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Cambridge 1629 Anglican Trilogy

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Book of Common Prayer; the Holy Bible [King James Version 1611]; and the Whole Book of Psalmes Collected in English Meeter. Thomas and John Buck, Cambridge, 1629. Small folio. 962 pages in sig.

BX 5145 .A4 1629
Archives & Special Collections
Ekstrom Library, University of Louisville

In 1629, Thomas and John Buck, Cambridge University Press printers, published three texts—the *Book of Common Prayer*, the Bible and the *Whole Book of Psalmes* (known as the "Metrical Psalter")—that were often bound together in one volume [UL],[1] one copy of which is now on permanent loan to the Archives & Special Collections of Ekstrom Library, University of Louisville. We do not know with any certainty when UL was bound, but because the KJV second edition was published in 1638, with many scholarly corrections based on the original languages, we can assume that the three texts were bound together within a decade of the 1629 imprint date.

This case study, based necessarily on incomplete evidence of the book's history and use, casts light on diverse ways on the history, politics and culture of its time. We can excavate the original printed text from the changes made by readers and owners, who marked the physical artifact, making it unique, as we can see by looking at its variances from other copies, as illustrated below. Important open questions remain, especially those concerning the attribution of its binding, but triangulation from UL and other copies to the history of the period helps us recapture, reveal and qualify our understanding of the edition in its own time.

[1]Throughout, I am indebted to Prof. Delinda Stephens Buie, curator of rare books at Ekstrom Library, University of Louisville, for bringing the Cambridge book to my attention and for much professional guidance and personal support over the forty years of our work together.

In this essay, the Ekstrom volume is "UL." The "pristine text" is the version that came off the press; a "sibling copy" includes additions peculiar to an individual copy (e.g., the quality and preparation of the sheets upon which the text was printed; the order of the three texts within the binding; the binding itself; or the marks left on a page by a reader). After the first reference, sibling copies are identified by the initials of the collections in which they are held. The three texts bound in UL identified by brief forms as well. This version of the *Book of Common Prayer* [BCP] is listed in the *Short-Title Catalogue* as STC 13675, described in Griffiths as item 1629.2, p. 93a; the 1629 Cambridge version of the 1611 English ("King James" or "Authorized") translation of the Bible [KJV] is STC 2285; and the *Whole Book of Psalmes* (often called "Metrical Psalter" [MP]) is STC 2617.7. Monochrome STC images come from the *Early English Books Online* database. An indexed folder of images from UL and sibling copies is available online.

1. The book as artifact

A reader picking up UL today holds a composite volume of three texts separately printed but bound together. The large volume (33cm x 23cm x 3.5cm, or about 13" tall, 9" wide and less than 1-1/2" thick), is not as wide, given its height, as a modern reader might expect, but also not as thick, since it is almost 1000 pages of a fine chain-laid paper stock, tough but light and without watermark. It is bound in tooled morocco leather with gold stamping and some color details on the covers front and back. The fore-edge and top of the text block had some decoration, unfortunately now difficult to discern, but apparently not a title, where one might have appeared in medieval manuscripts, a placement sometimes carried over to printed books. No title appears on the spine, either, which is stamped with closely-set repetitions of the border ornament on the cover. The book is difficult to hold long for comfortable reading without a bookstand to support it: its shape, weight and the lack of a title on the cover suggest that the book may not have been shelved with others but was set apart on a lectern for use during the Anglican liturgy, which the three texts in this composite volume organize by a specific calendar of prayers and scriptural readings.

Our modern notion of a trade "book"—an object that comes to us as one of thousands of identical copies, bound and jacketed, from booksellers' shelves—is different from that of a 17th-century book buyer. UL is the product of a complex technology of print[2] —the making of paper; the imposition, composition and printing of the sheets with moveable type—that requires many decisions, one coming comes before any page is set in type: the printer's decision about how many pages of text to print on each large sheet of paper. UL, for reasons to be discussed later, was set up so that each large sheet would be in folio format, that is, designed to be folded once, resulting in four pages of text. The printer had to be careful and ingenious in planning this imposition so that the text made consecutive reading sense when the printed folios were nested together; to ensure that the plan was executed, the nesting sequence was coded on the printed sheets with a signature mark.[3] UL nests three sheets in sections (also called "gatherings" or "signatures") and

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[2] For a detailed account of the full process of early printing with its development and technology, see Febvre & Martin. For the cost of materials in this period, especially paper, see McKitterick 285-94. For a magisterial survey of the impact of print in the early modern period, see Eisenstein; specifically concerning the Reformation, 1.303-450.

[3] The printer used a code—signature marks (Lefebvre and Martin, 87-91)—to indicate the order in which the loose sheets of a text were to be folded and bound. In the three texts of UL, this code is a capital letter (alone, on the first sheet of the section) with an

thus is said to be "gathered in sixes" (i.e., six leaves, printed front and back). The printer sold these printed sheets, unfolded and unbound, to the book buyer.

Binding was a separate process, usually performed by a different craftsman who folded the printed sheets, nested them in signature sequence, and stacked them in order by section. For UL, which has a separate series of signatures for each text, the texts then had to be placed in the order requested by the owner. The volume's one illustration, the KJV frontispiece, is engraved on one side of a single page of heavier than the rest of the paper in the volume. The frontispiece is thus not part of a folio, so it could be tipped in anywhere in the volume, the binder's choice for UL being between the last BCP section and the KJV prefaces (sig. ¶1-4, the pilcrow (¶) distinguishing the prefaces from sacred writ and from the alphabetic signature order of KJV).

