasing, while the Bishops' Bible rejects private scrutiny in favor of public utility.

Parker does, however, at one point in his preface represent the reader as a translator of sorts, when he writes, "if ought be escaped, eyther by such as had the expending of the bookes, or by the ouersight of the printer, to correct the same in the spirite of charitie," asking the reader also to be patient with errors in the text, as "all men [should] remember in them selfe howe error and ignoraunce is created with our nature." Parker acknowledges the fact that the enterprise of vernacular translation is necessarily fraught with failures and omissions and asks his readers to realize it, as well. He does, however, stage biblical scholarship as a developing endeavor, in which progress does take place; he quotes extensively from John Fisher, former Bishop of Rochester and opponent of the Reformation under Henry VIII, quoting his metaphor of scripture as under a previously unbroken ice of philological ignorance. In Fisher's time, however, with developments in the knowledge of biblical languages, the ice cracked such that "the whole mayne sea [could be] exquisitely expended." Because the field was still developing toward ever greater clarity and understanding of scripture, Parker argued, the contemporary lay reader must pardon and fix any glaring errors left by editors or typesetters in the text. It is only

for learned readers, however, to “expend” the “whole mayne sea” of scripture; for questions of doctrinal import, Parker insists throughout, the reader must turn to a teacher for clarification. By extension, Parker’s idea of the reader is not Whittingham’s, who imagines that even in the hands of the lay reader, the text is always capable of further transparency, as long as the reader is given appropriate tools to strip away the layers of paraphrase obscuring original meaning. These tools are largely philological, and come in the form of marginal glosses and annotations that are intended to help clarify translations of text while structuring a certain approach to interpretation.



1) Marginal annotations, Genesis in the Bishops’ Bible of 1568. Quotation marks (“) and lettered notes in margins. 2) Text and marginal notes, Genesis in the Bishops’ Bible of 1568, with marked (“) notes and bracketed, added text in smaller black-letter typeface.

The Great Bible presents a point of comparison for both models of staging translation because, while it sets up an interpretive paratext and announces intentions to include marginal annotations and typographical demarcation for phrases added to the text in its preface, it does not, in early editions, include most of these promised annotations, “as yet there [had] not bene sufficient tyme minystred to the kynges most honorable councell, for the ouersyght and correccyon of the annotacyons.” Ironically, the Great Bible printers created a potential problem for readers, who could then come across a passage marked with a manicule that would have no corresponding annotation. In their short preface, the translators ask the readers “that whe[n] thou commest at soche a place where a hande doth stande (or any other where, in the Byble) and thou

canst not attayne to the meanyng and true knowledge of that sentence, then do not rashly presume to make any pryuate interpretacyon therof; but submyt thy selfe to the iudgement of those that are godly learned in Chryst Jesu.” Like Parker’s preface discussing translation in the Bishops’ Bible, this note in the prefatory material of the Great Bible encourages readers to seek guidance rather than to privately determine the import of unclear words and phrases. Not only the places left bereft of interpretation, where a hand should indicate a corresponding note in an appendix that has been “omyt[ted] ... tyll [the council’s] more couenient leysour,” but also “any other where in the Byble,” readers must not work alone. The scholarly paratext, though not all present in the 1540 Great Bible, is indeed imagined as a reading aid, like the notes of the Geneva Bible, but it is not given as the source of ultimate answers, or, like in the Genevan model, even as a facilitator of the reader’s own, definitive, private scholarship on scriptural questions.

Throughout his preface, Archbishop Parker not only argues for his position on biblical translation and Protestant theology, but also touches on the other pertinent self-dramatizing elements of the book’s paratext; with his refrain about “find[ing] salvation” in scripture, he refers to the bible’s epigraph verse; he mentions Cecil’s Psalter in his reference to the first line of the first psalm and acknowledges Joshua in one of the preface’s first marginal notes (Iosue, i) about God’s command – “Let not the volume of this booke depart from thy mouth.” He also mentions Thomas Cranmer by name and refers to his predecessor’s Great Bible preface, reinforcing the lineage of Reformation Archbishops. Finally, by bringing in the revisers and the printer in his apology to the reader for errata, Parker manages to point the reader to the complete circuit of locations of the bible’s self-dramatization and the set of authorial roles represented in them.