Paging through the book, we can see that the composite character of the volume has been minimized by elements of design common to the three texts. These design elements might have allowed the three texts to be sold separately or harmoniously combined, as they are in UL. For instance, two titlepages (BCP and MP—the KJV titlepage is effectively the frontispiece) have the same design, conventional for the period (and, with minor variations, even today): the title itself, in different font sizes; the device of the Cambridge University press, centered as an ornament; and the imprint, which identifies the printer by name, the press and the date of publication. The New Testament titlepage has the same format, but it is not set up as a separate text: its pagination (like that of the Apocrypha, beginning at p. 541) is continuous with the Old Testament's. The Apocrypha, the main divisions of BCP (e.g., Morning Prayer [sig. B1] or the Psalter [sig. D6]) and titles of the books of the Bible are typographically emphasized without titlepages. Roman type—long primer for the text, with various sizes for display two-column format (McKitterick 282)—boxed by a red-printed double rule, also minimizes the move from one text to the next. Exceptions to the two-column format include the KJV translators' two prefatory notes—one to King James, the other (in italic) to the readers—which are printed across the width of the page, and titles of short Bible books, such as the New Testament epistles that precede the Book of Revelation, where the titles of successive epistles span the page margin to margin while each epistle's text is laid out in the usual two-column format.

Arabic numeral 2-4 (on the inner sheets). The code is printed on bottom corner of the first page of each sheet; a "4" designation on the second recto of the innermost sheet appears to be an anomaly). The collation of BCP runs sig. [A], beginning with a titlepage, the "almanack" and "propers of the day" (A^4) and then Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer and the other rites followed by a page stub before the psalter ($B\text{-}G^6$), one of three versions of the Psalms in the book. KJV (including Apocrypha) begins with sig. ¶ for the translators' prefaces and other apparatus preceding Genesis, with the text proper foliated (sigs. A-IIII) and paginated 1-842, with running heads and trailing catchwords on each page. MP runs in signatures $A\text{-}H^6\ I^4$, the opening leaves of prayers and hymns being without pagination but the 150 psalms themselves on paginated leaves with leading and trailing catchwords on each page throughout, as well as unison shape-note staves for the tunes to be used.

As just mentioned, the three texts are printed on sheets that define the printed area of each page by red, single or double perimeter ruling (depending on the text and subject matter). As we shall see later, additional rulings in red were added by hand after the sheets were printed. This redlining appears in many prayerbooks and liturgical texts, "drawing in the eye and bounding the text, marking the margins off as a separate zone" (Sherman 91). The redlining, printed or hand-ruled, varied with the text: BCP and MP bound and reinforce the printed black perimeters of the columns, but KJV text pages have an additional, narrow column on both outside edges of the text, for abbreviated chapter-and-verse references to related passages in the Bible or the Fathers; in the KJV preface to the reader, some hortatory or polemical glosses appear in the left-hand marginal column. These red perimeter rules, a feature imitated from medieval manuscript convention, were printed on the sheets before the text was imposed (Sherman, 91 and 203-04 n10; Gaudio, 35), thus increasing the time, labor and cost of the volume. UL pages also have a red column divider on most text pages, added manually at some trouble or expense, as noted below. Within these printed areas, occasional black horizontal rules, set in the forme with the rest of the type, segment the printable space still further, depending on the sense of the text.

When we pick up UL today, the pristine text that it shares with its siblings can be discerned beneath layers of change intended by readers. To those intentions and changes, we can turn now.

2. The book, its owners and readers

Owing to the process of binding and the circumstances of use, different decisions of individual owners or readers create sibling copies of any printed text: anyone who habitually reads pencil in hand to mark their own books is familiar with the surprise of finding other markings in different copies, as borrowers from public or collegiate libraries will testify. Furthermore, in the UL period, composite texts allowed printers to publish texts that were designed to be sold or bound separately or together, as we have already seen in the UL texts' common features of design, although, for UL, external circumstances skewed this variation toward composite binding. For these reasons, it is both useful and illuminating to know the pristine state of sibling texts as they came from the printer, before binders, owners and readers imposed their idiosyncrasies on the printed pages.

Because of the pandemic context of this paper's composition, the writer has been fortunate to have access to a near-pristine copy in the Haldeman Collection of the Boyce Memorial Library, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary [SBTS].[4]

[4] Haldeman 220.5203 .B855b was donated to the seminary in 1981 by John H. Haldeman, an avid collector of Bibles. During the pandemic closure, Dr. Adam Winter, seminary archivist, and Mr. Chris Fenner, digital archivist, provided high-quality digital pictures

SBTS is a composite of the same three texts but binds KJV before BCP. The paper stock is apparently the same—printers had at hand a wide range of paper sizes, quality and cost (McKitterick 280-295), but SBTS sheets were not pre-printed with red perimeter ruling, which would presumably reduce its cost, so that only the black rules integral to composed pages appear. SBTS has the title "Holy Bible" on the spine, blind-stamped into one panel of the hubbed band, but no cover ornaments like those of UL. The original binding date is unknown: "The binding is very old, possibly original, but it has been repaired. The leaves in front of the titlepage are replacements, part of the repair. If there had been any inscriptions in the front, they are gone" (Fenner). SBTS is without marginalia or other evidence of any reader, except for one poignant addition (discussed below). These characteristics make SBTS a good touchstone against which UL's idiosyncrasies can be tested because it is as nearly pristine as any other accessible text.