*Conclusion*

Alternately Queen Elizabeth's, Archbishop Parker's and Richard Jugge's in the visual rhetoric of its pages, the authorized Bishops' Bible resulted from, and bore the traces of, a complex and collaborative project of politics, scholarship and printing. Like the pageants that publicly staged the power and legitimacy of the Elizabethan state, the monarchical paratexts of the authorized Bishops' Bible strikingly represented Elizabeth's "godly rule," the power of which was necessarily linked to its representations and "bound up with [the] use of fictions" (Greenblatt 166). But like the "set of assumptions" that constituted the belief in "godly rule" in England at the time of the Reformation, the complex representations of authority staged in the Bishops' Bible reveal no "precise formula" for the relationship between the church and state at the time (Lamont 25); rather, the staging of origins, scholarship and translation that emerges in a study of the Bishops' Bible paratext suggests the complexity of overlapping claims and assumptions at work in the formation of the Protestant state.

While in the shadow of the Great Bible and outshined by the King James, the Bishops' Bible holds a significant place in the history of the authorized English bibles and represents a unique step between its predecessor and successor. Playing a role in the ongoing history of biblical translation at the end of the sixteenth century, besides acting as the point of departure for James's translators, it would to serve as a point of controversy for the reactionary Douai-Rheims translation, produced for English readers by Catholics, who argued with the legitimacy of the text as rendered by Protestants but who nonetheless were forced to adopt the Protestant "spirit of confidence that a text plus notes could edify readers and forestall heretical deviations" (MacKenzie 162) embodied by the project of the Bishops' Bible.

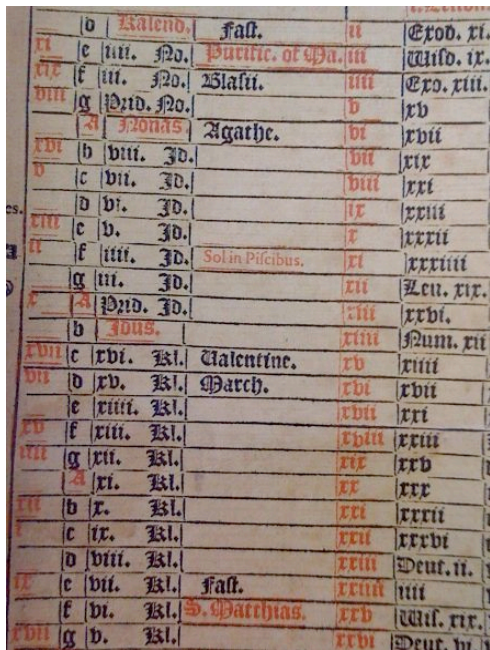


Appended Images

Calendars



From left: 1) Section of February calendar (Bishops' Bible, 1568). The Purification of Mary is set apart from the other "saints' days" with red, while, lower down, the astronomical event "Sol in Pisces" is given in red roman type. 2) Detail from November of the 1568 calendar – Elizabeth's ascension marked in red ink and roman type.



From left: 3) This sparse section of February from the 1572 Bishops' Bible is greatly depleted in saints' names, compared to the 1568 calendar. Four regular saints' days and two fast days survive, as well as two major festivals (the Purification of Mary and S. Matthias marked in red). 4) The November page from the

1572 Bishops' Bible. As with all of the months in the 1572 calendar, November is similarly sparing in its use of saints' names. The disclaimer which excuses the use of saints' days in the 1568 calendar is not present in 1572.

*State-staging ornaments of the King James Bible*



1) Printers' ornament from the top border of the Translators' Introduction, King James Bible (*The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament, and the New*. Imprinted at London : By Robert Barker ..., 1611. In Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library. BS185 1611 .L65. [SCETI], 1611.) The rose of England, the French *fleur de lis*, the Irish harp and the Scottish thistle are represented in sequence.