In such comparisons, however, we must attend to other changes. As Fenner suggests, repairs to SBTS may have stripped out evidence of ways in which the interplay among printer, binder and owner is merely the first stage toward the present uniqueness of any book that has had a long life. For instance, comparison of sibling copies demonstrates one variance in the elective placement of the frontispiece that may draw attention to (or distract from) the composite nature of the volume. As we have seen already, the UL frontispiece is tipped in between the end of BCP and the introduction to KJV. In SBTS, the frontispiece comes first in the volume, followed by KJV and then BCP. In the copy at the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas [UT], the frontispiece is at the head of the volume but followed immediately by BCP and then KJV and finally MP, an arrangement that obscures the relationships of the texts. The siblings demonstrate various places for the frontispiece—which would obviously include not using it, but none of the siblings omits it.

We may be able to make some deductions about how sibling "unique copies"—an important oxymoron—both inform and qualify our understanding of the edition from which the books come, although few demonstrations are as sharp as the UT institutional catalogue's "local notes" that the three texts are bound between covers with the "coat of arms of Charles I of England stamped on front and back"—a characteristic not likely shared with any sibling copy, and an ironic omen for the later individual and national consequences of the king's advocacy of this edition.

UL's unique combination of variable features—organization, mark-up, binding and provenance—do not provide enough information for us to know whether the book was used for public liturgy or private devotion, although the inclusion of MP suggest that parish use was certainly expected (Jacobs, 63-66, 212 n6). UL's current physical condition gives no sign (e.g., by soiling or foxing of the fore-edge) whether one of the three texts was obviously used most frequently (as might be the case, for instance, if the pages of Morning and Evening Prayer were used daily, compared to the KJV, parts of

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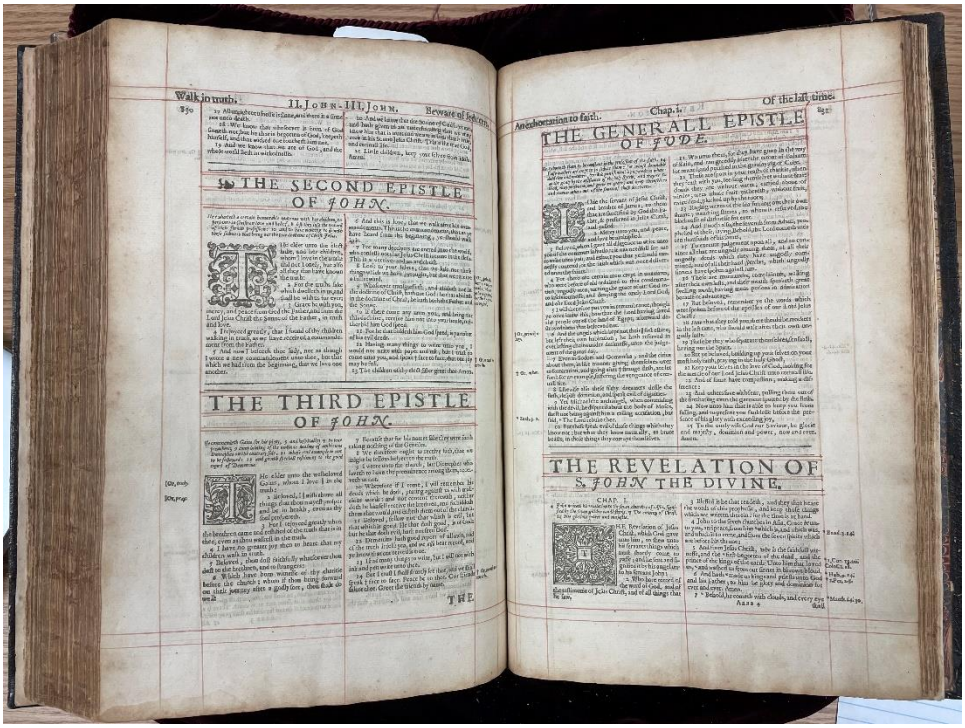
as well as information about the condition and provenance of their book. When the library was again open to the public, seminary archivist Adam Winter hospitably gave me access to the book and a tour of the Haldeman Collection as well.

which might be seldom read). The 2015 conservation may have effaced some evidence on the cover or the edges of the text block, but that clean-up did not make any changes to the individual sheets, so the almost complete absence of marginalia or interlineal comment suggests that the book might have been for liturgical use from the lectern during regular services, for occasional reference in a private library, or for private devotions, despite its size. The most significant hand-written addition to the UL printed text, a 1685 exlibris indicates that, in that writer's eyes and by that date, the volume had passed out of public use and was a family heirloom. This script addition is the most conspicuous evidence of a reader's interaction with the artifact, but other important, pervasive features reveal ways in which the book was accommodated to the reader's (or perhaps, a series of readers') tastes and needs.