2) Printers' ornament from the first page of Genesis. While the King James Bible is lacking in conventional depictions of the creation of the world in Genesis, its ornaments stage the genesis of the new English state after the ascension of James. Here the rose and thistle flank an intertwining block of plants.  
 3) Below: the *I* initial from Genesis, "In the beginning," also with rose and thistle.







of psalmes, a booke set out with diuers names, but sounding all  
 hillim ספר תהלות ו ספר תלים that is to say  
 and expresse it by the name of a musicall instrument. ὅτι  
 let it a booke of psalmes (as his disciple Peter doth the same.)

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

*The Byble in Englyshe: that is to saye the conte[n]t of al the Holy Scrypture, both of ye Olde, and Newe Testame[n]t, with a prologe thereinto made by the reuerende father in God, Thomas Archbyssshop of Cantorbury ; this is the Byble apoynted to the vse of the churches.* London: Edward Whytchurche, 1540. (Location: [Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library] Folio BS160 1540)

*The holie Bible: conteynyng the Olde Testament and the Newe.* London: Richard Jugge, [1568] (Location: [Annenberg Rare Book & Manuscript Library] Portfolio BS175 1568 and Yarnal Folio B14. 337 H748 1568)

*The holie Bible.* London: Richard Jugge, 1572. (Location: [Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library] Furness Folio BS175 1572)

*The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament, and the New.* Imprinted at London : By Robert Barker ..., 1611. (Location: [Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library]. BS185 1611 .L65)

### Secondary Sources

Aston, Margaret. "The Bishops' Bible Illustrations." *Studies in Church History*, 267 – 285.

Berry, Lloyd E. *The Geneva Bible: A facsimile of the 1560 edition.* Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

Betteridge, Maurice. "The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and its Annotations." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 14: 1 (1983), 41-62.

Bruce, Frederick Fyvie. *The English Bible: A History of Translations from the Earliest English Versions to the New English Bible.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Clair, Colin. "The Bishops' Bible 1568." *16. Jahrhundert Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1962), 287-290.

Cooper, Charles H. *Annals of Cambridge* I. (Cambridge, Eng, 1842) 430b-c.

Foucault, Michel. "What is an Author?" In *The Book History Reader*. Ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery. New York: Routledge, 2006. 281-291.

- Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare*. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Greenslade, S. L. "English versions of the Bible 1525-1611," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, v.3, Ed. S. L. Greenslade, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- Herbert, Arthur Sumner. *Historical catalogue of printed editions of the English Bible 1525-1961 / revised and expanded from the edition of T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, 1903*. London: British & Foreign Bible Society; New York: The American Bible Society, 1968.
- Kastan, David. *Shakespeare and the Book*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- King, John N. *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Lamont, William M. *Godly Rule: Politics and Religion, 1603-1660*. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1969.
- Laqueur, Thomas. "The Cultural Origins of Popular Literacy in England, 1500-1850." *Oxford Review of Education* 2 (1976): 255-275.
- Luborsky, Ruth and Elizabeth Ingram. *A Guide to English Illustrated Books 1536-1603*. Tempe, Arizona: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998.
- MacKenzie, Cameron A. *Battle for the Bible in England, 1557-1582*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2002.
- Nielson, John & Skousen, Royal. "How Much of the King James Bible is William Tyndale's." *Reformation* 3 (1998), 49-74.
- Pollard, Alfred W. *Records of the English Bible, the documents relating to the translation and publication of the Bible in English, 1525-1611*. Kent: Wm. Dawson & Sons, 1974.
- Pope, Hugh. *English Versions of the Bible: Revised and Amplified by Sebastian Bullough*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972.
- Price, David and Charles C. Ryrie. *Let it Go Among Our People: An Illustrated History of the English Bible from John Wyclif to the King James Version*. Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004.
- String, Tatiana C. "Henry VIII's Illuminated 'Great Bible.'" *Journal of the Warburg and*

*Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996): 315-324.

Westcott, Brooke Foss. *A General View of the History of the English Bible*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1905.

Yates, Frances A. "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10 (1947): 27-82.