Mark-up

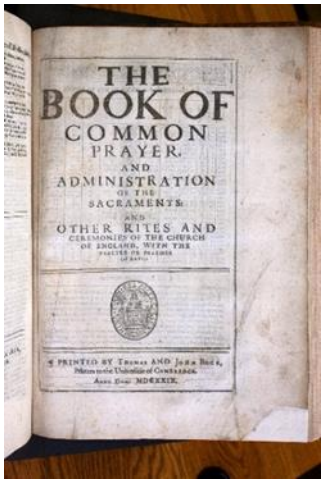
In UL, besides the printed red rules that set the text perimeter on each page, all pages show fine marginal and interlineal lines in red ink within the text. These lines were evidently added carefully by hand, as the vertical red midlines indicate:



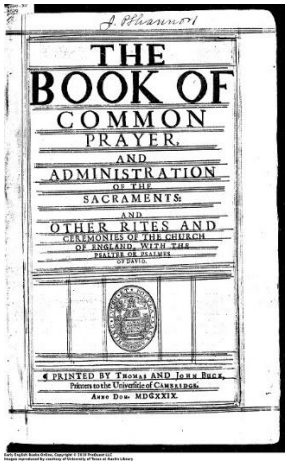
to provide pre-printed red midlines fitted to different pages of text would have disrupted and increased the cost of print production by requiring specially-printed redlined single sheets for highly various pages with interruptions to the two-column format, which might be individually complicated in themselves, as with the final books of the New Testament, where the midline is interrupted by each book's title. Occasional blank pages have printed perimeter rules but no other marks; these pages usually stand at a principal division of the text--e.g., KJV p. 842 or BCP sig. D5v-D6, the Commination at the end of order of services, followed by an anomalous redlined gutter stub that is not bound into sibling copies.

Even with occasional slight variations, the precise ruling of UL's manual additions, especially toward the page gutter, suggests that the rules may have been drawn in when they could be applied easily, before the sheets were folded or bound, implying an unusual intervention before the binder took over, perhaps because of the expected requirements of a select market. Sibling copies are treated differently. SBTS pages were printed on blank sheets, unlike UT and the British Library copy [BL], which were printed on redlined sheets used for UL, so SBTS is a pristine sibling, but it would have been cheaper to produce. BL shows some rougher mark-up, apparently in black ink, like UL except that the

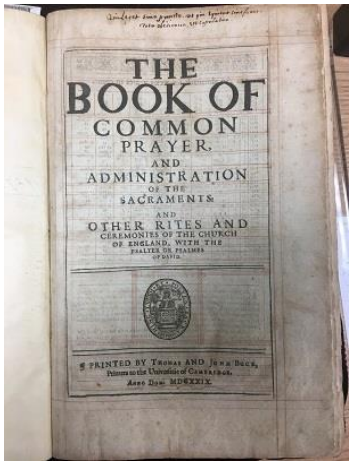
markings are horizontal only. This copy's mark-up is black and lacks the precise intersections of the manual and printed lines, bespeaking UL's greater care in the ruling; singularly, BL has a frontispiece at the beginning but no titlepages for the three texts, so it removes the most obvious evidence that the three texts were ever designed to be sold alone. UT is not marked up systematically, and many pages are unmarked. Mark-up practice is thus idiosyncratic by copy, suggesting some convention for a purpose yet to be determined, as exemplified by comparison of three copies of the BCP titlepage, evidently printed from the same forme (in all three, see the misaligned "R" in the mid-size font of "Administration" in the center of the page and the slight unevenness of "PRINTED BY" in the imprint):



SBTS



UT



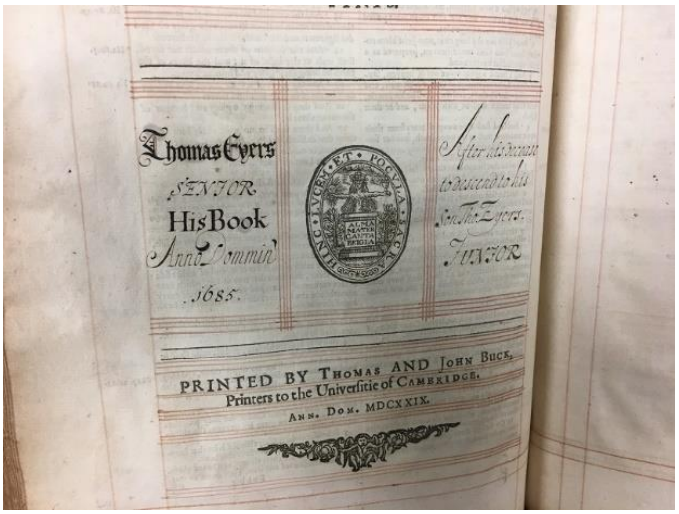
UL

SBTS shows only the text and black boxlines as printed; UT shows (owing to the microfilm source) only traces of the printed redlines as well as heavy, rough, manual interlineation, apparently in black ink; UL redlines are more carefully applied than the black UT insertions. In UT and UL, the line intervals, especially between lines of type in different font sizes or across the blank spaces around the title-page device could guide page layout or composition, but only if one supposes that these two—as well as other volumes similarly marked up—were all in the hands of compositors, a supposition unlikely in the hectic printing-house environment. The purpose of this lineation is obscure, but it may be another imitation from medieval use or a different convention (such as a way to track places in a text under a convention that we no longer follow).

Provenance

The ownership of UL is opaque for most of the first 250 years since it was printed. We have no assured information about the purchaser of the sheets, their binding into one volume, its original intended use or later users, including the one who scribed a handful of manicules, the only script insertions other than the redlining, into passages in Deuteronomy (14:28) and Ecclesiastes (2:17-20, 25; 5:19; 12:11-14). The earliest dated indication of ownership is a note hand-scribed into the blank space at the end of the New Testament, after the transcendental vision of the end of time in Revelation 22. This open space, about a half-page between the end of the biblical text and the KJV colophon with the

Cambridge University press device (p. 842), faces the blank single leaf (sig. IIII6, unpaged) that separates the end of KJV from the MP titlepage.



The mark-up here and at the end of the other two texts appears to be elaborated from the titlepage design common to the texts in the composite volume, except that the title header is replaced by the end of the KJV text. The next leaf is blank except for the printed redlines, while the manuscript addition rules vertically and horizontally across void space that would have been filled in the forme by unprinted spacers, intersecting with the red-printed marginal framing. This design creates the text space and frame for the pair of hand-scribed notes, dated 1685, juxtaposed to but complementing the end-times text of Revelation. The owner's exlibris and the bequeathal of the volume to his son, right and left of the Cambridge press device, integrate the scribed note into the page design. The precise and expert insertion, written in four different script styles, proclaims itself as the work of a professional scrivener who wrote or copied legal documents, but whether that writer was Thomas Eyers or a hired professional cannot be ascertained, any more than how and why the book came into his hands.[5]

For two hundred years after the Eyres insertion, UL's provenance is a blank, but the trail is mostly clear thereafter. The front and back endpapers carry 19th-century bookplates.[6] The first flyleaf has other late additions: a hand-written 1927 inscription recording the gift of the book to Mrs. Caroline Ferrar Apperson Leech (1850-1929) from her daughter (whose first name "Carolyn" is pencilled within the borders of the BCP almanack of feast days [sig. A^4]); the pasted-in 1918 catalog notice of this item as part of the sale of a collection (and thus the earliest likely date for Mrs. Leech's ownership),

[5] The UL inscription has a counterpart in SBTS, the single addition to its otherwise pristine text, a much less expert, far more poignant script insertion. It is written in the blank space at the end of the second KJV preface (sig. ¶5v) and carried on to the blank page before the KJV canon of books and chapters (sig. ¶6v), facing the first page of Genesis (sig. A1/p. 1): a family register, apparently of interest only to the paterfamilias, who there listed the births and deaths of his progeny 1668-1723, evidently because of the available space, not because of the surrounding text. Since neither his death nor any later entry is recorded, the register failed to become a continuing record. Poignant as this insertion may be, it does not much help to fix the book's provenance since the writer's name—"Thomas Smith," also the name of one of his descendants—while less common than "John Smith," is not attached to a place or to any other detail that reduces the field of possible contemporaneous owners. The register's date range, however, may fix 1723 as the earliest date of the rebinding: the binder understood Smith's intent, for the text block is trimmed uniformly *except* for this register's two pages, a careful but now ragged effort to preserve the script insertion that runs to the original untrimmed edge of the sheets.

[6] As identified by the research staff of the Grolier Club, New York City, the earlier bookplate on the front pastedown is that of Rev. G. C. Fenwicke, whose library was sold at auction in 1890; the later one is from Henry B. Wheatley, of whom more later.

with pencilled annotations and traces of another note on the flyleaf under the paste-in; and one other indecipherable entry, perhaps an earlier owner's signature. This last entry may be from the hand of the writer of the Latin motto, in ink on the BCP first leaf, which compares a reader without understanding to a horse which must be taught to submit to a bridle. In November 1954, Miss Caroline Leech donated the book to the Flag Room of the Louisville Memorial Auditorium. A *Courier-Journal* account of the donation includes Mrs. Leech's middle name, Ferrar, and the family tradition of their genealogical descent from the Little Gidding family, about which research for further confirmation continues. Mrs. Leech was a well-known Louisville activist in the women's suffrage movement, and both Leeches were patriotically motivated (Allen). Miss Leech was unmarried; according to the newspaper account, she had founded the Flag Room as a memorial collection of more than 200 flags related to World War I, for which she believed the book would be an appropriate addition. The script entry on the first flyleaf is thus apparently the daughter's notation of her gift to her mother. In December 1981, the auditorium administration deposited the book on permanent loan and then presented it as a gift to the university in 2020.

Binding

Without evidence of early ownership, the salient matters of the place and date of the UL binding must rely on expert opinion rather than documentary evidence. The 1629 edition was not superseded until the second scholarly edition of 1638, as discussed in the next section, so it may be reasonable to date the binding to that decade, which was also the most active period of the Anglican lay community at Little Gidding, Huntingdonshire, a possibility fascinating the faithful and the curious. To the women of that community, at least since the late nineteenth century, the UL binding has been attributed.

These attributions are early manifestations of renewed interest in the community that rose in the 1930s and continued in various forms, as seen in Eliot's *Wasteland* (1922) and several biographical and historical studies. Nicholas Ferrar founded the community in 1625 and served as its sponsor and spiritual director until his death in 1637; it continued until, under Puritan pressure, some of the buildings were torn down and the community dispersed in 1647 (Maycock).

One of the community's devotional works was the creation of distinctive biblical "harmonies,"[7] the most-studied relics of the Little Gidding community. These hand-pieced, scissors-and-paste rearticulations attempted to bring into alignment parallel but incongruent accounts from the synoptic gospels; they also produced similar harmonies for some

[7] Maycock says that Ferrar "conceived the idea of combining the four separate Gospel stories into a single connected narrative, in such a way that no part of any Gospel should be omitted" (209). It is more likely that Ferrar's reading had acquainted him with the long history of attempts to reconcile the incongruities of even the first three accounts (that is, the "synoptic" gospels since John's gospel diverges so widely in approach and philosophical ground). An apparatus for the reconciliation had been in existence for centuries through scriptural annotations that cited parallel passages (with their occasional disagreements) from one gospel to another. See Duncan (1999) for a thorough history of these attempts, beginning from the bishop Papias of Hierapolis (d. ca. 140).

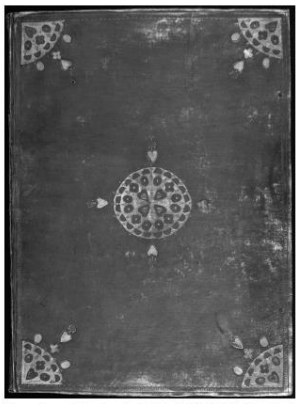


Figure 3: Harmony belonging to the Collet family (© The British Library Board, BL shelfmark C.23.e.2)

other biblical books, including one commissioned by King Charles I to harmonize the books of Kings and Chronicles, perhaps as supports or arguments for the sanctity of a monarchy, and *The Whole Law of God*, last of the Little Gidding harmonies (c. 1642), now in the Royal Collection in London, which took the first five books of the Old Testament as its subject.

The thirteen complete gospel harmonies—10 in England, 2 in the US at Harvard and Princeton, one in private hands (Ransome, *Web*, 159n) and notes for two others in the Ferrar Papers, Magdalen College, Cambridge (inventoried and described in Gaudio, 174-76)—are designed to elicit powerful intellectual and affective responses from the faithful at many levels of religious, political, hermeneutical and literary-critical significance.[8]

Some of the complete harmonies were bound in embroidered cloth, usually velvet, a craft taught to the women of the community by the daughter of a Cambridge bookbinder, brought into the community for that purpose (Maycock, 210; Ransome, *Web*, 60, and 233 n. 98); by the completion of the 1635 harmony for the king, Mary Collett, Ferrar's niece, had learned the additional skills required to tool leather (Maycock, 281). Little Gidding bindings, leather and parchment, have stamped ornaments similar to UL's, which resemble but complicate the motifs of the simpler but authenticated Little Gidding vellum binding of the 1637 Collet family harmony (BL shelfmark C.23.e.2 [Badir 401-03]). Perhaps reflecting the communal work on the volume or the devotional regimen that organized it, the bindings are not signed by the women who made them. Because several of these bindings cover books with relatively complete provenance records, attribution of similar bindings on other books without such records usually depends—as in the case of attributions in other media—upon technique, design and material similarities to these known examples.

The pencilled note "Little Gidding" on the UL front flyleaf is undated and unsigned, but one likely writer is Henry Wheatley (1838-1917 [DNB]), a noted bibliographer and collector—his bookplate wreathes his name with names of famous bibliophiles—from whose collection the book had been sold in the 1918 sale after his death and before the 1927 Leech note on its front endpaper. Wheatley attributed another binding to the same community (*Remarkable Bindings,* 120-121, and pl. LV), and a pencilled note in another BCP, now in the British Library [BL shelfmark C.46.i.17.(1.)] with the Wheatley bookplate on the back pastedown, appears to come from the same hand.[9] With these collateral associations, Wheatley's authority and attribution seem to be the source for the 1918 sales-catalogue clipping, now pasted on the UL

[8] See Ransome, ch. 2 and ch. 6.; for a compendious survey of critical issues and thoughtful arguments of the books' significance, see Badir and Gaudio's recent book length study. For the synoptic problem that the harmonies were intended to resolve, see Dungan for an exhaustive historical survey, and McArthur for details about 15th-16th century harmonies.

[9] Mr. George Nalbandian, King's College London, came across the BL book during his own research and was kind enough to let me know about it and then to provide digital images and further documentation.

front flyleaf; the Leech family tradition seconds this connection; and the repeated attribution to Little Gidding is carried forward as late as the 2015 conservation report.

Could the red mark-up serve as a guide for the composition of the pages in Little Gidding harmonies? The pages combined text passages with illustrations drawn from several sources; such a precise composition would require close calculation of the space needed for the piecing to be both practical and pleasing; a page from the 1635 Gospel harmony (Badir 392) shows by its similar mark-up how the pieced harmony elements were placed in ruled frame like those throughout UL. The comprehensive detail of the redlined UL copy provides relative text measurements at the line level, and the three versions of the Psalms contained in UL also provide options for quotation, albeit from different translations. This possibility, however, does not explain the UL mark-up by a general convention demonstrated in sibling copies, nor does it explain why all the UL pages, even the hortatory or polemical KJV prefaces, should be marked up as well. A stronger connection can be adduced to the convention of marking texts than to the print composition of the harmonies, but it is also possible that UL may be one of the volumes that were also bound on commission by the community.

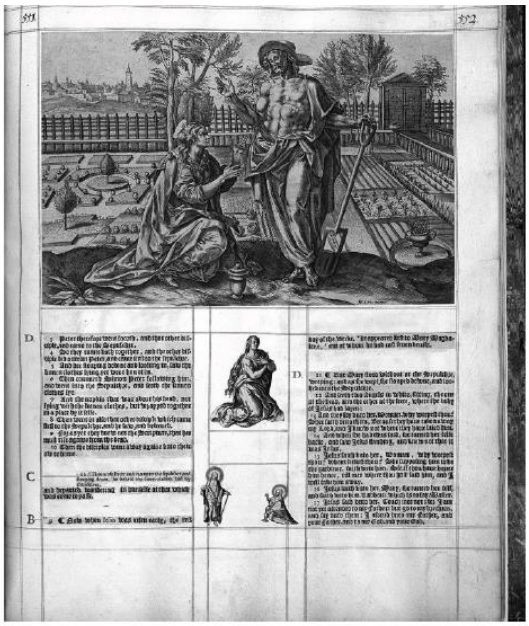


Figure 1: Page from *The Actions doctrine & other passages touching our Lord & Savior Iesus Christ* (1635) (© The British Library Board, BL shelfmark C.23.e.4)

Further research on the UL Eyres family, which now only by hypothesis was involved in scribal production and thus perhaps later in the printing trade but who certainly owned UL in 1685, may reveal some connection to Little Gidding. If the mark-up of the text can be linked to that family and the production of the harmonies, several mysteries can be resolved at once—but in the present state of knowledge, such a connection is uncertain. From such facts, guesses and open questions, we nevertheless can reflect on how this single copy, made unique by the interventions already reviewed, both reveals and qualifies our understanding of the 1629 edition as a lens through which to view the time and culture of its production and its latter history.

3. The 1629 Cambridge edition[10]

Many vectors of change come together in the renewal of the Cambridge University printing privilege, which Henry VIII had granted in 1534. First and probably most pervasive in the long term, Reformation theology made individual literacy urgent, as summarized in Luther's motto "*sola scriptura,*" asserting the Pentecostal promises to privilege interpretation by individual believers, which Catholic tradition did not accept or promote until the 20th century. For the Reformers, the individual believer's salvation required direct access to the Word of God through private reading of vernacular translations, which Catholic theology, catechesis and public devotion had limited to the official interpretation of the Church. The "co-operation between zealous clergy and profit-minded printers" (Green, p. x—the quoted phrase is one theme of his 2000 monumental study) thus arose from this foundational place of literacy in Reformation doctrine and its premium on individual access to the text of scripture, both by reading and by ownership of the text.

On this foundation, worldly and otherworldly matters coincide, overlap or compete with each other. As many scholars since then have observed, BCP and the Bible together structure Anglican theology, its private devotions, and its public liturgy (Gaudio 61-73; Green 57-59, 516-519; Griffiths 9-10; Patterson 3-7), echoing Thomas Cranmer, who, in the preface to the 1549 BCP, also noted a practical economy, "by means whereof, the people shall not be at so great charge for books, as in time past they have been" (quoted by Gaudio 65). UL evidences this socioreligious, political and economic convergence in its format and publication of the 1629 composite text under the Cambridge imprint (Black, 59-61). The February 1627/8 royal charter renewed the 1534 privilege for Cambridge University to print and sell BCP and KJV, among other texts granted in 1534 but since then appropriated by the Stationers Guild of London printers as supported by Privy Council orders from 1623. An April 1529 Privy Council order stipulated that the university could publish these texts in large formats, folio and quarto, leaving the lucrative market of octavo and even smaller-format copies more comfortable for personal use and private reading to the London printers; this order also allowed that BCP and MP, which added an aesthetic and practical variety to the order of the rubrics, could be published together but not without the Bible, which partly explains the common title-page format and other sibling resemblances already described that would otherwise have allowed the three texts to be sold separately. MP, although eventually replaced by newer psalmody, appears often on its own, being one of the most frequently published English books of the period (Quitslund; Green 503-552).

Direct access to scripture also required accurate translation, but successively more inaccurate printings under the London monopoly was a concern that the 1629 version addressed but could not entirely correct. Even after the renewal of the Cambridge privilege, Richard Barker, the King's Printer in London, continued printing-house practices that

[10] Section 3 sketches the massive scholarship on the history and culture of seventeenth-century England as UL reflects or diffracts it. For the development of European print culture in general, begin with Eisenstein (1979), especially 1.303-450 on print and the European Reformation; and for the English Reformation, Green (2000).

propagated both printing and translation errors, most infamously in the "Wicked Bible" (1631), which dropped the "not" from the commandment forbidding adultery, Exodus 20:14 (Norton, 137-141). The 1628/78 charter anticipated that Cambridge scholars would restore the text to fidelity with the 1611 translation and would make other improvements in the translation itself, beginning a process that led to a revised edition, published in 1638. The Cambridge editors corrected the decayed Barker texts, restored or improved the work of the earlier English academic translators and, in some cases, retranslated passages from the original languages so that the new edition practically supplanted the later printings of the old (McKitterick 197; Norton 141-144).

Like the 1611 first edition, the 1629 version moderated some extreme practices of the continental Reformers, including efforts to control interpretation through marginal glosses (paragraphs of additional interpretation or exhortation) for controversial purposes, driving interpretation in Reform directions. Mitigated controversial glosses appear only in the left column of the 1611 translators' prefaces; in the KJV text proper, controversy was replaced by exegetical references to related Bible passages without exhortation, extending the reader's ability to interpret by reference to other biblical texts (Green 74; Tribble 17-56). The text was thus left open for a new community of interpretation that developed away from the determination of any finite meaning in the text.

The effect of novel and individual interpretation can be discerned in the pagination of KJV, unlike the register system of signatures that ordered the other two texts in the composite volume. As noted before, pagination is an important means of navigating a text, much more precise than signatures, gatherings or catchwords (the repetition of the transitional words or phrases that connect one page to the next), used in the other two UL texts. Pagination gives readers another tool, in addition to the book chapters and verses (used in the Old Testament as early as the tenth century BCE for the Old Testament, but first appearing throughout the 1560 Geneva Bible), to locate passages quickly for their own use or for comparison with others' interpretations.

The second indicator of a new freedom of interpretation is indirectly represented by UL's heft, which results in part from its three versions of the Psalms (in the BCP Psalter, the Old Testament, and the MP versified paraphrases), demonstrating why an "authorized" text becomes desirable liturgically but difficult to negotiate politically under the *sola scriptura* doctrine. Different versions argue against understanding the (translated) Biblical text as univocal, because not just the practical use but also the authority and intentionality of the text reach back to God. Multiple Psalm translations (to say nothing of other translations and the many compounded errors in the London KJV printings 1611-28) make evident the indeterminacy of an "authorized" Bible, arguments about which continued to vex believers through the eighteenth century (Norton 146ff.) and persisting, as ironically represented in the more than fifty English translations available from the *Bible Gateway*.

Religion and politics had already come together in Henry VIII's 1534 Act of Supremacy, which created a state church independent of the Pope and the Roman hierarchy. Subsequent religious and political efforts aimed to unite the English

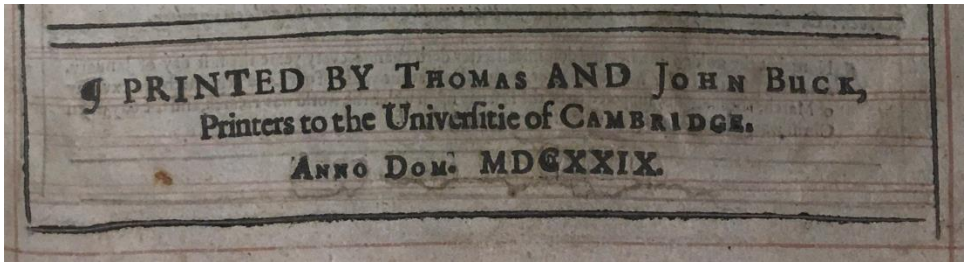
people by uniform doctrine and practice, while at the same time giving the faithful some sense of continuity with the liturgical forms and devotional practices of the Roman Church. The most important instrument of this transformation was the *Book of Common Prayer*, dating from the 1559 edition approved by Queen Elizabeth. The UL Psalter, the monthly recitation of which was ordered in the BCP calendar of readings, was not updated to the KJV but is "of the old translation" (i.e., the Great Bible, 1539), as the Psalter says. The political and ecclesiological complications arising from Protestant doctrine as well as vernacular translation drove the creation of this text, which altered the role of the congregation in the Eucharistic liturgy toward the Reform practice that makes those at the Eucharist a single community, rather than the two groups of Roman practice, the priest and choir with the prescribed (Latin) liturgical text, and the congregation with its vernacular, individual and private devotions (Jacobs 7-43).

MP paraphrases each psalm into rhymed stanzas with set tunes, beginning from those of Sternhold & Hopkins in the 16th century, printed at the head of each psalm. The stanzaic form, reinforced by its tune as printed at the head of the psalm, made changes in wording necessary. This apparent redundancy of Psalm versions points to crucial issues in several areas from early modern print technology and marketing to Reformation theology. Partisans of the MP's compendious but laborious and sometimes inelegant poetic paraphrase often belonged to the low-church or presbyterian sects of the reform movement, so the inclusion of MP in this volume represents an optimistic expression of a "Broad Church" resolution to issues of ecclesiastical politics during the early years of the seventeenth century, an optimism soon threatened by civil war.

Finally, whether the SBTS binding order, with KJV in the first place, reflects these considerations, beyond merely the buyer's arbitrary inclination, we may only be able to guess, it is possible to imagine a rationale. For instance, if we assume that UL was designed as a service book for liturgy, BCP comes first because it organizes the Anglican order of services, which vary from week to week according to the calendar, requiring appropriate Bible passages that align with each other and the Psalms. KJV is second in order but not in priority, because it is both literally and figuratively central in the liturgy, a doctrinal proposition that explains the convention and tradition manifest in this and the many other volumes that use the same order—but those possibilities are likely only if UL was in liturgical use and only if the purchaser and binder actually intended this order, rather than being driven to it by the 1627/8 Privy Council dictates.

Except in rare circumstances—such as a copy hand-corrected by the author, like the University of Louisville's "Halifax" copy of Newton's *Principia*—no single copy can tell us much about exact or important connections between it and the edition from which it comes. The tissue of connection is too slender and fine to support robust inferential demonstration. In a cultural movement so momentous and pervasive as the Reformation, almost any single copy shows only the barest, most subtle connections to the structural change that the culture has undergone. Yet with attention, we can see some of those fine threads woven into the fabric of the book we hold.

The books least used in their own time may be most apt to survive into our own time, a commonsense principle that would particularly apply to the Bible, a printed copy of which might literally be read to pieces by an ardent believer in the Protestant doctrine of salvation through knowing the Word of God directly. The University of Louisville copy of the 1629 Cambridge composite text led a sheltered life, perhaps on the lectern of a parish church or on the shelves of a library without the wear and tear of regular consultation; as a family heirloom, it may have been honored rather than used. From its handful of manicules, written by a single unknown hand and perhaps on a single occasion, we may guess that the writer was preparing a sermon on the uses of wealth earned by labor (since the verses so marked have that common theme), but when or to whom the sermon was delivered, we cannot know for sure—and even less, whether it had any impact on its hearers. The other individual, idiosyncratic features of this artifact, the evidence of its readers' presence and use, its part in cultural change, even the heirloom optimism that supposed it would be valued and passed on despite religious transformation and civil war, invite us to consider its possibilities and honor its survival by further study.



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